

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. 153

FIVE CENTS.

END SEEN TO HORTHY'S TERRORISM IN HUNGARY

**Monarchist's Career Topples as All Factions
Find Cruelties and Reaction Unbearable—
Workers and Farmers Aroused—Aus-
tria to Fight Magyar Imperialism.**

VIENNA, April 27 (by Mail).—There is bitter disappointment in store for that vast group of reactionaries who are reckoning upon Nicolas Horthy, regent of Hungary, as the permanent safeguard of their interests and as the strong man who eventually is to restore monarchism in Central Europe.

It is an open secret that Horthy has been pulling the international wires to the European counter-revolution since his advent to power. To analyze the foreign policy that has guided White Hungary it is merely necessary to point to the sinister activities of the Magyar agents in Czechoslovakia and in the Balkans, whose brazen task has been to strengthen the reaction where it exists, and to stamp out democracy wherever it shows, what Horthy considers, its ugly head.

In Vienna, Magyar White Guards were kidnapping and murdering Hungarian Communist refugees until the Austrian Workers' Councils drove all but a handful of these terrorists from the land. During the five days of Kapp's domination Budapest was in constant communication with the Berlin monarchists, and the Whites went so far as to appoint Baron Takacs Telvay, notorious Hapburgist, as the new Hungarian ambassador to the abortive German militarist dictatorship.

In short, wherever there is a royalist pie there is Horthy's finger. Militant imperialism is the outward strategy to which Hungary has returned.

Revolutionary Fervor Revives

To the uninitiated, all this feverish activity of White Hungary might indicate the strength and enduring qualities of the government. Nothing could be more remote from the truth. Forces are at work, irresistible forces, that are pulling hard at the roots of Horthy's dictatorship.

The reviving revolutionary fervor of Hungary's own peasants and workers is the most ominous factor that is spelling Horthy's doom, and which, within several months, will relegate Horthy to the fate of his fugitive brother, Denikin, if not to the more melancholy lot of the fabled Kolchak.

It isn't necessary to take the word of "one-sided" Socialists, for Rubinek, Horthy's own reactionary Agricultural Minister, told the National Assembly in Budapest last week:

"Unless we inaugurate far-reaching land reforms at once, we shall be faced with the inevitable peasants' revolt before autumn."

It's doubtful whether the peasants will wait until autumn.

Already great fires have been reported on the estates of the feudal landlords in the district of Sonogy, where the agricultural workers, who have tasted freedom, are again feeling the knot of serfdom.

The industrial workers, too, have never swerved from their Socialist loyalty, though most of them were terrorized into silence and submission.

Workers' Solidarity Prevails

There are many bolder and more defiant among the factory workers, miners and railwaymen. But they have paid dearly for their courage, as is shown by the terrible list of 5,000 dead and 46,000 interned and imprisoned victims of the Terror. And though their leaders may be split asunder, the workers themselves (though their organizations are disrupted) are welded into firm solidarity, be they Communists or conservative trade unionists.

Horthy has performed a service to labor's solidarity, for which Socialism will certainly acknowledge its gratitude, though the acknowledgment may not encourage Horthy to embark on similar ventures.

There are other elements, innumerable and potent, which are hastening the disintegration of the Magyar tyranny. Liberals, pacifists, Jews and professional Democrats are united in their dogged opposition to Horthy's despotism.

The liberals and pacifists, who have fought Magyar domination over Rumanian, Jugo-Slav, and Czech peoples, have won for themselves the undying enmity of the Hungarian chauvinist regime.

Jews have offended that region

SUMMARY OF THE POLISH WAR

**Danger Is Urgent, But
Victory Certain**

"NO ILLUSIONS"

By Karl Radek

The following article by Radek on the military situation is transmitted by the Moscow wireless:

Owing to the stories of Polish victories, the Entente Governments, which have started to negotiate on trade relations with us, and which were convinced of the White Guards defeating us, have again begun to wobble. The Red Army men, workers and peasants of Russia, know that the tales of the Polish land, owners are entirely imaginary. All the "Polish victories" arise from the fact that Soviet Russia, busied with the war against the Russian White Guards, was in very weak force on the Western Front; that she was careful of the workers and peasants' blood, and therefore attempted to obtain even a poor peace with the Polish workers and peasants, in no way desiring the destruction of the Polish Army.

The Polish landowners and capitalists, knowing that things would be bad for them when Soviet Russia collected her forces, broke off peace negotiations and sent their troops to battle. They are now triumphing over the capture of Jitomir, and with them the exploiters of the whole world rejoice. The Red Army, however, will prove to

them that their triumph has as small ground as was that of Denikin and Kolchak after their initial successes. Denikin gave out his triumph in the Rostoff-on-Don newspapers, under the heading, "We Shall Celebrate New Year in Moscow." New Year was celebrated by the Red Army men in Rostoff, on Don.

Poland Will Go Red

All Soviet Russia, all workers, all intelligent peasants will concentrate all their efforts so that this war thrust on us by White Poland will be the last war; so that by autumn we shall be the neighbour, not of White, but of Red Poland.

(Radek then remarks that in order to get this victory quickly Russia must be prepared to sacrifice part of her vast economic programme. He then continues:—)

For these reasons, and in order to prevent the military clique from obtaining the upper hand amongst the Allies, we must beat the Polish White Guards as quickly as possible. There is no doubt about it that the Red Army is more powerful than the Polish Army, although many of the elements of the Red Army have been changed into a Labour Army. The Poles rely on the transport difficulties. Events will prove that they are wrong. And even if they should be right the thing that matters in this war is not to beat the enemy here and there, but to beat him in the end. No matter at what point it may be, we

will beat the Polish White Guards by the superiority of our numbers and our armament, by our moral superiority of our numbers and our armament, by our moral superiority and by the inner cohesion in the Red Army.

Although the Polish Army is influenced by class antagonism, this antagonism will not produce its effect until after a defeat. The Polish Government is playing at present with the blind nationalism of the masses for whom a Red General or a White General always remains a Russian General. The Polish aristocracy and bourgeoisie will not fail to unite against Russia, but immediately after the first defeats there will be violent upheavals amongst the different cliques composing the Polish bourgeoisie.

In Poland we have to deal with an adversary who is strong and dangerous, and we must realize that the concentration of our forces on the Russo-Polish frontier alone can enable us to terminate this war rapidly. All hall measures, all illusions to the effect that Poland, after having had a taste of war, will recognise her error and will very quickly reconcile herself with us, and all efforts to conduct this war simultaneously with a vast economic programme, will do nothing but retard victory; that is to say, postpone the moment when we will be able to devote ourselves to our economic projects without interference.

REVOLUTION IN OIL CITY

Soviet Army Invited to Baku

ANTIALLY MOVEMENT

A revolution has taken place in the Tartar Republic of Azerbaijan which is of consequence to the Russian Soviet Republic, and, through it, to the rest of the world.

For, according to the Moscow wireless, Baku appears to be in the hands of the Provisional Military Revolutionary Committee, which has overthrown the late Government. And Baku is "where the oil comes from," and is, consequently, a centre of great importance, both to oil-starved Russia and to Entente capitalists. The Committee has appealed to Moscow for assistance against the Allies.

Moscow transmits the following messages announcing the overthrow of the Azerbaijan Government:—

"To Lenin Moscow, In accordance with the revolutionary will of the Baku proletariat and the Azerbaijan peasantry, the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan Bolshevik Party announces that the treacherous, criminal, counter-revolutionary Government of the 'Mussavat' Party has been overthrown. For the present the rightful holder of authority is the Provisional Military Revolutionary Committee, which declares the 'Mussavat' Government traitors to the people and enemies of the country's independence.

"The Committee breaks off all relations with the Entente and with other enemies of Soviet Russia.

"Not having sufficient strength of its own to resist the pressure of the Allies, the Revolutionary Committee proposes to the Russian Soviet Republic a brotherly alliance for joint action against the world's imperialists, and asks for immediate and real assistance by the dispatch of Red Army detachments."

overthrow the militarist dictatorship.

They say, a push is needed. If this be true, it is highly probable that the three allied states, aided by Austria in their defense against Magyar imperialism, will be ready and happy to support Hungary's proletariat when the moment for the "great shove" comes, and Horthy and his henchmen topple into oblivion.

