

WE 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



1c. Paid.
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WHOLE NO. 108.

14

FRIDAY, JULY 11.

VOL. III. No. 27.

FIVE CENTS.

HUNGARY AND PEACE TERMS BELA KUN ADVISES ACCEPTANCE

"I will pass over the three months' class war and talk about our foreign policy. Although the imperialistic ambitions of Germany and the former Austro-German empire threw the proletariat into the world war, the capitalistic tendencies of the allies have combined to oppress the proletariat. The treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bukharest were unable to satisfy the greed of the conquering central powers' imperialists, and no more will the peace forced upon Germany and Austria-Hungary satisfy the imperialistic robbers of the entente. We had nothing to do with the causes of the war and we have nothing to do with bearing the burden of the loss of the war."

"We socialists and communists have broken with the past and cannot be held responsible for it; we cannot be held accountable by the imperialistic and capitalistic allied states. The mighty victory of the allies has resulted in three groups of states. The first group is made up of the great imperialistic states of the victors—England, America, France, Italy and Japan.

"The second group is made up of the defeated countries—Germany, the two portions of the former Austria-Hungary and the smaller states which have been offered up in sacrifice of the imperialistic states. The third group is composed of neutrals and newly formed states, built by imperialism from the conquered countries—namely, Czechoslovakia, Jugo Slavia and Roumania. The five conquering powers have a peace policy which builds up some states in an imperialistic manner and destroys others.

Forced to Take to Arms.

"As opposed to this policy of pacifism we have a policy of class war against the bourgeoisie, and hence we are obliged to ask our proletarian brothers to go to the front in order to liberate themselves from entente pacifism. Our revolutionary war was the natural result of the pacifist policy of the allies, which consists of the suppression of every revolution and of support by arms of the imperialistic tendencies of their vassal states, built from conquered countries.

"The crazy imperialism of these small, new, so called republics is doomed to certain death. It is the same with secret diplomacy. President Wilson, leader of the pacifist wing of the entente, ostensibly fought against secret diplomacy, but failed.

"Peace without annexation and without indemnities was another battle cry of the allies. The result is another revelation of the entente character. With disarmament it is the same. Instead of disarming, the entente is arming itself against the proletariat and equipping the counter-revolutionary elements.

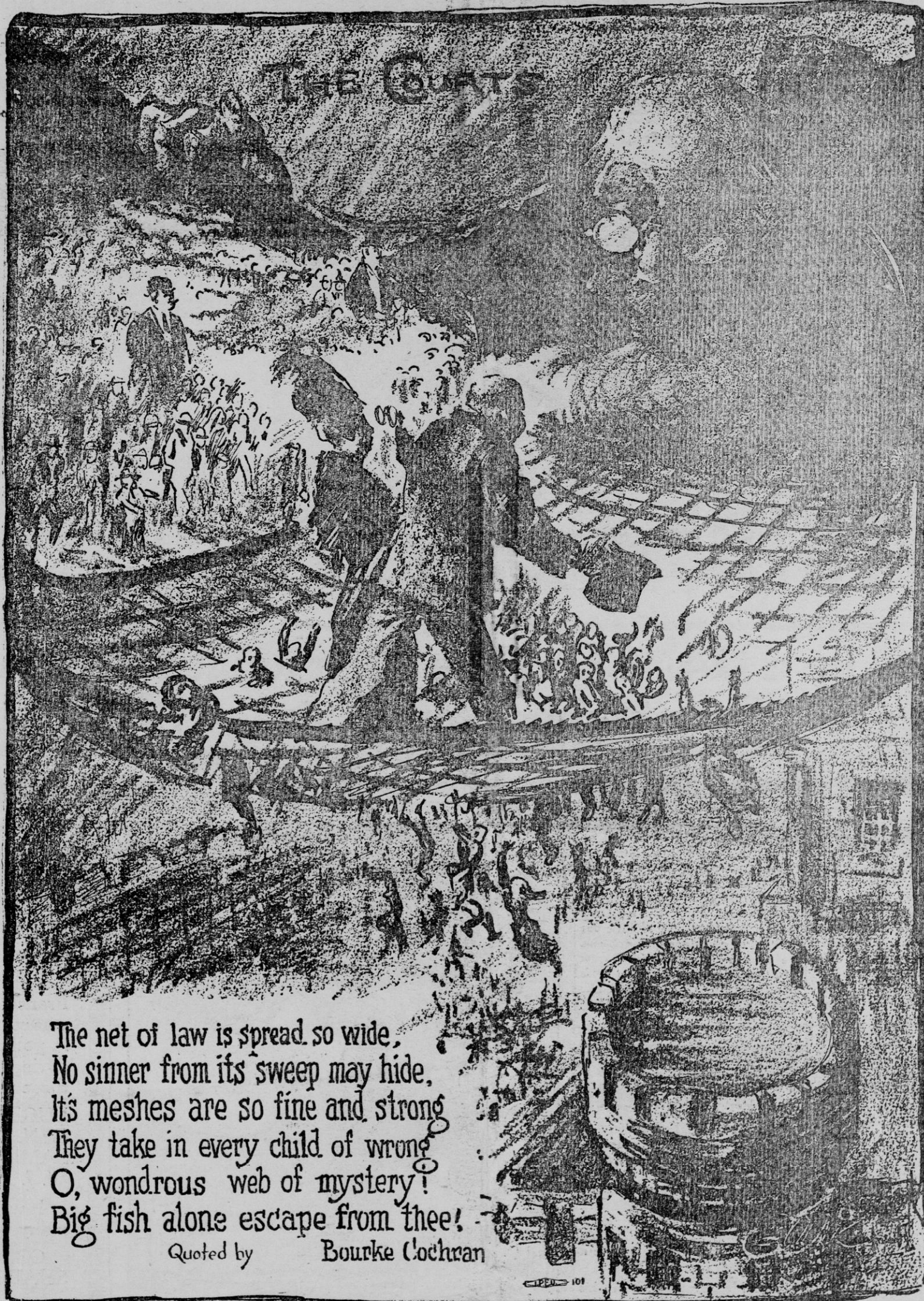
"The freedom of the seas has degenerated into the supremacy of England, even President Wilson having been swung over to this policy. Another deception was the right of self-determination.

Decide to Fight.

"Clemenceau's note, while delimiting our boundaries on two sides, leaves the sword of Damocles over our heads. Should we disband the red army, the entente can do with us as it wishes. In the territory left us it is impossible to exist. We have had to decide that we ourselves should eat and fight to prevent others from eating us.

"We must not lose the opportunity to make peace and stop the spilling of blood. The terms of the allies make capitalistic production impossible in the defeated countries, and the revolution will conquer. In the entente countries also revolution is sure to come, and the capitalists, except in America, are paying out all their profits in war

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The net of law is spread so wide,
No sinner from its sweep may hide,
Its meshes are so fine and strong
They take in every child of wrong
O, wondrous web of mystery!
Big fish alone escape from thee!

Quoted by Bourke Cochran

By permission of New Majority.

Jack Carney,
Editor The Truth, Duluth, Minn.

First Mooney strike here four times greater than Chicagos biggest strike building trades four years ago hundred and fifty thousand rank and while protested all machine shops, many metal workers, all clothing workers out strong

Hart Schaffner and Marx Chicago shops tied up continental Can Co. and hundreds of others. A demonstration of nation wide solidarity as occurred Mrs. Mooneys appearance helped Chicago immensely. She leaves for Duluth Saturday night, goes to Minneapolis on eighteenth until twenty second, then on to Butte and Seattle.

C. V. Cook, Mooney Pub. Com.

BIG INTERNATIONAL STRIKE

Labor Unions in Britain, France and Italy Propose a 24-Hour Shutdown.

MOVEMENT IS POLITICAL.

Boycott of International Labor Conference in Washington Proposed by Italians.

Paris, July 4.—The Executive Committee of the General Labor Federation announces that, after conferring with British and Italian "comrades," plans are being laid for an international labor manifestation on July 21, when there will be a complete stoppage of all work in France and Italy.

The objects of the demonstration, it is said, are "the cessation of armed intervention in Russia, the rapid demobilization of armies, the restoration of constitutional rights, full and absolute amnesty and, above all, a war on the increased cost of living by all possible means."

Rome, July 4.—The General Confederations of Labor will meet here tomorrow to arrange the proposed 24 hour general strike in Italy, in line with the plan announced by the International Labor Conference at Southport, England. The strike in Italy, as in France and England, will continue throughout Monday, July 21. The proclamation ordering it will be issued Sunday, July 29.

A proposed boycott of the labor conference at Washington (the International Labor Congress to be held in October) is among other questions to come before the meeting tomorrow.

Arthur Henderson, the British labor leader, announced at the International Labor Conference at Southport, England, on June 21, that the proposed general labor demonstration would be directed in each of the three countries as either a political or industrial movement, according to the choice of each nation's labor leaders. The general plan, however, and the agreement to act simultaneously, was approved at the Southport meeting.

MORE MOB LAW

Socialist Lecturer Driven Out of Town.

GLORIOUS GILBERT
GAGS SPEAKER

On July 4th, Comrade Hatcher was advertised to speak in the city of Gilbert. His subject was "The Progress of Industry." Upon arriving at Gilbert, and viewing the meeting place, he noticed a hose pipe fastened to a hydrant ready for action. Believing that discretion is the better part of valor, Comrade Hatcher and the local comrades decided that it would be as well to go a block nearer the hall and avoid unnecessary trouble. At eight o'clock the speaker mounted the platform and began to recite a poem, in order to attract an audience. Immediately a large crowd of people surged towards the platform and the speaker was dragged away by a number of returned soldiers. With a little rough handling, the returned soldiers succeeded in dragging the speaker down to the Finnish Hall and there they pointed out, an advertisement of his meeting fastened to an American flag. This was considered an outrage. THAT ADVERTISEMENT was placed on the flag by a member of

(Continued on page 2)

MRS. RENA MOONEY

wife of Tom Mooney

will speak in the

FAIRMOUNT PARK
SUNDAY
AFTERNOON
JULY 13, 1919



Rena Mooney has just returned from the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor. Mrs. Mooney is going home to Tom Mooney and what will she tell Tom? Will you allow her to go back and tell Tom Mooney that his case is hopeless or will you attend and give Mrs. Mooney a rousing reception? IF YOU ARE FOR LABOR YOU WILL ATTEND. ARE YOU?

