



THE TRUTH

1c Paid
Duluth, Minn.
Permit No. 40
Subscription
\$1.50 per year

VOL IV.—No. 1

14.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1920

WHOLE No. 133

FIVE CENTS.

WHOSE WAR IS IT?

"Their conception (the Russian people) of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe. They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe THAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES WOULD WISH ME TO RESPOND WITH UTTER SIMPLICITY and FRANKNESS. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace." President Wilson in his Message to the United States Congress.

'Congress Should Call Off Wilson's Private War'

FOREWORD.

The following editorial appeared in the "Los Angeles Examiner." As far as we are able to learn, there has been no warrant issued for the arrest of the editor who penned the editorial. Of course the editor is employed by the big interests and consequently is immune from arrest. But when an editor of a workers' paper writes similar editorials he is arrested. On July 4th, we will again recite the Declaration of Independence and we will continue to deport those aliens that fail to recognize that this is a "democratic republic."

Ships are returning from Russia, carrying the dead bodies of the sons of American fathers and mothers. Why were they sent to Russia? So far no responsible government official can answer that question, but when a person seeks to draw the attention of the people to the criminal adventure now being financed out of a secret fund of President Wilson's, they are arrested. We trust that every mother and father will offer a stern protest against their boys being used as the pawns of the imperialists of America. Have we become so ignorant that we cannot see anything worth living for? Do we raise children up, just for the sake of allowing them to be sent out to any country and there to be shot down for no other reason than the securing of fresh fields of exploitation for the American capitalists? You cannot dismiss these questions from your minds, by ignoring them, just because an alien has drawn them to your attention. When your son lies dead upon the steppes of Russia, you may possibly change your point of view. But if you men and women, with red blood in your veins and capable of doing your own thinking, you will most certainly protest against the troops being sent to Russia. If the capitalists of America desire to capture Russia, so that they can find new markets, then let them fight their own battles. Your sons gave their lives, but you never heard of their masters giving their profits to the brothers and fathers of those who died to make their profits safe for investment.

Men and women of America, have fourteen million men died in vain? Have the fields of Flanders been soaked with the blood of the workingclass, all for nought? Must we have another world-war, in order to demonstrate to you the folly and sickening horror of it all? Let your voices be heard, in one huge protest, and if your voices are not heeded, then let every workman in the factory, mine or shop gather into one big union of workers and do more than protest. Let every wheel of industry be stopped and the responsible officials of the Administration be compelled to let you know the truth. Do not allow any paper or any official cover or frighten you. Demand to know the truth. Do not be content with living excuses and camouflaged pretenses, but stand up like men and women and say to the rulers of America, "We refuse any longer to allow our sons to be used as the pawns of a profiteering class."

Our voice is weak and our appeal only reaches thousands of the people, but you the workingclass have ALL power in your grasp. You can stop industry, just as easy as you run it. Will you allow the further slaughter of the workingclass to continue or will you act like men? We are not going to allow the abuse of power by a U. S. official to stop our pen or silence our voice. Standing as we do, upon the threshold of prison, we say here and now, that every red-blooded American, who has any faith in the brave men and women who founded this Republic, must stand with us in our protest against troops being sent to Russia.—Editor of "Truth."

The Congress has a duty to perform, which should be performed at once and with thoroughness.

This country has a right to know and wants to know why American troops are in Siberia, and by what right Mr. Wilson sent them there and keeps them there.

To send armed forces into another country is an act of war and invasion.

It is an act which an American President cannot lawfully perform without the explicit order of the American Congress.

Any American President who orders war upon another country or an invasion of another country without a declaration and mandate of the Congress usurps authority which the Constitution does not give him, and which the Constitution grants to the Congress only.

It makes no difference that Mr. Wilson has done this thing six different times—and that he has not been called to account.

Upon each occasion he violated the Constitution, usurped powers not belonging to the Executive, and committed an impeachable offense.

This country is either to be governed in a constitutional and lawful manner, or it is not, and the time has come when this question must be settled.

Within the past few months our troops have been landed in two parts of Russia, six thousand miles apart.

They have fought Russian troops on Russian soil, and have killed Russian soldiers and been killed by Russian soldiers in trench warfare and in open-field fighting.

If that is not war, then what, in the name of common sense, is it? And when did we go to war with Russia or with any government in Russia?

And when did the Congress declare war upon the Russian Soviet Republic, which is the only government Russia now has?

What was the date of the declaration?

The Administration excused the expedition to Archangel on the ground that troops were sent there merely to prevent certain supplies from being confiscated by the Russian revolutionists.

That was not a frank or true statement.

Every vestige of those supplies had been removed into the interior by the Soviet Government two months before our troops arrived in Archangel.

If our troops were sent to Archangel solely to protect those supplies, why were they kept there for weeks and months and compelled to fight the Russians?

Why were they not recalled when it was found that the supplies they were sent to protect had vanished in Bolshevik hands?

The Administration asserts that our troops are in Siberia only to keep railroad communication open. They are not there to fight, or to make war on the Soviet forces.

The United States army transport Great Northern on November 1 landed in San Francisco 2000 American soldiers homeward bound from Siberia. They brought with them a picture of Cossack officers working their Mongolian will upon helpless American soldiers, even to the degree of murder; of the shooting of Americans from ambush, not only by Bolsheviks, but, in the belief of the doughboys, also by Cossacks and Japanese; of a general humiliation of the American expeditionary forces to play in the game of watchful waiting. Says the San Francisco Examiner of November 2:

"The general background of the picture painted by the returned soldiers is striking in its simplicity. According to them Japan is closely cementing an alliance with the worst elements of the Russian reactionaries, and they state bluntly that Kolchak, Semenov and Kalmakoff are nothing but tools of Japan."

We wonder if the Administration really does believe that the American people are such sillies as it pretends to believe they are. The plain truth about Soviet Russia is this:

The Soviet Republic has been attacked by British fleets in the Baltic and by French fleets in the Black Sea. It has been attacked on the Arctic coast by a French, British and American expeditionary army. It has been attacked in the southeast by a conglomerate army of Cossacks, Poles, conscripted Ruthenians, and adventurers and vagabonds of all sorts, financed, armed and equipped by the British Government. It has been attacked in Siberia by American, Japanese, Czechoslovak, Buriat, Cossack and forcibly conscripted Serbian forces; it has been attacked on the Baltic coast by Lithuanian and Estonian forces, by left-over German forces, and by a conglomerate army of conscripts and adventurers under Yudenitch; it has been attacked by Polish armies.

And it has beaten off all these attacks; defeated and driven off the Allied forces in the Murmansk region; defeated Kolchak and driven him from Amsk to Irkutsk, a distance of a thousand miles; defeated Yudenitch and annihilated his army; defeated Estonia and made peace with her; brought Lettonia and Lithuania and Poland to negotiations for peace; defeated Denikine and driven him steadily backward; and by its victories in Turkestan and the presence of its troops upon the frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan and its approach to India put such fear into the British Government that a British envoy is at this very moment in negotiation with the Soviet envoy; Litvenoff, in neutral Copenhagen, arranging the terms of armistice, exchange of prisoners and not distant recognition of the Soviet Republic and a full treaty of peace and comity.

It seems to us childish to think that anything is gained by concealing or denying the facts, which must be acknowledged sooner or later.

The Soviet Republic has baffled and defeated the hostility and armed attacks of France, England, Japan, America and Russian Czarist reactionaries, and is today both victorious and stable.

Now, since these are facts, and since Mr. Wilson knows they are facts, what possible lawful or constitutional excuse is there for keeping our soldiers in Russia, on the territory of the Russian Soviet Republic, on territory which our own Government will soon have to join England and France in recognizing as Russian Soviet republic territory?

What an absurd and ridiculous figure we will cut when the eventual inevitable recognition of the Russian Republic comes, and the world inquires why we waged war upon that Government, without any affront or injury from it, and without any declaration of war, or assigning any cause of war!

The Congress ought to see to it that we are not thus made the laughing stock of the world.

The Congress might see to it that American money and men are no longer made the tools of Czarist reactionaries planning to restore that abhorrent tyranny in Russia, and the tools of Japanese autocracy and militarism, planning to annex Siberia and to set up in that vast country the abominable despotism that has made Korea a shambles and China the victim of brutalities and cruelties that would shame an Apache.

There never has been, in all our history, any situation so humiliating to our national pride, so dishonoring of our national good name, so defiant of our constitutional system of government, so false to our professions and pledges, so shameful and so mean and so incredibly stupid and injurious as the situation existing in Russian Siberia through the unlawful prosecution of this private war of Mr.

In Memoriam

"Why was he sent to far-off Russia to suffer and die," asks the Chicago Examiner.

Editorial which appeared in the Chicago Herald-Examiner.

"The 111 bodies of American soldiers brought from Archangel by the funeral ship Lake Daraga are not the bodies of the American soldiers who gave their lives in the bleak district in Northern Russia. More than as many more lie buried in nameless snow-topped graves, which had to be abandoned when the Allied invading column was beaten back by a superior force of natives.

"NOT ONE OF THESE 256 SACRIFICED AMERICANS KNEW WHY HE WAS SENT TO SUFFER AND DIE IN FAR-OFF RUSSIA, IN A WAR NOT AUTHORIZED BY THE AMERICAN CONGRESS, against a people who never wanted war with us. Nor does any of the surviving relatives of those sacrificed Americans to this day know why it was.

"It was a private war determined upon by a few men in secret conclave for purposes they did not care or perhaps dare to make public.

"And it has failed. The American army sent there is out. The big British army, with its elaborate supplies, equipment and scheduled plan for the capture of Petrograd, is out, together with the force of armed Chinese coolies which it took along to do the rougher work.

"All these lost lives have been wasted and much of the \$500,000,000.00 of appropriated Allied treasure.

"Nor is there an accounting. FOR IT WAS A PRIVATE WAR, AND NOBODY, IT SEEMS, IS RESPONSIBLE."

Wilson by Mr. Wilson for Mr. Wilson's Czarist and Japanese proteges.

It is an unlawful situation, unlawfully created.

It is a disgraceful situation because it is a war by a democracy for the re-establishment of a dethroned autocracy and the aggrandizement of an existing autocracy—both of them cruel, ruthless, tyrannical and abhorrent to right-thinking men.

It is a situation created in defiance of the sentiment of the American people, and in contempt of the constitutional powers and duties of the Congress.

It is a situation created by flagrant usurpation of powers that do not and cannot belong to the President under the written grant of powers to our three-fold Federal Government.

The President's message to Congress urges Congress to make a great reduction in taxes.

But taxes cannot be sufficiently reduced as long as Mr. Wilson is permitted to cary on private wars in all parts of the world.

