

The Emancipation of the Workers Must Be Brought About By the Working Class Alone

W e stand in the presence of a revolution—not a bloody revolution! America is not given to the spilling of blood—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not the special interests.—Woodrow Wilson in the New Freedom.

THE TRUTH



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TO THE BRITISH SOLDIERS IN RUSSIA

Comrades:

Great events are taking place. We have just been celebrating the anniversary of the great Russian proletarian Revolution. This revolution has overthrown the government of the landlords and capitalists. It has brought to the working class of Russia not only political but also economic liberty. The big landlords have been driven of the land, the land has become the common property of the people and those who toil are utilizing it for the good of the people. The capitalists have been deprived of the factories, works and mines; these are now being controlled by the workers themselves.

By the February Revolution the Russian people liberated themselves of the tsar's autocracy with its evils; a capitalist government was established. The Russian middle class tried to introduce a system of government similar to yours, a system the main object of which is the exploitation of the working class and its subjugation to a few trusts magnates. The capitalist governments have not only unmercifully exploited the people but have been and are using them as gun-fodder for almost five years.

The Russian working class however did not fight through its revolution in order to continue the murderous fratricidal war, to maintain such a system of slavery as you have in Great Britain. The Russian working class has overthrown the capitalist government and established an entirely new system of government by the working class. Soviets (Councils) of Workers Soldiers and Peasants Deputies have been established which have completed political power and are managing the industries of the country for the welfare of the working people. In each village, town or district such Soviets are at work. These are united in one central body which is being elected every month at the all-Russian Congress of the Soviets. The People's Commissaries such as the people's commissary for foreign affairs, for home affairs, for war and so forth are appointed by this central body and are directly responsible to the working people. Instead of lawyers and self-seeking professional politicians the workers and peasants are themselves managing their affairs. We communists are acting in accordance with the principle. The emancipation of the working class is the task of the workers themselves.

The fact that the Russian working class is striving for its economic and political liberty inducing the British capitalists to use all means in order to prevent us from establishing Socialism. The British, French and American capitalists know pretty well that as soon as the truth about the Russian workers revolution becomes evident to the proletarians of their respective countries these will follow our example and liberate themselves of wageslavery. Therefore they support our counter-revolutionary capitalists, landlords and gen-

erals against the Soviets of the working people. Now not being satisfied with the streams of blood that are flowing everywhere—in the west, in the east, in the south they send you, British workers to fight against us, the Russian workingmen. They wish to enslave us in order to keep you in slavery, yet you allow yourselves to be used as tools for this vile purpose.

Your capitalists and officers have been telling you that you are fighting against Prussian militarism. Prussian militarism has already been destroyed by the Prussian people themselves. Influenced by the Russian Revolution, the German working class has risen and has overthrown the regime of the bloody kaiser. He is in prison, his government is dispersed. Soviets are being formed everywhere; the soldiers have joined hands with the working class; the German sailors at Kiel and elsewhere have shot their officers and taken possession of the navy. Berlin is in the hands of the revolutionary soldiers and workers. Severe fighting is taking place all over Germany; a great Socialist Revolution has commenced. Similar events are taking place in Austria and Hungary. The Emperor Karl has escaped and Vienna and Budapest are in the hands of the Soviets of workers and soldiers. At the western front the German soldiers have arrested the peace delegation of the old government and are negotiating directly with the French and British soldiers.

At this time you are called upon by your capitalist government to play the part of international gendarmes. You are called upon to assist the Russian and German capitalists and landlords to enslave those peoples. In the meantime the British, French and American capitalists are strengthening the shackles of slavery and are forging chains for yourselves. In Great Britain liberty of the press, the liberty of the subject, the rights of the Trade Unions have been completely abolished, the country is misgoverned by a gang of adventurers and profiteers who for the sake of a few millions of profit do not mind killing millions of British and other working men. The flower of the manhood of the nation is being crippled, famine and misery are reigning everywhere. The armament ring which dictates its policy through the Northcliffe press is ruling supreme.

Hundreds of thousands of British working men are protesting against this unbearable state of affairs; they demand peace and liberty. Hundreds of the best men of the nation, such as John Maclean are in prison.

At this time you serve as tools of your exploiters. British Soldiers! Is it not time for you to face the truth, and to decline to serve as the gendarmes of international capitalism?

Demand your immediate withdrawal from free soil of the Russian Federative Soviet Republic!

Return home and join those workers who are fighting for the liberation of the working class.

Peter Petroff.

NONBOLSHEVIK WRITES TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA

Ernest Moulin, Resident for 20 Years, Landowner Until Expropriated, Writes to London Herald on Conditions Under Soviet—Amazed at Lies.

(We are publishing this article through the courtesy of the London Daily Herald. It was written by Ernest Moulin, who lived in Russia for 20 years. He does not favor the Bolshevik control of the Soviet Republic of Russia, but, aroused by the lying campaign carried on by the enemies of an industrial democracy, he asked the columns of the Herald, of which paper he was formerly the Moscow correspondent, to tell some truths that the people should know. Coming from such a source they may have some effect in showing up the campaign of lies now being waged throughout the world against Russia and its present government.)

By Ernest Moulin.
First, as to my qualifications to act as your correspondent, an impartial observer and relator of the facts in Russia as I have seen them during the last two years.

A Belgian, I have lived 20 years in Russia, and have lived among all classes of Russian society. I owe this latter great privilege to the fact that I have helped to organize agricultural co-operative societies and to instruct the peasants in the methods of agriculture as known in Western Europe. Being of the landowning peasant class, and my occupation being an instructor in agriculture, I have been able to get very close indeed to the Russian peasant and to understand his aspirations and his general character. Naturally, I speak Russian fluently.

Of recent years a landowner—though now a dispossessed one—moved, before the war, in landowning circles, and was a member of a well-known Moscow club.

My interests have not been political. I have desired just to cultivate my garden. Not belonging to any political party, I have no intense feelings of partisanship. If I have any political prejudices, they are certainly against the Bolshevik system. I do not believe in it.

Coming of the peasant and farming class, with the instinct for private property in my blood, all my impulses are against the system of complete communism for which the Bolshevik stand. This natural instinct has, moreover, been strengthened by the fact that the little fortune in property, accumulated as the result of hard labor, has been confiscated by the Bolsheviks and I am, indeed, one of their victims. So I am not likely to be prejudiced in their favor.

I have been living continuously in Central Russia—in the territory of the Bolsheviks—ever since they came to power. I was in Moscow less than a month ago. Business of one kind and another—including the confiscation of my property—has brought me into touch with the Bolshevik leaders, including Lenin and his immediate entourage.

The Incredible Truth!

I did not suppose that the story a very plain, simple story of what every one in Moscow and most of

(Continued from page 7.)

RUSSIA'S DOLLARS FLASHED AT PLUTES

SCENT OF MONEY STARTS BIG BUSINESS AFTER RECOGNITION OF SOVIETS

The financial bosses of the United States met in Chicago through delegates representing them last week in a convention of the National Foreign Trade Council and scratched their heads over the question of averting losing profits due to sharp contraction of export trade.

Staged before the convention was a battle royal about Russia. It was the most dramatic news of the week. One did not see it in the news columns of the loop dailies.

The export trade of the United States grew from \$3,000,000,000 before the war to more than \$6,000,000,000 annually during the war. England has shut out much American goods. France has done likewise. Other countries will follow suit. The blockade of the allies cuts off export trade with Russia and the central European powers. The export trade of the United States threatens to fall off suddenly to \$2,000,000,000 or less.

Dangle Contracts Before Delegates.

Soviet Russia has sent credits for \$200,000,000 into this country with which to buy goods and dangles before American business men the possibility of \$2,000,000,000 of business a year, which would make up half of the threatened loss of export trade.

Of course, American business men cannot get this business with its juicy profits unless trade relations are established with Bolshevik Russia. How long will it take the United States to bring about such relations if the chops of Wall street begin to water over these contracts?

So the representatives of Soviet Russia came to Chicago for the convention of the National Foreign Trade Council and dangled the contracts.

For the newspapers to print this highly important piece of news would be to defeat the lies they have been telling about the alleged irresponsibility of Soviet Russia, so it was not printed except when the soviet representatives bought advertising space in the Tribune and inserted the following ad:

The Russian Soviet Government proposes to establish trade relations with the United States.

It will buy manufactured goods for the needs of 150 million people as soon as trade relations between the United States and Russia are established. Satisfactory methods of payment will be arranged.

Mr. A. A. Heller, director of the Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Bureau, will be glad to confer with manufacturers, exporters and producers on Friday and Saturday, Room 1709, Hotel La Salle.

Russian Soviet Bureau.

110 West 40th Str., New York City.
With Mr. Heller at the Hotel La Salle was Santeri Nuorteva, secretary to the representative in the United States of the Russian Federated Soviet Republic.

Kept Bell Hops Busy.

The ad brought results. Nuorteva and Heller were swamped with callers who wanted the contracts. All contracts had to be arranged contingent on the opening of trade relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. Not only that, but boys were kept busy at the Congress Hotel, where the plutes' conference was, paging Heller and Nuorteva.

Another group of Russians was

busy knocking the soviets. These were the crowd of Bahkmetieff, who says he represents the Omsk government, headed by Admiral Kolchak. Bahkmetieff was sent to the United States as ambassador by the Kerensky government and then found himself without a constituent by the overthrow of Kerensky's administration.

The Bahkmetieff group was trying, with lobbying and circulars, to convince the delegates to the convention that they should not trade with the Bolsheviks, but nevertheless Nuorteva and Heller were busy as bees and then could hardly see all who called and had to announce that they would again be in Chicago soon. They also asked several eastern delegates to call for further business discussion at their New York office.—Reprinted from New Majority.

Passport With Safe Conduct Is Granted By U. S. To Lomonosoff

Russian Director of Railroads Permitted to Return to Help Soviet Regime.

Business Men Seek Trade Despite State Department Warnings, Says Nuorteva.

Close upon the warnings issued by the State Department to business interests of the United States not to enter into relations with Soviet Russia lest any debts incurred be repudiated later, confess the unexpected announcement that George Lomonosoff, Russian director of railroads in this country, has obtained a diplomatic passport to return to his native country.

When it was reported several days ago that the Soviet government at Moscow intended to detain Roger C. Treadwell, American Consul to Russia, until Lomonosoff secured his passports, the State Department issued a statement refusing to compromise with the Soviet government. Nevertheless, the Russian director of rails was called to Washington Monday by the State Department.

He was cordially received by Joseph Tumulty, secretary to President Wilson, and other high officials and was presented with his passports which contain provisions for safe conduct through neutral countries.

In November, 1918, Lomonosoff applied for passports, in order to rebuild the railroad system in his native country. Passports were denied by the State Department. Following the denial, came the necessary papers without provision, however, for safe conduct through neutral countries which look upon the Soviet government with disfavor.

The passports secured by Lomonosoff are akin to those issued to agents of any recognized sovereignty. There was considerable speculation as to whether recognition will follow up the State Department's issuing papers of safe conduct to the Soviet agent here.

MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY. SOME MORE!! THE CHILD SKELETONS OF VIENNA

(This is an extract from a description of the effects of the blockade in Vienna, from La Feuille of Geneva, by Pierre Maurice of the Swiss Relief Mission to Austria. He speaks "only of what he saw himself, not of what he was told.")

We arrived at No. 69 in the Leystrasse. Here we are in front of a barracklike building, clean enough on the outside. At the entrance door we are met by a horde of half-naked children, without food and stockings, shivering in the intense cold.

A first distribution of chocolate, with which, on such occasions, we were careful to fill our pockets. Then we asked to be allowed to go through the house, consisting of very small two-roomed flats. A door is opened for us at haphazard and I never shall forget the sight.

Tragic children.

Upon a very small stove, which was hardly lukewarm, four poor little beings, without even a shirt, with bare feet, absolutely apathetic, looked at us as we came in without stirring. They were terribly thin and wrinkled, like little, old men.

We noted seven or eight small and frozen potatoes, which were going to constitute the meal of the family and what a family! A lassie of 8 and a boy of 6 seemed to be hardly 4 and 3 years old, to such a degree were their poor little bodies pinched, stunted, rickety, as the result of privation. One little one showed obvious signs of being feeble-minded.

"Since the famine has prevailed founding asylum told us, "the number of new-born children who are deposited by their mothers at the corners of the streets, because they cannot feed them, is alarming."

We penetrated into great rooms, with lines of cradles immaculately white. It was a striking and sinister fact that, with rare exceptions, no movement, no cry, betokened life. Nearly all the children already bear the seal of death; many of them, so the sisters tell us, are already in a state of coma from which they never will awake—and the little bed, so clean and comfortable, often only harbors for a day or two the transitory ap-

pearance of life. The children's bodies are terrible to see—like skeletons, and bluish in color. Many of the new-born babies come into the world weighing only 1,500 to 1,600 grams!

Doctors Despair.

In other rooms, allotted to children from 2 to 6 years of age, scrofulous diseases and tuberculous swellings abound. "Alas!" said the doctor to us; "we are short of everything! If we could give a reasonable diet to our patients, we would have a great many of them. The small amount of milk which we can obtain is reserved for the very youngest children, and in these rooms it is impossible to give them any. Maize flour, the only kind which we have in nearly sufficient quantities, is a food which in many cases is not suitable for an invalid. The food blockade renders our task impossible!" And the poor man had tears in his eyes.

Here is a list of the food prices which prevail.

One kilogram (two and one-half pounds) of meat, \$1 10s; one kilogram of fat, \$3; one kilogram of

butter, \$3 10s.; one kilogram of flour, \$1; one kilogram of sugar \$1; one kilogram of apples, 7s.; one kilogram of potatoes, 2s. 6d.; one litre of milk, 2s. 6d.

I have quoted only from memory the prices of meat, of fat, of butter of milk, of potatoes.

As a matter of fact, for a long time these articles have been unobtainable and have disappeared totally from the markets. It is only by means of "hawkers" (Schleichhandel) that fortunate people, who have made up their minds to pay, no matter what price, can get them. They have in their pay individuals who, with a bag on their back, go for a three or four hours' journey from the capital, even as far as the Hungarian frontier, and buy up at a frightful price all that they can find.

It will be understood then, that the poor workman, who earns from 8 to 10 kronen a day, and who has four or five children to feed, is liable to desperate acts. To abandon his children to public charity, and ends by collapsing of hunger and misery.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THE SIBERIAN DEATH TRAIN

Train Full of Starving, Insane and Dying Bolshevik Men, Women and Children. Vouched For By the American Red Cross and an American Banker.

