

"ALL civilised Society has been ruled by classes and the classes have ruled by sheer strength. The proletariat--because it's the strongest of all--CAN and WILL drag down the bourgeoisie." —Jack London

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.

As surely as the earth rolls round
As surely as the glorious sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

WHOLE No. 144

14.

FRIDAY, MARCH 26, 1920

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FIVE CENTS.

SOVIET GERMAN DEFEATS BOURGEOIS GERMANY

"Too Late! As In Russia So In Germany"

SEES GERMAN REDS BIDDING THEIR TIME

Observer in Paris Thinks
Communists Will Not
Obey Ebert Blindly.

FRENCH LEADER PREDICTS

Prominent Bolshevik Thinks
German Proletariat Dictator-
ship Likely Before Fall.

By WALTER DURANTY.

PARIS.—March 19.—Two facts dominate the whole German situation today. First — the militarist reaction, though disposing of a strong force of troops in Berlin and possessing the support of the army in the north and northeast of Germany and at many points throughout the country, has been utterly defeated by the general strike.

Second—The bourgeois Government is for the moment victorious, without having won the victory itself.

The question now is whether Ebert can hold out against the proletariat monster he has raised to crush reactionaries. As matters stand, Ebert is in the position of Kerensky after Korniloff's failure. In the case of the Russian leader success came too late; he in turn succumbed within a brief period to the Bolsheviks. In Germany the proletarian leaders cannot fail to know that when the bourgeois Government fled it was they who stepped into the breach and snatched power from the reactionaries. They know, too, that the army is either unable or unwilling to be an effective weapon against them. What, then, is to prevent them from seizing control?

There is a tendency in the French press to speak of labor activities in Germany as sporadic and to suggest that there seems to be no effective organization to direct them. Nearly all the news from Germany seems to support this view; but it must be remembered that, while the reactionaries and the Government have been turning out reams of "information," there has been nothing in the nature of a proletarian press bureau, and that all the news concerning the Communists has come from sources either actively hostile to communism or interested in coloring the dispatches to suit their own purposes.

Linked With Russian Communists
Whatever the French press may say to the contrary, there exists in Germany a highly organized central Communist executive, amply supplied with funds and benefiting by the experience and advice of the Moscow leaders, who are the ablest exponents of "Realpolitik" in the world today. The latter are determined — they have said so again and again — to bring about a proletarian dictatorship in Germany if it is in their power to do so. Apart from their intense desire to spread the doctrines they hold with a belief approaching fanaticism, they know that Communism will ultimately fail in Russia,

KERENSKY and GERMANY

"I fear it is again too late. In Germany, as in Russia... Militarists and bourgeoisie, are at the each others throats, and the power is falling like a ripe plum into the hands of the proletariat."

ALEXANDER KERENSKY,
Speaking in Paris,
March 18th, 1920

unless it can be duplicated in an industrial country like Germany.

The main principles of the German and Russian Communists are the same; their aims are practically identical. Both have foreseen and been preparing for the present opportunity. But it is absurd to suppose that when the hour of realization is at hand they will obey Ebert blindly, without a plan or initiative of their own.

Another argument against the probability of Communist success is that the Germans are essentially a law-abiding and disciplined people, to whom anything in the nature of Bolshevism is abhorrent perhaps, if the word is used in the sense of anarchy, ruin, pillage, bloodshed and general upheaval derived from the Russian revolution; but Marxian Communism, which is the essence of the creed of the Bolsheviks, had its birth in Germany, and even before the war its followers formed one of the largest and ablest and most important parties in the country. The very orderly and disciplined character of the Germans renders them ideal material in the hands of determined leader.

At present, as recent events have shown, the German labor organizations function with a regularity and unanimity that are almost automatic. In fact, in view of the failure of the army to win a victory for those who enjoyed and banked on its support, it may be said that labor forms the only organized, efficient, and reliable force in Germany. This huge disciplined machine its leaders, avowedly working for a proletarian dictatorship, have thoroughly in hand.

What, then, can hold the Communists back? Is it the opposition of the agricultural element throughout the country? Hardly. The possession of the principal cities, industrial centres, railroads and other means of transportation would give the Communists mastery over the comparatively unorganized peasants. If they do not follow the example of Lenin and seize power within a month after the failure of the militarist reaction it will be only because they judge the time not yet ripe.

Predicts Communism by Fall.

As a prominent French Communist said today:
"We know that we can take control of Germany any time we

British Support Hungarian Whites

British Government Reported To Have Given
Secret Aid To Hungarian Reactionaries
and To Have Countenanced White Terror

By The Federated Press.

VIENNA.—Four leading Hungarian Liberals have sent a memorandum to Sir George Clerk, in which the responsibility for the Magyar terrorist regime is placed upon the British representatives in Hungary.

The message states that the entente authorities were warned repeatedly of the dangers inherent in their support of Gen. Horthy and Minister of War Friedrich, and it is specifically asserted that the open sympathy of British officialdom toward the white government in Budapest has encouraged the reactionaries to the bloodiest extremes. Admiral Troubridge, the British commander on the Danube, is described as the mainstay of reactionary Hungary. The memorandum is signed by Martin

want to. That is the moral of the events of the past week. But that is not enough. Once we have control we must keep it. There is no reason why I shouldn't tell you now that it was not our intention to strike a blow for the proletarian dictatorship just yet. In another three months or so the food shortage will be more severe, and the masses of the nation outside of organized labor will be less satisfied than ever with the bourgeois Government. The Communist leaders in Germany may still prefer to wait. Both economically and politically the effects of the military coup d'etat cannot fail to tend more and more in our favor.

"But, whether it comes immediately or later, Communist success is certain. Before Autumn the bourgeois Government will have shared the fate of the militarists, and the dictatorship of the proletariat will be established throughout Germany."

Losvaszy, Wilhelm Vazsonyi, Ernst Garami, and Stephan Szabo. Sir George Clerk answered all protests against Horthy's massacres by saying, "Horthy is a gentleman."

The strong alliance between Hungary and Poland, which is now an open secret, is one of the burning questions of "the new Balkans." New imperialist forces were set in motion by the Paris diplomats, and the effects are already visible. The Polish-Hungarian agreement is ostensibly to create a more united barrier against soviet Russia. On the pretext of serving allied counter-revolution, Hungary is demanding the Ruthenian territory, which now belongs to Czechoslovakia. Once this region is a Hungarian possession it is to be the anti-Bolshevik corridor between Budapest and Polish Hungary's.

Poland is supporting Hungary's claims to the Ruthenian land, in return for which Hungary is agitating for the annexation of the Moravian coal fields, also belonging to the Czechs, by Poland. The Polish and Hungarian Governments, knowing the Allies' desire to destroy free Russia, are pressing their claims for Ruthenia and Moravia with the excuse that these lands are essential to the nations preparing to enter the war against Russia.

The Seattle metal workers have decided to quit their jobs and go East, rather than work for low wages etc. The idea sounds good. If you don't like the job get to h— out of it.

Supposing the employers out East decide to create the same conditions as those out West? What then?
NEVER QUIT A ROTTEN JOB! ORGANIZE IT AND CLEAN IT UP!

SOVIET GERMANY AFTER CIVIL WAR SEEN BY ZILBOORG

Baltimore.—That the present German reaction will eventually result in the creation of a Soviet Germany was the prediction of Gregory Zilboorg, secretary to the minister of labor under Kerenski, in a address here.

Without assistance from Russia, Dr. Zilboorg declared, the German people, as a result of the civil war, will establish a working class republic.

The harsh provisions of the peace treaty and growing mistrust of the Ebert government will work as factors in this change, he added. Dr. Zilboorg denounced Great Britain and the Allied press for trying to strangle and starve Russia.

WASHINGTON NEWS

Paul Hanna, Washington correspondent of the Federated Press, writes to Truth:—

"Ambassador" Bakhmetieff, of the defunct Lyvoff-Kerensky regime in Russia, has received orders from Paris to close up his imitation diplomatic offices in the United States. The orders were cabled to Bakhmetieff by Sazanoff, so-called foreign minister for the late Kolchak "government." These two gentlemen, together with Prince Lyvoff and the erstwhile Kerensky ambassadors at London, Paris and Rome, recently issued a solemn warning to the world that they, "the Russian people," would never acknowledge any peace that the entente powers might make with the soviet government.

