

"THE sacred right of exploiting their fellow-men and women has been taken away from the would-be exploiters. Perhaps that is tyranny, but I think that Every Working Man and Woman the World Over Should Rejoice that Russia has that Sort of Tyranny."

—George Lansbury, Editor London Daily Herald, who has recently returned from Russia

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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!

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AMERICAN BANKERS FINANCE GERMAN REVOLT

Russians Loyal To Soviet Government

RUSSIA WILL BE MARVEL OF WORLD LONDON EDITOR SAYS AFTER VISIT

George Lansbury Declares. All Forces Are Behind Reconstructive Movement—Gives Message to Workers of America.

BY CABLE TO THE FEDERATED PRESS.

LONDON—George Lansbury, editor of The London Daily Herald, on his return to England Saturday delivered a special message on Russia to the workers of America, in which he declared that all forces in Russia are behind a reconstructive movement and that what has already been accomplished will be the marvel of the world when it becomes fully understood.

Lansbury was the recipient of a great ovation, in which red flags were waved and cheers for international Socialism were the chief characteristics. When he reached Hardwich, a monster delegation from the Independent Labor party welcomed him on shipboard, but the real demonstration took place at Liverpool station in London, where an enormous crowd had been waiting for hours for the train.

As Lansbury came out of the station flowers were strewn in his path and red flags were waved without the slightest attempt on the part of the police to interfere.

Gives Message To Workers.

To The Federated Press correspondent Lansbury gave this message to the workers of America.

"Tell them first of all," he said, "that Lenin, Trotsky and other Russian leaders are real men worth hundreds of any of our western politicians. They are tackling a big task in a big way. Tell them that this is being done though conditions are most severe in Russia, where there are no luxuries and few comforts and where everybody shares what there is. Lenin eats the same kind of bread and the same small rations that everybody else does."

"The privileged classes in Russia today are the sick and the children. 'Children first,' is the motto in all matters of food distribution."

Mr. Lansbury was asked about compulsory labor and the stories current in America that the Bolsheviks were imposing grinding, industrial tyranny upon the workers, Lansbury laughed.

No Compulsory Labor.

"I want to tell everyone about that," he said. "It was the most interesting thing I have ever seen. You see, now that most of the counterrevolutionary armies have been destroyed, fewer troops are required for fighting and so the men are urgently needed for clearing up the railroads, rebuilding bridges, procuring fuel and reconstructing transports."

"The soviet government, led by Trotsky is arousing the same spirit of enthusiasm for labor on behalf of the community, and not for the private profit of individuals, as was aroused for fighting external enemies. He is succeeding. But there is no such thing as compulsory labor. The work now being carried out was the result of an appeal from the soldiers of the red army themselves, who asked that their services be utilized when the fighting was over. It is simply

a lie to say that compulsory labor is imposed as an act of tyranny. The work is being carried out with the consent and co-operation of the trade unions.

Results Are Seen.

"The results are already seen everywhere. Everybody is talking about the 'bloodless front' and there is great rejoicing when any important piece of work has been accomplished in a short space of time. Recently a big bridge was repaired within a few days, though it was expected that it would take weeks, and there was as much joy over this accomplishment as if a big victory had been won. The red army would not tolerate massed labor of this description for private profit, but they will do it gladly in a community spirit."

"Remember that 65 per cent of the red army can read, though before the revolution less than 15 per cent could do so. The soviet government told the army truthfully what it was fighting for, and now they tell the army truthfully what it is working for."

Blends Two Methods.

"Trotsky's Moscow speech setting forth his proposal for a labor army 'bloodless front' was a model of straightforwardness."

As to the unions, the great question in Russia today is whether the unions shall become the actual organizers of industry or whether the state shall be the dominant factor. The present system blends two methods. Of course, there is discipline in the factories because the workers know that discipline is necessary if any big undertaking is to be accomplished, and so they accept discipline which is self-imposed."

"The greatest evil has resulted from allied espionage. The allies have sent spies and mischief-makers throughout all the ranks of industry, who have committed unlimited sabotage in their efforts to stir up discontent. No where and never has espionage and treachery been organized from the outside on such a scale as in Russia today."

Men Remain Loyal.

"Despite this fact the great mass of workers remains unshakably loyal to the revolution."

EX-DETECTIVE EXPOSES CRIMES AGAINST LABOR

Man 30 Years in Private and Government Work Sends President Story of Dramatic Plots of Employers, Shooting and Kidnapping of Workers.

BUTTE, Mont.—March 27th.—"Every murder and wholesale destruction of property that has been committed in the United States since labor has first organized has been premeditated and carried out by the secret agents of the private detective corporations, who have sworn their way into the organized bodies of workers for the purpose of betraying them."

Somebody who ought to know has just made that charge, in writing to President Wilson.

Stephen A. Doyle of Duluth, for 30 years a detective in both private and government service, is ready to tell the world of the iniquity he has seen in those 30 years, of the blood that has been spilled, the lies that have been told the woman that have been outraged, the men who have been sold, in the effort of the great bosses to incriminate the workers in all the labor wars that America has seen.

Knows the Whole Story.

He knows the story well, with all its dramatic plots and secret, unwritten history. Orty Me-Manigle was a Burns detective. Harry Orchard worked for Thiel—1918 strike at Argo, Ill., was a company engineered affair to break the union, which had grown 100 per cent strong while the government had the plant in wartime. It all costs millions of dollars, millions which each citizen of America pays as a consumer.

His letter President Wilson has been the first step in Doyle's revelation. Now he is writing book, making the expose on a larger scale. His object is the outlawing of all private detective agencies.

In fact, it is the loyalty of workers, both in the army and in industry, which has made everything possible. Without such loyalty the revolution would have been wiped out 18 months ago."

Lansbury laughed as he finished.

"Of course, there is one form of tyranny in Russia today. It is the tyranny which says to every individual man and woman 'if you are going to live in our community you must at least take a share in earning your daily bread.'"

"The sacred right of exploiting their fellow-men and women has been taken away from would-be exploiters. Perhaps that is tyranny, but I think that every working man and woman the world over should rejoice that Russia has that sort of tyranny."

Not a "Bolsheviki."

"I am 100 per cent American (Democrat), 49 years of age and a life long detective, and fully understand what I am writing and realize that this statement is going before you, our chief executive, for your consideration, and thence before the eyes of the world, and I make the same without any pretensions or retractions or apology, and for the further purpose of giving you an opportunity of dealing intelligently with the complex problem that now confronts the welfare of our nation. In other words, remove the dagger that is slowly but surely bleeding to death 'the goddess' from her patriot bosom," writes the wise detective in introducing himself to the President. And he has this view of "foreign labor" and its anxiety to abide by genuine American institutions—a view which no capitalist course over permits to reach the light.

About Foreigners.

"The foreign element are 98 per cent laborers, consequently had to mingle quietly with our noble sons who earned their bread by the sweat of their brow, and always stood steadfastly by their constitutional rights and so do still."

"Thank God they organized the foreigners and educated them up to true American standards; co-operated with them in all things; and today, for love of country and freedom and true American standards, they stand shoulder to shoulder in a solid phalanx to combat against the common enemy that threatens to crush and crucify."

The Doyle story continues: "On close estimate, it costs the Bankers and Manufacturers' Association of this city and state \$250,000 per month, on an average, to keep up this private detective system, and on January 1, 1919, \$750,000 was distributed among the different agencies for the purpose of creating and promoting strife between the races, and in every most undreamed-of way, work their way into the ranks of organized bodies of men and agitate and lead them into all imaginable acts of violence against the government of the United States and the present administration, and they have succeeded very well, so far."

Spitting on the Flag.

"I went into a hall that is branded as 'red' with a detective friend about a month ago. He walked up through the center of the hall wearing a red flag, made a short speech, hurled his curse

on the traitor, Woodrow Wilson, pulled down the American flag and wiped his feet on it and spat on it. I said to him, after we came out: 'Good Lord, how can you have the heart to do that?' 'Oh, hell,' he said, 'I get \$45 a week from the Thiel Detective Agency for pulling that stuff, and I have 15 names in there, and every act I pull of those names. It is easy to convict them, for I carry a sheriff's star.'

"He also told me that his agency had 1,500 men operating in the city of Chicago, under the same conditions as he is. I met him again on the 16th, and he said: 'Doyle, this is a great game. Did you see by the paper about that letter the governor's mother-in-law got?' I replied I believed I did. He said, 'We sent that.' I said, 'What purpose?' 'Oh,' he said, 'a double purpose. Governor increased his plain clothes squad, and we got them scared of the 'reds'—we deal both ways, see?'"

