

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 the earth rolls round
As the sun and glorious sun
Brings the world upon wave,
Must our cause be won!

WHOLE No. 147

14

FRIDAY, APRIL 16, 1920

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FIVE CENTS.

STAND BY THE SWITCHMEN

Every capitalist paper, stoolpigeon and "conservative" labor leader opposes the strike of the switchmen. No matter how much "poison gas" may be spread broadcast, the switchmen's strike is a strike for more bread. THAT IS ALL! Stand by the switchmen and lend them your moral, ECONOMIC and financial assistance. Do not be fooled by the kept press, but stand your ground like men.

AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL

EUROPEAN LABOR UNREST SEETHING

Month of April Likely to be a
Critical Period for Forces
of Order.

LENIN'S HAND EVERYWHERE

By WALTER DURANTY.

(It is well to note, that Duranty is the European Correspondent for the New York Times. Ed.)

PARIS.—The month of April is likely to be a critical period in the development of European labor problems. Germany draws ever nearer to a decision between the forces of organized Government and perhaps no less organized revolution. In England the labor sky is clouded, though no big storm is actually raging. France has minor strikes in many districts and a big central strike in the war-wrecked Lille-Roubaix-Turcoing area.

The situation in Italy is of the utmost gravity. Factory Soviets have so grown in power and daring that on more than one occasion they have seized factories and attempted to run them in defiance of the proprietors for their own benefit. Against the first attempt in Naples Premier Nitti had enough resolution to send troops, who forced the workers to yield by bloodshed. In Turin, Mazzoni Brothers, big cotton spinners, preferred to shut down to acceding to the workers' demands. Despite pressure from local authorities, they stood firm, but to avert trouble the Government requisitioned the factory over the proprietors' heads and put in its own representative to run it, who gave the workers practically everything they asked.

Through the industrial area of northern Italy the workers have refused to recognize the legal Summer time, and private owners and even municipalities have had to give way, although the railroads run on a Government time schedule.

The Extremist newspaper Avanti openly preaches revolution, and the labor leaders openly admit that the existing workers' Soviets—which have a system of representation in a grand central Soviet on the Russian model—are simply "tryouts" in preparation for governing the country when the revolution comes. Last year the Italian Bolsheviks planned a great demonstration for Lenin's birthday in the second week of April. At that time the country was being swept by a blaze of nationalism, and the nationalist opponents of Bolshevism met the labor demonstrators in the streets of the northern cities and smashed the whole movement by force. Will they dare or be able to repeat the performance this year if the Reds again throw down the challenge?

Moscow's Influence Everywhere.

In Austria, Hungary and Poland starvation approaching bankruptcy and disease are making the path smooth for revolution. And behind

the Red movement, inspiring it, directing it along ten thousand channels, stand the Bolshevik group in Moscow, very clever, very determined and quite unscrupulous as to how it achieves its purpose, which is avowedly the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship throughout the world.

An English labor leader, George Lansbury, just back from Moscow, writes in his newspaper, The London Daily Herald:

"Lenin and his friends are convinced that the capitalist system can only be removed by violent revolution. The Russians ask just one thing: 'Do you want to establish Socialism?' Is the aim and goal of your efforts the destruction of the capitalist power of exploitation? They think their partisans in every country ought to work together for the realization of this object by every means possible."

Nothing could be clearer or more explicit. Every big labor movement in every country has its inspiration from Moscow, is backed by Moscow's money, Moscow's advice and Moscow's propaganda. America has had proof enough in her own labor troubles, and yet the Atlantic is a wide barrier, and it is far harder to land men and documents from an ocean-going liner than to slip them across a European land frontier, loosely guarded save at the high roads and railroads.

Since last Spring the Bolshevik strength and influence have increased enormously. In Russia the Reds are absolute masters, their opponents having been killed or routed. They need trade with the outer world, but are almost able to make their own terms with the eager merchants of rival nations. What the greed of the latter will not obtain can be achieved through the pressure of the different labor parties, who know as little of what Bolshevism really means as they do of life on Mars.

Not that the Bolsheviks are unwilling to make—or at least promise—concessions to the very capitalism they are plotting to overthrow. From the outset they tried to overcome French hostility by an offer to pay a great part, at any rate of the Imperial Russian debt. Krassin is reported from Copenhagen to have declared that they will not repay any of it. If the statement is authentic it is proof of the Bolshevik's consciousness of their own strength; but it is much more probable that the words have just been put into his mouth in that hotbed of lies and rumors about all things Russian that the Danish capital has been for the last three years.

At the end of April comes May Day, that has grown more and more since 1900 the occasion for proletarian demonstrations. Last year blood flowed even in the streets of nationalist Paris. This year may well see decisive happenings in Italy, Germany, Austria and Poland. Whether the blow falls then or later, plans are being made for it everywhere, and the Governments of Europe seem inactive or helpless before the threatened storm.

Irish Workers Dying In Irish Prisons

Trades Union Congress Calls For
General Strike As a Protest.

The British Government is continuing its dastardly policy of arresting the members of the Irish labor and Sinn Féin movement. Over one hundred were arrested during the Easter holiday and they are at present confined in Mountjoy Prison, Dublin.

A protest against their arrest, the men are resorting to the hunger strike and according to word received from the inside of the prison, there is great danger of many of them dying for the want of medical attention. Thousands of men and women are waiting outside of the prison reciting prayers for the prisoners who are dying. Unless something is done immediately, many of the men will die.

THE IRISH TRADES UNION CONGRESS HAS ISSUED A CALL FOR A GENERAL STRIKE TO TAKE PLACE ON APRIL 13th, AS A PROTEST AGAINST THE INHUMAN TREATMENT OF THOSE ARRESTED.

SUPPORT FOR I. W. W.

Milan Meet Wants American
Ships Barred from Italian Ports.

By Edgar Ansel Mowrer.
The Chicago Daily News Foreign Service.

Rome, Italy, April 8.—A novel protest against the United States government's attitude toward the Industrial Workers of the World has been made in Milan, where a large meeting in the people's house, called to proclaim solidarity with the reds in the United States it was proposed that the seamen's federation, known as the "tollers of the sea," be invited to prevent ships flying the American flag from entering Italian ports. A motion to that effect was adopted with applause.

STRIKE AT FRENCH SEAPORTS

Walkout Is Ordered by Organization
of Maritime Workers.

Paris, France, April 8.—A strike of maritime workers has been ordered by the Marine union in all the ports of France.

The strikers demand the liberation of the sailors who mutinied in the Black sea in 1917 and all persons condemned for military or political reasons or for acts committed while participating in strikes.

HAVE YOU READ THE "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

International Transport Federation Meets

I. W. W. DELEGATE SEATED

CHRISTIANIA, March 17 (received yesterday).—At the International Transport Workers' Congress, which was continued yesterday, among the new arrivals were Fimmen, the International secretary, and the English railway delegation.

A protest was raised against the I. W. W. delegates, but the Congress adopted Robert Williams' motion, and admitted them.

The secretary's financial report was adopted.

MOSCOW'S GREETING

A Moscow wireless message states that the Executive Committee of the Communist Internationale, in sending greetings to the Transport Workers' Congress, declares:—"The magnificent aspirations of the transport workers which manifest themselves everywhere lead us to hope that the transport workers of all countries will be the first to emerge from the rut of the old trade unionism, which has completely foundered under the influence of the bourgeoisie."

"Among the transport workers of the different countries a movement has already begun to develop which responds fully to the spirit of the times. The British Transport Workers' Federation is taking part in the Triple Entente which is trying to raise the trade union movement in England to an unknown height. The transport workers in England, Italy, and other countries have organized a splendid protest movement against the intervention of imperialism in Russian affairs, and against the dispatch of munitions by the capitalists to the reactionary General Denikin."

Solidarity of Labor

Help for the Dutch

British Railwaymen Refuse
"Black" Cargo

LONDON, March 18th.—The strike of dock workers at Amsterdam and Rotterdam continues. British transport workers are giving substantial financial help, and are also refusing to touch any Dutch ships from the affected ports.

Members of the railwaymen's unions have also refused to handle goods brought from those ports by British ships. This has been made so clear that the Great Eastern Railway Co. now announces that it cannot accept any goods from Amsterdam or Rotterdam.