Coincidentally with Sazanoff's advice from Paris that the anti-soviet jig is up, Mr. Serge Ughet, financial attache and director of supplies to the "embassy" here, has offered his resignation to Bakhmetieff.

Secretary of War Baker sold several million dollars' worth of American military supplies to the Kolchak regime, receiving in return nothing but Ughet's personal promise to pay. Secretary Baker admitted to a committee of the house that he had turned over to Ughet "several times a million dollars' worth" of supplies. At the time Baker testified about \$1,000,000 of Ughet's promissory notes had been paid.

Congressman Mason, of Illinois is anxious to learn whether Ughet repaid American taxpayers the other millions of their money advanced by Secretary Baker. Baker explained that the military supplies had to be advanced on credit to Ughet personally, since Kolchak's "government" was not officially recognized by the United States.

The entire foreign and domestic diplomatic corps, and others, received a few days ago from "Ambassador" Bakhmetieff invitations to attend a solemn high mass in a local church for the repose of the soul of Admiral Kolchak, late supreme ruler of all the Russias, with headquarters at Omsk and points eastward.

Russia Controlled By Workers

"They Are Working Not For a Boss Or To Produce Rent, Profit, or Interest, But For The Soviet State, Which Is Themselves."

By George Lansbury.

Editor, The London Daily Herald

MOSCOW.—"All soviet Russia will become a united All-Russian Co-operative Society of Workers—that is our aim," said Lenin the other day, addressing the central executive committee of soviets.

I have gone through several state factories here, where motors, bicycles, and aeroplanes are being built. There we could see how much has been accomplished during the period of trouble. Before the revolution Russia was dependent on the outside world for nearly all her machinery, and parts were brought here from abroad to be assembled. Now, from her own raw material, she is building aeroplanes, motors, and bicycles.

I have seen toolmakers, foundry workers, machine minders, engineers, woodworkers, all at work, with machines at full speed, and have mentally compared them with those I have seen by the thousand in England and France. The only difference, and it is a vital one, is that the men here are their own employers. They are working not for a boss or to produce rent, profit, or interest, but for the soviet state, which is themselves.

They take part in the organization and direction of their industry. The day before my visit they had cast their votes for their representatives on the Moscow soviet, and by large majorities had chosen Communists. In England we talk of national workshops, Guild Socialism, and workshop control; here national workshops and workers' control are in actual operation.

People in England often talk of waste in government and municipal enterprises. In these national workshops the exact contrary is the case. Every scrap of raw material and stores coming in is carefully registered and accounted for. The stores inspected are a model of completeness, and were a complete surprise. The products of the factories are all carefully inspected before use, and scamped or inferior work is rejected.

So much for state factories. At the Moscow waterworks the workers have partial control, and they show extraordinary initiative and enthusiasm. They have helped the fuel shortage by new methods of burning peat, which is lying in great quantities near Moscow, and by the construction on their own initiative of a narrow-gauge railway which enables them to get fuel with less labor and in large quantities. It is impossible that the red

armies could have been fed, munitioned, and the nation kept alive, except by this sort of enthusiasm which not only believes but works.

Our London municipal workers could learn a great lesson from these Moscow men and women, who know that they work for the state and feel they are working on behalf of their whole class, and must therefore do their very best even though creature comforts are so short. There are some who grumble, they say that all the world is against Russia; not a single person I have met, though, dreams that things would be other than much worse under any other government than the present.

The position of women in industry here would give complete satisfaction to every leader of the women's movement at home. Women work in industry side by side with men, and are recognized on terms of absolute equality as citizens of the state.

Every post is open to them. Women working on day rates are allowed the same wages as men, even though their production falls 1 per cent below that of the men. On piece work there is always a minimum wage, which, of course is the same for men and women. Sickness and unemployment are paid for at full rates, and to the sick extra food and nourishment are also supplied.

Many workers belong to the orthodox church, and desire to enjoy the many holidays prescribed by that organization. In consequence of this, workers are given the opportunity of 10 church holidays each year. In addition, there are eight public holidays during the year, and Sundays, and Saturday afternoons are holidays. Two weeks' vacation are given yearly, and where needed these are extended. British workers will note that all these are real holidays, as they are paid for.

Overtime is paid for at time and a half rates for the first two hours, and at double rates afterwards. Much overtime is being worked at present, and a good deal of voluntary work is also being done. This latter means that people work at occupations other than their normal ones in order to assist the nation.

A big wave of enthusiasm is rising among the people, who talk now of "the bloodless front," meaning thereby the industrial field. But on everyone's tongue there is one question when they are told I am from England. "When are you British workers going to make your government let us live?"

Swedish ENTERTAINMENT

—AT—
WOOMAN HALL
SUNDAY EVE., MARCH 28th — 8 P. M.

A first class program from which we mention:

"Stång Dörren Käring"

A one act comedy, by the Swedish Dramatic Co.

Piano Solo by Miss Thompson; Violin Solo by Morris Kohn; Duetto Aug Berg & Sabina Rodberg. — Songs, Music & Recitations.

Admission 50c Including War Tax.

Remember This

By James Oppenheim.

Remember this:

Today we are separated, drift before the storm, toys of the whirlwind—
Tomorrow we shall come together and rule the world.
Our task today is to hold against panic and loneliness,
To put from us the temptation of the drums and the bayonets,
To shut the gates of the heart against the seducing myth of Slaughter,
To be, each one of us, a rallying-point, a call and a summons to the War beyond War,
To the fighting civilization we shall create.
Not to be led to the war that kills and destroys,
But to lead forth in the war that creates,
Not to be a recruit in the armies of death,
But to enlist in the battalions of birth.
To leave as our epitaph, not, "They died that we might live,"
But, "They LIVED that we might live."
It is our task to be the vanguards of Great Change,
Couriers of Revolution,
It is ours to be outriders of the Future.
To be seed-sowers and harbingers, to be pioneers.
We must be the hard enemies of Magic.
Rebels against Divine Rights, Kings, Priests, Heroes and Traditions
Blasting with the cannon of uproarious laughter the hocus-pocus of patriotism and battle,
Discrediting by our lonely endurance the lies of victory and conquest,
The foul lie of the glory of war,
The lie that dying in a war of traders is worthy of a man.

If we must die, let us die for ourselves
Ourselves, the broadcast race of man,
Ourselves against the power breed, the overweening kings
and President, Financiers and Intellectuals,
Ourselves against the self-seekers.
If we must have a sacred land to die for,
It shall be no acre in France or in Indiana,
But the Earth—only the Earth itself is sacred to us.
If we must have a religion,
Our God shall not be a Chosen People in the shape of a Thunderer,
Our God shall be Man, in every land, or every people.

IN BOHEMIA

By John Boyle O'Reilly.

The thirst of soul soon learn to know
The moistureless froth of the social show,
The vulgar sham of the pompous feast
Where the heaviest purse is the highest priest;
The organized charity, scrimped and iced,
In the name of a cautious, statistical Christ.

DRAW YOUR OWN CONCLUSIONS!

Swift & Company
Union Stock Yards
Chicago

December 26th, 1919

AMERICAN LEGION

Gentlemen:
At a meeting, held on December 23, 1919, presided over by Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, there were present representatives of the different stock yard interests and it was voted that they contribute \$10,000 toward a campaign for funds for the American Legion.

A national drive is being made for the Legion and the amount asked from Illinois is \$100,000. Mr. James B. Forgan, Chairman of the First National Bank, being Treasurer of the fund for Illinois.

The Illinois enrollment in the Legion, in comparison with other States, is very much less than it should be. We are all interested in the Legion, the results it will obtain, and the ultimate effect in helping to offset radicalism.

It is very important that we assist this worthy work and at the meeting I was asked by the Chairman to write to the different stock yard interests for their contribution.

