

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.
As surely as the sun rolls round
As surely as the clouds sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

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FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1920

WHOLE No. 149 FIVE CENTS.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY

"The Day of the People Has Arrived"

May the First, the International Holiday of the Revolutionary Proletariat! This is MY day!

Turn back the pages of your history books and read the story of my life. In the ancient days of Rome—Rome with its wonders of song and story, its beautiful mansions and palaces, I was a slave. It was I who fought in your arenas and gave my life, so that you might enjoy the sickening sight of another dying. Your brutal tastes could not appreciate the real joys, so I had to be the victim of your blood-thirsty lusts. I, who had built your palaces and mansions grand, lay sprawling before you, bathed in my own blood.

See the Pyramids! You prate of their grandeur and in the simplicity of your being you marvel and ask, how could they rear such mighty structures? Yet in the hour of your amazement, you never thought of asking was it I who built them? No, that would mean the lowering of your dignity, to even give recognition to the fact, that I am a human! Babylon and Nineveh, oh the glories of those days! The splendor of her feasts and the magnificent beauty of her palaces. It was upon my bent back that these two mighty nations were erected. Greece, of fame and renown, with her art, literature, music etc., could not have existed for even one hour,

were it not for my labor. Though you spat on me and crushed me beneath your heel, like a blind fool, I served you, I was your slave. So much of a slave, that history does not record my deeds.

Rome, the city of power! Rome, whose ruler conquered many a nation. It was I who built Rome. Yet Nero watched it being destroyed by the fire that he had lit. For Nero knew, that I the slave, would build another Rome. All through the ages I have meekly obeyed the demands of the Neros. I never questioned them. Even though they gave me an existence that was lower than the dogs they fondled.

When the world was full of swamps and cave, and the animals of the forest reigned supreme, I came down from the trees and with my labor I built your villages and as time went on, I turned them into teeming cities and today you survey a world of wealth, built by my hands. It was my hands that dug the ore that gave you the telescope, that sweeps the starry heavens and men analyse the stars and measure the lightning's speed, because of my labors. The great steamships cross and re-cross the mighty oceans and the uttermost ends of the world are lined together, all because of that selfsame labor of mine. Who built your mighty

railroads across the yawning river chasms and made them pierce the hearts of the mountains that seemed to threaten you with their grandeur? It was I!

TODAY IS MY DAY. It is the INTERNATIONAL HOLIDAY OF THE WORLD PROLETARIAT. It is more than that, it is the day upon which I serve you notice. From henceforth I swear, that I shall work, not for you, but for the glory of a free people. I am tired of slaving and slaving. Why should I fill your granaries with wheat and your warehouses with goods, when I know that when they are full you cast me on one side and allow me to starve? Why should I work from the early morning until the dark night, to produce wealth in abundance, when I know that in the distribution of that wealth you create wars that kill millions of my kind? Why should I, I ask you?

In Russia my kind are building a new world. In other countries they are following their glowing example. I, the toiler of the ages, have at last awakened to the folly of it all. My eyes are opened. For years I have groaned beneath the burden of toil. With head bowed down, I have lived in darkness. But now with head erect I see the light. Out of the valley of toil and slavery I shall ascend

the mountain top and survey the world that I have built. Today on this glorious day of workingclass memory, I feel a new power within me. The fingers of mine are twitching. I want power. I want ALL the things that I have made. I feel them coming to my hand. Drawn to me, like steel filings to a magnet. I, who built all things, will enjoy all things. Intoxicated with the joy of a new life, I stumble. I fall, but learn by falling.

Mark well masters of the world what you do! Wine and dine whilst the wining and dining are good. Enjoy yourselves, for on the morrow, I swear to you all I shall arise. Upon this day of days, I swear to you my masters that with head erect and arms outstretched I shall claim the world I have built. Within the womb of time the seed has been planted and upon the morrow it shall bear forth its fruits.

Arise all of you who have served as I have served. Upon this First of May let us arise and in the bonds of the international solidarity of the workingclass we shall build the SOVIET REPUBLIC OF THE WORLD.

"The slave march stops
The burden drops.
Chains are rent
To weapons bent.

The old world dies, the new awakes.
Kingdoms crash and finance shakes.

THE REVOLT OF THE GERMAN PROLETARIAT

AN APPEAL TO THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND BELGIAN PROLETARIAT

PROLETARIANS,—In a magnificent onrush the German proletariat has swept away the counter-revolution of the Kapps and the Lyttwizes. The reaction of the Junkers has been crushed by the dauntless courage of the masses, who rose like one man. These working masses, divided against themselves, starved and miserable, trodden down by the Noske-regime, lacking arms, deprived of their able leaders, have united in a superb fighting movement and have displayed in the decisive instant the most splendid courage and initiative. Without an instant's hesitation the German proletariat has left the factories and stopped the means of transport and the public services; it has procured itself the arms it needed and by means of guns as by means of strikes—combining the two great methods of the class-struggle at the disposal of the working class—it has achieved victory. From the first day, in the midst of the battle against the counter-revolution of the Junkers, another battle defined itself, like a flame burning with a fierce glare in the core of a vast blaze. This flame was the war against the bourgeois regime, served by the Social-democratic tyranny and oppression; the war for deliverance of labour from exploitation; for the Soviet system and the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the suburbs of Berlin, in Saxony, in Thuringia, in Wurtemberg, in Bavaria, in all Germany, but especially in the Rhine district and in Westphalia, Workshop Councils spring up and endeavour to seize the power. The proletarians arm and form Red Guards. The industrial cities of the West change into as many fortresses, where the social revolution organises and increases its forces. At the same time the revolutionary wave sweeps down upon the rural districts, agrarian disturbances break out in Pomerania and in Mecklenburg, whilst part of the army, some naval divisions, and part of the police refuse to fight against the revolution.

The Ebert Government, mad with fear, sees the real enemy, sees Spartacus overthrown, decimated, crushed over and over again, again raising its head, more terrible and threatening than ever. It sees the large masses of the Independent Socialist Party fight on one front with the Communist vanguard. It even sees in many places members of the Social-patriotic party unite with them for demonstrations, strikes, and the armed struggle. And the fear of the government deepens as it sees the attitude assumed by the bureaucracy of the syndicates which, however much against their will, and only to avoid being submerged by the revolutionary tide, demand the immediate socialisation of the mines, the disarming of the troops, the participation in

the power of the Central Commission of the industrial unions; demands that, although in reality a manoeuvre of the trade union bureaucracy, shows the concessions this bureaucracy is obliged to make in order to satisfy the aspirations of the masses towards the system of Soviets, and, unhesitatingly, the Ebert Government decides to fight to the end for the maintenance of the capitalistic system. It gathers its forces, it makes front against the Left, to beat down Spartacus. Noske, whose dismissal was announced, is still maintained a few days longer in office by the majority of the Social-democratic delegates to the National Assembly. He calmly allows the counter-revolution of the Junkers to take up its quarters and gather its forces in Silesia and Eastern Prussia, the Vendee of Germany; and Noske, the hangman; Noske, the butcher, concentrates all the faithful troops at his disposal against Westphalia and the Rhine district, the flaming hearts of the social revolution, where, by the hour, it is gaining strength and splendour. It is there that the battle between Past and Future will be decided. It is there that either German capitalism will receive a mortal stroke, or the grand attempt of the working classes to seize the power will be drowned in a deluge of blood. And whilst tens of thousands of workers in those numerous cities of the Rhine district—where form one single, immense industrial agglomeration—already are sketching out the political forms of the new society, whilst they restore order, start anew the public services, organise the first Red Army in Western Europe, the Charge d'Affaires of Britain, and France congratulate the Ebert-Noske Government on its victory over the "reaction" and offer their support towards the destroying of the nascent Communist Republic, even as Bismarck, all but half an age ago, offered his support to Thiers towards the destroying of the Commune.

In face of the common enemy, the social revolution, conquered forget their disjunctions. The antagonism of their interests disappears before the universal interest of the capitalistic class, before its instinct of self-preservation.

Already Lloyd-George, Millerand, and Vandervelde have wiped out the score of their differences with the German bourgeoisie. Nay, more, in order to save it they are prepared to shed the blood of the British, the French, and the Belgian people.

Already British troops at Solingen have helped to crush the Spartacist insurrection.

Already the commanders of the Entente troops have deliberated at Mayence, France, on the measures to

be taken against the Communist movement in the Ruhr valley.

Already the British Charge d'Affaires has informed the German Vice-Chancellor Schuler that the Entente would not furnish any foodstuffs or raw material to a German Soviet Republic.

Already the Entente has allowed the troops of the Government to traverse occupied territory on their march against the Communist insurrection and to make use of this territory as a base of operations in the concentrated attack against the Red Army.

The solidarity which unites all bourgeoisies, all militarisms, is proclaimed openly, cynically, without any attempt to gloss the matter over. It behooves us to proclaim as openly, as energetically, the solidarity of the proletariat.

British, French, and Belgian proletarians, will you let your ruling classes make use of you to trample to death the German revolution?

The German revolution—that is just a way of speaking, a traditional expression. To speak the truth, there is no German revolution, no more than there is a Russian, or a British, or a French, or an Italian, or a Spanish revolution.

There is only one Social Revolution, as there is only one capitalistic oppression, as there is only one Socialism, one hope of the oppressed and exploited of all countries.

Our rulers know that the Republic of Workers' Councils established in Germany means the accord of Germany with Soviet Russia, that is, the marvellous development of the industry and the technique of the one, and the immense resources in agrarian products, in fertile land, and in raw materials of the other, uniting; melting one into the other, seconding each other. They know this accord means the proletarian revolution, inevitable henceforth by the blockade as by the steel. They know that this accord means the rapid and assured revolution of the Communist production and culture, its radiance growing day by day more luminous, more serene, more irresistible, towards the countries where feudal capitalism—stinking with corruption and sweating blood, still struggles in a horrible agony. They know that the triumph of the Revolution in Germany will immediately start revolutionary movements in Jugo-Slavia, in Poland, in the Balkans, in Italy, etc. They know that when Capitalism crashes in Central Europe, Capitalism in Eastern Europe is mortally wounded. They know that social revolution is one, and that crushing it in Germany means crushing it in the germ in their own country.

French, British, and Belgian proletarians, will you once

more suffer yourselves to be gulled by your ruling classes? Will you be your brothers' murderers? Will you, by committing the abominable deed, prepare your own destruction for to-morrow?

Or will you profit by the lessons of six years of unheard of sufferings, of heart-rending experiences? Have you beheld the light that shines out of the East? Has the dawning of a new, immense hope scattered the mists of your unconsciousness? Has it cleansed your soul and strengthened your heart?

If so, you know what you have to do; to do immediately, to-day; to-morrow might be too late.

You must, on a large scale, repeat for your German brothers—and with infinitely greater firmness and vigour—what you attempted to do for your Russian brothers, and which, however insufficient and weak, still has contributed to their salvation.

British proletarians! Remember the stormy, magnificent meetings of the Hands-off-Russia Committee. They were a force for the raising of the blockade.

French proletarians and soldiers! Remember the men of the Black Sea Fleet, the dockers of Bordeaux. Their courage has contributed to the defeat of the partisans of military intervention.

Workers of the Entente—loudly proclaim your solidarity with the German revolution! Compel your governments to withdraw the troops from the occupied territory.

Railwaymen! Refuse to allow the transport of any troops or any arms or munitions to Germany.

All of you answer any attempt on the part of your Governments to strangle the German revolution by extending and intensifying your own revolutionary activity. Make it plain to them that if the international bourgeoisie is one in the defence of its ruined and rotten social order, the international proletariat is one in the heroic struggle for deliverance.

Boldly forward, comrades!

At this instant the fate of the European Revolution depends on you, on your initiative, on your foresightedness.

Hurrah for the Communist Revolution in Germany!
Hurrah for the World Revolution, the Universal Soviet Republic!

The Executive of the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International:

D. J. WYNKOOP,
HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST,
G. J. RUTGERS.

THE world in which we exist has other aims. But it will pass away, burned up in the fire of its own hot passions; and from its ashes will spring a new and younger world, full of fresh hope, with the light of morning in its eyes.

—Bertrand Russell.

International Labor Day Demonstration

at the
BRICKLAYERS' HALL, MAY 1st, 8 P. M.

We trust that every worker will attend this meeting and express his sympathy with the revolutionary proletariat throughout the world. — **Let on This—Our Day—The Day of the Revolutionary Proletariat of the World Celebrate the Victories of the Past and Prepare for the Triumphs of the Future.**

JACK CARNEY

Will Speak on the:—

MESSAGE OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

**ON THIS DAY TAKE YOUR STAND!
EVERYBODY WELCOME!**

International Labor Day Demonstration

at the
TERMINAL HALL — SUPERIOR, WIS.
(Corner Winter and Obden.)