When the Dutch schooner Wee Sperkarstel arrived at Hull from Amsterdam yesterday the dockers refused to discharge her cargo. The union officials declared that her crew, with the exception of two, were all Germans, who have been blacklegging at the Dutch ports.

NOW TALK DEPORTATION!

Americans Kept From
Starving by Immigrants

NEW YORK, April 10.—America "would starve and freeze to death if immigration were eliminated from our national life," Prof. M. I. Pupin of Columbia university declared here last night in an address before the conference on foreign immigration, held under the auspices of the Inter-Racial council to formulate an immigration program for submission to congress.

"Approximately 61 per cent of the workers in the bituminous coal mines are foreign born; 71 per cent of the workers of the packing industry are foreign born; 50 per cent of the railway maintenance workers and 72 per cent of the pottery workers are foreign born," he said.

GEORGE! BE CAREFUL!

Shaw's Straight Tip
SCRAP THE OLD MACHINE

"The whole world needs reorganizing; our political constitution can no longer be endured; everything is going smash as a result of our own mismanagement, and we must begin all over again," declared Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, lecturing to the students at University College, London, on "New Openings for Brain-work."

"The great task of Labour, using that word in its widest sense," he continued, "is not, as Mr. Winston Churchill assumes, to learn how to govern, but to create a new political machine. Mr. Thomas, Mr. Clynes, and others have shown that they can run the old machine just a little better than Mr. Churchill and his class; but that is the machine which is responsible for the slaughter of 13 millions of young men in Europe. The same machine is now busy piling up armaments and fleets, and, if allowed to run on unchecked, will inevitably plunge us back into a state of war."

Paris Labor To Act
May 1

Big Demonstration Is Planned—
General Strike Possible.

(By the Associated Press.)

Paris, France, April 8.—Labor demonstrations of an imposing nature are expected here May 1 and it is declared extremists may seek to foment serious trouble. An effort may be made to transform the strike contemplated for May 1 into a general walkout of unlimited duration for all trades.

HAVE YOU READ THE "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

SOVIET MESSAGE TO UNITED STATES GIVEN GEN. GRAVES

TOKIO, April 5.—(Delayed).—A peace note handed to Maj. Gen. Graves on March 19 at Vladivostok for transmission to Washington by Special Envoy Vilenky on behalf of the people's commissar, Tchicherin, states:

"The victorious advance of the valiant soviet troops in Siberia, extending into a general uprising of the populace against counter-revolution, foreign intervention, and invasion, has hastened the approach of peace negotiations."

"The statements of the renowned representatives of the American business world that they are ready to participate in a peaceful reconstruction of Russia testifies to the American people's readiness to treat with the Russian peoples. The further go the agonies of civil war the more concentration will come on the basic aim—namely: restoration of the country."

"The soviet envoy Marten's representations clearly prove American wealth and enterprise could be the greatest auxiliary force and aid in achieving this aim. Peace will bring the greatest mutual benefit to Russia and America, the latter being of the greatest potential aid in reaping the greatest benefit of the trade."

JURY'S VERDICT AGAINST BENTALL

Former Socialist Candidate for Governor Again
Is Found Guilty of
Espionage.

MINNEAPOLIS, April 12.—Jacob O. Bentall, former Socialist candidate for governor of Minnesota, was again found guilty of a charge of violating the espionage act, by a jury in United States district court here tonight. Judge Page Morris pronounced sentence would be pronounced later and Bentall was released on \$10,000 bail. The jury was given the case at 4 p. m. and reported at 9:45 p. m.

The government charged that Bentall made a speech at Hutchinson in 1917, "attempting to incite drafted men to insubordination" during the war. He was convicted on two of three counts in the indictment in April, 1918, and sentenced by Judge Morris to five years in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth.

The conviction, however, was reversed by the United States circuit court of appeals which ruled that Morris erred in his instructions to jury and a retrial was ordered.

HAVE YOU READ THE "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

LENIN TO CENTRALIZE ALL POWER IN RUSSIA

Fear of Cholera Epidemic
This Summer Expressed by Commissioner of Public Health.

MOSCOW, March 30 (Associated Press).—Consolidation of party interests and centralizations of departmental activities as the result of Russian victories "on all fronts" were emphasized as the keynote of the Soviet Government's policy by Nicolai Lenin, Bolshevik Premier of Russia, speaking at the opening session of the ninth convention of the Communist party here today.

"That this miracle of victory happened," he declared, "notwithstanding the imperialist world was again us, was due to centralization, sacrifice and discipline."

Recent peace proposals received by the Soviet Government denote a "change of sentiment in the outside world and an Entente policy indicative of lack of unity," Lenin said, adding: "Our position cannot be determined from the viewpoint of jurisprudence."

Facts and figures furnished by M. Semashko, People's Commissar of Public Health, show that the typhus situation in Russia is under control and the sanitary outlook improved. The Commissar said, however, that a possible cholera epidemic this summer was a source of apprehension to him.

"While there are comparatively few cases of cholera in Russia at present, the disquieting feature is its wide distribution," M. Semashko declared. "Our records show that cholera exists in thirty-seven localities. Between Dec. 1 and Feb. 13 there were 425 cases at Cheliabinsk. In February there were 222 cases in the Caucasus, and scattered outbreaks in many other places, show the disease to be spreading north and west. It was carried from the west and south, where the sanitary conditions following the evacuation of the White troops were appalling."

"The spread of typhus and cholera are being combated with a system of sanitary inspection in institutions and private homes in the cities and villages, the distribution of educational posters and literature emphasizing the importance of cleanliness, and also clean-up campaigns known as weeks of cleanliness," the installation of public baths and the systematic disinfection of railroad cars, 34,000 of which were fumigated in January.

HAVE YOU READ THE "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

JACK CARNEY AT THE BRICKLAYERS HALL, SUNDAY EVENING, 8 P. M.

Personal Recollections of Lenin The System's Hand

By Otto Grimlund

By Stephen Doyle

The next time I saw Lenin was in Petrograd the day, or rather the evening before the Constituent National Assembly was in the Taurida Palace.

As is well known, the election of the assembly had taken place long before the assembly was convened. The majority of the assembly which could not be said any longer to reflect the wishes and desires of the majority of the people, was disposed to be hostile to the Bolsheviks, and would not have hesitated, had it had safe means, to crush the new workers' government. In addition, the Workers' Councils had meanwhile been stabilized, and had begun to be recognized as the new form of popular representation. The Council of People's Commissars had therefore decided that the Assembly should be dispersed. There remained only the question of whether this should be done immediately or a few days later.

Things in Petrograd had been quite stirred up before this first day by street demonstrations by the various parties, by the discharge of fire-arms provoked by counter-revolutionary machinations, causing a number to be killed and wounded. I had arrived that morning and in my hunt for a hotel and for my Swedish friend, I had twice been caught in the midst of such fighting groups. I had to lie on my stomach in the snow, and a protection in some doorway, waiting until the worst was over. Outside of the Taurida Palace, countless masses of men were gathered when Sverdlov opened the meeting late in the evening. Chernov was chosen by the Right element to be president, to the accompaniment of indescribable noise, clapping and shouts of Bravo! from his adherents, angry shouts and whistles from the left. Then suddenly the noise stopped. A little man is making his way through the tightly crowded mass of people standing about one of the side entrances. The delegates rise, stretch their necks to see who it is. It is whispered: "Lenin". And a moment later there is a general applause, all are clapping their hands, a spontaneous greeting from friends and foes to the leader of Soviet Russia. He retires to the background of the platform and the proceedings continue. The majority was very destructive: the Declaration of the Rights of Man was rejected; the attitude of the Government towards peace with Germany is disapproved. It was clear that moment of decision was approaching. I looked for Lenin from my seat. On the stairs leading to the platform he had settled down. His head rested on his hands, as seriously as if he were writing the end of political book in the midst of all the noise. To a certain extent that was what this day was. It marked the definite parting of the ways between the various group of social patriots and the Bolsheviks. For one half hour he sat there brooding. No one disturbed him. Then he suddenly looked up; his decision had evidently been taken. He gave a few orders. After the first voting had taken place, the Bolsheviks left the hall. The collaboration was at an end. But they had decided to leave the others in peace until they might prattle themselves tired. The whole evening and the whole night the groups of the Right continued their discussion. At four o'clock in the morning, thinking that there had been enough prattling, a few sailors went up to the President and declared: "Now we are tired and want to go home and sleep." It would be best for the meeting to close.

