

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

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

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

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Duluth FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1920

WHOLE No. 151 FIVE CENTS.

WORKERS! HANDS OFF MEXICO

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO TO THE WORKERS OF MEXICO

American Imperialism is again reaching out its bloodstained hands to seize Mexico.

The original scheme of intervention in support of American oil magnates who did not like Carranza's tax on petroleum properties, has been discarded. A more cunning plan has been substituted.

Civil war in the north has been commented by American gold, and stupidly hastened by two politics-inflamed, ambition-intoxicated clips of office-seekers. We are not concerned about the interests of these two sets of politicians. We are quite indifferent as to who is the next President of Mexico. But we call the attention of the workers of Mexico to the clear, unmistakable fact that the rebellion is apparently "made in the U. S. A." by American financial interests who want to gobble up Mexico and crush the growing class-consciousness of the toilers of this country.

Make no mistake, Fellow Workers.

THIS REVOLUTION IS NOT A SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

THIS FIGHT IS NOT OUR FIGHT.

THIS REBELLION IS NOT A REBELLION OF THE PROLETARIAT AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE, OF THE MASSES AGAINST THEIR MASTERS, OF THE SLAVES AGAINST THE SLAVEDRIVERS.

THE BLOODY BUTCHERY THAT IS BEGINNING, ARISES BECAUSE ONE COTERIE OF POLITICIANS IS TRYING TO OUST THE OTHER FROM OFFICIAL POSITION.

Between the two we have no choice, altho we are convinced that American Imperialism is backing one against the other. American money is behind the Sonora aggregation, using it as a tool with which to make intervention seem necessary to the American people, as an accelerator to grease public opinion north of the Rio Grande in favor of annexation.

Because of this alignment, because American Imperialism wants to deprive Mexico of her national existence, make her a part of the

great American empire of finance-capital, and prevent Communists from later utilizing Mexico as one of the bases of the Proletarian Revolution, we would like to see the civil war stop and annexation thwarted. This is not because we have any preference for the present Mexican government or for any other that might succeed it, nor because intrinsically there is any difference between rule by a bourgeois government in Washington and a bourgeois government in Mexico City.

We take this position solely and simply because we appreciate that if Mexico is torn in twain and two republics take the place of one, at least of these republics—probably both—will be quickly enclaved by the Beast of the North, where as if Mexico remains a single nation, the process will be delayed somewhat and this will give us more time in which to perfect a powerful Communist organization.

However, the crisis is here and the Sonoran Republic, with its American money and American guns, will undoubtedly succeed for a time. Unless present signs fail, American Imperialism will accomplish its undertaking and within another year or so, Mexico will be a colony under the stars and stripes.

Our business, under these circumstances and unless conditions change decidedly, is to keep out of the fight. If an opportunity for more effective action in another way, offers itself and we reconsider this decision, we will advise all comrades accordingly. But viewed in the light of Scientific Communism, after numerous consultations and after careful reference to the conduct of Communist leaders in other crises, this is our opinion to-day.

We certainly will not lend ourselves to a revolution that is purely selfish and personal and which is being utilized to more deeply enslave the Mexican masses. On the other hand, we would not be able to save Mexico from eventual de-nationalization by fighting the Sonorans. To fight would value

nothing to the working class of Mexico. Enuf lives of toilers will be fruitlessly lost as it is. The proletariat has nothing to gain by sacrificing more in a useless struggle.

WE WILL NEITHER FIGHT NOR MOURN. WE WILL ORGANIZE.

We will organize the Mexican toilers in One Big Union, organized on Industrial Union lines and based on the principles of Communism—the Mexican Administration of the I. W. W. We will get ready for the day when, with sufficient solidarity, we can throw off the yoke of capitalism once and for all.

When that time comes, in all human probability, Mexico will no longer be a separate nation. It will be part and parcel of the Great Empire of the North. The workers will be governed with the same rod of iron and held by the same cord of steel that binds the workers in Panama, Hawaii, the Philippines and Cuba. Our task will be harder. The exploiting class will be stronger. It will have a government of its own in Mexico instead of a local one that has been more or less unruly.

But we must bow to the inevitable. Since we cannot much longer continue the class struggle under Mexican rule, with its lesser restrictions, we must prepare to continue it under American rule.

WE MUST ORGANIZE TO FIGHT A FIRECRACKER FOE—TO RESIST A MORE POWERFUL MASTER!

We will have no more meetings of locals of the Communist Party. We will organize no more locals. We will in the future, as in the past, take no part in political campaigns. More important than the counting of heads at the ballot-box is the acquiring of the power necessary to take over the economic resources of society. Industrial Solidarity, not electoral victories, will be our goal. Our members will work thru their appropriate unions. The Communist Party will still function but no longer separately. It will become one with the In-

dustrial Unions of Mexico. Its Executive Committee and a few other trusted organizers will meet at designated times and places, but no longer publicly. The day of underground work will not come until the United States owns Mexico—or not entirely. But that day is not distant. We will be ready on time—or a little before.

We must cover Mexico with Industrial Unions "like the dew." We must reorganize craft unions into Industrial Unions wherever possible. Where not possible, we must organize new unions. We must imbue these unions with the principles of Revolutionary Communism. We must teach them how and when to strike, how to use the strike on the job, the theory and tactics of mass action and the political strike. We must teach them that all struggles for higher wages and shorter hours are but incidents in the class struggle and but practice that will better equip them for the final revolutionary struggle in which capitalism will be overthrown and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat will be established.

We would be better pleased to see Mexico remain a single and independent nation. We could do our work more easily and have less resistance and persecution. But the odds are against it.

We will not, therefore, buck our heads against a stone wall. We will not sacrifice lives, blood and energy where nothing is to be gained. We will save them for more useful purposes.

WORKERS OF MEXICO THIS IS NOT YOUR REVOLUTION! KEEP OUT OF IT!

AS CANNON FODDER, YOU WILL DO NO GOOD BUT WILL ONLY WEAKEN YOUR CLASS. WE WANT LIVE ORGANIZERS, NOT DEAD AND WOUNDED SOLDIERS!

DON'T FIGHT! DON'T MOURN! ORGANIZE!

COMMUNIST PARTY OF MEXICO.
P. O. Box 985,
Mexico City, D. F., Mexico.

SECY. WILSON DECIDES MEMBERSHIP IN C. L. P. IS NO BASIS FOR EXILE

Deportation Warrant for Miller Cancelled With Official Ruling Which Means Complete Break With Palmer and Full Support of Louis F. Post.

By PAUL HANNA
(Staff Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON.—Membership in the Communist Labor Party of America does not make an alien liable to deportation from the United States.

Formal decision to that effect was made by William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, in whose office exclusive authority resides to issue, enforce or cancel, all warrants for the deportation of aliens resident in this country.

Secretary Wilson's decision is based upon the case of Carl Miller, 38, a native and citizen of Germany, who arrived in America in 1907. Miller is a member of the Communist Labor party who declares himself familiar and in complete sympathy with its manifesto and program.

In the course of a long comparison of the Communist and the Communist Labor parties Secretary Wilson finds that the first named organization aims to "conquer and destroy" the government by force and violence, while the latter contemplates using political action in apparent good faith as a constitutional means of capturing the power of government for subsequent use in establishing communism.

"The tactics of the Communist party in Russia can have no bearing upon the Communist Labor party in the United States," declared Secretary Wilson, "except insofar as those tactics are accepted or adopted by the Communist Labor party; nor can the statements made by prominent members of the party be accepted as the expressions of the organization unless the party, by its own action, adopts the statements."

Secretary Wilson's conclusions are contained in the following paragraphs:

"Excerpts from the Communist Labor party Platform and program quoted above indicate an extremely radical objective, but there is nothing in them that discloses an intention to use force or violence or that is incompatible with the use of parliamentary machinery to attain the radical end it has in view.

"The belief in, teaching and advocacy, of the class struggle, mass action, the conquest of political power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, Socialism, Communism, the One Big Union, shop committees, shop stewards, and other social industrial, economic and political changes mentioned in the Communist Labor party platform and program, however reprehensible these things may be to the minds of any or all of our people, do not bring the organization within the purview of the act, as long as it does not propose to use force or violence to accomplish the purpose.

Warrant Ordered Cancelled.