The story of the Death Train of Siberia is one of the most ghastly and gruesome of all the accounts of atrocities committed during the war. Men demoralized become but grinning apes. Human beings thrown out of the train as they cease to live. It is a story that should arouse the sentiment of the American people. Every American soldier in Russia is but an aid to the sending of more death trains over Siberia. How long must we tolerate this? Have we become so demoralized by war, that we cannot stretch out the hands of comradeship and stop this terrible cruelty of the Kolchak regime? Have we become so dehumanized as to allow even women and children to be made the victims of degenerate rulers? Workers of America we have faith in you to stop this devilish work. We know that no recompense can bring the reason back to the minds of the Russians who went mad, as a result of the terrible days and nights they experienced. We know that no recompense can be granted to the poor women and children who died. BUT we do know that if the American workers demand that the American troops be withdrawn from Russia, that Kolchak will be without the power of foreign bayonets and that will mean that these atrocities will stop. We appeal to your red blood that courses through your veins. We appeal to you to send out the hand of comradeship to those oppressed people of Siberia and you can do that when you compel the governments of the Allies to withdraw their troops. WILL YOU DO IT?

UNDER ALLIED PROTECTION.

This is the story of an incident in the attempt to overthrow Bolshevism in Russia, by massacre. It is the story of the deliberate and inhuman killing of men and women and children by the Czech-Slovak and Kolchak monarchist forces in Siberia. It was first made known in this country by a brief and unrevealing dispatch which appeared in the New York Times.

The whole dreadful truth has now come to light, and the Death Train of Siberia stands revealed in its sinister magnitude as one of the most horrible outrages upon humanity, not merely of this war, but in all human history. The facts are these:

In the fall of 1918, the Bolsheviks took the city of Samara. It was captured from them a little later by the Czech-Slovaks, who proceeded to throw into prison hundreds of Red Guards, and others suspected of Bolshevik sympathies.

The city was soon retaken by the Bolsheviks. And when the Czech-Slovak forces evacuated the city, they loaded these imprisoned Red Guards and Bolshevik sympathizers, together with all the other people then in the city prisons, on a train. Fifty car-loads of herded humanity, packed as closely as if they were already the corpses they were intended and destined to become. That was in September. . . For six weeks the prisoners on that train did not see the light of day, except when the doors of the car were opened to throw out the dead. This assertion may seem incredible; but it needs to be amended only by the exception of a carload of women prisoners, who were expressly kept for the uses of the convoy. The rest left the train only as corpses—and in that six weeks eight hundred starved and frozen and pestilence-stricken bodies were thrown from the train to rot. It had become the Death Train, known all over Siberia, as it must become known all over the world, as a symbol of the blind hatred and fiendish vengeance of the enemies of Bolshevism.

After six weeks, it was halted at Nikolai by some American Red Cross workers, who defied the authorities, held the train against orders for six days, and rescued from this perambulating inferno some two hundred victims. And then the train resumed its dreadful progress back and forth across Siberia.

This Death Train, it should be remembered, is an incident in the rule of terror exercised in Siberia by the Czech-Slovak and Kolchak forces, with whom the American, British, French and Japanese forces were, and are, co-operating.

It is through the correspondence of these American Red Cross workers in Siberia that the whole story has reached America at last. We quote below some portions of the diary of Mr. Rudolph Bukely, formerly an American banker in Honolulu, now with the American Red Cross in Siberia. It is the record of a six-day interruption of this prolonged massacre. We have omitted certain portions of his story which deal with the heroic efforts of the Red Cross men to relieve the suffering of the victims, and we have emphasized some passages in (bold) type; otherwise the narrative stands as he wrote it night by night after long days of unimaginable depths of horror. It is an extraordinary and utterly convincing story of a horrible thing which we believe the world will not soon forget.

"It is the eighteenth day of November, 1918. I am at Nikolai-Ussurisk in Siberia. In the past two days I have seen enough misery to fill a lifetime.

"I have read many times of the Black Hole of Calcutta. I have been told of Russian prisoners returning from German prison camps wrecked by starvation and tuberculosis. Only four weeks ago, as a four-minute man, I was preaching the doctrine of 'hate.' Today, I humbly ask forgiveness for my thoughts of hate, and pray from the depths of my soul that I may be allowed to play my part, though a small one, in trying to improve the condition of men, whatever their nationality, so that perhaps some day this world may emerge into the great Brotherhood, and that such things as I have seen may become impossible.

"I have seen, through the windows of box cars whose dimensions were twenty-four feet by ten, forty animals who once were human men, women, and children; faces glared at me which I could not recognize as those of human beings. They were like beasts' faces, of a species unknown to man. Stark madness and terror stared from their eyes, and over all the unmistakable sign of death.

"This 'train of death,' for by that name all Eastern Siberia now knows, it left Samara approximately six weeks ago. Men of the Russian railroad service are stationed as far west as Manchuria Station, some twelve hundred miles west of here, through which the train must have passed through Hailar, Tsisikar, Harbin, Moolime, going on and on like a thing accursed, through a land where its stricken passengers found little food and less pity.

" . . . It left Samara. . . in charge of some Russian officers. It had on board at that time twenty-one hundred prisoners of all sorts. They were apparently civil prisoners. Some were Bolsheviks, others had

been released from the prison at Samara. Many of them said they were thrown into jail for being against the Bolsheviks at the time the Bolsheviks were in control; and when in the course of the fighting the Czechs and Russians occupied Samara, they simply cleaned out the whole jail, packed the prisoners into this train, and sent them out west. Between that day and the day before yesterday, when we found this loathsome caravan in Nikolai, eight hundred of these wretches had died from starvation, filth, and disease. In Siberia there is misery and death on every hand, on a scale that would appal the stoutest heart. There were, as near as we could count, thirteen hundred and twenty-five men, women, and children penned up in these awful cars yesterday. Since last night six have died. By and by they will all die if the train is permitted to go on in such conditions.

"It seems a wicked thing to say, but the thought has surely come to me that to kill these people painlessly would require perhaps three dollars' worth of poison or ten dollars' worth of ammunition; and yet for weeks this train of fifty cars has been wandering, driven on from station, every day a few more corpses being dragged out. Many of these people have been in box-cars for five weeks in their original clothing. There are from thirty-five to forty in a box-car, measuring just twenty-five feet by eleven, and the doors have seldom been open save to drag out the bodies of the dead, or some woman who might better be. I have been told that when they first started there were as many as sixty in many of the cars, but death has weeded them out. I have climbed in to these cars at night with my flash light, I have gone into them in the early mornings and examined them. I have seen men with the death rattle in their throat, half naked, with lice and vermin visible on them others just lying in a semi-unconscious stupor; and others with the whining grin of imbeciles, holding out their hands for a few cigarettes or kopecks, clucking with glee like apes upon being given them.

"Of anything like sanitary provision this train has nothing, and the accumulation of filth in which these people have lived and are dying is absolutely unspeakable. The Russian officer who was in charge of the train has made inconsistent statements about the reasons why these people have been subjected to such awful deprivation and abuse. He tries to make the best story of it possible. They were supposed to have been fed regularly at the different stations along the route, but often for days at a time there has been no one to give them even bread. Were it not for the kindness of the poor villagers who, with tears running down their cheeks, men and women alike, give them what little they can afford, they would be absolutely without nourishment.

"I have talked with a woman doctor (a prisoner on the train) who was doing Red Cross work with the Red Guards. She would have done the same work for any one. A highly educated, intellectual woman, forty years old. She has been on this train for weeks. I have talked to a girl under eighteen years of age, beautiful, refined, intellectual. She was formerly a typist and bookkeeper in the mayor's office at Samara. The opposition party got in, she applied for the same job and got it. Later the authorities heard of her former occupation and she was sentenced to six days in jail. She was taken in the great net. She has been on this train for weeks, and unless the Red Cross comes to her aid she will die on this train. All the clothing she has on is a filthy blouse and skirt, a sort of petticoat, a pair of stockings and shoes. No coat, in this fierce winter weather.

"I have talked to a man who has not the brains left to know the difference between a Red Guard and one of any other color. His wife quarreled with another woman, who evidently lodged complaint. That night he was arrested in his home, accused of being a Red Guard. He has been in the box car for five weeks. He will die within forty-eight hours. I have seen them die, and the following morning I have seen their bodies dragged out of the cars like so much rubbish. The living are different, for they know that their turn will come next. While the prattle about liberty, justice and humanity goes on, our hands are bound by 'diplomacy.' We are holding the train. That is the main thing. It should have begun going back toward Samara last night, but it has not gone and I do not think that the Russian train officials will dare to send it out with us on the spot all the time, opening the cars ourselves, talking to the prisoners, giving them what hope of help we can, and taking photographs every day. We are doing all this without authority, and in the face of this horror we don't care who cares.

"It is impossible to tell in print the story of the unfortunate women who have been imprisoned here under these awful conditions. They are treated better than the men. You all know why. In one car are eleven women. We have sat with them and talked with them in a mixed jargon of French, Russian, and German. On the inside of the car hangs a piece of string. On it are four pairs of stockings owned by these eleven women. The floor is covered with refuse and filth. There are no means of cleaning it, neither brooms nor buckets. They have not taken off their clothes for weeks. In the center of the car is a little wood stove, and there are pieces of wood and coal on the floor. All around the sides of

the cars run two rows of planks, on which the inmates sleep at night and sit hunched up by day. If there ever is any official food for the prisoners these women get the first pick, and their physical condition is much better, since eleven of them have a car which would accommodate thirty-five men packed in as they are.

"Two more days have now gone by. Since we arrived a cooking car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards claim to have given the prisoners a little soup. One kettle for thirteen hundred and twenty-five people, and soup passed through a window a foot and a half, by means of an old rusty can! Yesterday one of the women was taken out of the cars by a Russian officer. He will return her when the train pulls out. In this car is also an emaciated creature that was once a man. He was a journalist. His wife is in the same car. She has a very few days to live. When the men stand they fill the entire car. On the two rows of planks built along the sides, the dead and living sleep as best they may. We were told by the guards this morning at half-past eight that three men had died during the night and the bodies had been removed. As we walked past the train a man halted us from one of the cars, and the guards were told that there were dead inside. We insisted on the door being opened and this is what we saw:

"Lying right across the threshold was the body of a boy not over eighteen or nineteen years old. No coat, merely a thin shirt, in such tatters that his whole chest and arms were exposed, for trousers a piece of jute bag pinned around him, and no shoes or stockings. What agony that boy must have suffered in the Siberian cold before he died of filth, starvation, and exposure! And yet 'diplomacy' prevents us from taking charge and giving aid. But we are holding the train!

"We climbed into the car and found two other dead lying on the second tier of bunks amongst the living. Nearly every man in that car was sunken-eyed, gaunt, and half dead. They were racked by terrible coughing. They had the stamp of death on them. If aid does not come quickly they will die. We looked into a few cars only, but at one window we saw a little girl perhaps eleven years old. Her father, she said, had been mobilized into the Red Guard. So now father, mother, and child are on that train and will die here.

"It is the 22nd of November. This morning we got up at seven o'clock and left for the hospital where we had an appointment with Dr. Selesnieff, the military chief. When we arrived we found everything in a terrible condition—more than four hundred patients with only three doctors and three nurses. Two patients had died during the night, and the doctor had discovered nearly all the living to be suffering from diseases of different kinds, including two cases of typhus. We have since learned that a week or so ago two men were put off the train suffering from the same terrible scourge.

"Dr. Selesnieff gave us his official report of the conditions, setting forth, in corroboration of the stories that have been told to me, that during the weeks that the train had been moving to and fro, passengers had died daily from a variety of causes, including typhus, dysentery, influenza, and ordinary starvation.

"The people on the train have remained for weeks without warm food, without boiled water, and many even without bread. According to the testimony of officers in charge of the train, the commandant of the station reports that he had orders to send the train back to the west, but I am sure that among the passengers there are still a number of people so sick and exhausted that further sojourn in these cars will prove fatal.

"We are still holding the train by means of the co-operation of the Czech Lieutenant, and in case of need he agrees he will put the engine out of order. Last night the station master showed us telegraphic instructions to the effect that the train positively must pull out at once, a. m., but it is still here. Dr. Manget arrived last night, advising us that General Graves had had a long conference with the Japanese and Russian commanders, both of whom had assured him they would do all in their power to co-operate, but this seems to mean very little.

"We are still holding the train and have made arrangements with a Russian bath some three-quarters of a mile from here to wash all the prisoners tomorrow for four hundred and fifty roubles. They will start at six o'clock in the morning and walk to the bath.

"November 22.—It is bitterly cold. There was a heavy snow storm last night.

"The baths are all ready and we are waiting for the first contingent. In the distance, against the snow, we can see a body of men advancing very, very slowly and with great difficulty. Many stumble as they walk and have to be supported by the other prisoners.

"The first sixty have gone in and now there is a fire burning in the yard where the disgusting clothes are burning. Inside, the unfortunates have each been given a piece of soap and are scrubbing themselves while the guards carry out the clothes and put them on the fire. The wagon

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THE SIBERIAN DEATH TRAIN

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2.)

has arrived with eighty sweaters, four hundred and fifty pairs of socks, and one hundred and twenty pajamas.

"Tomorrow when this train pulls out it will have nine hundred and twenty-five Red Crosses on it but I must still call it the 'train of death.' There is no use disguising the fact that these people are nearly all going to die, for as soon as the train shall have pulled out the old conditions will return and there will be once more the corpses thrown out day by day from each car.

"November 23.—Today we leave for Vladivostok. We have done all that we could do. We have just learned that there are thirty additional cases of typhus in the hospital and heaven knows how many on the train. We have bought buckets and brooms for the cars which will help a little.

"Later I came down from Nikolsk in a box-car with three American soldiers. It was bitterly cold. We had no stove, but by alternately crouching together and then at times wrestling and mauling each other around we managed to keep fairly warm. We finally reached Vladivostok at about nine forty-five. I am hoping that I may be allowed to go out in Siberia with Dr. Rosett and hunt for other death trains. We may not have accomplished much, but we at least saved a couple of hundred lives—for a time."

If any doubting readers still hesitate to believe that such atrocities have been committed by the reactionary forces to which the United States government has been lending its aid in Siberia, we refer them to the official organ of the Red Cross Magazine for April, in which appears the full account from which we have quoted the excerpts printed above. There the whole story is told, with photographs; and yet not the whole story, for it is stated in an editorial note that "propriety has demanded the exclusion of much that is unprintable" in Mr. Bukely's damning record of the facts as sent to Red Cross Magazine for this further authentic information concerning the Death Train, which is appended to Mr. Bukely's story.

"Mr. Bukely's prophecy that the death train would still be a death train was fulfilled. As it went on over the Trans-Siberian, first west then east, back and forth, driven from town to town, the miserable news of it kept filtering into Vladivostok. The official reports of the Red Cross Commission on December 9th, said: 'We had understood that the train of prisoners would be taken about ten miles from Nikolsk, on account of the unrest caused there by its presence, and would be held at this distance where we could keep closely in touch with developments.' On December 6, however, Colonel Emerson, of the Russian Railway Service Corps, telegraphed from Harbin that the train, now with thirty-eight cars of prisoners, had left Tilsit for Chita. Thus we had first information that the so-called train of death was again on the road and was being taken into western Siberia.