JACK CARNEY

Will Speak on the:—

"Meaning and Message of May Day"

There will be a good program of music, entertainment, ect. — This will be last opportunity to hear Comrade Carney, so make it your special business to attend.

Admission 25c. Everybody Welcome!

Statement From Debs.

Eugene V. Debs has been interviewed by a correspondent of the "New York Call". The Statements attributed to Debs are so grossly unfair, that out of consideration for that grand old warrior, we refrain from giving them publicity.

What the "Call" correspondent told Debs, may be judged from the following statement made by Debs:—

"The cause of the split in the Chicago convention last fall was not any fundamental difference between the rank and file but the rivalry of various ambitious leaders."

One statement, that is truly a characteristic Debs statement, is the following:—

"When the Socialist Party becomes so safe and sane that the capitalist politicians can point to our 'eternal credit' in their personal political appraisements, there is certainly something the matter with us. When we have ceased to be a menace to capitalism and its political tools, we have become socially inert, and we should examine ourselves."

In reply to a question as to whether he believed in the overthrow of the United States Government force, Debs replied:—

"I have been asked many times if I believe in changing the present system by force and violence. That is a silly question and none should ask it who had the slightest knowledge of history. But I have answered the question by asking another: 'Do you believe in maintaining the present system by force and violence?' All along the track of the ages, wherever the government has been overthrown by force and violence, that government has been maintained by force and violence."

We have no quarrel with Debs. He is not in a position to make himself conversant with the true facts of the situation. But having spent two weeks with him, in his own home place, we know that when Debs comes out of prison, he will have nothing but wholesale contempt for those who now postulate his wonderful personality and sterling integrity.

LARKIN GOES IT ALONE

Jim Larkin of the working class is on trial in New York City for being partly responsible for the Left Wing Program, which has to do with the new class-principles announced by the Third International. Jim Larkin is Irish and has "A-No. 1" labor record in Ireland. But that is not what we are going to talk about.

Jim Larkin is on trial in New York City and he is going it alone. He decided he could make a better class fight than any lawyer could make for him—and he is right. He is holding down the stage in Judge Week's court in such commendable style that we wish the whole world of workers could sit in and listen and see.

First let's say that if you'd ask the average native what employment people follow in New York City he'd tell you that there are ever so many machinists, carpenters, needle workers, railroad men, ordinary working folk. How comes it then that the jury panel in the courts show none of these workers in it? You'll only need one guess to guess why.

Here are the kind of folk that are being called to try Larkin: general insurance agent, carpenter superintendent, underwriter of surety, stock trader, chief cashier, cotton goods broker, treasurer for importers, etc. And now get this—one prospective juror confessed that he managed a co-operative store and one approved of the 1776 revolution and out both of them went by peremption by the prosecution.

The first thing Larkin did in acting in his own defense was to challenge the judge, claiming that the judge was prejudiced and had proven it in commending the conviction of Gilow and Winnitzky, two communists previously sentenced by this same judge. The court decided, as could have been expected, that it was fit to sit in the case. The court and Larkin, all thru the selection of the jury, staged the class struggle in peppery language. The court, to facilitate presentation of the case, advised Larkin to take a lawyer. To this Larkin answered: 'I don't see that the form of presenting the truth matters very much.'

Larkin insisted that the jury panel was one of his class and asked its dismissal. The judge refused. When a prospective juror seemed rattled about constitutional methods which might be pursued to overthrow the government and admitted that he was not familiar with the constitution, Larkin said to him: "That is the reason why you have been specially selected." He asked this same juror that if a foreigner "like Christ came to this country, do you think he could become an American citizen." This horrified the court!

At a point when Judge Weeks and a prospective juror who thought that the reason the cost of living was high was because workers did not work long enough hours, engaged in a conversation about economics, Larkin broke in by remarking: "Pardon me for saying so, but I think that both do not know what they are talking about."

"What class do you belong to?" is Larkin's host shot. Most of those asked don't belong to any class and say they do not believe in classes. So much like the religious fanatic who said he did not belong to any world nor believe in things worldly.

A new trick was played upon those who are attending the Larkin trial, and the court room is crowded. At a specially well attended session the names and addresses of all who attended were taken. An attempt at intimidation, that's all.

We have had the "no defense" trial and the class trial with lawyers instructed to make a class fight. But the best of them all, after all, is the kind that Larkin is conducting, for he meets his class enemies face on and words are not softened by passage thru a representative of the legal profession. There will be more of these trials from now on. Another is taking place at this moment in San Francisco, where James Dolson, also accused of criminal anarchy, is facing the court and the jurors four square.

Uncompromising propaganda for the cause every place—that's the new tactic.

—Voice of Labor.

A CALL TO ALL WORKERS

WE'LL NEVER FORGET THE SPILLING OF BLOOD ON ANACONDA ROAD.

The miners of Butte are stretching out their hands, to be grasped in working class solidarity by the miners of other camps and by the workers in all industries organized under the banner of the One Big Union—The Industrial Workers of the World. Lay down your tools, workers, and prove that the slogan, AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL, is more than a phrase to you.

Every worker who carries a red card, and knows that there are thousands of workers on strike in one camp, and that these workers are being beaten and shot for carrying on THEIR fight, should do his best to arouse the workers to action.

On April 18, 1920, two big mass meetings were held in Butte and the miners in this camp, organized in Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 800, I. W. W., voted to go on strike at once. The strike became effective on the morning of April 19, and handbills were gotten out with the following demands:

1. Release of all Industrial and Political Prisoners.
2. Six-Hour Day from Collar to Collar.
3. Minimum wage scale of \$7.00 a day for all workers in the mining industry.
4. Abolition of the Rustling Card.
5. Abolition of Contract and Bonus and so-called Efficiency System.
6. Two men to work together on all machines, and two men to work together in all workings.

Fifteen thousand workers stayed away from work and picket lines were maintained every morning and evening. On Wednesday morning, April 21, the hired murders of the Anaconda Copper Company started their dirty work and many of the pickets were severely beaten and clubbed. A big mass meeting was held in the afternoon of that day, and after the meeting the workers walked in a body up the Anaconda Road and went on picket duty.

The workers were unarmed. They were assured by Sheriff O'Rourke, of Silver Bow County, that he and his forces were there to protect the workers, and he also stated

that they were not violating any law by picketing peacefully.

Then came the mob of thugs and gunmen, armed with clubs, rifles and riot guns, headed by Roy Allen. They charged into the workers, beating to right and left with their clubs and guns. The workers started to run down the road, and the command was given by Roy Alley to "Go get 'em," and a fusillade of shots was fired into the fleeing crowd. Seven of our fellow workers were seriously wounded—SHOT IN THE BACK, all of them. Many others received less serious wounds and bruises from guns and clubs. Those who attempted to go back to pick up or help along the wounded fellow workers were met with another fusillade of shots and were forced to continue on their way to safety. Several of these injured had to make their way to the hospitals alone.

Federal troops are now in Butte—but we know that bayonets cannot be used to dig copper. They might prevent us from picketing on the hill—but our fellow workers whose blood has been spilled on the Anaconda Road are maintaining a stronger picket line for us in the hospitals of Butte! The workers of Butte will not walk to the mines over the blood of their fellow workers, whether they be organized under the banner of the I. W. W. or any other union!

Long enough has the history of the working class been written in the blood of the workers! The strongest weapon of the wage workers against organized capitalists and their hired blood hounds is industrial economic power! EDUCATE AND ORGANIZE until the masters will find it hard to hire thugs and gunmen to shoot down peaceful workers for a few paltry dollars.

Our fellow workers are dying. Before they have breathed their last let them know that they have not suffered in vain. Ar you ready to lay down your tools and carry on the fight where these fellow workers have left off?

Workers! Join the One Big Union—The Industrial Workers of the World—and fight the boss as workers, ten million strong, and not in small groups organized along craft lines.

METAL MINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 800, I. W. W.

THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC

By Col. Cecil L'Estrange Malone M. P.

Colonel Malone, is a member of the British Parliament. He was elected on the Coalition ticket. That means the supported Lloyd George and his war program. Colonel Malone, during the war, was a naval commander, in charge of H. M. S. "Ben-My-Chree". Furthermore, no matter how vivid one's imagination might be, Colonel Malone can NOT be described as a Communist. He is still a devout believer in capitalism, of course, with reservations, due to his trip to Russia. Therefore anything that he may state in regard to Russia, must receive the careful attention of both Communist and Non-Communist. We believe that Soviet Russia is entitled to the support of the workingclass, more than any other government in the world. We further believe, that Soviet Russia, by her deeds, has justified herself in the eyes of wide-awake members of the working-class. Hence we have no fear in presenting to our readers, in statements of men who are not in agreement with Soviet Russia's ideas and principles.—Editor.

TROTSKY AND THE RED ARMY

In various conversations with Trotsky the point which he seemed particularly anxious to impress on me was that the Russian people bore no malice against Great Britain and the British people. He said that the hoped for peace and the alleviation of the blockade, and was confident that the continuance of present conditions was only desired by a small section of the great British public, and that the most despicable one. He was confident of eventually beating Denikin; said that Denikin's advantage lay in his cavalry, but that this advantage would be considerably reduced in the snow and mud which was already appearing. He admitted that he had made several strategic mistakes, had allowed the advance against Koltchak to continue too far, and he had underestimated the amount of munitions which Great Britain would supply to him. He did not attribute very much value or advantage to Denikin in the possession of tanks, except, of course, in the capture of specific tactical positions. The war is largely one of manoeuvre, and the tanks were lost in such large areas.

I asked him whether he thought there was danger of the Soviet Republic evolving into an Imperialistic Empire based on the increasing military spirit with which it was at present inevitably imbued. He said that the spirit of military energy was due to a revolutionary spirit, and not to military ambition, and he looked forward to the time when war would end, and this energy could be transferred to peaceful operations. He expressed no fears whatsoever as to Petrograd, and indeed the present attack on Petrograd seems to have been undertaken more with political objects than with real hope of complete success. He admitted the critical situation of Moscow, but expected soon to deal with Denikin as he dealt with Koltchak. Even if Petrograd and Moscow were both captured, he said, the danger to Great Britain would be even greater. He pointed out that the Bolshevik Republic now extends to Turkestan, and their organization would be simply squeezed eastward. Chinese communities were extraordinarily susceptible to the Soviet idea (as anyone who has been in China can affirm), and the danger to India, and the East of an awakened China could be left to our imagination.

In my judgement the military situation is very critical. We have not helped Denikin and Koltchak wholeheartedly nor thrown all our resources into the anti-Bolshevik Army, and there is no love lost between Koltchak, Denikin, and the British Government.

As evidence of this we can see that the staff of these leaders contains many of the old officials, both high and low, and it would be contrary to the principles of human nature to expect that they have materially changed their views on life's outlook. As a confirmation of the fact mentioned above let me quote the following intercepted telegram which has been published by the Bolsheviks:

THE COPY OF A TELEGRAM FROM GENERAL DESINO TO THE CHIEF OF THE STAFF OF THE HIGHEST COMMANDER FROM LONDON.

The so-called Russian crisis, which is calming down, has very distinctly shown the real feelings of the Englishmen toward Russia. The distrust is reigning everywhere. They have been expressing openly it is not worth while to trouble now with Russia, that the Russian army is incapable to do anything, that Russia is betraying its promises. There have been several publications of enmity. Situation here was very difficult. I have seen Colonel Repington, and I have expressed myself to him as an officer and to several other people in the sense that our disorders, if they even

have been an annoyance to our common cause, have caused less harm than their inactivity during two years. Generally, it is not worth while to take very much consideration of the Englishmen; only then will they be more considerate. It is very damaging that we are too polite toward their representatives in Russia; they are far from being as polite toward us. I have very good relations with them, and I know that they like me, but now we really feel our crisis. It is necessary that our agents here should be hard. It is impossible to trust England. She is good toward us when everything is well at home, but when something is wrong in Russia it would be impossible to calculate on her help, for that reason it is not worth while to give her too much consideration. Just now our policy should be stony and based on full consciousness of our national dignity.

DESINO,
General Staff.

On the other hand, we have practically been at war with the Soviet Government. It was represented as absolutely wrong to assert that the Soviet Government is supported by Germany. Much evidence was produced to show that the Soviet Government made every effort to come to terms with the Allies, that Lenin and Trotsky made every effort before signing Brest-Litovsk to bring about an alliance with Great Britain, and offered to continue to fight against Germany, and that this has been repeated by frequent communications and by radiograms which have not been shown to the British people ever since. Most of these documents are now available for perusal by the public. I hope they will shortly be published, because the more enlightenment we can have on these matters the easier it will be to clear up the Russian tangle.