"If the American people are left free to discuss and decide the questions presenting themselves for consideration from day to day, uninfluenced by the threat of force or violence, they can be relied upon to protect themselves against any false philosophies, wild-eyed revolutions or dictatorships of any kind.

"The Communist Labor party of America does not come within the scope of the act of October 16, 1918.

"There being no evidence, other than membership in this party, to show that Carl Miller comes within any of the deportation provisions of the law, the warrant under which he is held is hereby cancelled.

"W. B. WILSON,
"Secretary of Labor."

Means Post Has Full Support.

Attorney-General Palmer is expected to utter a cry of disappointed rage when he reads the Wilson decision. Scores of his "perfect cases" for deportation are based

IRISH LABOR MAN AT ONCE HURRIED OFF TO SING SING

Defendant, Convicted as 'Anarchist', Not Permitted to Consult His Friends or Attorney.

DEFENSE OVERRULED

Appeal to Higher Courts Planned—Prisoner Sends Message of Unshaken Faith in Socialism

By AGNES SMEDLEY.

James Joseph Larkin, Irish labor leader, founder and commander-in-chief of the Citizen's Army of Ireland, is now prisoner number 71161 at Sing Sing prison. He was sentenced yesterday to serve from 5 to 10 years at hard labor, by Judge Bartow S. Weeks, in the Supreme Court, following his conviction last week on a charge of "criminal anarchy."

After warning the courtroom that any noise of approval or disapproval would be met with arrest, Judge Weeks asked Larkin if he had anything to say before receiving sentence.

Larkin replied, "Nothing."

"I find nothing in the record in the case to indicate why the full penalty of the law should not be imposed upon you," continued the judge, and forthwith imposed the sentence.

Courtroom Silent.

The courtroom above the marshals at his back, his arm folded and his chin held high. He gazed unwaveringly into the eyes of the judge.

Judge Weeks denied all motions made by Attorney Walter Nelles, for the defense, sacrificed his customary hour's peroration on the virtues of the present social system and the viciousness of the defendant, and ordered Larkin to be sent immediately to Sing Sing. The entire proceeding was over in less than ten minutes.

At 11:57, just one hour after sentence was pronounced, Larkin, in company with two marshals, was rushed from the Tombs to the Grand Central Station and on to a train bound for Ossining, special precautions being taken that he should consult with no friends, nor even his attorney, before leaving.

Larkin Sends Message.

A Call reporter, however, boarded the same train, and accompanied Larkin and the marshals all the way to prison, and obtained a last message from Larkin to the working people of the world, leaving Sing Sing only after the prison doors closed behind the labor leader, shutting him away from the world.

Leaving the train at Ossining, Larkin and the Call reporter, accompanied by the marshals, walked over the hills and down the road to the cold, gray prison to stone and iron.

Larkin talked of the working class movement in the United States, of the necessity of workers coming into one big union, and of the possibilities for Irish freedom if the labor movement of England will live up to its pretensions and professions by declaring a general strike and forcing the British army to evacuate Ireland.

Number 71161.

By 2 o'clock Larkin's pedigree had been taken by Sing Sing officials and he had been numbered prisoner No. 71161.

He was still smoking his pipe, his huge, slightly stooped shoulders and his head, touched with gray, looming far above the marshals and prison guards who swarmed about him like flies.

Again the contrast between the labor leader and his captors was

1920 RAISES GIVE LABOR LESS PAY THAN IN 1914

Present High Prices Beat Workers' Standard of Living Down Beneath That of Pre-War Period, Statistical Tables Based on Government Figures Prove.

The United States Department of Labor estimates that since December, 1914, in the City of New York, the cost of living had risen 103.8 per cent up to December, 1919.

Since November 1 the Industrial Conference Board, maintained by corporate interests, of which the National Erectors' Association and the Woolen Trust are members, states there has been a 7 per cent additional increase in the cost of living since November, 1919, and ending March, 1920, in the entire country.

New York City is ahead of every city, with the exception of Detroit and Norfolk, in having the highest percentage of increase. But, discounting this entirely, and taking the round figures of 104 per cent for the five years and 7 per cent additional for the four months of this year, gives the figure of 111 per cent increase as a basis to work with when the 1914 wage scales are available.

By a simple arithmetical process, the wage paid in 1914 multiplied by 211 per cent will give the wage that the worker should be getting today in New York City

if he were simply standing still and not trying to live any better than the pre-war days.

As, for example, the worker got \$5 a day in 1914:

$\$5.00 \times 211\% = \10.55

If he is as well off as five years ago he should be getting a minimum of \$10.55 a day for his labor. If he is getting less he has lost ground as far as real wages go.

SOVIET METHODS

A Correspondent of the North China Herald (7.2.20) writing from Harbin says: "Here in Harbin considerable excitement prevails. The end of civil warfare is thought by many to be in sight. On 'Change there will be a rush to sell you, the price falling in the course of a few hours from 130 to 75. Once trading with Siberia is opened again the value of the rouble must continue to rise, as it is now known that the Soviet Government authorities, wherever established in Siberia, are making no distinction in the price of the different paper roubles not even excepting those of the Kolchak Government.

'LENIN IS BRAINY MAN,' GETS EX-SERVICE MAN JAIL TERM

Remark Made During Conversation Causes Arrest and Conviction—Appeal Sought.

WATERBURY, Conn.—Radicals here are greatly incensed at the arrest of Joseph Yenowsky and his subsequent conviction and sentence to six months' imprisonment in jail under the new Connecticut sedition law.

Yenowsky, who is an ex-service man, was at work when an investment salesman entered the shop where he was employed and tried to sell him some securities, explaining that they were better than liberty bonds.

Yenowsky told the salesman that he was not in a position to make any further investments, since he had already bought a number of liberty bonds.

In the course of a conversation Yenowsky picked up a magazine with a picture of Lenin on the cover and remarked: "Lenin is a brainy man." The salesman became angry and asked Yenowsky for his name, which he refused to give.

The salesman then went out and soon returned with a detective, who took Yenowsky to the police station.

The salesman was the only witness against Yenowsky at the trial. He testified that the prisoner had

said that "Lenin was the most brainiest man in the world."

The prosecuting attorney coached the witness by means of leading questions to state that prisoner always used correct English. Yenowsky's bail, which had been fixed at \$1,000, has been raised and an appeal will be taken in his behalf.

It has been decided that a test case will be made to determine whether the Connecticut sedition law is constitutional.

Palmer's Advise Asked on Proper Way to Wipe Nose

A man signing himself, J. R. Copenhaver, 1641 Derry street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, sent the following telegram to Attorney General Palmer, it was announced here:

"I see by the New York papers that a man was suspected by department agents while sitting in a park because he was seen peculiarly scratching his face. Please wire legal and proper method of wiping nose so as not to become suspicious."

DEFECTIVE PAGE

harsh and brutal. Larkin's strong, kind face was thrown into relief against the thin, cruel, faces of prison officials, or the fat, bloated faces of the marshals. He appeared as a Gulliver surrounded by Lilliputians. He seemed to personify the working class.

"Always Take Pedigrees."

"Why do they take his pedigree?" asked the Call reporter of a marshal. "Why?" replied the marshal scornfully. "Why, because if he gets sick and dies, don't they have to tell someone? They always take pedigrees."

Larkin was led away by the Lilliputians, and the Call reporter stood observing a great gate of steel and the huge lock on it.

Then, turning, on the hill outside she saw the columns of a church devoted to the service of Christ. It faced the long, gray prison with steel bars stretched across the face or each window. It looked down over the stone prison walls where swarms of little men were pounding piles of stone.

Detectives Swarm Courthouse—The imprisonment of the Irish labor leader was the climax of a number of ugly scenes in the courtroom and in the courthouse in the morning, preceding Larkin's sentence.

The corridors of the courthouse were filled with huge, burly detectives and plainclothes men who stood in line and talked with the men and women waiting for the courtroom doors to open. Dozens of them stood in groups or shoved about through the crowd, guns showing through their coats.

One of them, noticeable for his bulk and for the brutality of his face, received information from his men and gave orders in a low, violent voice. Standing in a group of four, he gave the following orders, all of which were distinctly heard by a Call reporter:

"Watch that guy standing over there with a derby."

"D'ya see that guy—d—standing there with a cigar in his mouth and a smile—be ready for him!"