"The officers in charge of the train received a telegram not to unload any of the prisoners within the border of Manchuria, but to take them to Chita, and at Harbin the officers were informed that the sick would be taken care of in the hospital at Foveyordie, which is twelve versts (about eight miles) west of Harbin. This was merely a hoax to get the train out of Harbin. Our next information was that the train had gone west beyond Chita.

"Another week (Dec. 16). It now appears that after rolling toward the west this train has again been turned and headed toward Vladivostok. The train is simply being passed from point to point.

"On and on, days and nights, weeks running into months the wretched company ever dwindling as death takes its cruel and incessant toll."

To this account only one thing needs to be added, and that is a casual sentence from the Associated Press cable dispatch of Nov. 22 to the New York Times: "Other trainloads of human freight in similar straits are now on their way eastward over the Trans-Siberian Railroad."—Liberator.

How the Allied Soldiers Were 'Gassed' in Russia

FACSIMILES OF SOVIET CIRCULARS ISSUED TO FOREIGN SOLDIERS ON RUSSIAN SOIL

WHY HAVE YOU COME TO UKRAINE? To British and American Soldiers.

Fellow Workmen!
Why have you come to Ukraine? Do you not know that the war is over? An armistice is declared on the Western front, and preparations are being made for the peace conference. Yet instead of arrangements being made for you to return home, to those dear ones, who with keen longing will be expecting you, you have been brought here to start a new war in Russia.

What have you got to fight for now?
When the allied governments invaded Russia from the North, in Mourmansk, and Archangel, and the East from Vladivostok, they publicly made a solemn declaration that they had no hostile intentions against the Russian people. They said, they had come in fact to help us to get out of the clutches of German Imperialism. President Wilson gave as an additional reason that he desired to protect the Czechoslovaks, who he alleged were in danger of being betrayed to the Germans.

These were merely pretexts. Russia was not in the grip of the Kaiser. Russia did not want this kind of assistance of the Allies. The Czechoslovaks were in no danger of betrayal. They were at perfect liberty to leave Russia unharmed, but they were bribed by the Allies to take up arms against the Russian Republic, and were until we had defeated them, a source of danger to us.

But what excuse is there now for this fresh landing in the Ukraine, openly directed against Russia? It may be that you have been kept in ignorance of the tremendous events that have taken place during the last month, although that is hardly possible. We tell you then, that there have been revolutions in Bulgaria, Austria-Hungary and Germany.

Prussianism has been overthrown by the German workers and soldiers. Kaiser Wilhelm has fled to Holland. The Crown Prince has been shot. There is a new Government in Berlin controlled by a Workers' and Soldiers' Council.

On the west front fighting has ceased and the German, French, and British soldiers are fraternizing.

In Austria-Hungary too the old order has been overthrown by the workers. The Emperor Karl has abdicated. Hungary has broken away from Austria, and the Czechoslovaks, as well as the other nations hitherto under the dominion of the Hapsburgs have established their independence.

What pretext have the Allied governments now for invading Russia from the South? The menace of Prussian militarism no longer exists thanks to the German Revolution. We have offered to the Czechoslovaks all facilities to return to their own country, to join their liberated countrymen. There is no excuse at all for your landing in the Ukraine. If there was ever the slightest doubt as to the intentions of the Allied Governments, there can be none now. The purpose of the Allied invasion of Russia is to crush the Socialist Republic, and re-establish the reign of capitalism and landlordism.

You surely cannot be unaware of the tremendous change that has taken place in Russia. We have abolished capitalism and landlordism. The land belongs to the whole people. So, too, do the factories, mines, railways and all the means of wealth production. All these things are under the direct control of workers and peasants. We are constructing a new society in which the fruits of labor will go to our vast storehouse of wealth. They want to control the rich coal basin of the Don, the oil wells of Baku, the cotton fields of Turkestan and minerals of the Caucasus, the great timber forests of the North, and the vast corn lands of the South. They want to convert the million of workers and peasants of Russia into wage slaves to grind out profits for them.

Fellow workmen, this is the purpose for which you have been brought here. You have not come to fight Prussian Militarism, that is finished. You have not come to fight for liberty. You have come to overthrow the first real Workers Republic. There is another important fact which you should know. In this attack on Soviet Russia from the South, your government will be co-operating with the present government of the Ukraine. Last year we had a Soviet Republic in the Ukraine. But the present head of the government, Skoropadski, with the assistance of the Kaiser suppressed the Soviet Republic, and since then has maintained an iron rule over the Ukraine people with the aid of German bayonets.

The German soldiers have now refused any longer to be the policemen for the Ukrainian-German capitalists and landlords, and are going home to their now free country.

Skoropadski, has now turned to the Allied Governments and they, not in the least troubled by the fact that he has been actually co-operating with the Kaiser, have come to an arrangement with him, to keep the Ukrainian people down, and to sacrifice you in the interests of international capitalism. If you were told that your landing will be welcomed by the people, do not believe it. During the whole period of the German occupation the Ukrainian people have been in a state of rebellion. The German Commanding General was assassinated. Numbers of other acts of violence and strikes showed the hostility of the people to the present regime, not merely because it was German, but because it was capitalist. At any moment we expect our comrades in the Ukraine to overthrow Skoropadski and to re-establish the Soviet Republic.

Now you have come to the assistance of the South Russian landlords and capitalists. Comrades, are you going to do the dirty work that the German soldiers refused to do any longer?

The supreme motive which animates the capitalist governments of the Allies for invading Russia is to suppress this stronghold of the revolutionary socialist movement. They fear above everything else that the working people in their own countries will overthrow them and take the power into their own hands. They hope, by crushing the Russian Revolution, to take the heart out of the tremendous movement for working class emancipation that is spreading everywhere. And how rapidly it is spreading. The soldiers, who only yesterday were slaughtering each other on the Western front are now mingling as brothers. Will it be long before the voice of revolution is heard in France, England, America and Italy?

Comrades, if the workers of England or America made a revolution would you suppress it? You would not. You would side with your own class. We also are workers, we belong to the same class as you do. Will you then, fight against us.

Comrades, we are living today at the beginning of a new period in the history of mankind. This is the last struggle between Capital and Labor. If you continue your present job, you will be siding with the gang of imperialists, who during four years have sacrificed ten millions of the flower of manhood, have mutilated thirty millions more, have caused unutterable misery and devastation, and who, if allowed to remain in power will reduce us workers, to a worse slavery than has ever been known.

Then there were no ties of blood, or calls of nationality. You experienced only the bitter hatred of the class antagonism. You knew that your security and that of your wife and children depended on the loyalty of the workers to each other.

It happened on some such occasions that some spineless creatures did not stick it out, and went sneaking back to work. What were your feelings then?
Rage, contempt, disgust.
Th traitors! They betray their class. In the struggle for a decent living they go over to the wealthy powerful sweaters. Scabs! Blacklegs!
What mean cringing cars they look as they march up to the factory gates under the protection of the police or even soldiers.

You learned then, did you not, that a nation is divided into two opposing classes, the working class on the one side and the employing class on the other.
The State machine, the Government, the Courts, the Politicians, and the Press, all condemn, and persecute the striker, but protect the scab. They are all the tools of the employing class.
A working man who sides with the employing class, no matter of what nationality, is a traitor to his own class.
There can be no worse treachery than being a scab.
You are scabbing now! Are you not ashamed?
You are fighting on the side of the employers against us, the working class of Russia. You have come here avowedly for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet government.
Do you know what the Soviet government is? It is the government of the working class. Try to imagine a Federation of shopstewards acting as the governments of Great Britain or America and you will get some idea of what a Soviet government is.
Labor is in supreme control in Russia. When you fight against the Soviets you are fighting against Labor; against your own class.
Our revolution was like a strike on a huge scale. We came out not merely for a rise in wages, but for the full product of our labor. We won, because the workers and soldiers of Russia stood together. There were no scabs.
Just as in a strike all the forces of capitalist government, and its agents are employed against three workers, so in this great successful strike of the Russian workers, the forces of international capitalism are being set in motion to crush the victorious workers in Russia, and rob them of their fruits of their victory.
The capitalist class does not allow national differences to interfere with its class interests. The victory of the Russian workers was as much a blow to the capitalists of England and America as it was to the Russian capitalists. They have therefore come to take their revenge.
All their talk of intervention to save Russia, amounts to this; that they are going to return the land to the landlords, the factories and mines to the capitalists and incidentally to grab a bit for themselves in the way of trading rights and concessions. Furthermore they want to compel Russian workers to repay the loans contracted by the tyrannical and corrupt Tsar.
And you are doing it for them. You are the tools of our mutual enemies the capitalists. You hold the rifles, you work the guns to shoot us, your fellow workers with.
Cannot you see that this is part of the same class war that you are siding with the bosses, and helping defeat your own class.
Comrades! Drop this dirty work. Turn your guns on your real enemies, the sweaters and capitalists.
Come with us in the far nobler struggle to establish the triumph of labor the world over.
Signed N. Lenin.
President of the council of Workmen and Soldiers Deputies
G. Tchicherin.
Peoples Commissary for Foreign Affairs.
Berlin, October 31st, 1918.

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SUNDAY EVENING ENTERTAINMENT

and

LECTURE

John Gabriel Soltis

State Organizer

Will Lecture

on

"LIFE AND LABOR"

at the

Woodman Hall, May 18th, 1919

Musical Program

Everybody Welcome!

Refreshments

VIVE CAPTAIN SADOUL!

Captain Sadoul of the French military mission to Russia came into prominence some time ago through a letter he wrote home stating that, although he was not a Bolshevik, he wanted the French people to know that their newspapers were lying about conditions in Russia, and to demand that their troops be withdrawn from the soil of the Soviet Republic; since then Captain Sadoul has moved steadily to the left, and his latest communication to the French proletariat is as follows:

"Comrades:
The French Socialists in Russia salute with enthusiasm the first revolutionary efforts of the French people.

"Our proletariat will not permit the deceivers of the people and the Ententists to arrest its forward march.

"Down with compromise. The revolution against the capitalist Bourgeoisie must take place. Let the workers and peasants of France take into their hands all the power, political as well as economic.

"The imperial governments of the Entente have imposed upon Germany a shameful armistice. But at present German imperialism no longer exists. Lloyd George and Clemenceau are trying to deliver a mortal blow to the young German revolution.

"Let the workers and peasants of France and Germany prevent the last mobilization of imperialism driven to the wall, destroy the frightful armistice, and themselves establish, without intermediaries, the conditions of a sincere, democratic and just peace, without tributes, without indemnity for losses, and guaranteeing to every oppressed nation the right to dispose of itself.

"Long Live the French revolution!

"Long live the people's peace!

"Long live the United States of Communist Europe!

"CAPTAIN JACQUES SADOUL,

"Member of the French Military Mission in Russia."—Liberator.

The Proletarian Revolution Will Arise Like a Giant

—KARL LIEBKNECHT.

STIRRING CALL FOR ACTION

By EUGENE V. DEBS

(Printed by request.)

On this May Day, in this wonderful year of 1919, the doors of a Federal prison yawn wide open for me and for my comrades, who have stood true to the cause of Socialism during the bloody holocaust of the war. But what says the song of my comrade and fellow convict Rose Pastor Stokes? "Our prison doorway is the gate

Whereby the new day enters; Each tyranny but serves to make New rebels of dissenters."

Jail has no terrors for me. I

have been in jail before. Twenty-four years ago I was sentenced to six months in prison for the crime of contempt of court, because I was using "persuasion" to further the organization of the railroad employees. Twenty-four years ago! And now we find the railroad employees of the whole country, united in four great Brotherhoods, first forcing a universal eight-hour day from the Government by the threat of a general strike, and then calmly proposing to take over and run all the railroads themselves, because the Government has failed to conduct them efficiently and well.

It took twenty-four years to bring them to this stage of self-confidence and solidarity. But now things are moving with such wonderful rapidity that twenty-four hours often seems sufficient to bring about a new revolution. The hour of the people draws near. And if my imprisonment can aid in any way to bring nearer the striking of that hour in this land then I welcome imprisonment, I glory in it, I rejoice in it. A thousand—ten thousand times I would rather spend my remaining days under lock and key than to betray or retard this great cause.

So far as I am concerned it does not matter much. The margin is narrow, the years are few, between now and the sunset. My only care, so far as I myself am concerned, is to preserve to the last the integrity of my own soul, and my loyalty to the only cause that is worth living for, fighting for, dying for.

And in what a glorious company do we stand, who are privileged to bear for you the hate of the foes of life and honor! Twenty centuries ago the Man of Galilee spoke to the common people, and they heard him gladly. He was brought before the Scribes and the Pharisees, and the priests and the doctors and the lawyers and the judges. They said "He is preaching dangerous doctrines. He is a Bolshevik!" They hung him on a cross near Jerusalem as a warning to the centuries. But ever since that time the cross on which he was hung has been the emblem for which tens of thousands have gone gladly to their death.

And ever since men and women of moral courage have dared to speak the truth as they saw the truth; they have been maligned and persecuted, they have been stoned and burned at the stake, their ashes have been scattered to the four winds. But these are remembered and they who wrought their death are buried in the obloquy of forgetfulness and of shame. Remember that George Washington was denounced as an unprincipled scoundrel; Jefferson was said to be a violent fanatic; Samuel Adams a dangerous character; Patrick Henry was called an incendiary. But the cause which they championed triumphed and their names today are revered.

A little later there was a group of abolitionists who fought against the institution of slavery, which had existed in this country for 250 years. Abolitionism was the Bolshevism of that day, for it struck

at the root of an evil thing, instead of compromising with it, on the ground that "the time was not ripe." Those men were ridiculed, denounced, imprisoned and killed; but today they are honored, while their persecutors are forgotten and their very memories reviled.

And shall we fear or be ashamed to join this company? You and I, comrades, who are reviled and hated for the cause, are richer than any millionaire. How poor is Rockefeller! Millions of dollars, but not a comrade! But as for us, we love humanity; our good depends upon the good of all humanity.

And now the people of all the nations of the world are beginning to believe this thing, to find it true; and the earth is beginning to shake. The common man is beginning to think. That is Bolshevism. That is the beginning of the end of capitalism—and the end of the beginning of Socialism. And because we bid the people to think, they are putting us in jail. Can they stop thought by this means? Can a thought be imprisoned? Remember what the Scripture says; that Paul was put in prison, but there came an earthquake shortly after and the prison doors were opened. People began to think, and the walls of the Bastille were torn down. Can prison doors stop thought? If the Bastille fell, will Leavenworth, will Atlanta, will the Moundsville prison stand forever?