In prorating the amount, it was suggested that we use an arbitrary percentage as a basis and the amount you are asked to contribute is \$100.00.

Will you please make check for this amount payable to Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, Chairman?

Kindly send me copy of your letter to Mr. Wilson.

Very truly yours,
NATHAN E. HIGBIE.

United States Food Administration License No. G-09753

MONTESANO SEES I. W. W. VERDICT AS JUSTICE MOCKED

Bonds of Fear Broken, People of County Agree Decision Against Workers Was Travesty.

LABOR JURY CONFERS

Official Prosecutor Says the New Cases Against Elmer Smith and Sheehan Won't Be Pressed.

By John Nicholas Boffel.
MONTESANO, Wash. — Is there any doubt the Centralia labor trial was a travesty on justice?

Many residents of Gary's Harbor County believe it was, and dare to say so today, for the bonds of fear that held them have been loosed, with the coming of the ludicrous verdict permitted by Judge John N. Wilson.

America has looked to Montesano for justice, declared one well known citizen here tonight. "Montesano has failed to render it," Another said: "This is almost parallel to the Mooney case."

Seven men actually found innocent of the crime with which they were charged—conspiracy to commit murder in first degree—are to be sentenced to long prison terms for second degree murder.

The absurdity of this verdict is apparent throughout the whole district. Today's headline in the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which has no love for organized labor, says: "Indignation at I. W. W. Verdict Sweeps County."

Three of the jurors, according to the Post-Intelligencer, are reported to have held out for acquittal for all of the 10 defendants, maintaining this attitude for many hours, the second degree murder was a compromise verdict. Today I questioned Judge Wilson about the jury's strange finding.

"Isn't it true," I asked, "that the verdict of second-degree murder is in direct contradiction with the charge of conspiracy to murder? If second-degree murder means killing without premeditation, how can these men be guilty of conspiracy to murder, since there can be no conspiracy without premeditation?"

"That," replied Judge Wilson, "is a point of law to be argued."

"As a layman," I said, "the verdict seems in direct conflict with the charge."

"You have been around trials enough," the Judge answered, "to know that lawyers don't always know the law and that even judges don't always know it."

Organized labor eagerly awaits the independent verdict of the labor jury on this trial. The six members of the jury are now in Tacoma comparing individual observations. Their joint verdict will be given out later this week. Sixty thousand dollars was spent by Lewis County to prosecute the 10 I. W. W.'s. To try Michael Sheehan and Elmer Smith, rearrested in connection with the killing of Arthur McElfresh after they had been acquitted of Warren A. Grimm's murder would cost about \$30,000, it is said.

But the cases may never be pressed, Herman Allen, official prosecutor of Lewis County said as the verdict came in last night.

Seattle workers held a mass meeting in the Labor Temple there last night to protest against the unjust verdict.

THE WHIRL OF THE WORLD

(Owing to our limited space we will condense the news each week, so that our readers may obtain a knowledge of matters in general.—Ed. Truth.)

The American steamship Omsk, bearing a cargo valued at \$3,000,000.00 has been seized by the Bolsheviks.

To obtain the boat the U. S. Government must recognise Soviet Russia. The U. S. officials are trying to figure out how it is possible to get the boat back without recognising Soviet Russia.

The British Government declared martial law from midnight

till 5 a. m. in the city of Dublin. So the Dublin City Council shut off all lights from 1:30 p. m. until 6 a. m.

Its a great game when you both play!

In the Rhonda Valley, Wales, the employers discharged some of the miners, because they were a little too radical. Over thirty thousand work's immediately quit until they were re-instated.

DULUTH TRADES ASSEMBLY PLEASE NOTE!

TRADING WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

Kolehak lost according to Maj. Gen. Thord Gray, British Army officer.

"Six hundred railway wagons were left, loaded with military material. In Ekaterinberg we left, 1,000 wagons, with dozens of warehouses filled with supplies not yet unpacked. In Omsk... we lost, without any reasons, 10 generals, 1,000 officers, 40,000 men, about 500 machine guns, about 60 field guns, 20 armored cars, 80 railroad engines, 3,000 loaded railway cars, thousands of tons of flour and millions upon millions of rounds of ammunition."

THEN THEY ASK HOW IT IS THAT THE RED ARMY KEEPS GOING!

Bakhmetieff and His Aides Dodge Facing Martens at Hearing

Washington. — Reluctance of Russians who represented the Kerenski regime here to testify against Ludvig C. A. K. Martens, Soviet representative in the United States, may cut short the investigation of his activities by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, it was intimated today.

Members of the committee had expected to call Boris Bakhmetieff, Ambassador under the Kerenski government, and other officials connected with the old Russian embassy, but they are said to have upset plans by claiming "diplomatic immunity."

A FEW LINES TO DEBS

FROM A. U. S. SOLDIER.

The following letter was received by Comrade Eugene V. Debs, in Federal Prison, Atlanta, Ga.:

U. S. Hospital, St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 4, 1920.

My Dear Mr. Debs:

I hope you will not object to my writing you a few lines to get you know how much I admire you. Although I fought in France and was wounded and gassed, I believe in every word you said in that speech for which you were convicted. I have seen war in all its horrors. I have seen men kill one another and I know it's wrong.

I am in a government hospital now, recovering from tuberculosis—a result of gas. The government is treating me excellently, but no treatment they could give me would compensate me for what I went through.

I am not quite 20 years old yet, so I have ample time to complete my education, which was interrupted when I enlisted. I am studying law now, and intend to devote my life to the cause for which you are suffering now.

What you have done for the people, the heroism with which you have refused to retract your statements, will live long after the present administration hypocrites have passed into oblivion.

If there is anything I can do for you, Mr. Debs, you will find me always willing. Your sincere admirer,

Living L. Spencer.

Entertainment and Dance

—Given by Superior Scandinavian Local at Terminal Hall
Corner Winter Str. & Ogden Avenue—Sunday Eve., March 28th. — Good program—Song—Music—Speeches & Recitations.

Everybody Welcome.

BRITISH LABOR RECEIVES APPEAL FROM RUSSIAN LABOR

By The Federated Press.

London.—A call to the trade unions of Britain to understand and share the struggle and the hope of the Russian proletariat has been sent here by wireless from the trade unions of Russia.

"Let your delegates come to study the situation themselves and become acquainted with our professional movement," says the message. "We invite all workers and all oppressed or persecuted. We shall greet them with open soul and outstretched arms."

The Russian trade unions have continually attempted to reach the unions of other nations, but have been met with the bayonets of the governments "who are afraid of the truth about the mighty and heroic example of the Russian proletariat," the message declares.

The appeal concludes:

"For all real revolutionaries, the Russian trade unions will have special interests, because good or bad, they are practical attempts at Socialism. We desire to share our experience with you. We want you to share with us, for only a joint struggle of the proletariat of the whole world, close co-operation in its economic organization and a direct struggle for Socialism can lead to final victory."

April 4, 5 and 6 finds the I. L. P. meeting in convention. The following resolution, proposed by the Shawlands branch, will be discussed:—

"In favor of direct action to bring down the government, and thus secure an immediate appeal to the country."

The Bargoed branch proposes:—"That we endorse the policy of direct action for political and industrial reasons."

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State the address. 4024 W. 2nd St.

ALLIED IMPERIALISM DRIVING MOHAMMEDANS TO SOVIET

British and French Tactics in Constantinople
Hastening Moslem Revolt, Destined to Create
Turkish Republic Supported by Russia,
Declare Observers at Washington.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

WASHINGTON, March 21.—Twenty million Mohammedans living in Russia will unite with 7,000,000 Turks and drive the British and French out of Constantinople if the latter powers seize and try to hold the Golden Horn.

That is the opinion of men in Washington who profess to know the situation in the Near East. They contend that the British and French are now doing the one thing needed to hasten a Moslem revolt destined to create a Soviet republic in Turkey, supported, at least morally, by the whole of Russia.

It is pointed out that the vast Mohammedan population of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Volga regions are enjoying under the Soviet regime the first religious, economic and political freedom that they or their co-religionists have known for many generations.