Besting the Government.

"The Ethiopian hasn't changed his skin, nor the leopard his spots since the government took over the railroads up to the first of October, 1919."

The special detective system established to serve special interests has systematically looted the freight department in which I served out of \$70,000,000, which the poor people must pay, and from the first of October, 1919, \$27,000,000 to the present date. The claim department has a record of about \$125,000,000 to its discredit; all this system's work is done for the purpose of discrediting government control.

"I endeavored to expose it and was ousted out of the service. They got wise."

"The first private detective service known in the world's history is Pinkerton's in Chicago. The next was Thiel and the Burns agency following. Today there are millionaire companies, although they are non-productive—that is, they have never produced anything but crime."

"The blowing up of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan concentrators in the state of Idaho, in the year 1899, and the murder of 25 men was planned and carried out by private detectives. They were not quite satisfied with their deadly work, so they furnished false testimony against Frank Butler and Paul Cochran, president and secretary of the local miners' union, and sent them to the penitentiary, the real culprits giving evidence against them."

"The next step was to murder

AMERICAN FINANCIERS AIDED GERMAN COUNTER-REVOLUTION

International Bankers Thwart Every Move To Develop German Economic Life. Prepared To Loan Kapp One Hundred Millions If Revolt Was Successful.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Washington.—Prussian reactionaries were in active alliance with international finance when they launched their effort to establish a military dictatorship over Germany.

To weaken the Ebert government and prepare the ground for the coup d'etat at Berlin the international bankers had thwarted every move to revive the economic life of Germany.

J. P. Morgan & Co. had concluded arrangements to loan the Wolfgang Kapp dictatorship \$100,000,000 as soon as the junkers should conclude their destruction of the pseudo-Socialistic government headed by Ebert.

Banker Tells Ebert.

The above analysis of motives behind the counter-revolution in Germany have reached your correspondent from a Scandinavian banker, who enjoys intimate connections with European diplomacy.

He explains that the money masters of Great Britain and the United States have been determined for more than a year to boycott Germany until there should be established there a regime free from working-class influence.

Ebert Wanted Loan.

To illustrate this attitude, he tells of a tentative agreement concluded some months ago between Berlin and Wall Street for a loan of many millions of dollars, based upon the best available German security. Mysterious pretexts for not concluding the loan then began to arise on this side of Atlantic. To hasten the transaction, the Ebert government named a financial mission to visit the United States.

Then occurred an incident which illustrated the real poverty of the former German empire. The Ebert government informed its semi-official agent in America that \$50,000 would be needed to defray the expenses of the visiting mission. Due to the abnormal exchange rates, it would cost the German government no less than 2,000,000 marks to raise \$50,000 at home.

Turn Request Down.

These terms were so excessive that Ebert appealed to the agent in America to obtain an advance of \$50,000 in the United States. The agent undertook that task, but bankers here turned the request down as soon as they learned what it was for.

Close inquiry into the cause of this refusal disclosed the fact that American bankers were advised of an impending reaction toward monarchy in Germany,

which would come soon and have a better chance to succeed if funds were withheld from the Ebert government.

British Are Implicated.

The complicity of certain British elements in the counter-revolution is indicated by the fact that on March 15, when all newspapers in Germany perceived that the Kapp dictatorship had no hold upon the people, and when the general strike of workers had attained wide proportions, the British charge d'affaires in Berlin, Lord Kilmarnock, telegraphed to London:

"The position of the new government appears to have been strengthened. Military coups have been carried out in 35 towns."

Between Devil and Sea.

Competent observers at Washington point out that entente reactionaries have been, with respect to Germany, between the devil of militarist revival and the deep sea of growing working class power, ending perhaps in a communist victory. This dilemma is said to explain why the Berlin coup was entrusted to secondrate Prussian who were expected to destroy Ebert without creating a Ludendorff—or a Lenin!

Another Gold Brick!

By The Federated Press

Chicago.—The United Americans, the newest organization of big business men, is composed of those who believe in the ten commandments, the golden rule, and the constitutions of the United States, according to the association posters and literature. Here are some of the leaders:

Otto Kahn of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., intimately connected with the J. P. Morgan interests, which control the railways of the United States, the circulation of its money and its international relations. Mr. Kahn has signed us as believing in the constitution of the United States.

John H. Kirby of Houston, Texas, president of the National Lumber Manufacturers' Assn., and originator of the Ku Klux Klan scheme of exterminating the A. F. of L., has signed up as believing in the golden rule.

H. H. Metrick, president of the Chicago Association of Commerce and advocate of the now-famous "Treat 'Em Rough" policy, which he originated during the steel strike. The day after the "Treat 'Em Rough" speech four strikers were killed by the police in Hammond, Ind. Mr. Metrick has signed up as believing in the ten commandments.

WILSON GOES MOTORING WHILE EUROPE QUIVERS

Little Group of Citizens Stare Silently at Man Who Helped to Frame Impossible Peace Which Has Driven Germany Into Revolution.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

WASHINGTON—With Germany bent double in revolution primarily against the terms of an impossible peace, and with the Senate branding the stamp of American condemnation into the Treaty of Versailles, President Wilson went riding in an automobile today. When he returned to the White House a little group of some forty persons stood on the sidewalk near the iron gate.

No sign of applause or greeting came from the citizens, who gazed with frightened eyes upon the haggard, yellow countenance of the Chief Executive of the Nation. The President sat low among the cushions of his car. Suffering carried to the verge of dull apathy shone through the dry, drawn skin of his face. He did not turn his eyes upon the people. His car rolled through the iron gate, and the people drew deep breaths of pained astonishment when it had passed.

Within the State Department, a half block away, telegraph instruments ticked feverishly and messengers hurried to bureau chiefs with telegrams from a score of points in Europe. The Kapp dictatorship was staggering to its fall and the Ebert democracy was tumbling after. Communists, Socialists and the impoverished millions of fresh bourgeois proletarians were joining hands and crying down both Ebert and Kapp.

A New Germany in Birth.

From every agent came proof that what war had left to the old economic and social order in Germany had been shattered by the "peace" framed in Paris. A new and different nationalism was being torn beyond the Rhine—the kind which turns to working class rule as the only remedy from capitalist stagnation at home and the loss of territory to imperialist neighbors.

The words of Communist agitators on German street corners were being repeated over the cable. "Hohenzollern militarism brought us war and defeat; Ebert democracy brought us invasion and starvation. Look to Russia, where the workmen and peasants have speared their mightiest invaders into the sea and established freedom. Down with the junkers and capitalists! Long live the German proletarian republic!"

From the American legation in Holland came a long message, filled with news that Americans have not been allowed to hear. The ports of Rotterdam and Amsterdam are paralyzed by a gigantic general strike. Two hundred vessels of all nations lie idle at the piers at Rotterdam alone. British seamen are sending funds to support the Dutch

Ex-Detective Exposes Crimes Against Labor

(Continued from page 1.)

the Governor. For this crime the officers of the union were arrested. Harry Orchard, a Thiel detective, who was covered in the union as surely as Judas in Christ's family, turned state's evidence and was given immunity by the state officials, who formed a partnership with him.

Confessed Detective.

"I exposed the conspiracy and the innocent men went free. He was put on his trial and confessed that he was a secret operative for the Thiel Detective Service and was directed in his work by them; also confessed to having dynamited a building in Colorado and murdered 13 innocent men. He also confessed that this work was done by his agency and the motive was to break up the Western Federation of Miners and call down the wrath and prosecution of the government officials upon its members.

"The Western manager of the Thiel agency was discharged from this service, but he was financed by them to start an agency in his own name, as they considered such service as he was capable of rendering indispensable.

Los Angeles Blast.

"Orty McManigle was another man of the Judas type. He was a Burns detective for many years, and to show how cleverly he carried out his work—and, of course, you will realize that I couldn't describe this clearly unless I was part and parcel of it—he furnished his master, Mr. William I. Burns, chief of the Burns International Detective Service, 40,000 letters to be used

as evidence after forming a partnership with the Governor of California, the judge, etc.

"Water finds its level. Orty McManigle also said he sent the mysterious bomb that Colonel Otis' confidential Jap brought in, and the captain of police exploded, to destroy the evidence. Some would discredit this, but I wouldn't, as I know the game from A. to Z.

The Illinois Massacre.

"When the government released the Corn Products and Refining Company's plant it was 100 per cent union, and private detectives were immediately engaged to bust it up; and in order to do this successfully they began to run covered spies into the union. The boys, when in, did their work well in creating race hatred, that being their 'long suit.' Finally they got the forces divided by telling the Americans that the foreigners wanted the Americans run out and informing the foreigners likewise. Consequently, on the 9th of July the strike was called.