The Austro-German war, which Congress declared, is ended. But Mr. Wilson's intention to continue his private wars is shown by his request this week for an appropriation of nearly ONE BILLION dollars for the army and his request for a standing army of nearly 600,000 men, about four times our maximum peace strength.

The United States does not require a great standing army. It does require a great and efficient navy. But Mr. Wilson's program reverses this. He has cut the naval program nearly one-half. And he has quadrupled the army. England is to furnish the navy and we are to furnish part of the army for the private European wars.

If the big financiers who are interested in Russian loans want to finance private wars out of their private funds, that is something for them to consider as individuals, and for Mr. Wilson to consider as an individual.

But as President of the United States he has no right to finance these private wars out of the public funds, no right to burden the country with increasing debts and permanent war taxation. If he does not recall the troops, he should be compelled to do so by Congress.

BRITISH LABOR BACKS RUSSIA

British Trade Union Congress Stands Solidly Behind Soviet Russia

London, Dec. 12th. — (By Mail). The chief business at the afternoon session was the situation in Russia, on which the following resolution was submitted on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee:—

That this Congress, having heard the report of the deputation which waited upon the Prime Minister on the question of Russia, expresses its profound dissatisfaction; it calls upon the Government immediately to consider the peace overtures made by the Soviet Government, and, further, to raise the blockade and allow facilities for trade between Russia and the outside world.

The Congress demands the right of independent and impartial inquiry into the industrial, political, and economic conditions in Russia, and instructs the Parliamentary Committee to appoint a delegation to visit Russia, and to demand passport facilities from the Government for this purpose; and that a further report on Russia be considered at our next Special Trades Union Congress.

Mr. John Hill, in proposing the resolution, said they were not satisfied with what the Prime Minister had told them. Ten offers of peace had been made by the Soviet Government. Why were they not considered?

The reply was given at Manchester. The Government was out against anybody and everybody who were going to limit private enterprise and private exploitation. British troops were not all withdrawn from Russia.

He was talking to British soldiers on the previous day who were going to Russia on the following Thursday.

Jack Boots and Brass Hats. . .

Mr. Robert Williams, in seconding the resolution, regretted that they were not able to express their resentment about Russia in some form stronger than words.

He was convinced that if Lloyd George were acting alone he would cease military intervention and raise the blockade. But we were being controlled by the jack-boots and the brass hats of Whitehall.

Engineers in this country would rather make munitions for the Soviet Government than they would for Denikin and Kolchak.

JUN 25 1923

Acc.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

The longer the British Government opposed the Soviet, the sooner would that form of government make its way into Western Europe. (Cheers.) He looked forward to the time when Lenin and Trotsky would be as welcome in the streets of Great Britain as were General Botha and General Smuts two years ago.

Mr. W. R. Smith, M. P., in supporting the resolution, said that British supplies were not merely being used against the Soviet Government, but also against those independent States which had been established, largely under the encouragement of the Allies, on the principle of self determination for all nations.

Mrs. Bamber asked if the Government refused to issue passports, what position would Congress take up.

The Chairman said that when the report was presented delegates would be able to say how far their unions would be prepared to go, but no one could say that now.

Replying to Mr. Catherly, the Chairman said the representatives to go to Russia would be selected by the Parliamentary Committee, but if Congress preferred to elect them, the Committee was prepared to accept that as an amendment.

Trade Union Standpoint.

Mr. Tom Mann (A.S.E.) said that when he heard men taking sides against Russia, he wondered whether they had ever considered what might have happened had we in this country been called upon by fate to face such a situation as the workers of Russia had to face.

"There was the fall of the reigning dynasty, a total absence of the governing forces, and an utter incompetence to carry on the affairs of the country. Who were the men who began to give voice to certain policies? Men exactly analogous to ourselves, men who had for long years been diligent students of the whole economic forces which we had been studying here.

"They met in Congresses such as you have been holding, and tried to find a way out of the capitalistic chaos which existed in that country, and by degrees they arrived at an understanding as to the conditions under which they would decide to manage their own affairs.

"Was not all this exactly what reasonable men and women in this country would have done if we had been confronted with the same situation?"

Colonel Ward's Criticism.

A scene occurred when Colonel John Ward appeared on the platform to take part in the debate.

Colonel Ward said that a picture had been given of affairs in Russia which he knew was incorrect. Lenin and Trotsky were mere agents of a foreign Power sent to work up a conspiracy and destroy the basis of Russian liberty, leaving the entire country in a state of chaos and anarchy.

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AXEL SUNDBORG, Director.

form of Russian Government called a Soviet did not alter its autocracy, and they had not the slightest right to sympathize with them, because they would not like the same sort of conditions brought to this country. Until the Soviet power was prepared to submit to a plebiscite of the whole of Russia, it could not claim that the Russian people had the right to decide their future for themselves.

On the Side of the Workers.

Mr. Jack Jones, M. P., expressed regret that Colonel Ward had been subjected to interruption. He asked whether Mr.

Ward believed that the present form of Government in Russia had not obtained the support of the great majority of the people?

The war on Russia was supported by the international capitalists. He (the speaker) was on the side of the workers against the White Guards and the blackguards.

Mr. Bromley (Locomotive Engineers) stated that Colonel Ward knew no more of what taking place in Soviet Russia than they did. He had been too long associated with the military jackboot.

The resolution on Russia was carried unanimously.

"I do not claim that the Bolsheviks are angels. These men who have made the Soviet government in Russia, if they must fail, will fail with clean shield and clean hearts, having striven for an ideal which will live beyond them. Even if they fail, they will none the less have written a page of history more daring than any other which I can remember in the history of the human race. They are writing it amid showers of mud from all the meaner spirits in their country, in yours and in my own. But, when the thing is over, the mud will vanish like black magic at noon, and that page will be as white as the snows of Russia, and the writing on it as bright as the gold domes that I used to see glittering in the sun as I looked from my windows in Petrograd.

"And when in after years men read that page they will judge your country and mine, your race and mine, by the help or hindrance they gave to the writing of it."

—Arthur Ransome, Correspondent of the London Daily News.

"The Bolsheviks most of all have helped to make the war not only for democracy, but a war at last of democracy and by democracy. The Bolshevik revolution is the one fertilizing force that throughout Europe is making governments answerable to peoples."—Professor Kallen, of Wisconsin University.

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"The evacuation of RUSSIAN TERRITORY... The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy." President in his message to Congress.

AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT (?)

A member of the North-Western Warriors' Magazine editorial staff, visited us the other evening, with a view to obtaining some cheap notoriety, but we decided that we had more serious work to do than providing cheap intellectual vaudeville shows for persons who have not the remotest idea of what they are opposing.

Many people are obsessed with the notion that all radicals are against the government. The phrase "against the government" has been bandied about so much, that many have come to believe that the Communists and members of the I. W. W. are anarchists. So for the benefit of those that do not understand our position, we will re-state it. In the first place, we are not against the government. We deny anybody or group of people to prove otherwise. But we are opposed to the government using its power against one set of the community to assist another set, as in the case of the miners' strike. The miners work night and day to produce coal for the nation. They find that they are not able to live upon the wages that are being paid to them. They produce uncontrovertible facts to substantiate their statements. The coal operators recognise that the miners are not receiving a living wage but contend that if they increase the wages of the miners, that they will have to be content with LESS PROFITS. Consequently they resist the demands of the men and so the miners, after exhausting every method of bringing about a settlement, are compelled to "down tools", in order to force the coal operators to comply with their demands. The issue then clearly stands before the people. On one side, the miners who dig the coal and risk their lives in order to obtain coal for the nation. On the other side stands the coal operators, who in some cases have never been down a mine. They reap a harvest in profits and yet they are not content to accept a reduction in profits. Now frankly, where would your sympathies lie? Of course you would side with the miners. You could do no other. Yet the government, that is supposed to be a government of the people, by the people and for the people, uses all its power to drive the men back to work and force them to accept anything that the coal operators feel inclined to give them. When the government uses its powers to assist a class that does not work, never did work and never will work, then we stand by the miners and record our emphatic protest against the action of the government. We are unreservedly op-

posed to any government that is an instrument of the ruling class. We are for any government that acts as an administrative body, for the expressed purpose of the systematic organization and control of production. But when that government ceases to act as an administrative body and becomes a weapon of oppression in the hands of the ruling class, then we deem it wise to urge a change and that change to be brought about by the producers of the nation.

We today condemn the Russian form of government, because we are ignorant of our own affairs. If we would take the time to study the manner in which the war was carried on by America, we would have been struck by the fact, that Congress failed to measure up to the occasion. The real government of the United States, during the war and for that matter after the war, was not in the U. S. Senate or Congress. In this country we had a capitalist Soviet administration, but few Americans are aware of this. We quietly placed on one side and allowed it to indulge in a little speech-making, the United States Congress. We created extra-legal bodies and these extra-legal bodies performed the necessary work to carry on the war. Congress merely applied the rubber-stamp to the enactments and the work of these extra-legal bodies. We organized industry and completely changed the basic motive of industry. Instead of running industry on a competitive basis, we ran it on a co-operative basis. No one objected, because they know that the nation was waging, what was commonly assumed to be a war of life and death to the nation. We swept away the law of supply and demand and we simply ordered the required amount of goods and ceased to haggle over the prices to be paid. Where the men responsible for the carrying on the war, against the government because they recognised the inability of Congress to function as an efficient body? Most assuredly not. So the progressive members of the workingclass have learnt quite a few lessons from the manner in which America carried on the war and they are profiting by their studies.

The capitalist class are in favor of the political form of government, because they can use it against the workers, whenever the workers demand more of the wealth they produce. The workingclass are in favor of the industrial form of government, because they will be in more direct contact with it and can also prevent the capitalist class from

using it as a weapon of oppression. It is not a question of being "against" the government, but a question of realising the change that has taken place and adapting ourselves to that change. It is a biological law, that the organism that cannot adapt itself to its environment dies and only those organisms that can adapt themselves live.