They comprise a due proportion of the Communist armies which smashed Kolchak and Denikin, and to the extent that their kind have penetrated Turkey they have spread the story of justice under Soviet rule and the power of workmen and peasants in any country to expel invaders.

When the impotence of Turkish politicians is fully exposed by British occupation of Constantinople, the Turkish masses are expected to heed the advice of their brethren in Russia and take the matter into their own hands.

In discussing the Turkish situation, the Washington Post denounces the imperialism of England and France in terms which parallel the strongest utterances of those who opposed the world war as a crime against humanity. That the Post is the mouthpiece of the old Russian Czarists and a violent enemy of the League of Nations plan explains its fury over Constantinople without modifying the truth of its charges.

"The cynicism with which the premiers of England and France are proceeding to flout the opinion of of Christianity and civilization in order to gain commercial, territorial and other material advantages is well worthy of an excommunication at the hands of President Wilson," says the Post. "It is a policy blind in its rapacity, far-reaching in its malign consequences—a betrayal of the true spirit of all the nations that defended liberty and civilization."

Allied Chiefs Hide Plans.

"British and French government leaders dare not disclose the details of plans now unfolding at Constantinople. The work is being executed under cover of flagrant misrepresentations to the peoples of England, France and, of course, America."

"The public reasons assigned for the moves now being made are a tissue of absurdities, which are proved false as fast as uttered. The real reasons are known to the United States Government and certain others, but it is quite possible these governments will deem it inexpedient to make these facts public."

To say that the United States Government winks at the "rapacity" and "malign consequences" of the "betrayal of liberty and civilization" by the Entente powers because to do so is "expedient" has now become the fashion among "patriotic" editors whose ends are served by telling the truth.

Appropos of the whole Eastern Europe muddle, there is the strange silence which has fallen upon news from the Polish-Russian battlefield. Three days ago the Polish authorities announced a great victory over the Russians at Cherniuf, due east of the Pripiet marshes. Col. Roustam Bek, military adviser to the Soviet Bureau here, scouted the report and told military men to keep their eyes on the front northwest of Pripiet, where he anticipated that Broussiloff would smash the Poles' left flank and roll them into the marshes.

Poles Suffer Heavy Defeat.

Since that time the only information reaching America is a brief item to the Jewish Daily Forward saying the Poles had suffered a heavy defeat at Bobruisk. Bobruisk is the precise point where Roustam Bek anticipated the Russian counter-attack would occur.

If the Poles were thoroughly beaten at that point then their center has been thrown into the swamp and their left wing is dangling between the hostile Lithuanian border and the advancing Communist army of the

north. Roustam Bek expects the Lithuanians to join the Russians and drive the Poles back at least to the prescribed borders of their own country.

It is not difficult to understand the prolonged silence from Warsaw if the Bobruisk disaster and its natural consequences have befallen the Polish army. It would ring down the curtain on Poland as a "buffer state"—a synonym for outpost of Entente imperialism.

PALMER'S COST DRIVE FACES BELOW

Merchant to Demand \$140,000
for Machinery Valued at
70,000 in Year 1917.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

Washington, D. C. — More than a score of legal aides to the Department of Justice have pooled their mental resources in an effort to evade a terrible dilemma. For a Daniel has come to judgment, and Palmer must say in court just when prices will fall and the dollar recover its normal value, or else let the government in for a whacking lot of inflated damage claims.

It is a simply story, and it bears directly upon the troubles of every wage earner and housewife. In the first days of the war the government commandeered for its urgent need certain pieces of machinery the original cost of which stood at some \$70,000. The national emergency having passed, the private owner of that machinery has presented Uncle Sam with a bill for some \$140,000.

The Attorney General insists that the original value of the machinery represents a fair compensation to the private owner. Upon that contention all his legal strategy was based when the case came into court; and that strategy has been wrecked at the first encounter. For the private owner had retained as counsel a member of the Bar who combines and legal instruction with a knowledge of economics, who, in his brief to the honorable Court of Claims, makes the following representation:

Government Responsible.

What the machinery in question cost when new, four years ago, has nothing to do with the amount which its private owner is justly entitled now. Roughly, a dollar is worth only one half its value in 1917; and for the dollar's loss in buying power the United States Government is wholly responsible.

Why? Because the government, instead of taxing wealth in this generation to pay for the war, deliberately decided that posterity should bear the financial burden. To postpone the war cost, the government had recourse to the printing press, and doubled the amount of paper money in circulation. Since no new wealth was created or amassed by the government to correspond with the new money put into circulation, the buying power of every existing dollar was cut very nearly in half.

Act of Confiscation.

Thus, continues the argument, the \$70,000 which the government commandeered from the citizens in 1917, is now proposed to replace with "money which

The American people lost one of the brightest stars that ever adorned its intellectual firmament, when Randolph Bourne died. When America entered the war, his biographer James Oppenheim, tells us that Bourne received a shock. It was a shock, but it was one of those shocks that aroused the mind of Bourne, to a realization of the fact, that the working-class cannot adapt conditions to a programme, it must frame its programme out of the conditions as they arise. Too many intellectuals have failed miserably during and since the war. Drawing charts for the carrying out of the social revolution, they have prostituted their talents, by writing long articles proving that Lenin was wrong, because the things that he did, did not fit in with their idea of what a social revolution must be. This type of intellectual is forever lost to the radical movement and the movement gains. But Bourne was a big man, bigger than any of his school. Realizing that the war had been the means of exploding many of his ideas, he was big enough to start all over again and draw from the facts of life. Many of his articles have been gathered together and presented to us in a work entitled, "Untimely Papers". It may be had from B. W. HUEBSCH, Book Publisher New York City, for the sum of two dollars.

The following extracts from his "WAR DIARY" will show you what a remarkable writer the world has lost. We can best pay tribute to the memory of Randolph Bourne, by endeavoring to acquaint ourselves with the ideas that Bourne stood for. We shall take our copy to prison with us, feeling that all is not lost. That there is a wonderful time coming, when "all shall be better than well."

THE WAR DIARY.

VI. Skeptical of the means and skeptical of the aims, this element of the younger generations stands outside the war, and looks upon the conscript army and all the other war-activities as troublesome interruptions on its thought and idealism, interruptions which do not touch anywhere a fibre of its soul. Some have been much more disturbed than others, because of the determined challenge of both patriots and realists to break in with the war-obsession which has filled for them their sky. Patriots and realists can both be answered. They must not be allowed to shake one's inflexible determination not to be spiritually implicated in the war. It is foolish to hope. Since the 30th of July, 1914, nothing has happened in the area of war-policy ad war-technique except for the complete and unmitigated worst. We are tired to continued disillusionment, and of the betrayal of generous anticipations. It is sadder not to waste energy in hope within the system of war-enterprise. One may accept dispassionately whatever changes for good may happen from the war, but one will not allow one's imagination to connect them organically with war. It is better to resist cheap consolations, and remain skeptical about any of the

in buying power is worth only \$35,000. This, the honorable court will be observe would constitute an arbitrary, wilful and unjust act of confiscation by the government.

Continuing his original exposition, the complainant's attorney sets forth that if the Attorney General desires to do justice he must be guided by two alternatives. Palmer must either set a date in the reasonably near future when the American dollar will buy as much as it did in 1917, or he must endorse the complainant's demand for as much money as it now costs to replace the commandeered machinery, to wit \$140,000.