"And the little guy there with a green hat on—"

Detectives Quiz Nunan.

Two huge detectives made for "the little guy with the green hat." "You," the speaker bawled at him, "did you say you don't care for this country?"

"Are you an American citizen?" bawled the other.

The "little guy with the green hat" happened to be Peter Nunan, an Irishman, vice-president of the New York Gaelic League. He stood with his hands in his pockets watching as they came at him.

"I am a citizen of the Irish republic," he replied, whereupon one of the detectives pushed him in the chest, and both of them grabbed him by the shoulders and forcibly ejected him from the courthouse.

Every Man oreibly Searched.

Every man who entered the courtroom was forcibly searched by the detectives, and the names and addresses of both men and women were taken. In the courtroom itself, the detectives placed themselves in dramatic, strategic positions, apparently ready to shoot at any person who blinked an eyelash.

Despite all precautions, and despite the fact that the atmosphere was vibrant with "law and order" violence, Gertrude Nafe, an American woman and a teacher, living at 164 Waverly place, arose when Jim Larkin was brought into the courtroom, and remained standing until he was taken away. An officer led her before Judge Weeks, who angrily asked her the meaning of her action.

"Did you hear my order?" he asked.

"I did," replied Miss Nafe. "The order of the court stated 'speaking.' I did not speak. For the sake of the defendant I said nothing, but I arose to show my respect for the man whom I respect more than any other person in America. Just as one is forced to rise because of the position of the judge when he enters the courtroom, so did I rise, out of respect for James Larkin's record."

Miss Nafe Ordered Ejected.

The only reply of the judge was to order that Miss Nafe be immediately ejected from the courtroom.

No other person was brought before the court, although several arose when Larkin was led from the room to shake hands with them. The detectives were on their feet immediately.

A number of women left the courtroom sobbing, while men with angry faces arose immediately and left.

Aside from these occurrences, the display of violence, the "demonstra-

tion" so widely heralded by the police, failed to materialize. Defense Motions Denied.

The motions made by Walter Nelles, attorney for Larkin, and immediately and quickly denied by the judge, included the following:

1. That the verdict be set aside on the grounds that it is contrary to law, against the evidence, and the weight of evidence, and on each and every exception taken by the defendant in the course of the proceedings.

2. A motion for arrest of judgment on the grounds that the facts stated in the indictment do not constitute a crime, that the defendant was denied trial by jury as guaranteed to him by the Constitution, that in arrest he was denied the due process of law guaranteed by the constitution of this state and by the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

3. A motion that the action of the court in taking the names and addresses of every person who entered the courtroom be made a part of the record.

On his way to Sing Sing, Larkin sent a message to friendship and courage to his friends and comrades. Larkin Reiterates His Stand.

"I have the same opinion as I expressed in court throughout the trial," he said. "I have always held those opinions and I will always hold them. There is no danger of my changing them."

"I know that Socialism is the only hope for the working class. The salvation of the workers will come through the One Big Union. I believe it to be of great importance that Debs be released as soon as possible, and that our comrades should work for this end."

Irish Situation Discussed. "To me the most interesting feature of conditions over here right now is this new movement among the labor forces of America to demand that the British labor movement compel the evacuation of Ireland by British troops."

"The hope for the freedom of Ireland right now lies in the exertion of the working-class movement of Great Britain. We, in America, must insist upon, and force the British labor movement to live up to its professed principles and statements, and compel the British troops to evacuate Ireland. If this means a general strike in England, then they must call a general strike."

"I congratulate the British government on its astuteness and cleverness in getting the American authorities to keep me outside its realm. I also thank Assistant District Attorney Rorke and the British authorities for having found me a new birthplace, a new father and a new mother!"

Sends Greetings to Comrades.

"As for the two convictions in Ireland of which I was accused, and evidence of which the British government kindly supplied Rorke, and of which I myself spoke, they were true in so far as I stated them to be true, but not as Rorke and the court tried to make them appear. The charge of larceny was but the outcome of the class struggle, and is one of the many methods used by the authorities and the British government to destroy the movement."

"As for the conviction for sedition against the British government, that is a conviction for which no rebel need be ashamed."

"I send my greetings to all my comrades at home in Ireland. I am just as sure of their loyalty now as I ever was. I know they will prove true to the principles for which they are working. They know that the only real struggle is the labor struggle."

Urges Socialist Unity Here.

"I also send my greetings to the militant section of the British labor movement. And to my comrades in America I send greetings and appreciation for what they have done for me. I hope for unity in the Socialist movement here, but unity must be based on the foundation of real class consciousness. Our slogan must be now as ever, 'No compromise, no political trading.'"

Stands by Principles.

"Tell my comrades that I am with them in soul and body and that I know they will keep up the struggle. I joined the Socialist movement at the age of nine, and now, 33 years later, I know that it is still the only hope of the people of the world."

"My life has been lived in accordance with its principles, and all my thought and energy has been directed in that direction. I will never depart from that principle in thought or action. I cannot; it is of me, and I am a part of it."

Walter Nelles, attorney for Larkin, said yesterday that he intended to file papers for an appeal of the case to the Appellate Court and, failing there, would go to the United States Supreme Court. In the meantime, Larkin is denied bail and is forced to start his sentence of hard labor at Sing Sing.

LARKIN PUT TO HARD LABOR ON COAL PILE IN SING SING PRISON

Irish Labor Leader Starts Serving Sentence After Several Days in Quarantine.

James Larkin, Irish labor leader, sentenced here to hard labor for from five to ten years in Sing Sing prison for "criminal anarchy," has been put to hard labor on the coal pile in the prison yard.

Larkin was first kept in quarantine for a few days, "until he had learned the prison rules," after which he was placed at work, beginning to serve his long sentence.

Larkin, along with Benjamin Gitlow and Harry Winitzky, both of whom are serving ten year prison terms in Sing Sing for the same "crime," is appealing from the decision in his case, but, in the meantime, is refused bail and is forced to start his prison term.

Larkin and Gitlow are members of the Communist Labor party, which organization they helped found, and which has been declared legal by Secretary of Labor Wilson.

Irish Workers Denounce Larkin's Conviction as "Savage" in Cable

"Executive committee Irish Transport Workers' Union learn with horror of savage sentence on their general secretary. Re-elected annually in absence since refusal of British government to allow his return to Ireland. Committee and union members retain full confidence. Simon Punch's charge larceny frame-up. Jury of employers found Larkin guilty of legal quibble. Public satisfied entirely innocent of charge. Mailing you history of case."

Simon Punch, referred to in the cablegram, was a member of the National Union of Dock Laborers of Liverpool, who brought a charge of petty larceny against Larkin when Larkin transferred the Cork dock laborers into the Irish Transport Workers' Union, severing all connections with the English workers. Punch charged that Larkin transferred his union fee of 1 shilling 3 pence (30 cents) into the Irish union without his authority, and was thereby guilty of larceny.

ENGLAND STEALS MARCH ON U. S. IN GERMAN TRADING

Exports Great Quantities of Materials for Manufactured Goods.

PARIS—That Great Britain has stolen a wide march on the United States and France in the resumption of business relations with Germany is the opinion expressed by French merchants who have tried to buy goods across the Rhine.

In a great majority of cases, the merchants report, the German manufacturer replies to inquiry that his plant will be tied up for a long time by contracts with British customers.

EXPECT NO PAYMENT.

An investigation based on these reports is said to have shown that the British are exporting great quantities of raw material to Germany, for which they are asking no payment in money, but are taking manufactured articles in exchange.

Germany now is getting her iron ore largely from Sweden under similar arrangement, making her all most entirely independent of France for raw materials.

Great Britain is on the eve of negotiations with Soviet Russia, a Moscow wireless message Friday asserts.

LOOKS FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

Earl Curzon, British foreign secretary, the message says, has forwarded to M. Tchitcherine, Soviet commissary for foreign affairs, a declaration in which direct conversations with Gen. Wrangel, commander of the remnant of the Russian volunteer army, are proposed.

These conversations, it is said, are desired by Great Britain that definite negotiations may be begun concerning the cessation of the Bolshevik advance into the Crimea, and British officers would participate in the negotiations.