I am going to speak to you as a Socialist, as a Revolutionist, as a Bolshevik. What is this thing that the whole world is talking about? What is it that the ruling class power is denouncing, upon which they are pouring a flood of malicious lies—what is it? It is the rise of the workers, of the common men, the peasants, the soldiers—who for the first time in history are saying unitedly "We have made what there is, we produced wealth; now we will take what we have produced for it is ours." Do you remember what the Psalmist says—"The sea is his, for he made it." So the worker is beginning to say "All wealth is mine, for I made it." And for the first time since ages began, he stands erect, his bowed head lifted; in his grim strength he begins to shake off his manacles, to straighten himself in the sunlight. He opens his eyes, he begins to see for the first time. He asks: "Why must I press my rags closer to my body, while I may not touch the costly robes my own hands have produced?" "Why must I walk in alleys, while I am forbidden to enter the great palaces which my hands have built? Why must I set the table for all the banquets of the world, when I am forbidden to eat of the crumbs which fall from the rich man's table?"

And to stop him from thinking thus, they have put me and my comrades in jail. With every drop of my blood I defy their law, and I despise them. I am appealing to you, to the common people; I care nothing about the Supreme Court, Corporation lawyers every one of them. The Supreme court is not the court of last resort; the people are.

Sixty years ago the Supreme Court decided that a black man was no human; that he had no rights which his master was bound to respect. By that decision they imagined that they had made chattel slavery secure for all time. But Lincoln was elected President after a campaign in which he poured scorn upon that Supreme Court's decision. Within five years the Dred Scott decision was swept from the land with a torrent of blood. How great a cost! How terrible the price we paid!

Like Wendell Phillips, I say to you "When they pass that kind of a law, trample it under your feet." It is not a law, it is an act of violence. Such is the Espionage Law. Why, even the Supreme Court dared not pronounce that law Constitutional. They evaded the issue. They dared not put that decision upon record. And why not?

Read the law, and read the Constitution, and you will see. The amendment to the Espionage law makes it a crime to criticize crime; it rivets a fetter upon your lips, it binds a gag tight in your mouth. It destroys what was left of democracy in this land. No 1—can I, respect a law that destroys all liberty, that places this country where Russia was under the Czar? No! I despise it, and so does every other man or woman with decent blood in their veins and the light of honesty in their eyes.

For what does that law tell you. It is a crime to criticize any official of the Government. But what did the Government itself say, in the Federal Industrial Relations Commission Report? What did it say? Why, this. "A Government which can be maintained only through the suppression of criticism ought not to be maintained." Remember what the Scripture says again. "They love darkness rather than light because their deeds are evil." Why this muzzling of criticism? What are they afraid of? We were forbidden to criticize war, and now we are forbidden to criticize peace. For peace is often as terrible as war. Who is it that made war? The ruling class. You have never made war, you have no cause for war. You pay all the bills, shed all the blood, make all the sacrifices; they receive all the gains. You must not say a word. Have your limbs shot off, your eyes gouged out, your lungs gassed, come back in fragments, and look for a job so that you can make enough money to pay the taxes which will meet the expenses of the war. But—you must say nothing about the causes of war, and the peace which is to follow the war will be made by your masters, and you must say nothing about that either. The Attorney General has just announced that one of his first jobs will be to secure the passage of an extension of the Espionage Law which will prevent all lawless and seditious agitation; by which he evidently means that labor or must not ask for a realization of the promises that were made to it, or labor will be punished for treason.

Who is it that is making the terms of peace? Is it not strange that the great common people who shed their blood, who fought the war, who made all the sacrifices—is it not strange that they should have no voice in the making of the terms of peace? The working class form the victims of all the wars of all the ages. Across all the centuries I can see them. In ancient Rome they were slaughtered for the amusement of patrician loungers on the benches of the Coliseum; through all the Middle Ages the serfs were killed for the profit and glory of the knights. And today, you who were dragged and hurled into the war, you who shed your blood like water, you who suffered agony that no human mind can imagine nor tongue describe—you have no voice in the Peace Conference that is settling the destinies of the world; no voice—except the voice of Gompers. And that is not the voice of labor.

No voice, did I say? Yes, you have one—but it is not speaking in Paris. There where the elder statesmen gather, where the four old men are parcelling out the world among them, the voice is the voice of capital. They are planning a League of Nations there as the last desperate stand of Capitalism. It is the final expedient of the exploiting classes, the commercial and economic big thieves to retain their supremacy. But even while they plan, their eyes are not on their work, and their ears do not listen to what they themselves are saying. No, for out of Russia there comes a Voice, and out of Russia there shines a Light, which claims their fearful attention even while they pretend to be drafting a constitution for the world. It is no longer Wilson, it is Lenin who dominates the Peace Conference. They have listened to Wilson's words, and were captivated for a while by the exquisite rhetoric which he exudes; but beneath this shining fabric of words they found no substance of truth. When Lenin spoke, it was to tell the truth, and the working class of every nation in the world responded to his utterance with a mighty shout. The

Voice of Labor sounds at Paris as an echo from the mighty utterance of Nicolai Lenin; and the whole world hearkens when he speaks.

There is much talk now about recognizing Russia. Raymond Robbins is demanding that the United States recognize Russia. There are two sides to that question. Suppose Russia should refuse to recognize us? Suppose Russia should say, "We will buy your supplies because we need them and you will take our gold because you want it, but we, Soviet Russia, will not recognize the United States until from your flag is wiped the foul blot of Political Persecution; until the United States of America becomes a civilized nation by releasing all political and industrial prisoners. Then, and not till then, will sovereign Soviet Russia acknowledge that the United States is fit to be our comrade."

Great movements are shaking the foundations of all the countries of the world. In England the Triple Alliance of Railroad Men, Miners and Transport Workers, are quietly planning to overthrow Lloyd George and establish a Labor man as Prime Minister, with all the dictatorial powers which Lloyd George now possesses, for the nationalization of all mines and railroads and socially necessary industries. In Germany, the Ebert and Scheidemann Socialists are already tottering to their fall; in France, in Italy, Labor is uniting its strength for the establishment of Soviet republics. Hungary has done so! The spirit of Kossuth finds its answer in the spirit of Bela Kun. All of Central Europe plans to follow.

In every previous revolution it has been said, "The working class is not ready." And so in Russia Kerensky tried to tell the working class that it was not ready. But Lenin and Trotsky said, "If you do not begin you will never learn," and so they began, and in the months since the dictatorship of labor was established they have made more progress and did more in constructive work than all the capitalist governments have ever dared to do. They have refused to compromise. They have established an absolute qualification for citizenship, a qualification of service. They have said, "No voice in the government without useful labor." And for that they have been denounced and vilified with every infamous lie that the foul imagination of a capitalist tool could invent. But the working class of the world is not swallowing these lies; they are preparing to follow their example.

On this May Day let us stand upright and be counted. We need to be united. We need to get together. We need to feel the common touch. The world will always be against us if we are not for ourselves. You who produce everything, you who really create, you who are conserving civilization—how can you endure to think that you are the bottom class, the lower order? When you go for a job to the master class you work under conditions which they prescribe. You depend upon them for tools, you work for their benefit.

But now—look into the eyes of your brother and see the new light that is shining there. We have endured, we have been oppressed, we have suffered; now let us unite and stand together against capitalism. Let us unite industrially. Let us establish the service qualification for industry. What they are calling "Dictatorship of Proletariat" simply means "no work, no vote." Unless one serves society he cannot enjoy the protection and comfort of society. Let us as workmen, establish the absolute rule that since Labor creates all wealth, all good things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them.

The doors of the prison may clang shut upon our bodies, but they cannot imprison our souls. A few of us may fall, a few of us may die, but the great movement goes gloriously on. It cannot be long now before it shall triumph. Our emancipation, the emancipation from the power of the ruling class cannot long now be delayed.

On, comrades, with renewed resolution, with courage mounting ever higher. We are right, and the right will win.

WILL DEBS COME OUT, OR SHALL WE GO IN?

On Saturday, April 13th, 'Gene Debs went to prison for ten years. The editors of this paper, and every member of the Left Wing, stand squarely behind the position of 'Gene Debs, and we herewith endorse the speech for which he was convicted.

'Gene Debs told the truth about the war. Every event that has happened since he spoke—the invasion of Socialist Russia by the International Imperialists, the armistice terms to Germany, the futile proceedings of the impotent "Peace Conference" at Paris, and the mobbing, suppressions and arrests of Socialists at home—all these things prove clearly to the blindest that the War was nothing but a capitalists' war and no workingman had any place in it.

The court which convicted 'Gene Debs, and the Supreme Court, which sustained the conviction, proved his charge—that the courts of this country are created to defend and protect the capitalist class against the workers.

The ruthless ruling class of the United States, hysterical at the sight of red clouds in the east, turns instinctively to its sole weapon against the righteous wrath of the tyrannized and exploited workers—brute force. They have taken away our beloved 'Gene; they have shut in their ferocious bastille our fearless Comrade, who dared to speak what is in the hearts of thousands of us.

The National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party has arranged to hold five thousand meetings of protest all over the country on May 1st.

Protest? To whom? To the capitalist Government that put Debs in jail—and whose spies and petty agents have riveted on America for the past two years a veritable White Terror? The Government pays no attention to our protests; the Government allows Tom Mooney to put in prison for life, convicted on perjured evidence; the Government permits torture of conscientious objectors, and holds behind bars thousands of political prisoners, under terms of imprisonment unparalleled in modern countries.

Does the Government yield to our protests? One hundred odd conscientious objectors out of many hundred have been set free; before sailing for Europe the last time President Wilson "pardoned" one Socialist political prisoner, who didn't commit the crime for which he was convicted, and "reduced the sentences" of others, from twenty and fifteen years down to one, two and three years. The press reports that he has sent from Paris for the "papers" in the Debs case, presumably to "reduce the sentence."

No, Comrades, our protests and our prayers did not win these contemptible sops. It was the European comrades, the Communists of all countries, who, growing tired of lies and hypocrisy, have turned to action. The dictatorship of the Proletariat is the workers' answer to the White Terror. It is to quiet the giant of awakening Labor in Europe that Wilson hands out these crumbs, saying, "See, here's an amnesty. I'm a Democrat—I love the workers."

Protests are foolish. Prayers are despicable. The only way to answer the brute force of the ruling class is by means of the organized power of the American workers. Rights, justice, reason mean nothing to our rulers; organized power is the only argument they recognize.

If the workers of the United States were to stop work for three days, the jails would open and Debs and our other Comrades would be free.

We are sick of protests and prayers. We are sick of resolutions and manifestos.

We demand the release—not "pardon"—of 'Gene Debs.

We demand the release—not "pardon"—of Tom Mooney.

We demand the release—not "pardon" of all political prisoners.

COMMUNIST.

SOCIALISM AND FRANK HARRIS

By ALANSON SESSIONS.

Frank Harris, the charming and genial editor of *Pearson's Magazine*, is convinced that American socialists are too radical. In his estimable opinion, we should be less revolutionary and more reformist. Mr. Harris professes a warm sympathy for "revolutionary" socialism, but pleads for a cautious application of the socialist theory. In a letter to the writer recently Mr. Harris says in answer to my criticism of his Menshevik attitude:

"I think you fellows are losing the substance for the shadow. You want socialism and socialized enterprise to take the place of individualism apparently in a day. In my opinion you won't get it in five thousand years, certainly not in America; yet if we all concentrated on getting government control of the railways as well as the telegraphs and telephones, we should have been able to lift the status of a tenth of the population; and this would have had a wonderful result on the other nine-tenths.

"You will not see that the individual and his desires must first be considered; that society comes afterwards. Anything that two such men as Goethe and Carlyle agree upon, though separated by race and by half a century of time, I should feel inclined to accept; then I come fifty years after and have arrived at the same conclusions. Are we all three mistaken? If so, I sin in good company.

"Read 'Latter-Day Pamphlets' by Carlyle, and see if there is anything in Karl Marx of equal value; but, above all, read Lenin's pamphlet 'The Soviets at Work,' which proves what I have said: Equality is the worst injustice."

First, we shall overlook Mr. Harris' intimation that he and Carlyle and Goethe are a trio of world intellectuals, eminently capable of solving the economic ills of society. He always displays a certain amusing egotism. Many will remember the advertisement that has long run in *Pearson's*: Three Great Men—Oscar Wilde, Bernard Shaw and Frank Harris—What the Last Two Know About the First.

But why should Mr. Harris lean on Goethe and Carlyle for assistance in meeting the arguments against socialism? As an economist, Carlyle was famous as an essayist and historian. As a sociologist, Goethe was eminent as a poet. Mr. Harris' assertion that the two men are superior to Marx as economists is the acme of absurdity. Carlyle's Great Man theory of history, his unbalanced interpretation of the French Revolution—these prove him to have been astoundingly superficial and hopelessly prejudiced. Goethe's sympathies were always frankly monarchist. Moreover, both men lived in an age widely different in economic and social conditions from our age.

Bolshevism, or revolutionary socialism, is purely a product of modern conditions. It is applied Marxism theory, adapted and adjusted to the ripe development of modern capitalism. This being the case, Carlyle and Goethe can give no valuable advice to the insurgent proletariat.

Mr. Harris is a liberal. Liberals are always more or less useful. They are usually tolerant and most of them possess a certain breadth of mind. Very often they help us radicals in getting our gospel of rebellion before the working classes. But as conditions exist they are back numbers. Men who confine their attention to government ownership of telephones and railways are a decade behind the times. The "step by step" socialists are strangely out of date. The day has come for a revolutionary, not an "evolutionary," socialism.

Hunger, privation, poverty, misery—these are world-wide, gnawing at the vitals of the workers more ruthlessly than ever. The war with its appalling destruction of life and wide-spread devastation of wealth and property has created a mass psychology—productive of revolt. What has occurred in Russia, in Hungary and elsewhere will inevitably occur the world over. THE HOUR OF WORLD REVOLUTION

IS AT HAND, AND IF THE CAPITALIST CLASS OF THIS COUNTRY PERSIST IN ITS INFAMOUSLY BLIND ATTITUDE, SOME KIND OF A REVOLUTION WILL OCCUR HERE.

We socialists cannot afford to tinker with the public ownership of telephones and railways. We welcome all such reforms, but we haven't the time to dally with them. Our work is a more imperative one—the education and organization of the masses for the Great Change.

Let the liberals agitate for government ownership. Our immediate task is the formation of Soviets in the form of industrial unions, co-operatives and soldiers' and sailors' councils.

Mr. Harris is a well-meaning man, a journalistic genius, a great thinker, an artist. But if his policy of moderate socialism were to be adopted by the revolutionists of this country, only disaster and confusion would result.

30-HOUR WEEK

Labor is never satisfied. When they get forty hours, they ask for thirty hours. So speaks the man on the streets. What will satisfy them, anyway, he asks. The Seattle judges asked a striker in the dock this same question. "What do you want that you haven't got?" asked the judge. Quick as a flash the reply came back: "Well, judge, what have you got that you don't need?"

This explains it all in a nutshell. The worker works eight, 10, 12, 14, 16 hours a day and still is poor. The boss enters the office at 10 a. m., has two hours for lunch at the club, and quits at 4:30 p. m. i. e., he works four and a half hours, and, according to Sam Hughes' ropes in five million dollars a month, or \$100,000,000 in a period of four years. So says labor it is not the hours you work that determines the pay.