Despite his frequent assurance to the public that the price of all commodities is about to fall to pre-war levels, the Attorney General is said to feel that more than a gesture from the stump will be required to persuade the

good things so confidently promised us either through victory or the social reorganization demanded by the war-technique. One keeps healthy in wartime not by a series of religious and political consolations that something good is coming out of it all, but by a vigorous assertion of values in which war has no part. Our skepticism can be made a shelter behind which is built up a wider consciousness of the personal and social and artistic ideals which American civilization needs to lead the good life. We can be skeptical constructively, if thrown back on our inner resources from the world of war which is taken as the overmastering reality, we search much more actively to clarify our attitudes and express a richer significance in the American scene. We do not feel the war to be very real, and we sense a singular air of falsity about the emotions of the upper-classes toward everything connected with war. This ostentatious shame, this groveling before illusory Allied heroisms and nobilities, has shocked us. Minor novelists and minor poets and minor publicists are still coming back from driving ambulances in France to write books that nag us into an appreciation of the "real meaning." No one can object to the generous emotions of service in a great cause or to the horror and pity at colossal devastation and agony. But too many of these prophets are men who have lived rather briskly among the cruelties and thinnesses of American civilization and have shown no obvious horror and pity at the exploitations and the arid quality of the life lived here around us. Their moral sense had been deeply stirred by what they saw in France and Belgium, but it was a moral sense relatively unpractised by deep concern and reflection over the inadequacies of American democracy. Few of them had used their vision to create literature impelling us toward a more radiant American future. And that is why, in spite of their vivid stirrings, they seem so unconvincing. Their idealism is too new and bright to affect us, for it comes from men who never cared very particularly about great creative American ideas. So these writers come to us less like ardent youth, pouring its energy into the great causes, than like youthful mouthpieces of their strident and belligerent elders. They did not convert us, but rather drove us farther back into the rightness of American isolation.

VII. There was something incredibly mean and plebeian about that abasement into which the war-partisans tried to throw us all. When we were urged to squander our emotion on a bedeviled Europe, our intuition told us how much all rich and generous emotions were needed at home to leaven American civilization. If we refused to export them it was because we wanted to see them at work here. It is true that great reaches of American prosperous life were now using generous emotions for any purpose whatever. But the real antithesis

was not between being concerned about luxurious automobiles and being concerned about the saving of France. America's "benevolent neutrality" had been saving the Allies for three years through the ordinary channels of industry and trade. We could afford to export material goods and credit far more than we could afford to export emotional capital. The real antithesis was between interest in expensively exploiting American material life and interest in creatively enhancing American personal and artistic life. The fat and healthy American could be blamed not for not palpitating more richly about France, but for not palpitating more richly about America and her spiritual droughts. The war will leave the country spiritually impoverished, because of the draining away of sentiment into the channels of war. Creative and constructive enterprises will suffer not only through the appalling waste of financial capital in the work of annihilation, but also in the loss of emotional capital in the conviction that war overshadows all other realities. This is the poison of war that disturbs even creative minds. Writers tell us that, after contact with the war, literature seems an idle pastime, if not an offense, in a world of great deeds. Perhaps literature that can be paled by war will not be missed. We may feel vastly relieved at our salvation from so many feeble novels and graceful verses that khaki-clad authors might have given us. But this nobly sounding sense of the futility of art in a world of war may easily infect conscientious minds. And it is against this infection that we must fight.

VIII. The conservation of American promise is the present task for this generation of malcontents and aloof men and women. If America has lost its political isolation, it is all the more obligated to retain its spiritual integrity. This does not mean any smug retreat from the world, with a belief that the truth is in us and can only be contaminated by contact. It means that the promise of American life is not yet achieved, perhaps not even seen, and that, until it is, there is nothing for us but stern and intensive cultivation of our garden. Our insulation will not be against any great creative ideas or forms that Europe brings. It will be a turning within in order that we may have something to give without. The old American ideas which are still expected to bring life to the world seem stale and archaic. It is grotesque to try to carry democracy to Russia. It is absurd to try to contribute to the world's store of great moving ideas until we have a culture to give. It is absurd for us to think of ourselves as blessing the world with anything unless we hold it much more self-consciously and significantly than we hold anything now. Mere negative freedom will not do as a twentieth-century principle. American ideas must be dynamic or we are presumptuous in offering them to the world.

Attorney General Figg, explain that "the government officials realize that they are powerless to reduce the cost of living without the assistance of every interest in industry." Describing what he (and Palmer) regards as the six chief causes for high prices, Mr. Figg said:

"First is the increase in the volume of money and credits; second, the widespread increase to wages; third, lessened production; fourth, increased cost of distribution; fifth, reckless extravagance and a spirit of speculation; sixth and last profiteering."

"Yet there is a tremendous amount of profiteering," Figg confesses. "I expect that you gentlemen (Retail Dry Goods Association) are all guilty of it. I used to think there were some exceptions, but the farther we go into the campaign the less I am disposed to think so."

A recent address by Palmer's cost of living expert, Assistant

GERMAN REVOLUTION SHOWS STRENGTH OF SPARTACIDES

Overtown Shows Contrast Between German Republic and Soviet Russia.

'BOLSHEVIKI VICTORS'

Ludwig Lore Sees Hindenburg, Iron Man and Industrial Overlord, Succeding Ebert.

"What every one expected who has eyes to see and ears to hear has happened at last; the bourgeois government of the republic of Germany, masked as a Socialist government, has been overthrown and a pan-German militarist and 100 per cent citizen and Junker clique takes its place," said Ludwig Lore, editor of the New York Volkszeitung.

Lore is regarded as one of the best informed persons in the United States on European affairs. As the editor of the leading German Socialist daily in this country and a prominent member of the Communist Labor party, he had frequently exposed the sham Socialist leaders of Germany. He continued as follows:

"The place of the weakling Ebert is to be filled by the iron man Hindenburg, a typical industrial overlord put in power by the leader of the pan-Germans, Kapp. And the Baltic troops that have played with the counter revolution for many months under the eyes of the 'Socialists' are proclaimed as 'the liberators of the Fatherland.'"

"What a difference between the two republics, Germany and Russia. There the Workers' and Peasants' government is undisputed in its power; here it must flee from the powers of its own creation. There the full power of the government remains in the Councils of Workers and Peasants, which conduct all the nation's enterprises through the People's commissars, despite armed invasion by the whole capitalist world. Here the overthrown government erected on the bayonets of the soldiery could not remain in power, despite the assistance of the Entente."

"The despised Bolsheviki are the victors, the 'respectable' Social Democrats of the firm of Ebert, Bauer and Noske are on the dung heap."

"What is the difference? Everybody knows it. In Russia the power of the government rests upon the revolutionary workers and peasants, upon the essential foundation of a proletarian government. In Germany the Majority Socialists were put forward to cover the nationalist and capitalist remnants of the old system. The truth is that the rulers were the same unholy alliance that drove Germany into war, that plunged the nation into ruin and who hid themselves after their disaster behind the sheltering rock—the Social Democrats. That Scheidemann, Ebert, Bauer let themselves be used for this shameful role, that they took part in this comedy the real Socialists of all countries denounce them for, in the first place."

"Out of fear for the Entente, these German Socialists in November, 1918, rebuffed the proffered friendship of the Soviet Republic. They betrayed not only the Russian revolution which at that time, together with the German revolution would have been invincible, and would have thereby saved many lives on the battlefield, but betrayed also the German revolution and the German proletariat."

"I am no prophet, but everything that has transpired was so clear, that what has now occurred, together with many other events, has been predicted by me more than once."

"In Russia—and this in few words is the difference between the German and the Russian republic—the working class rules the city and country, in Germany the old clique rules, under revised titles. In Germany the revolution could be destroyed by arresting one minister, by proclamations of some new individuals; in Russia an entire system, must be conquered before the capitalist class can again come into control."

"The overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat would

there be the first and necessary step for the triumph of the counter revolution. Ebert and Bauers' imprisonment is synonymous with the overthrow of the German revolution. They could kill Lenin and Trotsky a hundred times, but the Soviet government would stand unchanged, except for the elevation of two new commissars."

Lore says that fuller reports are necessary before final judgment can be made on the events that have occurred in the old country.

"At this writing, the cables report a general strike that the Social Democrats have declared," he continued. "We should remember Scheidemann's and Legien's party and the general strike. Have not these people always condemned political mass action as an undemocratic measure, as an anarchistic weapon? Only recently, when the Independent Socialists of Leipzig declared themselves for the political general strike and direct action, did they not charge in the most vicious manner that these former Socialists had entirely severed their connection with the Socialist movement?"

