

"From the military standpoint it is unlikely that the Bolsheviks can seriously endanger Western Europe. It is their insidious propaganda which is the threatening feature. He who has nothing and has no hope of getting anything and who sees starvation staring him and his family in the face, is in a mood for desperate remedies. There are millions of people in Poland, Austria, and even in Germany, who are in just that situation."

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THE WORKING CLASS RIGHT OR WRONG

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FIVE CENTS

SOVIET SYSTEM AT WORK

"Let Those Who Believe In Peace Work For Peace; And Let Those Who Believe In Communism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Work for the Overthrow of Capitalism"

"WE STARTED THE REVOLUTION, COMRADES---WE STARTED IT ALONE: LET US FINISH IT TOGETHER"

Robert Williams, member of the British Labor Delegation to Russia, was requested by the London "Daily Mail" to write a series of articles on his impressions of Soviet Russia. The London "Daily Mail" is owned and controlled by Lord Northcliffe and is similar to our "New York Times."

The foreign editor, Mr. G. Valentine Williams, read the articles and stated that he could not publish them. After you have read them you will understand why.

Editor of Truth.

To visit Russia under the Soviet Regime is quite unlike visiting any other country. When one goes to Paris, Berlin, Brussels, or Vienna for the first time, one realises after a time that they are all at the basis very much like London. In Petrograd and Moscow, however, there is to be found an entirely new civilization. I use the word deliberately, because it is utterly useless trying to destroy or even to modify the Soviet system by maligning it, or pretending that it is what it palpably is not; or that it is not what it is. We see in Russia an effort planned and systematically carried out to place a new value on human qualifications, in fact, to supersede any aristocracy of birth or wealth by an aristocracy of ability. That men and woman should be estimated and appraised not by whom they are or what they have, but by what they do.

Supports Proletarian Dictatorship.

As one of the members of the British Labour delegation to Russia, I went frankly and avowedly as a supporter of the Proletarian Dictatorship. My impression will therefore be coloured by my essentially working-class outlook. Britishers owe it to themselves to know all that can be known from whatever point of view of the great experiment in Russia. I will divide my observations into four parts, dealing very briefly and indicatively with what appear to me to be four outstanding questions. The parts will deal respectively with "Lenin and World Revolution," "The Militarisation of Labour," "Russian Cavity for War" and "Impression in General."

Foremost Socialist Figures.

Someone who knows the foremost figures in European bourgeois and Socialist politics as well as any other said quite recently, "The three greatest men alive to-day are Lenin, Bela Kun,

and Smillie." The third I know very well, the first I met at his request and talked with for two hours, and then met again some days later with the rest of the Labour delegation. Lenin speaks English rather well, and knows British politics better than most Englishmen. I must confess I went to the Kremlin with perhaps more trepidation than I have had when encountering either Mr. Asquith or Lloyd George. There were several sentences upon the way with rather brutal points to their bayonets who scrutinised my pass closely as I went through with the guide.

Impression of Lenin.

I found Lenin simple, genial, and entirely without affectation. While he was at work and during our conversation, a young sculptor was busily employed on a clay model of Lenin's head, and had, I subsequently discovered, also taken a sketch of my own profile. After exchanging greetings with Lenin, and also of revolutionary possibilities in general throughout the "International."

Lenin in my opinion gives more thought to world revolutionary possibilities than to gathering immediately the fruits of the Russian Revolution, because he has convinced himself, and not without abundant reason, that a world drama is being enacted in the struggle between a small, alert, determined, intelligent and thoroughly organized section representing proprietary interests, and a large, partially alert but growingly intelligent though indifferently organized mass, representing working-class or proletarian interests. The spear-head of this mass, with its brilliant and far-sighted intelligentsia is of course the Russia of Soviet Power.

He talked of the counter-revolutionary movements of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch, and also of the British complicity in all these as well as at Murmansk. There was not the slightest possibility of these adventures being undertaken were it not for the promised support of the Allied Powers.

Soviet Power Will Undermine Capitalism.

Lenin sees clearly that if the International Bourgeoisie cannot destroy or drastically modify the Soviet Power of Russia, Soviet Power and all its implications and potentialities will undermine and eventually overthrow Capitalism.

ism, Landlordism, and all that imply in Western Europe and America, nor to speak of Asia and the Colonies.

Everyone in Russia realises that the Polish Offensive was engineered by British and French influence, supported by British and French direction, training, and equipment, and was part of a comprehensive and grandiose plan to include Rumanian and Finnish military co-operation and assistance from the new Baltic States. Lenin ridicules the statement of Bonar Law that the supplies of munitions to Poland were sent in fulfilment of a pledge that they were to be given in the event of a Soviet attack on Poland. The best reply to Bonar Law is the statement of Chicherin, Soviet Foreign Minister, who said that the essentially moderate terms offered to Poland were held to be evidence of Russia's internal weakness, which accounts for the Polish Offensive breaking out when it did.

Lenin asked about the campaign in favour of Direct Action promoted by the Triple Alliance in 1919 to compel the British Government to refrain from further intervention in Russia. He could not understand the acceptance by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress of Churchill's and Lloyd George's assurances that intervention would cease. The best proof of this will have appeared shortly after these lines appear, the delegation having been furnished with the most convincing proofs that the Churchill policy of last year was one of studied and deliberate evasion and deceit, not only towards organized labour but towards traditional British Liberalism.

Opportunists Must Undo Themselves.

Those who are directing the policy of Soviet Russia and also the Third International are fully convinced that most or all the factors which operated to bring about the economic collapse in Russia are operating to bring about similar effects in Western Europe. They watch critically the growth of the respective national debts. Everything which can be known is duly observed relating to the class struggle and its intensification, especially in industrial disputes and the unending fight for the share of the product between Capital and Labour. Lenin foresees that inevitably there must be established in Great Britain a Labour Government or Labour-plus-some-other Party

Coalition. He says that Clynes, Thomas, Henderson, and perhaps Macdonald and Snowden must have their opportunity as Kerensky and his colleagues had in Russia. But he is positive this attempt will produce as little advantage to the working-class as the Noske-Schiedemann Government in Germany.

Third International Industrial Capitalism.

While we were in Russia there were also delegates from Italy, Germany, France, Belgium, and Scandinavia, and there appears every indication that the Geneva Conference, if it be held, will be the grave of the Second International. The Soviet idea, based as it is on occupational rather than residential qualification, gains ground on all hands, and the policy of Revolutionary Russia as well as the Third International faces West confronting Industrial Capitalism instead—as many imagine—the more economically backward East. Russia's Eastern policy is one in which she has been forced, if only to create a diversion for Great Britain and preventing her from continuing to focus counter-revolutionary movements in general.

I shall deal with the other questions in succeeding articles; but let me say clearly here that the delegation arranged their program apart from the official welcomes we received. We went where we liked; we interviewed whom we pleased. We talked without let or hindrance to supporters and opponents of Soviet institutions alike. We discussed grievances with workers, technical and manual.

The Bolshevik experiment is destined to have the profoundest influence upon the development of human institutions, and we shall be compelled more and more to examine critically the Soviet plan as explained by its supporters and advocates instead of blindly accepting the denunciations of its opponents and detractors.

"Militarisation" of Labour.

In practically every country other than Russia, what is called Organization of Labour means the embarrassment and hampering of production and distribution of wealth. Slur the fact over as we may, the pitched battle between Capital and Labour destroys any possibility of genuine co-operation in production. Capital in general seeks constantly to

cut the cost of production by reducing labour charges. Labour seeks to get as much as it can for as little as the employer will accept in return. In Russia, not only is there no difference between the Trade Unions and the administrative heads of Soviet affairs, but we find the heartiest co-operation between the Unions, the technicians, and the Supreme Council of Public Economy.

As an illustration, I would refer to a visit to a large locomotive refitting and repairing shop near Saratov which I made in conjunction with Sverdloff, Acting People's Commissar for Ways and Communications. Both he and I impressed on the workers in the railway shops the supreme need to accelerate railway work. I could not help contrasting the reception given to Sverdloff and myself and the response to our appeals for discipline with the acrimonious temper displayed by the Clyde workers on the occasion of Mr. Lloyd George's visit during the war, and his appeals to increase output.

Difference In Workingclass Outlook.