All those that fight and oppose the necessary change in the form of government may temporarily be successful, but they cannot withstand the demands made by the changes being in society. The law of human society is the law of evolution. We ascend higher and higher up the social scale and no amount of sophistry or force can prevent us from ascending that ladder. Time there was when men used crude instruments of stone to dig the earth, but the steam-shovel won the day and the man who would advise us to go back to the tools of the stone earth, would be considered a fit subject for a psychopathic hospital. Time there was when men lived in mudhuts and wigwams, but men never think of leaving mansions to go back to living in mud-huts. Time there was when men derived their musical entertainment when the tawnyed bow-string, but who would prefer the noise of a twanged bow-string to the playing of a Krissler on a Stradivarius? Nobody, but a born fool. Time there was when men wrote on stones and published their lectures etc on parchment, but nobody would change from the lino-type to the parchment. We have left astrology on one side and we now study astronomy. We have made great advances and we are going to continue to make them. Man ascends never descends, only when he resorts to war and then out of war he gains an experience and knowledge that assists in making him advance further. Progress is the watchword and progress it must be. There are many who are possessed of sufficient knowledge and foresight, as to plainly discern which way we are going and where we are eventually going to arrive. The ignorant will always oppose them, likewise the crafty and the cunning. The ignorant and the cunning will temporarily win out, but surely as the sun sinks in the West, so surely will the progressive members of the community win out. The feudal lords had to give way to the rising capitalist class and the capitalist class, in turn, will have to give way to rising workingclass. Stop them, if you can?

"On numerous occasions the American Red Cross was asked to actively co-operate in various departments of the Soviet Government, including a suggestion that the American Red Cross take charge of the entire food administration in etrogad; that it take charge of shipments of food from Siberia and that it handle the purchase of supplies for the Soviet Government in China, and handle the shipments of these supplies through Siberia. The Soviet Government desires the assistance of the Allies in organizing a revolutionary volunteer army with which to oppose German domination. Nothing whatever can be done by the Allies except in co-operation with this (Soviet) Government."—Report of Major Thomas D. Thacher of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia.

but for public use, a large part of the earnings would go back for after-war reconstruction in the mines.

But under the unrestricted private exploitation which flourishes in Germany today, everything possible is screwed out of the mines and next to nothing put back. This can be seen by comparing the following figures.

Selling Price Up 600 per Cent.

The cost of producing a ton of coal in the Ruhr district to-day (including increased expenses due to deterioration and rise in miners' wages) is just roughly 400 per cent. greater than on the eve of the war. But the selling price of coal has increased 600 per cent. Does this mean that the extra per cent. increase has gone to reconstruction in the mines? Not at all. A Dusseldorf paper has recently given figures for the average annual profits made in the Ruhr district. These have increased between 1915 and 1919 from 15 per cent. to 45 per cent. of the capital invested in the coal mines! When one remembers that a great part of this profit goes out of Germany proper, mostly to the occupied districts of the Rhine, where it is protected by Allied bayonets and by French separatist propaganda from "Socialist" taxation, one gets some idea of the international operations of finance capital in its eleventh-hour attempt to bolster up the system on which it feeds. For the impending economic catastrophe demoralises the Capitalist class and creates the psychology, a presensuous le deluge.

An Orgy of Profiteering.

But in this Bacchanalian orgy of profiteering where do the German working classes come in with their "high wages"? While coal has risen 600 per cent. in price, their wages have risen only 250 or 300 per cent. Their position is much worse than that of the British coal miners. In England, for five working days, a miner earns in German money an equivalent of 35 Marks. A German miner for the same time earns only 60 Marks. In America the difference is even more striking, for the American miners' wages are about 400 per cent. higher than those of the German miners. On the other hand, if a German miner's wages have risen 250 per cent. above pre-war rates his food bill has risen 400 per cent.

Capitalist "Protection"

The real wage of the German miner has therefore, since the war by about one-third. It is roughly the same with all other classes of German labour, which is in comparison with British and American labour sweated to the highest degree. Goods exported from Germany at the present moment are indeed blackleg goods. But the Allied Imperialists draw from this the conclusion that protective tariffs should be raised against German exports. The truth is that only "Socialisation" of the key industries of Germany can save the country from economic ruin and prevent sweated exports. But the "Socialist" Government of Ebert-Bauer-Noske is at present turning Germany into an armed camp of Pretorian White Guards in order to defend the existing Capitalist order. And the Allied Governments per-

FRANCE

The case of Captain Jacques Sadoul in contumaciam by a court martial in Paris resulted in the unanimous conviction of the accused. He was sentenced to death after military degradation as a traitor and deserter.

Under the French rules of procedure the case against Sadoul could be taken up in his absence. His non-appearance for trial is theoretically construed as disobedience. In such cases the sentence in contumaciam is suspended whenever it becomes possible to bring the defendant bodily before the court so that a regular trial and defense can take place. As the law stands, Captain Sadoul is liable to arrest the moment he comes within reach of the French authorities.

A similar case occurred in the historical event in which Emil Zola was the center of interest. Zola was accused for opposing the court decisions in the Dreyfus case. On advice of counsel he left France temporarily and was promptly found guilty of contumaciam. Later on, when the passions had cooled down some, he returned, stood trial and was triumphantly acquitted.

Le Proletaire comments on the Sadoul verdict:

"Judgment is rendered, but justice has not yet spoken. Sadoul is condemned as traitor and deserter, as having given information to the enemy when there was no enemy.

"In misapprehension of all law and all human morality, it has been declared that the (Russian) Red army was an enemy army from the moment it opposed our forces of occupation. Justice is dishonored. Its crime will fall back upon those that committed it."

Commenting on the death of Hugo Haase, as a result of the act of an assassin, Le Proletaire says:

"Like our own Jaures, Eisner, Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Haase will live in the memory of the workers—not solely for their personal merits, but because they were the victims of social hatred Haase and many others have died because they endeavored to realize their Socialist ideal. They fell as victims of the class struggle. Assassination is an aristocratic one, as history tells us. It is not a proletarian gesture, demonstrates. But the German revolution is not yet finished."

Comparing the policies of Clemenceau and Lenin in the Journal du Peuple, Charles Rappaport says:

"Lenin is a poor proletarian; he has but one program which he applies when he comes into power. He makes peace, gives the land to the peasants, the workshops to the working class. He disarms the capitalists and their politicians and lays his hands on High Finance.

"Clemenceau is the gendarme of capitalism. Lenin is the guardian of labor. The one bites when privilege is touched, the other when the oppressed classes are attacked. The difference is plain. Clemenceau is the Past. Lenin is the Future."

mit this arming to go on under their very noses, because they fear that a really Socialist Germany would mean the end of their sway over their own proletariat.

INTERVIEW WITH KARL RADEK

Radek, Russ Radical, Asserts Orient Will Be Set on Fire Unless There Be Peace.

By GEORGE WITTE.
(Special Cable to the Daily News.)

Berlin, Germany, Dec. 26. — "What will Soviet Russia do if the entente actually refuses to make peace, as Premier Clemenceau's speech and Great Britain's attitude toward the Copenhagen conference seem to indicate?"

This question I asked to-day of Karl Radek, one of the prominent men of revolutionary Russia and a close friend of Lenin and Trotzky. On the eve of leaving Germany, Radek, who came here a year ago as the ambassador of the Moscow government and who was held in the Moabit criminal prison for nine months after the present German government came into power, consented to see me in the flat of the police inspector where he was being held under guard until he should depart for Russia. This is the first interview he has granted an American correspondent since his imprisonment.

Radek laughed grimly at my question.

Still Hope for Peace.

"So Premier Clemenceau would surround soviet Russia with a barbed wire fence?" he said. "I hope he does not believe what he is saying. Although the governments of Great Britain and France keep repeating over and over again that they will not make peace with us, we still hope sincerely that peace will come soon.

"We want peace. The Russian government and people have had enough of war and want to return to peaceful production, trade and commerce with the outside world. But if we cannot have peace we will fight to a finish. We are suffering from hunger in Russia, but the entente cannot starve us out. Our coun-

try's resources are too vast for that.

"If the war keeps on — well, then, we will set the near and far east on fire. We will stir up such trouble in Turkey, Afghanistan, Turkestan, Kurdistan, Persia and India that Great Britain will not have another quiet moment. All we have to do is to put 100,000 men who are starving on the road to India and say to them, 'There is food at the end of this road', and they will follow the road until they get there and fight until they get food.

"It is no secret that I have been negotiating with the young Turks, as the German newspapers have recently printed reports to that effect. There is no doubt in my mind that the young Turks will again be in power in Turkey within six months. We will form an alliance with the devil himself if necessary to fight the entente if it will not give us peace."

Turk Visits Apartment.

Radek's statement concerning Turkey was made more interesting to me by the fact that as I departed I ran into a dark-skinned man, unmistakably a Turk, entering the flat where Radek was staying.

Radek commented briefly on the military successes of the soviet troops on all fronts.

"Nobody can deny that Gen. Denikin, Admiral Kolchak and Gen. Yudenitch have been badly beaten," he declared. "But, although the reconquest of vast areas by our troops is important, we exult principally because of the immense supplies of entente food, munitions and arms that have fallen into our hands in the Denikin and Kolchak retreats. For that reason we should hate to see the entente stop shipments to the whites.

"We have secured entente tanks and guns from the Denikin men and entente food from merchants in southern Russia. The more supplies Great Britain

and France send Denikin and Kolchak the better, for we know that we shall get them eventually.

"We could have driven Gen. Denikin into Poland, but we did not do it, because we know that the workingmen in Poland will soon rise and take into their own hands the reins of government. If we invaded and occupied Poland with troops, the Poles would say: 'Under the czar's regime our land was ruled by soldiers. Under the soviet government we are ruled by soldiers. It is the same system only under different names.' And who knows what trouble we would have there?"

Wants American Capital.

I asked Radek what soviet Russia would do, if peace were declared soon.

"With the assistance of American capital and American engineers we could begin the proper exploitation of the natural resources of Russia, which is one of the richest countries in the world," he replied. "Our factories could stop making munition and once more turn to peaceful industries. And the 'red terror' would cease.

America Losing Millions.

"Europe cannot keep on living indefinitely without Russia, for Russia has always been producing for Europe most of the food, clothing and other things used, or, at least, has furnished the raw materials. America is losing millions of dollars every month that peace in Russia is delayed.

"We are in such shape now that we do not have to get on our knees and beg the entente for peace. But, I repeat, we are willing to make any kind of reasonable peace and the sooner the better."

Karl Radek accompanied Col. Raymond Robins on his tour

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

in Russia and is frequently mentioned in Col. Robins' book. Radek was released by the Germans in return for the release of one archbishop and one countess. He is now on his way to Petrograd, whence he will go to Dorpat to attend the Baltic states peace conference.

(Karl Radek, a journalist and one of the organizers of soviet Russia, was named a representative of the government at the Dorpat conference, but he has been unable to serve until now, because of his arrest in Berlin.)

SOVIET ARMY TAKES

110,500 KOLTCHAKISTS
(Special Cable to The Call.)

London, Dec. 22.—A Wireless dispatch received here from Moscow states that 700 soldiers of Admiral Kolchak's army have been found frozen to death in a hospital near Omsk.

An additional official announcement issued shortly after by the Soviet government at Moscow states that 110,000 soldiers and 500 officers were captured on December 13, when Novo Nikolaevsk in Eastern Siberia fell into the hands of the Soviet forces.