But, further, while 30,000,000 men have been fighting for four years or so, the balance have supplied the needs of the world, and in addition have created weapons of destruction for their use. When these men get back, therefore, there will be no need for all to work such long hours. In addition, unemployment and overwork are poor bedmates. So, the hours of all must be shortened.

Over-production is caused by long hours. Over-production is an anomalous expression, and an unnecessary industrial condition, therefore the hours must be shortened.

The worker leaves home early in the morning; he sees the children again only at the supper table. He must attend a meeting at night. He has no time for leisure, or music, or art, or literature, or pleasure, or travel—yet he creates all. Moreover, he it is who fought the battles for "his country," yet he must work so hard that he can never enjoy a share of his country. For such reason, whether he be Irish, British, German, French, Russian, American, or Canadian, he calls for the six-hour day. Can the man who works only four and one-half hours a day say him nay? We shall see.—Western Labor News, Winnipeg.

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The High Cost of Dying

By ANISE, in Seattle Union-Record.

We have our own experience
In the HIGH COST
OF LIVING.
But we always supposed
If things got UNBEARABLE
There was at least
ONE WAY OUT!
The way prescribed
By some kind friends of ours
Who recently said:
"If these working people
HATE the way the WORLD is,
Why don't they DIE?"
But, just as we
Got READY to,
Some folks who seem to know
Say the high cost of LIVING
Isn't IN IT
With the HIGH COST
OF DYING.
With Doctors and Hospitals
And UNDERTAKERS
All charging whatever
The traffic will bear!

But we hear with relief
The workers of Canada,
While looking for chances
To take over the industries,
Cast their eagle eyes over
The industry of DYING,
And organized in Carrisvale
A CO-OPERATIVE COFFIN
COMPANY
To fight the
Undertakers' Trust.
And make
DYING CHEAPER!
And over in Edmonton
The MINISTERS took a hand
And passed resolutions
Asking the government
To control Undertaking,
And fix the price of coffins
And the expense of FUNERALS,
Because the POOR
Could no longer AFFORD
To DIE.
And I see in Tacoma
They are proposing
A UNION-MADE HOSPITAL
To handle the FIRST PART
Of dying.
And after a while
They will get to the DOCTORS
And have them all unionized
On EIGHT-HOUR SHIFTS,

And regular salaries
Instead of in their present
ANARCHISTIS style
Of WASTE and DISORDER.
As soon as they have
The doctors and hospitals
And COFFINS
Completely nationalized,
Going up to HEAVEN will be
So easy and CHEAP
That they will just have
To make EARTH PLEASANT
If they want to keep folks
DOWN HERE AT ALL.

Socialists Aim To Down Clemenceau When Peace Comes.

Reports from Paris indicate that the overthrow of Clemenceau and the establishment of a Socialist regime after the signing of the peace treaty is now the aim of the Socialists of France.

The weapon by which this change will be effected by the Socialists is the fact that the indemnity from Germany will not be great enough to avoid heavy taxes upon the people of the republic.

The Socialists count upon a great reaction when the populace learns that, in order to keep the finances of the nation from being wrecked upon the shoals of bankruptcy, Clemenceau will be forced to impose unusually large taxes.

France has not had one war-time tax, its leaders and financiers depending upon a heavy indemnity from Germany to defray the deficit in the tax schedule. The Socialists will advocate a taxation of incomes that will protect the workers, the peasants and small business, with the object of completely defeating the present political regime of the nation.

LETTER FROM EUROPE

LIBERTY CLUB AND INSTITUTE, 318, GREEN LANES,
MANOR HOUSE, FINSBURY PARK, N. 4. MARCH 21. '19.

Dear Carney:—

It is true that I have been lecturing on "On With the War"—which war I leave you to guess—also I am fairly busy in various directions, but that would not prevent me from writing to an old and valued comrade such as yourself. Neither am I yet in the happy married state. I calculate that I have been looking for the right little girl for a matter of 10 years but the ideal has not yet come my way.

I am glad to know that our small efforts are occasionally heard of the other side of the herring pond and that they prove some sort of inspiration. Yes, on the whole I think we can beat your activities. Our Club is not large, the largest hall only holding some 120; but the following is our week's activities:—Sunday, Finsbury Park, open air meeting, generally an audience of from between 1,500 to 2,000. Afternoon same. Evening indoor lecture. Monday Economic Class. Tuesday Literary Class, Thursday Speaker's Class. Friday Business Meeting. Saturday Concert, Social or Dance (generally in the Club, but about once a month in the famous Allison Hall). On the whole I think we are keeping our end up, though we have had great difficulty with speakers. During the last month several of our men have been let out of their various hotels under the 'Cat and Mouse Act' after hunger strike; these include Beacham and Sara, and their appearance on our platform has proved a great help and inspiration to those of us who have been carrying on in their absence. Dick Fox, I am sorry to say is still inside; he was forcibly fed for nearly a week and eventually had to give in. I am glad to hear that things at your end are now going forward with a swing. We are experiencing much the same renaissance. Our N. London branch has now some 600 members and new members are coming in at the rate of 10 a week.

I am sorry to hear that you have incurred the displeasure of the authorities. As you say, it is bad enough to get into trouble for big things, but when other people let you down on a mere technical point it is the limit. I hope the penalty is not serious. Anyway, best of luck!

I am interested in your remarks about the Mooney convention, and particularly pleased about the demand for the recall of Gompers. As you say it is significant and an augury of the times. John Mooney, as I suppose you know, has been over here some time, and a short time ago gave a lecture at the Club. Also, on last Thursday we had a lecture from two of the men who were deported from your side. They received the situation round about the localities of Butte and Seattle during the last 5 or 6 years, and therefore your news about these two places comes as specially interesting. Here, as on your side, the doom is spelled on Craft Unionism. For many years W. F. Watson and others worked for amalgamation of the various unions, but now it seems that the Shop Stewards movement is taking more and more power into its own hands, and there is a sharp cleavage between them and the Executives of their various Unions. Up to the present the Shop Stewards movement has only developed to any large extent in the Engineering Industry, but it is certain to grow and as time goes on assume more and more control. Of course, the situation here this week-end is pregnant with possibilities. Any day or hour may see the Triple Alliance out, though J. H. Thomas is, as usual, working for compromise. The Coal Commission which has been sitting for the past fortnight has brought home to people more than anything else could have done the justice of the Miner's claims. It is estimated that an average of 1,100 miners have been killed every year for the past fifty years; in 1914 the total number of non fatal accidents involving a loss of work for more than 7 days was 158,862. In Durham four out of every 10 persons live under conditions of over-crowding. In Hamilton, Lanarkshire, 27,000 out of a population of 23,000 live in one or two roomed houses. In addition to this, the Mine Owners have made enormous dividends, many of them making some three or four times as much during the war as previously.

As you have a copy of the 'Herald' recently I suppose you know that it is coming out as a Daily on the 31st of this month. The whole thing has been put upon a really business footing this time and it is estimated that it will easily start with a circulation of one-half millions. Of course there are great possibilities for it with an organized labor movement of well over four million. It does not stand for everything some of us might wish, but that it will bring Laborism and Socialism into the realm of practical politics we are sure. The new Labor Party in the House of Commons, as I suppose you know, is rather a wash out. The only people of any real good are Neil Maclean of Glasgow and Ben Spoor of Bishop's Auckland. Josiah Wedgwood an independent Liberal, is putting up a good fight, but generally speaking I don't think that the present Parliament will be of much use to us. Of course the aggregate Labor vote in the country was an enormous increase upon the previous one and out of all proportion to the number of seats won in the House of Commons. Arthur MacManus, editor of the Socialist, polled just over 4,000 on a really revolutionary ticket, though of course he did not get in—but you see that we are moving some. John Arnall, one of our local speakers in the Park, put up for N. Islington and polled the same figure. He ran under the auspices of the Labor Party but was quite straight on the war issue, and of course early in the fight was tarred by his opponents with the name of "Bolshevik." We are all Bolsheviks now, if we for an extra 1-2 dollar an hour, or an hour's less work, or a bathroom in the house, or in fact if we ask for anything at all. Once it was Anarchist, then Syndicalist, now the bogey, bogey is Bolshevik! B-r-r-h!

I suppose you know that in addition to my spare time work I am working occupationally in the office of the National Council for Civil Liberties. This is very similar to your Civil Liberties Bureau. We fight Conscription, D. O. R. A., attacks made on Free Speech the Right of Civil Trial etc. Some 1,400 bodies, mainly industrial are affiliated to us and we have nearly 2,000 individual subscribers.

Kindest regards from all to all, fraternally and cordially
Yours,

PERCY W. HOWARD.

"SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS."

... (Dedicated to the Royal House of Rothschild and Rockefeller.) By Covington Ami.

"Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the house of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king and his lords, his wives and his concubines, drank from them. They drank wine, and praised the gods and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone. In that same hour came forth the fingers of a man's hand, and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaster of the wall of the king's palace:

*****Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin.")

(1).

"Mene, Mene, Tekel, and Upharsin," thus the spirit wrote, And sudden ceased the music through Belshazzar's hall to float:

Ere dawn, the Mede was in his gates, the Persian on his throne,—
The Mighty Lord of Babylon had reaped the harvest sown.

(2).

Thus fell the Roman Caesars, thus the Prussian Kaiser went,
On the road prepared for others,—by the sword of Kaled sent,—

In the midst of purple power,—at the height of pomp and pride,—
When their courtier-slaves were boasting how the Rebel Leaders died.

(3).

When Truth's soldiers all are scattered, and her gold seems turned to dross,
And Caiaphas stands gloating at the white form on the cross:

When the Tyrant fills the prisons, and the law is what he wills,
Lo! the Maccabees are gathering in the cities and the hills.

(4).

O! Belshazzars of the Counting House, the Fend again is here.

And the Darius of Labor at your gates will soon appear.
From the deserts they are coming, men determined to be free,
And this decade shall not vanish ere the Promised Land we see.

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OUR REPLY:

We shall organize our class into one big army of the workingclass and in the day of OUR power we shall inflict a vengeance more terrible than your hounds of hell can conceive. We shall make a law that will drive you to distraction and despair. It shall be the law of the Bolsheviks and the Spartacans: "HE WHO DOES NOT WORK NEITHER SHALL HE EAT."

STEEL! AFTER ONE YEAR IN SOVIET RUSSIA LENIN OR WILSON

By W. F. DUNN.

There is no period in the history of the world when such tremendous economic power has been exercised by a few individuals as at the time in which we are living. And this power is given to them through the ownership and control of the basic necessities of life.

It is a fact not generally recognized, that the absolute control of some one article that is essential to the welfare of society will give a power just as great, and more easily maintained, than the control of everything. In the feudal system the basic necessity was the land—today, it is steel.

Do you realize that our whole civilization rests on iron and steel? Can you picture yourself the results that would follow if we should wake up some morning and find that all the knowledge possessed by men concerning the smelting of iron ore and the refining of steel had been forgotten overnight? The result would be that the whole human race would revert to barbarism, for there is not a single process in our present methods of production and distribution of food and clothing that could be continued a year with that knowledge gone. Let us consider for a moment and see how closely iron and steel touches our lives.

You are awakened in the morning by an alarm clock controlled by a steel spring. You jump out of bed and proceed to dress and everything you put on from your hat to your shoes is made on machines composed of iron and steel. You go to the kitchen and build a fire in a stove made of iron and steel. You sit down to breakfast. The chair you sit on, the tablecloth and the dishes on the table are made on machines composed of iron and steel. The flour in the gems or hot cakes, the oatmeal, the coffee, the sugar and the syrup are manufactured and prepared with machines and utensils composed of iron and steel. Breakfast over you are ready for the day's work.

Suppose you are a miner. You take the street car to your work on the hill. The cars, the tracks, the drills and picks and shovels and machines you work with, the pumps that drain the mine and the engine that lowers and hoists you are composed of iron and steel.

Or suppose you are a farmer. While your wife is getting breakfast you go out and do your chores. The first thing you throw the horses some hay with a fork made of steel, and you loosen up their hides with a curry comb made of steel. Then you milk the cows and run the milk through a separator made of iron and steel. After breakfast you hitch on to a plow or harrow or cultivator or harvester composed mainly of iron and steel and made on machines composed of iron and steel. The harness is made on machines made of iron and steel and the horses are shod with steel shoes. Or if you have a tractor, it is made of iron and steel.

Perhaps you want to take a load of hogs to town so you hitch on to a wagon composed mainly of iron and steel and they run over steel rails to Chicago, where they are turned into hams and bacon in a factory composed of iron and steel.

When you go to town in the evening to see the movies you get into your "tin Lizzie" which is composed of iron and steel and you sit in a seat composed of iron and steel and watch the pictures thrown on the screen by the operations of a machine composed of iron and steel. And when at night you steal a few hours sleep, you lie down on steel springs on a bed composed of iron and steel.

All means of communication from the typewriter to the telegraph and telephone, all our means of transportation from the freight wagon to the transcontinental railroad and ocean liner, all our architecture

fashioned by tool of carpenter or mason is made possible only through our knowledge and control of iron and steel.

Considering all this, can you realize the unlimited power that would be placed in the hands of an individual or a group of men that could control the iron and steel products of the world?

Listen to these figures from the New York World:

"In 1913 the prices of billets at Pittsburgh was \$26.50, in 1916, 42, and in the middle of 1917, \$100. In 1913 plates were \$33.60, in 1916 they were \$73, and in 1917, \$200."

Do you wonder why prices are high when the basic factor in production increases in price in three years from 300 to 600 per cent? Do you wonder that farm machinery jumped up over 100 per cent in price in the same period?

Do you understand what President Wilson meant when he said in his new freedom. "We have come to be one of the worst ruled, one of the most completely controlled and dominated governments in the civilized world—no longer a government by free opinion, no longer a government by conviction and the vote of the majority, but a government by the opinion and the duress of small groups of dominant men."

The question is not whether President Wilson has been able or unable to curb the power of these dominant men, but, is it true. We believe it is true—and Wilson surely is in a position to know.

Do you understand what it meant to have the council of national defense dominated by men who belong to these dominant groups?

To have on the "co-operative committee on steel and steel products" such men as Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel corporation and Chas. M. Schwab of the Bethlehem Steel corporation; on the "co-operative committee on copper," such men as John D. Ryan of the Anaconda Copper Mining company; on the "co-operative committee on chemicals," Wm. H. Nichols of the General Chemical company; and on the "sub-committee on army vehicles," Mr. A. B. Thielens of the Studebaker corporation.

There is just one lesson to be learned from all this—the utter futility of expecting a solution of our problems to come from a government controlled by small groups of dominant men or from a PARTIAL government ownership of the industries. Nothing but the COMPLETE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF ALL THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION CAN BRING ECONOMIC FREEDOM TO THE MASS and this change will never be brought about except through the control of industry and government by the working class.