DYING FOR YOU

The Butte fellow-workers are fighting the grim battle of Labor. Their path is soaked with their blood and today many of them are gasping out their last breath in the hospitals of Butte. Come to the

Bricklayers Hall, Saturday Eve., May 15th

and hear the story told by

W. F. DUNN, Editor Butte Daily Bulletin

There will also be a speech by

JACK CARNEY, Editor of "Truth"

Who will speak on the:—

"The I. W. W. Convention and the C. L. P. Trial"

Come Early to Secure a Seat!

Doors Open at 7:30 P. M.

Everybody Welcome!

SECRETLY SOLD U. S. MUNITIONS FOR WORTHLESS BONDS, CHARGE

Secretary Alleged to Have Made Pact With Foreign Authorities.

"PEOPLE DIDN'T CONSENT"

LONDON—Kieff has been captured by the Poles, an official Soviet wireless communique from Moscow Saturday said. "We requested the enemy to the north of Roznovskaya and west of Moghilev," Friday's Bolshevik communique on the Polish offensive in Podolia and Volhynia said.

By PAUL HANNA.

WASHINGTON—Poland's war of conquest against the Russian Soviet republic is being financed very largely by the American people. The American people do not know it; but under the present administration they are not expected to know where their money goes, or for what purpose.

Of all the cynical statesmen of Western Europe there is not one who has dared publicly to defend or excuse the present war being waged by Poland. The supreme council of the entente notified Poland two months ago that it would not be responsible for the consequences if Poland should refuse to make peace with Russia, an enormous tract of whose territory was already held by Polish troops.

USE AMERICAN ARMS.

But, encouraged by French intrigue and armed with a huge equipment of American materials, Poland has flouted the supreme council and driven straight ahead in a bloody effort to occupy Kiev and wrest the entire Ukraine from Russia. Without these American supplies, forwarded to Poland by Secretary Baker without the knowledge or consent of the American people, the present slaughter of tens of thousands of Slav peasants would have been impossible.

Your correspondent recently inquired of the war department as to the terms upon which Poland was making large purchases of surplus American war materials, including locomotives. Previously the department has flatly denied that the government was helping to equip any armies anywhere abroad. In response to the second inquiry about the terms of alleged purchases by Poland the following quaint explanation was received.

"ACCEPTED POLISH BONDS"

By special agreement between the Polish authorities and Secretary Baker, the war department has agreed to accept 5 per cent Polish bonds in payment for an unlimited quantity of supplies previously purchased by Baker with the income from Liberty bonds and no longer needed by the department.

The sales are frequently made in what Baker is pleased to call "open competition" with other bidders. But other bidders are not allowed to "pay" for their purchases with any such worthless printing press securities as Polish bonds. There is no limit to the number of such bonds that Poland can put up, and no limit to the number that Secretary Baker will accept under the terms of his private agreement with Warsaw.

Incidentally, before he started to donate American machinery and munitions to the Poles, Secretary Baker had, by his own confession to a committee of congress "sold" millions of dollars worth of war supplies to the now extinct Kolchak regime of Siberia. Baker explained that he did not sell to Kolchak, but to M. Ughet, financial attache of the old Russia embassy here. "And to whom will you look for payment?" one congressman asked. "Indirectly, to the Kolchak government," answered Baker.

BONDS ARE WORTHLESS.

The Kolchak regime having perished without a cent in its pocket, Baker has for months past been shipping war supplies to Poland, in exchange for bonds that are not worth a dollar a thousand on any stock exchange in the world. This grotesque and tragic situation is well understood in Europe. The London Nation of April 10 prints the following comment on that affair:

"The most anxious feature of this Russo-Polish business is that Poland has suddenly found a backer in the United States, Congress has authorized the Polish government to 'purchase' American army stores, apparently to an unlimited amount, on six years' credit, and already free transport has been provided to carry locomotives, trucks, uniforms and food to Danzig."

"Thus America, which will do nothing to help the peaceful part of Europe in its economic trials, decides to back Poland in a Russian war much as we backed Denikine, Polish propaganda has evidently made the most of the ingenuous material of American public opinion. And yet the Polish 'peace' terms are by far the most predatory in the recent records of Europe. They claim the old frontiers of the Imperial Poland of 1773, though even now much of this country is still under Moscow."

OPPOSED U. S. AID.

Before a congressional committee acting last winter upon President Wilson's request for a \$50,000,000 loan to Poland and Czechoslovakia, Gen. Bliss, member of the peace commission, declared that Poland was engaged in an inexcusable military adventure against Russia which America should not assist.

It is now shown that at the very time the president was rebuking France for having become a militarist nation since the armistice, his secretary of war was loading fleets of cargo vessels with munitions, clothing and food to make possible the French-inspired Polish war to conquer Russian soil and populations. Congress is not expected to raise a protest until the Polish bubble bursts as the Kolchak one did, and everybody sees that the whole business is both a disgrace and a total loss to the people.

New Manner of Defense

We have had the "silent" defense of Sacramento, the "class" defense of Larkin and Dolson. But four members of the I. W. W. spring a new one on us, the "absent" defense. They escaped from jail.

PALMER'S MAY 1 'WARNING' CALLED FIGHT ON LABOR

Chairman of railroad Board Fails to Suppress Healy's Condemnation of Official's Propaganda.

GAG LAWS ASSAILED

Murder Yarns Termed Part of Crusade to Inflame People Against Workers' Demands.

WASHINGTON, May 6.—Bitter denunciation of "a high official of the government," who joined with other enemies of American labor to discredit labor through wild stories of May Day murder plots, was voiced today before the Railroad Labor Board by Timothy Healy, president of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers, and staunch conservative in all conventions of the A. F. of L.

Chairman Barton tried to suppress this reply to Attorney General Palmer by the labor official, but Healy refused to be silenced.

"I am here under instructions from my organization to lay this vital matter before you," said Healy. "It is essential to your understanding of the intense resentment of the underpaid men in railroad service at the present and recent treatment accorded them by public officials."

Wage Termed Insufficient.

He had shown that the railroad men belonging to his organization were paid for below the scale granted the same class of labor in manufacturing and other private plants, and that 32 to 43 cents an hour paid to labor in shops and stations is insufficient to maintain the families of the workers.

"There is a deadline in wages below which we cannot go with safety to our republican institutions," Healy asserted, "and railroad wages are below that deadline."

He recited the story of the loyalty shown throughout the war by the entire American labor movement, and especially the sacrifices made by the railroad employees in the lower grades.

"It was not 24 hours after the armistice before a most despicable propaganda against labor began," he resumed. "It was accused of being responsible for the high cost of living. The object of this was to poison the minds of the people so that profiteers could still further increase prices. If men receiving \$3 a day asked for \$4, they were accused of being Bolsheviks, I. W. W. and anarchists."

"High Official" Denounced.

"In fact, even a high official of the government has been used the more thoroughly to deceive the people into believing that because a man works for wages he is an enemy of our government."

"The crusade of this high official is undoubtedly for the purpose of aiding in the campaign of certain employers of the country to secure laws establishing involuntary servitude. Sedition laws were suggested that would tie labor hand and foot."

"While ostensibly these laws were proposed to eradicate Bolshevism, I. W. W.ism and anarchy,

the real purpose was to prevent the normal activities of labor. All of these sedition bills, both Federal and state have had their purpose cunningly hidden in the mass of verbiage attacking those who would overthrow the government.

"Plot" Yarns Assailed.

"The most flagrant instance of this despicable crusade to inflame the people of this country against the wage workers was the information given out that May 1 was to be used by these overthrowers of the government in murdering certain high officials. But the plans of the intriguers who sought to add further stings to labor went wrong. May Day passed off as peacefully as any other day in the year. But the newspaper editors fell for the propaganda sent out, of great strikes and the slaying of public men on May Day."

Healy sketched the history of May Day, both as a day for the beginning of new industrial contracts in this country and as a Socialist holiday here and abroad. He said that the editors had refused to take note that labor had ceased to make May 1 a time for new contracts or for calling strikes.

After telling of the calling of newspaper correspondents here into conference by the "high official," and the warning of a day of slaughter on May 1, Healy pictured the peaceful day that actually came and the decision by some of the editors afterward that they would laugh at "the government officials who had endeavored to create a fear in the minds of the people that America was filled with disloyal men."

In turn, the government officials, meaning Palmer and his aides, decided to save forces by claiming they had saved the nation from a carnival of murder by the radicals.

"The fact is," said Healy, while the board chuckled, "nothing was prevented, as nothing was contemplated."