A few days later I met Lenin late one night; it was about twelve or one o'clock. It was the only spare hour he could find. And even this he was stealing from his sleep at night. If there was any change noticeable since the last time I had met him, it was that he was even more cheerful than before. In spite of all his cares during the first hard months with internal disorders, the Brest negotiations, he was happy and smiling. "Ah, all will still be well. We have already done this and that, the result is beginning to become evident. Everything will still work out." A radiant optimism which included his surroundings inspired him with the courage to work and with confidence.

During my visit this year in Russia, at the founding of the Communist International, I met Lenin



NIKOLAI LENIN

(What an American capitalist said of Lenin, on hearing the rumour that Lenin had been assassinated.)

"The personal picture of Lenin, with which I have found no disagreement in speaking with a number of people who are well informed, is that he is a man of most extraordinary ability, and with some truly fine characteristics. He was a Russian idealistic noble and came to be a man of only one idea. He believed that the regime of capitalism meant slavery and that the world would find freedom in a communistic state of society. In his mind every motive was fine, every act moved by patriotic love and sympathy for the people."

FRANK VANDERLIP

several times. During the days of the congress all the participants were constantly together, Lenin always with them, always simple and straightforward, encouraging and jesting.

I recall a few little occurrences that took place during these days, which may perhaps be worth recalling in this connection. One evening a number of us, the Frenchman, Guilbeaux, the Swiss, Friedrich Platen, our Spartacus friend Albert, and the writer—had decided to see "the sights of the town." On the way out we met Lenin on the staircase. He stopped and asked us where we were going. We laughingly said that we were going out to verify the stories in the European press about all the terrible murders and holdups that were alleged to take place in the streets of Moscow.

"Suppose I should be your guide," said Lenin. "Although to tell you the truth, I have just dismissed my little stenographer and was on my way to you to have a little conversation."

We of course, immediately wished to turn back in order not to be deprived of this little opportunity for conversation. But Lenin would not hear of it. Our negotiations terminated in a shameful compromise! The Spartacus has the honor of having formulated the conclusion: "First we shall go for a little walk and then we shall have tea up in our rooms and chat!" This met with general approval. We set out, admired the busts of Danton and Kalyavey, which stand one on each side of the Moscow City Duma, saw the moon cast her pale light over the Red Place and the old walls and spires of the Kremlin and finally went, on our return journey through the truly public part of the Kremlin. Lenin laughed aloud as we were returning. "What would our Central Committee say if they knew that I have been out on a nocturnal jaunt, instead of staying home and working." After that, we gathered round the samovar. Lenin told about his years of exile, about the difficulties in the movement, about all the difficulties they had had in maintaining unbroken communications with Russia, etc.

About a week after the Congress, quite a number of the delegates made a flying trip to Petrograd. Lenin also had been paying a visit there and arranged his return as that we were able to take the same

but does it not convey the highest praise that can be showered upon a man!

If I except the touching and warm affection and devotion of Lenin to his wife, his faithful helper and scribe in all the years of exile, and of his sisters, who also were devoted heart and soul to our cause, he really has no other interest than the revolutionary movement and its advancement. Unselfish, without a thought of his comfort or health, he sacrifices all his time, all his energies for the cause of the proletariat. All day long in feverish activity, he even converts the greater part of night into day. Long after all other lights have been extinguished and only the ticking of the watch breaks the silence of the night, the lamp in Lenin's workshop in the castle of the Kremlin is still burning.

But, to be sure, the revolutionary movement has thousands upon thousands of members who are active, diligent, and self-sacrificing! It cannot be that which has brought Lenin to his present high position. What properties does he possess, this remarkable man, who is simultaneously regarded as a marvel of revolution, as well as hated, abhorred, and scorned as no other man by his opponents, while he is loved, admired and more than any other party leader by his friends and associates?

Lenin unites in himself the best qualities of a Socialist theoretician, a revolutionary statesman, and a practical organizer.

The chief of the Russian workers is scientifically better equipped than any working-class leader in the world. His years of exile permitted him the opportunity of studying the theories of Socialism—without being very much disturbed by other work. Very few Socialists living at present know Marx better than he. And he brilliantly completed, developed, and placed in a modern light the work of Marx in his own "State and Revolution."

He never allowed his scientific interest to mislead him into a narrow and uninteresting theoretical and philosophical speculation on problems. On the contrary, we may rather say that every theoretical problem interested him by reason of its purely practical political consequences.

As a statesman, a revolutionary statesman, Lenin is in a class by himself. Even his opponents are obliged occasionally to admit publicly that he has defeated them. Adroitly and cautiously he piloted the Russian ship of state through the years of the Revolution, through countless skerries and rocks. He has negotiated with one state after another, has gained fine diplomatic victories, but never for a moment has he relaxed his principles or made concessions on really important matters. "The world's foremost statesman," was what a bourgeois paper said of him the other day. The expression was perhaps used falsely by the scribe, but it nevertheless contains a great truth.

In addition to the qualities named, we must also record his unique organizing talent. This was a tested during years of oppression when a fine net of communications was spun to cover all of Russia, postal arrangements, organizations, etc., and this faculty of his bore the baptism of fire during those years, when it was necessary to reorganize everything anew from the bottom up in Russia after it had been devastated by Capitalism, and the world war.

Lenin embodies the unbending steel hard will of the revolutionary working-class to struggle and to victory; he embodies its clear, cold brain, which lays out the theoretical lines of conflict, he embodies its warm and courageous heart, which embraces all the oppressed and exploited of the world.

Inspired by his faith and his enthusiasm, his will to work and joy in conflict, the proletariat of the world shall certainly within a short time proceed to conflict and to the introduction of the Communist society.

LENIN'S SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

One of Lenin's classmates, a bourgeois journalist, once wrote about him. "The man has no other interests in life than his program Art, the theatre, etc., all these things are strange to him. On his palate there are only two colors, white and black, blanc et noir."

This judgement was set down in order to ridicule and belittle Lenin

(This story is taken from the "System's Hand". See advertisement on this page.—Ed. Truth.)

"Why, Stevey, this is fine. When did you come to town?"

I explained my situation: Earl listened, then limed his arm in mine, and together we left the hall, and strolled up the street. He told me of his present work and what he hoped to accomplish.

"I'm with the garment-workers now," he said. "They're organizing rapidly, but it's awful what the needle trades have all been through. Every strike means bloodshed, but it means a few cents more in pay."

The other night, I saw twenty thousand men and women, representing seventeen nationalities, marching like a great silent army away from a hall that they had ren'd, and which had been locked in their faces, and they made no complaint; their endurance is something magnificent, but they are hungry, Stevey, they are hungry all the time. Sometimes I say to myself 'How long can a hungry man last?' and then to watch them making garments. Some day the piecework system will have to go, but in the meantime, a hundred thousand lives will go to bring about the transformation. Stevey, they speed them up in those sweatshop till it makes your heart sick to see it. Half the workers have consumption, and they cough and spit all day, and sew like mad to keep a little home together, a home that means a couple of dark rooms up a long flight of stairs. When you go in and strike a match, you see the bugs running over the walls and the rats scurrying into corner holes. Most likely a lot of little kids have just huddled together all day waiting for the parents to come home from the factory to bring them supper. God, if the bosses only treated the poor employe as well as they do their machinery, he wouldn't complain, but they don't, 'cause they keep the machinery well-oiled and they don't keep the worker well-fed."

We walked on in silence for a while, and Earl continued: "The women are to be pitied the most. As a man, I can't get to the bottom of half the trouble. We need a girl to work among them. I'd like to get that little San Francisco red-head to come on and take up organizing. It might be arranged. You remember the one named Poppy, don't you?"

Remember Poppy? Had I ever forgotten her for a single hour? And here was Earl speaking in his usual direct way, and without a particle of sentiment.

"She'd be good at it, don't you think so?" he went on.

"Yes," said I, "I think she would be good at anything she did."

