

WILSON SHOULD BE JAILED DEBS PLACED IN WHITE HOUSE

Says Tom Watson

BY PAUL HANNA.

WASHINGTON.—"Woodrow Wilson should be in prison and Eugene Victor Debs in the White House!"

With these emphatic words as his slogan, Thomas E. Watson went

through the Democratic presidential primaries of Georgia and emerged with a popular vote larger by several thousand than was received by Attorney General Palmer or by United States Senator Hoke Smith.

Palmer advocated the League of Nations and the persecution of free thought.

Smith advocated the League of Nations with the Lodge reservations.

Watson denounced the Wilson administration and all its works.

The verdict of the Georgia voters on these three platforms gives proof of a sentimental revolution in the old "Solid South," which conventional politicians and editors are striving to conceal or misinterpret. For the outcome carries dismay alike to the Bourbon Democrat and the Tory Republican.

Delegates Not Selected.

Contrary to popular belief, the Georgia primary election did not select delegates to the Democratic convention to be held in San Francisco. It merely picked the

386 delegates who will sit in the state convention of the Georgia Democrats late in May. Slightly more than one-third of those delegates will favor Palmer. Almost as many will favor Watson. The rest are pledged to Smith.

On the word of former Senator Hardwick, now in Washington, it can be said that the Watson and Smith delegates will combine in the convention and obliterate from Georgia the last trace of Wilson-Palmer influence.

At the beginning this convention will recall Wilson's champion, Clark Howell, from the Democratic national committee and elect in his place a strong anti-Wilson man.

At the finish this convention will elect a delegation to the San Francisco convention pledged to work for the nomination of Jim Reed of

Missouri. President Wilson's inveterate enemy in the United States Senate.

Backed by Anti-Wilson Votes. That is the program at this writing. And it is backed by the violent anti-Wilson plurality given by the Georgia voters to Tom Watson against all rivals, and by the slightly less violent anti-Wilson votes which went to Hoke.

The autocrat of the New Freedom has been steam-rolled and cast out by the heart of the Solid South. It has revolted alike against military conscription, the hypocrisy of the Paris peace treaty and the persecution of political freedom by A. Mitchell Palmer.

Watson made no campaign and no speeches. His friends had no organization.

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

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

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

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WHOLE No. 150 FIVE CENTS.

BLACK SCOURGE IN EUROPE

Sexual Horror Let Loose by France on the Rhine

DISAPPEARANCE OF YOUNG GERMAN GIRLS

The article we publish below from the pen of Mr. E. D. Morel is a revelation so horrible that only the strongest sense that it is our duty to let the British public know what is being done would induce us to publish it.

Particularly, we want to guard against the assumption that we are acquiescing in the policy of raising hostility between Great Britain and France. The French people are innocent.

Still more strictly would we guard against the idea that we are encouraging colour prejudice. But for the very reason that we champion the rights of the African native in his own home, we deplore that he should be used as a mere instrument of revenge by an imperialist Power.—Editor London Daily Herald.

A DELIBERATE POLICY
By E. D. Morel.

"In addition to Frankfurt, Darmstadt, Offenbach, Hanau, Homburg and Wiesbaden have been occupied.... The troops (20,000) consisted entirely of Senegalese black men, only the officers being white."—Daily papers, April 8.

In the columns of the DAILY HERALD last January I wrote on the conscription laws applied to the whole of French Africa and Madagascar. I there dealt with the methods adopted in Africa, the bloodshed involved, the menace which the policy constitutes for all Europeans and for stable and humane government, in the African tropics.

A fortnight ago I called attention in general terms to the European side of the question in a letter to one of your weekly contemporaries. I should have taken the gloves off before now about it, had it not been that I have been waiting for complementary details as the result of inquiries I am prosecuting. My information is not yet as complete as I should wish, but the news in to-day's papers, to the effect that France is thrusting her black savages still further into the heart of Germany, is such that I do not propose to hold my hand any longer.

Outrage on Womanhood

The French militarists are perpetrating an abominable outrage upon womanhood, upon the white race, and upon civilisation. Not content with using hundreds of thousands of primitive African barbarians in the war, who stuffed their haversacks with eye-balls, ears and heads of the foe, they are over-running Europe with them to-day, 18 months after the war is over.

They have employed them to massacre Russian peasants. They have planted them in Turkey and Bulgaria. (They have masses of them in Syria, too.) But it is in the Palatinate that they have employed them on the largest scale—to the number, I understand, of between 30,000 and 40,000.

There they have become a terror and a horror unimaginable to the countryside, rang women and girls—for well-known physiological reasons, the raping of a white woman by a negro is nearly always accompanied by serious injury and not infrequently has fatal results; spreading syphilis, murdering inoffensive civilians, often getting completely out of control; the terrible barbaric incarnation of a barbarous policy, embodied in a so-called Peace Treaty which puts back the clock 2,000 years.

Hospitals Crowded

One may read the following passage in an article in last week's "Clarke" (Paris):—

"Apart from the barely restrainable bestiality of the black troops, syphilis is making terrible ravages where they are stationed. Many dangerously contaminated prostitutes have been sent from France to Wiesbaden and Mayence (Mainz). The hospitals no longer suffice. Large buildings have been requisitioned for the patients (men and women). Many young German girls of barely marriageable age—some of them not more than 14 or 15 years old—are admitted into these hospitals. The latter sell themselves because 20 francs are worth 150 marks, and 50 francs 400 marks."

And this is only one side of the canvas. I have before me a number of depositions from relatives, victims, doctors, lawyers, of cases of rape—some of them of an atrocious character—of parties of young girls returning from labour in the fields waylaid, and humble working women seized in the streets after dark; reports of the continual and increas-

ing disappearance of young girls from the towns and villages of the Saar Valley, of dead bodies of young women discovered under manure heaps and so on.

Brothels for Blacks

From Mainz, Ems., Wiesbaden, Ludmingshafen come advices that the local town councils must provide maisons tolerées (in increasing number) for the use of these black troops, to pay for their upkeep, and provide fuel to heat them. At Saarbrücken, it seems, the cost to the town of these brothels is no less than 70,000 marks. It is reported to me that the mayor of a certain town (I do not here name it for obvious reasons) was told that his hesitation in complying with demands for this purpose was rendering him liable to court-martial; it was impressed upon him that such houses were "specially necessary" for black troops, and if not provided German women, girls, "and boys" would pay the penalty.

All this is merely the fringe. As one correspondent puts it:—

"Some of the most awful things never become publicly known—the assaults by negro soldiers on ladies who could not face publicity, and have committed suicide—things are such that strangers would consider them pure inventions, whether told or printed."

Main Issues Involved

I should like to emphasise some of the main issues involved. The results of installing black barbarians among European communities are inevitable, and are known to be inevitable by those responsible for doing so. The abundance or otherwise of specific reports is immaterial. The African race is the most developed sexually of any. These levies are recruited from tribes in a primitive state of development. They have not, of course, their women with them. Sexually they are unrestrained and unrestrainable. That is perfectly well known.

Strict discipline is quite impossible: moreover the men cannot be confined to barracks.

The economic poverty in which the Treaty plunges the working and middle classes in Germany is an incentive to prostitution. It is all part of a predetermined policy. The men who are doing this know what they are doing, and why they are doing it. What inextinguishable fires of hatred are being accumulated upon the head of the French people—innocent—as a people—for these things—the future will only too clearly show. As a distinguished soldier said to me the other day: "Were I a German, I would forgive everything. But this—never."

Part of a Policy

Let me insist that this black outrage is part of policy. That policy is laid down in the Peace Treaty—naked and unashamed: To ruin, enslave, degrade, dismember, reduce to the lowest depths of despair and humiliation a whole people. We are parties to that policy—against our better instincts, against our obvious interests.

Upon a more ruthless France, the dirtiest of the work involves. Her militarists enjoy it. But in the main policy, of which this is the most striking symbol, we are partners. Our people tolerate it, partly because they do not understand, partly because they have been taught to believe that the rulers of Germany were alone responsible for the hell let loose in the world—which is a lie: but were it the truth, it would not justify the torture of the German people.