He stoutly defended the "foreigner," whom Palmer has accused to leading American labor into the paths of violent revolution, as a man anxious only to support himself and his dependents in a civilized way—by the wages of his own toil. The corporations invited him here to furnish low priced labor. Now, when they demand a living wage, "they are slandered as dangerous Reds."

"And they are good Americans," Healy commented, "notwithstanding the malicious falsehoods circulated against them."

"No greater lie was ever uttered," he maintained in closing, "than that the men who quit their employment on the railroads were seeking to overthrow the government. That has for its purpose the placing in the hearts of the workers the fear that if they ask wages enough to keep their families in health and comfort they will become rebels against the government. This is one of the purposes of all this propaganda of 'plots' against the government."

TWO YEARS!

(Boris Souvarine).

(Translated by Miss N. Capaldi)

Historic events have chosen the Russian people to be the leaders in the march to Socialism. The new Russia rises from the ruins of the old even whilst the country is suffering in every way. In two years Socialist Russia has ensured her existence in fighting the united forces of reaction, which are fighting to regain lost privileges. She has equipped an army of more than a million men, fighting on a front of more than seven thousand kilometers. She has manufactured materials necessary to modern warfare, and organized special departments on the basis of the best technical knowledge. The Bolsheviks have accomplished what they have, in spite of coming into power when the country was in chaos, and in face of active opposition to their efforts. In dire need of materials from abroad, Russia undertook the Socialisation of the means of wealth and the introduction of a new mode of distribution. She has laid the basis of a new society. And this is Bolshevism! the sublime effort of Socialists who desire Socialism above all else.

VAST FOOD SUPPLIES

WHAT RUSSIA HAS READY

VIENNA, April 2.—Upon the cessation of the blockade, Russia is prepared to export 10,000,000 tons of grain, 6,000,000 of which are in the Ukraine; 100,000,000 lb. of butter; 480,000,000 lb. of meat; and 3,000,000,000 eggs. In exchange, Russia seeks shoes, clothes, agricultural implements, and, above all, locomotives.

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PALMER ALARMS BRANDED PLOT TO CRUSH LABOR

Official's Action Called "Most
Flagrant Instance of Most
Despicable Crusade"

WASHINGTON—Atty. Gen. Palmer's warning of "May day violence" and "steps taken to prevent it" were assailed before the railroad labor board by Timothy Healy, president, Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and Oilers, as a part of what he characterized "a despicable propaganda against labor."

Such propaganda, Healy said, was started within less than 24 hours after the signing of the armistice, and was designed "to poison the minds of the people to such an extent that the profiteers could still further increase prices and place the blame on labor."

CRUSADE ON LABOR

Healy told the board the crusade of a "high government official" against radicals was "undoubtedly for the purpose of aiding in the campaign of certain employers of the country to secure laws establishing involuntary servitude."

The attorney general's warning of "May day violence and murder" of federal and state officials was characterized as "the most flagrant instance of this most despicable crusade."

Healy concluded that if "government officials and congress had given as much attention to limiting the profits of profiteers as they did to pounding and hounding wage earners, the cost of living would have decreased to within reason."

MAY 1 IS CHOSEN.

Healy said May day had been selected as a day for imaginary terrible things to happen because contracts of some unions customarily expired April 30.

"There is one peculiar thing about a newspaper editor," Healy said. "He believes everything he reads in everybody else's paper and he never changes his mind with the changes in the procedure of the labor movement."

"This made them fall for the propaganda sent out of great strikes and slaying of high officials and public men last May 1," he continued. "Washington representatives of all the newspapers in the United States were called into a conference and told of the great dangers to the American government."

DAY IS PEACEFUL.

"May day was to be a day of slaughter, a red letter day in the annals of 'government overthrowers'. But May day came and passed. It was as peaceful a day as any other in the year. Outside of news, paper columns and the minds of certain government officials all was contentment."

"This was a vital blow to the instigators of the conspiracy to place a more vicious stigma on organized labor than any yet used."

Rockford Communists Found Not Guilty

Free Speech and Free Thought
Theme of Final Address.

BULLETIN.

ROCKFORD, April 24th. — At 3:30 pm. State's Attorney Johnson finished his final argument to the jury. The court took a five minutes' recess, after which Judge R. K. Welsh read his directions to the jury. The case was expected to be in the hands of the jury at 4 o'clock.

In an eloquent speech to the jury in the Arthur Person trial this morning, Clarence Darrow reviewed the case for the defense. The chief of counsel for the defense made a masterful effort. He addressed the jury for two and one-half hours and during that time there were periods

of tenseness when the jury and the spectators who crowded the court room were held spellbound by the brilliant climaxes of the orator.

The subject with which Mr. Darrow had to deal was one closest to his heart, evidently, the common brotherhood of man. Around that theory he wove the evidence produced during the trial and expounded the gospel of free thinking and free speech. With his client, a worker as a text, Mr. Darrow preached a sermon which will not be soon forgotten by those who heard him. It seemed to make a deep impression upon the minds of the twelve men who sat in the jury box.

Used Simple Words.

In his address to the jury closing the case for the defense, Mr. Darrow employed the simplest language to convey his message. He did not talk at the members of the jury—brought to them. At times during his address he spoke slowly, almost haltingly, but with distinctness and force.

Mr. Darrow showed a earnestness which left no doubt of his real inspiration. At times, when referring to the machinery of the law which brought about the arrest and indictment of Person, the inborn humor of the man bubbled forth. Frequently he employed the agency of biting sarcasm and the milder use of ridicule.

Speaks Nearly 3 Hours.

Mr. Darrow began speaking a few minutes after court convened this morning at 9:30. He concluded his plea to the jury for the acquittal of Person at a few minutes past twelve. In his final climax the courtroom was deathly still. When he had finished, the audience, as if hypnotized, was loth to leave the room.

When court convened this morning Judge Welsh warned against any demonstrations during the speech of the chief of counsel for the defense. He informed the crowded courtroom that in the event there was any demonstration the room would be immediately cleared.

Darrow's Speech.

"I suppose, by this time," said Mr. Darrow in his opening remarks to the jury, "that each of you knows something about this case. If after hearing the evidence as you have, you have solved this problem you have done more than the state's attorney has done. The first thing you must consider is the reason why you are being called upon to take away the liberty of Arthur Person and send him to the penitentiary."

"When I heard Assistant State's Attorney Large's speech yesterday, I felt sure that he did not know why this defendant is on trial. In his address to you he tried to stir up prejudices in your minds. Mr. Large seems to be engaged in the common occupation of seeing red. Judging from his address to you this defendant is guilty of a crime merely because the platform of the party he belongs to happened to be printed upon red paper."

Is No Offense.

"Thus far, we have no law which makes the printing of a document on red paper a crime. I do not know what we are coming to in this country, for no one can safely predict, but just yet that is no crime. We have red in the flag of our country and I fancy that I have more concern in the flag of our country and what it stands for than does the state's attorney, for I am here to defend a man whose liberties the state's attorney would take away."

"I want the flag of this country and red in it to stand for what it means—a constitutional form of government; that form of government which guarantees to every man the right of free speech. The red in our flag represents common blood of the people who compose the republic. It represents the common brotherhood of man, no matter here he may have been born. I am opposed to changing the color of red in the flag until there is no longer in the country a red-blooded American to stand up for the rights

of man under the guarantees of the constitution.

What Are the Issues?

"What is this man on trial for anyway? Could anyone tell from the statements made by the state's attorney? I think not. The state's attorney assigned meanings to words in the Communist labor party platform which were incorrect. The means of words in that platform as construed by the state would make Noah Webster, the maker of the dictionary, turn over in his grave!"

"These definitions of the assistant state's attorney would be silly and humorous if it were not for the fact that an effort is being made thereby to take away the liberty of a citizen of this country. But I have faith in the American jury. It is the one institution in this country which stands between the desire of some to willfully take away the liberties of others. World civilization may collapse and it may not, but there is one thing certain and that is that you can never save civilization by such prosecutions as this. Civilization can never be saved by the jailor and the hangman."

Discontent in Country.

"There is discontent in this country. Discontent is not possible anywhere without a cause. It was the discontent, the desire to better his condition, which made the defendant join the party he did. It was that yearning for something better that brought it about. We may say he was foolish and he might be but that he had the right to dream, or that he had the right to join the Communist labor party, cannot be gainsaid."