The difference of working-class outlook is determined by the difference of the grounds of appeal. Men will make every sacrifice when they know that it is for national and collective well-being, and equally will resist attempts to exploit their generosity for individual gain. To realise the position in which Russian democracy has been placed since October, 1917, is clearly to understand their acceptance of Labour Mobilization.

Karl Radek, one of the influential Communist Party Leaders, and Secretary of the Third International, puts the position with clarity as follows:

If Soviet Russia is to extricate itself from the economic disorganization its first task is to rally the scattered forces of the skilled proletariat. If the Socialist community has any right at all to throw upon the battlefield hundreds of thousands of workers to shed their blood in the name of the liberation of the entire working-class the more right it has to say to the skilled workers who have dispersed to the villages: "No surprise is entertained at your having fled to the villages to escape starvation, but the entire country is doomed to ruin and famine unless you return to town. Only by increasing the productivity of locomotive

repairs, only by beginning to create transport means as well as means of production can we save the Russian working-class from death by starvation. Just as you are bound to fight for and protect Soviet Russia with arms in hand equally so are you obliged to extend your credit to the Soviet Government which is a Government of the working-class."

This sounds startlingly like a statement by Lloyd George when he assumed the position of Minister of Munitions. He then said in effect that it was necessary for the civil authorities to have the same control over the men in the workshops and the factories as the military authorities possessed over the men in the trenches. We have, moreover, to bear in mind that Russia's industrial and political policy is shaped largely if not entirely for her by inexorable pre-war and post-revolutionary circumstances. Russia lived by exchanging food and raw material for manufactured articles. Since 1917 this process has been suspended. She has therefore had to create a new resourcefulness and adaptability in producing the things which she previously imported. Added to this difficulty it must be understood that both the first and second revolutions made a great drain on Russia's urban proletariat. The men who manned the barricades, who suffered the most casualties, were the metalworkers and those other sections of skilled workers who realised the meaning of the class-struggle. Their ranks were again depleted by the formation of the Red Armies, of which they were the revolutionary leaven. Added to these factors was the constant migration of thousands of engineering skilled and semi-skilled workers from the industrial centres to the agricultural areas because of the shortage of raw material and of food in the town after the Second Revolution.

Mobilization of Civilian Labor.

Mobilization of civilian labour is carried out by Communists and trade unionists alike because they understand that it is essential if they are to fight disease, improve transport, and produce agricultural implements and manufactured articles to exchange with the peasantry for the necessary foodstuffs. Dilution will be developed scientifically and the bonus system operates in such a manner as to provide the very best incentive to individual initiative and effort. Russia can be faced

with not even the remotest possibility of unemployment employment or under-employment following "over-production" as we are in Western Europe. Credit is due to the directors of Soviet policy that, following upon civil war, ringed around by enemies, faced with the most appalling difficulties, they are embarking upon vast schemes of social reconstruction. They are doing more for education than any other country in the world. They are attempting more in a few years than economically and industrially advanced countries have done in a century. Their motto is "Through Discipline to Freedom."

Labour Control of Factories.

When it became imperative to take the power from the hands of the bourgeoisie and the remnants of the feudal class, the trade unions raised the demand "Labour Control of workshops and factories." Workshop control by Collegiate and Boards of elected Shop Stewards was gradually found to have outlived the transitional stage from individual ownership to social ownership, and there was no hesitation on the part of the Communist Party and the Trade unions to modify their policy to meet changing requirements. They say frankly that if "One-man Management" can give us better and more rapid production of those things of which we stand in paramount need, then introduce such management without delay. The trade unions, however, will remain in control of the main currents of labour and production, but will hand over the direction of the details of management to the most efficient individuals to be obtained.

With us in this country the processes of production and distribution have been socialised while the product remains individualised. In Russia both the processes and the product are socialised.

I repeat and emphasise what I said before. Russia is working out her own social emancipation according to her own racial, historical, economic, and industrial needs and requirements. It does not at all follow that eastern Europe should in any way studiously or slavishly follow the precise lines of Russia's great experiment. The discipline which the Soviet Power has beaten out for itself on the anvil of war and counter-revolution has been imposed upon our industrial

(Continued on page 2)

DEFECTIVE PAGE

Soviet System at Work

(Continued from page 1)

workers by generations of factory and workshop experience. Revolutionary Russia marches forward steadily and steadfastly with a rifle in one hand (so to speak) and a hammer in the other. The best justification of "Industrial Conscription" was and is the expeditious manner in which she re-mobilized her Red Armies from industry to the Polish front, where once more they cover themselves with military glory.

Russia's Capacity for War.

Whatever may be said of the Soviet Government to one can deny their ability in war. After the decisive overthrow of the Bourgeois in October, 1917, the old army simply fell to pieces. They had been beaten and broken in the Kerensky efforts, promoted by the Entente to continue the Imperialist War against the German, Austrian and Turkish fronts.

Revolutionary Idea Sapped Militarism.

The Brest-Litovsk Peace was unavoidable even had the newly created Soviet Government wished to continue war operations. The troops had been badly armed, badly clothed, and badly fed. They were also disillusioned regarding the Czarist ambitions of Imperial aggrandisement. After the definite Proletarian Dictatorship had been proclaimed the directors of Russian policy foresaw the possibilities of either the Central Powers or the Entente, or perhaps both concentrating their forces against the working-class Revolutions. They called again and again upon the workers in Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, Britain and Italy to throw over their own respective Landlord-Capitalist and Imperialist Government. The insistent propaganda of the revolutionary idea did more to sap the vitality of German Militarism than is yet generally understood.

Meet Force With Force.

While hoping and believing in the ultimate triumph of the Revolutionary Idea the Russian Communists are prepared to meet force with force. They hastily improvised a new citizen army, the Red Leaven of which was the Communist members of the urban proletariat. Gradually this army was extended by universal conscription until to-day; it is in my personal judgement the best army in the world. It is the best not necessarily because it is composed of the finest fighting material, but mainly because every army is influenced to an unestimable degree by the motive of the Cause in which and for which it fights. No army ever fought in a cause worthier than that which inspires the Red Soviet Army of Russia. Educational and political propaganda has been worked to a fine art. Much or most of what was said in Britain during 1914, 1915, and 1916, in order to obtain recruits and afterwards to keep up the national war spirit, was untrue and most of these who said it knew it to be untrue. In Russia they have merely to tell the Truth, the Whole Truth and nothing else, and this is the basis and the whole of their propaganda. We were told by Britishers in Moscow that when our

prisoners from Murmansk were interviewed they showed evidence of perplexity as well as disgust at the tactics of the Red Soldier. The British prisoners exclaimed: "Let them come against us with bayonets machine guns, tanks or gas and we'll show them what we are made of, but, gorbline, how can we fight men who offer us leaflets and pamphlets?"

Shells Scatter Leaflets.

While members of the Delegation were at the Polish Front they saw a shell which explodes and drops among the Poles thousands of leaflets in their own language telling them how they are being used as the tools and instruments of the Polish Barons co-operating with the Entente Imperialists, and headed always with "Workers of the World, Unite."

During our stay in Moscow Purcell and I, at the special invitation of Madame Balabanoff, went to the All-Russian War Department, and spoke with General Kamenieff, Commander-in-Chief of the Russian Armies, and Skliansky, who is the Acting Chairman of the Russian Revolutionary Military Council. The latter, by the way, presented me with the Military Medal of which so much has been written.

We talked with military men and were impressed with the thoroughgoing efficiency of all we saw and heard. I have met personally the late Lord Wichester, and Lord Derby who succeeded him as Minister of War. I have visited the British War Office on numerous occasions, and I have no hesitation in saying that the Soviet military institutions and the atmosphere of competency prevailing compares very favourably with our own.

Constructors Power Dominant.

We saw the manufacturers of light and heavy artillery, of tanks and aeroplanes, and war equipment in general. Russia, like most other countries, devotes the best of her constructive powers to waging war. This policy has been forced upon her by the concentration of capitalist hatred in Europe and America. Trotsky, with whom I talked at the Opera House, Moscow, while not being oversanguine of a speedy triumph over the Poles, said that cost what it may and take as long as it might, they would break the Polish military power irretrievably.

Stumped By Pertinent Questions.