A Terrific Portent

And then—this... Five years of carnage, of the negation of all law, divine and human, of poisonings preaching from 10,000 pulpits, of the deadly familiarity of casualty lists and wholesale and retail massacre—these things have blunted us all. But is there no limit to our complacency? For the working-classes the importation of negro mercenaries by the hundred thousand from the heart of Africa, to fight the battles and execute the lusts of capitalist Governments in the heart of Europe is, as I have said elsewhere, a terrific portent. The workers, alike a Britain, France, and Italy will be ill-advised if they allow it to pass in silence because today the victims happen to be German.

Finally, is there no obligation laid upon womanhood as such, in a matter of this kind which goes to the very root of any decent instinct the war may have left alive among the white peoples of the earth?

THE ANSWER

(The miners of Butte are now out on strike. In our last issue we published their demands. Considering the fact that copper is one of THE most essential of metals, it is a standing disgrace to our boasted civilization, that men should have to endure the sordid and inhuman conditions, that are the lot of the miners of Butte.)

Realizing that it was a waste of time to argue with the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, the miners of Butte struck on the job. They came out something like 8,000 strong. A few men stayed on the job, so the strikers decided to picket the mines and close them down tight. As the men marched up the hills of Butte, they were met by the Anaconda Mining Company gunmen. Shot after shot was fired into the unarmed ranks of the striking miners. Many fell wounded and in the case of Tom Manning, killed. Where is the Attorney-General? He sends lurid statements to the press denouncing

STRIKING MINERS OF BUTTE:

The blood of the innocent stains the soil of Butte Hill; it is dripping from the hands and blackening the souls of the masters of the mines and all their plant tools in political office who are showing themselves so willing to bow down before the golden god of profits and execute the will of their industrial overlords.

Every vestige of political democracy in Montana—the democracy of Lincoln and Jefferson and of our revolutionary fathers who reddened the snow with blood from bare feet at Valley Forge that Liberty might not perish from the earth—has been overthrown and in its stead has been substituted the iron and bloody rule of Industrial Autocracy—an autocracy based upon greed for profits and enforcing its will upon the people with the "hot gun," the rifle and the black-jack.

Its broken and maimed and dying victims lie upon the hospital cots at Columbia and St. James; one by one they are passing to the land of shadows—to the "night unending" and the long, long rest. Young Thomas Manning passed away early Sunday morning and he will soon be followed by others who cannot survive the fatal wounds received at the hands of Sheriff O'Rourke's gunmen-deputies last Wednesday afternoon on Anaconda Road.

Miners of Butte: What will your answer be to this industrial autocracy of iron and blood that has thrust aside the curtain of lying cant and sickening hypocrisy with which it screens its debauchery of political officialdom and theft of the people's wealth and stands out in all its naked brutality, with its hands dripping with the blood of the innocent and the guns of its armed mercenaries trained on Labor's breast?

We know that your hearts are filled with a hunger to take "eye for eye" and "tooth for tooth"; we know that the old, old law of the jungle that has come down to you through the ages is prompting you to arm yourselves and reply to the bloody force of the masters of copper with the bloody force of the aroused and long-suffering workers.

But is this the way? Is the newborn child of freedom for which the workers have dreamed and struggled all down through the ages to come at last swaddled in birthclothes stained with human blood?

We of the Industrial Workers of the World do not believe that the shedding of human blood will free the workers. We know that in the old revolution in France the starving peasantry choked the gutters of Paris with the blood of feudal tyrants, and the workers of France are still in bondage and shackled with the chains of wage-slavery. We know that after Ludlow the striking miners of Colorado avenged the massacre of their women and children by reveling in the blood of the murderous minions of Standard

Oil, but coal miners of Colorado are still the victims of the system that robs them of the wealth they produce—enslaved and starved. We of the Industrial Workers of the World know there is another and a better answer. Our answer to the masters' murder of our fellow workers on Anaconda Road will be the strengthening of that economic power that we have used to close down the mines and dam up the golden stream of wealth that has been flowing from the hot-boxes on the hill into the swollen coffers of Greed—wealth that we alone produce at the cost of broken bodies and ruined lives.

To the masters of the Sixth Floor we send this message: We of the Industrial Workers of the World here and now declare war on organized greed in Montana; the strike that began Monday, the 19th of April, will never end until the industries that have been stolen from the workers are returned to the workers; in season and out, night and day, off the job and on the job, the struggle will go on. For every drop of our fellow workers' blood you have spilled we will take from you a thousand dollars of your stolen wealth; not with the bomb and the torch—as the lying courtesans of your lying press would have the people believe, but with the withdrawal of our efficiency. No longer will we speed up your tired bodies in your hot hoves and glut the markets with the red wealth that you have taken from us in the past.

Red-handed murderers and craven cowards of the Sixth Floor, your dying system of blood and robbery will soon be at an end. The Industrial Workers of the World have come to Montana to stay. You and all your army of gunmen and political puppets will never drive us out. Read upon the tapestried walls of your palaces of wealth the memento tekel upharsin of old that warned the tyrant Belshazzar of the end of his rule. Your day is almost at an end; ours will soon be dawning. We will not destroy your bodies nor the bodies of your women and children; we will not destroy the mines that you have stolen from the people; they belong to us and we will soon take them over through the power of our One Big Union of all the workers.

MINERS OF BUTTE: A few of you are still standing without the folds of the One Big Union. We call upon you here and now to come to our hall and align yourselves under the banner of Industrial Democracy.

Stand firm; spurn the offer of the stool-pigeon who would lure you back on the job with lying promises; Pay no heed to the flying lying rumors that the strike has been called off; attend the funerals and pay your last respects to the fellow workers who are being carried one by one to their last, long homes on the Flat; Agitate, Educate, Organize!

WHITE HELL IN RUHR NEW BREST PEACE IMPOSSIBLE

Junkies Mad With Fear and Cruelty
MURDER AND RAPE

Our correspondent in the Ruhr Valley continues his description of the terror that has followed the invasion of that industrial area by the "White" troops of the German Government—in direct violation of the agreement made at Bielefeld with the strike leaders.

DUESSELDORF.—"White Terror" in the Ruhr continues unabated. Evidence is being collected and published. In Recklinghausen and Herne, where there was no resistance, six people are thus far reported shot, some being members of the Workmen's Council, and many beaten and maltreated without distinction of sex or party. Vorbeck, Mulheim, Duisburg, Alt-Essen, Boehum, Lohberg, Linslaken, Sterkerade, and Dorsten were all scenes of murder, violence and rape.

At Fliegenbusch, two men of the newly-formed "Ortswehr" (Local Guard) by the Essen Mayor's authority, were shot without even a court martial. At Sterkerade, a Miss Brohl was raped by 12 Reichswehr soldiers in succession. In some cases the massacre took on a wholesale character. At Haltern 65 canal workers were driven by the Reichswehr machine-guns into a pit and there killed.

Pit-head Shootings
At the Wolfsbank pithead, near Mulheim, all the workmen were arrested and eight shot. The surrounding houses were shot up and all the people in them arrested. The working men's colony near the Fritz Horst pithead was razed by the Reichswehr and the pithead ruined by its artillery fire.

In all the occupied towns mass arrests have taken place. The "Ruhr Echo," the Essen Socialist paper, warns fugitive workmen not to take advantage of Minister Severing's offer to come back. Those that have come back to Essen have been arrested.

The Reichswehr is trying to lay the ground for an occupation of the rest of the Ruhr by statements of the existence of an enormous Red Army. Yesterday and to-day I travelled to Barmen, Hagen, and so on. I saw no Red Army. The Ortswehr have been formed, and are keeping perfect order. Despite the conspiracy of the Rhineland bourgeois Press, the truth is gradually becoming known. Already the average man in the streets of Ruhr cities demands the retirement of the Reichswehr, and would prefer the Entente.