"That organization, in spite of the statements of the state, is not outlawed. There is no evidence here that it is. What is more there is no evidence that the defendant ever undertook to aid in the overthrowing of the United States or any other government by force and violence. The law under which he was indicted accuses him of that. During the progress of this trial there has not been a shred of evidence produced by the state to prove that one all import at charge in this case."

Collapse of Civilization.

"Men who are trying to send other men to jail because of their opinions are doing all that can be done to bring about a collapse of our boasted civilization. It is my duty as a man to save those who are trying to do this from themselves."

"The word 'overthrow' in the platform of the Communist party is not a dangerous word. Overthrow means to change, to throw over an existing condition for something new. Change means progress if in the right direction and change cannot come without overthrowing an existing order."

"We may not indorse Person's political creed, but unless we stand for the freedom of speech and the press we are very poor American citizens in the light, at least, of the ancient meaning of that expression. Every man has a right to his opinions and if we want to be good citizens we should be willing to accord others the same right we hold dear for ourselves."

What We Can Learn.

"Mr. Large speaks lightly of Moscow. It was there that the Third International was promulgated. I do not speak lightly of foreign countries or foreign towns. I am open to get all of the information from whatever sources I can. In a foreign town, in Bethlehem, there was born a man who preached a creed which is now accepted by the entire Christian world. Although martyred for his beliefs, he and his works have lived on when those who persecuted were long since been forgotten."

"We talk about overthrowing things. We talk of the Russian

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revolution. I am glad that it took place. I am glad the czar was overthrown. Russia is now struggling for the light. Every time I think of her prison pens and her bare footed people walking through the snow of Siberia on their way to a felon camp, I rejoice that the czar in Russia and his government of persecution of the people because they dared to think, has been overthrown.

Opposed to Interference.

"I will go farther, I would never send an American boy to fight against the Russians who are trying to govern themselves. I am sorry for the Russians! I am sorry for every human being who suffers because of being denied their inherent right of free speech and a free press."

Here is the charter of the Communist labor party. There is a picture of a man dressed in overalls upon it. If the government keeps on in its course of prosecuting the Communists and leaves the profiteers in this country alone, we will soon all be wearing overalls—or something less. The capitalists of the country want to control things and of course they object to any organization which has the picture of a man in overalls on its charter.

Those who have testified in this case told the jury they knew Arthur Person for years and that he has led a blameless life. He came from Sweden to Rockford, his muscle and brain has been employed in this city to weave the fortunes of others and now you want to send him to jail. Unless your hearts have been duplicated with stones you will not send this man who has done no crime to the penitentiary.

"We are always believers in faith. We follow those whom we think are wiser than we. Person followed his family physician into the Communist Labor party. Person knew Dr. Olaf Olson and believed in him. I will not condemn Olson."

"When it was found that Person was one of those belonging to this party, four sleuths in the night went to his home and arrested him. The approach of that party upon the Person home was suggestive of the 'Charge of the Light Brigade.' They came upon him in the night and carted him off to the state's attorneys office where he made a frank, simple and honest statement. That statement which was introduced by the state is the best evidence in the world of Person's innocence."

"There is nothing in this case against Person except the Communist platform. That platform is not illegal and those who made it and life nothing? These are the questions you must decide as jurors."

Jury returned with a verdict of "Not Guilty."

REBUILDING RUSSIA

TRADE UNIONS' NEW DUTY

The Third All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions opened on April 6 in the House of the Unions in Moscow. Over 1,500 delegates arrived for the Congress, which was opened by Tomsky on behalf of the Central Committee of Trade Unions. The speaker pointed out that after the brilliant victories on the external and internal fronts, attention must be paid to the problems standing before the Russian proletariat, viz., the restoration of the economic system.

Bukharin addressed the Congress on behalf of the Bolshevik Party, stating that the trade unions were the fundamental force by which economic problems would be successfully solved. He further stated that Russia was now entering upon the most critical stage of the social revolution. "So that the working classes may improve their condition," said Bukharin, "it is first of all necessary to solve the problem of transport and production."

RUSSIA'S LABOUR EFFORT

Moscow wireless reports that during March over 44,000 workers took part in the voluntary Saturday working. Of these, over 11,000 were Communists and nearly 22,000 Non-Party. 1,172 wagons were unloaded, and 196 were loaded. Forty-four locomotives were repaired, and over 5,760,000 pounds of goods were moved. 245,000 feet of wood were cut.—Wireless Press.

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The Decay of Parliamentarism.

(Special to "Truth")

With the exception of a few groups numerically weak, the labor movement in the United States abased itself before the shrine of Mars when this nation, guided by its all-wise rulers, decided to enter the conflict that was convulsing the world.

The Socialist party of America—never too clear on questions of tactics, ruled largely by liberal professional men who had found no niche in the old parties in which they could fit in, divided on the issue of supporting the rulers in the prosecution of the war that was declared to be waged for the purpose of protecting the western democracies from the onslaughts of the Junker autocracy in order that these budding democracies might be allowed to blossom forth in a glory that had yet been attained. It can be said that the St. Louis platform of the Socialist party was the expression of the attitude of a minority of the convention despite the fact of its adoption; as the Social Democrats of Germany had done, the Socialists of America had always denounced war as something in which the workingclass had no interest except to see that they were not sacrificed to the greed of their rulers. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that war had been denounced by the Socialist party of this country with more vehemence that capitalism itself and in this lies perhaps the reason for the miserable failure of political socialism to stem the tide of primitive savagery that engulfed this nation. It is enough to say that beyond the passage of the resolutions denouncing war nothing much was done although this alone was enough to get numbers of the party members and party officials indicted under the Espionage Act.

The conviction of Eugene V. Debs and his subsequent sentence of ten years were the result of his personal utterances, and not the result of the action of the party yet as well-known and loved as is Debs, as well-known as are other party members convicted and sentenced, there has not yet been any strong or wide-spread protest against the actions of officialdom.

The trade-union movement, the A. F. of L., was taken into the maelstrom of war by its leaders. It was placed at the disposal of the reigning autocracy to do with as they willed. The trade-union officials become the most active war-propagandists of all the groups employed by a trembling and fearful bureaucracy to popularise a war for which they had been elected for keeping us out of.

The union membership was tied hand and foot with agreements in whose making they had no voice; the profits of the employers were fabulous but the increased wages of the workers were more than discredited by rising prices. Strikes were outlawed, Espionage systems managed and directed from the headquarters of the international motives of trade union and governmental officialdom. Whenever a particularly slimy piece of work had to be done, a "labor-leader" was generally selected for the task. The officialdom of trade-unionism became a part of the administration, interested in preserving that administration and popularising its policies no matter how subversive they became.

With minds poisoned and spirits cowed, the rank and file of the unions joined in the clamor against the "radicals", joined in the hunt for those who declared the war what is has since been shown to be a sordid and selfish struggle for power between rival imperialistic groups.

It is doubtful if in any country in modern times, a ruling class ever had a workingclass so willing to carry out its fell designs as did the rulers of this nation after a few months of intensive propaganda and the suppression of dissenting opinion.

Less affected by the war than the workingclass of any other nation involved, the workers of America surrendered more of their liberties and privileges in a shorter space of time and for no good purpose than did the workers of any other nation. They placed themselves absolutely at the mercy of the exploiters and their tools, they allowed men and women who had given their entire existence freely to the workingclass movement to be penned up and tortured without protest and at times with approval. The ferocity of the rulingclass was faithfully reflected in the actions of the working class. "War was the business of the nation," it was a righteous war and only the unrighteous said otherwise. So reasoned the masses.

What does it mean when a pacifist workingclass can be changed in a few short months into willing cannon-fodder? Does it not mean that something has been lacking either in the quality or the quantity of the education it has acquired? Does it not mean that the workers have not taken seriously the doctrines of socialism or that they have failed to apply them to the matters of their daily experience?

It would seem so. It would seem that the comparative ease with which the workers of the United States were persuaded to betray their own interests proves the weakness of the methods used to wean them from the dogmas of the rulingclass.