"Noske even declared that the very attempt to bring about such a strike would be punished with heavy prison terms and under certain conditions with the death penalty. And he was the Minister of War, the bloody, murderous tool of capitalism within the Socialist-Liberal-Centrist revolutionary Cabinet."

"How this Noske raged against the Spartacists in harmony with his colleagues! On his orders, Dr. Ernst Meyer, the former editor of Vorwaerts, was kept in 'confinement' just as Rosa Luxemburg, Mehring, Liebknecht, Clara Betkin and others were in 1915 and 1916 under William II. Hundreds of Communists were shot, thousands wounded, tens of thousands were imprisoned, because they dared to urge workers to strike and propagated the idea of a general strike. And these people are to have declared a general strike for all of Germany!"

"Perhaps the despair of the moment has forced these foes of the German working class to use the discredited weapon of the general strike. Perhaps Car Legien has set in motion the machinery of the mighty trade union movement in order to give the pretense of resistance to the counter revolution. Perhaps But what good will it do? Will the German workers will pluck himself under the leadership of such a general, who has in every battle yet always managed to save himself?"

"We see a possibility of a successful revolutionary general strike in Germany at this time, on receipt of further advices from Washington via Berlin that the Independent Socialist have joined the movement."

"When the rebellious Ruhr miners, the irrepressible longshoremen and harbor workers of Hamburg and Bremen, the revolutionary workers of Silesia, in Greater Berlin and in the Rhine district take the lead, then a real job will be done, with no hesitation about fighting for the 'democracy of a capitalist' state."

"Then the world Halt! will be given only after a proletarian democracy has been achieved and secured, as remains supreme today only in the workers' and peasants' republic of Russia."

"The German republic is dead and we will shed no tears for it. Our hopes and wishes are for the coming victory of the German revolution."



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EDITORIALS

CARNEY DEFENSE FUND.

WILL ALL COMRADES KINDLY SEND IN THEIR LISTS AT ONCE. SO THAT WE CAN SQUARE ALL OUR ACCOUNTS.

THE GERMAN SITUATION.

In our last issue we stated that the recent revolution in Germany was not the last. The press now confirms our viewpoint.

At the time of writing March 20th we are informed through the Associated Press that the districts of Dortmund, Gera, Halle Obliga, Unna and Gelsenkirchen have set up Soviet councils and established in their various districts a dictatorship of the working-class. Once again the diplomacy of the Allies has miserably failed. But a few more failures and the victory of the revolutionary proletariat will be achieved. Every day the proletarian revolution in Germany acquires a larger consciousness and greater power. Every day serves to test the government of the majority Socialists and the test finds the majority Socialists just as reactionary and we regret to say more vicious than the government of the Imperialists of Germany. The revolutionary masses of the German proletariat are learning more about the right kind of tactics to be adopted, than they ever learned before. What they failed to learn from the work of those two noble and valiant comrades, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, they are now learning as a result of the grievous disappointments they received at the hands of the reactionary social-democrats. **THE SUCCESS OF THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION IN GERMANY IS ASSURED.**

The German situation is an interesting one. It serves to remind the proletariat of the world of the mistakes that can be made and what disasters follow as a consequence.

When the revolution first broke in Germany, November 1918, the majority socialists took control of the government. Foolishly the people turned from the Spartacists, led by Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and placed their trust in Ebert and Noske. Since then they have realized that the capture of a government does not mean the capture of the State. The same old reactionary imperialists rule in Germany despite the fact that the government is a "Socialist" government. Which goes to prove that unless you have control of the shop your control of government does not amount to a tinker's dam. You can elect every man to office whether it be city, State or Nation, but unless you have a conscious and systematic organization of the workers in the shop, your control of government is a sham. Therefore the main duty of the Communist is to concentrate upon shop organization. We must institute within the American Federation of Labor a kind of an organization similar to that of the Shop Stewards' Movement of Great Britain. This organization will work amongst the workers in the factory and in order to make every worker conscious of his duty to his class, it will carry out its work in the shop. Too many members of the unions neglect their union activities. Tired out and weary they find bed more comforting than sitting in a union hall listening to long speeches and laudatory talks upon the work of so and so leader(?) of labor. Let us do our work in the future in the bosses' time. Let us do it on the bosses' premises and so arouse the class spirit of the workers.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

THE BRASS CHECK.

The first edition of the "Brass Check" was sold out. The second edition is expected off the press as soon as Sinclair can obtain paper. Those who have ordered the book from us will receive their copies as soon as we receive them.

THE OPEN SHOP.

It is now recognised on all sides that the coming months are going to witness a vigorous campaign, in behalf of the employers of this city, for the sole purpose of SMASHING THE LABOR MOVEMENT AND CREATING THE OPEN SHOP.

WHAT IS THE LABOR MOVEMENT GOING TO DO?

The employers are determined to smash the labor movement and consequently there can be no compromise. Either the labor movement becomes stronger and triumphs or it remains as it is and goes down to eternal defeat. These are the two alternatives that face the unions of this city and they must be met.

Before we can understand the point of view of those who argue for industrial unionism, it will be necessary to clear the ground somewhat. In the first place let it be clearly understood THAT THE OPEN SHOP CANNOT BE SUCCESSFULLY COMBATED UPON THE POLITICAL FIELD. Dismiss all thoughts of success on that field. The OPEN SHOP can only be defeated upon the field from which it springs and that is on the industrial field. The shop is where we work. It is the place that occupies the most important part of our lives, because unless we are in the shop earning wages we are liable to starve. In the shop there are two kinds of people one kind they style the "employers" and the other they call the "workers". You are one of the "other". Now why do they call one person "an employer" and you a "worker"? They do not label persons with these names unless there is a reason for it. The reason is that one person, the "employer", employs the other person, the "worker". The terms "employer" and "worker" denote an economic relationship. Understand an economic relationship. No matter how you may like your boss SOCIALLY, this economic relationship exists. Your boss may be a darn good sort of fellow. He may sit with you in the same twenty cent seat in the pictures and he may even consort with you in the same pool hall, but all his good nature cannot cover up that economic relationship. We are stating this extreme position of the bosses' social nature in order to reply to the arguments of those "sane" labor leaders who talk about community interests and who want the Commercial Club to throw open its doors to the workers. But you know that in the majority of cases the bosses do not mix with the workers. The bosses have their Kitchi Gammi clubs and Commercial Clubs. They have their banquets etc. On the other hand the workers have their picture shows, pool halls etc. The social distinctions of life are a reflex of that economic relationship that we spoke of. The power of the boss socially, is a reflex of the power of the boss, economically.

Of course it will be stated that the boss has not got power. That we are endeavoring to promote class feelings. Let us examine this argument. Power has its opposite effect. Every positive has a negative. The opposite to power is SUBMISSION OR WEAKNESS. Let us travel through a factory. We are in a factory visiting the workers. All of a sudden there is rush of workers to their jobs. The workers at the machine become energetic. More work is being done. What has produced this change? The word has been sent round that the BOSS IS COMING. The mere fact that the boss is coming is the cause of the workers become more energetic. The workers are afraid of the boss. That is why they work faster when he appears upon the scene. Why are they afraid of

him? Simply because the boss has the P-O-W-E-R to fire them. In a word the boss can either give them the means to live or take them away from them. Because the boss has that power, that is why he finds the working-class bowing and scraping before him. That is why even the small business men of this community bowed and scraped before that rich parasite-Judge Gary. As another manifestation of this power, let us draw your attention to the fact that before you can even go to work you must ask some man, an employer, to give you a job. When he gives you a job he pays you so much for the labor-power that you expend. The value of an automobile is determined by the amount of social labor power, under average social conditions, that it takes to produce it. The value of a worker is the amount of social power, under average social conditions, that it takes to produce the commodities required to keep the worker alive. YOU SELL YOURSELF TO ANOTHER MAN. The price that you receive after you have sold yourself is called W-A-G-E-S. Here is where the economic relationship asserts itself once more. It is to the interest of those that BUY, to pay as LITTLE as they possibly can. It is to the interests of those that SELL to procure as MUCH as they possibly can for that which they sell. Around this economic relationship centers the fight for what has come to be known as THE OPEN SHOP.