The Editor of Truth will also speak.

The Scandinavian Local Band will play during the day.

You can enjoy yourself inside and out, because there will be plenty of refreshment.

REMEMBER FELLOW WORKERS THAT MRS. MOONEY NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT NOW. YOU ARE NOT GOING TO CLIMB DOWN NOW. COME AND CHEER MRS. MOONEY SO THAT WHEN MRS. MOONEY GOES HOME SHE WILL CARRY A MESSAGE OF GOOD CHEER TO TOM MOONEY AND W. K. BILLINGS.

There will also be a DANCE at the Fairmount Pavilion on Saturday evening, July 12. Twenty-piece orchestra will furnish the music.

HUNGARY AND PEACE TERMS

(Continued from page 1)
expenses. Now they must start to make profits out of the workers, and this will bring resistance from the workmen; as is already shown by the strikes in France, Italy and England. We can rely on the aid of the proletariat in the entente countries.

"If necessary we must accept the note of the entente. Since we have no fixed policy, if necessary we must change our tactics twenty-four times in twenty-four hours. To-day there is no other possibility than to accept Clemenceau's note. We must talk with the entente and also with the enemies with whom we are fighting.

Blockaded on All Sides.
"We must consider peace and try to arrange for a renewal of commerce with the Balkans. But if we sign peace, it does not mean that the allies will leave us alone. We are blockaded on all sides and our frontiers are closed. The entente wishes to starve us out and then when we sign the entente will organize and arm the white guard against us.

"We accepted the order of the allies to cease hostilities, but the Czechs attacked us while we were drawing back. We had to counter-attack and it was not our fault that our attack was strong enough to defeat the Czechs. (Frantic applause.)

"The allies wish to force us into a peace which will take the salt out of the workman's soup and prevent his wife from having the means of cooking food. It wishes to steal our salt, with hunger, misery and fighting, and consequently energetic action by the dictatorship is necessary."

SUPERIOR SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL

meets at 8 o'clock
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
TERMINAL HALL
Corner Winter and Ogden

MORE MOB LAW

(Continued from page 1)

the business element with a view to stirring up a riot. After a little more rough handling, the speaker was pushed into an automobile and ridden around for several hours and found himself outside of the Court House in Virginia. For over an hour they tried to find a court official and eventually they succeeded. Then having found the official, they were at a loss as to what to charge the speaker with. So finding that comrade Hatcher was not a business man or a hanger-on of the Steel Trust, they decided that he could not be arrested as a vagrant. So they released him, after confiscating over \$30.00 worth of literature.

All this trouble, because an American citizen dared to talk on the streets of Gilbert, on July 4th. It outraged the moral feelings of the civic authorities of Gilbert, Gilbert with its blind pigs, sporting houses and the home of the gunmen, felt that it was sacrilege to tell the truth about America on July 4th.

At the present moment there is being conducted throughout the range a campaign to instill a respect of American institutions into the minds of the "foreigners." How can people have a respect for American institutions, when men like the Mayor of Gilbert, who take an oath to uphold the Constitution, have speakers driven out of town? How can we have a respect for the law, when police men break the law in open daylight and also engage in indecent behavior with women?

We want to advise men like the Mayor of Gilbert, that there is a limit to human endurance. That if these meetings, advertised by the radicals, are to be broken up, then we will accept the challenge thrown down by him and we shall make Gilbert the scene of the first battle for the rights of free speech in Minnesota. Today the capitalist press talks about violence and urges quick dealings with those of the workingclass who dare to retaliate, yet at the same time, corporations like the Steel Corporation are allowed to employ gunmen whose only purpose is to prevent any discussion of the social injustices of today, and to crush all radical economic and political organizations. If the powers that be are going to countenance the use of rough work and the use of violence, then the fault is their own. We shall not allow any body of men to stifle our opinions or crush our organizations. We shall most certainly interpret the old Mosaic laws. We warn those in command that these affairs like Gilbert must stop or—?

THE LONE FIGHT

The American Federation of Labor at its last convention, despite its high-sounding recommendations, endeavored to KILL all agitation for Tom Mooney and W. K. Billings. The fight must now be carried on by Rena Mooney and the radicals within the labor movement, who have a mind of their own.

Tom Mooney may rot in his prison cell for all that Gompers and his kind care. It is up to you of the rank and file to see that Mooney is released. The full story of the Mooney case will be told next Sunday afternoon by Rena Mooney. Come to the Fairmount Park next Sunday afternoon and hear Rena Mooney, Shew by your presence that you stand for Tom Mooney and cheer up the disheartened wife of his. Comrades stand by Rena Mooney. At this hour Mrs. Mooney needs your support will you give it? Then come to the Fairmount Park next Sunday afternoon.

WEST END SHOE WORKS

Fred Johnson, Prop.
First Class Shoe repairing
218 28th Avenue West.
Lincoln 35-D.
DULUTH, MINN.



WILL IT?

"When the workingclass organization is ready to take over society, it will be a natural peaceful process." One Big Union Monthly.

Would Stop All Transports.

The proposed blockade would be directed against transports of troops, war materials and provisions, the shipments of raw materials and products by land and sea, either under civil or military flags.

The Norwegian party joined the parole and declared "The laboring classes no longer stand as passive onlookers at the international capitalist classes assaulting our fighting comrades.

"It is urged that the central administration strongly impress

upon the trade unions, and especially the seamen's and transport organization, to realize this comprehensive blockade against a conspiracy which has now been brought about by blood-stained capitalists and imperialists at Versailles.

"The seamen's and transport workers' unions must not be alone in this fight. The laboring classes must stand behind them and support them morally and economically.

"Action on the motion must be stamped with unity and the resolution which leads to the desired results."

DEBS BEATS PERSHING

In straw vote for President on board troopship.

Recently a transport arrived from France, hearing the 313th regiment, which was recruited from the four Eastern states. A poll of presidential choices was taken during the homeward voyage and amongst those polled were the following:—

EUGENE V. DEBS	170
GEN. PERSHING	78
SAMUEL GOMPERS	68
W. J. BRYAN	45

It will be seen that Debs gained twice as many votes as Pershing.

COMING EVENTS CAST THEIR SHADOWS BEFORE.

ENTERTAINMENT

and
LECTURE

at the

WOODMAN HALL

Sunday Evening July 13th.

MRS. RENA MOONEY

MUSICAL PROGRAM

Everybody Welcome!

RENA MOONEY SPEAKS IN FAIRMOUNT PARK SUNDAY AFTERNOON AND WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY EVENING.

THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA REPORT OF THE NATIONAL LEFT-WING CONVENTION

DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONVENTION

The Left Wing of the State of Minnesota indorses the following candidates as delegates to the above convention:

JACK CARNEY
CHAS. DIRBA,
CARL HAGLUND,
C. A. HATHAWAY,
H. HOLM,
CARL SKEGLUND,
JOS. UNGAR.

All Left Wingers are urged to vote solidly for the above candidates.

REPORT OF DELEGATES.

As one of the delegates at large from Minnesota to the National left wing Convention at New York, I consider it my duty to submit to you a brief report of some of the main issues acted on together with my opinion and also the way I voted on same.

First permit me to say that I believe the conference was a great success wise and considered actions, sound reasoning and logic seemed to be the motto all through the conference.

One of the first divisions of opinion occurred when the question was brought to the floor in regards to forming a communist party now. Judging the argument on both sides I am not yet sure whether or not it was logical to form a new party at that time. Although in my opinion the logical move was to wait until we see the outcome of the emergency conference in Chicago August 30. And considering that the rank and file in the left wing group in Minnesota as well as other states in the union, were not aware that such question would even come up for discussion as it was not embodied in the call sent out for the left wing conference. And as the Minnesota conference June 8th nominated seven delegates to the National emergency conference and the forming of a new party would upset this particular part of our Minnesota conference also. For these mentioned and various other reasons I believe I was serving the best interest of the left wing faction and harmonious with the left wing conference in Minnesota by voting against the formation of a new party at this time.

The next important question up for consideration was as to whether or not the N. L. W. C. should co-operate with the state of Michigan in their call for a National conference September 1st, based on the program and manifesto as drafted by the state of Michigan. This the conference turned down also because the majority considered the Michigan program unscientific and illogical. And on this question I also voted in the negative for the reason that if such conference should be considered necessary, it should be called by the N. L. W. organization based on the program and manifesto as adopted by the N. L. W. C.

One of the last questions was that of dealing with I. W. W. and industrial union resolutions. The question was dealt with somewhat in the same manner and in affirmative with the Minnesota conference only in more specific and clear terms.

As the complete records will soon be before all of us in printed form. I consider it unnecessary to go into any further details.

Respectfully submitted,

O. E. THOMPSON.

The National Left Wing Conference, held in New York City, June 21, 22, 23 and 24th, represented members from upwards of fourteen states and there were in attendance ninety delegates.

The conference, to say the least of it, was inspiring and its results will justify the holding of that conference. Despite the "bolting" of thirty-one delegates, the conference performed some remarkable work and work that will not pass away and be forgotten, but will live in the deeds of comrades and not in speeches. One has but to study the program and feel that it is an expression of a real revolutionary movement, composed of comrades who are inspired by the great Russian revolution and show their appreciation of that great event, by endeavoring to play their part in the great struggles of the working class throughout the world.