"RUSSIA WILL LIVE"

Trotsky's May Day Call

The Moscow wireless gives the following May Day appeal by Trotsky:

"Disorganised, robbed, weakened, exhausted Russia! The world's plunderers think—they want to think—that Russia is lying on her death-bed. No! We workers shall raise, strengthen, and cure her by our firm, concentrated, harmonised labor—the basis of human life.

"Let us remember 'Labor is the foundation of life!' A careless, unconscious worker is now the most evil foe of the Socialist State; the same slave of the Gospels who buried his talents in the ground.

"Workers and workwomen! Let us, in united and tireless labor, forge with millions of hands a more happy fate for the coming generation. Long live Labor—the liberator and foundation of life!"

May Day Rally

The following special circular has been addressed to the Soviet organisations in Petrograd and all other large Russian towns:—

"Comrades!—The position on the Polish front and in the Ukraine demands the speedy mobilisation of the Communist forces. The Central Committee of the Communist party has decided to enforce a new mobilisation for the Western Front and the Ukraine. Every Government Committee must, in the shortest possible period, send the appointed number of Communists to Moscow.

"Filing out an appeal for volunteers, and utilise the First of May holiday for propaganda purposes.

"By instruction of the Central Committee of the Communist party." (Signed)

Trotsky, Serobriakoff, Preobrazhensky."

MOSCOW DECIDES

VIENNA, May 5.—At the conference of the Third International, held in Moscow on May 2, Bukharin, Radek and Zinovieff were named as the committee to decide the question of admittance to the Communist International.

The conference also voted unanimously to annual the mandate of the Amsterdam Bureau, which has continuously opposed the Moscow Central Executive.

The conference finally decided in favor of Parliamentary action in so far as it serves the propagation of the revolutionary spirit.

SUICIDE OF A NATION

Soviets Will Surely
Crush Poland

"GHASTLY FROLIC"

By Brig. Gen. C. B. Thomson, D.S.O.

In the days before the great World War the advance of an army, and more especially a Polish army, on a front of 250 miles would have been a nine-days' wonder; nowadays, this sort of thing is considered quite a normal incident, and, unfortunately, it is. From a purely military point of view the Polish operations in the Ukraine are trivial compared with the political situation which forms their sombre background. They are a sort of ghastly frolic; they cannot achieve any permanent success. For every man killed in action a hundred will die of hunger or disease, another countryside will be devastated, and the scanty crops which might have been produced will be lost of starving Europe.

If the Poles are able to continue their advance it will be because there is no opposition; if they are held up, bitter and stubborn fighting will be reported to explain their ignominious check; if vast stores of booty fall into their hands the British taxpayer will have the satisfaction of knowing that those same stores are British in their origin—the Ukraine must be littered with war material, sent by Mr. Churchill to Denikin's volunteers—of which the money value would pay for at least 10,000 houses.

Sooner or later Soviet Russia will deal faithfully with the Poles. Kieff will be abandoned; what will, euphemistically, be called a "strategic retirement" will take place, preceded by the usual massacre and pillage, the marauding tide will ebb, thousands of stragglers will die upon the road, and the solution of the problem will be no nearer than it was last year.

If the Polish Government is acting on its own initiative it should now be abandoned to its fate; if, on the other hand, there is any truth in sinister rumours that the French and British Governments have incited the Poles to undertake this tragic and suicidal adventure, no condemnation of those Governments can be too severe. In the end the Poles will be beaten as surely as were Yudenitch, Denikin, and Kolchak; and a vainglorious, misgoverned, and inefficient people will have been driven to suicide.

OWEN ASKS SENATE TO OPEN MIND AND JAILS

**Amnesty for Political Prisoners Requested—
Hitting Dummy Profiteer Latest Washing-
ton Style, but Names and Size of Swag
Omitted—Tell Truth, Senator Urges.**

By PAUL HANNA.

WASHINGTON.—Let out of the U. S. Treasury all the truth about profiteering, and let out of prison all the people jailed for telling the truth, are the twin demands made in two resolutions just offered in the Senate by Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma.

In his first resolution Senator Owen directs the Secretary of the Treasury to provide Congress with "a list of all corporations, with the amount of their earnings, which have earned in excess of 15 per centum on their capital stock, as shown by their returns to the Internal Revenue Bureau for the calendar year 1919, accompanied by such statement as will show the net earnings of the same corporations for the calendar year 1918."

As a parallel exhibit for the education of the common people Owen asks in the same resolution for "the figures showing the amount of money which the government has raised up to this time since the beginning of the war by taxation, and the amount which it has raised by loans."

Fashionable to Hit Profiteer

This resolution is an appropriate sequel to the one passed in 1918, which brought forth the famous and quickly suppressed "Senate Document 259," with its astounding proof that net profits taken from the people in 1916 and 1917 came to more than the total capital stock of all the producing industries in the land.

Attacks on profiteers are now in fashion at Washington, and every member of the Senate wishes it to be known that he scorns the business man who would take a cent more than his just due from the common, or voting, variety of citizen. But it is one thing to scorn the profiteer from the public stump and something else to print and circulate the name of war-bloated corporations and the inventory of their swag.

So the Owen resolution may perish of neglect, cut off from the bread-and-water of debate, with every senator who "loves the people" determined to avoid a vote that would put him on record for or against the plan to give the people the facts.

Senator Owen "Resolves"

Information so far divulged shows that the \$40,000,000,000 odd collected through bonds and taxes to fight the war with are now snugly tucked away under the belts of our "best people". And a considerable amount of it will be spent by the owners, if necessary, to keep the public from learning the particulars.

Having called for the facts, Senator Owen recalled that several hundred men and women are still in prison or being prosecuted because they tried to discuss the facts as they knew them during or since the war. So he penned a little definition of political prisoners and a declaration of sentiment on that subject, and sent a page scampering up to the Vice President's desk with it.

There upon the clerk cleared his throat and read:

"Whereas, the war is actually over and the continued prosecution or incarceration of such persons can no longer be justified as a matter of wartime necessity, but now takes on the appearance of punishment for religious convictions, political opinions, etc.; and

Whereas, a democratic government should be vigilant to avoid even suspicion of the use of criminal prosecution to control public opinion; now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, that the President be urged to direct the discontinuance of all pending war proceedings and prosecutions against defendants of the character above described, and to extend full amnesty and pardon to all persons now serving prison sentences upon conviction for offenses of the character above defined."

"Keep the Home Fires Burning"

If the Wilson administration were forced to choose between amnesty for political prisoners on the one hand and giving the people the facts about profiteering on the other, it is felt in Washington that the prisoners would be freed and the facts suppressed. The same is held

true of the Republican House and Senate.

As a gesture for campaign advance, therefore, the amnesty resolution has a fighting chance to pass. And if the people should make a real demand for the truth about profiteering, politicians admit they would get that, too. Republicans feel they would have more to pain than to lose by asking the President to open the political cell doors, but it is not a subject they will bring up unless the fires of public opinion are kept burning under their stools.

And nothing less than a forced draught, critics say, will ever make them tear the lid off profiteering the way Senator Owen suggests.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

By TOM MANN.

(Reprinted "London Call".)

In the struggle of ideas respecting the merits of what are now termed the Second International and the Third International, I stand emphatically and definitely for the Third. Unable to believe that the revolution is to be brought about by Parliamentary action, and believing thoroughly in direct action, I have no alternative but to identify myself with Communists, Bolsheviks, Spartacists, and Syndicalists.

As a thorough believer in Workers' Committees and the Shop Stewards' movement, expecting to see these develop commensurably with the growth of class consciousness, and the recognition of the foolishness of relying upon bourgeois institutions to achieve the industrial and social changes that will constitute the revolution, naturally and necessarily I am in full accord with those who are clearly alive to the impossibility of our functioning as a working class through the institutions of the governing class.

"All power to the Soviets" is the lesson for us in England; "All power to the Workers' Councils" must be our slogan; the growth of these Councils must be helped in every way, though we shall function when the day for definite and determined action shall have arrived.

The Trade Union movement as yet is largely concerned in trying to ameliorate the misery continually being created by the capitalist system of industry, but this is rapidly changing, and the unions will soon give evidence of their efficacy in the great revolutionary struggle.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

ITALIAN STRIKES OMEN OF TRIUMPHANT REVOLT

**Labor Is Winning Over Force and Violence
of Police and Guards—Socialists, Labor
Federation and Syndicalists Are
United in Purpose.**

The announcement that civil war is on in Italy, made by the Italian historian, Guglielmo Ferrero, who was in the United States 10 years ago as the guest of Theodore Roosevelt is said by Italian here, who are careful students of the Italian working-class movement, to be an admission of the open, undisguised warfare of the capitalistic class of Italy against the workers, which has been proceeding for some time.