The forces that engage in the fight for the OPEN SHOP, are of two kinds, those that own the open shop and those that work in the open shop. Those that own have formed themselves into solid organizations such as the Builders' Exchange. Every master of the building trade has joined in common cause with every other master of the building. Master-electrician, master-painter, master-carpenter etc. are all joined together and they have declared war upon you worker-electrician, worker-painter, worker-carpenter. You meet the solid phalanx of your masters with the individual organizations of your various trade. You fight the master in your own turn and time. There is no solidarity between you and the rest of those that work with you. You have allowed your minds to be chloroformed by the "poison gas" of those "sane and respectable" labor leaders, who are forever urging you to indorse the industrial development schemes of your masters and at the same time they act as a brake on the wheels of progress. They talk to you of community of interest, yet when any of your members dare to state the facts and tell you that in UNION THERE IS STRENGTH, they erect a barrage between you and the truth of the industrial situation, by calling the radicals certain terms, which at the present time serve as tokens of ill-repute. THE FIGHT FOR THE OPEN SHOP IS NOW BEING SAGED. IT IS DUE TO BE FOUGHT IN THE SUMMER MONTHS. It now becomes your bounden duty to protect your organization and so prevent your masters from destroying the only means of protection that you now enjoy. You can never protect your organization, by FIGHTING ALONE. To win in the fight you must all stand together! Every worker engaged in the building trade must make common cause. Standing united, there is no power can defeat you. But if you conduct your fights upon the old-time methods, then do not blame anybody else if next summer you go down to eternal defeat. Stand up like men and fight like men. Stand erect and fight as one. Let the masters of this city declare for the open shop and you take up the gauntlet. Standing as one you win. But standing alone—

IT IS NOW UP TO YOU TO DECIDE, WHICH SHALL IT BE?

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND VICTORY OR CRAFT UNIONISM AND DEFEAT?

MAKE YOUR CHOICE!

TRUTH WILL OUT!

"President Wilson, who originated this 'making the world safe for democracy' and other mouthfilling phrases, has never in practice concealed his contempt for democracy." WALL ST. JOURNAL.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The District Attorney for Minnesota, in order to make our case look all the blacker and more grave in its revolutionary aspect told the jury of the disastrous results of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even so-called "Socialists" similar to Spargo decry the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to better understand the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is well for us to understand bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy is nothing more nor less than the DICTATORSHIP OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS. You can talk about the democratic nature of your government, but the truth still remains that in every clear-cut issue that has presented itself, such as the Coal and Steel strikes, the government has in each case lined up with the capitalist class. In the management of the post office, every working-class paper that dared to criticize the work of the capitalist class found that its mailing privileges were taken away. Even today the paper companies are talking of refusing to supply radicals with print-paper. Yet on the other hand capitalist papers that were ANTI-WAR, and in many cases openly PRO-GERMAN, were allowed to retain their mailing privileges. Furthermore, any teacher that dares to give a correct interpretation of current events is dismissed from his position. Through their dictatorship the capitalist class controls the sources of education. They also control the sources of publicity. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS IS MORE OPPRESSIVE THAN THAT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. In Russia you can become one of the dictators by simply going to work. But in this country you can NEVER become one of the dictators, who constitute the class that is known as the dictatorship of the capitalists.

The dictatorship of the capitalist class of this country is more coercive and vicious than any the dictatorship of the working-class of Russia. The dictatorship of the capitalist class drives a girl straight to the brothel and compels her to sacrifice everything that she holds dear for the MERE RIGHT TO EXIST. The same dictatorship drives even the little child, to the number of two million in this country, to the factory and there stunts the mind and dwarfs the vision of the child when he is young, so destroying everything that is good in him. This dictatorship brings forth all the rotten fruits of the tree known as capitalism, such as prostitution, suicide, poverty, sweat shops, child-labor and so on down the line. It is the same dictatorship that clothes the idle parasite in silks and satins, and the over-worked worker in rags. It is the same dictatorship that gives to the idle the fancy limousines and makes out of the worker the weary tramp. On the other hand the dictatorship of the proletariat is instituted for the purpose of protecting the fight for a decent existence. It stands there to offer welcome to those that would assist it in the building of a new social order and it threatens death to those that would betray it. The essence of dictatorship is coercive power, it is true. We need power to defend the cause of the working-class from the hands of those that would bath the workers in their own blood in order to perpetuate their bloodthirsty rule. The labor leader who talks of the denial of democracy, as applied to the Bolsheviks, either does not understand the labor movement and its object or else he is one of those who uses the backs of the working-class as stepping stones to political office. Life is a struggle and if the working-class are going to ever win out they must stand firm and to those that would assist them they can afford to offer the hand of solidarity, but to those

that would drag them down they must offer stern, uncompromising resistance. As Clara Zetkin states:—

"The persistence of soviet rule, which, the confident prophets assured us, could not possibly last more than a few weeks, enables us to infer with certainty that this government is supported by the broad masses of the Russian people. The bolsheviks, and the left social revolutionaries who cooperate with them, constitute the stalwart framework of the Russian revolutionary army. Through their readiness for action, through their capacity, they inspire confidence in the masses and rally the masses to their support. The need for dictatorship shows us, indeed, that the number and importance of the opponent of the soviet government must be no means be underestimated. Power must be used to repress power. Our hope is that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry will maintain itself long enough to abolish itself when it has fulfilled its function and reached its goal. For whereas during the two opening periods of the revolution the path of the governments led from the fine ideal of democracy to the harsh and cruel reality of dictatorship, the path of the soviet dominion will lead from the harsh and cruel reality of dictatorship to the beautiful and realized dream of democracy."

DOWN WITH THE PIONEERS!

Reprinted from "The Plebs".

"The greatest foe of all progress is the superannuated pioneer."

After us the deluge, so far as progress is concerned, is the attitude of the pioneer who has done his work." Thus Belfort Bax in an essay with the above title written in the '90's of the last century. It sounds a terrible long time ago, but it is less remote than the relation between the revolutionary movement of those times and the present, judged by the position of living participants. Who nowadays thinks of Hyndman, Blackford, Will Thorne and John Burns as revolutionaries? Yet in the "nineties" they were rightly regarded as of that proud order. The continental movement affords similar evidence in justification of Bax's war-cry; Kautsky, for instance, whose Dictatorship of the Proletariat has just been published by the I. L. P.

The book seeks to prove the anti-Marxian character of the Russian Soviet Republic on the grounds that it is a violation of the "principle" of "free democracy" (1) by the forcible suppression of a section of the Russian people—i. e., the supporters of property and privilege, and (2) that even within the working-class it forcibly suppresses opposition, even when that opposition comes from supporters of "Socialist ideals."

Now what is all this but a recognition of the fact that, hitherto, political Socialists have been mainly engaged in discussions, with supporters and opponents alike, as to the ultimate conditions of existence in a fully established Socialist society. In those discussions Socialist propagandist have been concerned to know that the oppression of one class by another has its basis in the passion for private property and wealth accumulation in all historical societies; that with the development of Capitalism all the pre-existing barriers against the establishment of conditions guaranteeing ample wealth for all have been removed; that the social ownership of the means of life—the sources of culture will necessitate a radical break with the existing forms of social control; and that the government of men will be superseded by a system concerned only with the administration of the social needs and conveniences. Inevitably in these discussions the appeal to the workers has naturally taken the form of the practical programmes of the Parliamentarians. These have unconsciously clothed our conceptions of change in the terms of the existing institutions, until concepts, based upon a condition presupposing social equality, have become mixed up with immediately necessary steps towards the final establishment of such equalitarian conditions. Therein lies the root of the pioneer's failure to keep an imaginative pliability and the consequent need for his suppression as events take the place of discussions. Here lies too, the cause of vacillation among the old guard when the need for action becomes imperative. They have tried to graft the living ship of communist theory on to the decaying trunk of the Capitalist State tree. And the result is a hot-house flower too frail for the rude winds of actuality.