As to the necessity of the conference, one has to merely study the foolish articles of Germer to realize how absolutely necessary it was. To read of men like Germer, National Secretary of the Socialist Party of America, if you please, likening the Left Wingers to Orchard of the Haywood-Pettibone case, is enough to drive one into the armchair and there think of the past and endeavor to forget the present. Germer himself is proof positive of the need of a Left Wing movement in this country and the necessity of driving from out of the party those elements that fail to understand or appreciate the great social changes that are now taking place. The Left Wing conference was a decided success and the events that are now taking place in Europe, if anything, demonstrate that the conference was late if anything. But nevertheless, now that the initial conference has met, we must set to work and immediately prepare the way for the capture of the Socialist Party. Many are under the impression that we should not capture the party. That is a mistake. The Socialist Party contains within itself many fine sterling comrades, who are ignorant of the real situation within and who as soon as they learn the truth, will undoubtedly go to the Left. It is not the party or the name we are concerned with, but the rank and file that has weathered the storm of war. We would be cowards if we left that rank and file to the tender mercies of the Hiltzigs, Bergers, Stedmans, etc. Let us take the rank and file away from these social patriots. By so doing our work will prove more effective. We appeal to those comrades who so foolishly left the convention to return and join hands with the rest of the comrades. We appeal to the Russian language federations to realize that they are betraying the revolution and playing into the hands of American imperialists by causing a split at this time. As a united party we can help Russia, but disunited we can neither help Russia or help ourselves. It is not lip-service that will help Russia, but action and so above all things we must have unity of purpose.

As one of those responsible for the Left Wing Labor Report we desire to give our readers more information concerning the work of the shop stewards' committees.

Studying the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor, you will notice that the convention was not a rank and file convention, but dominated by the international officers. International officers, paid by the rank and file salaries from 300 to 500 per cent more than the unionist himself is receiving, lecturing and even reprimanding the workers for daring to suggest that all locals be allowed to use the initiative, referendum and recall. The labor movement of this country is typically a capitalist institution. The workers have no say whatsoever, the international officers are the king-bees. Yet the international officers feel that they are acting in the best interests of the rank and file.

Why Is It?

We only need to study the lives of the international officers and those of the rank and file, and we will be able to discover why the international officers view things from a different standpoint than that of the rank and file. The man in the shop feels every change that is taking place in the industrial. Simply because it affects his everyday life. He is working on the job and every change in industry must deal with him. The social atmosphere in which we move is the determining factor in our lives. The events that take place in the shop, the people we meet with and talk to, the struggle to make both ends meet and the conditions under which we work, all these determine our outlook on life. Take the average international officer and compare his life with that of the worker. He mingles with a different class of people. He is far removed from the actual life of the worker. He becomes buried in the constitution. When the workers come out on strike and a general strike is called for, he cannot understand why the workers want to break agreements and go out on a general strike. Not that he has ceased to feel interested, not that he has become dishonest in any way, but because human nature is what it is, he feels the influence of his surroundings, and the result is a changed outlook in comparison to that of the man on the job.

Consider the Result of This.

There is marked contrast between the rank and file who reflect the working class conditions and those who are remote from them. This contrast has its effect in the carrying out of the work of the unions. The officials are given the power to decide whether a strike is constitutional or not. They can withhold strike pay as they deem necessary. Local business must bear the stamp of the officials, and where rules are silent, power to decide according to their judgment is theirs. The latter is probably the most important of all. It allows small groups of officials, remote from the workshop to govern the mass and to involve the mass into working under conditions which they have had no opportunity of considering prior to their inception. The need of the hour is a drastic revision of constitutional procedure which demands that the function of the rank and file is TO OBEY WITHOUT A MURMUR.

We need and sorely need in our labor unions more democratic management. Real democracy demands that EVERY member takes an active interest in the affairs of the organization and not allow a few to dominate and say all. We, of the Left Wing, desire the mass of working men and women to think for themselves. If the majority of the rank and file had been allowed full freedom on the question of a general strike for Moorey, do you think that the strike would have been turned down? When the masses think for themselves, we need have no fear. Thought is in itself revolutionary. It breaks down many barriers, drives away prejudice and tends to bring about the day when men will be free from industrial slavery. The moment we are afraid of thought, that moment we are afraid of life itself and to fear life itself is but to rivet the chains of slavery more firmly on your wrists.

Through the shop workers' committees we want the workers to think for themselves and to act through themselves. We want to see the workers coming together and discussing the job on which they work, on THAT job. In a word we want to center all the activities of the workers in and around his job. By so doing we will prepare the way for the eventual control of industry by the workers.

This is but a brief statement of the necessity for shop stewards' committees. On some future occasion we will deal more fully with it.

We trust that all comrades will rally to the Left Wing and give it all the possible support that can be gotten. Send in donations, arrange meetings, concerts, etc., and send in the proceeds to the secretary of the Left Wing.

Any questions that you may desire to ask please send them in and we will endeavor to answer them.

Fraternally yours,

JACK CARNEY,

Representing the Scandinavian Local and Local Duluth.

MINUTES OF THE CONVENTION

First Session.

First session called to order at 2 P. M.

Fraña elected temporary chairman, Fannie Horowitz elected temporary secretary.

Fraña opened the conference outlining briefly the cause and purpose of the conference.

Credential Committee elected consisting of Cohen, Lasan, Hourwich, Carney, Wagenknecht, and Stillson.

Pending report of the Credential Committee, Batt on request reports for the State of Michigan.

A message of greetings was received from the political prisoners of Leavenworth. Motion carried that the message be incorporated in the official minutes.

Paul reports for New York.

Ferguson reports for Chicago.

Ruthenberg reports on the vote for the National and International delegates.

Ballam reports for Massachusetts.

Stockitsky reports for Russian Federation.

Key for California, Dillon New Mexico, Hiltzig for the Jewish Federation.

Motion carried to admit all party members at the conference. Those not presenting party cards must be vouched for.

Report of Credential Committee. Wagenknecht reports for majority, Cohen for minority.

Majority report:— That the 13 delegate from the Language Federations be seated with a voice and vote, and 66 other delegates from 14 states be seated.

Minority report:— That the 13 delegates from the Language Federations be seated with a voice but no vote, and the 66 other delegates from 14 states be seated.

Motion carried that uncontested part of Credential Committee's report be accepted.

Dillon's credential questioned. Motion carried to seat him.

Motion carried to seat three delegates from Boston. Y. P. S. L. delegates seated with a voice but no vote.

Motion carried to accept majority Report, re the seating of 13 delegates from the Language Federations with voice and vote.

Bross Lloyd elected as permanent chairman. Renner elected as vice-chairman.

Fannie Horowitz elected as permanent secretary, and Rosenthal elected as assistant secretary.

Ruthenberg reports for Committee on Arrangements for Conference re Rules of Procedure and Order of Business. Report taken up seriatim.

Sections 1, 2, 3 and 4 adopted on motion. Section 5 adopted with one change, to-wit: "that the time for discussion be limited to 10 minutes instead of 15. Section 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 adopted on motion.

Motion carried that no speaker's list be kept and that only those rising and asking for the floor be recognized by the chairman. On motion the committee's report on Rules of Procedure and Order of Business accepted as a whole.

Motion carried that a Manifesto and Program Committee be elected consisting of Fraña, Batt, Stockitsky, Ruthenberg and Ferguson. (Zitt objects to hand voting).

Motion carried that an Organization, Finance, and Press Committee be elected which consists of Cohen, Wagenknecht, Hourwich, Lindgren and MacAlpine.

Motion carried that Committee on Labor be elected. Gitlow, Reed, Anderson, Carney, and Jurgis elected.

Motion carried that Committee on Resolutions be elected. Ballam, Lloyd, Tyerowsky, Maurin, and Stillson elected.

Meeting adjourned till Sunday 1:15 P. M.

Second Session.

SUNDAY, 1:45 P. M.

Reading of minutes of previous session dispensed with on motion.

Communication read from S. P. of Springfield, Ill., extending greeting to Left Wing Conference.

Committee on Manifesto reports that the committee is divided. Fraña reports for the Committee.

Motion carried that the report of the Manifesto Committee be taken up seriatim.

Amendment to refer to Manifesto to a new committee, defeated. Original motion carried.

Additional delegates seated.

Report of Organization Committee is made on request, relating to the expenses of Conference. Report states that each delegate must be taxed \$50.00 to cover expenses. Motion carried to refer back to Committee to compute the actual expenses or cost of Conference.

On motion a collection was taken up towards the expenses of the Conference.

Collection amounted to \$71.15.

Ukrainian delegates seated.

Committee proceeds with report on Manifesto.

First clause adopted on motion. On motion the adoption was reconsidered. On motion the first clause was re-adopted.

On motion clauses 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were adopted.

Motion carried to abandon mass meeting arranged for the evening and proceed with the conference.

Motion carried that clause 8 be adopted.

Cohen reports expenses of Conference. State that there are 66 out of town delegates and their fare amounts to \$3,394.05 and that the delegates will have to be taxed \$50 as originally stated.

Motion carried to adopt the program as read by the Manifesto and Program Committee as a whole.

Motion carried that the committee print and distribute copies of the Manifesto to all delegates before end of Conference.

Meeting adjourned at 6:30 P. M.

Third Session.

SUNDAY, 8 P. M.

Cohen requests that delegates pay over their \$50.00 or such part of it as they have with them.

Committee on Manifesto and Program continues its report.

Second part of Program, sections 11 21 and 3 adopted. Section 4 adopted and Committee retires for further work.

Fannie Horowitz, alternate, seated in place of Watson. Committee on Organization, Press and Finance reports. Wagenknecht reports for the majority, Hourwich reports for the minority.

Majority report: that the name of this organization shall be known as the National Left Wing Section, Socialist Party of America.

Minority report: that the name of this organization shall be known as the Communist Party of America.

Motion carried that minority report be ruled out of order.

Motion carried to suspend the rules.

Motion carried that a resolution be drawn for the formation of a new party by Ruthenberg and Hourwich and be submitted for discussion.

Such a resolution was drawn and submitted for discussion. Such a resolution was drawn and submitted. After a lengthy discussion the resolution was defeated.

Meeting adjourned till Monday 9 A. M.

Fourth Session.

MONDAY, 9:15 A. M.

Minutes of 2nd and 3rd sessions adopted on motion.

Report of Organization Committee accepted with correction by MacAlpine.

Lovestone seated in place of Lindgren. Duderik seated in place of Askounousi.

Message of greetings received from the 2nd Branch City Central Committee Conference of Chicago.

Resolution read endorsing the formation of a new party September 1st. Amendment is made that in the event that the delegates of the suspended and expelled organizations of the party are not seated at the National Convention, August 30th, 1919, that we urge the Left Wing delegates to withdraw and join in the organization of a Com-

munist Party on the basis of the call (issued by the Socialist Party of Michigan) and in the event that the National Convention be delayed that all delegates participate in the Michigan call convention and further, that the National Council of the Left Wing send an invitation to the I. W. W., the W. I. I. U., and the S. L. P. to send a committee to confer with the Committee of the Convention to devise a possible basis of common action.