The present is the crucial period in the history of the Italian working class. declare these authorities, since the refusal of the soldiers and sailors to be used against strikers will undoubtedly result in their support of the new social order believed to be on the verge of coming into being.

The Socialist party in Italy, the strongest single party in Parliament, with 155 deputies; has the strongest possible backing of the General Confederation of labor, the labor body which is organized somewhat along the lines of the A. F. of L., but which is pledged to the Socialist party to carry into effect a general strike for political purposes at any time the Socialist party considers it wise.

The Forces for Revolution.

The Socialist party, along with the Confederation and the Syndicalist Federation, are the three forces that will usher in the new social order. All three bodies opposed the war before and during the conflict. During this period the Socialist party increased its numbers from 35,000 to 150,000, the Confederation from 400,000 to 1,200,000 and the Syndicalists from 20,000 to 300,000.

Although the Syndicalists are organized along the same lines as the I. W. W. in this country, the relationship between them and the Confederation is on more friendly terms than are the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. here. The Confederation avoids any attempt to criticize the Syndicalists.

Carefully watching the growth of the labor movement in Italy, the bourgeoisie did not wait, as did Germany, Finland and Russia before forming a counter-revolutionary White Guard. In the midst of the war the army was combed carefully and 200,000 suitable men selected for the formation of the La Guardia Regia, or the Royal Guard.

This body of men was removed from the ranks of the regular army and kept within the borders of Italy for action against any part of the workers which might attempt to strike. Since the end of the war the guard has been increased, it being one of the principal duties of the Catholic, or Conservative, party to keep its ranks replenished.

La Guardia Regia was organized because the bourgeoisie realized that the army and navy could not be entirely depended upon to act against revolutionary workers. It was necessary to have this special body of men to act with the Carabinieri, or the state police. In fact, this purpose was openly stated.

Despite the activities of La Guardia Regia and the state police, constructive work on the part of the working class has proceeded. This work has proceeded in a steady, militant manner, the Royal Guard opposing it at every step, with disastrous results to the lives of workers and often to themselves.

Strike for Social Order.

A brief survey of Italian newspapers disproves the capitalistic press dispatches to the effect that the workers are merely restive because of the high cost of living and the failure of the government to fulfill its war promises.

These strikes prove that the workers struck for a new social order and are attempting to bring it into being. The following incidents are indications of the civil war that has been going on for months:

In April a big meeting in Rome was attacked by the Royal Guards, one of whom met his death thereby. In local labor strikes, one of which was called in Naples, three workers were wounded, one woman killed; in Pavia one worker was killed; in Tortona one was killed and one wounded; in Lecce, three were killed and many wounded; in Torino one Royal Guard was disarmed and beaten; in Venice three state police were wounded; in Florence, one Royal Guard was taken prisoner and held by the local Socialist party. The Royal Guards attacked the Socialists, but were not strong enough to release their man.

In Viareggio during the strike in April a lieutenant of the Royal Guards shot into a crowd, and as a result was captured, beaten and forced to visit the hospital. The Royal Guards and the State Police brought troops and tanks. The tanks were surrounded by the strikers and 20 State Police were made prisoners and disarmed. One of the

20 was held as hostage until the authorities delivered to the strikers the State Police officer who commanded a force in a previous riot in which a striker—an ex-officer in the army—had been killed. During this strike the workers had command of the railroads leading into the city.

Strikers Operate Works.

The results of these strikes and the goal toward which the workers have aimed are shown in the result of the steel strike in the workers of Ansaldo Ditta, near Genoa, in which 12,000 steel workers took possession of the shops in February, started managing them themselves, continuing down to date.

Previously the works had been closed for eight hours each day; but the workers, fearing their recapture if they left their jobs, abolished the eight-hour shifts and introduced the 12-hour shift.

After unsuccessful attempts to drive the workers out the government and the bosses agreed to management by the committees of workmen.

One of the innovations which the workers introduced was the manufacture of machinery for agricultural purposes, whereas before the shops had been devoted entirely to the manufacture of implements of war.

Shop Committees Manage.

In Asti 3,000 furniture workers took possession of their shop in the same way and forced the government to take control and manage it through the shop committees.

In the Mianli Cilevstri locomotive shops in Naples, 10,000 workers took possession of the works in March and demanded government ownership and workmen's control. They unfurled the red flag from the top of the shops, entrenched themselves, and, practically unarmed, withstood the armed attacks of 700 Royal Guards, led by an army general for three days. The works were finally returned to the employers.

The general strike in Torino in April had its origin in the demand of the workers in Torino, the most advanced industrial city in northern Italy, for a recognition of their powerful shop steward movement with its program of workers' control.

The masters refused to permit management by shop committees, and all industries in Torino were closed down as a result. The entire province then declared a strike and maintained it unbroken for 12 days. The government sided with the bosses, but the railway men refused to carry the Royal Guard, the state police or the troops and the sailors refused to carry any armed men on the way to the province.

Premature Revolt Feared.

The strike included the largest number of men, lasted longest and displayed the greatest solidarity of any strike in Italy. It was settled by compromise on the advice of the Socialist party and the Confederation, which thought that a nationwide strike would precipitate a premature revolution which the workers would not be able to maintain permanently at that time.

"It was the shock of this Torino strike which caused the downfall of Nitti," said Carlo Tresca, editor of the Italian paper Il Martello, and a labor organizer. "It was not the failure of Nitti to accomplish something definite on the Fiume question at San Remo."

Speaking further, Tresca stated that the Socialist party of Italy flatly refused to support Nitti, and as a result Nitti is now attempting to govern Italy with the help of the Catholic party, which, he says, is a strikebreaking, bourgeois party represented by 80 deputies.

"Nitti is going to fail," he continued. "Nobody in Italy can govern the country without the active help and consent of the powerful Socialist party. Nor will the Socialists accept any coalition government. Instead, the Socialist party is preparing to organize Soviets throughout Italy."

This project was presented to the executive committee of the Socialist party by Deputy Nicolo Bombacci,

undersecretary of the Socialist party and leader of the Left Wing in the party. His project, however, has been accepted by the entire party and is receiving the support of the masses.

"This movement is a challenge to capitalistic Italy. It frankly declares for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Organization is proceeding rapidly in all industrial centers at the present time and it is accompanied often with bloodshed from the Royal Guards. But the working people of Italy, represented by the confederation, are waiting for the guidance of the Socialist party, which is the workers' political party."

The Socialist party is waiting for the right time—for the time when it will be so sure of the support of the army so that it can proceed peacefully to introduce into Italy some form of Socialist republic. The army is no longer against the workers; it is neutral. And indications are that before long it will join the masses."

OUR ILL-BRED DIPLOMATS

**Bad Manners that Cost
Myriads of Lives**

G.B.S. ON RUSSIA

LONDON, May 6th.—The current issue of the "Nation" gives an interesting appeal from a group of Russia Intellectuals "to the public opinion of Europe and America and to our compatriots in exile," asking for a complete resumption of normal international relations.

"One must undoubtedly strongly condemn the excesses which have taken place in Russia," runs the document, "but these negative facts, temporary as they are, must not separate Russian intellectuals from the Russian people, whose sufferings should be lightened by concessions and by personal sacrifices. Russia stands in need of the creation of a new order, without which civilized life is impossible, and she needs economic reforms and conditions favorable to the development of her energies."

The signatories therefore ask:—

- (1) That all armed intervention in the internal affairs of Russia should cease.
- (2) That business and intellectual relations with Russia should be resumed, irrespective of the existing regime.
- (3) That a process of free co-operation should be set up with the Russian people for the restoration of their economic, material, and intellectual forces.

This document has been sent round to a number of representative men in this country, and their response shows a spirit very different (shall we say?) from that of the Supreme Council.

H. G. Wells Emphatic

"The men who sign this candid, reasonable, and moving appeal," writes Mr. H. G. Wells, "are citizens of the intellectual community of the world; they appeal to us across the stupid obstacles created by our politicians, our royalist and reactionary officials. We must needs answer with our warmest greetings and sympathy, and the promise of our utmost help."

"The three conclusions," says Mr. Galsworthy, "would seem to be the dictations of common sense, a quality desirable in the arrangement of human affairs, which were never in greater need of it."