"The private detective service company brought up the sheriff, prosecutor and mayor of Argo. So the foreign class had a poor show. Spectators at 5 p. m. were congregated about the gate of the plant, and the mayor of Argo assembled his gunmen in front of his home at 57th place and instructed them as follows:

"Twenty of you go under cover around the rear of the plant and open fire on them, when you see me close in from the north side, and we will shoot them down."

Shot Down 58.

"They opened fire and shot down 58 people, men and women and killed three men. On July 14 they made another attack on a congregation of foreigners, and

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

(R. M. Fox in the "Scottish Socialist.")

Karl Kautsky has written an interesting book called "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In it he advances various criticisms of the Soviet regime.

He quotes a certain Weiting, who flourished at the time of the French Revolution, as showing that ideas of dictatorship in connection with labour are fairly old. But his parallel between Weiting and the Bolsheviks breaks down, among other reasons, because Weiting did not believe in democracy even in a Socialist community. The Bolsheviks do and are simply endeavoring to make a condition of real democracy possible.

His next parallel is drawn from the manifesto on "The Civil War in France," written by Karl Marx, and dealing with the Paris Commune of 1871.

Kautsky contends that Marx was opposed to the method of dictatorship now used in Russia. He writes (p. 45):—"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat was for him a condition which necessarily arose in a real democracy because of the overwhelming numbers of the proletariat."

Accepting this, for the moment, as true, it admits that Marx believed that we must ignore the opinion of the other side and use our sledgehammer majority to carry out our work irrespective of them. Their votes are to be disregarded. But once you admit that the workers, acting as a class, have the right to ignore the other side and to carry out their will, irrespective of bourgeois representation, then the mere question as to whether the proletariat class are allowed to possess a useless vote or not becomes a matter of expediency. It is the fact of Dictatorship, and not the form, which Kautsky must oppose, if he wishes to make a case. Marx, even on his showing, supported the fact. It is no use fiddling with the question. Kautsky, by admitting that the capitalists are to be repressed and their opinion ignored, whether they vote or not, has no right to make the granting of a vote to them a matter of principle. He ignores the substance and fights over the shadow.

He cannot do otherwise, because he is an insatiable user of revolutionary terminology. He is always writing about the Class Struggle. Kautsky has to realise apparently that the class struggle is a class struggle, and that in warfare one is not particular about giving the enemy the right to make a cross, especially if the intention is to tear his paper up when he has made it. Why not admit that it is a struggle and get on with it?

Unfortunately for him, however, Marx not only endorses the fact of dictatorship, but is rather explicit as to the form than Kautsky would have us believe. On page 35 of the Manifesto Marx says:—"The Central Committee was guilty of a decisive mistake in not at once marching on Versailles, then completely

three men and a woman were thrown in jail and brutally tortured. Private detectives had shot one man and were beating his head with a gun. A priest, who is also a foreigner, stepped up and said: 'I know him. He has nine children and he is not a bad man.'

"We are not killing him because he is a bad man, but because of the money there is in it," and they finished their ghastly work. Their victim of its agents.

"Emil Liedick, a foreigner, was not out on a strike, but he was locked up in the plant and left his 16-year-old wife at home, and Mr. Sayer, general superintendent, sent three of his choice gunmen to watch Liedick's home and protect his wife from the people he branded as lawless foreigners.

"They (the private detectives) robbed the house of \$95, kidnapped his young wife, after drugging her, took her to Dick Lambert's saloon, 63rd street and Archer avenue, where 114 of the private detectives outraged her, stripped off her garments, they her into their master's car and sold her out in the white slave district. This, Mr. Sayer, the superintendent, says is 'loyal Americanism' to foreigners in the name of our most beloved government."

helpless, and thus putting an end to the conspiracy of Thiers and his associates. Instead of this the Party of Order was again allowed to try its strength at the ballot box on the 26th of March, the day of the election of the Commune. Then in the mairies (wards) of Paris they exchanged bland words of conciliation with their all-too-generous conquerors, muttering in their hearts solemn vows to exterminate them in due course."

There Marx makes two complaints:—(1) That the Communists did not march on the enemy at Versailles; (2) that the Communists allowed the enemies of labour to vote.

Where does Kautsky's protestations of the hostility of Marx to a dictatorship come in?

It is true that elsewhere Marx talks broadly about "Universal Suffrage," but the above proves that even at this stage the idea of denying to the other side the right to obstruct the workers was dimly present. Obviously, too, not many capitalists would remain in Paris to vote.

Suppose that the Russian Revolution had been confined to Petrograd, the capitalists would have cleared out to some adjacent town, there to intrigue against Petrograd, and so the question of voting would have settled itself, as no doubt is largely did in Paris. If the Commune had spread all over France, the problem would have had to be faced as the Russians face it now.

Again the Commune only lasted three months, and the conditions were not favourable for plans of social reorganisation. When a city is ringed round with enemies and is fighting for life, it may be excused if it does not work out how the transition from one social system to another is to take place. Russia, with a far greater area, more time and different historical conditions, is now called upon to do this.

It is to their glory that they do not flinch from the task, and it is to the shame of men like Kautsky that they do.

Marx in the "Civil War" manifesto clearly indicates his belief that something other than parliamentary machinery is needed for the workers to control society.

Speaking of the capitalists, he says (p. 40):—"The proper form of their joint-stock Government was the parliamentary republic."

Later he says that the Commune is a working (i.e., industrial) and not a parliamentary body.

Again, page 44:—"The Commune is a model to all the great industrial centres; the old centralised Government would have to give way to the self-government of the producers. The Commune would be the political form of even the smallest country hamlet."

The connection between such an idea and the Soviets can be easily traced. Not that much stress should be laid on things like this, but Kautsky by claiming Marx as an anti-Bolshevik compels us to examine and explode his claim.

Yet it is best to discuss the issue on its merits to-day.

Kautsky argues as though democracy was possible to-day and that the Bolsheviks have broken down something fine which has been established. Yet we all know that democracy does not exist. Political democracy is a sham. The modern form of government is imperialistic, and tends to centralise power in a very few hands. The executive is more and more withdrawn from parliamentary control. What the Government actually does bears no relation whatever to its election pledges, and the People's wishes are never considered. Kautsky knows, like the rest of us, that in a society of classes one class must rule, and that democracy is impossible. Men like Henderson take seats in the Cabinet, as representing Labour, at the price of defending outrages like the deportation of the Clyde workers. When he did not act smartly enough to satisfy the capitalist dictators, he was slung out of the Cabinet. And yet they talk to us of democracy!

Kautsky makes a plea for equal rights for all, whatever their class or party. He says that he is unable to understand the logic of those who demand free speech, freedom of thought and expression, and the right to vote to-day, and yet to-morrow if in power would deny this to their opponents.

The contradiction is only superficial. Within Capitalism the permanent existence of the different classes is assumed, and so provision for expression must be made for all. Socialism, by denying the right of the capitalists to exist as a separate class, is not bound to make arrangements for their representation.

It is true that we demand rights to-day though we know that the Capitalist Dictatorship will go on in spite of "equal rights" till we are strong enough to break it.

We demand means of expression because the interests of Labour require that we should have them. It is a false analogy to say that because we demand freedom for ourselves that we should grant to the capitalists. The first condition of full human freedom is their dislodgment. We demand freedom to end slavery. This is incompatible with allowing the capitalists freedom to continue enslaving and misleading the people.

The mistake lies in assuming that the aim of the capitalists is on a level with that of labour. It is far beneath it. One might as well say that because a man is free to sell good food that the purveyor of adulterated goods has a similar right to disseminate poison as food.

No "abstract freedom" could justify this. So, as we force from them the right to spread the truth, we shall also curtail the lying and obstructive power, of the other side.

Kautsky's experience of the anti-Socialist laws of Germany should convince him that "abstract freedom" plays little part in the granting of concessions which are wrung from capitalist Governments.

The capitalist dare not frankly disfranchise labour and openly declare their class dictatorship. This would open the eyes of the people. They only rule by persuading the people that the whole community governs itself. We are not under the same necessity of concealing our aims. We can frankly declare that we are out to get power for the working class because the triumph of labour means saving society from continued slavery. Therefore, logically, we demand everything to-day which will increase our strength. We will use our strength to crush out the capitalists.

The interests of labour make us demand all possible expression. The interests of labour will make us suppress the defenders of slavery. We proceed from the same principle in each case. We are quite consistent, and the contradiction alleged by Kautsky does not exist.