As conditions exist to-day, there is no reason why Soviet Russia should not combine with Germany if the Entente Powers permitted it. She has everything to gain and nothing to lose by co-operation with Germany and by the utilization of German engineers and skill to develop her untold resources. The only known communications that have taken place so far were a deputation that proceeded to Berlin in the early part of this year. No results accrued, as presumably the German Government had not either the strength or the temerity to undertake them, but the danger lies in front of us, and we may find ourselves faced one day with a great military alliance between Germany and Russia, and as before the War we were frightened by the phrase, "Hamburg-Berlin-Bagdad", we may yet live to fear "Hamburg-Moscow-Vladivostok." There is a military danger which is a very apparent danger. The Red Army is every day increasing in strength, increasing in technique, increasing in military efficiency. As testimony to that, you have only to ask General Yudenitch, or Koltchak, or Denikin. In fact, that cannot be disputed.

An example will illustrate this: A few weeks ago there appeared in Investia the following letter addressed by Russian officers serving in one of the Red Armies in the South to their comrades of the White Armies. It was signed in full, with the names, ranks and former positions in the old armies of 137 officers. It is a valuable document as showing the effect on the military minds of this protracted struggle, and its moderation of tone commends it especially to consideration.

OFFICER COMRADES! We address this letter to you with the intention of avoiding useless and aimless shedding of blood. We know quite well that the army of General Denikin will be crushed, as has been that of Koltchak and of many others who have tried to put to their mercy a working people of many millions of men. We know equally well that truth and justice are on the side of the Red Army, and that you only remain in the ranks of the White Army through ignorance regarding the Soviet Republic and the Red Army, or because you fear for your fate in the case of the latter's victory. We think it our duty above all to write you the truth about the position made for us in the Red Army. First we guarantee to you that no officers of the White Army passing over into our camp are shot. That is the order of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of War.

If you come with the simple desire to lessen the sufferings of the working population, of lessening the shedding of blood, nobody will touch you. As to officers who express the desire to serve loyally in the Red Army, they are received with respect and extreme affability. We have not to submit to any kind of outrage or humiliation. Everywhere our needs are attentively supplied. Full respect for the work of specialists of every kind is the fundamental motive of the policy of the present Government and of its authorized representatives in the Red Army. Quite unlike the practice in the old Army, you are not asked "Who are your parents?", but only one thing—"Are you loyal?" A loyal officer who is educated and who works advances rapidly on the ladder of military administration, received everywhere with respect, attention, and kindness. Among the troops an exemplary discipline has been introduced.

From the material point of view we could not be better treated. As for the Commissaries, in the vast majority of cases we work hand in hand with them, and in case of disagreement the most highly authorized representatives of the power of Soviets take rapidly decisive measures for getting rid of the differences. In a word, the longer we serve the Red Army the more we are convinced that service is not a burden to us. Many of us have begun to serve with a little sinking of heart solely to earn a living, but the longer our service has lasted, the more we are convinced of the possibility of loyal and conscientious service in this Army. That is why, officer comrades, we allow ourselves to call you such, although we know that the word "comrade" is consideral insulting among you, because among us it indicates relations of simple cordiality and mutual respect. Without proposing that you should make any decision, we beg you to examine the question, and in your future conduct to take account of our evidence. We wish to say one thing more, we congratulate ourselves that in fulfilling obligations loyally we are not the servants of any foreign Government. We are glad to serve neither German imperialism, nor the imperialism which is Anglo-Franco-American. We do what our conscience dictates to us in the interest of millions and millions of workers, to which the vast majority of the company of the officers belong.

It was signed by 137 officers, with mark of rank in the old Russian Army.

I would ask people who seek a sign to read the history of the French Revolution and imagine what may happen if the revolutionary spirit which infuses the Red Army becomes a military spirit, and out of Russia arises a Russian Napoleon.

INDUSTRY.

At noon I went to the headquarters of the Moscow Labor Union and had an hour's talk with Melnichansky, the Secretary of the Moscow Council of Professional Alliances.

The building of the Moscow Council of Professional Alliances is situated in the former palace for the meetings of the nobility, a building where receptions and other social functions used to be held. It is a large building containing a great central oblong hall, one of the largest halls in Russia. The sides are lined with white marble pillars, supporting the cornices, behind them are two wide promenades, above them is a gallery which runs round three sides. It is little changed. The lighting arrangements were brilliant. It is not difficult to imagine the glittering throng of courtiers and nobles, jewels and diamonds, which use to fill it, and such a picture is a strange contrast to its present use—a hall for the workers. Its condition was rather dirty and somewhat untidy, for it had been used during the Great War as work-rooms for the making of uniforms. In the long galleries in former times coats-of-arms and other symbols of the nobility adorned the walls, but these have now been replaced by shields bearing the emblems of the Republic and the different Professional Alliances or Trade Unions modeled in plaster, and where formerly, so I am informed, stood two Tsarist busts are now two busts of Karl Marx and Nicolai Lenin respectively. The contrast between past and present deserves a few minutes' reflection, so full is it of meaning, so symbolic of what has happened. In his conversation Melnichansky explained how the labor movement had been rendered easier by the fact that up to the period of the Revolution trade union organization was almost conspicuous by its absence. It was therefore possible to eliminating the numerous sectional unions which are to be found in England and elsewhere, and which cut across industrial social revolution. There are now in Russia twenty-nine principal Professional Alliances or Trade Unions. They are as follows:

Chemical Trade.	Hairdressers.
Town Workers.	Glass and China.
Bath Attendants.	Food Distributing.
War Workers.	Baking Institutions.
Wood Workers.	Building.
House Employees.	Tobacco.
Railway Workers.	Textile.
Paper Workers.	Transport.
Leather Workers.	Finance and Taxes.
Sanitary Workers.	General Trade Institutions.
Art.	Clothing.
Metal Workers.	Photography.
Food.	Pharmaceutics.
Printing Trade.	Water Transport.
Agriculture.	Education.

Post and Telegraph.

They are united in one central organization, the All-Russian Council of Professional Alliances. They are also organized by localities, by provinces, and by National Councils. Co-ordination, so far as conditions of labor are concerned, culminates in the Commissariat of Labor, which is concerned with the enrolment and distribution of labor throughout Russia, with the fixing of the hours of work, of their duration, of factory extension, and so on, thus combining the functions of Labor Exchange and Factory Inspector. A comprehensive code of laws has been published dealing with this matter. Co-ordination, so far as industry and production is concerned, is carried out by the Supreme Council for Public Economy. This signifies that throughout the country every industry is amalgamated into great State Trusts, making for economy and intensive production. The question of strikes is interesting. It must be realized that in a communistic state a strike would be illegal. Whereas in England strikebreakers are considered as traitors to the cause of the workers, in Russia, under the Soviet system, people wishing to strike are deemed to be traitors.

Many times in the House of Commons, during the past year, have I suggested the sending of a Commission, representative of all parties, to Russia to find out the true facts of the situation. Needless to say this was opposed by the Government, who appeared to have no such desire, and I was very glad that on Monday, November 17th, the same question was again raised by Mr. Arthur Henderson. It is a pity that this was not done, the Bolshevik Government would willingly have received such a deputation. It would have carried more weight and more authority than independent journalists and independent politicians, and would, in the long run, have allayed a great deal of unrest in connection with the Russian question.

There is much which the Western World can learn from these social experiments.

RELIGION AND WOMEN

Sunday, October 12th.

I spent this day in visiting the children's theaters, I am told that in Moscow there are thirteen theaters open on Sundays specially for the little children. The plays are varied; dramatic educational, humorous, and so on. I went to three of these to see that it was not all bluff. They were packed with enthusiastic juvenile audiences, and I could not help wondering, when I saw those little children so thoroughly enjoying this new experiment, which tended to give them such a fuller life, whether it was really necessary for them to undergo the terrible hardships in the forthcoming winter which will be necessitated by the Allied blockade.

After the usual late afternoon's meal we went to the famous Church of St. Basil, just outside the gates of the Kremlin. It is an extraordinary piece of architecture. The architect is supposed to have been shot by the Tsar soon after its completion. I hardly wonder. It appears to the observer as a conglomerate mass of minarets, towers, and domes, no two of which match each other, no two of which are of the same pattern or the same color. Still, it has its attractions. It is painted in all the colors of the rainbow, and they are of the most varied forms. Some of them are shaped like bulbs or pineapples, some of them are twisted in strange spirals, some of them are serrated, some of them covered with facets or scales, and they bulge out over their supporting drums and are crowned with crosses. The general effect is quaint and fantastic in the extreme. The inside is very sepulchral, something like a series of vaults. A service was going on when we went in, and the church was crowded. I thought of the proclamation that I had so often seen, that the churches in Russia had been destroyed, and again state that this detail of the real visible national life was in such vivid contrast to my preconceived notions that I am conscious of strong mental rebound to the advantage of the rule of the Soviet Republic.

The Russian revolutionaries have repeated history by breaking with the State Church. The calendar of Russian orthodoxy has been replaced by the calendar of Western Europe.

Denikin has marked his position by restoring the absolute orthodox calendar in the districts he has recovered.

The clergy are divided, the majority of the higher officials, the princes of the Church, may confidently be looked for on the reactionary side. But a sufficient number have made the distinction between ecclesiastical machinery and spiritual office, sufficiently clearly to accept the separation of Church and State, as witness the following statement which appeared in the Press on October 19th, 1919:

"On the 12th of September representatives of the Clergy and of the Petrograd Metropolitan Veniamin visited

the President of the Petrograd Soviet, Comrade Zinoviev. They handed him a letter from the Metropolitan regarding rumors of contemplated arrests among the Petrograd clergy. The following is an extract of this letter:

The Petrograd Clergy strongly uphold the decree regarding the separation of the Church from the State. We are carrying on exclusively religious activity. Religion in the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic is not persecuted. We who work in the center know this. The introduction of the decree regarding the separation of the Church from the State should not allow believers to be defiled or persecuted just because they believe. In Petrograd, the center of the Soviet, the decrees have always been put into force in a more or less perfect manner. The firmness of the Church policy of the political authorities has created among the Clergy and followers of the Petrograd Church a sincere and loyal feeling toward it, and we are sure that all these rumors, which are unnecessarily exciting the masses, will be refuted by the higher authority—the Executive Committees—as this would only insure the continuation of the relations toward the Church which we have always accepted with a feeling of satisfaction.

"Further, the delegation officially declare to Zinoviev that the Petrograd Clergy resolutely condemn the support given by the individual representatives of the Clergy to the 'Whites', and that the Metropolitan has decided to deprive such representatives of their rights. In reply, Comrade Zinoviev assured the delegation that no arrests among the clergy were ever contemplated, and he expressed the hope that the Clergy would strictly adhere to the decree concerning the separation of the Church from the State."

WE HAVE NOT THE SPACE TO GIVE YOU FURTHER EXTRACTS. TO THOSE DESIROUS OF READING THE FULL STORY, WE WILL SEND A COPY OF "THE RUSSIAN REPUBLIC" BY COLONEL MALONE FOR ONE DOLLAR, POST PAID. J. C.

STRIKE FOR PEACE WITH RUSSIA

What does it mean: Peace with Russia?

Is there such a thing as peace between a Soviet-Republic and world capital?

No, a real peace is impossible under capitalism.

A real peace for Russia means the victory of the world revolution and nothing less.

Therefore a revolutionary action of the Workers to force peace has to be a struggle to develop power to such a degree, that world capital is prevented from making war upon Russia in some form or another.

First to stop open warfare, by refusing not only to fight, but also to make or transport arms, ammunition, equipment, etc., for those who might use them to fight Soviet-Russia.

Second to prevent and counteract all machination, plotting and underground action against our proletarian friends by exposing those responsible for it, by preventing money being spent in this respect and by not believing any of the lies in the capitalist press. This latter is very important. If we pledge ourselves not to believe any statement of the capitalist press with regard to Soviet-Russia, any report about alleged barbarities, any so-called facts about internal troubles and chaos or external policy of conquest, etc., we are not likely to be fooled the same as most of us were in 1914.

Third to strive in other countries towards Soviet-Republics as the organs of dictatorship of the proletariat. This inspiring aim we must always have in mind in all our deeds, all our actions. We must fill our heads with revolutionary thoughts; we must dare to hope in the midst of our misery; we must understand more and more that the break-down of capitalism is in full process; we must be willing to destroy the weapons of our enemies; we must have confidence in our constructive power. All this we can only achieve in a constant fight with our exploiters giving this fight a general revolutionary character. It means a complete break with bourgeois civilization bourgeois morals, bourgeois supremacy; it means labor as the basic principle of social and moral life.