"Let Us Mend Our Manners"

Mr. Bernard Shaw is incisive as usual. "Of course, we should respond to this appeal. It is a disgrace to our diplomacy that it should have been necessary to make it. Our policy so far has been one of ill-bred personal upbraidings to Mr. Litvinoff at the cost of perhaps a million lives, and certainly some millions of pounds lost for nothing through starvation and prohibited trade. The business is beyond all patience; the sooner we mend our infamous bad manners, the better."

Kate O'Hare Leaves Penitentiary After Serving 14 Months

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo.—Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare, who was ordered released by the president Saturday, left the Missouri penitentiary Sunday. She had served 14 months of a five-year sentence for alleged violation of the anti-sedition act. Mrs. O'Hare, while leaving, expressed regret that her citizenship had not been restored.

THE TWO INTERNATIONALS

A Communication from the Amsterdam Sub-Bureau of the Third International.

(Due to the similarity of the two parties, the I. L. P. of England and the Socialist Party of America, the following letter will be of interest to our readers. We are able to reprint it, due to the courtesy of the editor of the "Workers' Dreadnought," London, Eng.—Ed. TRUTH.)

Dear Comrades: Comrade Johnson, secretary of the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain, had kindly sent us the copy of a letter addressed by the I. L. P. to the Swiss Socialist Party (P.S.S.). In this letter to the P.S.S. is invited to take the initiative for the organising in Switzerland of a conference of the several Socialist Parties, where the basis would be laid of the so-called "reconstruction" of the International.

As the Labour Leader of March 4th observes, the majority obtained at the Strassburg Conference by the Longuet resolution necessitates such a conference. Now that most of the parties of Central and Western Europe have left the Second International without deciding for Moscow, it seems that the formation of a new organism of a block of the parties hesitating between the old and the new tendencies, the formulas of the past and those of the future, is no longer to be avoided.

What is the character of this block likely to be? What, from a Communist point of view, is to be hoped for from the principal parties interested in its formation? The utter political weakness, the absolute lack of revolutionary firmness displayed by the majority of the leaders of the German Independent Socialist Party, Longuet's violent attacks on the Communist International at the Strassburg Congress, together with the inability or disinclination of the French Centrists to understand the world revolution as the unavoidable consequence of the World War, and at the same time as a process which may be more or less directed and hastened by the conscious will of a proletarian vanguard; these are, to mention only the three principal parties destined to form the nucleus of a "reconstructed" International, so many signs that the organism expected to be born from the conference which the I. L. P. proposes to the P.S.S., would only serve to sanction in a general way the feeble, ambiguous and vacillating policy pursued by men like Crispian, Hilferding, Pressman, MacDonald and Snowden, after the War as before. The attempts of these parties, either to demand from Moscow "guarantees" for the admission of compromised leaders, and of deeds essentially hostile to Communist methods, or to form a new intermediary block between the Second and Third International, can have no other result but to weaken, to clog and hinder revolutionary action in the proletarian masses, and thus to hold back the formation of the Soviet system and the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Europe and in America.

The very terms of Comrade Johnson's letter to the P.S.S. are evidence that the basis of International Socialist unity, as contemplated by the I.L.P., have nothing whatever in common with the principles of unity laid down by the First Congress of the Communist International, held at Moscow in 1919.

The letter mentions the possibility of constituting a new single International, whilst allowing the most complete autonomy in the matter of liberty of action and of tactics for every individual country. This evidently means that the double dealings which have led to the disaster in which the Second International was wrecked, will be consciously, advisedly adopted as a new starting-point, and that the terrific catastrophe of the World War would have been of no benefit whatever to the proletariat. Each and every national party would be free to wage the war against its Capitalism and its ruling class in its own way, or even to substitute to the war the collaboration of the classes; the disciplined and centralized action of the workers of all countries, the international unity of tactics absolutely necessary in the Imperialist era would, from the beginning, be repudiated by the charter of the reconstructed International, and it is supposed that the Communist Parties will fall into this trap.

Comrade Johnson's letter says, further, that the new International will be able to embrace all the parties accepting as the principal basis of Socialism the collective ownership and use of the land and of the principal instruments of labour; in such a way the exploitation of the public services, as of industry in general, and of all that concerns the public wealth, falls to the State or to the Municipality, in order to increase the prosperity and the happiness of all citizens. This definition of the basis of Socialism is, evidently, absolutely insufficient from a Communist point of view; on the other hand, not only the Reformist and Social Patriotic Parties, but many simple bourgeois reformists can straightway accept it. It seems absolutely to ignore the fact that the Capitalist ownership of the means of production can only be abolished after the downfall of the bourgeois state, and the revolutionary organs of the proletariat will have to be the means of transforming it into collective ownership. Comrade Johnson's definition apparently is contented with a State and Municipal Socialism, which would change nothing, or very little, in the social misery, and in the degradation of the workers, and which would even aggravate their dependency.

It seems to us, that for the Communist groups and parties to participate in a conference of the kind, would be a waste of energy, time and money; that it would be a real betrayal on their part of our principles and of the grand work of reconstruction pursued by Soviet Russia. The old fetish of "Socialist unity" (that worthy pendant of the equally dangerous and no less fatal class truce) will be made use of for an attempt to induce all more or less hesitating spirits of capitulation before double heartedness and lies. Phrase-mongering demagoguery, the pathetic appeals of able leaders, will only serve to cover the absence of ideal, of revolutionary faith (that is, of faith in the masses), of class consciousness and of firmness.

It seems to us that the Communist groups and parties would commit an exceedingly grave fault by taking part in the conference of the "reconstructors." They would aggravate the confusion still obtaining amongst the masses, they would render it more difficult for them to free themselves of the old formulas and the old fetishes (democracy, peaceful evolution, Socialist unity, etc.), and to consciously orientate themselves toward the Communist theory and tactics.

That is why we are of opinion that the British Socialist Party in Great Britain and the Committee for the Third International in France have done well and acted as Communists should, by absolutely refusing to participate in any conference of reconstruction, as the new International, which answers to the needs and the aspirations of the working class in the era of the world revolution, already exists. And we ardently hope that the example of these British and French comrades will be followed by all Communist groups and parties.

We in no wise to dictate rules of conduct to the advanced groups of countries where a Communist Party does not yet exist, or is only in a nascent state. Evidently these groups are themselves the sole judges in the question of the exact moment when they will think it necessary either to leave the old parties to which they now belong, in order to constitute a Communist Party and affiliate to Moscow, or to prevail upon the majority of these parties, the necessary process of cleaning having been effected, to follow them. But we feel we failed in the fulfilling of the mandate entrusted to us by the Amsterdam Conference, if we neglected to warn our Communist friends against the very real new-confusionist danger constituted by the founding of an International lacking a precise conception and a definite character. The attempt at re-establishing the so-called Socialist unity is a dangerous snare into which the spirit of criticism and the spirit of truth may equally be decoyed. The only real living and efficacious unity is the one which has for its base not only the formal acceptance of the Communist principles and theory, but, above all, the revolutionary practice arising out of this theory. And, in order to constitute on the national as on the international territory this real and living unity, we must as well have the courage to reject nationally the traditional plea for unity, as to refuse on the international field to lend a hand towards the formation of an organism built on the sands of lies and illusions, and fatally destined to confusion and impotency.

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

D. J. WYNKOOP.
HENRIETTE ROLAND HOLST.
S. J. RUTGERS.

WORKINGMEN MAY SOON SEIZE POWER IN EUROPE

Dissolution of Old Order Proceeds Apace Behind Screen of Censorship, According to Official Advice—Poland Expected to Burst After Drive Into Russia.

By PAUL HANNA.

Staff Correspondent.

WASHINGTON. Another "red" wave that may put the working class in power from Warsaw to Gibraltar during the next few months is forecast by official advice now accumulating at Washington.

Censorship is the only agency that still functions at the command of Western European governments. Behind that temporary screen, the dissolution of the old order proceeds at a gallop. Outstanding items in the budget of official information bathered here are these:

Soldiers and diplomats look for Poland to burst "like a bubble o'er-blown" after the great drive in which her armies have penetrated the war-wastes of Ukraine without landing a single serious blow on the Russian Soviet army. Behind the Polish army, food riots are developing rapidly and the known bread supply is less than enough for two weeks.

American commissioners report that the four little "republics" lying in the Caucasus mountains between Turkey, Persia and Russia are saturated with pro-Soviet sentiment and bitterly hostile to Allied interference.