Many of Kautsky's arguments have been disposed of by events since his book was written. He says that the Soviets are bound to get over smaller and to exclude more and more. The gathering together of all the revolutionary forces in Russia disproves this.

He dwells upon difficulties, natural difficulties of the country, the attachment of the peasants to private ownership, lack of education, etc.

The Soviets are doing everything possible to cope with these difficulties, and it is childish to suggest that the Soviet form of organisation is responsible for them. His suggestion that the Socialists of Russia should retire and allow Capitalism to develop there, as a necessary stage in social evolution, shows how completely he has become the academic professor and how little he is in touch with realities.

It is unthinkable that when men are able to profit by our experience of Capitalism and to establish freedom, that they should give way and allow a generation or two to be spent under Capitalist oppression so that things may fit in with some text book idea of social evolution.



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their confidence will not be abused.
Our Shoes are selected from the best makers best
efforts, and the man we shoe this year will come
back next year. Once we serve you
we are not afraid of losing you
trade. We know from past expe-
rience that once a customer always
a customer. — We are Union men
selling and repairing Shoes
The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address. 3021 W. Sup. St.

**Special on Wrist
Watches**
15 Jewels movement in 10 carat
gold filled case for... \$10.00
Liberty Bonds accepted for
full value in trade.
Spalding Jewellers
429 W. Superior St.
Next door Spalding Hotel.

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are also authorized agents for Em-
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BUT WE DO IT RIGHT
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Specialists
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WAR IS OVER
BUT PRICES ARE UP
EXCEPT AT
ERICKSON'S
HARDWARE
WE ARE NOW AT
2005 W. Superior St.

HOW I BECAME A SOCIALIST

By JACK LONDON.

It is quite fair to say that I became a Socialist in a fashion somewhat similar to the way in which the Teutonic pagans became Christians—it was hammered into me. Not only was I not looking for Socialism at the time of my conversion, but I was fighting it. I was very young and callow, did not know much of anything, and though I had never even heard of a school called "Individualism," I sang the psalm of the strong with all heart.

This was because I was strong myself. By strong I mean that I had good health and hard muscles, both of which possessions are easily accounted for. I had lived my childhood on California ranches, my boyhood hustling newspapers on the streets of a healthy Western city, and my youth on the ozone-laden waters of San Francisco Bay and the Pacific Ocean. I loved life in the open, and I toiled in the open, at the hardest kinds of work. Learning no trade, but drifting along from job to job, I looked on the world and called it good, every bit of it. Let me repeat, this optimism was because I was healthy and strong, bothered with neither aches nor weaknesses, never turned down by the boss because I did not look fit, able always to get a job at shovelling coal, sailoring, or manual labor of some sort.

And because of all this, exulting in my young life, able to hold my own at work or fight, I was a rampant individualist. It was very natural. I was a winner. Wherefore I called the game, as I saw it played, or thought I saw it played, a very proper game for MEN. To be a MAN was to write man in large capitals on my heart. To adventure like a man, and fight like a man, and do a man's work (even for a boy's pay)—these were things that reached right in and gripped hold of me as no other thing could. And I looked ahead into long vistas of a hazy and interminable future, into which, playing what I conceived to be WAN's game, I should continue to travel with unfailing health, without accidents, and with muscles ever vigorous. As I say, this future was interminable. I could see myself only raging through life without end like one of Nietzsche's blond beasts, lustfully roving and conquering by sheer superiority and strength.

As for the unfortunates, the sick, and ailing, and old, and maimed, I must confess I hardly thought of them at all, save that I vaguely felt that they, barring accidents, could be as good as I if they wanted to real hard, and could work just as well. Accidents? Well, they represented FATE, also spelled out in capitals, and there was no getting around FATE. Napoleon had had an accident at Waterloo, but that did not dampen my desire to be another and later Napoleon. Further, the optimism bred of a stomach which could digest scrap iron and a body which flourished on hardships did not permit me to consider accidents as even remotely related to my glorious personality.

I hope I have made it clear that I was proud to be one of Nature's strong-armed noblemen. The dignity of labor was to me the most impressive thing in the world. Without having read Carlyle, or Kipling, I formulated a gospel of work which put theirs in the shade. Work was everything. It was sanctification and salvation. The pride I took in a hard day's work well done would be inconceivable to me as I look back upon it. I was as faithful a wage slave as ever capitalist exploited. To shirk or linger on the man who paid me my wages was a sin, first, against myself, and second, against him. I considered it a crime second only to treason and just about as bad.

In short, my joyous individualism was dominated by the orthodox bourgeois ethics. I read the bourgeois papers, listened to the bourgeois preachers, and shouted at the sonorous platitudes of the bourgeois politicians. And I doubt not, if other events had not changed my career, that I should have evolved into a professional strike-breaker, (one of President Eliot's American heroes), and had my head and my earning power irrevocably smashed by a club in the hands

of some militant trades-unionist. Just about this time, returning from a seven months' voyage before the mast, and just turned eighteen, I took it into my head to go tramping. On rods and blind baggages I fought my way from the open West, where men bucked big and the job hunted the man, to the congested labor centres of the East, where men were small potatoes and hunted the job for all they were worth. And on this new blond-beast adventure I found myself looking upon life from a new and totally different angle. I had dropped down from the proletariat into what sociologists love to call the "submerged tenth", and I was startled to discover the way in which that submerged tenth was recruited.

I found there all sorts of men, many of whom had once been as good as myself and just as blond-beastly; sailor-men, soldier-men, labor-men, all wrenched and distorted and twisted out of shape by toil and hardship and accident, and cast adrift by their masters like so many old horses. I battered on the drag and slammed back gates with them, or shivered with them in box cars and city parks, listening the while to life-histories which began under auspices as fair as mine, with digestions and bodies equal to and better than mine, and which ended there before my eyes in the shambles at the bottom of the Social Pit.

And as I listened my brain began to work. The woman of the streets and the man of the gutter drew very close to me. I saw the picture of the Social Pit as vividly as though it were a concrete thing, and at the bottom of the Pit I saw them, myself above them, not far, and hanging on to the slippery wall by main strength and sweat. And I confess a terror seized me. What when my strength failed? When I should be unable to work shoulder to shoulder with the strong men who were as yet babes unborn? And there and then I swore a great oath. It ran something like this: **All my days I have worked hard with my body, and according to the number of days I have worked, by just that much am I nearer the bottom of the Pit. I shall climb out of the Pit, but not by the muscles of my body shall I climb out. I shall do no more hard work, and may God strike me dead if I do another day's hard work with my body more than I absolutely have to do.** And I have been busy ever since running away from hard work.

Incidentally, while tramping some ten thousand miles through the United States and Canada, I strayed into Niagara Falls, was nabbed by fee-hunting constable, denied the right to plead guilty or not guilty, sentenced out of hand to thirty days' imprisonment for having no fixed abode and no visible means of support, handcuffed and chained to a bunch of men similarly circumstanced, carted down country to Buffalo, registered at the Erie County Penitentiary, had my head clipped and my budding mustache shaved, was dressed in convict stripes, compulsorily vaccinated by a medical student who practised on such as we, made to march the lock-step, and put to work under the eyes of guards armed with Winchester rifles—all for adventuring in blond-beastly fashion. Concerning further details deponent sayeth not, though he may hint that some of his plethoric national patriotism simmered down and leaked out of the bottom of his soul somewhere—at least, since that experience he finds that he cares more for men and women and little children than for imaginary geographical lines.

To return to my conversion. I think it is apparent that my rampant individualism was pretty effectively hammered out of me, and something else as effectively hammered in. But, just as I had been an individualist without knowing it, I was now a Socialist without knowing it, withal, an unscientific one. I had been re-born, but not renamed, and I was running around to find out what manner of thing I was. I ran back to California and opened the books. I do not remember which ones I opened first. It is an unimportant detail anyway. I was already it, whatever it was, and by aid of the books I discovered that it was a Socialist. Since that day I have opened many books, but no economic argument, no lucid demonstration of the logic and inevitableness of Socialism affects me as profoundly and convincingly as I

Shaw Indorses Debs In iHs W.-K. Fashion

Asked for an expression of opinion of the announced candidacy of Eugene V. Debs for President, George Bernard Shaw cabled this reply yesterday:

"CLEARLY the WHITE House 'IS the only SAFE place 'IN AMERICA
'For an HONEST man
'LIKE DEBS.
'"BERNARD SHAW."

A SUGGESTION

By SCOTT NEARING.