With the results so clearly demonstrated of a program of parliamentary action that tells the workers by voting right on one day of the year they can free themselves from wage-slavery and wars and other evils of capitalism, it is only necessary to prove the case against parliamentary action by citing a group of workers whose philosophy did not fail them during the trying war-period. There is one group of whom this can be said—the Industrial Workers of the World. They did not oppose the war any more than they opposed the capitalist system. They looked upon the war as merely an inevitable outcome of the existing economic system and treated it as such. They wasted no time in passing resolutions of protest but continued to conduct their usual campaign of organization and education.

Met with the cruelest persecution to which any group of workers was subjected during the war and post-war period, the Industrial Workers of the World are stronger numerically and otherwise than ever before. The organization has had to meet only the assaults of the retainers of capitalism and has not been weakened by the desertion and attacks of humanitarians and politicians as was the Socialist organization. Preaching the necessity of organi-

sation at the point of production as industrial units, the Industrial Workers of the World, in spite of some vagaries concerning the construction and function of the capitalist state that are rapidly being erased, find themselves in line and keeping step with the social revolutionary movements of all the world.

Is any further argument and evidence needed to show that parliamentary socialism in the United States has never understood the labor movement and that it has never been understood by the labor movement?

Is any further evidence needed, after we have seen the bitter disappointment of the workers by the parliamentarians of this and other nations, to prove that socialism or communism—its recently resurrected title—is and must be based upon the organization of the workers in industry in order to receive the strength that only the masses can give to any movement for social progress?

Parliamentarians and pure and simple craft-unionists are similar types operating on the political and industrial field respectively.

To-day, both are serving the purposes of the finance-capitalists and obstructing the work of education among the masses. They are themselves victims of a system of political and industrial organization that is obsolete and useless and whose only result so far has been to elevate certain former members of the workingclass to positions where they become active aids to the rulers in their efforts of stem the tide of the rising movement for full and complete workingclass control of industry and its corollary-government.

Peaceful penetration of capitalist parliaments will not be allowed; it is not being allowed to-day and if it were it could accomplish nothing but mild reforms.

Capitalism can get along very well without workers in the legislative assemblies but it must have them in the workshop. It is there that the workers can always be found, it is there must be organized and it is from that fulcrum that they can exert the greatest pressure on the capitalist system.

W. F. DUNN,
Editor Butte Daily Bulletin

DICTATORSHIP.

The spectre haunting the capitalist class today is Proletarian Dictatorship. The menace is confronting them in all parts of the world. The late war has brought about conditions that are beyond their powers to control—not that they as a class ever controlled the system, but have ever been the puppets of the "gigantic means of production and of exchange." Compelled by this evolutionary process they, during the course of development, have been revolutionary as a class, forced by the nature of the productive forces to perfect machine production and to extend their markets to dispose of the ever increasing amounts of commodities. Economic forces have compelled them as individuals to combine their interests in companies, corporations, and trusts to eliminate competition and control those forces. Yet all their efforts have been abject failures, as evidenced by the periodical industrial crisis during the nineteenth century and right down the beginning of the great war, when we were due to have one that threatened to be greater than any preceding crisis, the fear of it being one of the factors that hastened the outbreak of hostilities.

Whilst the capitalist class have never controlled the gigantic forces let loose by the modern form of production, they as a class, a minority with political power and legal ownership of the land and tools of production, are dictators, their ownership giving them the power to say who shall or shall not use the land and the tools necessary to the production of the essentials of life—a dictatorship that places the masses dependent upon the whim of a minority for the right to work, in order to exist, on the land, and for the right to use the productive tools. "The man that owns the job owns the man" is a truism that makes of the working class slaves but a step removed from chattel slavery.

The Capitalistic Dictatorship has received its moral sanction by the imposition of an ethic that has distorted the psychology of the working class, obscuring their mental vision to the robbery at the root of our profit-mongering system. This distortion from platform, pulpit and Press is insidious in its methods, platitudes, and jingling phrases about the beauties of modern civilisation, its liberty, brotherly love, humanitarianism; and, since the war the dope of mutual interests, the new social consciousness, and other high-falutin claptrap of intellectual hirelings and Labour prostitutes is sown broadcast by the vehicles in control of the possessing class, and is swallowed holus-bolus by the unthinking masses, and repeated parrot-like by them as parols of wisdom.

This dictatorship has had its foundations rudely shaken. The aftermath of war has cleared the mental vision of many to the stranglehold that is maintained by the financial and industrial sharks upon society. The germ of destruction that every past phase of civilisation developed to bring about its downfall is rapidly maturing in the present epoch. Individual and sectional efforts are powerless to stay its onward march.

The morality that has warped the egoism of the masses to accept this dictatorship of the capitalist class is gradually breaking down and giving place to an ethic of humanity as a whole. "Thou shalt not steal" has been distorted by the hirelings of the possessing class. It has given sanction to a system the very basis of which is theft in the form of rent, interest and profit. Its distortion has mentally warped the workers to accept as just and equitable a system under which the few reaped in surplus value the result of the labour power of the toiling masses, who in return, on the average, received a bare existence, without even the continued assurance, of that existence.

The masses are gradually divesting themselves of this distorted morality. They are gradually developing the clearer vision which enables them as workers to see that they have been used as pawns in a game of beggar your neighbour in the present form of society—essentially a system of greed and grab. Slowly but surely the firm conviction is being forced upon the workers that their only hope of salvation lies in themselves as class, and ideology evolved by those economic forces which are the basis of progress, forces which are not generated apart from the common every-day experiences, in the heart or consciousness of exceptional individuals, but out of the conditions of life itself.

This rising consciousness of the workers, forced upon them by the breakdown of the system, will force them to discard the opportunist and step-by-step tactics of the labour misleaders, and compel them to establish a working class political Dictatorship as has been done in Russia, and as is evolving in Germany, a dictatorship necessary to break down the antagonistic forces within and without the national boundaries, and to organise production and distribution for society as a whole, during a transition period of longer or shorter duration necessary as a prelude to the Communist State.

J. M. G.

THE AGONY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE.

Of all the tragedies of history surely none can compare with that of Germany.

During the whole course of the European war the German workers were used as the cannon-fodder of German imperialism. Millions were killed, more millions were wounded. In the towns and villages of Germany privations were endured the like of which we in this country cannot conceive. Then the collapse came, largely through the glimmerings of Socialist consciousness that came to the troops through the speeches at Brest-Litovsk of our comrade Trotsky and the inside efforts of our comrades Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and the rest of the noble few who stood by the Red Flag during the imperialist frenzy. The political revolution took place, and the social traitors Noske and Scheidemann, backed by the German capitalist class, secured power. The armies of the conquerors were quartered on the Rhine. The so-called Peace Treaty was elaborated while the blockade continued and the people suffered and starved. Then Germany was robbed and stripped, her sources of supply were choked up, her credit fell, her milch cows were taken from her. Agony was piled on agony, and the little babies died, and the girls and boys grew thinner and thinner, and the women and men hungered and suffered, of so terribly. But the capitalists, they lived well. The best hotels were full of good things—as they are to-day. Out of the agony of the masses there flared up the Spartacist revolt which was crushed ruthlessly—and our brave comrades, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, were foully murdered. Since then the Allied capitalist statesmen and the German ruling capitalist class, aided and abetted by the renegade Socialist-patriots, have continued to crucify the unhappy people.

Think you, of the workers there? Those German folk of the working-class are very much human like ourselves. Their needs are similar to our needs, their hopes are as our hopes, their loves are as our loves. Think of all they have endured. Think of the homes that count their dead. Think of the maimed and crippled. Think of their wretchedness and misery, the children with rickets and without vitality through malnutrition, the girls and women pale and anaemic, the men rendered hopeless and desperate through the burden of their woes. It is said that a workman's average weekly wage in Berlin is not enough to buy a pair of boots. The value of the mark has fallen from about a shilling to three farthings—Think of these things, and try to realise what is happening now. We read newspaper headlines: "Occupation of German towns by French Senegalese troops," "The Execution of the Red Guards continues," "The Black Scourge in Europe," "Soviets Declared at Bitterfeld, Magdeburg and Targuemuende" and from such things as are necessarily inferred from our understanding of the struggle of German and Allied capitalism with the working-class, we know that a bloody massacre of our comrades and fellow-workers is taking place in the Ruhr district, that the heroes of the Social Revolution are making a noble stand in other parts of Germany, that the black mercenaries of French Imperialism are filling the towns of Western Germany with cruel horrors, and that the dreadful torture of the most defenceless, the weakest and most pitiful of our class is reaching a degree and intensity that beggars description.