We witnessed numerous military parades and displays by the garrisons of Petrograd and Moscow as well as other important centres. The personnel of the Army was as good as anything I have seen in Great Britain during the years of the war, the officers and men manifesting not only physique, but a spirit of mental determination. Through the good offices of our old Socialist friend Petroff, I talked with many of the Russian soldiers and sailors, and the question ever on their lips was: Why are the British workers fighting against the Russian workers, who only wish to establish Communism to improve the economic conditions of themselves and their dependents? Needless to say, I was middle-stumped by such pertinent questions.

Purcell, who, being woodworker, was interested in the construction of aeroplanes in Great Britain during the war, says that the aeroplane factories he saw compare favourably with anything we had here at that time.

Compulsory Military Service.

Military service is of course compulsory, and military training is also compulsory to men between the ages of 18 and 40.

Those between 14 and 18 have to undergo physical drill as part of their civil education. Corps of Boy Scouts and Girl Guides are in existence in all the populous centres. There is the most devoted attention to the wounded by the nurses of the Red Army, and one of the most striking of the banners carried during the Moscow parade bore the inscription: "Courage and endurance to the Red Hospitals." The Red Army is better clothed and better-shod and fed than any other section of the population. While I made numerous enquiries, with all the tact and direction at my disposal, regarding the numbers of men on ration strength, I was met always by polite statements that nobody knew and nobody could say. It would appear, however, that there must be at least six million men waging war, preparing for war, or providing material for war purposes.

Allied Policy In Poland.

My own opinion is that the Allies, knowing by means of their Political Intelligence Department that Poland had not the ghost of a chance against Soviet Russia, are pursuing the same plan in regard to Russia as they found so effective in regard to Germany: to occupy as much of their man-power as they possibly could in order to weaken them in the rear and prevent that social reconstruction which would make Russia the most favourable country in the world for the working-class.

Regarding the so-called rival schools of Eastern and Western Policy, the overwhelming majority of those who shape Russia's policy turn their eyes towards the West to the reconstruction on social lines of the whole of Western Europe. Their capacity to wage war will be improved by the recovery of the Donetz basin coal area, and the occupation of Baku with its millions of tons of oil for fuel purposes.

Officers' Training Schools.

In an interesting conversation with Petrovsky, who is the Director of all the Officers' Training Schools, he confidently assured me that there was not the remotest chance of Russia producing a second Napoleon who might possibly overthrow the Communist Revolution and establish a military dictatorship. The bulk of the officers are recruited from the working-class, and they are inspired with the Communist idea. There is, moreover, the fact that the population of the towns is drilled and armed and equipped in order to maintain their control of the workshops and factories. Russia, in my judgement, could not attempt imperialist wars, for while the soldiery and more particularly the peasantry will fight for defensive purposes, their morale would be instantly destroyed where a real aggressionist enterprise commenced.

IV.—Things In General.

In Petrograd and Moscow one sees every aspect of City and Metropolitan life completely changed. The main streets, while being thronged with people going to and fro, present an outward appearance of perpetual bankruptcy. Shops, cafes, stores, hotels are closed and shuttered. To those who like places such as Bond Street, Regent Street and Oxford Street, life must be almost unendurable. I must confess I longed now and then to go into some place and order a decent lunch or dinner such as one finds in any capitalist city, but there was simply "nothing doing." One of the best illustrations I can give of the effects of the Revolution, as compared with conditions under Capitalism, was the reply given to one of my questions by that incarnation of the spirit of Working-class Dictatorship, Angelica Balabanoff. I said to her: "Why is it that in little Esthonia which is in about the same latitude as the Petrograd area, and enjoys the same kind of climatic conditions, there appears to be an abundance of cheese, butter, eggs, milk, bacon, etc., on sale in the shops while there is no evidence of the existence of these things in Petrograd?" She replied by saying that if I made close enquiries among the workers both in Esthonia and Russia I would make several interesting discoveries. Firstly, that in Esthonia the nourishing foodstuffs mentioned never appeared on the tables of

the workers. They could not afford them. Although there appeared to be an abundance on sale in the shops, it was in fact only within the reach of the relatively well-to-do sections of the community. The children of the Reval workers lived mainly or entirely on rye-bread as their parents did, while the middle-class, the bourgeois, the military heads, and those who by hook or by crook could put their hands on sufficient Esthonian marks might eat to repletion.

Now, in Petrograd, and in fact throughout Soviet Russia, whatever nourishing foods there are at the disposal of the Soviet Authorities go to the care and feeding of the children and the invalids, utterly irrespective of the class to which previously they belonged. Balabanoff said further, imagine, but only for the sake of illustration, that the bourgeois system were reintroduced into Petrograd, shops would open as if by magic, food would appear on the counters and in the windows, not because any more had been produced, but the supplies brought on view and obtained by Landlords, Capitalists and their principal supporters would be taken from that which now goes to the children and the infirm.

Conditions Improving.

All the foregoing was quite borne out by subsequent investigations both in Russia and afterwards on my return journey through Esthonia. Everywhere we went we saw for ourselves conditions were bad, as we were frankly told, but always we heard they were much worse in 1918 and 1919. I consider that the Russian fatalist outlook on life has helped the people to endure as they have the terrible privations following on six years of war, two bitterly contested revolutions and innumerable counter-revolutionary movements internal and external. Most of the distribution of foodstuffs, boots and clothing is carried on through State distributive agencies which is an extension of the work of the Co-operative Movement. Every man and woman rendering social service is paid in roubles, and in addition food and clothing cards or coupons, which enable them to get their supplies at one-tenth of the price obtaining in the speculative markets.

Drama and Opera Appreciated.

The Drama, Opera, the Ballet and Kinema performances are enjoying unprecedented popularity. I spoke to the leading tenor at the Petrograd Opera House where they were performing Gluck's "Orpheus," and I also spoke to the conductor of the admirable orchestra. Chaliapin was singing regularly at the "Hermitage," Moscow, and I had an interesting conversation with Madame Chaliapin while in Petrograd. It may interest atrocity-mongers and others who say that the Soviet Power has destroyed Art to know that Chaliapin, whom we heard singing at Reval, and who was perfectly free to come to London or Paris where he can command his own price, prefers to go back to Moscow to sing to the people, and he himself remains a plain member of the Artists' Professional Union, together with the scene-shifters and programme-sellers. In my brief talks with the leading tenor, the conductor of the orchestra, and Madame Chaliapin, they all unquestionably agreed that the audiences in Russia are far more appreciative than they were under the old regime. The tickets are distributed mainly through the trade unions and the garrisons, and at such prices as bring them within the reach of the humblest Russian worker. The artists, in general, agreed they were not politicians, and concerned themselves more with art than politics, and they looked forward to a period when the population, including themselves, will be enabled to enjoy the higher standard of living procurable when the nation devotes its energies to more productive efforts, rather than—as it is doing to-day—waging war and breaking down counter-revolution.

One reason given for the preponderance of employees on the evening shift was that the authorities must overcome illiteracy, and the adult women who cannot read have to go to a day school each forenoon to be taught. The factory was too crowded, the pressing room too hot and they had not as many machines as in a good factory. Shortage of machinery was the cry here also. They showed us a room from which, when Judenitch made his offensive on Petrograd, the workpeople could see the battle raging. They resolved to make more coats for their soldier-brothers, and the output increased.

Problem Prostitution.

The problem of prostitution is being dealt with in the only really effective way, that is, by destroying the economic causes of prostitution. The elite of the demi-monde of course came to Western Europe as part of the

entourage of the nobility and bourgeoisie. The others, being deprived of their more or less well-to-do patrons, have perforce to seek employment in some useful form of occupation.

Temperance Question.

Although some of our temperance friends have said that we have nothing to learn from Russia, I am convinced that the prohibition of the sale of alcohol in Russia has led to physical, social, and moral regeneration. Everyone to whom I spoke agreed that the revolution could not have been maintained had the sale of intoxicants been continued. What will happen after the transitional period has been passed remains to be seen, but I come back to Western Europe believing profoundly that if we have to pass through a revolutionary crisis prohibition will be absolutely essential during the period of transition.

Discipline and Organization.

To sum up, I believe more and more in discipline and organization. Discipline first of all to break down the capitalist system, and then strict military and industrial discipline in order to establish the Socialist or Communist State.