Staff Writer, The Federated Press.
W. A. Law, president of the First National bank of Philadelphia and a former president of the American Bankers' Assn., is certain that a 56-hour week enforced until 1923 would bring down prices. He says that the "people of America may yet be called upon to make heavy personal sacrifices for the general good."

Mr. Law finds that "a 68 per cent inflation of our currency since our war began and the expanded loans reported by the 30,000 national and state banks of the United States" have been primarily responsible for the increase in the cost of living. As a remedy he suggests that "were it possible to get organized labor to consent to a 56-hour week until 1923, production would so increase as to force a general lowering of prices."

Of course Mr. Law is aware that prices are made up of several elements. They include the cost of raw materials, the cost of labor, the costs of maintenance and upkeep, the costs of capital—rent, interest and dividends, taxes and profits. A little investigation will show Mr. Law the greatest increases in costs during the past four years not in the cost of labor but in the cost of basic materials. In what case, for example, has there been an increase in labor cost equivalent to the rise in cotton from 10 cents to 40 cents a pound? Agricultural land, timber, and various mineral products have gone up correspondingly. Then here is the element of profits. The recently published senate document on war profits show that our industrial enterprises have not been satisfied with tens and hundreds of per cents, but have taken thousands of per cents in profit during a single year. Again there is the item of taxes. The federal government alone will spend from four to six times each year as much as it did before the war. Mr. Law knows that in the case of most manufactured commodities the labor cost is only a tiny fraction of the total cost.

Under the circumstances it seems worth while to suggest alternatives to the proposal for a 56-hour week. Profits might be restricted to a maximum of 10 per cent a year upon the actual capital outlay. This would reduce by several billions of dollars the costs of materials. All the dividends now being paid might be reduced by 30 per cent, and a corresponding amount taken from the cost of living. All bond interest might be decreased by a like amount with equally good results.

Again, since Mr. Law desires to increase production, it might be possible to make provisions whereby the many ladies and gentlemen who now live, without doing any work, on the proceeds of their investments might put in 44 hours of each week in some factory, mill, mine or store, thereby adding to the total productivity without increasing the consumption of the community. Indeed this latter suggestion might well decrease consumption since the erst-while idlers would have less time in which to consume luxuries.

There are many other possible alternatives to Mr. Law's proposal for a 56-hour week. Any one of them would strike nearer to the sources of social injustice and do more for the actual advancement of community well-being than the proposal he has made.

was affected on the day when I first saw the walls of the Social Pit rise around me and felt myself slipping down, down, into the shambles at the bottom.

PHOTOGRAPHS

By ANISEE.
Written for the Federated Press

When first they took
The PHOTOGRAPHS
Of the I. W. W.'s
Charged with MURDER
In the Centralia shooting—
They brought them
From the crowded jail
Where they had lain
Night after night
Listening
To the tramp of feet
And the mutter of voices
Talking of LYNCHING!
They had endured
Day after day
The THIRD DEGREE
In the jail office.
Such sleep as they had
Was taken
In their clothes,
And they had no chance
At a SHAVE
Or a good WASH
In many days!
The officer
Roughened their hair a bit
And tore open their shirts
Before he gave the sign
To the CAMERA-MAN.
The pictures were taken
Without retouching.
And published in the papers
Where they looked
Like the worst bunch
of BUMS
That ever plotted murder!
When the defense attorneys
Took a SECOND photograph,
The boys had had a chance
At reasonable REST
Removed
From fear of MOBS,
In a rather decent jail
In Montesano.
They had a SHAVE
And a good WASH
And brushed their hair
And tidied up their clothes
As you or I would do
For a photograph—
And they looked
Like an honest, homely bunch
Of workingmen,
Fathers of families,
And bright, nice-looking boys,
A trifle more intelligent
Than USUAL!
Then a capitalist sheet
Got hold
Of BOTH the photographs
And published them
TOGETHER.
With words that ran like this:
"See how IMPROVED
These Wobblies are
By a couple of months
In JAIL!"

THE PASSING OF CRIPPLE CREEK

By Mary E. Marey.

Now that we behold the collapse of one of the two great foundation pillars of capitalist society, we feel like soldiers in battle to whom has come invincible support. For we know that the failure or the collapse of capitalism means the seeds of revolution that no power on earth can check.

This is why, to us, the closing down of the Cripple Creek Mining Camp, the greatest and richest gold mine in America, is the momentous event of the year in what it signifies. It means that capitalism has become unworkable.

We do not imagine that the working class can fold its arms and inherit the revolution. But we do know that the collapse of the existing system will mean the whipping into revolutionary activity of the whole working class.

The following is a quotation from an article on the financial page of the Chicago Daily News of February 19th:

"According to a statement prepared by the American Mining Congress, it is no longer possible to produce gold at a profit in the United States.

"The present level of wages and commodity prices has got away from the gold standard; that is to say, the work which it takes to earn a dollar in industry is less than the effort required to produce a dollar in gold. The American Mining Congress statement says in part:

"The purchasing power of the ounce of gold, which under statute cannot bring more than \$20.67, has, Harold N. Lawrie, nationally known economist, shows, shrunken through inflation of currency until it is no longer possible for gold to be profitably produced.

"Gold mines of the United States are being closed down at an alarming rate. Many of these can never be re-opened owing to the prohibitive costs of retimbering and unwatering. Cripple Creek, the greatest American gold camp, is taking on the appearance of a city of dead hopes."

The capitalist system is based on the buying and selling of commodities, including the commodity, human labor power. The capitalist buys the labor power of the worker at wages that will enable the worker to subsist. He keeps the products of the worker for himself. And these products contain the wages of the worker. The capitalists get about four times as much as the worker receives out of the products of the worker.

Perhaps the worker produces every day commodities representing by—say—\$50.00 in value. And he receives \$10 in wages.

But in order for the capitalist to realize on the surplus value he has extracted from the workers, the capitalist class must have a standard money—means of exchange, measure of value. So far as anybody has been able to discover, gold is the only medium that fulfills all the requirements for the exchange or circulation of commodities, EXCEPT a medium based OPENLY UPON LABOR ALONE.

During the war the need for increased credits and an increased currency, forced the modern industrial countries to print millions upon millions of paper notes behind which there was no corresponding increase in gold. This meant currency inflation, or currency DILUTION. It meant that every dollar bill represents less and less active value, and, since commodities tend to exchange as their value, it means the constantly increasing prices of all other commodities which we have experienced ever since.

It means that the diluted dollar has depreciated so much today that it is now unprofitable to operate the greatest gold mining camp in America! It means that after the wages of the miners are paid, and after the expenses of operating the gold mines are deducted, there is no profit left for the mine owners. It means the end of the reign of Gold and it will write



Swedish National Dancers of Minneapolis who appear here in Lars Anders och Jan Anders och deras Barn—at Lyceum Sunday April 11—Matinee and Evening.

FINIS across the page of the capitalist.

As we suggested above, society might resort to a new medium of exchange and measure of value based upon labor and upon labor alone. One bill, for example would represent, say ten hours of necessary labor, another would stand for five hours of necessary labor, and so on. But such a medium cannot be adopted by the capitalist class without cutting off, from their supply of social wealth, all the parasitical members of society. Besides the capitalist class insists that capital produces wealth as well as labor.

No scientist has yet suggested any possible substitute for the gold basis, and if such a substitute were discovered the various capitalist groups could never be persuaded to agree on a new monetary system because of conflicting national and international, capitalist INTERESTS.

The debtor nation, like the individual debtor, for example, desires to meet his obligations with inflated currency. The creditor, whether it be individual or nation, on the contrary, will fight till his last gasp for payment in "dear" or valuable, money.

The Guaranty Trust Company of New York suggests that an embargo should be placed on the export of gold and expresses grave alarm at the stoppage of gold production at a time when the bankers of the United States desire to extend credit to the nations of Europe. For, it says, "gold is the foundation of our monetary and credit structure."

The following paragraph from the statement issued by the Guaranty Trust Company explains how today the Federal Reserve Banking system has permitted the printing of unbacked paper money until one gold dollar is made to do the work of many dollars. Not, however, we might easily show, without depreciating the currency of the United States so that in response to the law of value, prices have risen sky high:

"A gold dollar in the vaults of a federal reserve bank serves, or may serve, as the basis of deposit liabilities of \$2.50, and these deposits to the credit of a member bank may in turn serve to enable credit extension by that bank of anywhere from

seven and a half to fourteen times that amount, or say \$19 to \$35. With reserves close to the legal minimum, therefore, every million dollar of gold lost (by export) practically means forced credit contraction of perhaps twenty millions, unless contraction come about by normal industrial liquidation."