Severe fighting is going on at Narva, near Kiev, and in the Kharkov region, the dispatch adds.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

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WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

BOYCOTTING THE ELECTIONS

By KARL RADEK.
(A letter to a Friend in Germany February, 1919.)
(The London Call.)

You tell me that the Hamburg comrades are highly elated over the decision of our Communist Congress to boycott the elections to the National Assembly, and see in the contrary attitude of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht a strange sign of opportunism. Alas! things are not quite so simple as we would have them. The question cannot be decided by such a simple attitude as this: "We have taken our stand on the dictatorship of the Soviets, and therefore, must boycott the National Assembly, as the Bolsheviks have suppressed theirs."

Before I discuss the subject proper, I want first to tell you this. When in October last our Austrian comrades, on the receipt of the first news of the outbreak of the revolution, were hurrying back to Austria, I had a talk with the leading comrades among the Austrian war prisoners, by instructions from our Central Committee of the Soviets.

We unanimously came to the conclusion that the question of taking or not taking part in the elections to the National Assembly of his or that country, must depend on the degree of the development of the revolution among the Hungarians, or German-Austrians, or Czechs, or Jugo-Slavs, and so forth, at the moment when the question would have to be decided.

I think you have had ample opportunity to see that neither I nor Bela Kun, nor Muna, nor Thoman are addicted to opportunism. Moreover, as I know that you have particular confidence in Lenin, I can tell you that when I informed him of the results of this discussion, he not only completely agreed with me, but asked me, in addition, to impress upon every comrade returning to Austria, that one must not at the beginning of a revolution pursue a policy which the Bolsheviks only took up after their victory.

One must not, on the strength of the fact that a small portion of the revolutionary masses, through experience, or insight, become ripe for such a policy, assume that the masses as a whole are also ripe for it.

To finish with the personal aspect of the question, I once discussed the problem, in all its aspects with Comrade Liebknecht, and he laughed and said: "Do you know, I get up every day as an opponent of participation in elections, and I go to bed as an advocate of it." You will certainly not regard Liebknecht on that account as a weathercock, but will perceive that the problem is not so simple.

Anarchist-Syndicalist Balderdash

What are the real facts of the case? Bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism were the means to arouse, collect and organize the masses, and to obtain reforms which improved the condition of the masses, and gave them an opportunity of thinking of something else besides their daily bread. The Anarchists and Syndicalists argue that we were mistaken, and that they were right, and point to the collapse of the Second International as the result of parliamentary demoralization.

This is not so, as proved by the fact that the Syndicalists and Anarchists, like Jouhaux, Cornélissen, Kropotkin, have collapsed as fully as Scheldt and Legien. The International did not collapse because parliamentary cretinism had gained in it the upper hand but parliamentary cretinism had gained in it the upper hand for the same reasons for which it collapsed, namely, because in "peaceful" period following 1890, the working-class was not revolutionary, did not carry on (and did not want to carry on) any revolutionary struggles, and therefore, had no strength to avert the war.

Parliamentary opportunism was the result of this peaceful era, when the workers hoped to be able to manage with mere reforms, which circumstance, however does not mean that opportunism did not strengthen this reformist infatuation, and

thereby rendered the collapse still more ghastly.

It is only due to the influence of Anarchist and Syndicalist balderdash that many, especially among the younger comrades, assume that we have become enemies of parliamentarism out of sheer disappointment and have for this reason specially "invented" the Soviet system.

Wherein Parliamentarism Is Necessary and Wherein It Fails.

You will, perhaps, remember how in March of last year, at the German party school in Petrograd, I pointed out to you and your colleagues, in the report about the Party Congress, that Lenin had introduced in the resolution on the situation a passage which left to the Bolsheviks a loop-hole for the use of Parliament.

I at that time put to you, students of the party schools, the question, why had Lenin done so, although the Bolsheviks had only a short time previously dissolved the National Assembly. You looked puzzled at the time, and I then explained: Although in the first months of the revolution the Bolsheviks formed but a minority in the working-class, they nevertheless agitated in favor of all power being transferred to the Soviets.

At the same time, however, they demanded the summoning of the National Assembly.

Kautsky thinks that the Bolsheviks hoped in those days to obtain a majority in the National Assembly. This is certainly nonsense. It is just because they looked forward in the distant future to the conquest of power, which was only possible in the form of Soviets, that they advocated the National Assembly in order to use its platform and the party struggle within it as a means of arousing the masses and of gaining their adhesion to the idea of Dictatorship.

When the Bolsheviks conquered political power—sooner than they expected—they could not accommodate themselves within the framework of the National Assembly, and would not have been able to do so even if they had a majority there, which, however, was not the case, although, as you know, they had behind them the majority of the peasants, who expected from them land.

The Bolsheviks dissolved the National Assembly, not merely because of its composition which owing to the defective Bolshevik organization in the villages and to the erroneous identification of the Left Social-Revolutionaries, the allies of the Bolsheviks, with the Right Social-Revolutionaries, their opponents—that is, owing to the present lack of intelligence—was in contradiction with the real aspirations of the popular masses.

If that had been the only issue, the Bolsheviks could have ordered new elections. The real reason was that we saw that parliamentarism cannot be the instrument of Socialist construction. The building up of Socialism needs the Co-operation of the workers in the factories with the technical staff, the co-operation of manual and brain workers in the Soviets for various concrete objects. A parliament of representatives of various warring classes cannot possibly be the crown and the synthesis of all the Soviets: it must be a body representing the very class which is building up Socialism, that is, the proletariat, and the organizations which are building it up, that is the workers' Soviets.

We rejected parliamentarism, not because we were disappointed, but because it was useless for the object to which a victorious working-class must devote itself, that is, for Socialist construction.

Parliamentarism was a necessity so long as it was necessary to arouse and to gather the workers. It becomes useless when the next task is to build up a Socialist economic order. But should the working-class be defeated for a length of time, and should we, therefore, again be confronted with the task of gathering it together, we should again make use of Parliament the more energetically, the more our organizations and our press were subjected to persecutions.

And it is just because Lenin, in March, 1918, after the great defeat in the domain of foreign

politics at Brest-Litovsk, was reckoning with the possibility of a temporary triumph of the enemies that he pointed out to the comrades that it would be necessary, should the parliamentary method be left open to us, to make use of it in order to emerge from "underground."

I remember how you, German and Austrian students of the party school, were impressed by this foresight and elasticity of Lenin when I showed you by this example how dialectical the tactics of the Socialists must be.

A Process of Development.

But the wine of the young German revolution has now gone into your heads, and the heads of all your adherents. You thought in December that you could in a short time overthrow all obstacles. For this reason you were in favor of boycotting the elections. Liebknecht, Luxemburg and Levi reckoned with the possibility of a slower development, and therefore advocated participation in the national election.

They wanted to make use of the tribune of the National Assembly in the interests of our agitation. When I came to Berlin, before the Party Congress, I was in perfect accord with them.

Only after I became acquainted with the prevalent temper in the organizations I realized that, in spite of their being in the right, they would not be able to obtain the upper hand. The party was only just being born, and its members having come together for the first time felt the need of drawing a sharp line of demarcation between themselves and the rest of the world. They carried the day. The leaders of the Spartacists had known that they would not win, and understood very well the revolutionary reason in favor of the boycott; yet they stood up one after the other publicly in favor of participation in the elections.

Why did they do so? Because they said to themselves: should the development not proceed at a very quick pace, should it not sweep aside the National Assembly, it would perhaps be found necessary to take part in the municipal elections, or in the elections of the Assemblies of the Federal States, or to the next Reichstag.

At this moment when I am penning the letter we do not, of course, know yet how rapidly the revolution, will develop. As I have often written in the Russian press, and as I pointed out to you in my lectures at the Party school, I am convinced that in western Europe, owing to the strength of the organization of the bourgeoisie and the absence of the revolutionary ally of the proletariat, such as the peasantry was in Russia, the development of the revolution will proceed slowly. In these circumstances it would be perfect nonsense to throw away the possibility of using even the slightest instrument for purposes of revolutionary Socialist organization and agitation.

HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

A member of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, appalled at the slanderous and distorted reports of the reason of the break up of the Hungarian Soviets on August 1st, 1919, has written the graphic account here reproduced. The disclosures made are meant as a warning against similar mistakes in other countries especially Germany, where the problem of Proletarian Dictatorship is at present in the balance.

When, in the last days of November, 1918, we formed the Hungarian Communist Party, under the leadership of Bela Kun, none of us thought, not even the greatest optimists, that after barely five months, on the memorable 21st March, 1919, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat would be established. Above all, no one thought of it because the opposition of the Social-Democrats and the bourgeoisie was very strong. Shortly before the

proclamation of the Soviet Government, Comrade Bela Kun was nearly beaten to death in prison by the "Tisza Hussars," as the police in Hungary were commonly called. A permanent witness to his greatness of soul was that, afterwards, when he was in power, he did not take revenge, but spoke the simple words, when an enquiry was made: "They did not know what they did—they did not know what I want to bring them!"

On March 21st, 1919, when Comrade Kun with all the other imprisoned Communists were released, the first result was that a united Party of the Social-Democrats on Communists, was formed under the name of the "Hungarian Socialist Party". And at this moment the germ of the Fall of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was laid!!!

This sentence may possibly fall as a warning on the ears of German and other comrades, although it may appear to some of them as very extraordinary. Only a few of us could foresee then the calamitous, meaning of this coalition. But with terrible clearness, events in time taught them how right we were in our objections to the coalition.

On the setting up of the Government no opposition was shown and no difficulties were made by the Social-Democrats and the former Social-Democrats. Comrades who entered the Government took pains, at first to work with us according to our ideas.

But Budapest was not Hungary! Many of those who were in the organization of the former Social-Democratic Party, and the active leaders secretaries and officials of the trade unions suddenly began to oppose us secretly, because to a certain extent they felt that they were deprived of the power they formerly possessed. The District Soviets, those were the Workers' and Peasants' Councils, chose a Directorate from amongst themselves, which oversaw the work of the District Magistrates, burgomasters, presidents of the tribunals, executive committees and even the various higher administrative offices. In the people's selection of the Executive, for lack of others, most of the people elected were just those leaders of executives of the old Party and of the Trade Unions, and everyone will admit that they did not carry out the work of administration of these Soviets in a communistic spirit. It now became necessary to establish the politikamegbizot, or Political Commissioner. A Commissioner was also added to every Executive of a province and to every Directorate of a district; a Political Commissioner was appointed by the Peoples Commissary of the Interior, who had the widest powers. The Political Commissioners had to see that all decrees of the Soviet Government were fully carried out. In many, very many, these Political Commissioners were regarded by the leaders of the District Soviets as inconvenient rivals and controllers. Instead of in these strenuous times uniting all the powers against the common enemy, these members of the former Parties and Trade Unions looked upon it as their duty to fight the Political Commissioner and often to calumniate him in the filthiest way. Travelling to Budapest and back for the merest trivialities was the order of the day. The quarrels of these People's comrades reached alarming dimensions.