"Awfully bright little girl," he added, and then went back to the subject of the struggle of the unorganized worker, but I didn't hear much. I was thinking of the girl named Poppy, and how Earl had called her a little red-head.

Suddenly he stopped before a shabby frame building, and compared the number above the door with one written on a scrap of paper which he held.

"Steve, this is where I have to make a little talk tonight. A whole factory of cigar-makers was locked out the other day. There is no branch of industry in which the workers are paid less or treated worse. Come on up with me, I want you to hear what some of them have to say. They are wonderful. Such patience, such endurance, in the face of privations and persecutions that are past relating."

We ascended a narrow creaky stairway and at the far end of a very dirty hall, turned and entered a dimly lit hall where a large group of toilers, both men and women, and comprising several nationalities, sat and listened to the words of an educated Polish boy, who was speaking in English and with great fervor. Dropping

THE SYSTEM'S HAND

—BY—

STEPHEN DOYLE

(Ex-member of Duluth Police Force and U. S. Secret Service.)

Recommended to all our readers as one of the best books of its kind. It contains inside facts of the Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone case and many labor disputes.

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into a seat beside a Slavic woman, who was crocheting, I was in time to hear him say: "Andrew Carnegie has made millions out of the steel industry, and has given away many of these millions in establishing libraries all over the country, which is a commendable thing to do, for we all appreciate libraries, but evidently old Andy has never stopped to consider the fact that these millions which have built the libraries have been produced by the workers toiling twelve hours a day in the steel mills. It is pitiful that it hasn't occurred to his mind that while a library is a very good thing indeed, the workers who have made it possible for him to build them never get time to read the books."

"John D. Rockefeller has given a hundred million dollars to the founding of medical institutions, which is undoubtedly contributing to a noble cause, but I, a poor common man, with a common brain, a mere fragment of the great piece of human machinery which has made possible the erection of these fine laboratories, cannot help asking why Mr. Rockefeller did not spend that hundred million dollars in building clean and sanitary shops, and why he did not pay the employes a living wage with which to buy sufficient nourishing food to enable them to live and to buy habitable homes where disease was not being bred? And when I stop to think of these things, I realize how the Rockefeller system of doing business has rendered me a fit subject for the great white plague by compelling me to labor long hours in a filthy factory and to live in a hovel rather than a home; and when I go for an examination to a doctor, trained under the Rockefeller plan, and he tells me that if I leave at once for Arizona and live according to the highest American standards, I may survive for six months or perhaps a little longer, and I haven't cent to do it on, I cannot see how Mr. Rockefeller's charity has done me a world of good."

"I look about and observe the schools and universities this wealthy man has endowed, thus making his name famous, and don't misunderstand me and think I don't appreciate places of learning, for I do, so do all the toilers, but what breaks our hearts is to realize that it has been made impossible for us ever to attend them. I am only a common man with a common brain, and I see only with the eyes of experience through which I have passed, and I know that it is the ambition of every normal young man to possess a home for his wife and children, and how some, by almost superhuman efforts, have gone to the outskirts of town and acquired a start in this direction. And I have seen how a little growing family, when settled in this newly realized dream to which a mortgage a mile long is attached, sees each year a hundred dollars less to pay on the cherished home. And when the oldest boy reaches the age of fourteen, without ever knowing what it was to have enough to eat, and the parents, their hearts aching to send him to one of these fine Rockefeller colleges, have instead to swear out a false statement about his age so the boy can do a man's work in a

sweatshop to help with the final payments and prevent a foreclosure of the mortgage, I can't get very enthusiastic about the philanthropy of the 'richest man in America'."

A fit of coughing shook the speaker, and he held a handkerchief to his mouth. When he took it away, it was stained with blood.

A woman, sitting on the other side of the one who was crocheting, rocked a whimpering baby in her arms, and buttoned up her dress, across her empty breasts. "It's no use trying to nurse him," she remarked to her companion. "We've only had a bit of tale-rye bread in the room for days and my milk is all dried up."

The Polish boy and regained his strength again, and though very pale as a result of the hemorrhage, went on speaking:

"We come to this country, we foreigners, hearing it to be a land of plenty and of freedom, but the treatment accorded us is worse than that accorded cattle. We are so hopeful when we come. We are so ambitious, but the rich manufacturers who employ us say among themselves, 'We'll keep the foreigner down and that will keep the wages down'. We want to be real Americans but they don't want patriots—they want machines, and so we never get a chance to develop—we only get a chance to die."

After a while, Earl brought the boy over to where I sat and introduced him, just as Joe, I held out my hand: "It's all true, Joe," said I, "but remember, the foreigner won't die—there are too many of him."

Three nights later, the man White arrived, and I met him as I had wired him I would do, in the lobby of my hotel. He had probably seen a picture of me somewhere in a paper, for he knew me, and as I came into the crowded lobby, and looked about at the ever-shifting panorama of human beings, coming and going through the swinging doors, moving swiftly across the tiled space, between elevator and desk, here today and gone tomorrow, this stranger stepped up to me, and held out his hand.

"I am White," was all he said, and with that quick intuitive appraisal of a man which was the gift bestowed upon me by a long line of ancestors who had been proud to call themselves detectives, I knew I had invested well when I had sent for him to come to Chicago.

I sought a secluded corner and we sat down on the heavily upholstered chairs. I was the first to break the silence that ensued. White struck me as a man who would never be in a hurry about anything. A great leasuriness enveloped him. He was a frail, handsome man of about my own age with prematurely gray hair and a quiet, thoughtful manner. He watched the restless throng of people who were passing back and forth just out of ear-shot.

"I like to see a lot of men and women moving freely, each intent on some business," said he, with a wistful smile. "There was such a long time when I saw so little, only just thought and thought." He leaned back in the big chair wearily and sighed. I looked at his well-worn garments, neat but frayed, and considerably out of date.

"You have been in the country?" I asked.

"I have been in prison," he answered.

A boy called loudly the name of a wealthy New York man he was paging. A band of musicians, concealed behind a bank of artificial palm trees, played softly the popular airs of the day, and two society women, with an inartistic amount of rouge on their faces, strolled by, laughing gayly.

"It's an experience that one can't describe," he continued.

"You know you get so much time to think in those long, long days. You are shut in by high stone walls, and the terrible loneliness of the life gets you at first. Then you begin to think. It's this thinking—thinking, that makes a philosopher out of you."

"But tell me," I asked, "how did you come to seek me?"

"Do you remember arresting that rich banker Vardoe in Southern Washington, for killing a young girl, when an innocent man had been serving a sentence for fifteen years for an act he knew nothing at

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all about? Well, you are the one who can help us now."

"Who do you mean by us?" I asked.

"There are six others still in prison—victims of the same frame-up that sent me there. I swore to a true ally for them, and I was convicted of perjury. They are in, serving a life sentence for a murder committed by someone else."

"And the real criminal?" I asked.

"He is still at large. It was like this, Mr. Doyle. A sheriff of the county in which I lived had been killed. Some private detectives testified that they had overheard my comrades and myself plotting to murder this man, and the mayor of an adjoining city, and even the President of the United States. We were absolutely innocent of any such ideas, but we belonged to an organization that was feared and hated by the money-powered element and hence the frame-up. Why, Mr. Doyle, these hired detectives told how they had bored holes in the wall of a room in a certain hotel, and had listened to our conversation, when, as a matter of fact, none of my comrades nor myself had ever been in that particular building."

White then went on to tell me many details of a case with which I was already familiar. I let him finish, and noted how accurately and truthfully he spoke.

Then I said, "And now what can I do for you?"

"For me? Nothing. But my comrades—I want you to get them out of prison."

"White, I know all about this infamous story, more than you think I know. I can and will file an affidavit exposing the alleged criminal. This will bring about the release of your friends, but I am not in a position to get justice meted out to the murderer for the fact that he belongs to a wealthy society family, and as part owner of a private detective agency renders him immune."

White nodded. "I know that, but Mr. Doyle, we do not desire to see him punished—we only ask for our own liberty."

"You are very charitable," I remarked.

"Charitable?" he echoed. "We believe in brotherly love, if that is what you mean, and remember the worker builds, he doesn't like to tear down."