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The forming of Committees of the Poor (agricultural laborers, hired farm workers) in the villages signaled that the fight against the nobility was completed and that the working class had begun the much harder and historically much more important struggle for Socialism. It was an immense task to awaken the class-consciousness of the agricultural laborers and poorest peasants, and to weld them into one class with the city proletariat. Without this, the decree socializing the land would have been a paper decree. The agricultural laborers and the poorest peasants, together with all those who do not exploit other men and do not live upon the toil of others, constitute the vast majority of the people. They are not interested in the continuance of exploitation, and were capable of going beyond the abolition of the feudal land-owners. They did go beyond this, emerging definitely into the proletarian struggle against Capitalism and for the establishment of Socialism.

This was the difficult task. Everybody who doubted the possibility of a Socialist revolution in our country prophesied inevitable failure. The formation of committees of the agricultural laborers and poorest peasants, that soon covered the whole country like a net, the growth and transformation of these committees into actual and powerful Soviets, was destined to assume control of the proletarian constructive work in rural Russia. This is the distinctive feature of our Revolution, that differs so profoundly from the usual bourgeois democratic revolutions of western Europe.

No doubt, in a country so dominantly agricultural as Russia, Socialist reconstruction is hampered by every large obstacle. It was comparatively an easy job to depose the Czar, to abolish the power of the nobility. This was accomplished in a few weeks also over the country. But the problem we are facing now can be solved only through a long period of hard work. Here we must go on step by step, inch by inch, to conquer Russia for actual Socialism, to cultivate land on a communistic basis.

And it is obvious that the transition from individual small farming to communistic production will require a long period. It cannot be done in a day.

We know very well that in countries where small farming is predominant, the transition to Socialism requires many preliminary measures and gradual steps. Being aware of this during the November Revolution we put forward only the demand for the confiscation of the lands of the nobility—we made every effort to sweep away the power of the pomeshchiks. Later on (March 1918) the new law of the socialization of land was introduced unanimously, by the representatives of the communist workers as well as by the peasants' delegates to the Soviets, who were not as yet communists. This law is the embodiment of the will and aspirations of the majority of the peasants, and it shows at the same time that the proletariat and the Communist Party Bolsheviks, being aware of their duties, are relentlessly and patiently pursuing the path of Socialist reconstruction, taking systematic steps to awaken the poorer peasantry. Every step forward is based upon this awakening and organization of the peasantry.

We know very well that such a reconstruction in life of tens of millions of people, which is transforming the deepest foundations of everyday relations and habits—the transition from private individual production to communistic agriculture—is to be accomplished only by prolonged and insistent efforts, can be accomplished only when necessity compels the people to reconstruct their life.

And after the long and terrible

By N. LENIN.

Translated by R. Hansen.

Address to the Convention of Delegates of the Committees of Agricultural Laborers (Poor Peasants and Agricultural Communes (December, 1918).

When we can perceive the beginning of the social revolution all over the world. Even in the most backward countries there now exists a necessity that—independent of all theories or Socialistic teachings—speaks authoritatively to each and everyone that life cannot go on as before.

When a country has suffered such a gigantic destruction and has been thrown into chaos, when we see that this chaos is being spread all over the world, that all the results of civilization, science and technique acquired humanity during ages of unrelenting toil—when we see all this wantonly destroyed in four—years of a capitalistic war of hunger and conquest, when all of Europe has been brought back to barbarism—then the broad masses and especially the peasants, who suffered most of all from this war, begin to realize that all forces and extraordinary efforts must be exercised in order to get rid of this inheritance of the damned war, that has brought us on the brink of utter exhaustion and misery. It has become impossible to continue to live as we did before the war, it has become impossible to continue the wastage of human energy in primitive production on a small individual basis. The results of human labor would be doubled or trebled, the conservation of human energy would be doubled or trebled if communistic production could be put in place of individual private production.

The devastation that we inherited from the war does not permit us to restore this system of small agricultural production. More than that. The majority of the peasants not only have been awakened by the war, not only are they aware of the wonders of technique for purposes of destruction of men and goods, but they are awakened also to the consciousness, that this marvelous technique must be applied in the most necessary and most backward branch of human economics—in agriculture. This applies to science which has been utilized for sinister purposes of Capitalism, from now on must serve humanity. Our duty is to turn agriculture to new roads, to abolish the old primitive methods and lase production on the very last conquest of science and the achievements of modern technique. The consciousness of this necessity has been awakened by the war in higher degree than we really appreciate. Besides this awakening, the war also made a return to old methods quite impossible.

Those people, who cherished the hopes of restoration of the old, are compelled to realize their blunder more and more with every passing day. The destruction brought about by the war was so monstrous that our small individual farms do not have either cattle or implements or tools. The limit was reached. The poorest toiling peasantry, which gave the highest number of martyrs for the revolution, which were most terribly victimized by the war—did not take the land from the nobility for the purpose of turning it over to the speculators from their own class—to the rich peasants. Before this poor peasantry life itself puts the problem of communism in agriculture, as the only means of restoring the civilization that was annihilated by war, as the only way out of the darkness, the misery and the oppression—these "blessings" of Capitalism for the peasants—which gave to the capitalists the possibility of torturing humanity under the war for four years, and from which the toilers

have decided to liberate themselves all over the world.

Comrades, when we adopted the law of socialization of the land there was no full unity of opinion between the Communist and other parties. The left wing of Social-Revolutionists, who supported the Soviets, did not believe in communism in agriculture. And nevertheless the vote was unanimous. And this communistic law prevails and is gaining ground. The struggle in cities was simple. There we got a thousand workers against one capitalist. In rural districts the struggle became more complicated. The first onrush against the noble land-owners was crowned with complete and easy victory. Then the struggle among the peasantry itself took root. The peasant class set out to get fortunes out of the spoils and from the sufferings of the hungry industrial proletariat of the cities. A number of riots and revolts occurred during the summer of 1918. Later on we had to adjust the relations between the poorest and the medium, small peasantry. And our policy was to unite these two groups. The medium, small peasants are not enemies of the Soviets, neither of the proletariat, nor do they oppose Socialism. Certainly they are unreliable, they are with us only when they see on practical grounds that socialization is a measure of necessity. They cannot be converted by theoretical discussion or by propaganda. We don't have illusions on that score. But they are being converted by the example set by the determined unity of the toiling peasantry with the city proletariat. By a number of transitory measures. Gradually during a longer period, the unity of the communists with the medium, small peasantry can be accomplished successfully.

The policy of the Soviets in agriculture is the introduction of communism all over the country. In this direction they are working systematically. For this purpose the Soviets are organizing land communes under their own management. To this end are made the provisions that the priority of the utilization of land belongs to the state, then to public organizations, next to agricultural communes. These provisions are necessary for the transition to complete Communism.

The Soviets are using unrelenting efforts to this end. They assigned a billion rubles for improvements, provided that this sum is spent for transition to communal production.



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THE BOURGEOISIE SCENTS DANGER

By Nicholas I. Mourwich.

If one could for a moment take himself to the skies and secure a bird's-eye view of the stormy, bloody struggle, the sufferings and tears that are agonizing our world, it would appear clearly as a struggle between Bolshevism and Capitalism—a deadly clash between the new glorious proletarian-communist society towards which humanity is advancing, and the old rotting capitalist system which is desperately trying to save itself from destruction.

The ultimate result of this clash—which the bourgeois press, accustomed to think in terms of "great men," calls a struggle "between Lenin and Wilson"—is easily foretold. At this moment, the forces of the two opponents are almost equal; but the forces of one, the revolutionary proletariat grow and multiply, while the forces of the other, Capitalism, are rapidly on the wane.

It is quite natural, accordingly, that a view of this great spectacle of struggle and revolution provokes a feeling of sadness in the bourgeois paper, the New York American:

"The fate of the world is being decided not in Paris, but in Berlin." This is the tragic announcement, at the very beginning of the editorial. But as you may glean from a further reading of the editorials, and particularly, if you are capable of reading between the lines—the real situation which evokes this spirit of resignation is that the "fate of the world" is being decided, not in Berlin, but in Moscow—Berlin, in this case, plays the part of a "dam" which holds back the Bolshevik revolutionary stream that threatens to flood the whole of Europe.

It is not surprising that the thought of the writer of the editorial runs ahead of events, and paints a lurid picture, full of horrors, of what may happen when "this last defense of Europe against anarchy" will be destroyed and "Prussia fall into the hands of the Reds."

And the picture, indeed, is a

terrible one! "The other governments of Europe will tumble in swift ruins. . . . It is impossible that either the French or Italian Governments can retain power over their proletariats if the resources and population of Germany and Austria are added to the vast territory and the millions of people over which the Red Flag now waves."

And, for the information of those who doubt that France and Italy might become "victims" of Bolshevism, the American says:

"Every well informed man knows that the Reds in France and Italy and in England, too, are eagerly waiting to strike great blows for the International, and that the signal for these blows would be the Red Flag waving over Berlin and the message that the Red Armies of Russia, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria and Hungary were marching to the help of their comrades in Paris and in Rome."

"Red Flag and the Hymn of the International are neither one new to France or to Italy. And there are millions of Frenchmen and Italians ready to be led to march under the blood colored banner, singing the songs of revolution."

In horror at this picture painted by his imagination, the writer of the American editorial turns to the statesmen sitting at the Peace Conference in Paris with the appeal to lessen their bellicose spirit and spare "democratic Germany," and not to throw it into the embrace of the "reds" by too exacting and humiliating demands.

"Remember,"—the American cautions severely, but at the same time softly—"remember, if Berlin falls beneath the blows of Bolshevism, the Peace Conference will be lucky if it can find ships to carry its members away from Europe."

Have not these "words of caution" something to do with events at Murmansk among the American troops, and our own situation in this country?

ATTENTION!

Oscar W. Larsen

Organiser Scandinavian Socialist Federation will lecture at

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All Scandinavian Comrades should attend these meetings. Larsen comes with a reputation and a real message.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER

Editor of Truth will hold a study class every Monday evening at the Truth office.

Subject: "SHOP TALKS ON ECONOMICS"

We are not too old to learn.

NON-BOLSHEVIK ON RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1)

the Bolshevik territory knows to be the plainest statement of the plainest facts, could 'prove' in any way sensational, and it is only since my arrival in England and my reading of the press of Western Europe that I have come to realize that what I have to say will appear incredible to English ears.

I have not yet, perhaps, completely recovered from the amazement created in me by the ideas of Russia and the existing regime which I find prevalent in England.

We know of course, in Russia that rather wild stories were current in England concerning the nature of the Bolshevik rule, of a perennial red terror of daily massacres, of troops running amuck in the streets of Petrograd and Moscow, killing children, violating women, stories of the nationalization of women—but I assumed that these stories were confined to the very ignorant, the repetition of which would not be sanctioned by reputable journals.

But that is not the situation I find. I find that these wild stories are printed and have been printed for months, day by day, in your most reputable papers; that the feeling created by them is dominating the public opinion which must decide your policy in Russia, and that this amazing distortion of perfectly verifiable facts will probably be the main cause of a line of political action which may lead to the very thing which it is the desire of all to prevent, the cause of mistakes for which tens of thousands in England and France will pay with their lives and which may lead to something resembling the utter breakup of all real social security in the modern world.

I find practically everywhere in public opinion certain unshakable convictions, namely:

1. The present Bolshevik rule is sheer anarchy, maintained over a quaking multitude by political adventurers, who neither desire nor are able to organize the country economically, a recognition of whom would in consequence condemn Russia to chaos and ruin.

2. The governments of Kolchak and the various small republics surrounding Bolshevik territory are of anore orderly character, whom it is safe and honorable for the Allies to support as against the Bolsheviks.

3. That the triumph of these counter-revolutionary or anti-Bolshevik groups would provide a road toward a peaceful, unified and free Russia.

As against these convictions I want to state what I declare to be and what thousands of witness, perfectly accessible to the Allied governments, will confirm as the truth.

The Truth.

1. These stories of wild orgies and terrorism are monstrous falsifications. Never, since the revolution, has such good order been maintained as at present in the territory embraced in Soviet Russia.

2. To enter into alliance with revolutionary or anti-Bolshevik groups, or the small republics now fighting Soviet Russia, can maintain order better than the Bolsheviks, or agree together, or bring peace to the country, is to fly in the face of all the available evidence.

3. To enter into alliance with them and to support them with arms must fall utterly in establishing peace.

4. The forces best able quickly to re-establish the economic life of Russia are the existing Bolshevik authorities.

5. These authorities are extremely desirous of receiving help for peaceable re-establishment of industry in their country, and the re-awakening of its economic life.

6. The Bolshevik government is prepared to make the largest possible concessions and compromise in order to secure the co-operation of the Allies; it is prepared to give guarantees for the repayment of the Russian debt; to indemnify foreigners who have suffered by the economic measures taken by the Soviet government; and these facts are perfectly well known to the Allies.

THE WRITING ON THE WALL

By Charles Roden Buxton.

Our rulers have deliberately chosen to perpetuate war conditions in Europe for five months after hostilities in the main theaters were over.

They must pay the price, and they are paying it now.

With feverish effort they try to turn the screw of repression tighter and tighter. They starve the German people. They starve and invade Russia. They threaten a peace of force which breaks every pledge they have made. More force, more threats—each successive savagery necessitating and justifying the next—such is their only conception of how to utilize their victory.

But it avails them nothing. They cannot fulfill their promises—cannot give us peace, cannot abolish conscription, cannot fulfill their secret engagements to one another, cannot even "make Germany pay"—and they are beginning to see that, little by little, but quite inevitably they will be found out.

The perpetration of war conditions has had one effect which they themselves—too late for remedy—now frankly recognize. It has given an immense impetus to "Bolshevism."

Bolshevism: The End of an Epoch.
The diverse popular movements which we vaguely sum up under that phrase are spreading apace. Their origin, of course, goes deeper down. It is the end of an epoch that we are witnessing. The ordering of the world by a small section in each nation, possessed of education, property, the machinery of government, and the means of creating public opinions, is visibly coming to an end.

The Great War brought the process to a head. The gigantic shiftings of power which have occurred since 1914 have made every thinking man contemplate revolution, whether violent or peaceable, as a familiar and normal mode of change while the terrible nervous strain of the past five years has affected the psychology of mankind, and cut men adrift from all their old moorings. But, while these things are true, it is none the less a fact that the new movements have been immensely intensified and embittered, as well as hastened, by the reckless and unnecessary prolongation, since November last, of starvation, unemployment, armed repression, and uncertainty as to the terms of peace.

Bolshevism Rapidly Spreading.
The movements began in central Russia because central Russia reached the necessary stage of decomposition many months earlier than any other country.

They are now predominant in the vast territories of Little Russia or the Ukraine.

They have overstepped the boundaries of the former Empire of the zar, and Hungary, torn and distracted by Allied invasion on three sides, has set up a "Bolshevik" regime.

Germany and Austria, if nothing is done to reconstruct their economic life immediately, are likely to follow her example.