Second International Useless.

I have to state publicly, in conclusion, that although I was appointed in January of this year as a delegate to the Second International Congress at Geneva, my experiences in Russia, coupled with my knowledge of the international movement, preclude any possibility of my fulfilling my engagement to attend. I think the Second International worse than useless. It is attempting to erect a new superstructure upon a foundation of sand, and I shall devote such of my energies and time at my disposal to working towards the extension of the Third International. Moreover, Purcell and I, acting in conjunction with the representatives of the Italian trade unions, and members of the All-Russian Trade Union Executive, together with Zinovieff, have signed an appeal to the leaders of the Left Wing of the trade union movement to form an International of the Trade Unions from the paralyzing influence of the Legiens, (German) the Gompers, the Apletons (English) and others who were more imperialist, more jingoistic, and more chauvinist than the landlord and capitalist class in their respective countries during the war.

A Bolshevik Clothing Factory

In an article contributed to the "Yorkshire Evening Post," Alderman Ben Turner, of Batley, gives some interesting facts regarding hours and output at the clothing works now being worked under Bolshevik administration in Petrograd.

He says: "We visited the first Government clothing factory, employing over 1,500 people, 95 per cent. of them females and young persons. It turns out 2,000 military overcoats per day, 5,000 military garments other than overcoats, and 500 civilian suits for men and lads. It began with 13 employees in April, 1918. They work on two shifts per day, 600 working on the forenoon shift of eight hours, and 900 on the evening shift of seven hours. That 5.30 to 12.30 (midnight) shift, including half-an-hour for a meal, is enough, and fair play. In some factories, or 'enterprises,' where three shifts are worked the night shift is six hours only. They fix, by meeting and through their trade union, the hours of labor, and also grade the productivity of the employees. They consider that for the 43 operations necessary to complete a military overcoat, three hours is required."

One reason given for the preponderance of employees on the evening shift was that the authorities must overcome illiteracy, and the adult women who cannot read have to go to a day school each forenoon to be taught. The factory was too crowded, the pressing room too hot and they had not as many machines as in a good factory. Shortage of machinery was the cry here also. They showed us a room from which, when Judenitch made his offensive on Petrograd, the workpeople could see the battle raging. They resolved to make more coats for their soldier-brothers, and the output increased.

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REFRESHMENTS

Problems Before the Third International

By G. ZINOVIEV.

"Zinoviev begins by examining the events which have taken place within the International since the Third International was founded in March, 1919, at Moscow."

No Opportunists.

During these fifteen months a number of parties have left the Yellow International of Huysmans, which is represented to-day by three names—Pilsudski, Brantings, and Noske.

The Communist International has, to a certain extent, become the "fashion." Very many organisations have voted for affiliation to Moscow. In so far as these organisations are proletarian and are resolved to fight the capitalists to the end, their resolutions deserve to be warmly welcomed. But we must beware of the opportunists who knock at the door of the Communist International. This must remain an International of action.

What ought our attitude to be towards the Centre Parties, which have left the Second International and have not yet joined the Third?

We know that the workers who are members of these Parties are with us, and that they sincerely desire to fight in our ranks against the capitalists and the social-traitors. But we are convinced that they will escape all the quicker from the ill-omened influence of these bad shepherds the more thoroughly we unmask all these gentlemen—Kautsky, Hilferding, Hilquit and Co.

While the First Congress at Moscow was only able to put forward the Communist Programme, this one must define the tactics of the Communist movement throughout the world.

Diversity of Tactics.

It is certainly quite impossible to cast all the Communist Parties in the same mould.

The Communist International knows very well that the workers in the different countries have to reckon with extremely diverse social conditions, and to adapt their tactics to these conditions. If we pass in review all these countries where Communism has already taken deep root, we can divide them into four categories:—

- 1.—Russia, where the proletarian revolution is an accomplished fact.
- 2.—Germany, Austria, and, to a certain extent, the Baltic Provinces, where the revolution has begun, and where the proletarian revolution is being born under painfully difficult circumstances.
- 3.—England, France and Italy, countries of victorious capitalism, with very old parliamentary traditions, where at the present time a deep dissatisfaction and a revision of values is evident amongst the working-class.
- 4.—The oppressed nationalities and the colonies, Ireland, India, part of Turkey, etc. . . where the movement for liberty cannot fail to take on a nationalist complexion, and where consequently special problems confront the Communists.

The Second Congress will have to weigh this diversity of conditions. It will concentrate the whole of its attention upon these tactical questions which confront the principal European countries.

Parliamentarism.

Zinoviev then speaks of parliamentarism. As long as the workers have not seized control, the Communists should use bourgeois parliamentarism in the interests of the fight for the Soviets and the dictatorship of the proletariat. There should be no split amongst Communists upon this point. The Bolsheviks entered into the Fourth Czarist Duma; after the revolution they went into the Municipal Councils of Petrograd, Moscow, and other towns; they sent their representatives to the Constituent Assembly, and "there is no doubt that the presence of a considerable communist section in that Assembly enabled it to be dispersed at the given moment in the march of the workers' revolution."

Communists and the "Yellow"

Concerning the question of the Industrial Unions, Zinoviev advises the Communists not to leave the "yellow" unions, as certain ultra-Left Wing Communists suggest. One must admit that these Unions comprise millions of workers. In Germany they include seven million members, whilst the Arbeiter Union of the German Communists only has about 100,000 members. We must

fight inside these Unions and organise Communist centres in them. The Communists must be everywhere where there are organised workers.

At the end of his article, Zinoviev writes that the Second Congress should ask all the Parties affiliated to the Communist International to accept in its entirety the Communist Programme, and to change their name. "A clear-cut difference must exist between the Communists supporting the workers' revolution and the Social-Democrats who help the capitalists to suffocate the working-class."

These Parties must turn out the leaders, who only remain with them in order to sabotage.

Two worlds are in conflict: one class against another class; the workers against the capitalists. No compromise, no equivocation is admissible.

This Second Congress will be "the general call to the working elite of the world before the decisive struggles. The Communists of all countries must do all that lies in their power to enable the present Congress to write the page which it should write in the history of the movement for the liberation of the workers."

NEED OF TERROR

Moscow, July 31st (By Mail).—At yesterday's sitting of the Third International Serrati, the Italian delegate, spoke of the position of things in Italy, saying that a revolution was inevitable. Lenin, who spoke next, made a careful analysis of Crispian's speech, and stated that his views on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat were akin to Kautsky's, who was a bright example of opportunism.

Further, Lenin stated that he considered that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat was unthinkable without terror and violence against deadliest enemies of the proletariat and the working masses. No matter what the situation was, we must carry on a struggle against them, and perhaps the revolutionary situation will still sharpen before the revolutionary wave subsided.

Stoeker then spoke of the revolutionary army in Germany of millions of peasants and workers, and pointed out that in contradistinction to their Russian comrades there were many millions of proletarian intelligentsia, technical experts and trade employers who would defend intelligently the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and aid its existence. Further, Stoeker expressed the assurance that no matter what the Congress decided about the Independents, they would remain revolutionaries, and in Germany would go hand in hand with the Communist Party.

After a concluding speech by Zinoviev, the conditions proposed for entry to the Third International were put to the Congress and passed by a majority of all the delegates present against three.

SOVIET MILITARISTS

Christiania, August 1.—It is a favourite theme of the anti-Russian propagandists that Trotsky is preaching jingoism and imperialism among the Red Armies.

I have just seen an order signed by him on June 30, which is an interesting comment on these suggestions. "Voyennoe Delo" ("Military Affairs"), one of the organs of the Red Army, had published an article entitled "The First War Measures of Marshal Pilsudsky."

This article, says Trotsky, "is thoroughly permeated by a spirit of gross jingoism. Suffice it to mention that the article speaks about 'the innate Jesuitism of the Poles' as distinct from the frank and honest spirit of the Russians. It is needless to set out how utterly opposed such crude and false generalisations are to that spirit of brotherhood which governs the attitude of the Russian working-class towards the labouring masses of Poland."

Trotsky, therefore, "with a view to preventing the further possible spread of the poison of chauvinism in the Red Army," orders the immediate removal of the persons responsible for the article "from all share in a work which has for its object the enlightenment and education of the Red Army."