Soviets Still Strong.
Without force or violence the Workers' Central Council at Barmen, with leaders such as Stern, Dewart, Eckhardt, and Ernst Ludwig, is ruling the South Ruhr, where the Reichswehr has not yet broken its pledge not to cross. As soon as the Reichswehr retires in the north, the Central Council's power, without force and with the workmen's consent, will become predominant.

The revolution in the Ruhr, and soon elsewhere, will be bloodlessly accomplished. This is the issue, and that is why all the reactionaries, despite threats of Belgian and French occupation, will insist on a further Reichswehr occupation and advance. Only the iron broom can now kill the workmen's Ruhr revolution.

MILITIA FOR RUSSIA

Red Army To Be Dissolved

MOSCOW.—To the Congress of the Bolshevik Party, which closed in Moscow, the last report was made by Trotsky, who spoke in favour of a militia system, for Russia's future army, on the ground that this did not divide defence and labour, or put the working classes out of touch with the army. As soon as possible the Red Army would be dissolved, and a militia would take its place.

The meeting was closed by Lenin who stated that the chief problem of the Bolshevik Party was not its enlargement so much as internal work. The international position had given them a substantial and prolonged breathing space, which they must use for constructional work. "We are instituting Socialism. The workers of all the European and American countries are watching us, waiting to see whether we shall solve this difficult problem. We must triumphantly solve the economic problem as we have done the military. Then we shall firmly and swiftly advance towards the victory of the All-World Socialist Soviet Republic."—Wireless Press.

WARSAW'S DREAMS

BRIFIN BARRY

MOSCOW.—Karl Radek, the late Soviet envoy in Berlin, has just given me an account of the attitude of the Workmen's and Peasants' Government to the Polish peace offer.

"It is not possible for the Poles," he said, "to repeat Ludendorff's tactics in February, 1918, when he was able with the Imperial German army at his back, to force peace on Russia under threat of an immediate offensive. Then we had little or no armed force. Now the situation is entirely changed.

Ukraine Must be Included
"Our peace proposals to Poland," Radek explained, "are signed by the Foreign Commissary of the Ukrainian Government as well as by the Russian Government. Poland's reply is addressed only to the Moscow Government, but the plenipotentiaries must, of course, include both Governments.

"Our peace programme to Poland is on identical principles with the offers to the other Border States: The recognition of the Polish Republic up to its ethnographical frontiers and self-determination of peoples in the lands beyond that.

"Hundreds of square miles of territory are now occupied by Poles, in which there is a mere scattering of Polish landed proprietors and whole asses of White Russian, Lithuanian, and Russian peasantry. Sooner or later these workers' must themselves determine to which country they wish to belong.

Buffer States
"The Poles may wish to form buffer States out of them, with Governments composed of landowners friendly to herself. That question will probably be debated at the Peace Conference. If buffer States are created, the Soviet Republic will demand its share of strategic advantages on the frontiers of each, and will regard these strategic advantages as marking a transition period until the time comes when genuine self-determination of the peoples concerned will render such preparations for war unnecessary."

BRITISH RAIL CLERKS MAY STRIKE MONDAY

Demand Payment of Arrears—Council Order Would Put Roads in Chaos.

LONDON, April 29.—Trouble is again threatened on the British railways. Owing to a delay in the payment of arrears instructions have been issued by the Railway Clerks' Association to all branches and members to stand ready for a strike on Monday failing a satisfactory reply from the companies on Saturday.

Following the example of "vigilance committees" at Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow and Carlisle, the London Council of the National Union of Railwaymen have announced that from next Saturday all railwaymen in the London area shall strictly observe and carry out the rules and regulations of the railway companies until such time as their demand for an advance of 1 per week has been conceded in full.

This action, which will inevitably result in confusion and delay, is in direct defiance of the Executive Committee of the London Council, which represents 50,000 men, and the effect of a rigid "working to rule" can be imagined from the fact that the railway men's book of rules runs to nearly 300 pages. If carried out literally the result would be chaos. The opportunities for delay would be unending and no timetable could be worked successfully.

COLOSSAL BOOTY IN MURMANSK

MOSCOW, 17th March. According to completed reports from the northern front the following booty fell into our hands when Murmansk was taken:—20,000 pounds of metal (copper, zinc, and lead) 50,000 saws, 160,000 hoes, 11 million railway sleepers, 80 million cart-ridges of all calibres, 330,000 bullets, 1000 machine guns, 171 guns, 150 weighing machines, 40 motor cycles, several hundred thousand litres of petrol for flying machines, 10 aeroplanes, 30 field radio stations, and large stores of all kinds of provisions.

LENIN'S SPEECH TO CONGRESS

Soviet Democracy In the Factory

TRADE UNIONS' TASK

MOSCOW, via Stockholm, April 10.—At the Congress of Trade Unions Lenin made a speech upon economic problems and the organisation of workers and peasants in the transition period.

"It is necessary," he said, "to suppress classes and class distinctions, particularly the distinction between workers and peasants. Peasants are also workers, and Socialism will never be realised without them.

"The proletariat, the vanguard in the class war, must play the first part. The dictatorship of the proletariat is legitimate, because the peasant masses lack the discipline which is possessed by the proletarians. This power of the workers has enabled them to triumph over capitalist States richer than they in cannon and dreadnoughts.

"No country held as many congresses during these past years as Soviet Russia. No State is so imbued with a democratic spirit. Soviet decisions have an authority enjoyed by no others, and that is the foundation of our power."

Economic Democracy
Lenin then observed that the organisations of the working class were growing into larger forms each day. The only task now is to aid this class to achieve its aim. This it can only attain by Labour discipline.

"What is necessary now is organic cohesion. There must be no more discipline imposed by one man. There must be no single responsibility. There must be no more dictatorship. The trade union army numbers three million. Six hundred thousand of these are Communists: these must be the leaders of the rest. We must reject the interest of groups and crafts for the sake of final victory."

The Congress then passed three resolutions:—(1) appealing to all workers to join in energetic work; (2) the introduction of strict trade union discipline in all factories, with the object of rapid and economical work; (3) resolving to continue to follow the Communist Party in politics.

The Congress began on April 8, and 2,000 delegates attended.

KUN GIVEN POISON

Deadly Easter Gift of Sweets Fails to Kill

VIENNA, April 6.—Another attempt has just been made upon the life of Bela Kun and his interned comrades. Undaunted by their recent awkward failure to kidnap the Hungarian Communist leaders from Stockerau, Horthy's hirelings have now tried to carry out the murder more dexterously.

On Easter Sunday a young man left a parcel for Bela Kun at Steinhof, the Vienna sanatorium in which the Soviet leaders are now held. Together with the parcel, which contained sweetsmeats, was a letter signed by supposed Hungarian Socialists, expressing their sympathy with the interned men.

Kun and his comrades ate the sweets with much gusto, as did the wives of Kun, Vago and Poor. Soon afterwards they fell acutely ill.

Atropin Poisoning
A physician when summoned stated that the victims were suffering from severe atropin poisoning. Stomachpump and antidotes were hastily administered and all were saved.

Ladislav Gireh, the boy who delivered the parcel, has been arrested, and confessed to the police that he had been sent from Budapest by Baron Pronay, the guard chief, to murder Kun and his companions. The Magyar Minister of the Interior is known of the plot.

The Czech Socialist and the German Workers

The Executive Committee of the Czech Social Democracy in Czechoslovakia has issued a call to the German proletariat in which it is pointed out that the German nation, at present quite openly gives expression to its joy at the coup of the Junkers in Berlin; and that it places itself at the service of the counter-revolution and spreads abroad the lying reports of the reactionaries, in order to mislead public opinion. It urges the workers to trust in the power of the German working class.

AN APPEAL FROM POLAND

The following appeal has just reached us:—

To the Workers of the World:

Comrades.—The organs of the reactionaries in the Polish Republic have assumed terrible dimensions.

Poland is ruled to day by the bayonet, the knout and prison. In the capital 250 prisoners languish behind prison bars. In the torture chambers of the provinces 400 comrades are being slowly destroyed. In the internment camps at Cracow and Bialystok hundreds of our comrades are confined. In the border towns of Vilna, Minsk and Brest Litovsk still more hundreds of our comrades and brothers are pining.