"And will you now go back to work?" I asked.

White shook his head. "There is no decent work open to the ex-convict," he replied. "After I came out of prison, at the end of a long, cruel sentence, for simply telling the truth, I found that every door was shut in my face. I went from place to place. It was no use. Finally, hungry and heart-sick, I found myself engaged, along with fifty other ex-convicts, to go into a lumbercamp up North and work as strike-breakers. None of us realized that we were to be used for that purpose. We were just so glad to get another job again."

"The conditions under which the men had worked were something past describing. I did not wonder that they had struck, but we did not learn this at the time. Later, when we found out that they were on strike, I, with some of the others, left. In a bunkhouse of very small dimensions, a hundred and fifty men had to sleep. The beds were merely narrow ledges in tiers of three around the sides of the wall. Every one brought in his own blankets, but they soon became so filled with vermin that to wrap oneself in them was torture. Four tin wash basins were all that the hundred and fifty men had in which to bathe, after they came in from work sweating and covered with dirt. The stench of the foul towels and the three hundred socks hanging round the stove to dry was almost beyond what human beings could endure. We rose and ate a frugal breakfast on a rough board table by candle-light, and if you have ever been in the timber lands, you know what the day's work meant."

"Yes, I know," said I, and then I told him something of my experiences as a lad in the Minnesota forests. White roused himself from the reverie into which he had fallen while listening to my tales of the wrongs and agonies of the workers, and held out his hand.

"I have no way of thanking you for what you are going to do for my comrades," said he. "I even had to ask you to bring me here, but some day I'll pay it back. I'm a carpenter by trade. Do you think that if I were to go under an assumed name, I could get work here in Chicago?"

"I'll see to it that you get a job," said I, "but remember, you owe me nothing."

White looked at me with a gratitude that was beautiful to see.

LONDON EDITOR LAUDS SOVIET RUSSIA

Ten Thousand British Workers Cheer Speaker Lauding Soviet Russia

LONDON, March 22nd.—Tom Mann opened the proceedings at the great Albert Hall meeting last evening by the declaration: "This vast audience has already anticipated the real purport of this gathering—to welcome Comrade George Lansbury." The remainder of his sentence was drowned in cheers.

"First," said Lansbury, "in reply, 'I want to tell all comrades, young or old, poor or rich, whoever you are, that I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the reception you have given me."

Arrival In Russia

People want to know, Lansbury proceeded, how I got a passport to Russia. When I left England I was not sure that I should get there, and did not ask for a passport, for the simple reason that there was no one to give me one. When I reached Finland I asked permission to cross the frontier into Estonia, and this was given me. When I did cross over the border and "shook hands with murder" I was proud to do so. I had shaken hands with soldiers before!

All Soldiers In Same Garb

The soldiers over there were not dressed in any definite uniform. Brigadier-generals, commandants and officers were dressed the same as the privates, and you couldn't tell 't'other from which. They bore themselves just like men, and looked you straight in the eye. In their eyes you read the welcome which you could not understand from their strange speech.

Oliver Schreiner has written somewhere about a people which marched across Europe centuries ago, the men and women together, bearing hardships and privation equally. In the Army the women are standing side by side with their men, cooking for them and attending to their needs.

My first meal in Soviet Russia was an example of the meals served alike to generals, privates and visitors. It was cooked by a woman in a little hut, and consisted only of tea and black bread. That was all they had to offer. From the top to the bottom they were all sharing equally what they had.

Maxim Gorky's Revelation

We in England are responsible for that outrageous blockade. People speak of the horrors of Bolshevism. But what about the horrors perpetrated by the great Christian Powers of Europe, which shut off Bolshevik Russia from all medical supplies, from all Red Cross aid, so that human beings had to submit to having their limbs amputated, their eyes taken out, without anaesthetics?

Maxim Gorky is writing a preface to a book on the horrors of the White Terror, which will shake the world.

I want to say, however, that I am not of the opinion that the people who have come back from Russia and told stories of atrocities have merely lied. There have been atrocities committed, not under the orders of the leaders, but by the individuals attached to both sides. But no one has done more than the Central Government of Soviet Russia and its Extraordinary Commission to put down terrorism and prevent murder. It has done far more than could have been expected from any other Government in similar circumstances. Let us remember that the whole fabric of society had broken down. We see before our eyes what is happening in Ireland, containing three millions of people, in the reign of terror under an Army of Occupation. How much more dangerous then was the situation which involved 160 millions of people.

We criticised the Soviets for not producing perfect order out of a chaos, but our Government had curious ideas about "order," anyhow.

The rising in Berlin has been definitely engineered by people in this country and on the Continent, who are anxious to see restored Kaiserism in Germany and Tsarism in Russia.

When the reactionaries appeared to be in the ascendancy last week the English Press declared there must be no interference. But now that the workers are coming on top again we have Lord Kilmarnock declaring that if there is not a Constitutional and ordered Government in Germany there shall be no food.

My friends, those words were spoken in your name and in mine. Are you going to allow the British Government to do the same to Germany as it has done to Russia?

Progress

We burned the witches—they had devils in 'em.
We mobbed Lovejoy—he preached a schism.
We hanged John Brown—he broke a law.
And now we've sent 'Gene Debs to prison.
—Will Burn in the Liberator.

When I Go Out

O be to me tender, leaves that wait outside
This sullen wall, and keep inviolate.
Until I come to you with love-dumb lips
From out of this dull tenement of hate;

Out of the fresh breathing of the earth
To draw allayment of rasping fear,
My woundings and my frettings, till my mind
Is soothed by winds that draw like nurses near.

To tend me on my bed of living grass;
And all the hush of spring shall be my cover;
The hills shall stand as guards about my peace;
And the audacious sun shall be my lover—

When I go out—O roads of all the world!
O Beauty, fields and cities, do not fail!
Await, strong friends, my coming,—let my heart
Once more drink glory on a careless trail!

Charles Ashleigh.

For Leavenworth Prison

A determined effort is being made to secure ten thousand dollars for the release of Charles Ashleigh on bail pending the appeal of the I. W. W. case. It would be a small and yet a great thing, for some "patron of art and letters" to do, to set that much money aside for a few months, in order that this sensitive and real poet might have the liberty that he knows so well how to love.

Max Eastman.

Every nation must be allowed to decide on its own government. The Bolsheviks in Russia and the Reds in Germany don't want us to help them; they can help themselves. But they do ask to be left alone by other countries.

British Propaganda.

The Soviet Government has documentary evidence to show that reactionaries in Europe are sending out their propagandists to Russia, with the object of restoring autocracy. The British Government pretends to be afraid that it Litvinoff came to

own countrymen walking about with absolute freedom—yet prisoners?

Let the Jingoists, who chased the English wives of Germans, who harried barber and pork butchers, understand how in Soviet Russia they treat the alien enemy. Let them understand that so long as they do not interfere with the internal affairs of Russia, the aliens in that country are allowed to go when and where they please. That shows that Western civilization has something to learn from Soviet Russia.

About The Churches

"Now, about churches. Before I crossed the border I had breakfast at 6.30 one morning with a British officer, I believe he was honest. He said, 'You are a brave man at your age—going into Russia.' 'Why?' I asked.

"You will either be killed or you will die of disease," he replied. Again I said, 'Why?'

"They are destroying religion," he said, "and burning the churches." Then he told me horrible tales concerning a great army of Chinese, and he declared 'every Chinaman can gather up three women!'

"A priest told me there were at least 16,000 churches in Russia. I said, 'If your 16,000 churches and all your priests and religious people cannot combat that statement, I don't think much of your religion.'

"But in Russia there is perfect freedom for religious teachers to carry on their propaganda.

"And the children—they are neither legitimate nor illegitimate—they are just children. There is no longer a visiting of the sins of the fathers upon the children. Nowhere in the world are the children better cared for and better loved than in Soviet Russia. I never saw milk unless it was being given to the children. I seldom saw meat, except when the children had it.

"Even anti-Bolshevik women in Russia agree that the children are being cared for in a most beautiful manner, and when I remember who it was who said 'Suffer little children to come unto Me,' I remembered also the slugs of the East End of London and the children who starved that dividends and profits might be made.