We remember the Gallifet massacre of the Communards of Paris as something monstrously ferocious and terrible; what can we say of this awful crushing, grinding, starving, raping, murdering, of a people?

Can nothing be done? Is there no feeling no humanity, no understanding? Are there no men in this country of energy and courage, who can rise superior to their nationalist prejudices? Is our great workingclass movement incapable of being stirred into action? Britain is the decisive factor—and the workingclass movement can, if it chooses, determine its policy. And that policy should be to compel the withdrawal of the Allied armies from the German towns, and to render aid to the Red Armies; to rescue the men, women and children of our class by giving them sustenance and support. Let us have a national conference to consider ways and means of helping forward the German Social Revolution. Let us say equally to the German capitalists and junkers and to the Allied capitalists: "Hands off Germany."

TOM QUELCH.

RUSSIA WANTS PEACE

A LETTER FROM GEORGE CHICHERIN.

(Translated from "La Vie Ouvriere")

January 31st, 1920.

Dear Comrade,—I take this opportunity to emphasise, and to beg you to do your utmost to emphasise, how false is the idea that we are preparing military attacks or invasions against other countries, and especially against the small border states; as if we were desirous of imposing Communism by violence from without.

Nothing is more false. We are convinced of the coming victory of Communism in all countries, and this conviction is based on a survey of all the facts of the present historical moment. But Communism can only conquer by the peculiar development of the historical life of each country, as the result of the struggle of the working class itself in each nation. Any idea of implanting Communism by material force from without could only compromise it, falsify revolutionary development, hinder and retard the victory of our ideas.

It is consequently absolutely false to think that, when we seek to make peace with England, France, Estonia, the other Baltic States, Poland, we are secretly cherishing aggressive intentions, and are only drawing back for the moment. It is an absolute lie.

Peace, definite and lasting peace, is what we seek, and we leave to the Estonian working-class masses the task of altering the system of society in Estonia, to the Polish labouring masses the work of conquering power in Poland.

We desire peace, we need peace for our work of internal reconstruction. The latter is our fundamental aim. Whatever the course of development in other countries may be to-morrow and the day after, we wish to arrive at a modus vivendi with them which will permit us to consecrate all our forces, to devote ourselves entirely to organising and creative work at home, in Russia. Everything has to be reconstructed, rebuilt.

Every army at the front which is set free, as the result of its victories or the successful negotiation of peace, is immediately set to peaceful work, and employed in the war against Natur and chaos.

One of the armies, which yesterday was victoriously fighting Koltchak, is already occupied to-day in cutting wood, organising the transport of fuel and food, repairing agricultural machines, assisting the local population in industry and agriculture. As the other armies, one by one, are freed from their military tasks, they will pass to the same task of peaceful labour.

But the use of the armies for industrial and agricultural work is only an expedient of short duration. We are suffering too acutely from the transport and industrial production crises to deny ourselves recourse to labour-power organised

in the form of armies, in order to satisfy the most pressing requirements and overcome the greatest straits of the crisis, which call for immediate and heroic measures. The latter are just as transitory, however, as the present painful state of industry and transport, ruined by the blockade and the civil war.

We are at the same time working out other plans, plans of a wider sweep, which can only be applied to-morrow, and which are destined to inaugurate a new, durable, and permanent order to things in our economic and social systems. The plans for universal compulsory labour which we are at present working out are drawn up for a long period of economic and social reconstruction in Russia.

In this respect, we are pioneers, going forward on virgin soil; we have to work out, to discover a whole new positive system of human relations. The Congress of Economic Councils, at present in session, is discussing Trotsky's these on Compulsory labour Service, which constitute the first gigantic step forward into a new region of social activity. Our territorial organisations of the general popular militia must become the territorial organisations of the general labour service—social, useful, and destined for the common good.

We have to create a new discipline, basing itself on the universal realisation of its necessity for the happiness of all. But, so long as this realisation has not become general, compulsion will have to be applied.

Such is the gigantic problem we are placing before ourselves.

It must be ceaselessly repeated, it must be driven home to all who are capable of understanding, that war is only a necessity imposed upon us from without by an attack upon us, that we ask nothing better than to bring it to an end as quickly and as soon as possible, and that all our desires and all our ideas are turned in quite a different direction, towards peaceful constructive, and creative work.

The Soviet Republic is in its essence a peaceful republic of labour.

Our arms are not the sword, but the hammer and the sickle. We only take up the sword to defend ourselves when we are attacked, and we lay it down as soon as our enemies permit. The hammer and the sickle are our true weapons; it is peaceful productive work to which we desire to devote ourselves.

Make this understood, and you will be contributing to the task of facilitating the coming of the new social order. Communist greetings.

G. CHICHERIN.

THE "POINT OF PRODUCTION"

The way the robbery of the workers is carried out under Capitalism is indeed artful. The slave of old knew he had a master; the peasant knew he was tied to his lord and the estate, because these forms of slavery were open and bare-faced.

Under Capitalism the exploitation of the worker is concealed. The industrial worker who has not become class-conscious imagines that he is free. The boss pays him for what he is worth, so where is there any kick? Therefore, he reasons that the trouble must be at the other end, and goes around crying for "cheap" things. Whatever he wants, it must be cheap. Cheap housing, cheap clothing, cheap amusements. And he generally gets what he is looking for.

The poor deluded worker who is not class-conscious wastes his time and energy chasing imaginary monsters thinking he is robbed as a consumer. It is first when he understands that he is robbed at the point of production that he will be on the right road to get his own back.

This is the position: The Capitalist pays every worker approximately what he is worth; but the value of the product the worker helps to turn out is many times greater than what the worker receives in wages. The difference between the cost of raw material and wages on the one hand, and the price obtained for the finished product on the other, is the boss' profit. A worker is just as valuable to a boss as a horse or a power engine. He is not taken the same care of because horses and power engines are expensive, labour power is cheap. The horse produces a value to his owner over and above the fodder he eats. A power engine produces force over and above the value of the oil it consumes, and a worker delivers energy over and above the energy required to supply him with his necessities.

To the owner of a horse belongs the service a horse renders for his fodder; to the owner of a power engine belongs the service of that engine.

The hired worker can produce many times more energy in a day's work than what is required for his maintenance; this energy belongs to the hirer of the worker, and is expended in the manufacture of commodities.

The workers are indeed paid what he is worth, but he does not get the value of what he produces. This goes to the boss under the name of profit. The profits extracted from the workers maintain the Capitalist class and their hangers-on.

To kick against high prices with the object in view of living cheap leads to nowhere. There is more money in the world to-day than there ever was, but it is not coming round our way much. The only palliative to this is a strong organisation which can force the boss to pay more. But the roots of our misfortune are much deeper. They lay embedded in the system of production for profit, under which the wealth created belongs to the owners of the industrial equipment, while the worker gets paid in wages barely enough for his maintenance. The docile worker always asks the boss to pay him what he is worth; the class-conscious worker demands the value of what he produces.

—Scottish "Worker".

THE EXILE

(Reprinted from "Drapers' Assistant", Dublin, Ireland.)

When Jim Larkin wired to the Irish Labour Party advising them to postpone the day's strike which was being organised as a protest against the Capitalists' Government, who objected to his return from the States, it awakened memories of the 1913 strike. Poor old Jim, how they loved him during that period. The Press almost without exception denounced him as the greatest ruffian of modern times. Names subsequently transferred to the Kaiser were showered on him. Had he been here during the rebellion, it is easy to imagine how he would have fared at the hands of Home Rule Asquith and Co. Now in 1919 we find at a recent meeting of the Philosophical Society, held at Trinity College, Mr. Serjeant Hanna, "Speaking of Irish unrest, the leader of which he said was the famous Larkin, who had endeavoured to raise his own class. It had been said he cost the employers of Dublin nearly \$1,000,000.00 per week in the wages bill. He had formed the Transport Workers' Union. No matter what they thought they had to recognise the fact that through the efforts of Larkin the conditions of the working classes in Dublin and throughout Ireland were considerably improved." At the same meeting Professor Oldham said, "his experience was that in every trade dispute, almost without exception, the workers were in the right and the employers in the wrong." What a change!