In October, when the punitive expedition violently broke the agricultural workers' strike, 8,000 men were thrown into prison.

During the examination they were beaten and tortured. The inspectors beat them with iron rods. They offer violence to their wives. They shoot their prisoners and pierce them with their bayonets. The cells are unheated. The food is disgusting. Epidemics rage amongst the prisoners. Sentences are more severe than they were under the Czar. The best and bravest of our brothers are dying by the knout and the knife.

Amongst the sufferings of the prisoners are to be counted the pangs of hunger. Their relatives are unable to help them in that matter. What can the proletariat of a land offer in which one and a half millions are without work?

The political organisations can do nothing because of the misery of the members and the exorbitant prices. Hunger torments the political prisoners in the Polish Republic. Ruffian and ill-considered action is useless. A flaming international protest against the alliance of the Polish reactionaries with the Entente, which supplies Poland with munitions and robber missions, is required.

Comrades! Workers of all lands! In the name of the Polish Proletariat, and in agreement with the comrades in Warsaw, we, the editorial staff of the Polish organ of the workers of Vienna, appeal to you to organise a great movement of protest.

Our comrades in prison have seized the weapon so well known in the struggle with Zzardom—the hunger strike. They are determined to force the reaction to yield. Our comrades are starving and wait for help!

Proletarians of all lands! We call upon you to arrange protest meetings against the reactionary Polish Government and against the Entente rulers who support the bloodthirsty Polish bourgeoisie.

Comrades! Prevent the transport of munitions for the criminal Polish war which is destroying the remaining possessions of that devastated land. Only in this way can you strike the power from the hands of the Polish Hangmen whom the war has enabled to hold the whole country in the clutches of a military dictatorship.

Workers of Central Europe! Raise your voices against the bloody reaction in Poland, which fraternises with the hangman of Hungary, and gives a helping hand to every counter-revolution in Europe.

Workers of all lands. Procure material assistance for the Political fighters in the land of Poland. Every penny spent in bread for the prisoners prolongs the life of a soldier for our common cause.

The Proletariat of Russia and the proletariat of Poland do not want to fight one another!

The workers of our country desire that the Polish Government should accept the peace proposal of Soviet Russia. We beg workers' papers everywhere to reprint this appeal to open subscription lists.

THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF "SWIT."

Send subscriptions and letters to Dr. Karl Frank (Revolutionary Red Cross for Poland), 18 Besirk, Alserstrasse 69, Vienna.

A great demonstration of Polish workers was held in Vienna on the 22nd of last month. One of the speakers, whose remarks were repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause, laid bare the designs of Entente Capitalism, which is to use the Polish proletariat as the executioners of the troops of Soviet Russia. On the Polish-Russian front the fate of the World Revolution would be decided, and the proletariat of the whole world must see to it that Poland, the advanced post of European reaction, shall not be supplied with troops, weapons or munitions. We wish, comrades, to ensure our comrades fighting in Poland that the workers of German-Austria will no longer tolerate the sending of Red Vienna of thousands of troops

FORCED TO DIG OWN GRAVES

Ruhr Men's Fate Under Prussian Heel

WILD WORK BY TROOPS

DUESSELDORF.—The situation in serious. The Reichswehr has ridden roughshod over the workmen. In the first day after their arrival they arrested or beat up hundreds of people merely because they looked like workmen.

Two men were brutally shot in Essen Town Hall without trial. In Alt-Essen they turned machine guns recklessly on crowds. Hundreds of people are in prison in Essen. People in the neighbourhood have heard the rattle of musketry and firing squads.

To-day I spoke to workmen in the trams who had been wantonly beaten up by the troops. There has been a house-to-house search, in course of which many persons were assaulted. All day to-day people are still being led through the streets by soldiers to goal. Similar or worse conditions prevail in Mulheim, Dinslaken, Duisburg, and other factory towns.

Shot Out of Hand.

In Dinslaken, as stated by the civil Commissioner (Thielemann) for the Government, a civilian, accidentally wounded in street fighting during the Kapp coup, was dragged out of bed now by the Reichswehr and murdered on the suspicion of being a wounded Red.

The Mulheim report of 25 men shot is true. They were former Reds left behind as police to maintain order. They assisted the Reichswehr. They were forced to dig their own graves before they were shot.

I myself was to-day threatened with arrest. But the protest of the Foreign Office in the Voigt case has saved other correspondents.

All the leaders have fled. Thousands of Reds are in Cologne. Many towns now are demanding that the Reichswehr be removed as being the real scourge. There is every hope and every probability the Reichswehr will get orders to withdraw, chiefly on account of the French occupation.

THE NEW KINGDOM

Budapest 21st March. A Government order has been issued dealing with the re-establishment of the Constitution and endorsing the exercise of kingly authority which had ceased to exist since the 13th November 1918. Hungary will therefore be a Monarchy, and all State Boards, Officials and Institutions, must be named accordingly; and over the national Coat of Arms must be affixed a picture of the Hungarian Crown.

TOM MANN ON LENIN

"I Existed Before Him"

PARIS.—The "Temps" publishes a long interview which their correspondent has had in his London office with Mr. To Mann, Secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers.

Asked his opinion of Lenin, Mr. Mann said: "I entirely approve of all that he does. Besides, my aspirations have never varied; I wasn't born yesterday. I am 64 years old. Lenin, to tell you the truth, has taught me nothing, absolutely nothing. I existed before him. Only, I am happy to state that he has been able, thanks to circumstances, to give a body to our common ideas—in a word, to transform them into realities. The future of the world is in Russia."

—Reuter.

CANCELLED ORDER

Why Austria Could Not Release Communists

VIENNA, April 2, (by mail).—Bela Kun and five other peoples' commissars have abandoned their five-day hunger-strike upon the plea of the Vienna Workers' Councils, which declares they will intervene to compel the Austrian Government to liberate the Hungarian Communists. All these Socialists have been interned for nine months, and are physically exhausted as the result.

It has long been known that the Entente is behind Austria's stubborn retention of Bela Kun and his comrades. An episode occurred last night that makes this assumption a certainty. The Chancellor (Dr. Renner) and the Minister of Interior, Eldersich, were approached by a leading Austrian Communist on behalf of his interned Hungarian comrades. Renner and Eldersich, after hesitation, agreed to free immediately all except Kun and Levien, of Munich. The interned men were informed of the decision and were preparing for departure when an urgent message from Eldersich announced that the Austrian Government could not carry out its intention of releasing the internees.

I now learn from an official source that this quick change of heart was due to the sudden intervention of the Italian authorities in Vienna, who advised Renner last evening "if you free the Hungarian Communists, you will cause serious embarrassment to the Austrian Government."

The Italian Socialist Party has secured passports for Della Seta and Vella, members of the Italian Parliament, who will leave for Hungary immediately with a shipment of medical supplies for the Communists in Magyar internment camps. The medicaments are a gift from the Italian proletariat. Strict guarantees are demanded of Horthy for the safety of the Italian Socialist delegates.

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BLUNT PRAISES BOLSHEVIKI WHO SET HIM FREE

Chicago Man Tells Experiences in Siberia.

BY FRAZIER HUNT.
(Chicago Tribune Foreign News Service.)

HARBIN, April 23.—Col. Frank R. Blunt of Chicago and Plano, Ill., engineer with the Russian railroad corps, who spent two months as a prisoner of the bolsheviks, just has arrived in Harbin with a different story from most refugees and liberated prisoners.

"The soviets as I saw them function in Siberia are the most efficient, businesslike, orderly organizations I have seen in all Russia."

How It Worked.

"There was no foolishness," Col. Blunt said; "everything is straight, well organized. Before the Red army entered the towns the local revolutionists already had taken control. The soviet representatives from Moscow, following on the heels of the evacuating Kolchak-Czech armies, would join the social revolutionists, working in perfect harmony."