"In Russia the only right the people have not got is the right to exploit their fellow men and women.

"Regarding education, Lenin issued a proclamation. It read:—

"To get more we must produce more. To produce more we must learn more. Therefore, education, education, education.

"Thus the numbers of educated men in the Red Army have increased from 15 to 65 per cent."

Lenin To England

I want you to take Lenin's message, as he put it to me:—

"If you can bring about a peaceful revolution in England, no one will be better pleased than we in Russia. Keep in your trade move-

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ment; keep in your Labour movement. Don't divide until you have to divide. Don't become disintegrated by premature strikes or premature upheavals.

"Keep together till you are homogeneous, and do not be led into resorting to violence."

Then Lenin added: "You are a pacifist; on whose side would you be in the class war?" I said I had been with the workers in Russia from the beginning, and would be with them here; because I am one of them, and was born on their side of the fence.

At the close of Lansbury's speech the vast audience showed its appreciation.

In conclusion, Tom Mann made a characteristic appeal for solidarity and action.

"The great lesson for us to learn from the Russian movement is that the central factor of the whole of Russia is the Soviet form of government. That is a lesson to us both politically and industrially."

"Lenin and Trotsky, when they recognised the necessity of avoiding the ungainly methods of the Constituent Assembly, and refused to initiate the parliamentary system of Western Europe, saved the Russian movement by enabling the people to get to grips directly with the political and industrial situation and giving to the workers the control of industry?"

Before the gathering closed a resolution was passed unanimously calling for the immediate release from prison of Charles Diamond.

(Charles Diamond was recently sent to prison for writing an article protesting against the British atrocities in Ireland. He is the editor of the "CATHOLIC TIMES"—Ed.)

The meeting broke up by the singing of the "Red Flag" and the "Internationale."

LEGION SERVANT OF WALL STREET, UNIONIST ASSERTS

CHICAGO.—"The average union man has reason to believe from past performances that the American Legion is at the service of Wall Street," declared Capt. Roscoe H. Johnson, international president of the Commercial Telegraphers' union, Johnson, who enlisted at the outbreak of the war and served until it ended, asserted that the Legion would first have to "purge itself of the taint of Wall Street, then every ex-service man with a union card would be glad to sign up."

SCORES ROGERS BILL.

Johnson commented caustically on the Rogers bill recently passed by both houses of congress, which provides for the "loan" of rifles to each post of the legion, and for the sale of regular ball ammunition at cost price from the government arsenals in unlimited quantities.

"The bill provides that the purpose of the issuance of guns is for 'military funerals,'" he said. "It is easy to picture just the kind of 'military funerals' Wall Street is preparing for."

The attempts on the part of National Commander Franklin D'Olier to assure the union men that the legion is their friend do not harmonize with the way the posts are being organized, Johnson said.

BACKED BY BIG INTERESTS.

If Franklin D'Olier, as national commander, and the American Legion, as an organization, expect to inspire confidence in the ex-service man with a card in his pocket, the first move should be suspension of charters bearing such inscriptions as "Western Union Telegraph Company Post," "Colorado Fuel & Iron Post," "U. S. Steel Corporation Post," "Western Electric Post," "Standard Oil Post" and the like—each post equipped with the latest model army rifles and regular ball ammunition "for military funerals," he declared.

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EDITORIALS

EUGENE DEBS DEMONSTRATION

The Debs demonstration that was timed to take place last Wednesday in Washington, D. C., has been postponed.

These demonstrations savor of the old Biblical days, when the people walked around Jericho and blew trumpets, until finally the walls fell down. Why do the "political" socialists insist upon appealing to the ruling-class? Why not appeal to the men on the job? The capitalist class do NOT want Debs to remain in prison. May sound as if we are trying to justify the position of the capitalists. What would you do, if you were in the same position as the capitalist class? If they let Debs out, Debs will immediately commence to speak and educate the people. Now if you were a capitalist, would you let Debs out? Of course you would not. Therefore when the capitalists witness our demonstrations, they just laugh. But if we appeal to the man on the job and succeed in bringing about a general strike, would they laugh then? We ask, would they? Of course not. Then why waste your time on demonstrations?

HAVE YOU READ "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

IT'S A GREAT LIFE

If the Allies insist on Germany fulfilling the terms of peace, the German government will be left without an army or navy. In other words, they will be left without any force to keep down the Communists.

On the other hand, if the Germans are allowed to retain their large army and navy, then the Allies are in danger of losing some of their world markets.

It's a great life, Mike!

HAVE YOU READ "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

BRITISH LABOR IN CONVENTION

We are indebted to the "Workers' Dreadnought" for the reports of the recent labor conventions held in England.

The Trade Union Congress, the official body of British Labor, and the Shop Stewards' Movement, the "unofficial" body of labor, met at the same time. As the editor of the Workers' Dreadnought states:—

For the first time in the history of the Labour movement a rank and file Conference met simultaneously with the official Trade Union Congress, in order to focus in the eyes of the great masses the opposing policy of the revolutionary Communists, side by side with that of the old fashioned trade unionists, whose vision does not extend beyond some more or less timid attempt to palliate and patch up the capitalist system in which the worker will ever be the exploited wage slave.

The Trade Union Congress met and talked about direct action, without really understanding what was meant by the term—direct action. It remained true to its traditional past. Met, talked and gained the applause of the "kept" press. Not a word about Russia!

During the discussion on direct action, Tom Mann endeavored to make the delegates realise when their real power lay. Let us proceed to the report of the convention of the rank and file of British labor, that of the Shop Stewards. We have our own A. F. of L. conventions to amuse us.

Arthur McManus, the chairman of the N. A. C. of the Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committee movement was the first chairman of the Convention, which met on the morning of March 10th, the day before the Trade Union Congress. He drew the attention of the delegates to the singular and important nature of the Convention and predicted that it would be the beginning of a new movement of the rank and file throughout the country. There was a tendency in the official Trade Union movement to use the unrest amongst the rank and file workers and to go round making fiery speeches stirring up enthusiasm, but when the moment for action came, to call a halt and to say: let us ask for a Commission of Inquiry. But after the Commission had sat and reported, we always found that if anything were to be accomplished one had got to take the same drastic action that had been necessary before.

On the question, as to who should own the mines, the Convention clearly stated its position by adopting the following resolution:—

This Convention recognises, that no scheme of Nationalisation will be of any temporary or permanent benefit to the workers which does not remove the capitalist class from power, and calls upon the workers to prepare industrial machinery to take control of the means of production and distribution, independently of capitalism.

At the same time the Convention recognises that Direct Action should be used to compel the Government to accede to the mine workers' demands.

This Convention, therefore, calls upon the Trades' Union Congress to take steps to bring about a general strike to wrest the mines from the capitalists.

The Convention also elected a special Mines' Committee:—

(1) To press forward the strike policy.
(2) To consult with the unofficial Reform Committee of the miners, with a view to formulating and urging upon the workers a scheme for the sovietisation, or in other words, the workers' control of the mining industry.

(3) To enlarge the demands of the strike in the direction of the general sovietisation of the land and all industry.

A resolution was also adopted, urging a general strike to bring about peace with Soviet Russia.

The Soviets.

The following resolution was also adopted:—
This Convention, recognising that Social and Industrial Service will be the basis of future society, calls upon the workers to prepare for the creation of Soviets, consisting of—

1.—Delegates from all kinds of industrial workers, elected on the workshop basis.

2.—Delegates from the land workers.

3.—Delegates from villages and hamlets in areas where the population, for technical reasons, cannot be divided for purposes of representation on industrial lines.

4.—Delegates of women, not industrially employed, appointed to represent the area in which they live, by the women of those localities.

All representatives to be instructed by those they represent, and subject to recall at any time.

No representation to be given to those who live by employing others for private gain or on accumulated wealth.

Economic Soviets to consist of representatives of the above groups, with the addition of advisory representatives of Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies and Technical Staffs.

Willie Gallacher, of the Scottish Workers' Committee, speaking in support of it, said that the strikes on the Clyde

had been mostly unofficial and therefore without strike pay. When the people were without food they were starved into submission. Therefore whilst they were building up Workshop Committees they were also finding it necessary to build up committees outside which could ensure the food supplies of the workers. It was the business of these Social Committees to find out where the food was and how to get it.