What about the peace proposals of the enemies of labor?

They are new methods to destroy Soviet-Russia from within and may be supplemented at any time by methods from without, if the workers should weaken for one moment. Russia is willing to accept such a peace, knowing full well what it is meant for. But they need railway material and machines badly and are willing to take a chance upon intrigue, corruption, counter-revolutionary plots and murder, confident that the workers in Western-Europe will draw forces from a closer contact with the Russian revolution, confident that capitalism will break down before it can strengthen itself by the treasures of the Russian soil.

Russia might feed Europe, might supply it with the most valuable raw materials and it will no doubt give some immediate relief to the exhausted nations of Central Europe. Even from this narrow point of view peace with Russia is in the direct interests of the workers. But if a peace of capitalism with Soviet-Russia really meant the recuperation both of Soviet-Russia and the world revolution. We are confident that the relief will be of such a character that it will not give capitalism a new chance for temporary recovery and preparations for a new world war, that it will come too late anyhow. It is our duty and our only salvation to back up Russia by our action to such an extent, that it can secure a peace that will strengthen the first proletarian state more than it will her enemies.

If a new attack is forthcoming we have to fight this new crime; if peace is on the way we have to fight even harder, for the result will depend upon the kind of peace and the willingness of the workers to use this temporary peace for their own revolutionary purposes. And remember well: What is true for Russia, today, may come true for Soviet-Russia or any other Soviet-Republic tomorrow.

Therefore, under all circumstances, the action to support Soviet-Russia must be foremost in our minds, must form part of all our important proletarian action. And to make it clear to the world, that this is a paramount international issue, the idea of an international demonstrative strike must be propagated and prepared in all countries.

The Amsterdam Bureau of the Communist International considers it its main task to further international unity not only of thought but of action as well. It therefore submits for consideration to all communist groups and revolutionary organizations, workers' committees, etc., the possibility of a demonstrative strike in favor of peace with Soviet-Russia on an international scale.

The First of May was always intended to be a day of general strike the world over, but till now it never succeeded in realizing the general revolutionary character that decade before the war, the First of May more and more lost all revolutionary significance. Capital did not feel any threat to its existence in the parades and demonstrations held on that day by millions and millions of people, and the bourgeois incorporated these demonstrations in its normal life, like it did trade-unions, the social-democratic parties, etc.

The Third International has to perform the historical task which the Second International only planned, must

realize the vision which its predecessor only talked about. It is bound to realize the international internal and external unity of the world-proletariat, its unity of doctrine, of organization and of tactics. It must teach the workers to form a world front against the world front that Imperialism is already developing, despite its internal deviations and dissensions.

In suggesting that in 1920 the First of May be used for an international strike demonstration in favor of Soviet-Russia, (no matter whether at that time the imperialists talk peace and plan war) we want to avail ourselves of the traditions of working class solidarity and action in favor of peace already attached to May Day and to use those traditions as a means of bringing on a new vigorous effort in the directions of international unity of action. We think the times are ripe for an effort of this kind.

To a superficial observer, the revolutionary struggle in Central and Western Europe may seem to be developing with the utmost slowness or even standing still, but if we look more accurately and below the surface we cannot but wonder at the tremendous changes going on in the minds and souls of millions and millions of men and women all over the earth—changes developing with the utmost rapidity. The belief in the fatal, immutable, everlasting domination of Capital is being shattered day by day. The idea of new forms of human life, of general comradeship and culture for all and the common ownership of the means of production presents itself as an approaching reality for the first time since society was divided into a dominating and a dominated class, for the first time it takes hold of the masses. The outward facade of the bourgeois state and society still exists, but it may fall to pieces at any moment, although a long and severe struggle will doubtless still be necessary as much to finally crush the bourgeoisie as to effectuate in the mass of the people the moral and intellectual transformation that will make them able to institute the communist commonwealth and render them fit to live in it.

All the same, we must always keep before our minds the fact of the enormous changes going on below the surface of things. We may be convinced that any little thing, any indifferent circumstance may now at any moment by causing the countless elements of the new revolutionary consciousness floating all over the world to unite into a new body and manifest themselves with unexpected force, be the instigator of renewed strife and blissful upheaval. In the present days there no longer exist unfavorable situations for action in the old sense of the word; the times for the passing away of Capitalism are ripe and any dead calm may be the harbinger of new social storms, unexpectedly rising.

Prompted by these considerations, we lay before all labor unions, all extra-union mass organs, all groups and parties, this suggestion of a general strike on May First, 1920, in favor of Soviet-Russia and we beg them to inform us if it will have their support.

For the Amsterdam Bureau of the
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.
H. Roland, Holst.

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK ATROCITIES

"In the Mounted Chasseur Regiment about twenty modes of torture were made use of.

"First of all came flogging, which was performed with whips, with cold or heated ramrods and rapiers. Beatings were inflicted in a recumbent posture, as well as while the victim was suspended by his hands. The blows were directed so as to fall upon the stomach, the spine and elsewhere.

"After the floggings, long sharp awls were used to penetrate from under the feet and in the nostrils.

"Practically no one could stand the awls; everyone begged and begged to be killed at once.

"But the polished Mounted Chasseur officers would reply: 'Why, this is sudden, darling—why kill you, since you will die anyway when your blood runs dry; so—we want to try the other things.

"And they did try other things. By means of a special syringe, one or two bucketfuls of water were pumped into the victim's stomach, to make him confess and give other information.

"The victim would lose consciousness.

"Then these beasts in human form would place in his rectum a detonating cap taken from a handgrenade and cause it to explode.

"Horror. One's blood congeals at the sight!

"The victim still showed signs of life.

"A new torture must be inflicted. A red-hot awl is bored into various parts of his body, including even the sexual organs.

"The work is not yet done. Information is no longer expected from the victim and, still showing signs of life, he is thrown into a ditch and covered with earth.

"The wounds of men tortured thus are scattered all over the Maritime Province.

"The tortures we here describe recall the days of the Spanish Inquisition.

"Captain Dostovalov, Commander of the Instructors' Company, 33d Regiment, on the Olga, beats the record.

"In an intoxicated condition, he would kick his victims to death with his spurs, digging the latter into their sides. This human beast on the Olga violated a number of women, whom he then—after the violation—would beat or choke to death with his own hands, after which he threw the corpses into the bay.

"Many of the Mounted Chasseur officers took particular pleasure in killing their victims not by shooting, but by blows with dull swords.

"The famous Riga torture-chamber, at the time of the Orlovsky Penitentiary, grows pale by comparison with the prowess of some of these Mounted Chasseur officers. Among the soldiers of the 33d Regiment the mere recollection of the Mounted Chasseur torture-chamber still calls forth horror.

"And all these things took place almost officially: it was impossible for Messrs. Rozanov and Smirnov not to know of them.

"The Kolchak Government received the support of some of our Allies. Let them now investigate and draw up accusations not only against the Kolchak regime, but against themselves also."

"The fall of Chabarovsky and Chita makes it possible for us to convince the world of what it was that took place in the torture-chambers of these atamans, who, among the plain people, were simply called bloodthirsty beasts."

The article is signed S. Gorin.

The above is taken from "Soviet Russia," Read the truth about Russia!

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will speak on

"OUR FUTURE TASK"

This will be the last meeting, and not as previously announced last Sunday, that Jack Carney will address in this city for many long months to come. — The following Wednesday he journeys to Chicago to stand two trials. What the outcome will be, we do not know. But all those desirous of hearing comrade Carney are advised to attend this meeting.

Admission Free! Dancing—Refreshments

Bourgeois Parliament

As long as the property of the capitalists and their powers is being protected the bourgeois parliament, even the most democratic parliament in the most democratic republic, is an apparatus for the suppression of millions of toilers through small groups of exploiters. Socialists who are fighting for the deliverance of the toilers from exploitation must use the bourgeois parliaments as a tribunal, as one of their bases of propaganda, agitation and organization, as long as our struggle confines itself within the boundaries of the bourgeois social order. Now, when world history has placed on the order of the day the question of the destruction of this whole system the question of the crushing and suppression of the exploiters and the transition from capitalism to Socialism—to confine ourselves now to bourgeois parliamentarism, to bourgeois democracy, to picture it as "democracy" in general to cloak its bourgeois character, to forget that universal suffrage, as long as capitalist property is being protected, is merely acting for the bourgeois state—means shamefully to betray the proletarian, to go over to its class enemies, the bourgeoisie, to become a traitor and a renegade.

LENIN.

Nature Is Pitiless

NATURE is pitiless; she will not consent to withdraw her flowers, her music, her perfumes and her sunbeams from before the face of human abomination; she overwhelms man with the contrast between divine beauty and the ugliness of society; she spares him neither the wing of the butterfly, nor the song of the bird; in the midst of murder, in the midst of vengeance, in the midst of barbarity, he must submit to the sight of holy things; he cannot get away from the vast reproach of the universal sweetness and the implacable serenity of the blue sky. The deformity of human laws must be exposed in their nakedness, in the midst of the dazzling beauty of the eternal. Man breaks and crushes man destroys, man kills; the summer is summer still, the lily is the lily still, the stars of heaven are the stars of heaven still.

—Victor Hugo.

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When Capital controls the press, Capital controls the people. When Labor controls the press the people will control capital.

PAYMENT BY RESULT

In order to speed up production, the British employers are urging upon their employees, a piece-work scheme.

Tom Mann, who has ever been in forefront of labor's battles, has made a vigorous reply to the following proposals of the British employers:—

"Any employer may introduce into his works, in agreement with his work-people, any or all of the following systems of payment by results:—

"(a) Straight individual piece-work.

"(b) Company or collective piece-work.

"(c) Individual premium bonus or any other bonus system

"(d) Company or collective out put bonus.

"Each workman's day rate shall be guaranteed, irrespective of his piece-work earnings.

"The piece prices, time allowances, or other bases of remuneration to be paid shall be fixed by mutual arrangement between the duly appointed representative of the employer and the workman or workmen concerned.

"Piece prices, time allowances etc. shall be such as to enable a workman of average ability to earn at least 33 1/3 per cent (thirty-three and one-third per cent) over his time rates, excluding war bonuses.

"Waiting time, standing time through temporary breakdown, and other causes over which the employers or workmen have no control shall be paid for at the day rate, and any time so paid for shall be charged against the price of the piecework job or the time allowance on the job."

In criticising the above proposals, Tom Mann has this to say:—"There is no room for misunderstanding as to what the employers are after—IT IS INCREASED OUTPUT." He further states, "There should be no room left for any misunderstanding as to what workmen want and mean to have—IT IS INCREASED COMFORT."

There is too much talk these days, especially amongst labor leaders, urging the workingclass to increase their output. Not one of the advocates of increased production has even suggested an increased standard of living for the worker. To all demands for increased production, there should be asked the question, "Does increased production mean increased comfort?" Failure on the part of the employing class to satisfactorily answer the question, should be met in the manner that Tom Mann suggests, "We should prepare for action and demand a SIX-HOUR DAY."

Tom Mann feels optimistic about the future outlook for the British Labor movement. Did you ever remember the time, when Tom was not optimistic? Tom, has this to say about the future:—

THE OUTLOOK BRIGHT AND CHEERFUL

Notwithstanding gloomy predictions that come from some quarters, there are ample reasons for believing that we are now entering upon a period in which the chief characteristics will be the elimination of the causes of poverty by intelligent control of workshop conditions, the fusion of working-class interests, the breaking down of the barriers that have kept the workers separated by different economic interests in the shops and mills, the further triumph of mind over matter, and consequent greater production with less expenditure of energy, and, naturally following upon this, the opening up of facilities for a real education coming within the reach of all.

The course of life will be increasingly full of experiences, but no one should be afraid of that. Life simply consists of experiences; the greatest and best amongst us are not those who vegetate, but those who are most active; not those who shrivel up into a shell trying to escape every wind that blows, but rather those who fearlessly look out upon life, confident of their ability to meet it no matter what may come.

There are good grounds for believing we are now on the up grade. We have passed through the long, murky night, with its dark, dank, and dismal atmosphere, and the dawn of a better day is here. Let us prove our capacity to enjoy it.

The following remarks by Tom Mann, on the subject of "Piece-work", should be of exceptional interest to the members of the locals, engaged in the shipbuilding industry:—

In the opinion of many members, to encourage piecework, premium bonus, or other method of payment by results is to violate all that is sacred in connection with the Trade Union movement.