Asiatic Turkey is three-fourths in the hands of anti-Entente nationalists who are negotiating a defensive agreement with Soviet Russia, supported enthusiastically by the Mohammedan masses, whose co-religionists enjoy complete religious and economic freedom in modern Russia.

Syrians Denounce French.

Syrian chieftains have denounced the French mandate over their country and have summoned the tribes to arms. The last straw of oppression was laid on when by official decree the Paris government established an exact quality between the depreciated French franc and the much more valuable native currency. Syrian couriers were at once dispatched to Russia to solicit support in the war against France.

"Do you know what Bolshevism would mean to your people?" Allied agents asked the Syrian chiefs. "We prefer anything to French influence," the Syrians replied.

Famine and class wars are prevalent throughout Bulgaria, Jugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Conditions vary from open revolt to passive acquiescence by peasants and workmen who have no faith left in the competence or permanence of existing governments.

German Capitalism Menaced.

It is in Germany, however, that the most sinister threat to the old political and economic order has arisen. Official reports and isolated press dispatches from Berlin units upon an analysis of conditions there which confirms in a striking manner predictions made last winter by Colonel Roustam Bek, military adviser to the Russian Soviet Bureau in this country.

Colonel Bek predicted that German military men would eventually make common cause with their soldiers and the working classes to restore German independence by means of a proletarian government and a Communist army. In a word, that the Soviet principle would be adopted, because it offered the only escape from the unemployment and bankruptcy of laboring and professional classes alike.

It is interesting, then, to hear Vorwaerts, organ of the Social Democrats, saying in a recent issue:

"The failure of the Kapp coup brought many new converts to national Bolshevism, many of them the same officers who hammered into the brains of our militarists that there is no use trying to govern when the working classes are against them. Hence their sudden yearning for an understanding with the workers and their attempt to obtain the support of the workers."

Russian Propaganda Increases.

"These officers," continues Vorwaerts, "argue that Russia has proved the vitality of Bolshevism. Military officers who lost their positions because of the Versailles treaty—see also that Trotsky has college mates and professional colleagues in Russia, all of whom have given their class mates and relatives fine places in the Red army."

And Professor Otto Hoetsch writes in the reactionary Kreuzzeitung:

"Despite the fairest promises, Moscow's propaganda in Germany is unceasing. It is aided and abetted by the dangerous phantom of national Bolshevism which now stalks in Germany, not only in Communist circles but also in the younger military circles, and is finding supporters among the youth of the country generally."

The Berlin correspondent of the New York Sun finds the same sentiment among financiers who have lost hope of ever making private fortunes again unless Germany shall break free from encircling enemies.

"When it becomes clear that Bolshevism is the only way out, I shall give my services to the Bolsheviks," one of them asserts.

Belief that a Communist army is the only kind competent to expel invaders is spreading rapidly among the suppressed nationalities.

LENIN AND LONGUET

(We reprint the following note from the "London Call". It will be of immense value to those members of the Socialist Party who are of the opinion that they can join the Third International and still retain the program of the Second.—Ed.)

Lenin publishes an article in the "Kommunistische Internationale" with regard to a letter written to him by Longuet. In this article Lenin points out that under the influence of the considerable movement towards the Left on the part of the working masses, certain leading Socialists would seem to be ready to save their positions by a formal acceptance of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, being even ready to join the Third International, but, says Lenin, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is a serious matter and can only be brought about by those who accept it in fact, as well as on paper. It is impossible to accept the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and yet at the same time to work side by side with Thomas, Sembat, and Bracke (their English namesakes will readily be supplied by our readers). The Dictatorship of the Proletariat implies the continual exposing of the character of the war just ended and the daily emphasis of the possibility of war breaking out again as soon as the people show a tendency to organize the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. One must also show up the traitorous behaviour of the Social Democracy during the war and avoid every union with them. Further, it is essential to carry on a propaganda amongst the masses for the total abolition of capitalism instead of carrying on a struggle merely to better the daily conditions of the workers.

Longuet and his friends, says Lenin, do not understand this, and he compares them to the Hungarian Social Democracy, who, accepting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in words, yet sought to keep Bela Kun's Government back when the latter attempted to put the dictatorship into actual practice. As a result of this, thousands of Hungarian Communists have been martyred.

SOVIET RULE EXTENDING

The Revolutionists and various Trade and Workers Societies and Unions are now holding secret meetings in Harbin to decide how to assist their comrades in Russian territory. It seems probable that the Revolutionaries in the railway area will come into power automatically as the Russian Littoral come under Soviet Rule. There are not likely to be any armed clashes, for neither the Reds nor the Whites have any forces to speak of within the railway area; and it is improbable that the Chinese authorities will allow Siniyov or anyone else to send troops from without. The railwaymen's union have demanded of General Gorchakov the immediate release of all persons under arrest for political reasons.

THE NORTH CHINA HERALD, which is published in Shanghai is violently ANTI-BOLSHEVIST.

COMMUNIST FIRST OF MAY

(Reprinted from "London Call")
By BORIS SOUVARINE

Since the foundation of the Communist International, containing all the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat, the international manifestation of May Day has taken on a character of working-class solidarity which it never possessed before.

Previously, when the Second International had resolved to choose the first day of May as the occasion to affirm the universal fraternity of the workers, the annual demonstration of the exploited of every country was a luminous symbol. But the Second International shed itself of its revolutionary spirit, and sunk more and more in opportunism, whilst the general strike of the May Day also lost its revolutionary spirit, for which was substituted an overweening concern for the "practical". And during the war, when, more than ever, the solidarity of the proletariat was a pressing necessity, when Imperialism intensified the oppression and the exploitation of the producing class, the International cracked out, and its weakening parties traitorously renounced the traditional celebration of May Day.

In the dark days of the war, which saw the submission of the peoples to their dominant oligarchies, the Russian Revolution, voicing the international popular demands, sounded the awakening of the proletariat, resuscitated its class-consciousness, and stimulated its energies. May Day 1917 saw in Russia an inspiring manifestation

of which the echo has resounded through the two worlds. In 1918 the First of May was for the first time celebrated by a people master of their own destinies. In 1919 the world's working class will commemorate the historic day by a general stoppage, which presents in the several countries a revolutionary aspect under the influence of Communism.

But May Day 1919 was also a day of grief. The exploited of all the world were powerless to succor their brothers in Russia who had heroically fought for more than a year as the advance guard of the Social Revolution. The conquering militarism felt furiously upon the Republic of the Soviets already surrounded by furious enemies. The armies and the fleets of cosmopolitan reaction threatened the complete overthrow of the Russian people, already weighed down by privations, epidemics, and famine. The most sublime effort for the emancipation of the proletariat was about to be crushed.

No! The will and the sacrifices of the Russian Proletariat have vanquished the ferocious reaction. And the sun of May 1920 bursts upon a Europe with the Revolution pursuing its victorious march, and precipitating the bankruptcy of the bourgeois States.

Above the ruins, accumulated by the imperialist devastation, the Communist International raises a flaming torch, which is at once a source of terror to the exploiters and a symbol of solidarity to the exploited.

SOLDIERS WORKERS AND PEASANTS

This is a specimen of the propaganda leaflets distributed by the British Military Mission in Russia.

Do not believe the Bolsheviks. All that they say is full of lies. They prove this themselves. Where is the peace in Russia which they promised? There is no peace in Russia. Where is the bread? Instead of bread there is famine. Where is the promised freedom? Instead of that there is the oppression of the Soviets. With the exception of what is a small part of the population in comparison with the whole of Russia, the whole people is indignant at the yoke of the Bolsheviks who illegally seized power. The constant revolts of the peasants and workmen throughout Russia prove this. These revolts are cruelly suppressed by the Red Guards and mercenary troops of the Bolsheviks—Lettis and Chinese. But this is hidden from you because there is no truth amongst the Bolsheviks, neither have they any conscience. Do not believe that the Whites shoot their prisoners and the inhabitants who come to their side, this is not true. On the contrary everyone sincerely desiring law and order and honest work is welcome. It is not true when they tell you that in the northern

province here is famine and the mastership of foreign capital on the contrary here, there is provision for all, and the Allies honestly desire to help in establishing a legal Government and in restoring law and order for which they are giving arms and supplies. The Bolsheviks have seized power in a violent way and only by executions and bayonets do they succeed in keeping power in their hands. But the ring closes ever closer and closer around these plunderers and scoundrels, and the hour of retribution comes ever nearer and nearer. Those who take the sword shall perish by the sword.