If the American labor movement would only quit fooling about with Labor Parties and get behind the One Big Union movement and the Co-operative movement, they would be doing some real work. As Robert Minor points out in the current issue of the "Liberator":—

"In the Messaba Iron Range strike, the Finnish Co-operatives and the American Society of Equity backed Labor. They made a deal with the I. W. W. not only to furnish the strike with provisions but to give credit for the provisions. The I. W. W. guaranteed the strikers debts and have since made good on the bills.

When the great Steel strike started, John Fitzpatrick as chairman of the strike committee invited the National Co-operative Association at Chicago and the Tri-State Co-operative Association of Pittsburgh, to handle the strike commissary. The Co-operatives jumped at the opportunity. In the Chicago Steel district, provisions were distributed to the strikers in the Co-operative's own trucks, and long-distance freight shipments were made. Something over a half a million dollar worth of food was supplied.

And now if I have made the once dry word "co-operative" smell and taste like food to you, I'm satisfied. Think of strikes with food!

General strikes with food!

It seems to me that the American co-operative movement has made good with Labor."

The Irish situation was discussed and a resolution affirming Ireland's right to independence and calling for a joint conference of the Irish and British rank and file to consider what British workers can do to help Irish workers in their struggle was adopted unanimously. Similar resolutions on India and Egypt were also carried and resolutions declaring that Parliament must be replaced by the Soviets and that the hardships arising from the high cost of living, unemployment and other evils can only be ended by the abolition of capitalism.

The following resolution on the Two Internationals and the Labour Party was carried, with one dissent:—

Resolution XIII.—This Convention greets the Third (Communist) International inaugurated in Moscow, and calls upon all workers' organisations here represented to adopt the Communist platform, and to link up with the Third International. It urges the representative delegates here present to secure the withdrawal of their organisations from the Second International, and from the Labour Party, and their affiliation to the Third International.

On a motion it was resolved to elect a committee to arrange to obtain the necessary facilities for workers who desire to go to Soviet Russia to help with the work of reconstruction there and whose work may be needed in Russia, and also to arrange for a rank and file deputation to visit Soviet Russia in order to make a report to the workers of this country.

Jack Willis, of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, pointed out that every member of the official Labor deputation that is going to Russia has declared himself in strong and definite opposition to the Soviets.

Ed. McAlpine, of the Communist Labor Party, tendered fraternal greetings from American comrades, and told how possession of a member's card in the Communist Party, the Communist Labour Party, or the I. W. W., renders the holder liable to imprisonment in the United States. The clubbing and shooting of the Reds is a common practice of the American authorities and some had been lynched. A resolution conveying fraternal greetings to the American comrades was adopted.

The following resolution on Hungary was adopted:—
This rank-and-file convention expresses solidarity with the persecuted Communist workers of Hungary, and condemns the White Terror instituted by the present Government of Hungary and condoned by the British and other Allied Missions in Budapest. It further calls on the British Government to follow the example of the Italian Government, which, under the pressure of the Socialist workers of Italy, has instructed its Embassy in Vienna to intervene on behalf of the Hungarian Socialists.

The convention declared for:—

"(a) Complete dictatorship of industrial conditions by those—the rank and file—who perform the industrial operations.

"(b) Complete subjection of all office-holders (large, small and in between) to the actual members of the rank and file of the working class.

"(c) Total destruction of the existing ineffective and worn-out Trade Union machinery, or the existing cloak of present-day scabbery, nicknamed Trade Union Constitutionalism, to be substituted by the most efficient class-machinery, to be determined by the shop-steward movement proper, counteracting that narrow-minded Trade-Union-Society-Stewardism which, whilst trading as Shop Stewardism, is actually shop prostitution.

"(d) Destruction of representation based upon Society branches, or geographical areas, to be substituted by workshop representation, subject to twenty-four hours' recall, failing mandatory instructions."

Social Soviets.

As the result of a careful discussion, it was agreed that, while the Workers' Committees and Shop Stewards' organisations, organising the workers industrially where they work, form the most vital method of industrial preparation for the coming revolutionary crisis, these bodies need to be supplemented by the organisation of revolutionists socially where they live.

The functions of this second type of organisation, that which organises revolutionists where they live, will above all be

(1) To group and concentrate revolutionary opinion, and to provide a field for the activities, not only of revolutionary industrial workers, but also of revolutionists who for one reason or another cannot directly share in the industrial struggle. This applies especially to women in the home, etc.;

(2) To collect local information as to food supply, transport, etc. This information will be essential to the workers in a revolutionary crisis;

(3) To propagate the soviet idea, and in every possible way to assist in the formation and development of Shop Stewards' Committees and Workers' Committees.

After a number of alternative proposals had been discussed, the name of Social Soviet was chosen.

Viewing the work of the Shop Steward's convention, one cannot help but feel that this is only industrial movement that should command the attention of the workingclass of Great Britain. The crowning feature of the Shop Steward movement is, that it is a movement from the bottom up. The rank and file control the movement. Any action taken is by the sanction of the rank and file. The danger of betrayal by officials is entirely eliminated. Officials may go wrong, but they can never take the movement with them. The rank and file are invested with responsibility and that demands a spirit of selfreliance. With the rank and file active and engaging

in action of its own making success is assured.

If any of our readers desire to know more about this movement we advise them to communicate with the editor of "Solidarity", 10 Tudor Street, London, E. C. ENGLAND. It would be as well for members of the A. F. of L. to keep in touch with this movement by subscribing to "Solidarity", published monthly one dollar per year.

HAVE YOU READ "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

LENIN ON THE TACTICS OF THE COMMUNISTS.

We here publish excerpts of a letter of Lenin received by the Central Executive of Communist Party of Germany as a "Greeting to the German, Italian, and American Communists."

The reports that come thru to us from abroad are extraordinarily few. The blockade of the imperialistic beasts of prey is in full force, the strongest powers of the world are trying to violate us in order to re-establish the rule of the exploiters. Of course all the bestial rage of the capitalists of Russia and of all the rest of the world is covered with the empty phrases about the "great importance" of "democracy". The exploiters are consistent; Bourgeois democracy they designate as "democracy" in general, and all the Phillistines, all the petty-bourgeois—even the Messers, Friedrich Adler, Karl Kautsky, and the majority of the leaders of the "Independents" (independent of the revolutionary proletariat, but dependent upon petty-bourgeois prejudices)—swell the chorus of this song.

But the more rarely news from abroad come to us in Russia, the more joyfully do we observe the tremendous victories of Communism among the workers of all lands, the turning away of the masses from the leaders who have betrayed them, who—from Scheidemann to Kautsky—have gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie.

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Renners and Friedrich Alders—greatly tho these gentlemen may differ from the point of view of personal honor—have proved themselves to be petty-bourgeois, despicable traitors to Socialism, and adherents of the bourgeoisie, for all of them in 1912 helped to write the Basel Manifesto regarding the coming imperialistic war and signed it, they all at that time spoke of the proletarian revolution, and now all of them have shown themselves petty-bourgeois democrats, champions of philistine-republican, bourgeois-democratic illusions, servants of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The terrible persecutions to which the German Communists have been exposed have hardened them. If at this moment they are to a certain extent divided against themselves, it is only a proof of the mass character of their movement, of the strong growth of Communism deep within the laboring masses. A division is inevitable in a movement that is so savagely persecuted by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and its servants, Scheidemann and Noske, and which is forced into illegal organization. Besides, it is a matter of course that a movement that grows so rapidly, that is so persecuted, should bring out sharp differences of opinion. There is in this no danger, it is the disease of growing.

All these differences of opinion are unavoidable. Between petty-bourgeois, who, like those of 1848 idolize bourgeois "democracy" without understanding its bourgeois character, and the proletarian Revolution there can be no peace. They cannot work together. Noske and Kautsky, Friedrich Adler and Otto Bauer may do what they please, they may write mountains of paper, deliver endless speeches, they will not do away with the fact that they in reality have no appreciation of the significance of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet form of government, and that they are bourgeois democrats, "Socialists" of the type of Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, and that at the best they are toys in the hands of the bourgeoisie, at the worst its very servants.