Judging by lengthy experience, they declare that "payment by output" demoralises the man by encouraging the selfish side of his nature, it feeds his desire to get more at any cost to bodily health, it destroys good comradeship, it encourages the man to become utterly disregardful of his workmates, and feeds the avaricious and acquisitive side of his nature so that true manhood is lost.

Stories are related of overseers in the textile trade, who, finding that some young women weavers were not turning out as much as some others from similar looms, have so bullied them day after day, that in the effort to reach the maximum the young women have literally fainted, utterly exhausted, and humiliated (according to their outlook) to a degree that death itself would be a happy escape.

Men are differently adapted, and equal output can never be attained, and it has been easy for bosses to play on the cupidity, the selfishness, and callousness of workers, till the beset men have become so utterly disgusted with it that they have solemnly vowed they would never participate in it, and, if possible, would never tolerate it.

There is no need to recite instances to show that employers have encouraged the maximum output and then cut the rates, and that repeatedly in the most shameful fashion, the men in the trade know it too well, and it has been a chief cause in developing their hostility to the system.

We have, with one exception—the Seattle strike, witnessed the betrayal of the unskilled by the skilled. We have also witnessed the victory of the employers over their employees, due to petty jealousy exhibited towards the unskilled by

the skilled. What is the reason for the friction that exists between the unskilled and skilled worker? The question is ably answered by Tom Mann.

SKILL AND SEMI-SKILL.

skilled and semi-skilled. What unfriendliness it engenders! skilled and semi-skilled. What unfriendliness it engenders! Why is it? Are the skilled men so stupidly jealous of the those differently classed as regards skill that out of sheer pigheadedness or callous selfishness they constantly behave towards others as though they were inferior creatures? Certainly not! Again, it is the fear of unemployment, immediate or prospective, unless they keep grip on the machines and jobs they count theirs. And here, again, what is needed is such organised control over the work they each are engaged in as will absolutely make it impossible for either of them to be deprived of work or of income.

It is here we realise the limitations in our methods of organisation, and many of our best men take refuge in saying, "Ah, well! such dislocations as these referred to are the direct outcome of the capitalist system, and there is no cure short of a complete overthrow of the system."

Accepting the thesis that the capitalist system is destined to be completely superseded by a co-operative system, none of us know with any precision how far that is ahead; but we do know that we are burdened with unemployment now, and, notwithstanding the promises made by the employers that those men who left their firms to take part in the war should be restarted on return by the same firms, there are thousands still in want of work; and so far neither their old employers nor the Government have made, or can make, decent provision. Some unions are subjected to special criticism for not accepting Governmental and employers' responsibility. This aside, what is the basic cause of the difficulty? Why are not all welcomed into the shops? Fear, immediate or remote, of unemployment, of no means of maintaining the home, and of becoming overwhelmed by adverse economic conditions, is the reason.

We trust that those of our readers who are engaged in the Metal Trades, will communicate with the "Publishing Department, CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING SOCIETY, TUDOR STREET, LONDON, E. C. 4, ENGLAND and obtain at least a dozen copies of "Payment BY RESULTS", written by Tom Mann, General Secretary to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. They will cost you one dollar and can be sold to your shopmates. Have your locals send ten dollars and receive 150 copies. They will be of valuable assistance to your membership.

Making the World Safe For Democracy.

How often have we been told that the recent war in Europe was for the purpose of making the world safe for democracy?

On March 15th, according to the parliamentary correspondent of that spirited Communist weekly, "Workers' Dreadnought", the British Government took over and divided up the following territory:—

German East Africa ----- given to Britain & Belgium
German South-West Africa ----- given to British S. Africa
German possessions in Pacific South of Equator

except Samoa and Neuvi ----- given to British Australia
Neuvi ----- given to Britain
Samoa ----- given to British N. Zealand

Of course we hope and trust that our readers will understand that these colonies will receive the same democratic treatment that Ireland, Egypt and India are receiving. But anyway, the war was not a war of conquest, because Lloyd George swore to God it wasn't and you know that the last man in the world to deceive us is the politician! Gwan laugh! You people will never believe anything that the politicians tell you!

'Any Further Communique From Koltchak Will Come Through Sir Oliver Lodge or Conan Doyle.' W. Gallagher.

THE PRIVATE DETECTIVE.

After the rattlesnake was created, it was found that there was some material left over, so they manufactured the scab. But later on they discovered that there was still some more material left over and so they manufactured that vile and unspeakable creature, the private detective.

The private detective agencies of this country carry a larger staff than the recognised detective department of the U. S. Government, the Department of Justice. We have lately made the acquaintance of Stephen. A Doyle, the author of the "System's Hand", who informs us that there are 133,000 private detectives in this country, costing the capitalist class something like six million dollars PER MONTH. Now these detective can only retain their positions, by proving that they are necessary. So in order to prove that they are necessary, they resort to crime and instil a fear into the hearts of the master-class and they in turn call upon the private detectives to assist and protect them. You may think that we are exaggerating. Let us quote, an extract from a report sent to President Wilson and Cardinal Gibbons, by M. J. Doyle, who has been for thirty years a detective:—

"I went into a hall that is branded as 'red' with a detective friend about a month ago. We walked up through the center of the hall, wearing a red flag, made a short speech, hurled his curse on the traitor, Woodrow Wilson, ulled down the American flag, and wiped his feet on it, and spat on it. I said to him after we came out—'Good ord, how can you have the heart to do that?' 'Oh hell,' he said, 'I get \$45.00 a week of the THIEL DETECTIVE AGENCY for pulling that stuff, and I have fifteen names in there, and every act I pull off, in making my reports, I insert one of those names. It is easy so convict them, for I carry a Sheriff's star.' He also told me that his agency had 1500 men operating in the city of Chicago, under the same condi-

tions as he is. I met him again on the 6th, 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 believe 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?'

It may interest our readers to know, that this same THIEL RETECTIVE AGENCY was paid \$40,000 by the bankers and manufactures to raid the Communists and members of the I. W. W. If we are convicted, it will be upon the evidence furnished by this gang of crooked and corrupt detectives. Can you beat it?

To show you how these detective agencies work, let us cite you the story of how an Eastern banker was forced to take out an insurance with a well-known detective agency. This banker had for many months refused to insure his bank. He told the detective agency that he felt that his bank was quite safe. He did not see any necessity to pay any detective agency \$12,500 per year. So the detective agency set about proving to the banker that his bank was not safe. They hired a professional safe-blower and one evening they broke into his bank and cleaned it out. THE NEXT DAY THE BANKER TOOK OUT INSURANCE. If there are no crimes committed these detective agencies will see that crimes are manufactured.

It is hardly worth while making a special attack upon the detective agencies. The system produces that kind of an organization of human leeches. So long as we have a system that is rotten in itself—so long will the fruits of that system be rotten. We could recite you many more accounts of how these agencies work, but we regret that space and time is limited. In the meantime if you want to read some stories of the dastardly manner in which these agencies operate, then buy a copy of the "SYSTEM'S HAND".

LENINISMS.

On what foundation of facts can the future development of future Communism be based? It can be based on the fact that it has its origin in capitalism, that it develops historically from Capitalism, that it is the result of the action of social forces to which capitalism has given birth.

The first fact that has been established with complete exactness by the whole theory of evolution, indeed, by the whole of science—a fact which the utopians forgot, however, and which is now forgotten by the present Opportunists, afraid of the Social revolution—is that historically, there must undoubtedly be a special stage or epoch of transition from Capitalism to Communism.

In capitalist society, under the conditions most favorable to its development, we have more or less complete democracy in the form of a democratic republic. But this democracy is always bound by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and, consequently, always remains, in reality, a democracy only for the minority, only for the possessing classes, only for the rich. Freedom in capitalist society always remains more or less the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics, that is, freedom for the slave owners. The modern wage-slaves, in virtue of the conditions of capitalist exploitation, remain to such an extent crushed by want and poverty that they "cannot be bothered with democracy," have "no time for politics"; that, in the ordinary peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarrd from participating in public political life.

Hand of Progress Must Not Be Stayed.

(Reprinted from Scottish Socialist.)

Direct Action brings into play two conflicting issues, Economically, Labour must needs take up the offensive, its emancipation in the case of success, or its further enslavement in the case of defeat, form the issues. With capitalism it involves the maintenance of the very foundation upon which its entire social and political superstructure is built up. Hence the class struggle. With the miners, now that they have been defeated, the question of nationalisation will fall back into its "resolution" state of existence, while the mine-owners and the capitalists will solidify their position by demanding de-control of the mines, separating the connection between the Government and the mines. And who dare assert that a capitalist Government will not enforce a policy of de-control to safeguard capitalism? Capitalism will not be destroyed by bombastic pretence. Its champions know the tactics of the Class War. They think, reason, act, and decide in terms of their system, whereas Labour to-day is being served by a number of superficially-minded pretenders—men who embrace capitalism by accepting and supporting its constitution, and placate their consciences on their duty to Labour by calling their treachery social or political democracy. The power lies in the hands of the capitalists. The solidity of their system provides the bulwark of their position. Labour is a class divided against itself. Fed by compromise and inadequate wages, the workers are becoming miserable. Misery begets swift action. Days of action are the harvest time for organisation. Sober methods follow sober judgment, and both must conform to the requirements of the times. The downfall of capitalism concludes the existence of class domination and private property. It is not a game of chess. It is war. Capitalism is strong enough to break the back of any strike conducted on constitutional principles, but it cannot control the situation which is created by that same strike when it lets loose the forces of Revolution. Above all, we do not solve a question by ignoring its gravity and depth. We have the capitalists to meet. Prepare we must. And if we lack the courage to face the struggle, then the children shall complete the task. For the hand of progress must not be stayed.

JAMES CLUNIE.

WHAT SHE SAW IN RUSSIA

British Woman Admires Soviet Education

REFUGEES RETURN

SOUTHAMPTON, April 5.—(By Mail). A party of British civilians, numbering 260, together with 168 repatriated prisoners of war, arrived here by the s.s. Tagus yesterday. They all bore witness to the terrible state of things which has been caused in Russia by our blockade. An interesting account of the

Bolshevik system of education was given by Miss Elizabeth Waldron Hartley, who, for the last eight years, has been teaching English in Russian families. Some of the party spoke very harshly of the Bolshevik rulers, but she put forward quite a different view. "They are, so far as my experience goes," she said, "not half so bad as they are supposed to be."

"They are introducing the most modern system of education into the country. The system is framed here by the s.s. Tagus yesterday. They all bore witness to the terrible state of things which has been caused in Russia by our blockade. An interesting account of the

on modern principles, and the course includes lectures on all kinds of subjects. The teachers are elected by committees of the children, and I must say that on the whole the children are extremely loyal to them."

Youth and the New Age

"It is noticeable that the tone of the boys has become much more manly than it was before the Bolsheviks came into power. Indeed, the young people generally have changed completely since the revolution. They feel now that they have something practical to do and they are proud of it. The finest type of Russian is to be found

among the peasants, who are very intelligent and artistic.

"Though I have been in Moscow throughout the revolution, I have scarcely ever witnessed any scenes of violence."

"It is true there has been a certain amount of firing in the streets as I have walked through them, and people have tried to persuade me to go back because persons were being killed. But for my own part I have not seen one person drop as the result of firing. The men, in fact, fired mostly in the air. The Russians whom I have met are not fond of violence, and my own experience is that revolution has been comparatively bloodless."

NOTICE!

Address All Communications To "Truth" Duluth, Minn.

"BIG things are happening secretly all around us. We can feel them. We do not know what they are, but they are there. The whole fabric of society is a-tremble with them. Don't ask me. I don't know myself. But out of this flux of society something is about to crystallise. It is crystallising NOW!!!"

—Jack London.

SUPERIOR WORKERS

International Labor Day Celebration will be held on Sunday Evening, May 2nd

"JIM LARKIN DEFIES JUDGE DISGUSTED WITHDRAWS FROM CASE"

Charges Whole Case Is Plot of British Government — Accuses Court of Obscuring Issues — Put in Custody of Marshal.

NEW YORK, April 22.—Drama crowded thick and fast into the "criminal anarchy" trial of Jim Larkin, Irish labor leader, before Justice Barlow S. Weeks in the Supreme Court yesterday, and before the session ended Larkin had refused in disgust to have anything further to do with the proceedings. The most heated clash came with the appearance on the stand of one George R. Lovett, who described himself as a "real estate man," and came all the way from Canada to testify against Larkin. Upon the appearance of this man, Larkin charged that the British government, having failed to "get" him in every other way, was endeavoring to do so through the present trial. Larkin openly accused the court of attempting to obscure the issue by overruling searching questions in the cross-examination of this witness. This brought a reprimand from the court, but Larkin repeated the charge and challenge: the court to inflict a punishment.