Thus it would appear that the bankers of this and other modern industrial countries which are all in a similar predicament will be unable to extend to the chaotic countries of Europe the credit they so desperately need unless they go in for a further debauch of currency dilution which will lift prices here another hundred or two hundred per cent.

Capitalism is speedily choking itself to death. Cripple Creek is symbolic. Gold is vitally needed to save the existing system; but it is impossible to secure gold without allowing a profit on gold to the mine owners. No bank and no government can credit a mine owner with two dollars on its books for one dollar in gold and survive. So that supplying the NEEDS of the system has become incompatible with the EXISTENCE of the system.

The days of the old regime are fast passing away but they are bound to be periods of great unemployment, much suffering, untold brutalities on the part of the ruling classes and what may seem like a miraculous awakening on the part of labor.

The PROFIT-SYSTEM has closed the Cripple Creek Mine Camp upon which the Profit-System subsists.

Be of good cheer, Fellow Workers! The ENEMY is the strongest force making for revolution today. They may put every Bolshevik, every member of the I. W. W., communist socialist, trade unionist—all of us in prison; they may destroy and stop our voices, but the COLLAPSING CAPITALIST SYSTEM and the CAPITALIST CLASS are MANUFACTURING NEW REVOLUTIONISTS faster than any society can build jails in which to incarcerate them.

Cripple Creek, the one-time symbol of the rule of Capitalism has become an emblem of the ruin and chaos being wrought by that same system!

NOTICE!

All who have subscribed for stock in the Scandinavian Workers Association of Duluth, Minn., are requested to meet at the Bricklayers Hall, corner 19 Ave. W. and 1st Street, Sunday afternoon, April 4th, at 2 o'clock. Business. Approval of Articles of Incorporation and Bylaws. Dont fail to attend this meeting.

SECRETARY.

LARS ANDERS OCH JAN ANDERS OCH DERAS BARN

En lundtlig komedi i 3 akter af Gustaf af Geijerstam.
En genomslagt skattrande pjes givtes af

Lyceum Theatre

DULUTH

Söndagen d. 11 April 1920

Matinee kl. 2:30 E. M., Kvällsföreställningen kl. 8:15
af Svenska Dramatiska Sällskapet från Minneapolis
Med biträdande af Svenska Nationaldansare.

AXEL SUNDBORG, Direktör.

Musiken utfores af Prof. Carl Johnsons utmärkta orkester.

BILJETTER, 50c, 75c, \$1.00, \$1.50, Plus War Tax.

Till salu på följande platser:

Lyceum Theatre, N. J. Setterlunds, Skrädderiatör, 2907 W. Superior St., Edw. M. Stone's bokhandel, 221 West Superior St.; Spencer Pharmacy, 402 Central Ave., West Duluth; Herman Olson, 1823 West Superior St.; Nelson, E. Superior St. och Lake Ave.; I Superior crållas biljetter & Holmbergs apotek, 714 Tower Ave.

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

"YOU DO NOT UNDERSTAND AMERICA."

Judge Page Morris, felt sorry because he had to send us to prison. He was of the opinion that we did not understand America. We frankly confess that we DO NOT. We question whether any sane-minded American worker does.

Many of us have been trained in strict religious circles. The Christian religion seemed to offer us the hope of something better. We thought that the vices of the poor were responsible for their conditions never realizing that the conditions of the poor were responsible for their vices. How we argued with the aridical, until finally the radical triumphed and another member of the Church threw his heart and soul into a movement that gave him promise of something real, on earth. Paul Sandargas was a Christian, in fact he is still one. He still retains a faith in the principles of Christianity, although he has lost all faith in the men who are supposed to be Christian ministers and priests. Paul loved the world and its people. Every Sunday in an Eastern town you would have seen Paul travelling from door to door distributing religious literature. So when war came Paul tried to prevent it. He brooded over the thousands of men who were going to war, to be either killed or to kill. It was a direct violation of the religion that Paul believed in. So out of his few dollars he distributed leaflets telling the people that war was wrong. For that AN AMERICAN MAGISTRATE HAD HIM SENT TO PRISON.

You can read Paul's story for yourself. We have not altered one word, preferring that you should read this human document as it came to us. Read it and read it again. Then—what?

Atlanta, Ga., March 1, 1920.

In re: Political Prisoner No. 7635—Paul Sandargas.

On October 31, 1917, Paul Sandargas entered the Atlanta Penitentiary. February 21, 1920 he was released. This time was snatched out of his life, and this was the penalty he paid for his pacifism.

Paul distributed leaflets printed in the Lithuanian language in the City of Wilkesbarre, Pa. This leaflet contained excerpts from Kirkpatrick's Book, "War, what for?"—Paul was arrested. He had no attorney. The judge appointed him one and acting on his advice Paul pled guilty to the distribution of these leaflets, he was sentenced to three years to be served in the Atlanta Penitentiary. Paul was a self-educated man, and under the constitution of the United States, he believed he had a right to say that all wars were wrong. He believed in the Constitution of the United States, and it guaranteed him that right. Paul was one of those kind of men who were afraid not to speak when he thinks he is right. Paul learned, however that the Constitution of the United States and the Laws thereafter are two separate and distinct things. He learned that the laws were superior to the Constitution of the United States. In prison Paul became a carpenter and during his incarceration the Warden thought his behavior excellent; in fact he was a Model Prisoner. All his good time was deducted because not a single complaint was made against him while there. Paul realized the fact that it would not do any good to say anything about the wrongs that existed in the prison.

When he saw things that were wrong he remained silent. Paul thought it was wrong to deprive prisoners of their suppers on Saturday and Sunday nights, but it would not do any good to complain about being hungry there. It is better to go hungry than to be put in a "hole". Paul used to be a religious man. In fact until he was arrested he played an important in the Church. After his arrest he changed his opinion about the priests and religion, and during his imprisonment he underwent a religious revolution. In fact he became somewhat indifferent to it, as the Church no longer appealed to him, but there is a rule in the Prison that everybody is compelled to attend Chapel, so Paul had no right to complain. Prisoners go to the "hole" if they complain. There is a great many things about this prison that Paul did not like, but he did tell the authorities as he preferred to suffer in silence rather than tell the truth because of that damned "hole".

Prisoners are shaved by their fellow prisoners. If a man committed robbery or murder on the outside, he might be assigned to the task of becoming a Barber in the Prison, and the only time this gentlemen ever had a razor in his hand, was to cut somebody's throat, not to shave them. Prisoners must respect prison Barbers, and sometimes the barber apprentice cuts chunks out of their fellow prisoners face. It is nothing to experiment on fellow prisoner's faces. If a guard tells you to go and sit in that chair, you must go. Paul had a little chunk taken out of his face. He even preferred to get a chunk out of his chin than go to the "hole". Paul saw one of his radical friends go to the "hole" because he did not want his face cut up by these Barkers.

Paul did not like the food much. Scrapes of meat, bones, rotten liver—hash and baby black-eyed beans did not quite suit Paul. Paul has grey weak eyes and it is difficult for him to work without glasses. The Physician asked, "What price?" Now Paul did not have any money, and told him that he wanted Government Glasses. The Physician advised that the regular price glasses could be gotten within a week, but if he wanted government glasses it would take him from three to five months to get them, and Paul did not like to wait from three to five months. But Paul was broke. Paul waited five months before he got his glasses, and did the best he could under the circumstances while waiting five months, in the mean time borrowing glasses from two of his fellow prisoners.

There are other things that Paul didn't like there. Paul said that when the prisoners got sick, if he had throat trouble, heart trouble, or any other sickness the physician gave him Caster Oil and C. C. Pills. But Paul did not like these things, but he cannot reform the ways of the United States Federal Penitentiaries. Paul did not like the ways of the Prison Officials when the prisoners broke the rules, their own rules. One day while sitting in the dining-room, a prisoner asked for a glass of cold water; the guard did not like to be asked for a glass of cold water, and the prisoner went to the "hole" for three days. Other prisoners feared to ask for water and be sent to the "hole" for three days.

When Paul first entered the prison, he saw things that brought tears to his eyes. Paul saw a fellow convict that had been hauled away from the dining table at the count of the bell. Paul did not like the idea of a poor hard working prisoner being hauled away from the dining table hungry, but Paul has seen a great many thing there that he didn't like, but the trouble was, Paul couldn't say anything.