Amendment made to the amendment by Hiltzig that be it resolved that this conference endorse the call of the State of Michigan for a National Convention in Chicago for September 1st for the formation of a new Communist Party and that it recommend to its constituents the election of delegates to the above mentioned convention.

The amendment to the amendment is ruled out of order. And the amendment is voted down 19-41, 24 not voting.

Motion carried to take up report of Organization Committee seriatim. Meeting adjourned till 2 P. M.

Fifth Session.

MONDAY, 2:15 P. M.

Motion carried that the meeting go into executive session.

Motion carried to elect an Emergency National Council. The following elected: Fraña, Ballam, Ferguson, Rich, Wagenknecht, Cohen, Stockitsky, O'Brien.

Regular session resumed.

Committee of Organization proceeded with its report.

Part one is adopted. Part two, amendment offered by Hourwich that the Executive Council shall consist of 9 elected by the Left Wing Conference that one additional delegate from the Central Executive Committee of each foreign language Federation.

Amendment to the amendment made that the amendment be decided by referendum. Amendment to the amendment is ruled out of order. Amendment is offered that this Conference agree to admit clause 2 of the majority report adding that the joint federation be entitled to three additional delegates to the National Council. That amendment is tabled.

Original clause 2 carried.

Motion carried to elect a regular National Executive Council. Following elected: Ruthenberg, Fraña, Ferguson, Ballam, Wolfe, Cohen, Gitlow, Larkin, and MacAlpine.

Motion carried that the Emergency National Council be dissolved.

Organization Committee continues its report.

Clauses 3, 4 and 5 (5 has a-b-c-d-e) adopted.

Amendment made that in the event that if a-b-c-d-e are not realized the National Council and Left Wing delegates proceed with the organization of a Communist Party at once. Amendment is lost. Batt resigns from the Manifesto Committee. Motion carried to accept resignation.

Motion carried to dispense with filling vacancy until emergency arises. Section 6, 7, 8 and 9 of Program as reported Manifesto Committee adopted on motion. Section 10 adopted with amendment made by Larkin.

Meeting adjourned till 8 P. M.

Sixth Session.

MONDAY, 8:10 P. M.

Motion carried to adjourn the meeting at 11 P. M.

Amendment offered in the form of Section 11 to the Program provided for the formation of a new party if the National Emergency Convention to be called August 30th is adjourned.

On motion Section 11 was carried. Hourwich offers resignation from Organization Committee. Stockitsky offers resignation from Organization Committee. Motion carried to accept resignations.

Motion carried that vacancies be left open until such time as it becomes necessary to fill them.

Amendment made by one of the delegates from the Language Federations that 31 delegates decided to withhold their activities from the Conference until such time as they see fit to resume them.

EDITORIAL 8

Section 12 and 13 of the report adopted on motion.

Report of Finance read.

Motion carried that report be adopted as a whole.

Press report.

Amendment that papers endorsed by the Left Wing shall be subject to control as to editorial policy by National Council.

Amendment to the amendment was made that the National Council endorse as Left Wing papers all such as are controlled by the Left Wing or any Federation, State, Local, or branch, or Left Wing faction thereof, and that no other be endorsed. Amendment to the amendment and amendment lost.

Motion carried to adopt the report as a whole.

On motion a vote of thanks was given to Local Boston for all property turned over in connection with the Revolutionary Age.

Committee on Labor Organization reports. Reed reports for committee. A message of greeting received from the Lithuanian branch of Worcester, greetings from Local New Bremen stating that they endorse the Left Wing Manifesto.

Meeting adjourned till Tuesday 9 A. M.

Seventh Session.

TUESDAY, 9 A. M.

Gitlow elected chairman, Zitt vice-chairman.

Paul and Key temporary secretaries.

Reed reporting.

McLeod seated for Rosenthal, Anna Love seated for Girsch.

Chairman of previous meetings reported ill.

Motion carried that report be taken up seriatim.

First paragraph adopted on motion. Second paragraph adopted on motion. Third paragraph adopted with following change, to-wit: "that with legislative courts, police, armies under control of the Capitalists, the worker can only win the state power by extra parliamentary mass action." Fourth paragraph adopted. Fifth clause stricken out on motion. Sixth is adopted. Motion made to reconsider decision on paragraph 5. To delete two words "under the law."

Motion made by Fraña that on reconvening of next session, no motion, amendment, or resolution having for its object the reconsideration, rescinding, or nullifying of any previous measure adopted, shall be received by the chairman or considered by the Conference. Motion withdrawn.

Anderson resigns from Organization Committee.

Meeting adjourned.

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STRANGE! AMERICAN WOMAN IS SPEAKER IN BUDAPEST

Mrs. Eastman of New York Tells Soviet Capitalists Arrest Thousands in United States.

By A. R. DECKER.

Special Cable to The Daily News. Copyright 1919 by The Chicago Daily News Co.

Budapest, Hungary, June 6, via Paris, France. Tuesday, June 10.—If this woman is American I wonder how she got a passport to come to Budapest and address the Budapest soviet council in an official meeting. Her name is Mrs. Eastman

and here is the address she is reported to have made before the council of 500 elected in the fraudulent manner previously described. The account which appeared in the Pester Lloyd is given herewith.

"Mrs. Eastman of New York brings greetings from the American workmen. She said it was the most beautiful moment of her life when she could address the central council of the Hungarian soviet republic. Two months ago at a meeting in New York over which she presided she said she was sorry that America was not the second example. Nevertheless the assembly in New York sent its greeting to the Hungarian soviet.

Says Thousands Imprisoned Here.

"Describing the American labor movement Mrs. Eastman said the capitalists had placed in prison thousands of workers and their leaders. The American movement was never Scheidemannistic but always international and antiwar. In the eastern part of the United

States the movement is going to the left and wishes to break completely with the bourgeoisie's parliament.

The capitalists misuse the extraordinary laws of war to place the socialist leaders in prison. Thus the old leader Debs was given ten years because he talked against war. (Cries of "That was a shame!")

"Four very young Russian children, including a young girl, were condemned to twenty-five years in prison because they told in a pamphlet that President Wilson was a hypocrite. They said that he was talking of freedom and at the same time was trying to break down the young freedom of the Russian proletariat.

Predicts "American Liberation."

"Mrs. Eastman ended her speech with the words that the American movement, just as every other movement of the world, could only aid in the world revolution. The victory of the Russian proletariat which has come over to Hungary will spread to all the other coun-

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Morris, Garden, Prop.

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Union Establishment.

Lincoln 304-Y

Eighth Session.

TUESDAY, 1:30 P. M.

Thompson requests privilege of the floor before leaving for home. Addresses delegates.

Winstone seated in place of Zucker.

Communication read from the 31 delegates withholding their activities in the Conference.

Paragraph 5 of the Labor Organization report carried with Larkin's amendment.

Paragraphs 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 adopted.

Program of Labor Committee report.

Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 adopted on motion.

Greetings received and read from Katerfeld.

Resolution from New Mexico condemning the N. E. C. and endorsing the Left Wing. Wagenknecht who must leave for home addresses the Conference.

On motion report of Labor Committee adopted as a whole.

Motion carried to elect Committee of seven to act as permanent Labor Committee. Nine are nominated and on motion carried nine stand as the Labor Committee. The following consist of the committee:— Cannon, Cosgrove, Carney, Reed, Skankowitz, Key, Sproule, Gitlow and Jurgis. Committee on Resolutions reports. Lloyd reporting for same Resolution on whether elected Legislators should refuse to take office is rejected.

2. Resolution to start a movement to consolidate or effect union among all radical, and socialist organizations is adopted on motion.

3. To endorse Proletarian University, etc., referred to National Council.

4. To extend greeting to Y. P. S. L. urging endorsement of the Left Wing Program and pledging them our financial and moral support. Unanimously adopted.

5. Endorsing the call for a strike July 4th. Adopted.

6. Sending of greetings to the class war prisoners with addition that we welcome all prisoners in Leavenworth into our ranks. Adopted.

7. To protest against deportation. Adopted.

8. On Mexican Intervention, expressing our opposition. Adopted.

9. Congratulating Russia and Hungary, and asking workers to refuse to handle all munitions. Adopted.

10. Participation in Workmen, Soldiers, and Sailors Councils. Referred to Executive Council.

Perpich addresses conference before leaving for home. Announcement made that all Western delegates will hold brief conference after final session.

11. On agrarian propaganda. Adopted.

12. On attitude legislators must take and orders they must comply with. Referred to National Executive Council. On privileged motion greetings are extended to Canadian comrades.

Resolution submitted by Philadelphia delegation calling for the exclusion from membership in the party of all members who derive their income from rent, interest and profit. Resolution defeated.

Motion carried to terminate conference at 10 P. M. and that all unfinished business be turned over to National Council.

Committee on Manifesto and Program continues its report.

Section 4 of Platform adopted. Section 5 including a and b adopted, section c is stricken out, and d is adopted as follows: "to win representatives in public office, to serve as propagandists for the social revolution. E and f adopted.

Section 6 including a, b, c, adopted. Section 7 adopted. Section 8 including a, b, c, d, e, f, and g adopted. Motion carried to adopt the report as a whole and referred to National Council.

Resolution to call a Conference in September of all revolutionary bodies to form a new party if N. E. C. does not reinstate all suspended and expelled members. Adopted. Final session of Conference adjourned.

FANNIE HOROWITZ, Secy.

PROGRAM OF THE LEFT WING

1. We favor international alliance of the Socialist Movement of the United States only with the Communist groups of other countries, such as the Bolsheviks of Russia, Spartacists of Germany, etc. according to the program of Communism as above outlined.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle, such as Labor parties, Nonpartisan leagues, People's Council, Municipal Ownership leagues, and the like.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchic or democratic republican, and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the socialist transformation.

4. We favor organized Party activity in co-operation with class-conscious industrial unionism, in order to unify industrial and political class-conscious propaganda and action.