The judge seemed to admit that Larkin was already convicted, by replying that to punish him was like "carrying coals to Newcastle." The judge placed Larkin in the custody of a marshal, and Larkin was held in the courtroom without lunch all day.

The afternoon session opened with Larkin informing the court that he would have nothing more to do with the trial. Three witnesses were called by the prosecution. Larkin refusing to take part in the proceedings. The prosecution finished its case, and Larkin opened his defense with no witness but himself.

Canadian Is Star Witness. The day's proceedings opened with Lovett in the witness chair. Lovett, who testified against Larkin, was a member of the Winnipeg police force and later a member of the General Strike Committee, as well as one of the Central Strike Committee of 15. He presented evidence which, he admitted under cross-examination, had been given him by A. J. Andrews, the Crown prosecutor of the Dominion of Canada, who had instructed him to come to the United States to testify in this case. Lovett is about 35.

He made innumerable grandstand plays to the jury about "loyalty," referring to the "ritual element" responsible for the Winnipeg strike. He deplored the fact that workers "seem to have a different idea of collective bargaining" than the employers; that he said, was the reason for the strike.

Lovett Admits Getting Pay. Under cross-examination Larkin forced Lovett to admit that he was being paid for his work; also that immediately after coming to New York he was given money by the State of New York. He was a British subject, he said, and proud of it; he was loyal to the King and although concurring in the aims of the Winnipeg strikers at first, had later changed his mind and now wished to show what a horrible and dangerous event it had been.

Larkin asked him if the King had asked him to join the Police-men's Union. And after various stock "loyalty" phrases had been used, Larkin forced him to retract his statement that unions were undemocratic, by questions as to his own rights within the Policemen's Union. Larkin's searching cross-examination also disproved practically every statement formerly made by Lovett and only the merciful objections by the judge prevented Larkin from not only proving that he had received further instructions from the prosecuting attorney, but also that

the British government was back of the prosecution.

Following a clash with the court over this cross-examination, Larkin addressed the judge:

"I am trying to prove that the union men of Winnipeg were conducting a constitutional strike and that this witness was a member," he said.

Larkin Defies Judge. The court replied "proceed," to which Larkin answered:

"I cannot prove it if the court and district attorney desire to obscure with meaningless interruptions the intercourse of thought between the defendant and the witness."

"You have no right to say that the court is trying to obscure the issue here," the judge replied. Larkin deliberately laid down his papers and faced the judge squarely.

"I respectfully suggest," he replied, right here and now, you are doing so, and the penalty you can administer."

The judge's reply was to the effect that to punish the defendant "would be like carrying coals to Newcastle."

Following this clash, Larkin was placed in the custody of a marshal.

Larkin Takes No Part.

The Winnipeg strike evidence of Lovett was admitted by the judge on the grounds that it was an example of the sort of chaos and danger system which Larkin advocated in his "dictatorship of the proletariat" program. A large notebook in the possession of Lovett was carefully laid aside without its contents becoming known. Larkin made motions, requests and demands, and otherwise fought for half an hour to get the contents introduced in evidence. The court, finding no reason for not introducing the book, it was finally introduced.

Larkin withdrew from any participation in the case before Lovett left the stand. Thereafter, three witnesses—Bella Gitlow Fruchter, a public stenographer, Corell, a detective, and Converse, of the Lusk Committee—were questioned by the prosecution, without Larkin taking any part in the proceedings. When asked if he wished to cross-examine, he replied that he had withdrawn from the case and would have nothing further to do with it.

Lusk Testifies. Bella Fruchter, who is a sister of Benjamin Gitlow, knew nothing whatever about Larkin or the case. Corell's contribution was a seaman's passport, which had been forcibly taken by Corell from Larkin's pocket when the latter was arrested. The passport, which was taken from Larkin without a warrant or any other legal process, was the regulation seaman's passport. Larkin's photograph was attached, but the name on the card was that of Bernard Sexton; the description was that of Sexton's. Corell stated that Larkin had informed him of his intention to use it to get back to Ireland, since ever other means of returning home had been denied him.

M. C. Converse, the Lusk, said he had formerly been attached as "investigator" to the Military Intelligence Bureau. His "bit" was to show that he had regularly bought copies of the Revolutionary Age at the Rand School and at the Lof Wing headquarters at 43 West 29th Street.

The Prosecution's Case. The evidence produced by the prosecution yesterday consisted of the following:

1. A Winnipeg strike poster authorizing milk drivers and other

such workers, to continue with their work.

2. A letter from the general strike committee to hospitals, permitting hospital employees to continue work.

3. Lovett's notebook with all its unknown contents.

4. Copies of the Revolutionary Age, presented by Converse.

5. The seaman's passport bearing Larkin's photograph and Bernard Sexton's name.

Charges Case Is Conspiracy.

Larkin's only participation in the afternoon session came after the prosecution had closed its case. His motion to have the jury dismissed on the grounds of prejudice was once more denied.

In opening his case, Larkin told the jury that, although unfamiliar with law and otherwise handicapped, he would prove that the entire case against him was a conspiracy; that he had lived all his life in accordance with one principle; that this had antagonized interested groups; that it was not the American people who considered him dangerous, since he had spoken from platforms in this country since 1914 and had never been condemned yet by them; that he would prove the Winnipeg and Seattle strikes were constitutional strikes, conducted for legitimate purposes and with no ulterior motives.

Larkin Tells Life Story.

Larkin then took the stand, as his only witness, and the story of his life, which in Ireland had carried him to the remotest corners of the island, which made people regard him as mythological, and which had inspired the workers until the rise of "Larkinism" was the result was told for the first time in America.

Starting at the age of 7, Jim Larkin, the child, had started as a half-day worker, and at the age of 8 he was a full-time worker. Altogether, he has had less than three and one-quarter years of school education. While still a child of 13, he shipped from Liverpool as a seaman and for years following followed the sea on various vessels.

First Strike in 1905.

When a lad of 16 he joined the American cruiser Boston, from which he was discharged in 1902 at Rio De Janeiro. From there he shipped to and from America, returning to Liverpool and started his career as a labor organizer, along with his regular occupation as superintendent of a number of steamer crews.

His first strike was in 1905; it lasted for 16 weeks; he although superintendent, had organized and led the ship workers out on a strike, and was the one man discharged when the strike ended. From the age of 9 years Larkin was associated with the Socialist movement, and in 1893 he joined the Independent Labor party in England.

Larkin returned to Ireland in 1907, there to do his greatest work. He did not tell the court of the effect which his work in Ireland had upon the psychology of the miserable workers there. He merely related facts, but they were so dramatic and grim that no one in the courtroom moved. With Larkin's advent into Ireland the labor movement began. The first strike was the Belfast dockers, carters and mill workers, and this was a general strike in which one Irish girl and one Irish boy were shot by British soldiers.

Arrested on Many Charges. Dublin was organized, as were all Irish cities, with spasmodic strikes from one end of the land to the other. The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, founded by Larkin in 1908, is today the

most powerful and progressive of Irish labor unions. Larkin was arrested dozens of times during this period and during the following years, on every charge from petty larceny to treason against the Crown. He was arrested for petty larceny on a hand-made charge and given one year, and in 1910 for treason and given seven months. From this last charge he was released after serving 17 days. The general strike of British workers released him from Mountjoy Prison, Dublin; the British Premier signing his pardon.

Larkin frankly told of his antagonism to war, recounting his activities against the Boer War, in which he was associated with Lloyd George, the present British Premier. He was one of the 12 men who toured England speaking against the Boer War. He was a member of the International Peace committee, an international body composed of noted men and women. Larkin represented the Independent Labor party.

Founded Irish Citizen Army.

He was active in temperance work, working for the regulation of the liquor traffic. And he founded the Irish Labor party and reorganized it as the Irish Socialist party in 1908. He was one of the men who issued an appeal against the world war to the Socialist movement of the world. Larkin said the appeal was against war, and that Ireland would not fight against other peoples of the earth. He mentioned the names of the men who had signed the appeal: James Connolly and Richard O'Carroll, killed in the Irish rebellion; William Partridge, now on hunger strike in an English prison; Thomas McParland and Ed. Cassidy.

Larkin founded and organized the Irish Citizen Army in Cork, in 1908, the army which was the backbone of the Irish Rebellion. The army was composed of union men only, and Larkin was commander-in-chief. The subordinate officers were James Connolly, Captain White, and the Countess Mairkovitz. The army is still in existence and Larkin still holds the rank of commander-in-chief.

In telling of his life in the United States, Larkin said he came here from the Irish Labor Party in November, 1914, for a six months' trip to acquaint America with Ireland's attitude toward the war, but more particularly to lecture to the people of his own race.

Tried to Leave U. S. Many Times.

He had worked in Washington, Oregon, California, New Jersey and in Delaware as a laborer while in this country, he said, had edited a newspaper and been a lecturer, organizer and propagandist. He tried to leave the country upon 11 different occasions, but British consuls refused him passports; then the American government, for some unknown reason, refused to let him leave the country. He told of the specific dates and places where he had applied. When refused, he tried to get into Canada, and failed; then he went into Mexico and tried to ship out of the country, but failed again.

He tried to leave the country on seamen's passes on 5 different occasions, Larkin testified. Twice under his own name, and at other times under different names. He gave the names and the places.

No Violence Necessary.

He believed in a Soviet administration, he said, in a system of and for the people, and controlled by them. He believed in bringing this change, in government about, he told the court, by the force of intellectual conviction. He did not think physical force or violence

necessary in this because he believed that all intelligent men could be convinced of the necessity, the moral worth and the ethics of such a change in the social system. He was absolutely opposed to the overthrow of the United States government, Larkin said, but he advocated and worked for a change in political action, in the use of the ballot, he continued, but he did not think that the present social system could be changed by the ballot because of the imperfect representation. There are a majority of persons who do not have the right to use the ballot—migratory workers for instance, Larkin pointed out.

Urges Suffrage for All.

"The defendant believes," he said "that all men and women having come to legal age in the United States, doing legal work in the United States, doing useful work to the enrichment of the United States should be entitled to vote."

The judge engaged in a controversy with Larkin on the repudiation of national debts and on the confiscation of property without compensation. Larkin replied that he did not consider the taking over of natural resources and means of production expropriation without compensation, since the owners would be convinced of the morality and ethics of this plan, and would help in it, and would share in the benefits of it.

He could not see where violence was necessary, he said; if the owners refused, then the people would have to continue to suffer. But he believed that the program advocated by him and by his co-defendants placed before men would be so convincing that there would be no opposition to it.

Will Finish Defense Today.

"Does the defendant believe in nationalism?" he asked himself.

"No, he believes in nationalism," was his answer.

This, he explained, meant the development and maintenance of the culture of nations, homogeneous groups which have developed peculiar and beautiful literature, art and architecture. But he did not believe in political nationalism with all its attendant evils and curses, Larkin said.

Larkin will conclude his defense today, after which the prosecution will sum up. Larkin will address the jury in his own defense.

The courtroom was crowded yesterday, spectators being compelled to give their names and addresses. Detectives were numerous. One representative of the National Security League has sat at the press table throughout the trial.

Associated Press despatch announces that "Jim" Larkin was found guilty.

Dept. of Justice U. S. Penitentiary.

Leavenworth, Kansas, April 21, 1920.

Publisher, The Truth, Duluth, Minn., Gentlemen:—

I am directed to inform you that newspapers and periodicals not admitted to the U. S. Mails under the Second Class privilege are not permitted to be distributed to prisoners of this institution.

You are requested not to send any more copies of the "Truth" to inmates of this prison, as they will not be delivered.

Respectfully, Wm. Fisher, Mail Clerk.

P. S. WRITE THE I. W. W. BOYS A LETTER.—Ed. "Truth".

SOVIET DRIVE IS ON IN ITALY

Workmen Openly Urging as a First Step the Control of Industry.

POLITICAL GRIP TO FOLLOW

By WALTER DURANTY. PARIS, April 23. — Although Premier Nitti has expressly denied that there is a consorship over press messages from San Remo, there continue to be allusions in the Paris newspapers to some kind of control and mysterious "delays". It does not seem to be generally realized here that the press censorship was re-established in Italy more than a week before the San Remo conference began on account of the extremely serious labor situation. In fact, instead of imposing restrictions, Nitti has actually made concessions in allowing the conference news to pass uncensored. If the control and delays to which the Paris papers refer are anything more than the effect of the sudden enormous volume of press matter imposed on the local telegraph authorities, who are unaccustomed to handle a hundredth part thereof, they must be attributed to the desire of the Italians to prevent the news about the labor struggle to slip out in the midst of conference dispatches.