With regard to the second error, I must make something clear which perhaps will not be to the liking of the German comrades. From my earliest youth, I have been a radical Socialist and have never been an antisemite. I state this before what follows in order not to bring to the mill of the opposition or to give them a handle for their stupid race-hatred. But when I, as an honourable politician, write down the causes of the crash, I must also, for the sake of truth, expose all the faults unsparingly. Because in Hungary, the most prominent Communist leaders were of Jewish extraction, an enormous number of quite politically indifferent Jews claimed the right to push themselves into all sorts of offices (albeit only in those where they thought there was something to be gained.) The District Soviets, often fully unconscious of the situation and with the spirit of the international, believed that they were doing what was pleasing to the Government in Budapest when they gave the preference to

people of Jewish extraction." This Jewish mercenary spirit (I purposely do not say "Jews" because a very great number of my friends are Jews, and from an ethical and humane standpoint they tower above a number of so-called good "Christians"), this inherent commercial spirit was the cause of the corruption which in certain districts and offices assumed an aspect which my pen refuses to describe. Through this prevailing corruption, in which not only the mercenary Jews took part, but more especially all those elements which the wave of Revolution had swept to the surface, and for whom the expression "Revolutionary Hyenas" is still nickname, made the confidence of the peasants illusory, so that they spoke amongst themselves only of the Jewish Government.

This, added to the dilettante and criminal financial policy, was our deathblow. Instead of from the first producing our own banknotes, with the name mentioned in full (as was done towards the end) the Commissaries of Finance took it upon themselves to reprint Austro-Hungarian bank notes for 25 and 200 kronen and 1 and 2 kronen. These new issues were very roughly made and were stigmatized at once in Vienna as spurious. The peasants ostentatiously refused to take this "White money" in exchange for coin, although it had a forced currency and the severest penalties were imposed for not accepting it. Imagine all the Red Guards, Officials of the Soviet Republic, teachers, railway workers, post office employees, in fact everyone was paid his salary or wages in the so-called "White money" and on the other hand could get nothing for it in the country.

Woe to the Government which has the peasantry against it; it exists only in appearance.

How the seum of the earth worked, we saw in the Whitson counter-revolution of the White scoundrels in the Eisenburg Provinces, where in conjunction with the clergy, they carried on persecution in regard to the imprisonment of the unarmed masses of the people, and drove the blinded peasants with their antediluvian weapons (threshing flails and pitch-forks) by the hundred into the devastating fire of our machine guns. I then called this pack "soulsellers" but no one believed me. When the riot of the teachers and the pupils of the Ludovika Academy in Pest broke out, they began to pay attention, but then it was too late.

Now about the break-up itself.

When, in the memorable sitting of the Council of 500, Comrade Bela Kun, in a voice choked with tears, explained the resignation of the Soviet Government, the Socialist Ministry of Peidel came into being. Haubrich, as Minister of War, saw to it that an unrest broke out—till the Rumanians and the military degenerate Arch-Hypocrite Joseph, the Perjuror, came with his White Bandits. By the decrees of the Peidel Ministry all local soviets and political commissaries were ordered to stay in office until further notice. Against their will, but in the interest of the mass of the people, the majority obeyed the order, and a few days later these conscientious comrades were arrested with the most horrible insults and ill-treatment by the officers camarilla and tortured to death. But these murdered comrades live still in the spirit, and the seed which was sown in the four and a half months continues to grow and will bear fruit a thousandfold when the time of the harvest comes. Then the proletariat will have its day of reckoning according to the principle: Vae Victis! An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

These ten facts were the cause of the break-up.

1. Taking over the Government unprepared.
2. Too few politically reliable comrades.
3. Union with the former Social Democrats.
4. Sabotage on the part of the former Social Democrats.
5. Plunder on the part of the People's Commissary for the Interior by nominating nonelected former Russian prisoners of war for office.
6. Corruption.
7. Antagonism of the peasants.
8. Dilettante financial policy.
9. Appointment of previous officers.

MODERN WORKINGCLASS

W. W. Craik

The essential characteristic of the modern working class consists in this: It comprises all those who depend for their livelihood upon the sale of their labor-power. Like every other commodity, labor-power is an exchange-value and has a price.* Wages is the form in which the price of labor-power appears. The labor of the modern working class manifests itself as wage labor, and this class is, therefore, correctly distinguished as a class of wage-laborers.

The working class of modern times is thus marked off from those who, contemporary with it, obtain their livelihood, not from the sale of their labor power, but from the sale of the products created by the function of the labor-power of others—by labor. In the prices realised through the sale of commodities is contained a sum of money in excess of that expended upon the production of those commodities, and this excess represents that part of the value created by labor for which the laborer receives no equivalent—surplus value. This surplus value is distributed in the forms of profit, interest, and ground rent. Participation in this distribution presupposes the private ownership of commodities, which is both consequence and cause of the private ownership of the means of production, both natural and artificial. Where the land, instruments, and raw materials are privately owned and utilised not simply for the production of material utilities but specifically for the production of surplus value, such land, instruments, etc., are capital, and those who own such means, or derive profit, interest, and rent from such ownership, are capitalists.

Capital is not the goose that lays the golden eggs. Capital is the command over the goose. Divorced from the accumulated labor necessary to set its living labor-power in motion, the whole existence of the working class depends upon the demand made by capital for labor-power, and upon all the variations of this demand, the ups and downs of competition. In that sense alone is it true that the working class depends upon capital. It is also true that, day after day, the working class reproduces this relation of dependence on an ever-increasing scale.

Has There Always Been Such a Working Class?

There has not always existed such a working class! To be sure, ever since civilisation began, there have always been workers as distinguished from other classes; and they have, generally, been poor. Nevertheless, there has no more always existed the modern working class than there has always existed the capitalist class.

In What Circumstances Did the Modern Working Class Begin to Appear?

In England, towards the close of the 16th century, a new system of economy began to make its way. It did not at once seize hold upon the whole length and breadth of the country, but began in spots. The older and less advanced methods of production still continued to occupy the field. Gradually, however, the new mode of production asserted its superiority. Its scale of production was larger and more economical than was possible on the petty and more or less mediaeval lines of industry and agriculture.

The climax of this development took place in the second half of the 18th century. Then began in thorough-going fashion the Industrial Revolution, so-called. Machinery and steam took the place of hand tools and natural motive-forces.

Who became the owners of those new and mighty forces?

* Price is the money expression of value. Not the small rural producers carrying on production with

10. The military ascendancy of imperialistic mercenaries. Comrades! Soviet Hungary is dead! Long live Soviet Hungary! Remain firm on the basis of the third International!

Replace the century-old Dictatorship of Capital with the Dictatorship of the Proletariat! Long live the World Revolution!

hand-loom spinning-wheels, etc., and who had survived through the 17th century and the early part of the 18th century, but those, during the same period, had been accumulating wealth through commerce and gaining ground in the field of production. They it was who had the means with which to purchase the new and expensive mechanical forces.

As one branch of production after another was invaded by the new revolutionising machinery and steam, the old-fashioned methods of production were more or less speedily overthrown, those dependent upon them ruined and faced with no other alternative to starvation but that of selling their labor-power to the industrial capitalists. The expropriation of those independent producers, together with the eviction of the peasantry through the process of enclosures—a process that had been developing for a couple of centuries before—furnished the materials for the labor market an army of propertyless wage-laborers. In this way originated the modern working class.

How is the Modern Worker Distinguished From the Chattel Slave?

In the civilised countries of the ancient world, of which Rome was the greatest in extent and power, the workers, as a general rule, were chattel slaves. The slave of antiquity, like the slaves in the backward countries of more recent times, e. g., in the Southern States of the American Union, did not sell himself by the day or hour. He was himself sold, generally, for the period of his life. On the other hand, the modern worker sells himself piecemeal.

The slave had a guarantee of existence, however miserable. The master, in his own interests had to maintain his property, seeing that he had bought him lock, stock, and barrel.

The modern worker had no assurance of existence. He became the property not of an individual but of the whole capitalist class: no buyer of his labor-power, then, no wages! There must always be workers in order that capitalism may continue, but that does not exclude the starvation of individual workers.

The slaves did not compete with one another. The modern worker, however, is affected by all the alterations of competition. The slave was not regarded as a member of society but as an animal of production a piece of living property. The worker in modern society is acknowledged as a member of society, and, to this extent, stands on a historically higher plane than did the slave.

Finally, in order that the slave might be free, it required only the abolition of a single private-property relation—private property in slaves. The emancipated slaves of the Southern States of the American Union became wage-workers. On the other hand, the freedom of the modern working class involves the abolition of all private property relations.

How is the Modern Worker Distinguished From the Serf?

In the Middle Ages, when agriculture was the general occupation and land the principal means of production, the workers were in a condition of feudal dependence. Unlike the slave, the serf could not be sold. Neither could he sell himself. He was tied to the feudal estate or manor on which he was born. He had a guarantee of existence: he had the use of a piece of land, which he could during part of his working time cultivate for the maintenance of himself and his family. The other part of his working time he spent in working for his lord.

The modern worker is divorced from the soil and all other means of production. He is a "free" laborer. He is "free" to sell: but he must sell, because he is "free" from having anything else to sell other than his own living force.

Unlike the modern worker, the feudal cultivator stood outside of competition.

Freedom from feudal bondage required only that the serf escape from the single private-property relation that bound him to a feudal lord. He might run away to the town and be-

come a handicraftsman; he might convert himself into a small farmer by making a money payment to his lord; or he might by force rid himself of the feudal lord and install himself as proprietor. By any of these routes he might leave serfdom behind and become either a journeyman, a trader, or a landowner. As already stated, the modern working class can only achieve emancipation by removing all private-property relations.

How is the Modern Worker Distinguished From the Guild Handicraftsman?

In the course of the Middle Ages the town industries developed, of which the textile was the most prominent. These industries were protected from outside competition and regulated by institutions known as Craft Guilds. To participate in these industries an individual had to be a member of a guild. Membership of a guild involved a period of apprenticeship for the craftsman. His apprenticeship finished, he became a journeyman, receiving wages from his master. In the best days of the guild-encircled handicrafts, however the journeyman was only temporarily a wage laborer. Sooner or later he became a master. On the other hand, the modern working class is condemned, within capitalism, to permanent wage-labor.