CARL SANDBURG RELEASES POEMS THROUGH

Carl Sandburg releases poems through The Federated Press.

EDITORS NOTE:—Six new poems by Carl Sandburg will be released as a special Federated Press feature during the next six weeks, in advance of their publication in his forthcoming third book, "Smoke and Steel." Sandburg is close to the great undercurrents in America. He writes in the American language with his sleeves rolled up. For years he was a worker with his hands—he comes with scars of toil.

Born in Galesburg, Illinois he quit grammar school at 13 and began driving a milk wagon in prairie blizzards. His formative years were spent working in brickyards and potteries, and "riding rattlers" across the country from job to job. He swung a pitchfork many a day in the Kansas wheat fields, washed dishes

in Denver hotels, shoveled coal in Omaha, and has seen times when there were no jobs for any kind of a man willing to do anything—so he knows what hunger is from first-hand knowledge.

Sandburg eats in one-arm lunch-rooms, is fond of fried perch, likes peach ice-cream that has stood around, gets letters from vagabonds the world over, plays the banjo, sings negro ballads and spirituals. He has battered down the conventions which have bound poetry for a century, and has made the American people listen. Yet of his work he says:

"I am not sure I am writing poetry. My favorite anecdote is the one about Hokusai, the Japanese painter who died at the age of 92, saying 'If I had lived five years more I should have been a painter.'"

WORK GANGS

By Carl Sandburg.

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Box cars run by a mile long. And I wonder what they say to each other

When they stop a mile long on a sidetrack.

Maybe their chatter goes:

I came from Fargo with a load of wheat up to the danger line.

I came from Omaha with a load of shorthorns and they splintered my boards.

I came from Detroit heavy with a load of flivvers.

I carried apples from the Hood river last year and this year bunches of bananas from Florida; they look for me with watermelons from Mississippi next year.

Hammers and shovels of work gangs sleep in shop corners

When the dark stars come on the sky and the night watchmen

walk and look.

Then the hammer heads talk to the handles,

then the scoops of the shovels talk, how the day's work nicked and

trimmed them,

how they swung and lifted all day, how the hands of the work gangs

smelled of hope.

In the night of the dark stars when the curve of the sky is a work gang handle,

in the night on the mile long sidetracks,

in the night where the hammers and shovels sleep in exorders,

the night watchmen stuff their pipes with dreams

and sometimes they doze and don't care for nothin',

and sometimes they search their heads for meanings, stories, stars.

The stuff of it runs like this: A long way we come; a long way we go; long rests and long deep

sniffs for our lungs on the way.

Sleep is belonging of all; even if all songs are old songs and the

singing heart is snuffed out like a switchman's lantern, with the

oil gone, even if we forget our names and houses in the finish,

the secret of sleep is left us, sleep belong to all.

People singing; people with song

People singing; people with song

hearts; people who must sing or die; people whose song

breaks break if there is no song

mouth; these are my people.

Russia Calls

By C. M. ROEBUCK.

(Reprinted British "Communist.")

We are passing through a period of transition in world history. We are witnessing the culmination, the triumphant climax, of Socialist Russia's struggle for life; we are spectators of the first stories and menacing flashes which mark the beginning of Western Labour's revolt. But these processes, logically consecutive, are not so sharply divided in reality. They are interwoven and inextricably fused—the end of one melting into the beginning of the other—in the general process of life itself.

That is the meaning of the events of the last fortnight—a fortnight of perpetual crises, springing up every few days, dying down, and starting up afresh with renewed violence and slightly altered form. They are the throes of transition. Concretely, they are the last attempts the capitalists, the bankers, and the generals, who have these last three years been striving to crush the new order as it burst through the ruins of Russian capitalism, knowing full well that sooner or later, if it were established in Russia, their own turn was bound to come. Today that time has arrived. Socialist Russia, as they are forced to admit, is a Great Power; and with all their unwillingness they have been obliged to recognise its existence. But the terror of revolution at home is all the more insistent, and the old habits of mind are not easily thrown off; and so, even at this late hour, they are trying the gambler's throw.

And the gigantic joke of history is that thereby they have only helped to hasten that very rally of the working-class which they feared!

It is perhaps unnecessary to go over in detail the history of the last fortnight: most Communists will have learnt the shameful de-

tails from their "Daily Herald," which in this respect has been doing the work of the Revolution "with both hands." It is a story either of the most phenomenal and brazen lying ever known, or of an incredible, supra-human, impossible foolishness. True, there may be another explanation—the tragedy of a little-hearted Premier, anxious for peace now, but helpless in the grip of a clique of adventurers and militarists who know some sordid secret of his past.

Whatever be the explanation, our concern is not with their lies, but with the truth. And this is the truth. Soviet Russia recognised the independence of Poland at Brest-Litovsk and after the German debacle. Soviet Russia, between April 1919, and May, 1920, as its "Red Book" shows, offered Poland—landlords' and capitalists' Poland—peace and independence no less than ten times. Soviet Russia has made clear again and again that she is ready to conclude an armistice at any moment on the basis suggested by the Allies themselves, i. e., that it shall be of such a nature as to guarantee the subsequent conclusion of peace. Soviet Russia knows too well the historical basis of Communism to imagine that she can impose it upon the Polish workers without their previous disillusionment in capitalist government. Her armistice terms come as we write. They show again that she is willing to leave the workers themselves to learn the lesson of revolution, and that all she requires is peace—with guarantees: demobilization of the Polish armies, disarmament—unless the arms, no aid from abroad, and a more generous frontier than the Allies themselves promised their lackeys.

Are these immoderate terms—after the history of the last eighteen months, beginning with the dastardly murder of the Soviet Red Cross Mission on January, 1919; after the vandalism,

A CORECTION

In our last issue we published a report of the Irish Trades Union Congress.

The report ended with the speech of Thos. Johnson and left a bad impression. This week we have before us a more lengthy report of the Congress, which makes matters somewhat clearer. The following statement by Cathal O'Shannon, show that Johnson's remarks were not representative of the Congress:

"Some of the things Johnson said were both true and sensible; some of them were the most arrant nonsense. It is utter humbug for him to say that we in Ireland—good and great as our work is—are doing things Third Internationalists elsewhere are only preaching about and discussing whether they ought to be done. The Third Internationalists of Russia have made the Second Revolution built the Workers' Republic, beaten half the armies of Europe, and may by this time be at death-grips with the armies of the whole world and striking the death-knell of world capitalism and imperialism. Even the Third Internationalists of Italy have been before us in constructive work, and they were in front of us in their strikes against the transport of armed troops and munitions, in the seizure of factories and in compelling the withdrawal of an Army or Occupation. We are doing our bit in Ireland certainly, but it is a small bit compared to the Russians' and possibly to the Italians'."

Day by day the number of revolutionaries increases. Swayed by a great passion, they have a keen sense of personal right, much of reverence for humanity, but little reverence, if any at all, for the rule of the dead. And these comrades of the great worldwide revolutionary movement are a tremendous human force, a power to be reckoned with. Here also is romance—romance so strikingly colossal, that it seems to be beyond the understanding of ordinary mortals. To the bourgeois mind their unbelief in the dominant conventions of the established is startling. They laugh to scorn the sweet cherished ideals, and dear little moralities of bourgeois society.

Soviet Election

562,404 people, i. e. the entire adult population of Petrograd, had the right to vote. University students, intellectuals, housewives and Soviet employees participated in the elections of the Petrograd Soviet, and the latter were equal in their rights with the workers.

The personnel of the Soviet has been renewed, for almost half of the deputies are elected for the first time. 20,000 persons have passed through the Soviet in the last 2½ years.

In connection with the elections, comrade Zinovieff writes in the "Pravda":—

"Soviet power is actually existing in Petrograd. For the fourth time, at the appointed day and hour, we re-elect our Soviet, and it is done in such a manner as to make it evident to every worker that he elects as his representatives those whom he has actually chosen.

"The strength of the Petrograd proletariat lies in the fact that from the first moment of the Revolution, the Petrograd workers felt that they were the rejuvenated Soviet Republic, its organisers and administrators. The time is not distant when we will overcome the food difficulties, part of our factories and works will commence work again, and Red Petrograd will become a really free labour Commune, and will give the lead to the workers of all other towns."

the bestiality, the savagery which have attended the steps of the Polish brigands at Kieff, Bobruisk, Borisoff, Dvina, Zhitomir? And let all Communists remember that there are no such infamous attacks on the working masses—no stealing of rolling-stock, of milk cows, of mines—as discharged the Versailles "peace."