Internal Situation Bad.

According to trustworthy information reaching the correspondent today, the internal situation of Italy is bad enough to explain the Government's wish to conceal the facts as far as possible, if only to prevent further demoralization of Italian currency on the world market. There is a general strike in Turin to support the metal workers' strike, which has been running several weeks. There are numerous other big strikes in the principal towns of northern Italy, with quite a strong probability of the spread of the general strike throughout Piedmont, where already it is estimated that the number of workers in voluntary idleness exceeds 500,000. Very few trains are running in the North. No Italian papers have reached Paris in the last five days.

The food situation, already serious throughout Italy and growing worse steadily, is beginning to cause great anxiety. The same applies to coal, but in a much greater degree, which, incidentally, explains the apparent ease with which Lloyd George manoeuvres Nitti as if he were one of his own pieces on the diplomatic chessboard. Collisions are reported to have occurred between strikers and troops at various points, with bloodshed, but no details are obtainable.

Features of the trouble are especially grave. The first is that the avowed object of the workers is the out and out establishment of Soviet control in industrial centres, the second is that a large section of the agricultural element is in sympathy and co-operation with the workers.

Workers committees that are Soviet in all but name have existed for a considerable period in many large Italian factories. The immediate object of the present strike is to secure the establishment of these Soviets in every factory. Briefly, the workers' demands are:

First, that every industrial establishment should recognize an internal committee of its personnel.

Second, that these committees be nominated by workers' organizations according to their own regulations. The owners or managers of factories are simply required to record the names submitted without comment.

Third, that one or more members of the committee will be at the disposal of the workers during a certain fixed period of the working hours. These members will be paid for the time they thus spend at ordinary rates. The workers may, on receiving their foreman's permission, confer with members of the committee during working hours.

It is probable the average American manufacturer would consider the acceptance of these conditions very nearly equivalent to handing over his business to the employees, especially in view of the fact, which has occurred over and over again in Italy, that the workers' committees do not by any means confine their activities to such matters as the security, comfort, health or even the wages of the

Rockford Communists Found Not Guilty

DARROW'S SPEECH TO THE JURY WILL APPEAR IN OUR NEXT ISSUE.

workers but exercise far wider interference.

Only a Beginning.

In Italy, however, these conditions are only a beginning. The workers' leaders declare that when committees are everywhere established they will be called upon to send representatives to a central committee which will be the exact equivalent of the Russian Grand Council of Soviets. When the latter is formed and the whole organization running smoothly it will be but a step to the control of industry (cutright by the executive committee of the Central Soviet). From this to political control, the establishment of proletarian dictatorship in other words, is but one more step. The Italian labor leaders say that is their object. They say also that they will achieve it before the end of the summer. The attitude of the agricultural laborers is in their favor. On many large estates such laborers have formed Soviets on the same lines as in the factories. A number of small tenant farmers have joined the movement, partly attracted by the bait of owning land themselves which proved so successful in Russia, partly owing to dissatisfaction at the fixation of cereal prices. Even some small proprietors have joined for the same reason and to oppose certain taxes which they consider unfair. Numerous collisions between peasants and tax collectors are reported.

The question remains what will be the attitude of the army in the event of matters coming to a showdown. The New York Times informant declares that only a very small proportion of the troops will be willing to use force against the strikers and their number is daily decreasing as a result of skillful propaganda.

To Try Soviets as Experiment.

MILAN, April 22.—Constitution of Soviets as an experiment in all large Italian cities where the proletariat is well organized was decided upon at the Socialist National Council, in session here, today. The vote on the proposition was 94,000 in favor and 21,000 adverse.

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PLENTY OF GOLD

RUSSIA'S OFFER TO WEST

STOCKHOLM, April 3. (By Mail) "Russia has plenty of gold," say members of the Russian Trade Mission, which has arrived here on the way to the West. They are 24 in all, including five women.

Russia needs clothes, shoes, and machinery, especially locomotives and railway material, and in return she can send grain, leather, flax, fat, and minerals, especially graphite. Last year 2,500 railway bridges were repaired and 3,000 miles of new railways are being built. "But Russia," says the Mission, "will send nothing until the blockade is raised."

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"MAN makes his own history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions by himself, but out of such as he finds close at hand."

—Karl. Marx.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY

A Message to the Workers of America.
J. T. Newbold (London, England.)

In the west the old order rallies its little and ever lessening band of captains around the golden dragon of capitalism as the red dawn lights the earth and floods the heavens, blinding their eyes with its terrible dazzle. Out of the east comes Industrial Unionism, Soviet Socialism, all the million proletarians of five plundered continents, gathering for the last struggle. In the van are the Bolsheviks, battle-scarred veterans, the crusaders of the Commune. On either hand is a horde such as no man can number, and over against us, locked shield to shield, the capitalist class prepared to fight their last fight. They have organization. We have numbers. The strategy and the tactics are those of Communism. We need but to educate and to organize and our line goes over them relentless as the tides of time!

TREASON OR IGNORANCE, WHICH?

"And in the railroad affair, very much as in that of steel, there is no clear understanding as to why the strike was started, what the strikers want, or even whether they all are striking for the same reasons."

The above is an extract from an article which lately appeared in the "Christian Science Monitor" and was used two weeks ago as an EDITORIAL in the DULUTH LABOR(?) WORLD.

Either this editor is an ignorant fool or a???? He can make his own choice. Fancy a man editing a labor paper and not knowing what are the reasons that have prompted the switchmen to take such drastic action!

The railroad brotherhoods are responsible for the switchmen's strike, more responsible for it than the new organization commenced in Chicago. If the railroad brotherhoods had stood true to the promises that they had made to their membership, there would have been no strike. But the railroad brotherhood officials ever basking in the sunshine of the applause of the kept press and the ruling class kept forestalling the demands of men, until finally they found it necessary to act for themselves. It would be as well for the railroad brotherhood officials and the editor of the DULUTH LABOR WORLD to take an occasional walk amongst the men on the job and endeavor to find out what the men are enduring and also what they are thinking about. They would gain a knowledge of the facts, instead of having to resort to the columns of capitalist papers for their information.

The workingclass is beginning to realize that if it wants anything doing, it must do things for itself. There are far too many people anxious, in fact at election times they are over-anxious, to do things for Labor. But as yet, there has never been anything achieved FOR labor. Anything that has been done FOR Labor was done BY Labor and LABOR ALONE. In Morgan Park they have built some wonderful dwelling places for Labor. That is, they are a great deal better than most of the houses that Labor lives in. These houses were built for Labor and are used as an example of what has been done FOR Labor. The Macdougall Ship-building Company also built houses for the workers. But when the workers came out on strike, these selfsame lovers of Labor were only too eager to throw a man and his wife and five children out into the street. That is what happens when things are done FOR Labor. When Labor does things FOR itself, then it develops the necessary power to prevent its members from being thrown out on the street. We trust you understand what we are driving at.

More power to the striking switchmen! Betrayed by the so-called leaders of labor; fought by the railroad managers and finally their leaders arrested and thrown into prison, they are standing solidly together. They deserve the support of every member of the labor movement. May their spirit and courage be a beacon light to the hosts of Labor!

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALISM

By Karl Radek.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Socialist Workers' Revolution in Russia shows the European proletariat the way which leads to power. The press of world capital is crying that this is bloody, is yelling about the rough, violent character of the Revolution. It has every right to do so. It was created by Capital to be an organ of the battle against the working class, and it is its duty to throw dirt upon and to spit upon the first Workers' Revolution, in order to frighten the workers of the other countries with its Medusa head. But how comes it that the Axelrods, Martoffs, and the risum tenebris—Kautskys use the violence of the Revolution as a ground of complaint against it? They used to defend the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the Reformists.

What does dictatorship mean? Dictatorship is the form of government, by which one class forces its will ruthlessly on the other class. During the period of social evolution, in which one class is preparing itself for the struggle for power, it forgoes the use of force because it is too weak to use force. It is only gathering together, concentrating its powers, and on this account it is not necessary for the ruling class to use open force against it. The ruling class only holds its forces in readiness, but it gives the class which is striving upward a certain room for development, as long as it does not consider this class dangerous. From the moment when the ruling class lays burdens on the oppressed class, which are so heavy that the ruling class fears a possible uprising of the oppressed, it puts into play the machinery of force. The war laid burdens such as these on the masses of the workers, and on that account it brought with it the suspension of the few scanty rights enjoyed by the working class in the time of peace, that is, it brought the Dictatorship of Imperialism, which cost the workers millions of lives. In order to break the dictatorship of Imperialism the working class must employ force: force brings about the Revolution. But no hitherto existing ruling class can be conquered at one blow. Beaten once, it attempts to rise again, and it can do so because the victory of Revolution is by no means able to alter the economic system of society in an instant, to tear out by the roots the power of the deposed class. The Social Revolution is a lengthy process, which begins with the dethronement of the capitalist class, but ends only with the transformation of the capitalist system into a workers' community. This process will require at least a generation in every country, and this space of time is precisely the period of the proletarian dictatorship, the period during which the proletariat must keep the capitalist in subjection with the one hand, while it can use only the other for the work of Socialist construction.

Everything that is being said, on the ground of principle, against the rule by force of the Russian working class, means nothing else than the disavowal not only of the teachings of Marx, but of the plainest facts of the past. When a Renner does not blush to assert with scientific men that the political revolution, that is, the employment of brute force, contradicts

the character of the Socialist revolution, because the Socialist revolution demands the organization of a new economic system and not force, that only means, that this former Marxist, with the Lassalleian enthusiasm for the state, is not a worshipper of the state idea after the manner of Lassalle, as he has been characterized, but an ordinary capitalist sophist. Just because the Social revolution must transform the entire economic system of capitalism, which gave to one class unheard of privileges, it must necessarily arouse the strongest opposition of this class, an opposition which can only be broken by the use of guns. And the stronger capitalism is developed in a country, just so much more ruthless, just so much wilder will the defensive struggle be, just so much bloodier the proletarian revolution, and just so much more ruthless the measures, by means of which the victorious working class will hold down the defeated capitalist class. But the mollusks from the "Also-Marxist Camp," the opponents of the Russian workers' revolution, answer us that it is not a question of refusing to recognize the principle of proletarian dictatorship, but that they decline to recognize the dictatorship in a country, where the proletariat is in the minority, and where the dictatorship degenerates into a rule of the minority over the majority, as is supposed by them to be the case in Russia. This argument is a cowardly evasion.

Never, in any country, will the Revolution begin as an act of the majority of the population. Capitalism never signifies the physical control of the means of production, everywhere it signifies simultaneously the intellectual control of the masses of the people, even in the most highly developed capitalist countries. Under the pressure of misery and want, under the convulsing of the masses by such means as the war, all the oppressed and the exploited do not rise at once. The most active, a minority, rises, accomplishes the Revolution, and its success depends upon whether this Revolution follows the line of historic development, that is whether it responds to the needs of the masses, who can then sever themselves from the former ruling class. The creative and dynamic force of the Revolution was necessary to arouse the masses of the people, to free them from the intellectual slavery of capitalism, to bring them into that camp which was defending their interests.

One might say: every Revolution is begun by the minority, the majority rallies to its aid while the revolution is going on, and so determines its victory. Were it not so, the dictatorship in a country like Russia, which possesses a proletarian minority, would not only be harmful as the Kautskys maintain, but in a country with a proletarian majority, to which the Kautskys graciously permit the dictatorship, it would be unnecessary. The capitalist class forms in these countries such a very small minority, that it would not be able to use weapons against the proletariat. The Marxian theory of the unavoidability of the proletarian dictatorship as a way to Socialism, is, therefore, either superannuated, or this dictatorship is as much justified in Russia as in another country.

Revolution and Counter-Revolution

The Russian Revolution has shown us not only the Dictatorship of the proletariat, but also the concrete forms which the resistance of the bourgeoisie takes, in fact, it shows us in general, the typical features of a Workers' Revolution. Friedrich Engels, in his "anti-Duehring" has pointed out the process by which capitalism breeds militarism, militarizes the entire population (i. e., puts it at the mercy of the drill-master), simultaneously, however, creating those elements that destroy militarism by means of the class opposition in the army. This opposition, at a certain point in the historical process, causes the army, which is the sword of capital to go to pieces in the latter's hand, by dividing the army into its proletarian and bourgeois components, into a Red Army and a White Army.