According to Col. Blunt, the Red army is well disciplined, well officered and finely equipped. All the vodka factories were closed and the sale of liquor was prohibited immediately. The Red army entered a district. No looting nor disorders of any kind were permitted—death penalty for any soldier found drunk or looting.

"There is no Red terror, but everything is done quietly and efficiently when the Reds enter a city."

Col. Blunt explained: "All food and fuel supplies immediately were nationalized, and the stores and public utilities were taken over. Then through the cooperative stores all the people are given equal rations of food and fuel. Schools immediately are opened with compulsory education. Schools also are opened for adults. In the great shops of Krasnyarsk and Irkutsk men working six hours daily under Kolchak were made to work ten hours under the Reds. This soon was changed to a nine hour day. The slogan was, 'No work, no food.' Followed Reds Two Months.

For two months Col. Blunt followed up the Red advance and saw at first hand just how the Moscow soviet representatives worked.

"The common people certainly are better off than before. It was an eye opener to see how railroad men who had loafed on the job for two years now suddenly worked day and night to get trains running. The peasants, who had hoarded food for two years suddenly brought great quantities to town. All in all I would say 70 per cent of the Siberians are for a soviet, 20 per cent on the fence, and 10 per cent against the soviets."

A SHORT WAY WITH PROFITEERS.

"At Omsk it is stated that many Japanese traders who failed to leave the town at the time of the evacuation have started to do business again. To this the Communists have no objection, but insist that goods be sold at price fixed by them. They allow the Japanese to add to the prices of their goods a sum sufficient to give them a liberal profit and leave a margin for expenses; but the traders must sell in rubles at the old pre-war rate of exchange of a rouble to a yen. If the Japanese are not willing to do this, they are amicably requested to close their premises and leave the town.

"Speculation and profiteering are being severely dealt with and as there are ten informers to every would be profiteer it is clear that the authorities are able to bring to book, without much difficulty, these guilty of sucking the blood of the masses, and gradually the prices of all commodities are falling, whilst the demand is increasing.

A veritable boom in trade may be expected in Harbin once trans-Siberian transportation routes are re-opened, for all the goods in stock in the more eastern towns are being taken westwards.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN BELGIUM

The Belgian Socialist Party notified a large increase in membership. In 1914 the members 203,000. At the end of 1919 the number was 330,000. During the past year the membership was increased by 172,000 almost 90 per cent increase since the beginning of the war. The Trade Unions have now a membership of 650,000.



W. F. Dunn

Editor Butte Daily Bulletin — will speak in the

BRICKLAYERS' HALL SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 9th

— Subject: —

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TWO VIEWS ON SELF-DETERMINATION

A Comparison and a Contrast.

LLOYD GEORGE ON IRELAND

"Self-determination does not mean that every part of a country, which has been acting together for hundreds of years, shall have a right to say, 'We mean to set up a separate Republic.' That is the very thing which was fought for in the Civil War in America. If any section in Wales were to say, 'We want to set up a Welsh Republic,' I should certainly resist it to the utmost of my power. Not only that, but Britain, in its own interests, including the interests of Wales, would be absolutely right to resist it. And yet Wales has a definite and clear nationality. The same applies to Scotland. If Brittany demanded self-determination, that does not mean that France, which has been in favour of the principle of self-determination, ought to grant a separate Republic for Brittany. There must be a limitation to the application of this principle, otherwise you might carry it to every fragment and every fragment and every area and every locality in every country throughout the world. When you lay down a principle of that kind you must lay it down within common sense, which tradition, will permit."

LENIN ON POLAND.

"Let no one imagine that it would be possible for us to deny the right of Polish nationality. 'It is only to-day that we are learning the necessity for repatriation, and we have not yet learnt it thoroughly enough. For instance, there are Communists among us who say, 'One school for everyone; therefore we need teach no other language than Russian.' In my opinion such a comment is nothing but the remains of the old Great-Russian jingoism. There is a jingo inside many of us, and we must combat him. The chief point of the 'nationalities' problem is that, although different nations follow the same historic path, the means of so doing require different preliminaries, and progress is determined by the cultural development of the various nations concerned. One cannot always act according to one set rule and example. To modify or strike out that part of our programme (the right of self-determination) would be tantamount to shifting the question of nationalities. This would be possible if there were people without national characteristics. But such people do not exist, and we must build up socialist society accordingly."

FOREIGN CAPITAL

Soviet Concession Terms

COPENHAGEN.—I have had an interview with Nogin concerning the terms for concessions to foreign capitalists. The conditions are these:—

"Concessions will be granted only to capitalists who will manufacture goods which Soviet Russia is unable to produce itself. Part of the produce of these factories must be sold within Russia, and they must conform to the Soviet factory legislation. They will be considered private property."

SEIZE ANTI-SOVIET SHIPS

Italian Workers Want to Give Them to Reds

PARIS, April 23.—Two merchant-vessels flying the Russian anti-Bolshevik flag, which were anchored in the harbor of Genoa, were seized yesterday by members of the Federation of Port Workers, who announced they took over the vessels for the purpose of returning them to the Russian Soviet Government.

EDITOR BUTTE DAILY BULLETIN TO SPEAK IN DULUTH

His Eloquence and Clean-cut Constructive Analysis of Labor Problems Make Him an Outstanding Figure in the Labor Movement.

Fearless Bill Dunn, who edits the Butte Daily Bulletin, a radical daily labor paper, in the very maw of the barbarians who control the copper industry of Montana, will speak at the Bricklayers' Hall, Sunday evening at 8 o'clock.

Dunn is a member of the Electrical Workers' union, but for the past few years has been engaged in newspaper work, employing his exceptional literary talents in behalf of the working class movement and leading the fight in Montana through which the organized workers are not only holding their own, but are steadily and pushing the greedy unscrupulous copper interests to the wall.

Butte, today, is an armed camp, and recent happenings have proven its sobriquet of "BLOODY BUTTE" to be a fitting one. The copper miners on strike there were recently the victims of the ruthless gunmen of the copper companies, when a gang of these thugs led by a drunkard drove the copper interest-fired point blank into the miners' pickets, killing two and so severely wounding several others that many of them are not expected to live.

"WORLD OF LABOR."

The subject of Dunn's address Sunday evening will be "The World of Labor", and it can be depended upon that he will vividly picture conditions in Butte, which will surprise and shock those who are not acquainted with the brutality and oppression practiced by the copper mining interests.

It is not only as a writer that Dunn has become an outstanding figure in the labor movement, but his eloquence and clean-cut constructive analysis of the problems with which labor is confronted, and the methods by which they can be met and solved have given him the reputation of being perhaps the most forceful speaker addressing labor audiences today.

Dunn is a marked man. The copper magnates have placed a price upon his head, and more than once attempt have been made upon his life. This has led organized labor of Butte to perpetually guard this man who is so feared and hated by the copper interests, and he is never permitted to walk on the streets of Butte unless accompanied by a guard from the ranks of labor. —Butte is now in the throes of the open shop movement, a matter of vital interest to every worker in Duluth at the present time, and he will explain Sunday what the employers really plan under the guise of the open shop attack.

Romage To the "Red" Soldier

(P. Vaillant-Couturier)

The Russian soldiers! From the Caucasus to the White Sea, from the Baltic to the Pacific—peasants, intellectuals, workers—all ranged under the standards of the Tsar in 1914! Duped for a time by their masters; but in the intervals of rest, around the fires, here and there one voiced the common sentiment of human solidarity. An offensive meant death to the soldiers, whilst in the air Krupp steel fraternized with Putiloff steel. Young bourgeois officers, humanitarians, who replaced the aristocrats (as these were killed or appointed to safe jobs), encouraged the new spirit in the army. For the majority of Russian soldiers the Revolution meant just that the hated war was ended; and this it was that Milukoff, Terestchenko, and Kerensky, could not comprehend. The June offensive, honestly opposed by the Bolsheviks, but demanded by the Allies, drove into the extremist camp the soldiers who hitherto had no thought of Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Revolution first brought to the fore conciliators such as Kerensky, who for continuing the war received the much-needed lesson of the October Revolution—the establishment of the Dictatorship of the People and Peace.