The Workers' and Peasants' Republic of Russia has no quarrel with the Polish workers; it has shown that, and will show it again.

THE COMING CRASH

By JAMES GASCOYNE.

(Reprinted from the British "Communist".)

There is nothing analogous between revolution to-day and the French or American revolution. It is the first world-revolution in a world whose history is replete with revolution. And not only this, it is the first organized movement of men to become a world-movement, limited only by the limits of the planet.

This revolution is not sporadic: it is not a flame resulting from popular discontent, born in a day and dying in a day. It has history and traditions. It has a martyr roll, only less extensive possibly than the martyr roll of Christianity. Its literature is a myriad times more imposing, scientific, and scholarly than the literature of any previous revolution.

Day by day the number of revolutionaries increases. Swayed by a great passion, they have a keen sense of personal right, much of reverence for humanity, but little reverence, if any at all, for the rule of the dead. And these comrades of the great worldwide revolutionary movement are a tremendous human force, a power to be reckoned with. Here also is romance—romance so strikingly colossal, that it seems to be beyond the understanding of ordinary mortals. To the bourgeois mind their unbelief in the dominant conventions of the established is startling. They laugh to scorn the sweet cherished ideals, and dear little moralities of bourgeois society.

They want all that bourgeois society possesses. Nothing will satisfy them less than the reins of power and the destiny of mankind; all the places and purpled ease; and in that day they shall work for their bread.

The time has come for the revolution to demand consideration. It has fastened upon every civilized country in the world. As fast as a country becomes industrialized the revolution comes upon it.

One thing must be clearly understood. This is no spontaneous and vague uprising of a large mass of miserable and discontented people, a blind and instinctive recoil from hurt. On the contrary, the movement is intellectual, based upon economic necessity. The revolutionary is not a starved and miserable slave at the bottom of the social pit, but is, generally, a hearty, well-fed individual, who sees the shambles waiting for him and his children, and recoils from the descent. The very miserable people are too helpless to help themselves.

The capitalist class has had opportunity such as was vouchsafed no other ruling class in the history of mankind. It broke away from the whole feudal system and made modern society. It organized the machinery of life and made possible an era wherein no creature should cry aloud because it had not enough to eat. Here was the chance. But the capitalist class, blind and greedy, failed utterly. It gibbered sweet little ideals and prattled dear little moralities, and smashed down in failure, as tremendous only as the opportunity it had missed.

As a result of this failure to seize opportunity in the best sense of the word, all over the world men and women and child-

ren are living in poverty. By poverty is meant that condition of life which, through lack of food and shelter, the mere standard of working efficiency cannot be maintained. This means that they are perishing, dying body and soul, because they have not enough to eat. In all the great cities where they are segregated in slums by hundreds of thousands, their misery becomes beastliness. No prehistoric cave man ever starved as they starve, ever lived as vilely as they live, ever festered with rottenness and disease as they fester, nor ever toiled as hard or for as long hours as they toil.

How can the capitalist class stem this tide of revolution? What does the capitalist system offer? Employers' associations, bribery in every legislature, bayonets and machine-guns, professional strike-breakers—these are the things the capitalist class are dumping in front of the revolution, as though to hold it back.

The capitalist class is as blind to-day as it was to its own God-given opportunity. The capitalist class cannot see how precarious is its position, cannot comprehend the power and portent of the revolution.

No overthrown ruler or class in the past ever considered the revolution that overthrew it, and so with the capitalist class to-day.

Antagonism never lulled revolutionism, and antagonism is about all the capitalist class offers to-day.

So blind is the capitalist class that it does nothing to lengthen its own life, while it does everything to shorten it. The capitalist class offers nothing that is clean and noble. The revolution offers service, sacrifice, martyrdom—the things that sting the imagination of the people, filling their hearts with a fervour that arises out of the impulse toward good. The revolutionist cries out upon wrong and injustice, and preaches the gospel of righteousness.

Few of the capitalists have seen the danger signal. It is the same old story of the ever-perishing ruling class in the world's history. Fat with success, drunken with power and possession, they are like the drones clustered about the honeyvats when the worker bees spring upon them to end their rotund existence.

The dawn appears, the birth of a new era and a new history, and coming generations shall stamp out selfishness and greed like a plague, and new life shall begin for humanity.

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MEXICO

Out on the fields of Poland and Russia men are dying. They are shedding their blood in order that the British and French imperialists might obtain oil. The workers' shed their blood to obtain oil for their masters.

Oil has now taken its place in the front ranks of commodities that are absolutely essential. We are now using oil to produce motive power for ships etc. It therefore becomes necessary for the capitalist class to obtain oil. Great Britain centers upon Baku and America will center upon Mexico.

If America can obtain an oil monopoly and so keep out Gt. Britain, then America will obtain the world's trade. On the other hand, if Gt. Britain can obtain a monopoly on oil, she will freeze out America and obtain the world's trade. The struggle develops into a struggle for oil. That is why we have the Polish war and why we are going to have a Mexican war. That is if you stand for another war!

At the present time Mexico is producing 75,000,000 barrels of oil annually. The flow of oil is unusually steady, indicating that there are vast quantities available. These oil wells of Mexico are only about twenty miles from the ocean, making it a simple matter to export it. Pipes are laid down which carry the oil to the seaports and a large fleet of tank steamers carry it away. The oil is pumped out to the vessels a mile from the shore. So you can readily see what a wonderful country Mexico is!

Mexico is now second to the United States among the oil-producing countries of the world. It has been calculated that Mexico's production of oil during 1920 was between 130,000,000 and 135,000,000 barrels one-fifth of the oil of the WORLD, and more than that of all the rest of the world outside of these United States. Furthermore it is said, with good authority, that in eighteen years the oil deposits of America will be exhausted, whilst on the hand the deposits of Mexico are inexhaustible. You betcha Mexico is a fine country!

Now the Mexican people are very patriotic, in fact they have to a certain extent learnt a few slang words from the American dictionary of slang. They say to the foreigner, just like we do, "if you don't like this country, get to hell out of it." In 1917 they passed some laws and adopted a new Constitution. They state in one of the articles of this constitution, article 27, that royalties must be paid to the Mexican government on all minerals, deposits etc. taken from the land. They go even further and state that the ownership of the Mexican oil wells shall ONLY be in the hands of the Mexican people. Article 28 expressly states, "Only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies have any right to acquire ownership inland, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions to develop mines, water or mineral fuels in the republic of Mexico. The nation may grant the same right to foreigners provided they agree before the Department of Foreign Affairs to be considered Mexicans in respect to such property, and ACCORDINGLY NOT TO INVOKE THE PROTECTION OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS IN RESPECT TO SAME." In other words, the Mexican government claims complete jurisdiction over the control of the resources of Mexico. Look out below!

You have read in your newspapers about the terrible doings that have been going on in Mexico. How they have had revolutions, at the rate of one a day. Many of you really believe all that you read in your papers about Mexico, just like you do about the Bolsheviks. The stories that you read about Russia were concocted by Grand Dukes and other members of the lower order of society. The stories that you read about Mexico are concocted by paid hacks in the pay of the following companies:—

National Bank of Commerce, Texas Company, Inter-Continental Rubber Company, Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company, Montezuma Copper Company, Greene Cananea Copper Company, J. P. MORGAN and COMPANY, Guaranty Trust Company, STANDARD OIL COMPANY of New Jersey and the Yaqui Delta Land and Water Company.

This bunch of parasites has formed itself into an association with the suppositious title of the ASSOCIATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN RIGHTS(?) IN MEXICO. They send out all the lurid stories that you hear and read about Mexico. They even go so far as to foment revolution against any government that does not do their bidding. THESE PEOPLE, if the truth was known, will be found to have been responsible for the MURDER OF CARRANZA. In America this bunch tells us poor benighted aliens to go back to the country that we came from etc. But when the Mexicans tell them the same story, they incite people to revolution. This bunch could only have been born in one place and you know where it is. Next time you read about Mexican troubles, think of this crowd and also think of what Major Lyn Dinkins, president of the Interstate Bank of New Orleans, after six weeks' tour in Mexico, stated in the NEW YORK TRIBUNE, April 11, 1920:—

"We did not see a single bandit or hear of any. We found conditions politically financially and socially different from the impressions we entertained before our departure. We travelled more than TWO THOUSAND MILES by railroad within the limits of the Mexican Republic, and our trains were all on time. The roadbeds of the Mexican railroads are better than those of the American lines."