This the pupils of Marx and Engels forget when they continually cite the remark which Engels made in his introduction to the Class Wars in France, in which Engels draws attention to the wide streets, etc., which will make an uprising so much more difficult. The Russian Revolution showed how the rising may occur on the field of battle, as well as in the trenches, not to speak of the streets; for the revolutionary idea may grip the hearts of the soldiers and form them into mass columns which march against the capitalistic elements of the army and of society. The Russian Revolution showed also how the attempt to organize new armies out of the capitalistic and the undecided elements, is one of the principal methods adopted by the bourgeois counter-revolutionists. In the more highly developed capitalistic countries, with a well-fed, strongly capitalistic peasantry, this tendency of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie will result directly in the struggle between the regiments from the peasant-capitalist localities and the proletarian regiments. The civil war between the Revolution and the Counter-revolution will be a war in the literal sense of the word. The development of the Proletarian Revolution will change the imperialist fronts into revolutionary and counter-revolutionary fronts. The German attack on the Ukraine and the French-English-Japanese attack on Russia is an indication of this evolution. The development of the Revolution and Counter-revolution will bring up the problem of the strategy of the Socialist Revolution. The Russian Revolution shows in what way this question will develop. If the Russian Revolution suffers from the fact that it has no corps of officers, that it is compelled to educate the workers to be army administrators as well as factory administrators, that is not merely a Russian problem. De te fabula narratur—so speak the experiences of the Russian Revolution to the European proletariat, but at the same time these experiences show that, eventually, the Revolution is unconquerable from a military standpoint also. It conquers by the fact that the bourgeoisie, being a small minority, cannot get together a counter-revolutionary army out of purely bourgeois elements, that it is compelled to take deluded, proletarian elements also, elements, which, while the battle with the armies of the Revolution is going on, will deteriorate, and sooner or later will rally to the side of the Revolution.

Just as it was not only power on which the rule of the bourgeoisie was based, but also on its function as the administrator of production, just so it does not try to overcome the proletariat by armed power alone, but also by the sabotage of the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia. This sabotage, which in Russia reached its highest point in the period from the November uprising to March, is not a Russian product. From it the European proletariat may take a hint. And when the enunciations of Marxism point to the fact that up to the present time the Russian proletariat has not been able to organize production on a Socialist basis, they are only mocking themselves without knowing it. Everywhere the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intelligentsia place the greatest hindrance in the way of the proletariat in its work of organization, and nowhere will the proletariat, even the most highly developed, be in a

position, in a short time, to find the abilities in its own ranks, which will be necessary to accomplish the work of Socialist organization. In the muchpraised land of organization, in Germany, the number of workers who would be able today to guide whole branches of production is extraordinarily small, even the number of workers who would be able, as technicians, to administer the production of a factory, is very small. Everyone knows this who has ever been active in the German workers' movement. The working class of every country will only be able to educate itself for the task of managing and administering production through thousands of mistakes, and nowhere will it be able to do without the services of bourgeois specialists. They will be forced, just as the Russian working class was forced, to adopt the measures of an iron dictatorship, in order to drive the bourgeois elements into the service of the workers.

No proletariat will be spared the struggle which has forced the Russian working class to take the sharpest measures of a dictatorship: the struggle for bread. Nowhere will the peasants range themselves on the side of the Revolution, less in capitalist countries than they did in Russia, where the Revolution gave them land and soil. As the Revolution develops from a military standpoint, into a struggle between the workers' regiments and the regiments of the peasants, so also from the social standpoint, it will be fought out between the workers and peasants for bread; until the conquered peasantry learn that a Socialist society can offer them a life more worthy of a human being than a capitalist society can.

Democracy or the Rule of the Working Class

And this in a word indicates clearly enough what a mighty obstinacy or what an enormous lack of sense one must have in order to accuse the Russian Revolution of harming poor Democracy. Concretely considered, Democracy is the rule of Capital, and it is so strong, so fixed in the minds of the masses that it can allow itself the luxury of permitting the masses the liberty of discussing the affairs of state. There is, in modern history, no Democracy which goes any further than that, for as soon as the masses make the slightest attempt to convert their liberty of speech into a right to decide any question of government, Democracy goes flying. Modern Democracy is the camouflage of the autocracy of capital. As the feeble proletariat is interested in free speech, in free voting, in order to collect its forces, we have recognized Democracy as a way to Socialism; that means that it was necessary for us to enjoy, participate freely in the affairs of state, in order to mobilize the masses for Socialism. But abstractly considered, Democracy signifies the rule of the majority of the people. The idea that the proletariat will not begin the revolution until it has proofs that the majority of the people are behind it, is absurd, if only for the fact that capitalist Democracy will never remain unchanged long enough for the proletariat to assure itself that the majority of the people is behind it. Nowhere do the highly exploited young men and women workers enjoy full rights. If they did, the bourgeoisie would sooner turn out the Parliament, long before the workers reached a point where they could perform the will of the people by peaceful means. But it is really silly to imagine that one could, by peaceful means, through agitation only, without Revolution, overcome the lack of confidence which the masses have in their own powers. Only in the Revolution can the front ranks of the workers carry the masses along with them.

But a Revolution means that one class dictates its will to the other class. The conditions which Kautsky and Co. set for a Revolution, are these: the Revolution, to be sure, has the right to dictate its will to the bourgeoisie, but it is duty, at the same time, to give the bourgeoisie the possibility, by means of the freedom of the press, and from the vantage of the Constituent Assembly, of airing its accusations. This intellectual demand of a professional kicker, who in not so much concerned with gaining his point as with registering his kick, could be abstractly complied with without harming the Revolution; but the Revolution is a civil war, and classes, who fight each other with cannon and machine guns, forego the Homeric battle of words. The Revolution does not argue with its enemies, it crushes them, the Counter-revolution does the same, and both of them will know how to bear the reproach of not having followed the order of business of the German Reichstag.

The Soviets—the Token By Which the International Proletariat Will Conquer

The harsh face which the Russian Revolution shows to the international proletariat, is the same face which, blackened with powder, the international proletariat will itself proudly wear in the near future. He who is frightened at this face or turns away from it, as from a Medusa's head, will turn away from the proletarian revolution, and away from Socialism. But the Russian Revolution not only shows the European proletariat the battles which it must fight its way through, if it does not want to rot away in the trenches, but also the forms, the symbol, in which it will conquer. What form will the dictatorship of the proletariat take in Europe? The form of Soviets, that is, the representation of the workers in the factory, in the city, in the country, and in the nation. That is the form in which the workers of Europe will establish their rule. The idea of the Soviets is as simple as one can imagine it to be. Only history creates such splendid crystallizations. In the factory, the slaves of Capital worked. The factory is bound by a thousand threads with the other factories, with the whole economic life of the locality. It is dependent on the transportation of the locality, on the factories which work up its semi-manufactured goods, or from which it receives them, it depends also on all the factories in the same branch of industry, and in the last analysis, on the economic life of the entire country. The representation of the factory is, consequently, political and economic, the cell of the state mechanism. The representatives of the proletariat of the locality, are, simultaneously, the economic administrators of the locality. But just as the representatives of the workers of the whole country have their policy prescribed for them by the workers of the different localities, but generalize it and make it into laws for the local units of government, in this way having their roots in the local Soviets, but at the same time presenting to the local Soviets the general proletarian interests, just so the general Economic Council, formed from the representatives of the workers, is a body which prevents the local Economic Councils from considering merely local interest, but to make them subsidiary to the interests of the whole country. The experiences of the Russian Revolution have shown what was strong and creative in Syndicalism and what was petty-bourgeois and sectarian.

The workers of a factory as masters of the factory might easily begin to work for their own particular interests, and in this way might become petty-bourgeois. The

Economic Soviet of Industry represents in each factory the interests and the needs for expansion of every branch of industry. But it too, might favor the interests of a certain branch of industry as against the general interests of the working class. The general Economic Soviet, which designs the whole economic plan and carries it out, equalizes the interests of the workers, makes the general interest the law. In this manner the sectarian tendencies of Syndicalism are done away with, and simultaneously the problem is solved which Syndicalism disowned and on which it turned its back. The Congress of the Workers' Soviets, the Executive Committee of the Workers' Soviets, that is the proletarian governing power; not the means of capitalist oppression, but the fighting arm of the proletariat. The Soviet Government is not a democratic form of government, it is the form of government of the workers, it shows its class character clearly, does not veil it with democratic phrases, but it is at the same time the form of government in which the will of the revolutionary working class can express itself clearly, unmistakably and ruthlessly. In this way, the problem which was insoluble in bourgeois democracy, is solved: the problem of the bureaucracy.

Syndicalism turned away from this problem with disgust, it wanted to do away with bureaucracy and its organization—but it could not do away with it; it negated it only in words. In capitalist society the proletariat is doomed to catch only the crumbs which fall from the table of capitalistic science. In capitalist society there had to be even in the workers' movement bureaucrats who alone had the time and leisure to learn the technique of the workers' movement. After capitalism is shaken off, in the process of the Socialist Revolution, which rouses the proletariat to the very depths, which brings out all its capabilities, the possibility arises for the first time, for the proletariat to manage its own affairs.

The form of the Worker-Delegate Councils, which can always be reelected, which always return to their native soil, the factory, this form will be the one with which the proletariat will conquer capitalism, and with which it will become capable of accomplishing Socialism.—And it is more than significant that all the "Marxists," who carp at the Russian Revolution, have not been able up to the present time to attack the idea of the Soviet Government. In order to do that, they would be compelled to defend the secret chambers in which the bureaucracy, together with the representatives of financial capital, manages the affairs of the state. The parliament is a debating society, a club for gossip. Parliament does not manage any factories, nor build any railroads. The government machine, which is growing more and more from a police machine into a business office, could have become a bureaucratic, capitalist association, with Parliament as camouflage, otherwise bodies of workers had to be created, who together with professionals could set the economic life in motion and guide it. While this alternative was clear to everyone who had the least conception of the actual mechanism of the so-called democratic states, the opponents of the Soviet Government had to confine themselves to defending the right of the nation, that is, the bourgeoisie, to have its say, but they did not dare to defend the very kernel of the system (the actual rule of the united clique of the bureaucracy and the sharks of finance), that is, they had to leave the cardinal question of the form of the Workers' Revolution completely untouched. And that is the best proof of the fact that the learned gentlemen were not only not able to attack the Russian Revolution, but were unable even to grasp it.

The European proletariat will, without doubt, march forward so quickly in the near future that it will not have the time to learn the experiences of the Russian Revolution out of learned books, but it will learn them practically, before it is in a position to learn them out of the documents of the Revolution. We, who have the immeasurable good fortune after four years of horror, the horror of the world war, to be living, that is, to be fighting, in the midst of a newly created society, we do not flatter ourselves that we can be the teachers of the European proletariat. In as far, however, as history gives it a little spare time, in which to study the whole scheme of the Russian Revolution before it uses this scheme practically on its own account and surpasses it, it is our duty to describe the strivings and doings of the Russian proletariat to the international proletariat. The facts will then speak to the longing heart of the proletariat, to its brain, which believes that facts are facts and need no apology. The Russian Revolution does not need to defend itself before the tribunal of the European proletariat. When Socialism has really fulfilled the longings and strivings of the best proletarians, as we are sure that it has, they will recognize that fact in the Russian Revolution, because it is the first step in the development of Socialism from a theory into action. And they have already recognized in the Russian Revolution the fulfillment of their dreams. From San Francisco to Vladivostok, whether one goes by way of the Atlantic or the Pacific, from all points of the world we are receiving proofs daily of the fact that in spite of the lies of the bourgeois press, in spite of the cowardice of the traitors to Socialism, the workers of all countries, when they are just beginning to stir, or just feeling the desire for the struggle, turn their eyes to blood-drenched Russia, to that Russia in which the working class is battling with a world of foes, and, as we hope, to conquer.

(Radek refers to Communism, where he uses the term Socialism. Ed.)

CAPITALIST VS. WORKER.

"We shall grind you revolutionists under our iron heel and walk upon your faces. The world is ours... and ours it shall remain as long as I and mine remain and those that come after us have the power. There is the word. It is the king of words—POWER. Not God, not mammon, but POWER!" Thus spoke the capitalist.

"POWER, you have proclaimed the king of words. Very good. POWER it shall be!... I agree with all that you have said. POWER will be the arbiter as it always has been the arbiter. It is the struggle of the classes... And it matters not whether it be a year or ten or a thousand, your class shall be dragged down. We of the labor hosts have conned that word over till our minds are all a-tingle with it. POWER! It is a kingly word." Thus replied the worker.

Lest We Forget!

"That we are a party of the class struggle, who have nothing in common with any other party, and who have to fight and conquer all other parties, in order to attain our goal, is something that WE MUST NEVER FOR A MOMENT LOSE SIGHT OF."

—WILLIAM LIEBKNECHT.