4. (a) The Party shall propagandize industrial unionism and industrial union organization, emphasizing their revolutionary implications.

(b) The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to develop the understanding of the strike in relation to the general proletarian emancipation.

5. We do not disparage voting nor the value of success in electing our candidates to public office—not if these are in direct line with the class struggle. The trouble comes with the illusion that political or industrial immediate achievements are of themselves steps in the revolution, the progressive merging of Capitalism into the Co-operative Commonwealth.

The basis of our political campaigns should be:

(a) To propagandize the overthrow of Capitalism by proletarian conquest of the political power and the establishment of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(b) To maintain a political organization as a clearing house for proletarian thought, a center of political education for the development of revolutionary working-class action.

(c) To win representatives in public offices on the same basis as we use lawyers in the capitalist courts, viz: to insist upon our technical safeguards, no matter how meagre, and to serve as interpreters and publicity agents equipped with special knowledge of technique. In the largest terms, these intermediaries, under strict party discipline, serve as special propagandists of the social revolution.

(d) To keep in the foreground our consistent appeal for proletarian revolution; and to analyze the counter-proposals and reformist palliatives in their true light of evasions of the issue; recognizing at all times the characteristic developments of the class conflict as applicable to all capitalist nations.

(e) To propagandize the party organization as the organ of contact with the revolutionary proletariat of other lands, the basis for international association being the same political understanding and the common plan of action, tending toward increasing unity in detail as the international crisis develops.

6. Socialist platforms, proceeding on the basis of the class struggle, and recognizing that the socialist movement has come into the historical period of the social revolution, can contain the single demand for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(a) The basis of this demand should be thoroughly explained in the economic, political and social analysis of the class struggle, as evolving within the system of Capitalism.

(b) The implications of this demand should be illustrated by the first steps and general modes of social reconstruction dependent upon and involved within the proletarian domination of the political life of the nation.

(c) A municipal platform of socialism cannot proceed on a separate basis, but must conform to the platform, simply relating the attainment of local power to the immediate goal of gaining national power. There are no city problems within the terms of the class struggle, only the one problem of capitalist versus proletarian domination.

7. We realize that the coming of the social revolution means overwhelming assertion of mass power by the proletariat, taking on political consciousness and the definite direction of revolutionary socialism. The manifestations of this power and consciousness are not subject to precise precalculation. But the history of the movement of the proletariat toward emancipation since 1900 shows the close connection between the revolutionary proletarian assertion and the political mass strike.

The mass action conception looks to the general unity of the proletarian forces under revolutionary provocation and within our predetermination and stages, which alone come within our presetermination and party initiative, the tactics of mass action includes all mass demonstrations and mass struggles which sharpen the understanding of the proletariat as to the class conflict and which separate the revolutionary proletariat into a group distinct from all others.

Mass action, in time of revolutionary crisis, or in the analogous case of large-scale industrial conflict, naturally accepts the council form of organization for its expression over a continued period of time.

8. Applying our declarations of party principle to the organization of the Party itself; and realizing the need, in correspondence with the highly centralized capitalistic power to be combated, of a centralized party organization, we offer the following recommendations:

(a) Delegation by the National Executive Committee of a large measure of its administrative powers, between intervals of meetings, to a National Emergency Committee composed of three or more members of the National Executive Committee; this Emergency Committee to maintain the closest possible contact with the work of the national office and to advise with the Executive Secretary on all matters where consultation is necessary.

(b) Strict control by the party organization over all Socialists elected to public office; the Emergency Committee, and the National, State, and County Committees to co-operate with the public officers within their respective jurisdictions; immediate expulsion of all public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the Party.

(c) Control by the party membership, through the regular party processes, of all party papers and official publications; not by committees or trustees not responsible to the membership.

(d) Like control of all party property, such as offices, halls, etc.

(e) Like control of officially recognized educational institutions.

(f) Establishment of a Central Lecture Bureau, and of a Press and Information Bureau.

(g) Standardization of party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organization.

LEFT WING NATIONAL CONFERENCE

June 21, 1919.

REPORT OF THE LABOR ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE.
I. DECLARATION.

The purpose of the Left Wing organization is to create a revolutionary working class movement in America, which, through the action of the working masses themselves, will lead to workers' control of industry and the state, as the

only means of expropriating capitalist property and abolishing classes in society.

The capitalist state, as has been clearly proven, expresses the existing dictatorship of the capitalist class, a weapon to defend capitalist interests and to extend them at the expense of the workers. Capitalist control of the machinery of politics and publicity makes it impossible for the workers to conquer this state power by use of the ballot; but even if it were possible, the state could not be used by the workers for their own purposes so long as the factories, mills, mines, land, transportation systems and financial institutions remained in the hands of private capitalist owners.

With the legislatures, courts, police and armies under control of the capitalists, the workers can only win the state power by extra parliamentary action which must have its basis in the industrial mass action of the workers.

The first act of the workers' dictatorship must be the destruction of the capitalist state and the creation of a new form of Government based on the workers' organizations, whose purpose shall be the permanent destruction of capitalist power by the expropriation of capitalist property.

The absence of any feudal class in America permitted the capitalist class here to concentrate all its strength upon the robbery and subjugation of the working class. At the same time the founders of the American Government, so framed the Constitution as to guarantee the permanency of capitalist dictatorship without any opportunity of the workers ever gaining control. For the purpose of blinding the working class and enlisting its support, the fundamental law was clothed in idealistic "democratic" phraseology; and theoretically, universal suffrage was granted.

But the capitalist system creates a condition whereby the state power is vested, not in the ballot, but in the control of industry. And industry is not a democracy, but an autocracy, in which the fortunes and lives of the great majority of mankind are at the absolute mercy of the capitalist employers. As the power and class-consciousness of the working class increase, the employers resort to palliatives and reforms—"welfare" measures, profit-sharing, schemes of "partnership with Labor", etc.—which have as their object and their result the further exploitation and deception of the workers.

The unhampered development of American capitalism, in whose service the best minds of the race have been conscripted, has created a condition in which the Government is controlled by the great capitalists to a degree unparalleled in history, while appearing to be an advanced political democracy; a condition in which the working class is the most exploited in the world, while appearing to be the best-paid and most comfortable; where the most abysmal ignorance of the workers' class-interests prevails, while apparently they are the best educated.

The European War has speeded up social and industrial evolution, however, to such a degree that capitalism all over the world has reached the stage at which it can no longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist system is in sight. In Europe it is already tottering and crashing down; and the proletarian revolutions there indicate that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of the will to power. The capitalists themselves admit that the collapse of European capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary proletariat abroad cannot help but drag American capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crisis the American working class is faced with a terrible alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery, or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accordance with the principles of Communism.

It is the intention of the Left Wing to help prepare the American workers for their historic role, so that when the hour strikes they may take their places in the front ranks of the Social Revolution.

II. REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. RESOLUTIONS SUBMITTED

By Louis Brandt, New Jersey.

We recognize that the revolutionary industrial organization is of great benefit in the struggle of the working class for the accomplishment of its immediate needs.

We demand that the Socialist Party, as the political representative of the entire working class, take the leadership in the economic struggle of the proletariat trying to develop it into a class-wide movement for the overthrow of capitalism.

By The Philadelphia Delegation:

Samuel Sklaroff,
August Forsinger,
F. M. Gerrish,
A. A. Rosenthal.

WHEREAS, the Left Wing Manifesto and Program has endorsed the principle of revolutionary industrial unionism; and

WHEREAS, the I. W. W. is the only expression of revolutionary industrial unionism in the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED that the National Left Wing Conference endorses the I. W. W., and be it further

RESOLVED that we urge every member of the Left Wing movement to join the I. W. W.

Unsigned.

WHEREAS, the Left Wing Manifesto and Program has endorsed the principle of revolutionary industrial unionism; and

WHEREAS, this Conference recognizes that the I. W. W. is the only expression of revolutionary industrial unionism in the United States; therefore be it

RESOLVED that the National Left Wing Conference, June 21, 1919, urges all members and executive bodies to co-operate with the I. W. W. in any and all of its revolutionary struggles, and urges all workers to join the I. W. W.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is to say, those whose purpose is, not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage-earners, but to gain control of industry.

In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country, there must be recognition of the immense effect upon the American labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America in the ranks of the I. W. W., and pledge them our wholehearted support and co-operation in their struggles against the capitalist class. But in view of the attitude of some of their leaders and spokesmen, in their denial of the political nature of the class-struggle, and more especially in their rejection of the principles and tactics upon the basis of which the Syndicalists of Europe are joining in the revolutionary movement side by side with the Communist Parties, we condemn the short-sightedness of the theoretical position taken by them.

In the Labor movement a new tendency has recently manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the frontiers of craft-divisions, is expressed most clearly in the Seattle Resolution outlining a plan for the reorganization of American Labor into twelve great industrial departments, and also in the One Big Union movement of Canada and the West. If carried to its logical conclusion, this method of organization and action would inevitably result in workers' control of industry.

Earnestly desiring to unite all sections of the revolutionary proletariat in America, the Left Wing welcomes and supports, in whatever labor organization found, any tendency toward revolutionary industrial unionism, and we urge all Left Wing Members to join the militant ranks of all such organizations.

The National Left Wing declares its firm conviction that the American Federation of Labor, in its present organization and under its present leadership, is entirely reactionary, and cannot be of any value in the workers' struggle for emancipation.

III. PROGRAM.

The National Left Wing Conference of the Socialist Party appeals to the workers to educate and organize themselves so that they may understand the necessity of acquiring knowledge and power to overthrow the present capitalist system and prepare to scurry on industry.

To Labor and Labor alone is industry responsible. Without the power of Labor, industry could not function. The need of the hour is that Labor recognize the necessity of education and organization. This cannot be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the Labor Movement, as has been clearly shown by the recent Convention of the American Federation of Labor. It can only be done by the workers on the job, coming together and discussing the vital problems of industry.