VERBOTEN

The Union of young Proletarian Communists announces that the Postal Authorities of Czechoslovakia have prohibited the despatch of "Kommunistische Jugend" to any part of the Czechoslovak Republic.

POLAND ON A VOLCANO

Revolution Possible at Any Moment

EXAMPLE OF GERMANY

VIENNA, March 28 (by mail).—In the heat of the recent German convulsions, Press reports omitted to describe the significant events occurring in Poland, and it is not generally known to-day that, during those hectic days, Poland ventured extremely near to the verge of revolution. How closely the destiny of the Polish and German proletariat is knit together was illustrated by the spontaneous strikes which broke forth throughout Poland, which were reinforced by peasants' unrest, and which shook the Polish imperialist structure to its roots.

As soon as news of the German revolutionary uprising penetrated the Near East, all Galicia was plunged into a general railway strike, which was reinforced by threatening movements among the enslaved peasantry, and by mass hunger demonstrations among the village proletariat. The strike spread swiftly—and appeared within two days in Congress Poland, where transport was placed at a complete standstill. In Warsaw, the metal workers laid down their tools. This act was followed by the proclamation of the general strike throughout Poland.

The immediate issue of the strike was to prevent the realization of the Government's announced intention to militarise all electrical works, railways, and public utilities. That is, the reactionary Warsaw regime was about to introduce forced labour under military control throughout Poland.

An Averted Strike.

It was thanks to the P. P. S. (Polish Socialist Party) that the revolutionary strike was abandoned at the eleventh hour. The P. P. S. opened negotiations with the Government, and for the fifth time, forestalled the inevitable Polish revolution. The Government, at the first whispered mention of a general strike, rescinded its order for the militarisation of transport and public utilities—and congratulated itself upon having escaped so cheaply.

But the conservative P. P. S. by its pusillanimous tactics, has forced Polish Labour far to the Left. More and more the organized workers of Poland are rallying themselves about the Communist Party. In the Dombrowa coal district, for example, 35,000 miners struck immediately at the outset of the German uprising. The strike was political in its intent, and was an open manifestation of sympathy toward the revolutionary proletariat of Russia and Germany.

Unions' Order Ignored

The Dombrowa miners received an order from their unions and the P. P. S. to return to work. They ignored this order, declared their solidarity with the Communists, and are to-day still on strike, demanding instant peace with Russia.

The political and economic situation of Poland is becoming more and more untenable. From within and without the imperialist designs of the present regime are meeting with rebuff after rebuff. The insane attempt to force Russia to sign a second Brest-Litovsk Treaty is a laughable attempt to dictate to a superior force. All indications point to the probability that the Polish workers, overfed with the Government's imperialist foolishness, will soon push the little Pilsudskis into oblivion and assume control of their own destinies.

COMMUNIST PARTY

BRITISH BREAK AWAY

A manifesto, signed, among others, by M. McManus, William Paul, and Thomas Bell, announces the formation of a separate group within the S. L. P.

The group states that the Executive has run counter to the S. L. P. opinion on the matter of Communist unity, which it has deliberately opposed. It will proceed to act independently, and demand separate representation at all Unity Conferences.

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All radical papers are at liberty to reprint any articles appearing in "Truth". Spread the truth!

Where Does He Get It From?

We have a strong suspicion that Washington, D. C., is not dry. If Washington is dry, then where does Palmer get it from? He is about the best pipe-dreamer that we know of.

The Communist Labor Party, of which party we are a member, does not believe in assassinations. We are made of more sterner stuff than that. We shall not kill Gary, Palmer, Morgan or any of that crowd. We will experience more joy by making them work. Can you imagine Palmer being dressed in overalls and working in a nice clean sewer and not laugh? Somebody is trying to take all the joy out of life. But frankly, between you and us, it is not the C. L. P.

"An Unnecessary Protest"

The Duluth News-Tribune in reply to the protest of the National Civic Federation against the recognition of Soviet Russia, is of the opinion that a protest is not necessary.

Read this gem, written after the State Department of the United States Government has exploded the foolish lie about the nationalization of women in Russia:—

"In large territories there has been no pretense of marriage, both women and the home being socialized."

But the News-Tribune does NOT tell you about what is going on in France. How absurd to expect them! France is one of our Allies and therefore can do no wrong.

Of all the warring countries, France has suffered the greatest loss of man-power. Millions of her best men have been killed and millions left helpless, unable any longer to take part in the struggle for existence, they must now come dependent upon the good-will of the nation. But the ruling class of France has come to recognise that unless France speeds up production, national bankruptcy stares her in the face and they cannot speed up industry, if they are without the necessary number of workers. SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE!

Kindly re-read:—

"In large territories there has been no pretense of marriage." In France it is openly advocated, that due to the lack of marriageable men, that the women form themselves into "maternity squads." These squads to be recruited for the purpose of bringing into the world more children to replace the men who have been either killed or wounded in battle. Strong young men will visit these women, for this expressed purpose.

Let a nation of workers overthrow their tyrannical rulers and institute a new order of society, that savors of freedom, and the kept press will raise its hands in holy order. On the other hand, let the ruling class of a war-wrecked nation use its womenfolk for the purpose of breeding more victims, to be sacrificed upon the altar of Mars, then is nothing too good to be said. The women will be held up as noble martyrs in a great cause. What they are doing with the women of France, they have learned from a study of racehorses and prize dogs. In order to preserve the breed of a good dog or racehorse they create stud-farms. "Maternity squads" are being created on exactly the same lines.

Take your choice! If you are really a man with brains, for the love of common decency and respect quit talking about Russian women.

DON'T FORGET GERMAN WOMAN!

JAPANESE REVOLT BEGINS

— The Red Rising Sun in the East.

Big events are taking place in Japan.

The Parliament has been dissolved, strikes accompanied by riots are taking place, and, of course, the soldiers have been called out. It is a familiar story.

This news reaches Europe from China. The Japanese Government will not allow any messages to be telegraphed direct to Europe. But in spite of all attempts to suppress the news, the truth about Japan is known. Let us proceed to tell it.

Japan did not mobilise any armies during the European war, thus there was no scarcity of the Capitalist's primary commodity: labour. Yet the country is suffering acutely from all the ills which afflict Western nations. During the war the prices of the necessities of life increased threefold. Houses for the workers are unobtainable. In the industrial centres the people are starving and emaciated. The proletariat, in short, is on the verge of famine.

The Ghastly Contrast.

That is one side of the picture. Let us pause to glance at the other. The export trade has never been in such a prosperous state. All the goods which the workers have manufactured are shipped to Europe, there to command record prices. Thousands of speculative companies have been formed; gambling in rice—the people's staple food—is the moneymaking "stunt" of the day, and the number of millionaires has increased a hundredfold. The teahouses are full to overflowing; the geisha are coining money, and saki, the national drink, is flowing in rivers.

Why this ghastly contrast? The poor who in Japan work seven days a week and literally from sunrise to sunset for a sum which would be a mere "tip" in the west—starving and emaciated—and the rich richer than ever, drunk in the prosperity sucked from the life's blood of the workers.

We know this picture in the west. But we were told that here it was all due to thwar; the shortage of labour, and, consequently, of commodities.

Why?

Yet in Japan with an abundance of labour—and labour dirt cheap at that—and with an abundance of commodities the same conditions manifest themselves.

Why is this? Why do apparently opposite causes lead to identical results? East is East and West is West, and at last the twin have met! And what is the common ground?—it is Capitalism, of course.

Here the issue of lots of paper money has increased the buying power of the rich. Hence prices are high. There the Japanese merchants and manufacturers, taking advantage of Europe's needs, have shipped abroad all the products of the workers' toil, and it is no exaggeration to say that the country is "skinned" of all the very necessities of life. Hence the Eastern capitalist in alliance with the Western capitalist creates the conditions which chables high profits to be made in two places. He is responsible for a scarcity

of commodities at home which sends up prices, and at the same time he and his brother capitalists in Europe share the high profits which have resulted from a war made in the interests of big money. Real solidarity here. The trend of economic events, the pressure of economic circumstances, etc.—these are the phrases used.