The "Independent" Kautskys, as well as the Austrian Social-Democrats, seem to be but a single party; in reality the mass of party members are in principle, in essentials, and in the main points not in agreement with their leaders. The great mass of them will take up the revolutionary proletarian struggle for the soviet power as soon as the moment of a new crisis is at hand, but the "leaders" will continue, as they are now, counter-revolutionary and seated between two chairs. Hilferding in Germany, Friedrich Alder in Austria are already giving an example of this noble art.

But in the fire of the revolutionary struggle these persons who are trying to reconcile the unconciliable, will show themselves to be mere soap bubbles. This was proved by all the Socialistic heroes of the year 1848, this is being proved by their brothers in the flesh, the Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries in Russia, in the years of 1917—19, and the same is proved by all the champions of the yellow International of Bern.

The differences of opinion among the Communists are of another nature. A fundamental difference only those cannot see who will not see. They are differences of opinion among representatives of a movement that has grown with unbelievable rapidity, differences of opinion on one and the same fundamental basis, the basis of the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On such a basis the differences are not dangerous, it is the disease of growth and not that of weak old age. Such differences of opinion have also been experienced in the ranks of the Bolsheviks. There have even been small divisions on the ground of such differences. But at the decisive moment, at the moment of the conquest of power and of the establishment of the Soviet Government Bolshevism once more stood as a unified movement. The best elements of the movements related to it joined its forces, it united the whole advance guard of the proletariat and the enormous majority of the workers. So too it will be with German Communism.

The Kautskys and the "Independent" party are doomed to fail, and without a doubt they will very soon break up as a result of the differences between their revolutionary members among the masses and the counter-revolutionary "leaders".

The Communist Party will grow strong and steel itself in the process. It is going thru essentially the same differences of opinion which the Bolsheviks too had to pass thru. The differences among the German Communists consist, as well as I can judge of it, in the "question of the exploitation of the legal means available"—as the Bolsheviks called it in the years of 1910—13—in use of the bourgeois parliament, of the reactionary labor unions, of the factory councils created by the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys; the ones demand participating in these organs, the others demand that they be boycotted. We, the Russian Bolsheviks, passed thru exactly the same differences of opinion in 1906 and in 1912-13, and we see plainly enough that in many young German Communists the lack of revolutionary experience is making itself felt. Had they experienced the Revolutions of 1906 and 1917, they would not so categorically demand the boycott and fall from time to time into the errors of Syndicalism. That is the sickness of growth. It will pass with the spread of the movement, which is developing excellently. And in regard to these apparent errors it is necessary not to exaggerate the differences of opinion, for it must be plain to all that in the near future the struggles

for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for the soviet power will do away with the greatest part of these differences of opinion. From the point of view of Marxian theory as well as from the point of view of the experience of the three revolutions of 1905, February 1917, and October 1917, I consider it a mistake to decline to participate in the bourgeois parliament, in the reactionary labor unions of Legien, Gompers, etc., in the reactionary "workers' council" established by the Scheidemanns. Sometimes, in individual cases, the boycott is practical in a certain land, thus for example it was right for the Bolsheviks to boycott the Czarist Duma in 1905, but the same Bolsheviks participated in the much more reactionary and by far more counter-revolutionary Duma of the year 1907. The Bolsheviks took part in the elections to the bourgeois Constituent Assembly in 1917, but in the year 1918 they scattered it, to the terror of all petty-bourgeois democrats, the Kautskys, and the rest of the renegades of Socialism. We participated in the reactionary, purely Menshevik labor unions, which as far as their counter-revolutionary attitude is concerned were no better than the most villainous and reactionary unions of Legien in Germany. Even now, two years after we have seized the power of state, our struggle against the remains of the Menshevik labor unions—that is, the unions of the order of Scheidemann, Gompers, etc.—is not yet over; so long and weary is the process, so strong is in various places the influence of the petty-bourgeois ideas.

Formerly we comprised a minority in the Soviets, a minority in the unions and co-operatives. Thru hard work, thru a long and weary struggle—both before and since our conquest of political power—we drew over to our side the majority in all the labor organizations, later also in such organisations in which not only workers were represented, and finally also in the petty-bourgeois organisations. Only knaves and fools can believe that the proletariat must win the majority in elections taking place under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, under the pressure of wage slavery, and only then seize the power. This is the height of narrowness and hypocrisy. It is the attempt to substitute for the class struggle and the Revolution elections under the old social order, under the old government. The proletariat conducts its class struggle without waiting for a vote for the beginning of the strike, altho for the full success of the strike the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of a majority of the population—is necessary. The proletariat carries on its fight and overthrows the bourgeoisie without waiting for any preliminary vote (in which the bourgeoisie itself participated and which takes place under its pressure), altho at the same time the proletariat knows full well that for the success of its Revolution, for the successful downing of the bourgeoisie there is absolute necessity of the sympathy of the majority of the workers—and consequently also of the majority of the population.

Parliamentary cretinism and the modern Louis Blancs insist on the vote, and that a vote carried out by the bourgeoisie, to determine the sympathy of the majority. But that is the view of pedants, of political corpses, or of cunning deceivers.

Actual life, the history of the real Revolution shows that the "sympathy of the majority of the workers" may often be proved without any vote (aside from such votes as are taken on a basis of "equality" of the exploiter with the exploited). Very often the sympathy of the majority of the workers is revealed not thru votes but thru the growth of one of the parties in the number of members in the councils, thru the success of a single strike which for some reason has gained great significance, thru success in the civil war etc.

The fight against the betrayers of Socialism, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys must be a ruthless one, but it must not be fought on the basis of participation in bourgeois parliaments, reactionary unions, etc., or boycotting of these organs. That would be an absolute mistake. A still greater one would be to deviate from the ideas of Marxism in favor of the ideas and practice that demands as a matter of principle participation in the bourgeois parliament, in the reactionary labor unions, in the factory councils organized and castrated by the Scheidemanns. Such a party must exist wherever there are workers, wherever workers may be spoken to, wherever the working-class may be influenced. One must absolutely unite the illegal work with the legal, systematically and without deviation establishing a strict control of the loyal activity thru the illegal party and its workers' organisations. This is not easy. But there is not and cannot be any "easy" task, any "easy" struggle for the proletarian revolution. But this problem must be solved at all costs.

We differ from the Scheidemanns and Kautskys not only—and not chiefly—in that they, unlike us, do not recognize the armed uprising; the most important and fundamental difference is that they in every field—in the bourgeois parliament, in the unions, in the press, etc.—carry on an inconsistent opportunistic and actually traitorous policy.

Against the Social-traitors, against the reformists and opportunists—that is the political line that can be followed without exception in all phases of the struggle, and must be, if the laboring masses are to be won. And with the working class the advance guard of the proletariat, the Marxian centralized political party, will lead the people along the right path to the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat, to proletarian in the place of bourgeois democracy, to soviet government, to the socialistic order of society.

The Third International has been privileged in the course of a few months to celebrate a series of splendid, unparalleled victories. The rapidity of this growing is remarkable. Isolated errors and sicknesses are not dangerous in this case. Thru direct and frank criticism we shall bring it about that the Marxian workers of all civilized lands will very soon sweep away the betrayers of Socialism, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of all nations—for they exist in all.

THE VICTORY OF COMMUNISM IS INEVITABLE. VICTORY WILL BE OURS!

October 1919.

N. LENIN.

HAVE YOU READ "SYSTEM'S HAND"?

REPORTED DEATH OF JOHN REED

The States Attorney's office of Cook County, Illinois has issued an announcement that John Reed has been executed by the Finnish Government.

We urge our readers to ignore announcements coming from such a source. They are issued with a view to prejudicing the case of those about to be tried for conspiracy. If the States Attorney's office can produce a feeling of fear in the minds of the populace, it will enable them to frame up the Communists. Hence the "reported" and "unconfirmed report" of the execution of John Reed.

It seem peculiar that the United States Foreign office was not aware of the "reported" death of John Reed, yet a local Chicago office had received word. We suggest to President Wilson, that the commences an inquiry into the lax manner in which the Secretary of State is conducting his office. Why not appoint Assistant States Attorneys Heth and Berger of Chicago? They seem to be two exceedingly clever men. They seem to be we said!