Because of the industrial crisis created by the World War, together with the break-down of industry following the cessation of hostilities, there is great dissatisfaction among the workers. But the workers can find no means of coping with the present state of affairs. Their Unions have refused to take any steps to meet the grave problems of today, and it therefore becomes immediately necessary to find some way by which the workers can act. We suggest that some plan of Labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the Shop Stewards' Committees, of Scotland and England, or the Factory Shop Committees of Russia. These Committees can serve as a spur or check upon the Unions. Such Committees will necessarily reject the spirit and the wishes of the rank and file and will enable the National Left Wing to keep in direct touch with the workers. In this way, the workers can be educated on the job and prepare for the taking over of industry. Also these Committees will bring the workers into direct relation with their employers,—which means the abolition of Arbitration Boards and such conciliatory bodies.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

We recommend the following measures:

1. That a Committee of seven be elected by the Convention to be known as THE LABOR COMMITTEE.

2. That the functions of this Committee shall be to carry on revolutionary propaganda among the workers on the job.

3. Those workers found to be radical shall be organized into Shop Committees.

4. These Shop Committees shall distribute literature, supply information to the Labor Committee, and generally keep in touch with the National Left Wing organization.

5. At places where a number of these Committees are formed, they shall elect delegates to a local Workers' Council.

6. An appropriation shall be made for the purpose of carrying on the work of this Committee.

7. A general propaganda periodical shall be issued by the National Left Wing organization for the special purpose of reaching the workers at their jobs. And this project shall be referred for further elaboration to the Labor Committee.

BRITISH BLOOD UPON THE SNOW

Under the rule of the Tsar there stretched from Moscow to the remote icy regions of Siberia one long damning line of red. It was the blood of the exiles upon the snow. The whole political and social life of Russia was one prolonged agony, just as the whole literature of Russia—reflecting that agony where not merely sordid—is one vast scream of pain. If any man displayed exception in intelligence or merely expressed disagreement with the Tsarist tyranny or endeavored to improve the wretched conditions of the workers in the towns or to lighten the misery of the moujiks he was immediately arrested, imprisoned, kept in a cell for months without trial, frequently tortured, and finally sent to Siberia. It is impossible to read of the prisons of Shagalien and S. S. Peter and Paul, the torture chambers of Riga, the knoutings of girls while on their way to exile, and the slow rotting away of men in the mercury mines without marvelling at the Christ-like resignation and patience of the Russian people. Oscar Wilde said that the Great White Christ was coming out of Russia; certainly the life of the Russian people under the Tsars was one long crucifixion. Millions were killed, hundreds of thousands spent lives of horror, chained together, in remote regions. All organizations were suppressed, all newspapers making for progress were confiscated. The whole land was terror-haunted, infested with spies and agents-provocateurs, held down under the heel of a hideous tyranny. Yet all the time the freedom-loving British ruling class said never a word. There was no talk of intervention then. On the

contrary, right from the time the human tiger, Orloff, the accepted lover of the Empress Catherine, was "lionized" by "English Society" down to 1905-6, when Stolypin—as the instrument of the last of the Tsars—battered hundreds of thousands, the greatest affection was displayed by our rulers for the rulers of Russia.

That affection still exists. English "Society" is still prepared to "lionize" murderers—even if it only be the cutthroat Koltchak and his army of brigands. And our rulers want to restore the Tsars.

Now that the Russian people have delivered themselves from the frightful incubus of tyranny, now that conditions are made favorable for working class improvement; now that the genius of the Russian people can freely express itself; now that light is spreading in the dark places, education succeeding ignorance, knowledge ousting superstition, and a great Socialist Republic is being reared under the able guidance of men who have given all—sacrificed all—risked all—for the public good—British men and boys are being sent into exile to make war on the deliverers of Russia. And British blood will stain the snow in order that once again that long damning line of red shall stretch from Moscow to Siberia—if our rulers have their way.

The British people are sick of war—they are tired of blood and murder, even though it be glossed with tinsel glory and spurious patriotism. They desire peace. Why cannot they have it?

Why? Simply because the capitalists head the rising tide of revolution. Pood fools! They imagine that if they can crush the Russian Socialist Republic their continued domination will be ensured. Let us kill the Bolsheviks, they tremulously mutter amongst themselves, and we can continue our game of robbery, satisfy our lust of power. How little they know of history! How little they know of economic development! How little they comprehend the changes brought about by the war. They cannot destroy the Socialist knowledge which has been

assiduously spread amongst the workers of the world for the past fifty years. They cannot kill ideas, the direct outcome of economic and social conditions. They cannot push back industrial development and revert to their happy plundering of mid-Victorian days. Why, Socialist Republics are cropping up all around them. If they succeed in the bloody suppression of the Russian Socialist Republic—no light task—at the cost of thousands of British lives—there are still the Hungarian Socialist Republic and the German Socialist Republics to crush. They cannot enchain the world desiring to be free. They are fatuously playing in our days the same role that the peasants of La Vendee played in the days of the French Revolution, and history will sadly recall the fact. Their game is up. The workers are gradually getting a stranglehold on capitalism, and, however much the capitalist rulers of the Alliance soak Europe with blood, however much they wantonly destroy and kill, the workers will rise again and again, like the waves of the sea, and finally sweep them away. Thus history's own law decrees.

That is no reason why the workers of this country should tolerate the vicious Russian adventure. Every worker's life is precious. And no worker should be engaged in fighting for the old order against the new; in the interests of reaction—chains and slavery—against the revolution and Social Democracy. And the Labor Party, with all other working-class political and industrial organizations, must resolutely determine to stop further bloodshed. It is no use sending a letter to the Prime Minister, or leaving a resolution on the doorstep of the House of Commons. What is required is a forceful intimation from the whole of the massed forces of Labor that unless real peace is immediately secured the industrial life of the country stops—with other events to follow. The leaders of the movement, particularly those leaders who have been so quiescent with regard to working-class affairs, and so anxious to serve the masters, would be wise to "get busy" just now. The day of toleration is quickly passing. A reckoning will have to be paid. And woe unto those who, in the hour of the Revolution's need, failed to do their duty.—T. Q. Writing in the "London Call."



Gompers rises to a point of order

BREAD AND CIRCUSES

Reprinted from London "Call."

The Caesars used to provide the plebeians with 'great circuses.'

There were huge processions of soldiers, war chariots—some drawn by lions and some by prancing horses—captives from the conquered territories, naked female slaves, gladiators, banners, and the insignia of the legions, motley, but vast and imposing spectacles appealing to the instincts of the crowd.

Sometimes the Caesars would provide such novelties; something grotesquely horrible, colossal, or bizarre. There would be life-combats between gladiators, Christian and political offenders devoured by hungry lions, and as in the days of Nero, human beings tarred, clothed, and lighted, so as to become living torches.

In this way the Caesars benumbed and befuddled the workers of Old Rome.

"A little bread and plenty of circuses," said the statesmen of those times, "will keep the starving plebeians satisfied."

The ruling class are playing the circus "dodge" today.

Statesmen never change, never learn or improve. The circuses of our days, however, are not so vast or so varied. They do not appeal so brutally, so realistically, to the savage embedded in human psychology. They are not so imposing or inspiring. The rulers of our times have much less imagination.

It is true, nevertheless, that certain of the organizers of the circuses would like to enliven them with the burning of conscientious objectors—or to practice on them in public the tortures now done in secret—or to deliver "Hum" prisoners into shambles. But ruling class "taste," in general, does not care about such exhibitions; besides there is always a lively fear of reactions, and the Paris of Marat and Babeuf, the thunders of Thermidor, the rattling of the tumbrils over the cobblestones, and the vision of My Lady Guillotine are not pleasant memories. Besides, when the capitalist class desires to indulge in a blood bath it does it on an extensive scale; such as Paris Communes, and European and Russian wars.

So it is that we are having Peace celebrations when there is no peace, and firework displays and many marchings to and fro of the soldiers. There is much munting displayed, particularly in slum areas; and on the dirty walls of the dirty houses red, green, and blue fairy lamps gleam, vividly at night.

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DULUTH, MINN.

The workers are becoming restive. They are becoming obsessed with Social ideas. They are asking themselves what reward have they obtained for defending the landlords' country and the capitalists' wealth. What reward indeed, except to increase their dead and to make thousands of their fellows crippled beggars. And in their hearts is arising the splendid hope; and their minds can already visualize, from over the steppes of Russia, and from the green Rhineland and the sunny plains of Hungary, the rise of the great Socialist Republic.

Yes, they are becoming restive and revolutionary.

And that is causing the rulers to resort to all their old tricks. The various capitalist, social, and spurious religious organizations are being spurred on to deal out their soporific dope in much larger quantities. The capitalist newspapers are lying more vigorously than usual. The circuses are being organized for the dissemination of more fables. And, above all, there is the elaborate organization of circuses, peace shows, military demonstrations.

Divert the attention of the workers; give them circuses, let them witness the marching troops, with glistening bayonets and shining cannon, so that they will be filled with military ardour; fill their minds with spurious enthusiasm—then they won't worry as to whether this is really their country or not; they won't listen to the Socialist propagandist; they won't grumble at their empty bellies and their sordid lives. Thus reason the ruling class.

This time, however, the ruling class is mistaken.

Socialist propaganda has destroyed nearly all the illusions created by circuses organized from above.

We know our class, and we say that the men who count—the real working class—do not bother with capitalist fanfare and "sights." There are, we know, a great number of sightseers amongst the people; a flotsam of the population, who would cheer the King one day and cheer just as heartily to see him beheaded the next. These are caught by any wave of emotionalism.

There is every reason, however, why the working class movement should demonstrate for peace—real peace.

Demonstrations, public processions, springing naturally from the heart of the people, as means of expression, are infinitely more significant than circuses imposed by the ruling class.

And such demonstrations convey a message to the mass of the people in unmistakable fashion, when they are tremendous—as the working class can make them tremendous—and are resplendent with red banners displaying pictorially and with words the hopes and aspirations of the workers.

So let us reply to the shoddy ruling class circuses with great Socialist and Trade Union demonstrations; let us blazon on our banners the old slogan of the International; "Workers of all countries, unite!" let us wear on every occasion the red that symbolizes the solidarity of the human race, and let us spread abroad the spirit of the universal uplift, the spirit of the new civilization, which shall find complete expression in the great Socialist Republic.