When Paul first went to prison, he had a loving faithful wife waiting for him; a married daughter; and a single daughter 17 years old, and during Paul's incarceration his mortgaged farm was foreclosed, his money gone, his wife had to work in a cotton mill. Paul was a faithful devoted husband. Paul never knew anything about a prison, until he began to preaching peace. A wife couldn't understand it. She grieved, she worried and soon died. Paul daughter

moved. Now Paul has no home, no money, no work, and his daughter, no home. Paul is now 47 years old, and is starting life anew. Paul is now from poverty and his ideals. Paul has been a Citizen of the United States for ten years. When Paul's wife died his daughter was a little over 15, and received a letter that the daughter needed urgent protection, and he wrote the Prosecuting Attorney of the United States Court asking for Commutation. The United States Attorney replied. His letter showed no mercy, no justice, no kindness.

LENIN'S WISDOM

In an interview with Raymond Robins, Lenin said many things worth remembering.

Discussing the American FORM of Government with Raymond Robins, Lenin said:—

"Your Government— is living in the political thinking of a by-gone political age. It is living in the age of Thomas Jefferson. It is not living in the present economic age. Therefore it is lacking in intellectual integrity?" Study the statements of the various candidates for the Presidency of this country and then RE-READ the statement made by Lenin.

* * *

To further support the truth of the foregoing statement, Lenin went on to say:—

"Consider your states of New York and Pennsylvania. New York is the center of your banking system. Pennsylvania is the center of your steel industry. These are two of your most important things—banking and steel. They are the base of your life. They make you what you are. Now if you really believe in your banking system, and respect it, why don't you send Mr. Morgan to your United States Senate? And if you really believe in your steel industry, in its present organization, why don't you send Mr. Schwab to the Senate? Why do you send men who know less about banking and less about steel and who protect the bankers and the steel manufacturers and pretend to be independent of them? It is inefficient. It is insincere. It refuses to admit the fact that the real control is no longer political. That is why I say that your system is lacking in integrity. That is why your system is superior. That is why it will destroy yours."

* * *

Robins protested and was of the firm opinion that Lenin was mistaken. Lenin then proved his point by stating:—

"Our system will destroy yours because it will consist of a social control which recognises the basic fact of modern life. It recognises the fact that real power today is economic and that the social control of today must therefore be economic also. So what do we do? Who will be our representatives in our national legislature, in our national Soviet, from the district of Baker, for instance?

"The district of Baker is oil. Oil makes Baker. Oil rules Baker. Our representatives from Baker will be elected by the oil industry. They will be elected by the workers in the oil industry. You say: Who are workers? I say: The men who manage and the men who obey the orders of the managers—the superintendents, the engineers, the artisans, the manual laborers,—all persons who are actually engaged in the actual work of production, by brain or hand—they are workers. Persons not so engaged—persons who are not at labor in the oil industry but who try to live off it without labor, by speculation, by royalties, by investment unaccompanied by any work of management or by any work of daily toil—they are not workers. They may know something about oil, or they may not. Usually they do not. In any case, they are not engaged in the actual producing of oil. Our republic is a producer's republic."

"You will say that your republic is a citizen's republic. Very well. I say that man as a producer is more important than man as a citizen. The most important citizens in your oil districts—who are they? Are they not oil men? We will represent Baker as oil."

"Similarly we will represent Donetz coal basin as coal. The representatives from the Donetz basin will be representatives of the coal industry. Again from the country districts, our representatives will be representatives chosen by peasants who grow crops. What is the real interest of the country districts? It is not store keeping. It is not money lending. It is agriculture. From our country districts our Soviets of peasants will send representatives chosen by agriculture to speak for agriculture."

"This system is stronger than yours because it admits reality. It seeks out the sources of daily human work—value and out of these sources, directly, it creates the social control of the State. Our Government will be an economic social control for an economic age. It will triumph because it speaks the spirit, and releases and us's the spirit, of the age that now is."

* * *

Lenin then goes to tell Robins why he is confident about the future. Remembering that this interview took place some eighteen months ago, it is interesting to note the keen foresight of Lenin. "You may destroy us in Russia," said Lenin. "You may destroy the Russian Revolution in Russia. You may overthrow me. It will make no difference. A hundred years ago the monarchies of Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia, overthrew the Government of Revolutionary France. They restored a monarchy, who was called a legitimate monarch, to power in Paris. But they could not stop, and they did not stop, the middle-class political revolution, the revolution of the middle-class democracy which had been started at Paris by the men of the French Revolution of 1789. They could not save feudalism."

"Every system of feudal aristocratic social control in Europe was destined to be destroyed by the political democratic social control worked out by the French Revolution. Every system of political democratic social control in the world today is destined now to be destroyed by the economic producers' social control worked out by the Russian Revolution."

Robins doubted the assumption on the part of Lenin, of the incoatability of things. Lenin closed the interview by stating:—

"Colonel Robins, you do not believe it. I have to wait for events to convince you. You may see foreign bayonets parading across Russia. You may see the Soviets and all the leaders of the Soviets killed. You may see Russia dark again as it was dark before. But the lightning out of that darkness has destroyed political democracy everywhere. It has destroyed it not by physically striking it but simply by one flash of revelation of the future."

* * *

Study the speeches of Leonard Wood, and in doing so, remember that Wood represents American business interests more than any other candidate for the presidency. Contrast the blatant and fatuous speeches of Wood with the well balanced and logical remarks of Lenin. Also remember that the active members of the only constructive labor organization in America—the I. W. W.—are imprisoned in health—destroying bastilles. Then ask yourself the question in the survival of the fittest, which is destined to win out? The logic of events compels every worker, who thinks for himself, to definitely line up with the forces of labor who recognise the truth of what Lenin told Raymond Robins.

To the members of organized Labor, those whose allegiance is pledged to the American Federation of Labor we desire to say a word. Cast your eyes all along the battle line of

Labor. Where has the fight been the most severe? What organization has been persecuted and slandered more than any other? The fight has been more temble in the camps of the One Big Union and it has been the members of the One Big Union who have suffered the most. Craft Unionism speaks in the language of the dead. Industrial Unionism speaks in the language of power. P-O-W-E-R. The power of the working-class. That selfsame power that has built the world. The members of the One Big Union beg, implore and appeal to you to take part in a MAN's fight, using the methods of a MAN who utilises his mental and physical capabilities to their best advantage. In this hour of great things he is hero in the fight. In the hour when the thrives of political and industrial autocracy are falling, do not stand aside, but play YOUR part like a worthy member of a worthy cause.

By the glow of the blazing steel furnaces and the sound of the mighty hammers, the grand army of the social revolution is forming. It comes with a message of universal social peace. Not the peace of the social reformer, but the peace of the soul—afamed rebel, who if needs be, will rise up and refuse to shrink the sternest of tasks. The march of that grand army of Labor has begun and there is no living power that can stay its progress. We shall drive the thunder of your guns by the mighty shouts of an aroused working-class. To the sterling call of the Russian Soviets. "All Power to the Working-class" we hall march on. United finally with hands clasped together in the International Solitarity of the Working-class, we shall erect upon the ruins of world—imperialism the SOVIET REPUBLIC OF THE WORLD!

"Peace, Peace, When There Is No Peace!"

The war came and many a radical went down into the dust of ages, there to be temporarily remembered, but destined to be forgotten in the days of real wars. It was a hard task to keep straight, when the passions of the people had been aroused. It was difficult to remain true to the faith of the years, the faith that kept on reminding us that there was only one war that was a just war. We vividly remember how one day in Hyde Park, England, we were addressing a large crowd, when suddenly there burst through the crowd a blind soldier. The atmosphere was tense. How could we argue with a blind soldier? How difficult it was to convince the crowd that we were right! We can still picture the crowd lining us up against the iron railings. We can picture the look in their eyes and we can remember the many nights that we debated with ourselves as to whether our point of view was correct.

Then we came to America. We found ourselves re-enacting the scenes of the early months of the war. The same situations confronting us and the same nights of debate. We can remember how in Duluth good comrades argued with us. The many nights we spent arguing and justifying our position. We can well recall telling one comrade, that the future would decide and it has decided. Into our office came a copy of a book written by a member of the Supreme Council of Versailles. It justifies our position; it more than justifies it, it proves how correct we were and how our stand was more to be commended than that of those who rushed blindly into the war. The war has demonstrated that the democracy was the last thing the Allies gave consideration to and the Peace Conference has proven how blind, brutal and stupid the Allied rulers are.

Before presenting the evidence in the case, let us bring forward the evidence which will substantiate the right of the author to place himself before you as an authoritative witness. The author was attached to the British Treasury during the war and was their OFFICIAL representative at the Peace Conference up to June, 1919; he also sat as deputy for the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Supreme Economic Council." So there can be no dispute about the reliability of the evidence presented to you.