Poland would then remain an island surrounded on all sides by the rising tide.

And what is the attitude of the Allied statesmen, in view of these momentous developments—developments beside which the rivalries of Entente and Central Powers seem a mere drop in the bucket? They make no effort—if we are to judge by outward appearance—to understand the new world in which they are living. They take no steps to enlighten their peoples! On the contrary they use all the machinery at their disposal to prevent that enlightenment. While a new world is coming into being, they live still in the old.

The Old Diplomats Blind.
What is alone vividly present to their imagination is the issues of the Great War. How to crush Germany; how to reap the fruits of victory; how to satisfy the territorial claims laid down in the secret treaties without too openly violating President Wilson's principles; how to render "their domination secure throughout the world"—such are their preoccupations. For all the notice they take of it, one might suppose that human evolution stopped on November 11, 1918.

In point of fact, the world in which they are living still is a piece of past history. They might crush Germany tomorrow, and they would be no nearer the establishment of peace or the reconstruction of Europe. They would find themselves still confronted with an unsolved problem, and one much greater than that which they thought they were disposing of.

The New and the Real Problem.

The problem which really confronts them today, though they do not know it, is whether the social relationships of classes are going to be fundamentally altered, whether the conscious union of the working classes of the world is going to be attained.

What is coming in the place of the old world we can only dimly surmise. But the brave strivings of the people, with or without the guidance of fortune's favored sons, will certainly continue. They would continue none the less though we installed Admiral Kolchak in Moscow.

But, limiting our view to the more immediate future, we can easily see that our governments will be confronted, even after the completion of realization of their present aims, with something which they are wholly unqualified to deal with. There will be leagued against them, not a few crushed governments and a few cowed and exhausted peoples—a Russia, a Hungary, a Germany—but a great mass of population, stretching at least from the Volga to the Rhine, seething with social discontent and inspired or infected (the term will vary with the point of view) by an idea.

There will be a wholly new alignment of forces in the world not corresponding to the old.

Let the Statesmen choose. . . This seething mass may give more or less trouble to the Allied statesmen, according to circumstances.

The best that can be hoped for from their standpoint is that it will contain within itself the perpetual menace of war; it will call for armies of occupation; it will compel them to remain armed; and the victorious countries will inevitably suffer grave economic injury through the industrial ruin of so large and important a portion of the earth's surface.

On the other hand, the new situation may give rise to something much more serious. It may mean the immediate resumption of war—war against a powerful "Red" alliance, commanding and utilizing some of the world's richest sources of raw material—an alliance which might throw up, not merely a Lenin but a Napoleon.

Where Bayonets Are Powerless.

In either case there will be the idea to reckon with; and the idea, good or bad, will not be eradicated. It is ridiculous, as well as contrary to every principle of liberty, to attempt to repress the "propaganda" of the advocates of the idea. If the idea is false and destructive, the way to meet it is by the censoring of its literature or the imprisonment of its votaries.

"Bolshevik propaganda," though it may hasten its dissemination, is not necessary to it. It will germinate of itself, with a supreme contempt for frontiers, sanitary conditions, or color bars.

But is it certain, after all, that wisdom is banished from the earth? Will not the force of circumstances compel the statesmen, even at this late hour, to pause and reconsider? Is not the fiery writing on the wall so plain that the very blind must see it?

The Only Alternative to War.

We have tried every weapon in the armory of force, and bluff and threatening, and they have all proven so lamentably futile! May it

not occur to somebody in authority that the time may have come to take his stand upon the opposite principle altogether, and to make his appeal to the good will, instead of to the fears, of humanity—of friends and enemies and neutrals alike? The thing is really not so unpractical, after all.

The man who, greatly daring, should decide to effect this great and dramatic reversal of policy would begin by frankly and unreservedly recognizing the full right of Russia or Hungary or any other country to set up a Bolshevik government; with all the existing governments, whether Bolshevik or otherwise, if it pleases.

He would immediately come to terms, even if only patched-up wise. And at the same moment he would appeal to the whole world immediately to unite its resources on an organized plan for the purpose of feeding the hungry everywhere, without distinction of friend or foe or neutral, and of pouring into every country the raw materials which are needed to set the world's industry in motion.

Is it too late?—Labour Leader England.

HORROR STORY OF U S. CAPTIVE BEHEADED BY SOVIET PROVES FALSE.

London.—A report published in a London newspaper that Russian Soviet troops had captured Shengkursk and decapitated 60 American prisoners with axes was declared by both the British War Office and American headquarters to be untrue.

Can Government By The People Survive?

To be a true Democracy—to really believe in Government for the people, by the people, we must believe in and insist on social and industrial justice. To accomplish this, we must guarantee every man his rights and insist on the full performance of his duties. A few cannot be permitted to usurp the rights that belong to all in common—no longer shall a small privileged class, whose only interest in the human family is to make a profit out of them, say to the people's representative, "If you stand in the way of our schemes for public plunder and excess profits, our private owned and subsidized press will, by abuse, slander, dishonest criticism and misleading insinuations, shake the people's confidence in honest servants, in order that their own puppets may be placed in power to serve their interests."

A FREE PRESS, owned and controlled by the people must crush this tyrannical and despotic kept press. Democracy must be kept alive. No Democracy can live unless it keeps within its own hands the power to right wrong and the instruments to expose the wrong-doer. Can we afford to agree with the kept press that news and the public interest, unselfish service and lofty ideals, the struggle for equity impartiality, right thinking and a knowledge of truth shall all be sacrificed on the altar of greed for profit?

The world is facing a great crisis; the individual must do his own thinking. In order to think and act correctly, we must know the truth about all sides of our great problems that present themselves for solution. The press is and has been for years simply the tool of the great financial interests—mere dollar worshippers. The common masses suffering from wrong have been trapped and misled by the scheming dishonesty and misleading advice of the daily press. They not only fail to tell the truth, but worse than all, they deal in falsehoods that lead us to destruction.

STOP TRADING WITH THE ENEMY.

The struggle between Autocracy and Democracy for the control of the Press is on—the struggle between the masters and the common people is entering upon its final stage—the time has come for the common people to quit giving aid and support to the enemy.

If the common people want a newspaper they must own it and support it—if they want a meeting-place, they must build it—if they want to control the means of life, they must educate the people every day, through a daily press. The workers of Europe learned this lesson a generation ago—IT IS OUR TURN NOW.

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THE INTERNATIONAL

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL WORK OF THE SOVIETS.

By V. Lenin.

The Russian Information Bureau in Paris issues the following characteristic speech by Lenin at the National Congress of the councils of the National Economy, which met at Moscow.

When I think of the attempts of our Superior Council of National Economy and of those of the local councils, I consider that we have no reason whatever to be pessimistic. The success accompanying the fulfillment of the tasks imposed on the Superior Council of National Economy and on the district and local councils is already so gigantic that there is nothing astonishing.

Nothing of a nature to inspire fear in the facts we have to face. Very often one recalls the saying: "Measure seven times before you cut." When it is a matter of reorganizing the national economy on a Socialist basis, with the assumption of power by a class, which, for the first time in the history of humanity, is followed by the great majority of the population and by the entire masses of the workers and the exploited, we have not a simple matter that demands our very utmost skill and attention.

It goes without saying that in view of the difficulties and importance of the problems of organization confronting us, in view also of the radical transformation of the foundations of existence for hundreds of millions of men, it is impossible to arrange all things to run smoothly and, according to the proverb: "Measure seven times before you cut." No Socialist of good sense who has written on the future has imagined that it would be possible to overthrow the old system at one blow and according to a preconceived plan, and to reconstruct, in the twinkling of an eye, the new basis of organized society. That we knew when we accepted power and set ourselves to the work of Socialist reorganization. Now we do not yet know the concrete reorganization that the communal society requires for the efficient performance of its functions. Only the collective experience of millions of men could furnish decisive indications for this purpose. For our work—that of bringing Socialism into being—the experience of some hundreds of thousands of persons belonging to the upper social stratum, which until now have made history, is not sufficient. This experience has so far been acquired only by the landowners and capitalists, but we cannot follow in their steps or apply the same methods, just because we reckon on co-existence, that is the experience of millions of workers.

All of us, at least all those of us who base ourselves on science and Socialism, know that Socialism cannot be raised except in so far as international capitalism has developed the material and technical premises on an immense scale and on a scientific basis. That is why we cannot institute Socialism until we have created an important framework of specialists possessing scientific knowledge. We do not shut our own forces, it is impossible for us to carry through a Socialist revolution in a country less backward than Russia, and under conditions much more favorable than those which prevail in consequence of four years of terrible ruinous war. But he who, on the strength of the disproportion of our forces to our tasks, turns his back on the Socialist revolution now being enacted in Russia, is like the man who sees no farther than his nose, and who forgets that no serious group d'état was ever accomplished without having been preceded by a whole series of cases in which such disproportions were revealed.

Our forces grow as the struggle proceeds. Our experience will not be forgotten. It will not be forgotten by the workers who at the present moment, are grouped professionally and locally and who are taking in hand the communal and national work of production.

Whatever the difficulties in the midst of which the Russian and the International Socialist revolution unfolds, the experience gained will remain. It has taken its place in history as an acquisition of Socialism and it will serve as a

basis for the future international revolution in the construction of the Socialist edifice.

I allow myself to draw your attention to another problem, the most difficult of all perhaps, which has been practically solved by the Superior Council of National Economy, namely the discipline of Labour. We recognize that it is really the Trades Unions and their most important organizations—notably the Central Executive Committee of the Metallurgical Union, the All-Russian Trade Union Soviet, great professional organizations, with their millions of workers—who were the first to solve spontaneously this problem, the historical import of which is universal. To understand it, we must brush aside the difficulties and a few failures in detail. We must study the historical changes in the forms of the Social Economy. It is only by placing ourselves at the point of view that one can make an estimate of the enormous dimensions of the problem which we set ourselves. We note the enormous importance of the fact that it is the most advanced elements of the people, the labouring and exploited masses, which have taken the initiative in solving a problem, the solution of which had been imposed on them until now.

Before 1861 this problem was resolved by a small minority of landed proprietors whose task was the institution of discipline in the forces of the state. We know in what manner the landed proprietors and the upholders of servitude brought about this discipline. Oppression, humiliation, and unheard-of tortures imposed on the majority of the people—such was their procedure.

Remember the passing of serfdom to the bourgeois economy—from the regime of the old disciplinary serfdom and the stick, with its insensate and brutal violence, to bourgeois discipline by means of hunger, designated the "free hire of service," and which is the essence of the discipline of capitalist slavery. From the historic point of view, this passage seems to be simple enough because the sum total was but the passage of humanity from one exploiter to another. And yet, this passage required many years of effort. If then you adopt this historic point of view, you will not allow yourselves to be deceived by the bourgeoisie and its lackeys who make a trade of spreading panic and discouragement. We do not count on a rapid success. We do not even pretend to it. We know that our work undertaken on an international scale can only be accomplished in a whole historical epoch. We have opened this epoch; we are obliged to break the discipline of capitalist society, and we are proud to affirm that all the conscious workers, and all the labouring peasant class, entirely support us in this work of destruction.

The masses begin to understand that this discipline, founded as it is on the exploitation and on the enslavement of the workers, must be replaced not by an order coming from above, but by one conforming with experience drawn from the life of the people and giving rise to a new discipline of labor—co-ordinated and organized by the labouring peasant class, by the workers of the whole country, with its hundreds of millions of inhabitants.

This problem presents enormous difficulties, but it is worth the trouble it may cost in solving, for only when we have found its practical solution shall we finish nailing down the coffin of capitalism.

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—NIKOLAI LENIN Premier Russian Soviet Republic.

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FRIDAY, MAY 16, 1919.

YOU FELLOW-WORKERS!

The capitalist press today is ransacking its store of foul and dirty lies, in order to find sufficient venom wherewith to discredit the Bolsheviks. The executions that have taken place in Russia, rendered necessary by the presence of traitors, within and without the ranks of the Bolshevik Army, have been magnified to such an extent, that we wonder that there are any Russians left alive.

True it is that conditions are not exactly as we would like to have them, but why blame the Bolsheviks for them? The people who blame the Bolsheviks for revolting against Czarism, would blame the tiger for objecting to being killed. Men maddened by social injustice will rebel and destroy and it is a waste of wind to blame them for doing so. It was capitalism, i. e. Czarism that drove the Bolsheviks to revolution and more power to the Bolsheviks for being possessed of the courage and the devotion to the principles of human freedom, that brought them to the point where they considered their principles as being more important than their own lives.

The Bolsheviks are not angels; they are the products of conditions under Czarism. The old regime made the Bolsheviks what they are. You cannot produce turn-your-others cheek Christians out of people who have been used to the knout; the victims of pogroms and the sport of brutal Cossacks. The Bolsheviks are criticized for their class form of Government. The Soviet form of government takes into consideration only one class, those that work. Those who do not work, with the exception of those physically incapable of working, have no voice in the affairs of Russia. Why should we object to that? Surely the most bigotted partisan to our form of Government, if he believes in the Declaration of Independence must of his own sense of fairplay admit that the people who perform the work of society should control it. Better by far, as far as the workers are concerned, and TRUTH stands only for the workers, we are not concerned about the other fellow, that the workers control the government and make mistakes, honest mistakes, than to see a mad ruling class, drunk with power, imprisoning men like Debs and Haywood. Give us the mistakes of the workers of Russia, before the outrages of Ludlow, New York, Bayonne and Leavenworth. Give us the suppression of all those who seek to drive back the Russian people, to the rotten regime of Czarism, than the support of Allied bayonets in favor of drunken degenerate monarchists like those who rule at Omsk. Class rule by all means. We have had enough of class rule by the capitalists. We have the fruits of their rule. They can be seen in the brothels, asylums, penitentiaries, workhouses, etc. They can be seen in every part of the world where capitalism reigns supreme. If class rule is good for our masters, then why not class rule for the workers?

Many are advising us at this time to suspend judgment on the Russian situation. It is the advice of the cowards. We cannot suspend judgement. The more we hesitate, the more we strengthen the hands of those who would drown the Soviet Republic in the blood of the Russian workers. We must, if we are loyal to our class and that is the ONLY loyalty we know of, stand by the Russian workers. We must do more than that, we must get out and organize the workers, so that by the power of the strong right arm of Labor we can say to the Imperialists of the world, "Hands off Russia or by God we will take one leap at your throat and choke out your very life." Action is what we need at this time. Suspend judgement. While the vultures of imperialism look with greedy eyes toward Russia. While the dark night of capitalism is fleeing before the rising sun of revolution. We must suspend judgement! Let us forget such foolish chatter. Let us stand up like men and greet the sun of revolution with open arms. Stand erect comrades and organize in the factory and fully conscious of your task the world will yet see the glorious sun of liberty shedding its rays over all the world.

Cant!

Last Saturday, President Wilson spoke at the French Academy of Science and Arts. He gave the usual kind of "New Freedom" talk. The following extract is taken from his speech:—

"Safety in Freedom of Speech."