The Capitalist's Blockade.

But it is in reality the blockade of the poor by the rich. In Japan—the Far East—people are starving and dying. In Europe—the Near West—people, too, are starving and dying. And why? Simply for want of solidarity.

They have among them many Socialists, but those who are active are martyrs. For the Japanese Government breaks socialists with all the vigour of the law. They have executed several of them. But as I have said, things are moving. And there is in the average Japanese something passionate, something fanatical. As serfs they were trodden on and beaten by the Samurai. There is in their hearts a whole stored-up Hell of Hatred. One day—and soon perhaps—they will see clearly what is needed of them. And then—

They will compel the old system to commit hara kiri—to disembowel itself. And we—what will we do?

Elect another Parliament perhaps.

—Edgar Whitehead.

Writing in the "London Solidarity."

MARX AND THE MIDDLE CLASSES

(This is one of a series of revolutionary essays written by Bela Kun. Other essays will appear in future editions of "Truth".)

("Pravda," May 4th, 1918.)

"The internal enemy" of the proletarian Russian Revolution is constituted first and foremost by the lower middle classes. The expropriation of the expropriators being carried out at present does not represent the most serious obstacle in the path of proletarian dictatorship. In the path of the expropriation of capital the obstacles are of a purely objective nature. The small group of large capitalists has not the masses on its side, and therefore speedily becomes powerless in fact of the armed proletariat. The lower middle classes of society, on the other hand, represent a considerable section of the population, especially in Russia—to say nothing of the propertied section of the peasantry. To reckon with the wishes of these lower middle classes would mean the halting half-way of the work of the Revolution: it would mean an end of the aspirations towards the destruction of capitalism.

Exactly because the lower middle-class mass is numerically large, it has retained an influence over the working-class movement. But every concession to this influence represents a departure from the Marxian standpoint, because it was precisely Marx who freed Socialism from lower middle-class adulterations.

The behaviour of the middle-class Socialist parties during the opening encounters and the final decisive struggle of the proletarian revolution doubly imposes on us the duty of recalling, on the occasion of the centenary of the birth of our first teacher, what his views were on the subject of the lower middle classes. And, though the representatives of various shades of lower middle-class Socialism are constantly referring to Marx, in reality there is no greater sacrilege than this.

I.

After the revolution alike in Marx's philosophical world-concept and in his views on the material conditions of social production, he shook himself free of the last vestiges of Liberalism.

"The Poverty of Philosophy," from the economic aspect, and "The Communist Manifesto," from the political aspect herald the final liberation of Socialism from the last lower middle-class swaddling clothes.

The founders of scientific Socialism had not had as yet the experience of a revolution, but by the path of theoretical analysis they had even then succeeded in establishing the fact that, in the progress of the revolutionary movement, the lower middle-class can display itself only as a reactionary and Utopian factor.

This lower middle-class—as "The Communist Manifesto" proclaims—"stands half-way between the proletariat and the capitalist class. Being a necessary complement of capitalist society, this class is constantly being reborn." Composed of extremely mixed elements of the pre-capitalist epoch—the so-called "tolling intelligentsia", the lackeys of the capitalist class—this class was to be found, in France, in Switzerland, and to a certain extent in Germany, at the advanced posts of the revolution of 1848. According to "The Communist Manifesto," the Communists were to support the various party groupings of these elements, while the latter were in opposition, understanding clearly, however, that if the representatives of the lower middle-class were really revolutionary in sentiment, it was only when faced with their immediate descent into the ranks of the proletariat.

These hopes of the lower middle-class, little sanguine though they were nevertheless were completely shattered: the revolution of 1848 clearly revealed the political bankruptcy of the revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie. That revolution laid bare not only their weakness, but also how dangerous they were to the work of the revolution. During the French revolution of that year, the proletariat was crushed, not by the capitalists, but by this very lower middleclass. "The small shopkeeper," wrote Marx in "The Class Struggle in France," "rose up and moved against the barricades, in order to restore the movement from the street into his shop. And when the barricades had been destroyed, when the workmen had been defeated, when the shopkeepers, drunk with victory, turned back to their shops, they found their entry barred by the savigns of property, the official agents of financial capital, who met them with stern demands: 'The bills have become overdue! Pay up, gentlemen! Pay for your premises, pay for your goods.' The poor little shop was ruined, the poor shopkeeper was undone!"

The lower middle-class is not fit to wield power, and a long government by it is unthinkable. This, first and foremost, for economic reasons: the small shopkeeper is the debtor of the great capitalist, and must remain in dependence on him as long as there exists the system of credit—which cannot be destroyed while the domination of private property continues.

The Imperialist era of capitalist production has fully justified this view of Marx's. If the democratisation of capital by means of joint stock companies—the wild dream of the distorters of Marxism—were an economic possibility, even then the majority of the lower middle-class shareholders would be powerless to govern society.

The roots of the dilemma created by Imperialism are to be found in the economic relations on which Imperialism is based. There are only two classes capable of governing: the class of great capitalists, and the proletariat.

Every compromise with the upper bourgeoisie is treachery to the proletarian revolution. Every compromise with the lower middle-class after the victory of the revolution would mean the restoration of the supremacy of the upper bourgeoisie—the restoration of capitalist rule.

The experience of the revolution of 1848 completely con-

firmed Marx in his conviction that the revolution can blazon on its banner these watchwords only: the complete overthrow of all sections of the capitalist class, and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

II.

Within the framework of capitalist society, the lower middle-class is immortal. Not only do small traders and small producers, worshippers of the principle of private property and credit, inevitably ensure the existence of parasites on the social organism, as being causes of the dissipation and waste of social labour; but also from out of their midst there appear the bearers of a special philosophy, directed for the purpose of restraining the proletarian revolution.

"The lower middle-class," in Marx's words, "has no special class interests. Its liberation does not entail for an independent part in the class struggle, it considers every decisive class struggle a blow at the community. The conditions of his own personal freedom, which do not entail a departure from the system of private property, are, in the eyes of the member of the lower middle-class, those under which the whole of society can be saved."

And this is the very reason why the lower middle-class masses are the most dangerous enemies of the dictatorship society. Their social interests are absolutely incompatible with the economic disturbances which are the inevitable accompaniment of transitional periods.

The disturbance of credit cuts the ground from under their feet. They begin shouting for order, for the strengthening of credit, in such a way that every concession to them leads in effect to a complete-class philosophy, who took up their stand as critics of capitalism in the working-class movement at the time when that movement was still in the stage merely in with them a peculiarly lower middle-class outlook, feel disillusioned when the era of decisive battle arrives. Their supremacy in the realm of ideas can continue no longer; while it is beyond their powers to free themselves from the lower middle-class world-concept.

This is what Marx says in his "Eighteenth Brumaire," in which he gives a masterly analysis of this lower middle-class outlook, on the subject of these "representatives" of the labour movement—or, to speak more correctly, of these leeches which have attached themselves to it:

"By their upbringing and individual position, the former can be as far apart from the latter as heaven and earth. What makes them the spokesmen of the lower middle class is the fact that their thoughts do not leave the path in which the latter's whole life moves, and that therefore they come, by a theoretical road, to the same problems and solutions as the lower middle class teaches in actual life. Such, in general, is the relation between the political and literary representatives of a class and the class itself."

Marx was merciless in dealing with this kind of poisoners of proletarian class-consciousness. The whole our movement ought to be the same. With the weapons of ridicule and hatred he fought against the "heroes" of the French social democracy of the time—the political movement which represented an unlawful union between the lower middle class and the proletariat.

He wished to separate the Labour movement from all lower middle class elements, because the lower middle class attitude—attachment to the idea of private property, more or less open striving in practice the greatest internal enemy of the proletariat and the proletarian revolution.

III.

A proletarian dictatorship that betrays a readiness to make concessions to the lower middle class is threatened with destruction.