In his introduction the author states. "In continental Europe the earth heaves and no one but is aware of the rumblings. There it is not just a matter of extravagance or 'labor troubles'; but of life and death, of starvation and existence, and of the fearful convulsions of a dying civilization." A picture that is true to life. Reading this book we agree with the author that the minds of the American and the British statesmen are isolated. They believe that these two countries can stand aloof from world affairs and map out their own destinies. The day that America stepped into the new world of imperialism, that day America cast her fortunes with Imperialism. The success or failure of world-imperialism spells the success or failure of capitalist America. Of course let it be understood we use the terms, success and failure, in their orthodox sense.

The most gripping part of the descriptive stories of this is to be found in the introductory chapter. Here the author spares not one member of the Conference. He proves how little these so-called statesmen were in touch with the real world. In fact, these members of the Big Four were mere puppets. Here they were talking and talking and then some more talking, whilst the rest of Europe was dying. Sitting in their well-furnished rooms they glibly talked about things that did not matter, whilst in Austria, Germany, Russia and other European countries mothers and children were dying in their thousands. Well might the author write, "Seated indeed amid the theatrical trappings of the French Salons of State one could wonder if the extraordinary visages of Wilson and of Clemenceau, with their fixed hue and unchanging characteristics, were really faces at all and not the tragic-comic masks of some strange drama or puppet-show." There they sat Clemenceau the Tiger of France, the Imperialist, whose list for power over Germany could never be satisfied; Wilson, with his old ideals of a faded Liberalism andloyd George, the master-political opportunist. Out of such a combination came the Peace Treaty. It is a credit to these three men. It is just the kind of a document that any three men, of similar characteristics, would frame. A document that neither reads well or looks well and one that can never be put into practice. Fourteen million men rendered the Supreme sacrifice! Fourteen million men, whose carcasses now rot in their graves! For this Peace Treaty! Well might the demonical laughter of the imps of hell compete with the shrieks of widows and mothers!

The author deals with the growth of Germany and also deals with the Peace Conference and the Peace Treaty. We have not the time to go into details. It will be better for you to read the work itself. But let us draw your attention to the chapter on "Europe after the Treaty". The author names this chapter, as "the chapter that must be one of pessimism". Look at Europe and study the financial situation of today and it is enough to make any bourgeois-mind a pessimist. "The Treaty includes no provisions for the economic rehabilitation of Europe,—nothing to make the defeated Central Empires into good neighbours nothing to stabilize the new States of Europe, nothing to reclaim Russia; nor does it promote in any way a compact of economic solidarity amongst the Allies themselves; no arrangement was reached at Paris for restoring the disordered finances of France and Italy or to adjust the systems of the Old World and the New". Instead the Allies' representatives fought like thieves over stolen booty. They could speak in terms of power. Like Judge Gary in the Steel strike, they were blind to their own future. They were gamblers sitting at a gamblers' table and they played with human lives. Thank

whatever the gods there may be that we have men like Lenin!

Mad with the lust of conquest, the Allies have forced Germany to take on Bolshevik tendencies. They can never hope to obtain their war indemnity from her. That spells the doom of bourgeois France. The internal industries of Europe cannot procure the necessary raw materials, due to the fact that the American business man is a business man, before he is even an American. That spells the destruction of bourgeois Europe. The permanent relations between debtor and creditor are being destroyed never to return, due to the wild fluctuations in the money markets. Inflation of the currency is resorted to. Inflation is like dope, the more you resort to it, the more you have to resort to it. The wrecking of the financial system must come with the loss of faith in the credit system. What a helluva situation! Gentlemen of the Allied nations wish you luck. That is about all you can place your faith in. If all the Bolsheviks die, you may be lucky enough to survive as a class. But from al. accounts the only people who seem to be getting anywhere are the Bolsheviks. Gentlemen cast your eyes towards Russia and Germany and if it is any consolation to you, then we trust you will have sufficient common sense to take out a union card and also a red card. But remember you must work in order to join a union and you must—

If you feel blue and think that the worst days are not yet over, then read the "ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PEACE." We will send it to you for \$2.50. If you cannot buy the book then borrow it. By all means read it.

Once They Would Have Burned Him at the Stake.

Men have been tortured and burned at the stake for upstaging ideas. Galileo and Copernicus had a hard time of it in their day. Now comes a revolutionist, an idea-upsetter as great as any. He is Professor Albert Einstein, and his idea-upsetting "theory of relativity" will make it necessary to rewrite Newton's laws of gravitation and every text-book on physics.

Einstein starts with two suppositions. One is that all motion is relative. In the cabin of a ship you cannot tell whether you are moving or not without looking out of the window. Is a man who is walking from stem to stern of a ship at the same rate that the ship is moving in the opposite direction standing still or not? If astronomers could not see the stars, they would not know that the earth is moving.

Einstein's second supposition is this: The speed of light (186,000 miles a second) cannot be increased or diminished. This is like saying that the speed of a rifle bullet is always the same when it is fired forward or backward from an airplane going at one hundred and twenty miles an hour. Nothing can be faster than light. Newton says that gravitation acts instantaneously throughout space. "No," says Einstein, "the action of gravitation is not instantaneous; it cannot exceed the velocity of light."

What is your size? What is your shape? "Tell me how fast you are moving and in what direction," says Einstein, "and I will answer. If you are traveling vertically upward at the rate of 136,000 miles a second, you are not six feet tall, as you supposed, but just three. But horizontally you will measure six feet. It is no use to bring in a standard yard-stick and start to measure, for that too contracts and measures only a half a yard vertically held."

Light is a form of energy. Therefore, says Einstein, it must have mass and must be affected by gravitation. In other words, you ought to be able to weigh light. But how? It moves so fast that it cannot be weighed on the earth. If we could see a star close up to the edge of the sun, a ray of light coming from the star would bend under its own weight, and the star would be seen, not where it actually is, but a little bit to one side. During the last solar eclipse exactly what Einstein predicted happened. A light from a star was deflected, just as a bullet fired from a gun gradually curves toward the earth. We can safely speak of a pound of light now. As a matter of fact, the sun showers on the earth 160 tons of light daily.

Other astonishing consequences follow as soon as Einstein's theory of relativity is accepted. Straight lines do not exist. They are parts of gigantic curves. Travel fast enough on a straight line, and you will come back to your starting-point. It would take a beam of light 30,000,000 years to describe a complete circle.

All this seems like sheer nonsense. And yet, Einstein's statements have been proved to be true by experiments! You have been living in a dream world. Your conception of time and space are true only within limits. "Wake up," says Einstein, "and acquaint yourself with the real world."

—Popular Science.

THE SMASHING OF DELUSIONS.

Psychoanalysts inform us that a delusion is a false belief reposing upon no logical foundation. That being so the capitalist class are going to witness a wholesale smashing of many delusions that have held sway in their minds.

Leon Trotsky, the "East Side Jew pacifist," has already shattered one of the fond delusions of the capitalist class. The capitalist class has branded every revolutionist as a pacifist, implying that they, (revolutionist), would not attempt to fight. In other words that they were all talk and if they were confronted with a situation that necessitated the use of fighting powers, they would immediately throw up their arms and shout "Kamerad". Speaking at a luncheon, given by the Womens' Republican Association of the State of New York, Mr. Frank Vanderlip had this to say of Trotsky:—

"The New York laundryman, Trotsky, has turned out to be a military genius."

Trotsky the pacifist has turned out to be the military genius of the 20th century and furthermore he has developed an army second to none in the civilised world. Against the Red Army of Russia the armies of the world are powerless. Proof of this is seen in the recognition that is now about to be accorded Soviet Russia. For remember the recognition of Soviet Russia is not the result of a change of heart on the part of the Allies, it is a direct result of the wonderful victories that have been achieved by the Red Army of Russia. The capitalist class have had one delusion smashed and that one was, that because the revolutionary worker refused to fight for the capitalists, that under no circumstances would he fight. The revolutionist will fight for the cause that stands for the freedom of the working-class and ONLY FOR THAT CAUSE.

Seeback, the wealthy Red Wing miller and banker who was found guilty of disloyalty during the war, has been pardoned and will not have to serve the two-year sentence imposed upon him by the court. President Wilson probably learned that the disloyalty consisted of a refusal to bend the knee to the Burnquist plunderbund. If Seeback was really guilty of disloyalty to his government within the meaning of the term, he should be sent along with the others should also be pardoned.—Hibbing Daily News.

Jack Carney will speak at the Bricklayers' Hall, Sunday evening, April 4th.