The relation between the mediaeval journeyman and his master was a close personal relation. They worked together, and lived together in the same house. They belonged to the same social class. The relation between the modern worker and the capitalist is an impersonal one—a money relation. They belong to two different social classes, live, as it were, in two different worlds with different modes of life and outlook.

The tools of the party handicrafts were small handtools, and were comparatively easy to acquire. They were, generally, the property of the workman who used them. To-day the means of production are gigantic machines which do not belong to the workmen who attend them. In the degree that the technique and scale of production develop the chances of individual workmen escaping from wage-labor and becoming capitalists are more and more remote. It is easier, to own a hand-hammer than a steam-hammer, the handicraftsman, as a rule, made the finished article throughout. He was a composite laborer. The composite laborer has ceased to be a single individual, and has become a mass of laborers, subdivided and detailed to various partial operations in the production of a commodity. The single laborer is now a detail laborer.

In the guild both master and journeyman were in one and the same combination for mutual protection against competition. The modern worker may be crushed by competition without involving any hardship or loss to his employer; indeed, his employer may profit thereby. The modern worker can only protect himself by means of combination with his fellow workers.

Both the mediaeval journeyman and his master were narrow and conservative in their outlook. Even when they rebelled they were reactionary. On the other hand, the outlook of the modern worker tends to become broadened with the growth and expansion of modern industry. He learns more and more that his future is neither in the past nor in the present, that his salvation lies not behind him but before him.

How is the Modern Worker Distinguished From the Rural Producers of the 17th and 18th Centuries?

Apart from the wage-laboring handicraftsmen in the capitalist manufacturing, there was in the rural districts a class of independent producers who combined spinning, weaving, etc., with the cultivation of small holdings of land. Originally, the producers bought their own raw materials and sold the finished cloths. With the growth of commerce in the 17th century there stepped in between these rural producers and the market a class of merchants who brought the raw materials to these domestic factories and took away the finished cloths to the market. In this way the rural producers, although they still carried on their

MADAME VILMA SUNDBORG



The Swedish Dramatic company of Minneapolis will visit Duluth and give two performances, matinee and evening, of the popular Scandinavian home folks play, "Anderson, Peterson and Lundstrom," on Sunday, Jan. 11, at the Lyceum theater. It is a Scandinavian musical comedy, said to be one of the greatest Swedish folk plays in vogue.

Madame Vilma Sundborg of New York has been engaged for the leading role. Madame Sundborg appeared with the company here early

work independently, gradually became more and more subordinated to the will and purpose of the merchants.

These, then, must also be distinguished from the modern working class, with owns neither land nor instruments of production. We have already pointed out that it was out of the ruins of rural production, out of the expropriation of the more or less independent producers, that the modern working class originated.

SOVIET ARMIES AND ALLIES

"Cordon Sanitaire" Has Proved Two-Edged Sword — Details of New Attitude Soon.

U. S. TO FOLLOW SUIT.

Denikin's Doom Sealed—Facts of Russia's Victories Deliberately Suppressed.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.
Washington. — A complete change of Entente policy toward Russia has already been decided upon, and formal announcement of its details is expected to be made from London within a few hours. As in the past, the attitude of the American State Department will be governed entirely by decisions reached in London.

From the most reliable sources I hear that the new diplomatic "orientation" respecting Russia is based upon two supreme factors: (1) The irresistible advance of the Red army against all its enemies; (2) The irresistible need of Western Europe to draw upon every available source of gold and raw materials to save itself from ruin.

The "cordon sanitaire" which France induced the great powers to draw around Soviet Russia has proved a two-edged weapon. It helped to isolate the social heresies of Lenin and imposed a terrible burden upon his infant regime. But it quite as effectively isolated the overtaxed and economically exhausted Entente countries from a near, natural and inexhaustible reservoir of material wealth.

Entente's Case Is Desperate.
America was counted on to tide over the economic crisis of Western Europe long enough to wear down the resistance of Soviet Russia and make that country's resources available on the Entente's own terms of unconditional surrender. The refusal of American business men to export on a long and bad credit basis, the present sensational collapse of British, French and Italian exchange and the emergency conference of diplomats in London all signalize the death of that calculation.

In the tug economic war de-

clared against Soviet Russia by the Entente and America a year ago Lenin has certainly won a tie, which may be transformed into a complete triumph unless M. Clemenceau consents to "peace without victory" at an early date. The United States Treasury and Congress have remained cold to appeals that they shore up the wrecked economic structure of Europe, but Lenin stands ready to match concession with concession in the spheres of peace and trade. And the case is more desperate with the Entente than for the crises-hardened Slavs.

So Le Matin announces in Paris that a joint statement by the Entente respecting Russia will be made in a few days. And Premier Nitti of Italy informs the Socialists in Parliament: "I am certain that we shall soon resume trade relations with Russia, but I am not certain that they will soon be advantageous." It is the speed with which relief can be and that interests the Italian general public.

Denikin's Doom Sealed.
Among the positive influences working for a new Russian ally the Red Army plays a part which the Entente governments fully comprehend, but of which the American public is permitted to know very little. As pointed out by military experts here, his loss of Kharkov to the Red Army spells the definite and absolute ruin of Denikin, the late pretender to anti-Soviet strength in Russia, yet our government and press are keeping up the illusion that Kolchak's overthrow has been in some way retrieved by a transfer of "the supreme power" to Denikin.

France could better have afforded the loss of Paris to the Kaiser during the war than Denikin can endure the loss of Kharkov. Military men who know South Russia have known since the fall of Kharkov was reported last Friday that the Red army hand its last enemy absolutely on the hip.

The American public would have known it, also, if the State Department were not deliberately suppressing the phenomenally accurate wireless reports from Moscow which are regularly received at Sayville and elsewhere in America, and withheld from the press. There reports, coming either direct or in relays from Western Europe, have been received and filed away by the government ever since the second revolution in Russia. The British government, on the other hand, issues them in whole or in part to the English press.

On November 26, for example, the Moscow wireless sent out a summary of the military situation which prepared statesmen everywhere for the thing which has since happened in the Denikin area. That dispatch read: "We are standing before the

FRENCH USE GERMANS

Clemenceau Trying to Kill British Peace Move.

THE SINISTER THREE.

M. PHILLIPS PRICE.
Berlin, Nov. 30. — Although Clemenceau's refusal to return the German prisoners and the indignant reply of the German Government seem to point to irreconcilable hostility between the ruling classes of France and Germany, events behind the scenes point in quite another direction.

It has come to my knowledge that three persons have recently met at a place in East Prussia. The first is Freiherr von Maltzahn, head of the Russian department of the German Foreign Office, a Junker who is connected with the German metal industry. The second is Gueckhof, Russian Monarchist, a prominent Octobrist, and president of the second Imperial Duma under the Tsar. The third is General Niesse, the French Commissioner in the Baltic.

Freiherr von Maltzahn is one of the group working together in the German Foreign Office with Herr Haniel (connected also by marriage with the Gruzans Metal Syndicate of Mannheim), and Herr Nadeby, formerly in charge of the Russian Department of the Foreign Office, under the Kaiser.

Considering the origin and surrounding of these men, it may safely be assumed that they are working to find a suitable ally in the East to restore the conditions prevailing before 1914. In the Countess's Salon

Gueckhof meanwhile has been working for some weeks past in the salon of Countess Kleinmichel, who all through the war gathered round her in Berlin those pro-Russian Germans and pro-German Russians, who were ready to make a separate peace between their two countries at the expense of England and France. The presence of Gueckhof in these circles means, therefore, a gathering of the clans in Berlin in support of Denikin and Kolchak.

Before, however, anything like the active intervention of Germany can take place in support of the Russian counter-revolution, it is necessary to prepare the German small middle classes, who since the revolution, have been wavering between Pan-Germans and Majority Socialists.

The "Berliner Tageblatt" has been mobilized, and on Tuesday there appeared in this organ of erlin respectability an interview with Gueckhof from the pen of Hans Vorst, who comes from a Baltic baron's family, but poses as the representative of so-called "Democratic" Russia in this country.

Allies and Germans Co-operate
Gueckhof, in this interview with Vorst, emphasizes the necessity for supporting Denikin and Kolchak, and pleads for three mutual co-operation both of Germany and of the Allies in this task. Nor does it appear that this pleading has been without success, for it was announced last night in the evening papers here that French officers in the Baltic have arranged a suspension of hostilities and demarcation in Courland.

No, the Lettish Socialists, under the leadership of Doctor

gates of Trasitzin, on the one hand, and the gate of Kief on the other. In the center there is now no barrier before us. We must wait for a few days till our front is advanced to the straight line of Kief-Kharkov-Tsaritzin. At that moment Denikin's army will be in the same plight as the armies of Yudenitch and Kolchak. The occupation of this entire line is only a matter of a few days.

"We are now advancing into the Ukraine, but not, as during last year, with partisan bands, but with a tried, trained and organized Red army. will be for all time. The Red army has now started an advance on the southern front, and we can have no other task except the complete destruction of Denikin. We must finally defeat him, destroy him and throw him into the Black Sea."

Our State Department kept that accurate prophecy to itself. But the fruit of its fulfillment will shortly be given to the whole world in the form of another decision at London, to which the American government will accede with its customary alacrity.

Mender, have been mobilizing Lettish workmen and peasants, and at last have got the hirings of the Prussian militarists on the run. The Letts have to my knowledge obtained a guarantee from the Bolsheviks that the Red Army will not commit any act of hostility in the East, so as to enable the Letts to turn west and concentrate all their forces on riding their country of Germans. Now comes General Niesse, with his French officers and arranges a suspension of hostilities.

Germans Under French Command.

All this further confirms my former report that the French Government is trying to suppress the border democracies of the former Russian Empire; to create a big anti-Bolshevik front with the aid of German troops; and, after removing Prussian generals, to put their troops under French officers.

In other words, Clemenceau is sabotaging the British move for peace with Russia, and is using German capitalists and German soldiers to accomplish his task. The International Cannon Fodder Company, therefore, is not liquidated.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

Deport Foes of Democracy. Not Friends, Asks Percy S. Grant

Send Murderers and Editors Who Suppress Vital News Out of Country, Minister Suggests.

HISTORY REPETITION.

"We Have Sent 300 Ambassadors of Hate to Another Part of World," Pastor Says.

New York.—Deport the 10,000 murderers every year in this country! Deport the editors who deliberately suppress news of vital importance to the people! Deport those who despise democracy and try to keep the people down! But do not deport our workmen!"

Hardly 12 hours after the ship carrying the 249 deportees had steamed down New York Bay this note of protest was sounded from the pulpit by the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant in the Church of the Ascension, 10th street and Fifth avenue.