GIVE US MEN!

A time like this demands Great hearts, strong minds, True faith and willing hands, Men whom the lust Of office does not kill; Men whom the spoils Of office cannot buy; Men who possess Opinions and a Will; Men who have honour, Men who will not lie; For while the rabble, With their thumb-worn creeds, Their large professions and their little deeds, Wrangle in selfish strife—Lo! Freedom weeps, Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps.

Oliver Wendell Holmes.

TRIDON'S PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

PSYCHOANALYSIS: ITS HISTORY, THEORY AND PRACTICE. By Andre Tridon. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

A great many good works have already been published dealing with psychoanalysis in its various phases. Nevertheless, in a field that has developed a considerable wealth of literature, this book of Tridon's is a distinct and welcome contribution to the subject. The great majority of the present works on psychoanalysis represent the efforts of distinguished analysis or professional men who speak in the highly technical language of their calling, which requires on the part of the reader some previous understanding of the subject. And it might be timely to mention in passing that the science of psychoanalysis has a range of vocabulary and terminology that is unique and peculiar to itself.

This volume is valuable alike for the breadth of its scope, and the clearness with which it handles each of the multitude of subjects that are embraced in the discussion. The analogies and illustrations used to sustain his contentions are particularly apt, as Tridon's long and varied experience on the lecture platform, as well as his researches and studies in the field of psychoanalysis, has given him a wealth of material from which to draw.

As is generally known even to those with only the most superficial acquaintance with the subject, psychoanalysis deals with the phenomena of the unconscious mind, which is dominated by our most primitive and elemental urges and instincts. It is in this region that the fundamental sex urge asserts itself so effectively, and comes into conflict constantly with the social conventions and ethics which are the result of countless generations of social development and racial culture (superficial and hypocritical as some of it is). It is in this region also that the ego manifests itself, prompting us at times to do strange things to assert our individuality and sometimes leads us into the execution of very destructive and social deeds. On the other hand, like the normal development of the sex instinct, it is the main-spring of many of our finest endeavors.

Tridon has handled this phase of the subject very effectively, as he has also the pathological side. It

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is, however, his constant reference to the social phases of the question, into which he brings a deal of vision, that is so welcome to this reviewer, as we believe it will to our readers.

One of the most entertaining chapters in the book is "Feminism and Radicalism." Both movements are interpreted as manifestations of the egonage, and a compensation for restrictions imposed on one sex by the other, and on the multitude by the ruling groups. An understanding of the theory, outlined in this chapter alone enables us to better understanding our mental traits and actions, and accounts for the tendency of some radicals who develop into common scolds and nonconstructive fault-finders.

The quotation from Freud's "Reflections on War and Death" is a gem of philosophical observation:

"The individual citizen can prove with dismay that the state forbids him to do wrong, not because it wishes to do away with wrong-doing, but because it wishes to monopolize it. A state at war makes use of every act of violence, that would dishonor the individual. It employs not only permissible cunning, but conscious lies and intentional deception against the enemy—demands the utmost obedience and sacrifice of its citizens, but at the same time it treats them like children through an excess of secrecy and a censorship of news and expression of opinion which render the minds of those who are thus intellectually repressed, defenseless against every unfavorable situation and every wild rumor. It absolves itself from guarantees and treaties by which it was bound to other states and makes unabashed confession of its greed and aspiration to power."

William J. Fielding.

Economic Crisis Makes Peace With Russ Vital

BERLIN—Declaring that the present economic crisis makes absolutely necessary the conclusion of peace with Soviet Russia, Die Freiheit, Independent Socialist organ, has published a sharp attack upon the government policy toward that country. The article warns German workers against a wholesale emigration to Russia, in view of the great labor shortage in Germany.

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WATCH THE IRISH!

The British Government is fully determined to crush the Irish. The Irish are equally as determined NOT to be crushed, so naturally enough there is a fight going on in Ireland.

Pursuing its policy of terrorism, the British Government arrested hundreds of Irish workers and cast them into Mountjoy prison. The Irish workers refused to eat and so placed the responsibility of their coming out alive, upon the shoulders of the British Government. When some of the workers were dealt's door, Bonar Law, or Bonar Jaw as we used to call him, was interrogated regarding the expected deaths of these men and women, he simply replied that if they chose to commit suicide, that was their look out. We will let Rose McKenna tell the story of how Bonar Law was brought to his senses:—

The Dublin Victory.

(By ROSE McKENNA.)

"Never in the history of Labor has a strike, general or otherwise, been so successfully called, within practically a few hours, as was the strike to obtain the release of the Sinn Féin prisoners in Mountjoy. Before the strike Bonar Law solemnly declared that the law must take its course, and that over seventy heroic men fighting for a principle might die for all he cared. The House of Commons, with a few exceptions, laughingly agreed with him and applauded his decision. But a quick volte face was made when news came that the whole of Ireland, save Belfast, was paralysed. Then we heard something of ameliorative treatment, release on parole, etc.—We had won a great and grand triumph, the triumph of direct action over Parliamentarianism!

After such an exhibition of savage cruelty amongst our law-makers, can anyone, not in his dotage, still advocate constitutional methods for the redress of grievances? This strike has advanced the cause of Labor more in one week than a generation of Parliamentary prattlers.

Think of it, ye timid, compromising Labor leaders—railways, trams, motors, every means of locomotion down to the humblest donkey cart standing still at a moment's notice! Fields, shops, factories deserted and idle. Think of it, ye trade union officials who require a lengthy period of negotiations, meetings, resolutions, ballots, and all the paraphernalia of strict Constitutionalism before calling even a section on strike.

We Irish are said to be impulsive, featherbraided and hot-headed, but these qualities stand us in good stead when something has to be done, and done quickly. We had struck and achieved the end for which we struck in about less time than it would have taken the English unions to discuss preliminaries.

It was not a strike for wages or shorter hours, but for the lives of comrades who are being done to death for adherence to their principles. How often did your comrades in Russia pitifully beg you to refrain from making and loading the deadly munitions which were sent to Russia by Churchill and Company. It was in vain that Lenin and Trotsky painted in terrible colours the sufferings which you trade unionists of England could so easily have prevented, by declaring a general strike. But—to your shame be it told—you never passed the Pious resolution stage. Good wages were paid to make and ship those munitions; therefore, to hell with the Bolsheviks! What did it matter to you how many Socialists were murdered and butchered in Russia so long as you got good wages.

As luck would have it, the strike was declared on the very day of Punchestown Races, the greatest racing day of the year, as important in Ireland as the Derby and Grand National in England. Dublin was packed with visitors, the hotels full to overflowing. The bourgeoisie certainly learned the power of the workers, when the staffs down to the messenger boys turned out and left the quests to fend for themselves. Perhaps the most significant feature of the day was the display made by the Post Office officials, who marched a thousand strong through the city, calling at the various offices to take out the more timid members who, through fear or want of sympathy, had remained at their posts.

Our masters and pastors, especially the latter never tire of telling us that Ireland is the last country to which the foul germ of Socialism will spread. They tell us we are by nature conservative, too much obsessed with national and spiritual affairs, and therefore, have no time for the consideration of material grievances. Let them not be too sure of that. Already the spirit of the general strike, the new-found power, is bearing fruit. Already the Labor Party Executive, forced to action by the dockers and quay laborers, who still remember the lessons taught by Larkin, have taken steps to lower prices and stop profiteering. A man's fist has been issued to prevent the export of bacon, butter, and other necessary commodities which were being shipped to England, not for the benefit of the English workers, but for the wealthy, who could afford to pay \$1.25 per pound for butter and 84c for bacon. This will hit the rapacious Irish farmers, who have been gleefully rubbing their hands since control was removed, in anticipation of making large fortunes on the top of those they made during the war; who fought like rats against the few shillings rise demanded by the laborers some time ago!

Yes, when Socialism comes to Ireland it will come with a vengeance. There will be no half measures. Provided the leaders are trustworthy, their commands will be obeyed to the letter. Ireland is getting used to revolutionary action, swift, decided and unquestioning, and therefore, once awakened, will fall into line and maybe outstep other nations at present more advanced in Socialism.

The Irish workers have given the greatest demonstration of solidarity and comradeship. It was magnificent, glorious, something which will stand for ever to the credit of the workers of Dublin. An object lesson to the timid-minded, an incentive to spur them on to similar action, should the occasion arise.