AS THE TWIG IS BENT

By SCOTT NEARING

The American Schools hold the key to the future of the democracy. For at least eight years the children of the United States are now required to attend schools which are being more and more highly organized under the direction of the boards of education and the school administrative officials. From all sides comes the demand for efficiency and for "standardization." The schools are to be made alike,—they are to turn out a definite product.

What are the schools being made like? What kind of a product are they to turn out?

The answer to these questions rests with the boards of education, the members of which through their official position finally decide questions of school policy.

The field of thought must be transferred from the schools to those who direct them and we must ask ourselves, Who are the boards of education? The facts permit of only one answer.

A study of the occupation of members of Boards of Education in 104 of the largest American cities shows that of the 967 school board members 766, or more than three-fourths are business and professional men. The business men form the largest single group with 433 of the total number of board members. Of these business men, 144 were merchants, 78 were manufacturers, 104 were bankers, brokers, real estate and insurance men.

Among the 333 professional men 118 or more than one-third were doctors and dentists; 144 or about two fifths were lawyers. The total number of teachers among the professional men was 18. These were for the most part, college professors.

The board members with miscellaneous occupations include about one-fifth of the total board members. Of these 27 were retired business men, 48 were clerks and salesmen, 39 were mechanics and wage-earners, and 25 were foremen.

In the ordinary American industrial city, wage earners and clerks make up about five-sixths of the total number of gainfully occupied persons. Among all of the members of the boards of education in these 104 principal cities of the United States, four in each hundred are mechanics and five in each hundred are clerks and salesmen. Thus more than nine-tenths of the

board members in the cities under consideration fall outside of the class which makes up five-sixths of the population. Or, to put the matter somewhat differently, nine-tenths of the school board members of the large American cities are selected from one-sixth of the gainfully occupied population which is above the rank of wage-earner or clerk.

Five occupational groups include the bulk of board members—merchants; manufacturers; bankers, brokers and real estate men; doctors and lawyers—558 out of a total of 967 board members. Thus more than three-fifths of the total number of members are engaged in five groups of business or professional occupations.

American school-board members are primarily few women occupy positions on the school boards and a comparatively small number of men from the subordinate industrial positions—wage earners, clerks, foremen—are found among the board members. This type of board member is in the decided minority. The vast majority represent directly the business and professional interests of the community.

Reformers have been agitating earnestly for many years. They have talked in halls and on street corners. Wherever they could find an audience they have presented their case—occasionally. Meanwhile in season and out of season more than one-half million school teachers have been regularly presenting to some twenty million children a course of studies and a point of view which was decided upon by a group of professional and business men who represent the well-to-do part of American society. They are the owners of property. They have every reason to be satisfied with things as they are. They are not revolutionists, in most cases they are not even reformers. Many of them are stand-patters of the most absolute type.

The American children go to the schools. The schools are administered by the boards of education. The board of education are composed almost exclusively of business and professional people—the beneficiaries of the present system. Under these circumstances would you expect the school to teach liberty, justice and the love of truth or the conservation of the property values of the community? Even in American men cannot gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles.

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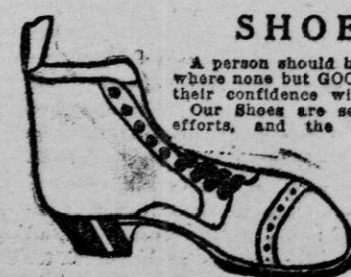
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EUGENE V. DEBS

While we are celebrating the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the United States Attorney General, Mr. Palmer, a Quaker by the way, is endeavoring to force Eugene Debs to ask for a pardon.

Palmer wants Eugene Debs to go down on his hands and knees and beg for his release. Eugene Debs will never do it and so Debs is being forced to go through another hell. Debs will die. He cannot survive the cruel treatment that is being meted out to him. You accuse us of being an alien and you think that insult us. When we read of the treatment accorded to men like Debs, we feel proud that we are alien.

Imagine if you can, any other country meting out the following treatment to an old man of sixty-five years of age. Comrades you have got to act. You must stand up in your local union and we must stop every wheel of industry. They are not going to murder Debs or break his spirit. THEY SHALL NOT PASS. It is up to you. Now show your love for Debs. Now let us count you. Stand up and show your comradeship. Will you allow, the press or Loyalty Leagues to frighten you. No, a thousand times no! This thing shall not be. Debs will go free. Masters of America if you value your own hides, stop this damnable torture that is being inflicted upon Eugene Debs. Stop it or by the strength of our economic power we will compel you to stop. Gompers or any of his parasitical ilk will not avail, once the workingclass is aroused. We built the prisons and we can just as easily open the very door that we locked.

This is the daily treatment of Eugene Debs. Remember that Atlanta penitentiary is situated in the hot South.

He is aroused from his bed at seven in the morning. At eight o'clock he starts to work and works until twelve, in a hot clothing department. At twelve he is allowed one hour for lunch and then back to work again until four o'clock. At 4:30 he receives his supper and then at five he is driven back to his cell, there to stay until seven next morning. Then the same old grind all over again.

He is permitted to write ONE letter per week and that to his family. Every letter that he writes must go into the prison record.

He is NOT allowed to receive any papers whatsoever.

Mr. Palmer, the Attorney-General, states: "Gene could stay there ten years and that he put him on the level with the bootlegging nigger."

Comrades, this has gone too far. It must be stopped. Sound the clarion call and call together the ranks of Labor. Close up your ranks fellow-workers, there is work to be done. Never mind the appeals of liberals but in your own strength put your trust and by your own power you will free Debs and all class war prisoners.

ALL HAIL TO THE MOB!

The press is becoming alarmed at the growth of revolutionary sentiment in the minds of the workingclass. They talk of the mob etc. James Connolly, who died in the Irish Revolution, made a fitting reply to a Jesuit priest who talked in the same strain, as the press writes today. Here is Connolly's reply:—

What is the political and social record of the mob in history as a against the record of the other classes? There was a time, stretching for more than a thousand years, when the mob was without power or influence, when the entire power of the Governments of the world was concentrated in the hands of the kings, the nobles and the hierarchy. That was the blackest period in human history. It was the period during which human life was not regarded as being of as much value as the lives of hares and deers; it was the period when freedom of speech was unknown when trial by jury was suppressed, when men and women were tortured to make them confess crimes before they were found guilty, when persons obnoxious to the ruling powers were arrested and kept in prison (often a lifetime) without trial; and it was the period during which a vindictive legal code inflicted the death penalty for more than 150 offences—when a boy was hung for stealing an apple, a farmer for killing a hare on the roadside. It was during this undisturbed reign of the kings, the nobles, and the hierarchy that religious persecutions flourished, when Protestants killed Catholics, Catholics slaughtered Protestants, and both hunted Jews, when man "made in God's image" murdered his fellow-man for daring to worship God in a way different from that of the majority; it was then that Governments answered their critics by torture, when racks and thumbcrews pulled apart the limbs of men and women, when political and religious opponents of State had their naked feet and legs placed in tin boots of boiling oil, their heads crushed between the jaws of a vice, their bodies stretched across a wheel while their bones were broken by blows of an iron bar, water forced down their throats until their stomachs distended and burst, and when little children toiled in mine and factory for 12, 14 and 16 hours per day. But at last, with the development of manufacturing, came the gathering together of the mob, and consequent knowledge of its numbers and power, and with the gathering together also came the possibility of acquiring education. Then the mob started upon its upward march to power—a power only to be realized in the Socialist Republic. In the course of that upward march the mob has transformed and humanized the world. It has abolished religious persecution and imposed toleration upon the bigots of all creeds; it has established the value of human life, softened the horrors of war as a preliminary to abolishing it, compelled trial by jury, abolished the death penalty for all offences save one, and in some countries abolished it for

all; and to-day it is fighting to take the children from the factory and mine, and put them to school. This mob, "the most blind and ruthless tyrant of all," with one sweep of its grimy, toil-worn hand swept the rack, the thumbscrew, the wheel, the boots of burning oil, the torturer's vice and the stake into the oblivion of history, and they who to-day would seek to view those arguments of kings, nobles, and ecclesiastics must seek them in the lumber room of the museum.

In this civilising, humanising work the mob had at all times to meet and master the hatred and opposition of kings and nobles; and there is not in history a record of any movement for abolishing torture, preventing war, establishing popular suffrage, or shortening the hours of labour led by the hierarchy. Against all this achievement of the mob its enemies have but one instance of abuse of power—the French reign of Terror—and they suppress the fact that this classic instance of mob fury lasted but eight months, whereas the cold-blooded cruelty of the ruling classes which provoked it had endured for a thousand years.

All hail, then, to the Mob, the incarnation of Progress!

THE "ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY"

We have our "Liberator," "Pearsons" and the "Melting Pot," issuing forth each month. These magazines have never interpreted the actual life of the workers, because they appealed to all sections of the community. The workers have long needed a monthly magazine that would be of, by and from the working class. A magazine that would tell of the struggles of the workers and inspire them to push further ahead, so that labor might come into its own. So when the I. W. W. press announced the "ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY," we all felt that a gap in radical monthly literature had been filled. The coming of this magazine at a time, when the jails of this republic were filled with class-war prisoners filled us with keen anticipations of a real workers' magazine. But alas and alack, we have been woefully disappointed. The magazine has FAILED to inspire the workers. At this time, when solidarity is needed more than it ever was, the "One Big Union Monthly" strikes a discordant note. It brings up the old quarrels that should have been relegated to the dark past. It creates within the ranks of the I. W. W. the old prejudices, that only tend to disrupt the organization. As far as the radical labor movement is concerned, it would have been a blessing and a godsend if this magazine had never been published.

For an editor and a radical of long-standing, like John Sandgren to publish the old stuff about political socialism, is well nigh bordering on treason to the working class. It is the voice of the old hair-splitter unable to comprehend the great social changes of today and endeavoring to carry on the work of today with the tools of the past. The history of the I. W. W. is one of the most inspiring histories that could ever be written. To read of its struggles and the deeds of its members is sufficient to inspire all workers to join in with them and so bring about the solidarity of labor and eventual triumph of the working class. Reading of the numerous I. W. W. strikes and the terrific odds that were launched against them and then to view the I. W. W. after many years of terrible persecution is to be convinced that the I. W. W. as an expression of the working class on the industrial field is THE organization of the workers. Today radical unions of the A. F. of L. are turning towards the idea of the One Big Union. They are profiting by their mistakes and gaining by taking advantage of the successes of the I. W. W. It cannot be denied that the I. W. W. is responsible for the radical changes now about to take place amidst the unions of the A. F. of L. And so we feel that the "ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY" is doing a grievance injury to the cause of the working class by its harping upon the woes and mishaps of political socialism.