Choosing for his subject, "Whom Shall We Deport?" the minister remarked in his opening that, properly, it was a topic for Wendell Phillips.

"The ark was meant to sail next year," said the Rev. Grant, "for next year we will celebrate the 300th anniversary of the landing of the Mayflower at Plymouth Rock, and I am sure that the event early this morning will take on an equal importance if not an honor to the little band of deportees.

History Repeating Itself.

"Those who sailed on the Mayflower," continued Grant, "were composed largely of prisoners from London Jail, referred to in history as 'partakers in an uncompleted reform.' Those who were deported this morning might be said to be partakers in an uncompleted democracy."

Grant said that the deportation of people for fear of their ideas was one of the distinct phases in colonial history, adding that today the history of the 17th century, except for some slight economic changes, is repeating itself.

"Do you remember," he said, "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave but his soul goes marching on?"

"Do you suppose that if a grave cannot hold the soul of a man that sending him on a short voyage can? Could one have devised a more fruitful method of advertising? Could one have thought of a better way for making friends for the departed?"

Ambassadors of Hate.

"We have sent 300 ambassadors of hate to another part of the world. Elihu Root, when he returned from Russia, said he was surprised to find an extreme anti-American sentiment in Russia. Do you suppose that deporting 300 men to Russia we will improve the condition?"

Answering the question set

PETROGRAD CLERGY IS LOYAL

Declares Intention of Unrocking Member Who Aids 'White' Against 'Reds.'

By Isaac Don Levine.
(By permission of Chicago Daily News.)

Copenhagen, Denmark, Dec. 5.—The Soviet government is not interfering with the activities of the Russian church although carrying on propaganda against religion generally. One of the most surprising things to visitors in Soviet Russia is the overruling of all the churches. This religious revival is due to the intense suffering of the people, who see Russia's salvation only in God's mercy.

Before I left Moscow I saw posters prominently displayed all over the city announcing a talk by an evangelist on the topic "Can One Live Without Christianity." From the crowds gathering in front of the posters it was obvious how deeply interested the people were in a religious question.

Reports Cause Alarm.

Recently the heads of the Petrograd clergy, Metropolitan Benjamin and Fathers Vedenski and Sirenski, called upon M. Zinoviev, president to him the following letter in the name of the church:

"The Petrograd church at present is alarmed by seemingly false but persistence reports of the expected wholesale arrests and deportation of the Petrograd clergy on account of their counter-revolutionism or had hostages.

"Knowing the soviet government's policy toward the church, we do not believe these reports. The clergy cannot by its very nature be 'white' or 'red'. The clergy serves Christ and stands outside politics. If certain individual clergymen sought to engage in politics without the approval of the church and the civil authorities, they are, naturally, liable to bear the responsibility for their action. The Petrograd clergy firmly upholds the decree separating church and state. We engage in religious activity exclusively, and religion on Soviet Russia is not persecuted.

Loyalty Is Church's Policy.

"In Petrograd, where we work it is understood that the enforcement of the decree separating church and state need not offend or oppress believers for believing. We explain the reports of excesses in this regard by the fact that not everywhere do the soviet officials enforce their instructions correctly.

"The firm church policy of the soviet government has created among the clergy and its followers in the Petrograd church a sense of genuine loyalty toward this government."

The delegation then officially informed M. Zinoviev that the church authorities had decided to unfrock any clergyman found supporting the cause of the "white" forces fighting soviet Russia.

In reply M. Zinoviev assured the delegation that no arrests among the clergy had ever been contemplated, and expressed the hope that the clergy would adhere strictly to the decree separating church and state.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

COMMUNIST OF OHIO HELD UNDER LEVER ACT.
Cleveland, Dec. 22. — Charles Baker, state organizer for the Communist Labor party, was arrested at Akron today by special agents of the Department of Justice on a charge of having violated the Lever act.

OREGON COURT SENDS 6 I.W.W. MEMBERS TO PRISON FOR 10 YEARS.

Tillamook, Ore., Dec. 22.—Six members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who were found guilty here of violation of the criminal syndicalism act, have been sentenced to serve ten years in the state penitentiary and a fine of \$1,000 each.

forth in the subject of his sermon, Grant said:

"There are more than 10,000 murderers in the United States yearly. Shall we keep murderers and deport the workmen? If there is any undesirable citizen, it is the murderer."

RUSSIAN OBJECTORS

How They Are Treated by Soviet Government

The universal compulsory service which the Soviet Government has felt obliged to introduce to cope with the internal and external danger to the Republic has raised in the minds of many sympathetic persons the fear lest Socialist Russia becomes "militarized."

How far this fear is justified is best seen from the treatment accorded by the Soviet military authorities to conscientious objectors.

In Russia, with her various religious sects (like the famous "Dukhobors" so cruelly treated under the Tsardom, the Tolstoyans, and others), conscientious objectors are perhaps as numerous as in this country.

Government's Prompt Action

The question of their position was raised early in the present year by M. Vladimir Tchertkoff, the present leader of the Tolstoyans, and one of the executors of the late Count Tolstoy's will, who is well known in this country, where he lived in exile for many years.

A formal petition on the subject was filed with the Council of People's Commissaries (the Government). After perusing it, Lenin (as now reported by M. Paul Birnoff in "Le Phare") at once declared that, inasmuch as the Government was in principle itself anti-militarist, it could not possibly prosecute those who objected to military service. On January 4 the Council issued the following decree:—

Decree relating to exemption from military service by reason of religious scruples.

1. Persons who are prevented by their religious convictions from taking part in military service shall, on the finding of a national tribunal, perform instead some other service for their comrades, viz., medico-sanitary service—principally in hospitals for infectious diseases—or any other service of public utility at the option of the said persons.

2. In giving its judgement for substituting civil work the military service, the national tribunal shall obtain the expert evidence of the "United Council of Moscow Religious Groups and Communities" concerning each person separately. The expert evidence must show whether such and such religious conviction excludes the participation in military service, as well as bear witness to the sincerity and honesty of the person to be exempted.

Total Exemption Provided For

3. In exceptional cases the above-mentioned United Council may enter a claim at the All-Russian Central Executive Committee for the total exemption of a person, without the substitution of any other service whatsoever, if able to prove by written documents on the question, and by the life hitherto led by the said person, that such a substitution would be incompatible with his religious convictions.

Supplementary.—Exemption may be claimed either by the person concerned or by the said United Council, which also may claim that case be dealt with by the National Tribunal at Moscow.

(Signed) Lenin, President of the Council of People's Commissaries.

Kursky, People's Commissary for Justice.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

MANY STRIKE IN JAMAICA

Walkout of Street Railway Men Curtails Kingston Food Supply.

By R. W. THOMPSON.
(Special Cable to the Daily News.)

Kingston, Jamaica, Dec. 27.—Pilots in Kingston struck on Christmas Eve and remained out until they were assured that the regulation fixing pilotage scales and fees, which have not been altered in many years, would be changed in their favor. The dock laborers have now gone out on strike for double pay.

The nurses in the public hospital refuse to accept the wages now paid, but continue at work. They have asked that their case be considered.

The most serious feature of the strike of the street railway men is that food from the northern part of the island cannot come into Kingston in the usual quantities. It is expected that the government will do something to settle the dispute.

The bakers are also going out on a strike. There has been no disorder.

TO THE WORKINGCLASS

"Let us not fear that we may go too fast. If, at certain hours, we seem to be running at a headlong and dangerous pace, this is to counter-balance the unjustifiable delays and to make up for time lost during the centuries of inactivity."

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn. EDITORIALS

Resolutions unanimously passed at the last meeting of the **WORLD WAR VETERANS.**

Whereas Governor Burnquist has caused the troops to be sent to International Falls,

Whereas from evidence received from county officials of Int. Falls. It has been proven, these troops were not required in this district.

Therefore be it resolved:—that we go on record condemning the action of Governor Burnquist and demanding the recall of the troops from International Falls.

Further be it resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to Governor Burnquist, the Press and the headquarters of this organization.

Signer,
L. Anderson, Secretary.

CENTRALIA AFFAIR.

The local Legion Post objects to our statement of the Centralia affair. We recommend to them to read the Associated Press accounts of the affair. We also desire to draw to their attention the fact, that the representative of the Associated Press was driven out of town, AFTER his report of the affair had been published.

We also desire to point out to the Legion that at the Coroner's inquest, DOCTOR BICKFORD, one of the attackers on the I. W. W. hall frankly stated that HE led the attack.

We also desire to point out to the Legion, that the GOVERNMENT AFTER REVIEWING THE WHOLE AFFAIR DECIDED NOT TO PROSECUTE THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

If the I. W. W. are guilty of all that the Mayor of Centralia accuses them of, then why is it that the Governor of Washington states that it is NOT A CRIME TO BELONG TO THE I. W. W.? Surely if the I. W. W. had planned this affair and it was part of their propaganda, NO Governor would be so foolish as to say it was NOT a crime to belong to such an organization!

WE REPEAT FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE LEGION—THAT WE STAND BY THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD IN THE CENTRALIA AFFAIR AND BELIEVE THAT THEY WERE NOT THE PERSONS RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT AMENABLE AFFAIR.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

ACTION!

The "Proletarian", the organ of the Michigan State organization, recently of the Communist Party, but since expelled, has taken Mary Marcy to task for an article that received wide publicity on account of its appearance at the opportune time.

The Michigan comrades are obsessed with the idea that it is IDEAS that count for more than ACTION. They may deny this, but the truth cannot be denied and we can only judge organizations by their ACTIONS and not by what they SAY. The labor and socialist movement suffered for time, by the presence in its midst of the so-called intellectuals who capitalised the sufferings of the workingclass, a la Spargo and Russell, and formulated sickly theories that led us up a back street and down again. Now the movement is in danger of a another group of "intellectuals", who feel they have a mission to save the workingclass by leading them on to the tune of certain principles. We could bear with them, if they sought to use their knowledge of the principles of scientific socialism in conjunction with the new social conditions. They forget the words of the very man, Frederick Engels, whose works they are supposed to so deeply study:—

"We no longer explain man's being by his KNOWING, but, instead his KNOWING by his BEING."