William H. Ellis, banker and broker of 63 Wall Street, New York, certainly "hit the nail on the head," when he said "Mexico without a doubt is the richest spot on the face of the earth and I have often thought that this is why there is so much trouble in that country."

But then you will say that the Mexicans have killed American citizens. Do you think that would be grounds for possible intervention? If you think so, then the Mexicans are justified, that is, if we pursue the same line of reasoning in intervening in America. The official list of Americans killed, published and furnished by the American Ambassador

in July, 1919, totalled 217. This number includes those who were killed in the various American military invasions, those who had joined the Mexican rebel forces Americans killed by Americans, Americans killed by bandits, these bandits having been supplied with finance by some of the Wall Street pirates. As a contrast there were 300 Mexican farmers killed after the Villa raid. Presumably they were killed in the interests of democracy.

La Follette says: "More American citizens have been killed in the past two years in this country in lynching bees and race riots than have been killed from ALL causes during the eight years of revolution in Mexico."

If our desire to clean up Mexico is one governed by charitable motives, might we not suggest that "charity begins at home." During thirty-three years of peace, 1885 to 1918, there have been 3,889 men on women, HANGED, SHOT, OASTED AND LYNCHED in America. Let us clean up our doorstep and then the village will be clean is an old Irish saying. There is some truth to it. Of course it is stretching matters by arguing that our interest in Mexico is one of ethics and public morality. Might we suggest that the following facts may enlighten us a little:—

The Aguila Company had an original investment of \$30,000,000 American gold in Mexico and by utilizing the natural resources of Mexico they cleaned up in one year, 1918, the sum of \$14,000,000.

The Dutch Shell Company which operates in Mexico, paid a dividend of 48% on its deferred stock and 37 per cent on its common stock.

The Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company paid a dividend of 28 per cent a quarter during 1918.

Hon. La Guardia President of the Board of Aldermen of the city of New York stated, when he was in Congress, that American oil interests flanked General Pelaez to stand between them and Carranza. They paid him \$190,000 per month. It was one of General Pelaez's assistants, General Herrera, who murdered President Carranza.

Now we have placed the facts before you. We have given you both sides of the case. It is easy to see why we should go to war with Mexico. Mexico is rich in oil. Oil is necessary to assist the capitalist class of America to compete with the capitalist class of Great Britain. If the capitalist class of America really need the oil and they can only obtain it by subduing Mexico, then why do they not form an army, of themselves, and conquer Mexico? No they will fool you that your country is in danger. Your blood is aroused and you really believe that a small nation would be so foolish as to try and conquer America. Wake up and realize that war with Mexico is a development of Imperialism. Imperialism is a development of capitalism. Capitalism is the system that sweats and enslaves you and makes YOU poor and YOUR boss rich. Are you going to shed your blood in order to obtain oil for your masters or are you going to stiffen your backs and make your masters do their own fighting? Let Mexico alone. The Mexican workers are capable of making Mexico good enough to live in. You get busy and organize yourselves and rid yourselves of those people who sweat you. Do not let another war be fought. Let your slogans be—HANDS OFF MEXICO! MASTERS FIGHT YOUR OWN BATTLES!

The Constitution

In all the recent "red" cases, the prosecutor extols the virtues of the Constitution. The jury are told that these defendants can alter the form of government in a Constitutional manner and the jury nods assent. But neither the prosecutor nor the jury know anything at all, that matter very few people do, about the Constitution of the United States. They worship it, like the Zulus worship their gods. They accept it for what it appears to be, but never dip below the surface and discover what it really is. It is left to a few American professors, who are possessed of intellectual honesty, to inform us as to the truth about the American Constitution and a few aliens, who do not seem to care what anybody says about them. Being of the latter type, we are going to be so uncommonly rude as to tell the truth about the formation of the convention and the subsequent formulating of the Constitution.

In the earliest days of this country there were thirteen scattered colonies. These colonial first united against the Indians and later against the English government. They elected delegates to a congress known as the Continental Congress, which congress drew up the FIRST U. S. Constitution. This constitution was known as the Articles of Confederation. This is what it provided for:—

1. No congress shall consist of more than one house, there shall be no senate.
2. Members of Congress shall be subject to recall.
3. Members shall be elected by direct vote of the people.
4. The Articles of Confederation should be amended by Congress and must be ratified by all of the state legislatures.

But there were some people who were not satisfied with this Constitution. They complained that it did not tend to serve the "best" interests of the nation. Who were they? They were the bankers who had loaned out money at exorbitant interest. Money speculators who had bought up the scrip of the Revolutionary soldier for a few cents on the dollar and were demanding that Congress redeem this scrip at one hundred cents on the dollar. Of course Congress refused to do this, hence the opposition of these money speculators. Then there were land speculators who had obtained large tracts of lands and were expecting the colonists to move in on them and so increase their value. But the colonist felt that it was better to stay at home, than to risk the tomahawk of the Indian. Last of all, but not least, there were the manufacturers, who were demanding that congress pass a high protective tariff to protect their "infant industries."

The above elements could not induce Congress to do their bidding. Did they decide to convert the majority and work through the constitutional methods? Of course not. They knew that the people were in favor of the present constitution and congress so they decided to call a convention of their own. They called such a convention in the city of Annapolis in May, 1786 and at that convention issued a call for a "secret" convention to be held in Philadelphia, in May 1787. At this convention they announced that they were going to alter the FIRST constitution, the Articles of the confederation.

You understand that this convention, of 1787, met for the sole purpose of altering the constitution of these United States. The purpose of this convention was of vast importance to the ALL the people of this country, yet, if we can believe the statements of those who took part in the proceedings, there were no newspaper men or any of the public admitted to the convention. Even those who were delegates were not allowed to take any notes, neither were they allowed to write to their friends, during the time that they were sitting in deliberation. WHAT WERE THESE MEN DOING BEHIND CLOSED DOORS? They were bringing into being the UNITED STATE CONSTITUTION! The original constitution, the Articles of the Confederation, were scrapped. All guarantees that had been given to the people were thrown overboard. YET THE DESCENDANTS OF THOSE WHO DESTROYED THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION HAVE THE AUDACITY TO TALK OF CONSTITUTIONAL METHODS!

tegrity cannot be questioned. We refer you to "The Secret

Of course this will surprise you all! It sounds like a slander upon the history of the American nation. Yet the facts that we have presented to you are irrefutable and are sustained by authorities, whose honesty of purpose and in-Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1787," as they were recorded by Robert Yates, Chief Justice of the State of the New York. Luther Martin, then Attorney-General of Maryland, one of the delegates to the convention, in his report stated:

"Before I arrived, a number of rules had been adopted to regulate the proceedings of the convention, by one of which seven States might proceed to business, and consequently four States, the majority of that number, might eventually have agreed upon a system, which has to affect the whole Union. By another, the doors were to be shut, and the whole proceedings were to be kept secret; and so far did this rule extend, that we were thereby prevented from corresponding with gentlemen in the different States upon the subjects under our discussion; a circumstance, Sir, which, I confess, I greatly regretted. I had no idea that all the wisdom, integrity, and virtue of this State, and of the others, were sent in the convention. I wished to have corresponded freely and confidentially with eminent political characters in my own and other states; not implicitly to be dictated to by them but to give their sentiments due weight and consideration. So extremely solicitous were they, that their proceedings should not transpire, that the members were prohibited even from taking copies of resolutions, on which the convention were deliberating, of extracts of any kind from the journals, without formally moving for, and obtaining permission, by a vote of the convention for that purpose."

Alexander Hamilton another member of the Convention, stated:—

"All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge and determine right. Give therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. THEY WILL CHECK THE UNSTEADINESS OF THE SECOND, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed to steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrollable disposition requires checks."