The most hopeless type in any movement is the individual who cannot make up his mind. Unable to go the whole hog in his own national struggle he is just the one likely to lecture other national leaders and movements on the way they should conduct their struggle. Kautsky is a notable instance of this type. In the German struggle he is unwilling either to follow Noske and Co., or to make common cause with the Spartacists. As a consequence, his effectiveness in modern revolutionary struggles is confined to countries outside the Fatherland. In Germany action is essential, and Richard-Yea-and-Nay is taboo. But, however suspected Kautsky may be in Germany, he is welcomed by the invertebrates elsewhere, and by those of the Allied Powers in particular. As far as the capitalist section is concerned, it is quite clear that Kautsky's arguments are welcomed, because they give a theoretical status, from the working-class side, of their own need to temporise in the matter of an official peace with Soviet Russia. Their hope lies in (1) the exhaustion of the Russian proletariat and the acceptance by the workers there of a settlement that defeats the Revolution, and (2) in the chloroforming of working-class opinion in other countries. So far as the invertebrates in our own movement are concerned, they distrust the rank and file and are fearful of violence—"that force which is the midwife of an old society pregnant with the new." That forcefulness of purpose which declares "better an end with fight, than a fight without end," is not theirs.

Kautsky has a well-deserved and established reputation to be exploited. It is being exploited nowadays on behalf of views alien and hostile to those upon which his international reputation was built up.

How comes it that historians who are acute enough to discover the most trivial circumstances of possible moment to the often puerile actions of a monarch almost invariably forget to take account of the state of war when they concern themselves with the actions of a democratic and even communist commonwealth fighting for its life? A state of siege has always led to the temporary unlimited power over the life and property of the people; so much so indeed that the words "state of siege" imply the setting aside of freedom and ordinary judicial methods. Communism has, unfortunately, not yet discovered the miraculous elixir that shall make this necessary consequence of a state of siege superfluous. Neither could it prevent the siege of Munster leading to a military dictatorship.

Thus Kautsky the revolutionary to Kautsky the Pioneer! For what else is the above but a statement of the position and condition of Soviet Russia to-day? Chatter about "free democracy" when the working-class takes "the first step that costs" on the road to Communism must be counted either as treachery or unpardonable weakness.

And reading this latest book one cannot but feel that Kautsky has lost his grip. There is further evidence of it in the Editor's Preface. In his letter to the Hungarian Communists he warns them not to attempt to copy too closely the methods which have been adopted in Russia. Our Hungarian comrades didn't. But when another revolutionary uprising occurs in Hungary, they are not likely again to follow Pioneer Kautsky's advice! What can we think of a person of the latter's calibre when in commenting on Marx's statement in the Gotha Programme—"Between Capitalist and Communist Society lies the period of revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This requires a political transition stage which can be nothing else than the rev-

olutionary dictatorship of the proletariat," he says:—"He (Marx) speaks not of a form of government, but of a condition that must everywhere arise when the proletariat has conquered political power." "Form," "condition!" Oh, Pioneer!

In all the interminable literature and talk about the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the endless conjuring tricks of verbalism with the writings of Marx and Engels, what has the ordinary person to consider and decide upon? Simply this:—Given a favourable opportunity for a revolutionary uprising against the existing State, are we, the working-class party, to jeopardise a victorious result through a respectful adherence to the formula of "free democracy", or any other concept of "freedom"?

What is "free democracy" anyhow? The right to vote when and how the stage is set by our capitalist governors. Against us—Press, Pulpit, Platform, Police, Parliament, ownership and control of Production, Prejudice in all its State forms, and finally, we expect, the Pioneers. This is what our rulers have in mind when they prate about "free democracy." And we are to fight under these rules! Kautsky has been buried in Germany or he would never write about the possibilities of peaceful transition in "democratic" countries like—England and America!

Think of Churchill's recent remark at Dundee—"I do not believe that despotism (Russia) is fit company for a democratic (!) Government like ours." That from the representative of a class which entered into an unholy alliance with Czarism before and during the war; which to-day is holding India, Egypt, Ireland, etc., with machine-guns and tanks; which acts as chief salesman at the auctions by the Allies of the rights of the "wee-frees" among the nations. A class that has sunk so low in prestige that even the Barne's and the Roberts's are deserting it!

The revolutionary situation nowadays calls for a new structural form of society and that structural form will be industrial. Up to the present the political form, the State, has been the only social system known to the working-class. A revolutionary upheaval would be evidence that the State no longer met the needs of the latter class. It would presuppose a change of form. What change? Those who give the impetus to the workers in the direction of revolution have a new system in view, a system that evolves from the process that the workers are already familiar with—the process of production. Starting with the industry as the unit of government and organised on the basis of administration of things the social system will soon cease to be a mysterious complex process, and will present itself simply a means of promoting the happiness and well-being of the peoples; instead of, as now, a system of promoting the accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few.

That only a limited number of the working-class party have yet clearly conceived the form of a creative revolution is inevitable under the conditions. That a section, therefore, will take the lead in establishing and maintaining the new social order is also inevitable. If in the revolutionary period they are able to carry with them the mass of the proletariat, and to secure the establishment of this particular form of social control, are they acting contrary to "free democracy" in any sense in which we are prepared to accept the term, even though they may have forcibly to oppose another proletarian section whose views differ? In normal times it is possible to discuss at length and vote upon internal differences represented in the various class organisations, but when the fight is on quick resolute decision is the essence of strategy and the determinant of success.

The truth is that the Parliamentarian is incapable of extricating himself from the forms and conventions of the Capitalist State machinery and ideology; and this is the result of his preoccupation with preliminary propaganda work, which from being a means to an end has become an end in itself. It is one of the drawbacks of the political period of our struggle that it gives such a fine stage to the word-spinners and the resolutionists. Theirs is only a part and, the more the movement grows the least important part of the work. When revolution comes the "debater" may, and usually does, find himself pushed aside. His struggle to reassert the revolutionary character of the struggle only emphasises the necessity of Bax's tactic—"Down with the pioneers!"

GEO. SIMS.

THE DAY IS COMING!

One of the Finnish White Guards returned to Sweden and secured a job as a member of the police force of Sundbyberg.

Four hundred workers gathered together and assembled at the Peoples House, Sundbyberg. They stated that there would be a strike, unless the Finnish White Guard was removed. The White Guard deemed it advisable to resign and leave.

It is possible for some members of the American White Guard to learn a lesson from this incident? The working-class of this country must keep on eye on those of its members, who under the euphonious name of Home Guard, assist the exploiters of the working-class to crush the working-class in times of strikes. Let us discard all maudlin sentiment about every man having to do something to live. Let us realise that life is a struggle and THAT HE WHO IS NOT FOR US IS AGAINST US!

I. L. P. PROTESTS.

Chicago.—The Independent Labour Party of England, a section of the Labour Party of that country, has adopted the following resolution which has just reached this country:

"On behalf of the Independent Labour Party and its Executive, we strongly protest against the policy of the Entente in encouraging the monarchist reaction in Hungary, and condemn the imprisonment, torture and execution of Socialists as an offence and outrage, and we offer sympathy and support to all who are subject to this persecution. We are doing all we can to bring the facts to public knowledge in this country, and to influence the British Government."

(Signed)

Philip Snowden,
Ramsay MacDonald,
Neil Maclean, M. P.
Ethel Snowden.

BY ALL MEANS READ THIS BOOK.

B. W. Huebsch, the most progressive publisher in America, has recently published the papers of Randolph Bourne. Randolph Bourne died a few months ago and his papers have been collected and published in one volume, "Untimely Papers." We regret that we have not got the time to review this book, but if you want to read something that will make you think, then read this book.

We have just concluded the last chapter of the book and we cannot help but draw your attention to this wonderful work. It sells for \$1.50 and can be had from B. W. Huebsch, Book Publisher, 32 W. 5th Street, New York City. If you want to read something real and wholesome, then read these papers of Randolph Bourne. The best of the best.

WHY WORK?

A molder who had worked for three years at the McDougall Polk Street works that he had \$1.85 in the bank. So he quit!