The history of labor and socialist movement, if it has proved anything, has proven that IDEAS never did promote ACTION. ACTION always promote the IDEAS. An illustration of this was furnished us during the Dublin strike of 1913. The Socialist Party of Ireland had endeavored, under the able guidance of the late James Connolly, to educate the workers. They held study classes and conducted open-air meetings in all the larger cities of Ireland. The results of their work were nil in comparison with the energy displayed. But when "Jim" Larkin went down on the job and organized the workingclass of Dublin, a change was immediately noticed. Numerous strikes brought home to the Irish

workers the truth of what the Socialist Party of Ireland had been continually advocating for close upon twenty years. You may engage in a theoretical discussion and a subtle Jesuit priest may disprove the idea of a class-struggle, but all the talk and sophistry of the combined forces of the Church cannot disprove the idea of class-warfare. The realities of life may be glossed over, but you cannot wave them away with a movement of the hand. They stand staring you in the face and you are compelled to recognise the logic of life. You cannot dislodge from the minds of the coal-dockworkers, the molders or the railroad shopmen of this community the ideas that they gained during their struggles with their employers. Faced by their masters, they were compelled to fight in order to live. The fights were hard fights and no amount of persuasive talk would convince either side they were in the wrong. It was a question of superior economic power on either side. The divisions of society plainly shewed themselves to men who had never read a line of Marx or Engels, yet they learn to know from bitter experience that the interests of the employer and employee are NOT the same.

We have been constantly criticised because we did not carry out the ideas of our predecessor, but we have lived to see our policy justified. The workingclass do NOT need to know about the Materialist Conception of History, in order that they might ACT. The workingclass likewise the capitalist class, live the ideas of the materialist conception of history. They are both dominated and controlled by the economic forces that govern human society. Both are slaves of the machine. The machine molds and remolds them as it will. The worker who refuses to be governed by the machine must go without a job and the employer who refuses to do bidding of the machine, goes bankrupt. We do not obey the laws of super-intellectuals, we act in accordance with our desires, to satisfy our human needs, pleasure and avoid pain.

The capitalist class itself cannot give expression to its highest intelligence. It is plain to be seen that the Soviet system is more efficient than the system of political government. Yet the capitalist class fight it, because of their class interests. On the other hand, the workingclass being bound to industry, because without a job it cannot live, strives for the highest intelligence manifesting itself, because it realises that with the highest expression of mankind there is greater chance for the workingclass being made free. Consequently in the struggles of the worker to be FREE, he finds out new methods and creates new tactics, by which to attain the satisfaction of his needs.

"When people speak of ideas that revolutionize society, they do but express the fact that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence." Communist Manifesto.

In other words, the MIND gains its ideas from the social surroundings and their changes, in the same manner as the thermometer records the temperature of the atmosphere by the effect of the atmosphere upon the mercury.

Hence it follows that ACTION promotes the idea and although it is a fine thing for the workingclass to know all about the theories of Marx and Engels, yet at the same time we are forced to understand that it is ACTION that brings on the learning and not the learning that brings on ACTION. If the "Proletarian" and its staff would only realize the truth of the foregoing statement they would save themselves time and also would assist the movement, rather than retard it, by indulging in carping criticism which brings us to no place.

New conditions have arisen due to the development of industry and hastened somewhat by the world-war. The creation of these new condition compels us to adopt new methods. The new methods are DICTATED to us by our EXPERIENCES and NEEDS. So it is no use quoting Marx and Engels and in fairness to these two brilliant minds we must say that they did not have the benefit of the knowledge that we now possess. It was impossible for these two men to outline a policy for us, because they were not aware of the nature of machine-industry. Consequently those comrades that rely upon Marx and Engels, are doing them a grave injustice by attempting to justify their intellectual blindness by the writings of men who did not have the opportunity of witnessing what we are witnessing today.

The bone of contention between the "Proletarian" and Mary Marcy, and we agree wholeheartedly with Mary Marcy, is the "vexed" tactic, known as MASS-ACTION. The "Proletarian" staff unable to attune itself to the new conditions and consequent new tactics, can only find argument in idle criticism and foolish banter. Of course we admit that the "Lenin(?)" of America has given a little room for criticism, but to measure all believers in mass-action by the same yard-stick is beyond all reason.

The older capitalism produced the craft unions. At the time the craft unions were first formed, no supporter of industrial unionism could furnish positive proof of the need for an industrial form of organization. But the newer capitalism has arisen and with it a change in industry. Instead of the old forms of industry we have what has become to be known as machine-facture. In the days of older capitalism it was man who dominated the tools, but today it is the tools that dominate the man. When man dominated the tools, the tools were dependent upon the skill of the man. But today the tools have to be obeyed and the man who wants to do things his own way and not as the tools dictates, will soon find himself out of a job. With this change in industry and also the trustification of industry, the workingclass have taken on a new psychology. The psychological changes that have been brought about compel the workingclass to adopt newer ideas in regards to tactics. The newer idea of tactics has come to be known as MASS-ACTION, because it signifies the action of the mass of workers.

Standing facing the workingclass are the huge trusts. To give you some idea of the magnitude of these trusts, take the case of Pierpoint Morgan. Morgan is the dominating capitalist in ALL the dominant business interests of the United State. If we were able to draw you a map we would shew you Morgan in his New York office, with wires attached to the main business of the country and Morgan in control of all the wires. First Morgan is in control of the First National Bank. The First National Bank has controlling interest in the U. S. Steel Corporation and its subsidiary firms. They are also linked up with the United Fruit Company, Armour's Morris and Co, Cudahy, American Agricultural and Chemical Co., the United Rubber Co. and the American Coal Products. Morgan is also connected with Lee Higgins, George Peabody and Co. and the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank. They in turn are connected with the principal railways of the country. The First National Bank also controls the International Mercantile Marine and so we could go on filling pages of "Truth" with a list of the various firms that are dominated by Morgan, who represents the leading capitalists of the country. In the combination above quoted it is easy to see that the craft unions cannot hope to successfully cope with it. Against the ONE BIG UNION of American capitalism you have got to resort some other kind of action than the action of trade unions.

Furthermore we are finding, the Cummins law, for instance, the railroad workers deprived of the right to strike. It is easy to be seen that a resort to the ballot will be ineffective, when we realize the tedious nature of obtaining redress through the ballot. Before we can combat the Cummins law we will have to engage in political campaigns and elect men who will caused to be enacted a law that will deprive the Cummins Law of the power to carry out its aims. You can readily see that will take considerable time and there is always the danger of the U. S. Supreme Court vetoing EVERY law that is for the benefit of the workingclass. In the meantime we have got to do something. We must resort to the use of our economic power as a means to obtain political results. The ballot is alright in its way, it allows us to conduct our fights in the open, without recourse to the strike, but when we are denied the use of the ballot, as we are bound by the Constitution in the matter of holding elections, we must for the sake of self-preservation resort to the only power we possess, that is the power to withdraw our labor-power. In the exercise of that power, we must utilise it to the best possible advantage. A strike of crafts will not help us. It must be a strike of the MASS of railroad workers. Immediately we resort to such action, our action becomes political or mass-action.

Mass action has been confused with street demonstrations. Street demonstrations are for the purpose of advertising our propaganda. The cannot bring any real results to us. Mass-action has no connection with deeds of terrorism or violence. Anyone who argues that mass-action means violence is either a scheming moderate Socialist or they are unaware of what they are discussing.

The workingclass today is looking further ahead than a mere increase in wages or shorter hours. Although we disagree with the Plumb Bill, yet behind it is the desire on the part of the railroad workers to obtain control in industry. All over the world the workingclass are striving for control of industry. Disappointed and betrayed by politicians, they realize the truth of what Marx and Engels said many years, "The emancipation of the workingclass can only be achieved by the workingclass themselves." You can use the ballot to propagate our ideas and whenever possible to safeguard our organization, but to obtain the control industry, action must proceed from the shop. By a resort to mass action we bridge the chasm that divides the unskilled and the skilled and we bring the workingclass to fighting as a mass. With the solidarity of labor we can obtain all the political desires of the workingclass.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

"THERE IS NO CLASS-WAR IN AMERICA!"

The papers are continually reminding us of the fact that there is no class-war in America, for the simple reason there are no classes.

Christmas has come and gone. The papers tell us many stories of the usual Christmas rejoicings, but name more pitiful and heart-rending than the story of the little children of New York. Announcement was made in the press that toys would be given away to poor children, at the Seventy-first Armory, New York City. Thousands of little children crowded into the hall. When the presents appeared in sight, a mad rush took place and hundreds of little children were injured in the mad scramble for toys. New York City with its MILLIONAIRES could only find toys for seven thousand children and fourteen thousand wanted them. How many more stayed at home, we do not know. Six reserves of police were required, the Duluth Herald informs us, to DRIVE THE CHILDREN INTO THE STREETS.

The Duluth Herald also informs us that more people are buying jewelry today than ever did before. A pearl necklace was bought for \$275,000, whilst other gifts sold from \$50,000 to \$100,000. Of the pearl necklace, the center pearl cost \$40,000.

Pearl necklaces \$275,000 thousands of children injured, because we had not sufficient toys to go around. THERE IS NO CLASS-WAR IN AMERICA. You Phraisees and Sadduces! You sit in your handsome furnished homes and donate a few dollars to a Christmas fund and think you are a Jesus Christ. How can we expect you to be moved by the story of those New York children, when the dresses and the clothes of your wives and children are red with the blood that has been sucked from the bodies of the child-slaves of America and your silks white with their sorrowful tears? Some day we are going to reverse the present order of things. We are going to let these poor kids know what LIFE REALLY MEANS and we are going to let you know what a DAY'S WORK MEANS. By the organization of your class you hold us in your hands! What if we organize as a class and use our economic power, as ruthlessly as you use yours? What if we do?

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

This Is Going On In Russia

But nobody knows why!

"There rises a noise of screams and yells, an uproar so unnaturally wild and unrestrained that we cringe up closer to one another... and trembling, we see that our faces, our uniforms, have red, wet stains, and distinctly recognize shreds of flesh on the cloth. And among our feet something is lying that was not lying there before—it gleams white from the dark sand and uncurls... a strange dismembered hand... and there... and there... fragments of flesh with the uniform still adhering to them—then we realize it, and horror overwhelms us.

"Outside there are lying arms, legs, heads, trunks... they are howling into the night; the whole regiment is lying mangled on the ground there, a lump of humanity crying to Heaven...

"Is that a human being coming up, running, here?... he is coming with a rush... he will leap upon our backs... halt! halt! halt! He stumbles upright into the trenches, and tumbles, sobbing and howling, among our rifles. He strikes out at us with hands and feet... he is crying and struggling like a child, and yet no man dares go up to him... for now he is rising on his knee... and then we see! Half of his face has been torn away... one eye gone... the twitching muscle of the cheek is hanging down... he is kneeling, and opening and closing his hands, and is howling to us for mercy.

"We gaze at him horror stricken and paralyzed... then at length the yokel—and our eyes thank him for it—raises the butt of his rifle and places the muzzle against the sound temple... bang!... and the maimed wreckage falls over backward and lies still in his blood."

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