Mind you, this strike took place in Catholic Ireland! The only section of Ireland that REFUSED TO STRIKE was the anti-Catholic section. Not that we are advocating that all workers become Catholics, but just to point out to some of our superintellectual comrades that revolutionary activities can be engaged in, without going through an anti-

religious campaign. If we get down to business ON THE JOB, we will be able to do far more than by segregating ourselves from the rest of the workingclass and closeting ourselves within the four walls of some small class room. It is all very well and good to know Marx, but a knowledge of Marx without a revolutionary feeling is of no use. In many cases it's a hindrance to a movement.

The American workingclass should study the activities of the Irish workingclass. If the American workers would immediately adopt the same tactics as the Irish workers, then there would be no necessity for us to make pilgrimages to the White House and to the office of that mental and political pervert, Attorney General Palmer. Let us in this hour take off our hats to the Irish. Let us do more than that, let us be Irish when it comes to releasing class-war prisoners.

The Program of the Communists (Bolsheviks)

The Domination of Capitalism, the Working-Class and the Poorer Peasantry.

In all countries, except Russia after the October Revolution, but until October in Russia too, the power and the authority has been in the possession of capital. Let us take any country at all—the half-autocratic Prussia, republican France or the so-called democratic United States of America—everywhere big capital has the whole power in its hands. A small group of people—big bankers, landlords and manufacturers—keep millions and millions of workers and poor peasants in slavery and in servitude, force them to exert their strength to the utmost and drive them into the street when they are no longer of any use, when they are exhausted by the strain of work, have lost their strength, and can no longer co-in profits for Mr. Capitalist.

It is wealth which gives this terrible power over millions of the toilers to the bankers and the manufacturers. Why must the poor man die of hunger when he is driven out upon the streets? Because he possesses nothing but a pair of hands and feet which he can sell to the capitalist when he needs them. Why can the rich banker or manufacturer spend his days doing nothing and rake in a sure income, why can he live in superfluity—and, every hour, every day, every moment heap up fresh profits? Because he not only possesses a pair of hands and feet, but also the means of work without which one cannot work: factories, machines, railroads, mines, land, sailing and steam vessels, all possible apparatus and different instruments. This accumulated wealth belongs, the world over, with the exception of Russia, only to the capitalists and the landlords, who have become capitalists also. In such a condition of affairs, it is no wonder that a small number of people who hold all the necessities in their possession, should rule the remainder who possess nothing. The poor man goes from the country to the city in order to seek work. From whom? From the propertyholder. From the possessor of a factory or a foundry. The owner can discipline or favor. When his faithful servants—the directors and the bookkeepers—calculate that it will be more profitable to take on new workmen than to keep the old, then he will "give work." If the calculation turns out otherwise, he says to the worker: Go your way! The capitalist is a God, a Kaiser in his own factory. Everyone is subject to him, everyone obeys his orders. The factory is extended or curtailed at his order. At his order, the management discharges or takes on workers. He decides how much the workers must work, how much wages they are to receive. And this is the case because the factory is his factory, the foundry, his foundry, is belongs to him, is his private property. This right of private possession of the means of production, is precisely the cause of this fearful power, which is in the hands of the capitalists.

The same thing happens in reference to land. Let us consider the most free and the most democratic country—the United States, which the bourgeoisie is always dinnning into our ears. Thousands of workers there cultivate land that is not their own, the land which belongs to the biggest proprietors capitalists. Everything is arranged on these farms as in an enormous factory: tens and hundreds of tractor plows, mowing machines, harvesting machines, sheep binders, at which, from morning to night, wage slaves are working. And just as in the factory, they are not working for themselves but for the proprietor. Because the land, the soil, the machines, the seeds—in one word, everything except the hands of the workmen themselves is the private property of the capitalist-proprietor. He is the boss here. He commands and manages the business in such a way that sweat and blood are changed into ringing gold. The workers obey him, occasionally grumble a bit, but continue to earn gold for the proprietor because he has everything—add the worker, the poor countryman, possesses nothing.

It occasionally happens that the landlord does not hire any workers, but rents out his land. With us, in Russia, for example, the peasants with their small plots of land hardly large enough to feed a chicken, were forced to rent land from the landowner. They worked there with their horses, their plows, their harrows and drags. But in this way, also, they were mercilessly exploited. The bigger the need for land, the larger rent did the landlords demand, forcing the poor peasant to actual slavery. Why could he do it? Because the land belonged to him, the landlord, because the land was the private property of the landlord-class.

Capitalist society is divided into two classes: into those who work much and eat little and poorly; and into the class which works little or not at all, but which eats much and well. This does not accord with the Holy Bible which says: "Who works, shall eat." But this fact does not hinder the priests of every religion from praising the capitalist system, for, to be sure, everywhere the priests receive their golden reward from the capitalists (except in the Soviet Republic).

Now arises a second question: How can a small number of parasites maintain the right of private property in all the most necessary instruments of labor? How has this private property of the parasitical class existed so long? What is the cause of it?

The cause of it is the excellent organization of the enemy of the working people. At the present time, there is not a single country in which the capitalists work separately. On the contrary, each of them is a staunch member of the propertyholders' organization. And these very organizations of propertyholders have all the power in their hands, they have tens of thousands of loyal agents who do not serve them through fear alone, but because their conscience tells them to. The whole economic, business life of the community is at the complete disposal of special combinations of property owners, syndicates, trusts, and large associations of banks. These combinations control and rule everything.

The most important combination of all is the bourgeois State. This organization of propertyholders holds all the reins of government and of power in its hands. Here everything is discussed and calculated, everything is considered and prepared so that at the first attempt of the working-class to rise against capital, the attempt may be nipped in the bud.

The government has at its disposal harsh material force (spies, police officials, courts, hangmen, drilled and soulless soldiers) and the spiritual force which gradually corrupts the

workingmen and the poor morally, educating them according to false ideas. or this purpose, the bourgeois State has schools and the church, to which must be added the capitalist press. Everyone knows that pig-breeders can breed pigs that are so fat that they can hardly walk, but are extraordinarily fit for the slaughter. Such pigs are artificially bred by giving them a particular kind of food every day, from which they grow fat. Just so does the capitalist deal with the workingclass. He gives the workers, to be sure, very little real food—for fattening the body. But every day he serves to the workers a special sort of mental food which makes the brain of the worker fat and unfit to work. The bourgeoisie would like to turn the workingclass into a herd of swine, which is obedient and fit for slaughter, which does not think and which willingly subordinates itself. On that account, the bourgeoisie begins even with the children in the schools and in church, inculcating the idea that one must be obedient to those in authority because they are ordained by God (only the Bolsheviks are honored by the Church's ban instead of its prayers, because they refused to pay the deceivers in monks' hoods out of the treasury of the government). And for the same reason, the bourgeoisie is very solicitous for the successful dissemination of its lying press.

The admirable organization of the bourgeoisclass makes it possible for it to maintain private property. There are very few millionaires, but next to them is a sorry mass of their most trusted, submissive and brilliantly paid servants: ministers, factory directors, bank directors, etc.; next to them are their helpers, who get less but are absolutely dependent on them, are educated in their spirit, and intend to get positions of the same variety, and if they succeed, to mount higher; they are followed by still smaller officials and agents of capital, etc. In rows they follow each other and are bound together by the centralized organizations of the bourgeois State and other combinations of propertyholders. These organizations cover each country like a net, in which the workingclass struggles in vain.

Every capitalist government becomes really an enormous Association of property owners. The workers work—the possessors enjoy; the workers execute—the propertyholders command; the workers are deceived—the possessors deceive. That is the system which is called the capitalist system and to which the Lord Capitalists bid us submit.

Predatory Wars, the Oppression of the Working-Class and the Beginning of the Downfall of Capital.

During the last few years, in every capitalist country, small capital has almost vanished; it has been swallowed up by the big sharks. Formerly, many separate capitalists were fighting for customers; now when there are not many more individual capitalists (for almost all the small ones have been ruined), those that remained have united, organized and are in control in every country you may mention, just as the landed proprietor controlled his estate formerly. A few American bankers rule over all America, just as a single manufacturer formerly controlled his factory; a few French usurers hold the French people in subjection; five large banks control the destiny of the entire German people. It is just the same in the other capitalist countries. For this reason it may be said that the modern capitalistic states or the so-called "Fatherlands" have become enormous factories, which are ruled by a combination of propertyholders, just as formerly every separate capitalist ruled in his own factory.