We might say in passing that the judge who sentenced us to two years, Judge Page Morris, is a devout follower of the Hamiltonian doctrines.

Mr. Morris, another delegate to the convention, stated:—

"The second branch (the senate) ought to be composed of men of great and established property, — an aristocracy; men who from pride (?) will support consistency and permanency; and to make them completely independent they must be chosen FOR LIFE, or they will be a useless body. Such an aristocratic body will keep down the turbulence of democracy. But if you elect them for a short period, they will be only in name and we had better be without them. Thus constituted, I hope they will show us the weight of aristocracy."

President Wilson, in his "Division and Reunion," states:—

"The Federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, if not of aristocracy and wealth. The President in was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college, and not the choice of the people. The Federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influences, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance."

"Only in the house of representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The government had, in fact, been originated and organized upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes. Originally conceived as an effort to accommodate commercial disputes between the States, it had been urged to adoption by a minority, under the concerted and aggressive leadership of able men representing a ruling class. The Federalists not only had on their side the power of convincing argument, but also the pressure of a strong and intelligent class, possessed of unity and informed by a conscious solidarity of material interests."

The indisputable facts of American history prove that the FIRST Constitution of these United States was scrapped and another one, that would serve the interests of the ruling class, erected in its place. This latter constitution is the one that we are now asked to revere and deem sacred. Everything that we intend to do for the benefit of the working class must be guided by the laws laid down by the United States Constitution, which history tells us was framed by the ruling class. Even President Wilson said so!

The Declaration of Independence is a fine document, but the men who framed it were NOT at the convention that framed the present Constitution. Most of them gave active opposition to it.

It is now 33 years since the Constitution was "given" to the people of these United States. During these many years America has travelled much ground. One hundred and thirty three years ago the American nation was confined to the east of the Alleghenies. The American lived on the Atlantic slope. Since then the Alleghenies have been crossed and the vast plains of the Mississippi valley have been covered. The Rockies have been climbed and the Pacific Coast is teeming with cities and industries. America today contains untold wealth and P-O-V-E-R-T-Y!

According to a commission set up by PRESIDENT WILSON — the Industrial Relations Committee — we find that two per cent of the people own sixty per cent of the wealth and that sixty-five per cent own five per cent of the wealth. When the Constitution was first formulated, millionaires did NOT exist. Today we have billionnaires and PAUPERS. The ruling class made a good job of their convention of 1787. They have now control of the whole of these United States and the vast mass of the people are less than five weeks removed from actual starvation. After one hundred and thirty three years under the Constitution, people die for the want of food and children perish for the lack of sustenance. HONESTLY, DO YOU THINK A CHANGE IS NECESSARY? DO YOU?

They All Go the Same Way Home

They All Go the Same Way Home. According to the "Echo de Paris" the Shah of Persia has quit his job. The Persian people have erected a Soviet Republic in place of the monarchy. The Shah must have read something about a man called Nicky.

TO THE SMUG AMERICAN!

You are certainly having a good time in the local press. We sometimes wonder what you would have done, if the editor had not been arrested. How easy it is for you to sit in your own two-by-four mansion and write letters to the press. You fancy that you are doing a wonderful service for mankind. You would feel highly shocked if somebody called you an ostrich. In the last analysis that is all you are!

Come yith us, smug American! You are going to see America. You have never seen America. We know you have not, because we could hardly expect a man who had seen America, to write like you do.

Yonder in the distance is an ocean liner. It is bound for Europe. Of course you feel proud, it flies the Star and Stripes. On board that ship there are handsome suites of rooms. You can purchase them for \$500 per day. Down in the stokehold of the ship, there are many stripped to the waste, begrimed and sweat pours off them, like the water. They receive \$3.00 per day. On the top deck there is a quartermaster, who receives something like \$3.00 per day. Let that quartermaster make one false move and he can send the ship and all its human cargo straight to hell. Do you notice anything wrong? Of course not! Let us tell you, that the people who live in the \$500.00 per day suites are not stokers or quartermasters, they are the idle rich. Fancy, the people who do NOT work, live in the best parts of the ship and the people who DO work, live in the . . . We will not mention their quarters, it might spoil our appetites. Come on and see some more!

Do you hear that noise? Don't become terrified, you are seeing America. It is sound of a galling gun, down in West Virginia, where they spray the streets with a spray of death. American workmen are being shot down because they demand more food. Simply plain food! Listen, hear that peppering of shots? That is Roy Alley, of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company in Butte, Montana, shooting down, along with gunmen the miners of Butte. You will notice that this AMERICAN is shooting the men in the back. You will also notice that the strikers are unarmed. Shure this is America! Listen to the bark of rifles and see yonder flames! Hear the shrieks of little children, and the moans of pregnant women. We are now in Colorado, where they are burning down the tents of striking miners. Women and children burnt alive in America! Behind all this noise can you hear the age-long-never ending cry of the poor? Let us proceed!

Before the door of yonder fiery furnace stand the foreigners, that you despise. See, they stand naked to the waist, begrimed, sweating of soul. They stir the molten metal to purge it of its dross. Sometimes we wish that we could melt you and purge you of your smugacity. Because you really feel that there is some good in you. They stand hour after hour, twelve per day, in the blistering heat, stirring and stirring. What do they receive per day, you ask? Just as much as Gary pays for ONE meal. Shure this is America! You cannot endure that task, yet you are the fellows that dare to remind these foreigners of their duties to the country, when they have to endure all the indignities that men can heap upon them. Just work one shift before those furnaces and perhaps you might have some little feeling for the foreigner that you are so much despise. Did you ever stop to consider how necessary this foreigner is? Did you ever stop to consider what would happen, if they all were as smug and content as you are? That fellow, standing naked before the furnace, is one of the fellows that society cannot do without. Alongside of him, you count for nothing. The scientist in his laboratory, the doctor standing over the rich patient, with his wonderful surgical instruments, the electrician, like Edison and the many other necessary men of society, would be lost without the work of this man before the furnace. Just think over this! We have not finished yet.

Yonder is a poor baby being buried. It is a sad sight. For nights and days, the mother has watched over his cradle. The doctor told her to take her child into the country, but when father only earns twenty per, it is impossible to take children into the country, much less buy them fresh eggs and milk. Wipe your eyes. Do you know that there are 300,000 children lowered into their graves, every year in this country? Do you know that none of them reach the age of three? POVERTY KILLS THEM. The children in some cases live. Yes, children of the working class do manage to survive. You will find millions of them. Where do you think you find them? In school or out in the fields enjoying themselves? Mind you, we are in America! Of course that is where YOU thought they would be, and because you thought they were there, you were sure that they were there. This a flax-mill. There they are working in the steaming-room. Yonder is a bottle factory. See them carrying the red-hot bottles from the annealing oven. We know it makes you sick, but we could show you more places where the children work, NOT play.

Now go back to your two-by-four mansion, and write more letters to the press. Attack the editor, if you like. But when you do, just tell the truth about America and we will not care what you say about us. But don't fool yourself, that by ignoring what you have seen, that you can rest content. You may for a little while, but the mighty voice of the poor is making itself heard and someday it will sound loud enough to arouse you from your slumbers.

We Charge You With Murder

We charge you with the murder of our children. Your Mammon's creed demands the sacrifice. You kill them in the brothels, mills and mines. Without succor wherever Mammon reigns. The massacre of innocents goes on.

We charge you with the murder of our children. Your bread is kneaded with their blood. You mix it with your wine; Your costly gowns therein are dyed.

But, lo and behold! The rising flood of blood you have been spilling Is roaring in terrific accusation, Is rushing on, a flood of retribution. A flood 'gainst which your dams will not prevail. And your god, Mammon, And all his priests and temples And all his bloody titars, Shall be wiped from the face of the Earth And for all time perish.

WATCHING THE STRIKERS MARCH

I see a hundred thousand marching by. I also see as many millions. There are in spirit also marching by. And lo! methinks this is but a rehearsal For the Exodus from the Land of Bondage — And, I behold with my prophetic eyes God's chosen people crossing, the Red Sea; The workers of the world, God's chosen people, Are crossing the Red Sea of Revolution. And I behold the Industrial Commonwealth, The Promised Land of plenty and of peace, Where each one, under his own fig-tree seated, Shall sing his praises to the Lord of Life.