"I have always been among those who believe that the greatest freedom of speech is the greatest safety, because if a man is a fool, the best thing to do is to encourage him to advertise the fact by speaking. It cannot be so easily discovered if you allow him to remain silent and look wise, but if you let him speak the secret is out and the world knows that he is a fool."

Think of the two thousand class-war prisoners in the prisons of America.

Then think of the cant and hypocrisy of the President when he utters remarks like the above.

SCANDINAVIAN BAND WILL PLAY ON UNDAY EVENING.

The Recall of the State Secretary.

The State Executive Board has decided to issue a ballot for the recall of the State Secretary.

We want to point out to our readers that the issues involved are not personal ones. They are not concerned with the personality of comrade Dirba. Every vote cast for the recall of the State Secretary is a vote cast for the Scheidemanns and Kerenskis of the Socialist Party. All Left Wing-ers must cast a unanimous vote against the recall of Dirba. See to it that your local votes against the recall of Dirba. Make it unanimous and save future trouble.

And Judas Went and Hung Himself.

The Duluth Typographical Union has voted down the Mooney Strike proposition.

We trust the members of the Typographical Union will pause and reflect over their action on the Mooney resolution. Some day they themselves might want a general strike of the workers. On that day we shall show them how to act like workers, not rattlesnakes.

We extend the same cordial invitation to the plumbers' union, to pause and reflect over their vote on the general strike of the Duluth Show Case Company.

Even a MAN will help a poor mongrel.

CONGRATULATIONS MOONEY DEFENSE COMMITTEE

A Mooney Committee, headed by fellow-worker Towne, has held four meetings in Duluth, Proctor, Two Harbors and Superior. From every point of view the meetings have been a success. The stirring speeches of W. F. Dunn and W. E. Towne have been the means of consolidating the forces of labor. See that the good work is continued. Keep up the agitation and then Seth Marshall goodnight.

POWER

Duluth is the home of the Steel Trust and Butte the home of the Copper Trust. Steel and copper are the basis of modern society. Without steel or copper the industries of the world must stop.

The power of the Steel and Copper Trusts is the power of Imperialism. Power with a capital (P.) Let any group of workers dare to assert their independence, by asking for more bread and all the hounds of hell are let loose and in seas of blood the workers are drowned. Colorado, Lawrence, Bayonne, Mesaba Range, Butte, and many other places are but tombstones erected to the martyred hosts of labor. They tell of the ruthlessness and the brutality of modern capitalism.

When the capitalist class are prepared to murder us, when we ask for more bread, what will they do, if we stand to take over the whole industry of the world? If we dare to stand up and demand our rights, we will be shot down if—

We have not got the POWER to back up our demands.

Some comrades sit up in class rooms and formulate ideas. They bring out monthly papers and advocate that the workers rush into study classes. We agree with them as to the necessity of education, but we are prepared to take our chances with the big lumbering miners of Butte and the Iron Range and the lumberjacks, than with the comrades who sit back in their easy chairs and draw blue-prints of the social revolution.

Today we are compelled to deal with facts. Theoretically our good comrades have a good position, but when you come up against facts, they are nowhere.

Go comrades to Butte, the Iron Range or Bayonne. See capitalism in all its hideousness and nakedness and then talk of your study classes. You can study all you like and the authorities will let you get by with it. But if you dare to, organize the workers on the industrial field in a scientific form of organization, then you will land in Leavenworth.

Facts speak louder than words. It will not avail you to criticize the short-comings of the I. W. W., for after all we are none of us perfect, for when the revolution, a product of social conditions, comes in all its power, let us be standing with the organized workers, the revolutionary I. W. W. preferred.

The time has arrived when the Left Wing should line up with the I. W. W. The more support we give to the I. W. W. the more we can act as a driving force, compelling the A. F. of L. to get busy. Let us quit all this fooling and trifling. Let us get down to business and play a man's part in the class struggle, not an intellectual's.

"GENE DEBS"

Where are the words?

Where is the heart and soul than can give flight to thoughts—to sympathy—to grief—to indignation and hate?

Where is the voice that can give vent and speak loud enough to men and tell the truth?

Where are the men who dare to do the right and deliver us from fraud?

It is plain, "God pays poor when good is done."

Look back and see the martyrs and the Christs that died.

And behold the slaves—

Who in derision laugh and grin.

Oh petrified ingrate and fools.

Go. Slink away and die

Go. Slink away and die you putrid soul, you slave.

And ye commanders of the state,

Governors, judges, and the rest,

Learned in science to defraud.

Can I think of you but hat the very ground you stood

And the temple where justice, blind,

Send honest men and women to prison.

Can I think of you as fools, or educated sharks who live

from slush of greed?

Or as a Samson who pulled down his Kingdom strong?

Will slaves demand to "show your hands," and the putrid

brain below your hat?

Will they seek revenge for their dead?

This man behind the prison door, he spoke no lie.

And never did he fraud defend, that was his crime.

Slink away you lazy skunks and slaves, and leave this man

in peace.

Depart to Hell, defenseless fraud

Who fed the milk to dogs and let the children die.

This man was just.

And profit from war was not his trade

That was his crime.

"A COMRADE."

DUNN'S FAREWELL MESSAGE

FREEDOM FOR MOONEY—FREEDOM FOR CLASS-WAR PRISONERS—THE GENERAL STRIKE!

The general strike has been used by the labor movements of Europe for many years; as a weapon with which to obtain economic and political reforms it has been found to be the most powerful possessed by labor.

The general strike is the result of the growing knowledge, the increasing conviction of labor that the institutions of the capitalist state, function only in the interests of the employing class.

In every case in which the issue has been between the workers and their exploiters, in every case where workers have had their lives and liberties jeopardized because of their activities in industrial disputes, in every case where the warfare between the classes has resulted in a revolt of the oppressed, sometimes one and sometimes many workers have been sacrificed on the altar of ruling-class hatred; they have been persecuted and punished for their temerity in challenging the rule of the master by the courts and judges of capitalism.

At times, the persecution takes on the color of legality, the offending worker is sent to prison because he has violated a law enacted by bought and paid for legislatures at the behest of some autocratic corporation who desire that minor obstacles that hamper the persecution be removed.

Again, the victimized worker is convicted of some heinous crime of which he is entirely innocent, by a bribed jury, perjured evidence and sentenced by a corrupted judge.

The living, breathing example of this form of persecution is Thomas Mooney.

Thomas Mooney, hated by the corporations of California because of his successful efforts toward organization of the workers.

Thomas Mooney, hated by the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco because they could not buy his soul as they have bought the souls of many, many labor men in that city of blackmail and corruption.

Thomas Mooney, first sentenced to hang, now serving a life sentence because the profit-mongers of the Bay counties found him in their way.

Thomas Mooney, for almost three years now, confined in prison because Mammon in California must have its pound of flesh.

The world knows that Mooney is innocent.

His innocence has been proved by evidence that has never been and cannot be refuted.

His innocence has been proved by the fact that every witness brought by the prosecution has been proved to be a perjurer. It has been proved that Fickert, the degenerate who holds the office of district attorney, combed San Francisco's infamous redlight district for men and women sufficiently debauched to swear away the life of a fellowman; it has proved that Fickert's witnesses not only lied on the witness stand but that they represented every shade and degree of the depths to which human beings can descend in an attempt to satisfy the perverted passion of their nature.

Many labor men of San Francisco have travelled the primrose path that always leads to treason to the workers, the path that is paved with the gold of the Chamber of Commerce.

They could not buy Tom Mooney, so today he dies a living death; he is shut away from the air and the sun light he loved so well.

He cannot see the children of the poor for whom he worked, for whom he tried to make a better world; he is in prison when the workers need brave spirits such as his, as they never needed them before.

Thomas Mooney is not the only worker in the jails and penitentiaries of the ruthless ruling-class.

More than two thousand men and women of the working class, men and women who dared to challenge the supremacy of the mighty ones of the earth, men and women who dared to question the power of the masters to live for ever on the labor of the workers, men and women of the workers with vision and courage, with brains and ability that the masters fear are suffering the mental and physical tortures that make up the life of the victims of a barbarous capitalism.

You workers who are out of jail! What are you doing to right the monstrous wrongs that a maddened and terrified exploiting class are inflicting on your fellows?

Are you going to permit the oppression and the persecution to increase until no worker dares to raise his voice in defense of his class?

Are we to continue to bow our heads to the weight of oppression or are we going to do as the Mooney Defense committee—is asking?

There is but one answer that can be given by any worker whose soul is not the soul of a slave.

Lay down your tools on July Fourth!

Stop producing wealth for the employing class and with that silent protest let there be heard from ten million throats the demand of an enlightened workingclass, a workingclass determined to no longer submit to the wrongs and indignities that an employing class grown arrogant with power would inflict upon us.

Freedom for Thomas Mooney and Warren K. Billings, for Gene Debs and Bill Haywood, and freedom for all the toilers and their spokesmen, freedom for all victims of the courts and laws of the industrial autocrats who rule this nation.

The general strike is the weapon of the workers! Join in the general strike for the freedom of all class war prisoners and thereby loosen the chains of industrial slavery that weigh so heavily upon the workers of this land.

Join together as workers irrespective of race, creed or color in a mighty protest that will bring the cold sweat of fear to the brow of capitalism.

"While one worker is in prison, I am not free." Thus spoke Gene Debs. Let these words be the battle cry of the workers on July the Fourth.

W. F. DUNN,

WORKERS' GOVERNMENT

Why the Capitalist Class Fight Russia.

All goods sent into Russia must fulfill the following requirements:—

1. They must not be made by prison labor.
2. They must not be made by Child Labor.
3. They must bear the stamp of organized labor, so as to ensure their being manufactured under good conditions.

Despite the above, we still have that apology for a worker's representative, Mistawh Gompers, fighting the Bolsheviks.

A REMARKABLE DOCUMENT

FORMER MINISTER THOMAS IN FAVOR OF PEACE WITH RUSSIA.

Turin, April 2.—Avanti today prints the following extremely interesting telegram from Paris.

Paris, April 1.—Here is a document, which we cannot refrain from calling peculiar, regarding the hidden phases of the Entente policy toward Russia. It is a letter written by former minister Albert Thomas on January 19th, 1918, to Captain Jacques Sadoul, who had then been already attached to the French Embassy as military attache, and who has since become an enthusiastic advocate of the bolshevik regime, in whose councils he now has an authoritative influence.

It will be remembered that Thomas who in this letter reveals himself as an ardent partisan of peace with bolshevik Russia, is making open and ostentatious professions of anti-bolshevism, in Paris (his is the formula: "You are either for Wilson or for Lenin!" where he has not pronounced or written a single word in favor of peace between the Entente and Russia. He is too intelligent not to understand all the wicked folly of a more or less masked war against Russia, and has not enough courage to proclaim this openly in France. It is truly unfortunate that it has been impossible to read this letter publicly at the Berne Conference, where the Social-nationalists of the two groups of hostile powers are becoming reconciled, to be accompanied of banale imprecations on the bolshevik regime, which is the precise opposite of their empty lip-socialism. The text of the letter is as follows:

"My dear Friends:—

"I am taking advantage of the departure for Russia of one of our couriers, to send you these few lines. The last of your letters that I have received bear the dates of December 4th, 5th, 18th, and 19th. The last is the letter written the day after the conversation between Nolens and Trotsky, the one in which you communicated to me the impressions of both Trotsky and Nolens.

"I say this merely to show you how late your letters reach me, and how much I regret that I am not in telegraphic communication with you. But I hope that this condition may have been improved by the time this letter reaches you. As a matter of fact, five or six days ago, I drafted a telegram by Pichon to Noulens, in which the latter is invited to transmit to the Ministry all matters that may be considered important and urgent. I am planning to have you placed precisely in the position of Petit, with the difference that instead of telegraphing to the War Ministry, you will telegraph to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But it is understood both by me and by the Minister—who, by the way, signed and forwarded the telegram,—that your position is to be precisely the same. I hope that in this way the French Government may learn to know your impressions day by day and also—even though Noulens may modify this in some ways—your opinions on our necessary relations with the maximalist government.

"I need not repeat to you with what eager attention I read all that you write me. I am afraid of hindering you in your activity, and therefore do not print in L'Humanite any extracts from your correspondence, and expose you as little as possible in my relations with the ministers. But I need not tell you that I draw inspiration from all your letters, for conducting indispensable campaign here in favor of an actual rapprochement

and opening up relations with the maximalist government.

"I do not go as far as you do and believe that some reserve would be in place, particularly in view of the fact that our governments have become deeply obligated; but, apart from mere superficial matters, our opinion at bottom is the same; we must enter into permanent relations, we must semi-officially and indirectly exercise all possible influence on the present Russian Government.

"I shall not conceal from you the fact that I have arrived at this view partly as a consequence of reading your letters, but more particularly by due process of reason. The maximalist comrades have not handled me with kid gloves! You will remember the violent articles they printed at the time I went to Petrograd, "Pravda" treated me as a representative of French and English capital, or as a frequenter of Rasputinian orgies. Nor shall I conceal from you the fact that the whole Fuerstenberg affair, the matter of funds passing, from Denmark or Germany, to Sweden, Finland, and Petrograd, to keep up bolshevik propaganda, seemed very suspicious to me.

"In France I have always declared that Lenin, whose character I well know, was above all suspicious. I have always said that, as for Trotsky, I do not know him, and can say nothing about him, but that, in any case, there is nothing that gives me any reason to suspect him. But I did very much suspect that there was German money in their propaganda.

"Having said the above, and made all my reservations, I think that it is necessary to discuss, that we must enter into relations, and if I could be useful in any way, I should be willing to forget the wrongs done to me.

"It would also be desirable to arrive at some sort of general peace the very circumstances under which they undertook the peace negotiations have forced the Russians to be more exacting than we with regard to the realization of the democratic aims of the war. I have been favorably impressed with the resistance offered by them to the Germans on the question of the rights of the peoples to dispose of their own destinies. What a pity that we are unable to aid them directly in this effort. But we must help them on their feet, which depends also on them. I know very well that from the beginning we have refused to recognize or have official relations with them, but I am also struck by the fact that communications with the Allies have always come through the newspapers. I have asked both in Paris and London whether any official communications of the maximalist government had been received, and have obtained a negative answer in both cases.

"I remember also that for the Stockholm Conference invitations were also sent to me, without our having received either a letter or a telegram; one cannot act thus in diplomatic matters. And if conversations and diplomatic negotiations should be opened, it would be well to pay heed to this matter of form.

"Continue to keep me informed. Rest assured that you will have an echo here, that even though the governments still hesitate somewhat at the thought of negotiations with the bolsheviks, they are nevertheless becoming convinced of the necessity of such negotiations. Particularly at this moment I believe the futility of a policy of separation and division for Russia is recognized and those who go to Ukraine will open their eyes if they come with any idea of organizing an important military force simultaneously directed against the Germans and the bolsheviks.