A working class struggling against the bourgeoisie "from below" escapes this peril more easily than a victorious proletariat. A proletariat fighting "from above," possessing State power and grappling with the problems of organisation of production, is in a much more difficult position than a proletariat which has not yet attained victory. The working class itself is not yet free from all lower middle class habits of mind, while the mass of middle class parasites which lived on the back of the old order is now equally ready to live on the back of the proletarian State.

The crushing of counter-revolution in Russian shows that, here too, the time has come when, as Marx says in "The Civil War in France," all sections of the bourgeoisie except the great capitalists—"shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants" recognise that the proletariat is the only class capable of initiative in the sphere of social reconstruction. This means, however, that the same section of the lower middle class which "offered up the workers as a sacrifice to their creditors" will once again attempt to come to an agreement with its creditors.

While the lower middle class exists, it is not capable of renouncing itself, even if it does submit to the proletariat. Though incapable of independent resistance, it will nevertheless try by roundabout ways to destroy the meaning and the aims of the Revolution.

If it once manages, under whatsoever disguise, to reappear in the arena of the workers' struggle, it will use all its energies to the end that it may remain the proprietor of its little shop, and the client of capitalism. It demands first of all "the re-establishment of credit"—but this cry is, for the lower middle class, only "a disguised form of the cry for the re-establishment of private property."

The Revolution, when celebrating the centenary of Marx's birth, will not forget the sentence he passed on the lower middle class.

THE GREAT INITIATIVE

By N. LENIN

It is just as natural as it is necessary that, in the period immediately after the Revolution, the Workers' and Peasants' Government should devote all its strength to the task of crushing bourgeois opposition and suppressing counter-revolutionary plots. To this is added another task, just as unavoidable and necessary, one which becomes more evident as time goes on—the positive task of real communist constructive work, the creation of a new economic system, of a new society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not simply a force to be used against the exploiting class, though it must express itself in terms of force. The proletariat has realised the form of the social organisation of labour. That is the guarantee for the continuation and success of the Revolutionary Government; and to secure this continuation and success, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be consolidated in the economic sphere.

The social organisation of labour in the era of serfdom was maintained only by the knout. The workers were kept in profound ignorance, and were exploited by a handful of masters. Capitalist organisation of labour is based on hunger. In spite of the boasted progress of Capitalist culture and democracy, even in the most progressive, civilised, and democratic countries, the workers are wage-slaves and oppressed peasants, living a blank and miserable life. The communist organisation of labour—the first step towards that order we call Socialism—is based on the free and conscious will of the workers themselves, who have thrown off the yoke of landlords and capitalists.

In view of this fact, the Communist Saturday has a very deep historical meaning. It shows us the conscious will on

the part of the workers to extend the productivity of labour, during the period of transition to a new labour discipline, by their taking up the initiative.

Johann Jacoby, one of the few middle-class democrats who became Socialists and did not go over to Chauvinism or National Liberalism after the lesson of 1870-1, once said that the establishment of a trade union was of more importance than the battle of Koniggratz. He was right. That battle only decided which of the Capitalist nations would be the leader of Capitalist Germany, but the establishment of a trade union is a step towards the world victory of the proletariat. Even so we have the right to say that the first Communist Saturday, which was instituted by the workers of the Moscow-Kazan Railway on 10th May, 1919, is of greater historical importance than any of the battles of the late Imperialist war. These decided only which Capitalist groups should control the world markets: the Communist Saturday, thus instituted, is the germ-cell of a new Socialist Society that will put an end to bloodshed by liberating all the peoples of the earth from Capitalism.

The bourgeoisie naturally try to ridicule the constructive work of the Bolsheviks. They contrast the small amount of work done on the Saturdays with the general spread of theft and malingering, decreased production, waste of raw material and of wares, etc. We must consider the matter as it really is, however. In all history it is recorded that no new method of production has been learnt without a great number of failures and mistakes? Fifty years after abolition of serfdom in Russia there still remained, in the Russian villages, many of the customs and usages, of serfdom. Fifty years after the abolition of negro slavery in America, the position of almost all the American negroes was that the semi-slavery. In spite of all logic, however, the bourgeoisie sticks to its ancient arguments. Before the revolution we are twitted with being Utopians. After the revolution they demand the immediate disappearance of all remnants of the past regime.

The germs, however, of the new society must be scientifically investigated and carefully examined. Many tender shoots of the new seed will, without doubt, die off. It is impossible to give a guarantee that the Communist Saturday is destined to play an important part in post-revolution organisation.

But this is not a question for us to deal with. Our duty is to tend and cultivate this shoot. It must prove its own fitness to live. If a professor, in trying to find a remedy for syphilis, could only succeed in getting what he wanted after trying 605 different preparations, we who would cure Capitalism must have energy to try many methods before we can decide which is most effective.

The Communist Saturdays are of immense weight and importance, because they have been introduced by the workers themselves, and not under favourable conditions. They were introduced by workers in various special trades, in agreement with those of no special skill, such as handworkers, labourers, etc.

The root cause of the drop in production which has taken place, not only in Russia, but throughout the whole world, ought to be quite plain. It is the ruin, destruction, and devastation which the Imperialist war has brought in its train. Disease and famine are amongst us—the latter the most frightful of all. Famine! That word expresses every horror. In order to overcome it, the productivity of labour must be increased a thousandfold—in Agriculture, in Transport, in all Industries. We must break the "Vicious Circle." The productivity of labour must be increased to remove famine, and famine must be removed in increase the productivity of labour. This kind of contradiction itself breaks the "Vicious Circle."

An emotional crisis will occur amongst the people, which will play a decisive part because of the heroic initiative of some groups. We are at present in a chronic state of famine. It is summer and the harvest is still before us. Till it is ripe we are faced with increasing starvation. The Moscow railway men and mechanics are workers who live in the most dreadfully difficult conditions. It is these hungry workers—surrounded on all sides by the counter-revolutionary agitation of the bourgeoisie—who have instituted the Communist Saturday; who work overtime without payment; and who, in this way, have enormously increased the productivity of labour. Is not this heroism? Is not this the beginning of a change of universal, historical meaning?

—Translated for the Russian Bureau by MAKMLINSKY.

C. L. P. IN PETROGRAD

(This note is taken from "Economistshy Zin" (Economic Life), official organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Supreme Council of Public Economy.)

On the 20th of November, representatives of the Communist Labor Party of America, who had arrived in Petrograd, inspected various establishments under the management of the Petrograd Cooperatives. At the central office, the American guests were made acquainted with the details of the work being carried out by the chief departments, Technical diagrams and plans being used in the work of distribution were carefully inspected.

Of special interest were the methods used to distribute food to the people. Our American guests were familiarized with rules governing the apportionment of food to classes, such as the heavy laborers, children, etc. The system for bread baking and the group of food distribution agitators were entirely new to them.

The Comrades from America were highly interested in the work of the shops and showed great pleasure in the explanations which were given by the responsible workers under the management of Comrade Putekove. The guests will also visit the great baking factories, the community restaurants, and others of the large establishments which will serve to give them a closer understanding of the methods of life of present Petrograd society.

THE INTERNATIONALS

All the conferences and all the authorities having delivered themselves on the subject of the Internationals, the position should now be quite clear. On the one hand the Second International, hopelessly paralysed, like an old rube suffering for the misdeeds of a disreputable past, crawls out its miserable existence. It is dying from patriotism. On the other, the Third International rises with a new message to the workers of the world. With new methods, too, that seem strange to some sincere souls, but, nevertheless, have been tried in the fire of experience, and not found wanting. Between the two the inevitable compromise of the trimmer and weakling is being advocated in the form of a Second-Third, Fourth International—"a sort of a giddy hermaphrodite, Snowden and Trotsky, too"—to paraphrase Kipling. It will not do. It is impossible. A clearer issue is before us now than ever before. The Second International is one thing, the Third is its opposite, but this proposed creation is a bastard that is neither one thing nor the other. All parties who sincerely desire the Social Revolution in our time must unit solidly behind the Third International, or be condemned to support capitalism in an existence too dangerous and too miserably prolonged.

"London Call."