It is not surprising, therefore, that these trusts, the State combinations of the different bourgeois, now carry on that same battle with each other which formerly was waged by the separate capitalists; the English bourgeois State battle with the German bourgeois State, just as formerly in England or in Germany, one manufacturer might battle with another. Only now, the stake is a thousand times higher, and the battle for the increase of profit is carried on with the help of human lives and of human blood.

In this struggle, which takes in the entire world, the first ones to be destroyed are the small and weak countries. First come the small colonial peoples, weak, occasionally wild races, who are destroyed piecemeal by the big predatory states. A struggle then ensues between these predatory states as to the division of the "free" territory, that is, the territories which have not as yet been stolen by the "civilized" states. Then begins the struggle for the redhibition of the territory which has already been stolen. It is clear that this struggle for the redhibition of the world must be bloodier and more bitter than ever before. Monstrous giants, the largest states of the world, armed with the most thorough death-dealing machines battle with each other.

The world-war, which broke out in the summer of 1914 and which has not yet ended, is the first war waged for the decisive redhibition of the world between the monsters of "civilized" robbery. It drew into its whirlpool the four gigantic rivals, England, Germany, America and Japan. And the war is being waged to decide which of these robber alliances will be successful in forcing the world under its bloody iron heel.

This war everywhere aggravates the already lard lot of the working-class incredibly. The workers now have unbearable burdens heaped upon them; millions of the best workers are simply slaughtered on the battle fields; hunger is the lot of the remainder; those who dare to protest, are threatened with the harshest punishment. All the prisons are overflowing; the authorities hold the machine-guns in readiness for use against the workers. The rights of the workers have disappeared even in the "freest" countries: to strike is not allowed; strikes are punishable as treason. The workers for the Revolution are forced to hide themselves and to found their organization in secret, as they did during the rule of the Czar in Russia, hiding from the host of spies and police officials. It is no wonder that the workers not only groan under such consequences of the war, but even begin to rise against their oppressors.

But the bourgeois States themselves, that start this fearful slaughter, begin to rot at their roots and to putrify. They are sunk in the bloody morass, which they created by their hunt for profit, and there is no way out for them. To go back, with empty hands after such an expenditure of money, objects and blood—cannot be done. To go forward to another horrible risk—that too, is almost impossible. The war policy leads into a blind alley, from which there is no way out. For this reason, the war is prolonged endlessly, even though there is no decisive result. For the same reason, the capitalistic system begins to rot, and sooner or later, must make way for a new system in which there is no place for the madness of a world-war for profit.

The longer the war lasts, the more do the warring powers weaken. The flower of the working people either perishes, or lies in the trenches eaten up by lice, busy with the work of destruction. Everything is destroyed for the war; even brass door-handles are consecrated for war material. The most necessary things of life are lacking, for the war has swallowed up everything like an insatiable wandering host of locusts. Nobody produces useful objects—they are only used up. For the fourth year, the factories which formerly produced useful objects, are turning out nothing but shrapnel and grenades. Without men, without producing anything that is really necessary, all countries are reaching such a state of decay, that the people are already beginning to howl like wolves on account of hunger, cold, want, misery and

oppression. In the German villages which formerly used electricity, the people are burning pine splinters for there is a lack of coal. In proportion as the misery of the people grows, life is being extinguished. In such well-governed cities as Berlin and Vienna, it is not safe to go on the street at night; everywhere robberies are being committed. The German bourgeois papers are complaining about the insufficient number of police. They do not wish to see that the growth of the number of criminals is due to the increase of misery, desperation and rage. The cripples come back from the front and find universal hunger at home; the number of homeless and hungry grows in spite of the excellent organization, for there is nothing to eat, but the war keeps going on, on, is constantly demanding fresh sacrifices.

The more difficult the situation of the warring states becomes, the more friction, dissension and disunion will arise in all the strata of the bourgeoisie, which formerly marched together, hand in hand in the interest of their common goal. In Austria, the Czechs, the Ukrainians, the Germans, the Poles are tearing each other's hair. In Germany, mostly because of the conquering of new provinces, the came bourgeoisie (the Estonian, the Lettish, the Ukrainian, the Polish), the bourgeoisie which invited the German troops in, is now forced into a violent dispute with its liberators. In England, the English bourgeoisie is engaged in a death struggle with the Irish bourgeoisie, which has been held in subjection by the English bourgeoisie. And out of all this confusion, the working-class raises its voice ever louder, that working-class which, by the whole course of its development, is forced to face the problem of crushing the war and of throwing off the yoke of capitalism.

So the time of the decomposition of capitalism and the time of the Communist Revolution of the workingclass is approaching.

The first breach was made by the Russian Revolution of October. Capitalism decomposed earlier in Russia than in any other country because the burden of the world-war pressed more heavily on the young capitalist government of that country. Russia did not have such enormous organizations of the bourgeoisie as England, Germany and America. For this reason, it was not equal to the demands which the war made upon it, nor could it cope with the mighty attack made upon it by the Russian working-class and the poorest peasants, who lifted the bourgeoisie out of the saddle in October and transferred the power into the hands of the party of the workingclass, the Communists—the Bolsheviks.

Sooner or later the same fate will overtake the West European bourgeoisie. The working-class of Western Europe is joining the ranks of the Communists in ever increasing numbers. Everywhere the organizations of their own "Bolsheviks" are growing: in Austria and America, in Germany and Norway, in France and Italy. The program of the Communist Party will be the program of the Proletarian World Revolution.

A MAY DAY REQUEST.

(Reprinted "The Socialist Scotland.")

On this May Day we celebrate the growing power and solidarity of the working class of the world. All over the world the masses are moving to inevitable victory. In the midst of our rejoicing we will not forget those comrades who have given their lives for our cause, and though they have not lived to see our triumph, yet their spirit arises from the cold clay to hearten and encourage us. We in the workingclass movement are proud to pay tribute to the memory of those who are gone. Yet let us not forget to pay tribute to the living, who are equally worthy of it. In these islands we have, and had, many good comrades who fought a hard and uphill battle for our class, but no man of our time has faced and lived through the experiences of James Larkin, fighting against tyranny, ignorance, brutality, treachery, lying and calumny. He put a new heart and spirit into the working class. In Liverpool, Cork, Belfast, and finally in Dublin, he brought the bosses to their knees. Jail or terrorism had no effect on him. He went down into the depths to the lowliest toilers, to awaken their spirit of manhood, and how well he succeeded. It is not too big a claim to make that Larkin is the man responsible for the wonderful spirit in Ireland to-day. He saved the Irish people from themselves. To-day in America he is on trial, liable to receive savage punishment from the most brutal and unscrupulous ruling class in the world. It should make Irish workers ponder deeply to see Larkin a criminal, dragged before a biased Court to suffer for the crime of loving his class, and De Valera being feted and cheered by the very men who are hounding Larkin to a living death. Let us hope that Le Valera will see through the mist, shake off the sycophants and hysterical jingoes, and come back home to the honest air of Ireland. In the meantime is it too much to ask that from every platform in Scotland, Ireland, England and Wales on this May Day that greetings be extended to Jim, and a demand made for his immediate return, for we need him badly, and he wants to come back just as badly. He would have been with us now were it not for the actions of certain alleged patriots and Labor leaders in Ireland and in this country. When he comes he will be warmly welcomed. Speed the day!

SEAN McLOUGHLIN

AUSTRIAN PROGRAMS

Terrible details of the excesses committed by Horthy's Government in Hungary have reached the Zionist Organisation in London, says Reuter. The victims are not confined to Jews. Meetings in Austria have demanded that the Allies should send a commission of inquiry. The reader of a synagogue in Ofen, a man of 64, was dragged out of his house in the night by White officers simply because a woman released from a lunatic asylum had declared that he had concealed some bombs. His dead body was found near the barracks.

Either the boss rules or YOU rule. No matter which way it is, it is a dictatorship. WE STAND FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS. WHERE DO YOU STAND?

When the capitalist press styles the Socialist Party as a party of sane socialism, then you can bet your bottom dollar that the program of the Socialist Party is not Socialism.

If the workingclass strike at the behest of their leaders they are dupes. On the other hand if they strike, in spite of their leaders, they are dubbed "outlaws".

We would rather hear a judge sentences us to prison for our ideas, than hear a boss praise us for our work.

They are wearing dresses in Paris weighing 3½ ounces. The weight of the average workers' breakfast.