On page 14 of the current issue of the "One Big Union Monthly" we read:

"When the working class organization is ready to take over society, the taking over will be a perfectly natural process."

On page 6 we read:

"Several hundreds of I. W. W. prisoners and others who fought for truth and justice and for a square deal to the workers are pining away in living death."

On page 12 we read:

"... fifty-two members most of whom were arrested in the oil-fields of Kansas and Oklahoma."

The new indictment also is against the entire I. W. W. organization and contains four counts."

On page 16 we read:

"The machinery of 'Justice' is being prostituted to the rich to aid them in fighting the poor harvest workers who struggle for better conditions."

On page 45 we read:

"Of the first batch of deportees on Ellis Island, 45 are members of the I. W. W."

Furthermore, surprising as it may seem, the "politicians" of the Socialist Party, the Right Wingers, in their official organ are using the arguments of the I. W. W. writers as arguments against the Left Wing.

Reading the above extracts, we can only come to one conclusion and that is, where the I. W. W. proves effective in the field of industry, in steps the State and arrest its leaders and retards the work of the organization. The State, the almighty State, wields a power that cannot be ignored and when I. W. W. writers insist that the economic organization of the workers can proceed peacefully along, they are but emulating the ostrich who buried his head in the sand, stating that because he did not see any person chasing him around, then there was no person in sight. It is both foolish and tragic. The work of the I. W. W. of the last ten years will be wiped out by this very State, they endeavor to ignore.

The Left Wing appeals to the rank and file of the I. W. W. to thoroughly understand and appreciate the fact, that until the State is finally abolished and ALL power taken out of the hands of the ruling class, there can be no "perfectly natural process of taking over society." Read the histories of our numerous strikes, the murdering of the workers and the many misdeeds performed by the capitalist hirelings and then say that the taking over of society will be a perfectly natural process. The class that shoots the workers down, when they ask for shorter hours and more bread, will be as murderous and as ruthless when the workers strike for the control of industry. You cannot theorize about this, it is but human to expect it. Capitalism that stands dripping with the blood of the workers, to allow the working class to take over industry, the idea is childish and absurd.

We recommend to the rank and file of the I. W. W. the words of their fearless leader, William D. Haywood:

"To win demands made upon the industrial field it is absolutely necessary to control the government, as experience shows strikes to have been lost through the interference of courts and militia."

It may be stated to the contrary that William D. Haywood has changed his opinions, but the powers of the State have not changed. It is still the same old State with its same old victims. So the I. W. W. instead of harping upon the squabbles of the past, must get into line with the rising working class and realize that ALL capitalist governments are but the means of oppression used by the ruling class to keep the working class in subjection. That no matter how the I. W. W. may argue or ignore, the State will always play its part. Our task must be to abolish it so that when it is abolished, upon its ruins the workers may erect the Industrial Soviet Republic.

Because we have emphasized the above position, we have lost the support of many members of the I. W. W. We shall not hang any crepe upon our office door. Last summer we lost three hundred subscribers, because we reprinted one issue of Solidarity and circulated ten thousand copies of that issue. If the same situation ever arises again, we shall do the same again. We are with the I. W. W., their fight is our fight. Time proved that our action of last summer was a correct one to take. Time will prove again that we are right. When the day comes when the workers will have to prove their faith by their deeds, we shall find the working class lined up together, fighting the fight that the social conditions will compel them to fight. The members of the I. W. W. would do well to study the recent history of the Irish Transport Union. In the city of Limerick the members of the Irish Transport Union by a POLITICAL strike nullified an order of the British Government. By the same kind of a strike they prevented conscription being enforced in Ireland. It was real political action. That should convince the I. W. W. of the necessity in resorting to political action. Not the political straw man that Sandgren, Varney and Ebert and other lesser lights erect, but the political action that is ACTION. In conclusion we appeal to the members of the Left Wing to work with the I. W. W. in all its struggles. Do not allow petty squabbles to disunite us. At this hour we need solidarity. Let us work for solidarity by living it, not preaching about it.

THE TASK OF THE LABOR UNIONS

We have been of late having members of the I. W. W. deliver lectures at our weekly propaganda meetings. It is to be regretted that these speakers have failed to learn anything from the momentous events of the last five years. Despite the fact that we have passed through a world war, with also the Russian and German revolutions to draw lessons from, the members of the I. W. W. have not learnt one single thing. They advocate the same foolish policy that they have advocated in 1905. They remind one of the minister, who when backed up in a corner said, "world without end amen."

We have no quarrel with the I. W. W. as an industrial organization. The I. W. W. on the industrial field deserve the support of all revolutionary workers. There is no industrial organization in this country that can equal them, for sincerity of purpose and unquestioned loyalty to the workingclass. They have made a name in the history of the class-struggle that will live until the end of time. But the time has arrived when the I. W. W. should recognize the logic of events. Can the I. W. W. not see, in the recent Chicago trial and the present Wichita cases, that it is the State that it stepping in, as an instrument of the employing class, in order to destroy the I. W. W.? Wherever the I. W. W. grow in strength, then the State comes in and arrests their leaders and the organization suffers in consequence. There can be no denial of the fact, that the I. W. W. is not the organization it was under the leadership of the men now in prison. Take the present personnel of the I. W. W. officials and compare them with the men in prison and you will agree with our statement. We want the I. W. W. to get away from that ostrich-like attitude that it is now adopting. We want them to recognize FACTS.

Viewing capitalism from the standpoint of industrial development, it can be readily seen that the day of the capitalist class has passed, never to return. No longer going forward and standing in the way of a peaceful evolution of human society, capitalism represents all that is reactionary in present society. The only class, in human society, that can look confidently to the future is the workingclass. They alone can march on ahead to future progress. If the laws of evolution were allowed to work out their way, nothing could stay the eventual coming of the triumph of the workingclass. BUT—and it is a mighty BUT, the capitalist class will not yield one inch to the forces of labor, unless labor compels it to yield. If history teaches one lesson, that lesson is, that the dominant class in every epoch has striven with all the might at its disposal to retain its hold upon its wealth. Capitalism will not crumble at the peaceful resolutions of labor, neither will it allow labor to go about peacefully preparing for the destruction of capitalism. No one but a born fool will believe that tyrants and autocrats will yield up their power at the peaceful appeal of the tyrannised.

The function of the Socialist Party is purely a negative one. Its purpose is to control the State, with a view to scrapping it and in its stead erecting the Soviet Republic. The I. W. W. and all revolutionary unions can fulfill the positive end of our propaganda and that is to organize the workers for the sole purpose of carrying on society AFTER the revolution. It can be readily seen that if we abolish the State and we are not prepared to carry on society, there will be chaos. It is also easily to be seen that if we allow the capitalist class to retain control of the State, we will not be allowed to organize industrially. We trust that he rank and file of the I. W. W. will study this question for themselves and not place their faith in those that seek to keep the workers apart. Let us study this question of the State and we will eventually find out that the State cannot be ignored. It stands there supreme, ever ready to be used against the workers by the employing class. We must control the State so that the organization of the future society can proceed.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist (or Third) International issues the following manifesto against the Peace Treaty of Versailles:—

The Governments, that five years ago let loose a worldwide war of plunder and piracy, have presented the so-called Peace Terms to the representatives of German capitalism at Versailles. Every paragraph of that Treaty is a slip-knot that will strangle either this or that people. The Allied capitalists decide to cripple their German competitors.

The Imperialists of the Alliance have begun a punitive expedition against the Soviet Republic of Hungary; they have sent barbarous hordes against Buda-Pest; they have inspired the "Black Hundreds" of Kolchak, of Denikin, of Krasnov in their bloody fight against the workers and peasants of Russia. They have suppressed the Bavarian Soviet Republic of Munich; they have disarmed the revolutionary

troops of Bulgaria; they have stifled the popular revolutionary movement in Serbia and in Slavonia.

Few indeed are the workers who can still believe in the "Society of Nations."

The working class of Germany, the workers and the Communists of all countries will understand that the Peace Treaty of Versailles is a blow aimed directly at the labouring class of the world, a blow that can only be averted by the united forces of the workers of all nations.

The party of Scheidemann and Ebert, since the first days of the German Revolution, has danced to the tune played by Clemenceau. The Government of Scheidemann, obeying the orders sent out by the ruling class of London and of Paris, has already killed thousands of German Communist workers. Every time that the tide of revolutionary movement in Germany grows in strength and power, and every time that the famine-stricken workers attempt to establish in that country the Soviet Republic, the Allied Governments refuse a morsel of bread to the German people.

Workers of France, of England, of America, of Italy, of Germany, and of Austria, class-conscious workers, the world over, we trust that you will do your duty. The emancipation of the oppressed lies in the International Revolution of the workers. From the lesson of Versailles will arise the working-class dictatorship.

Down with the Peace Treaty! All hail to the Soviet rule!

The President of the General Executive Committee of Communist International,

ZINOVIEV.

THE COMMUNIST PROGRAM

The Left Wing Program is implied within the terms of the program the Communist International. We therefore outline, as the controlling propositions of our own program, the main principles of Communism as follows:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole capitalist world system, while will mean the complete collapse of world culture, if Capitalism, with its unsolvable contradictions is not replaced by Communism.

2. The problem of the proletariat consists in organizing and training itself for the power of the state. This conquest of power means the replacement of the state machinery of the bourgeoisie with a new proletarian machinery of government.

3. This new proletarian state must embody the dictatorship of the proletariat, both industrial and agricultural, this dictatorship constituting the instrument for the taking over of property used for exploiting the workers and for the reorganization of society on a communist basis.

Not the fraudulent bourgeois democracy—the hypocritical form of the rule of the finance oligarchy, with its purely formal equality—but proletarian democracy based on the possibility of actual realization of freedom for the working masses; not capitalist bureaucracy, but organs of administration which have been created by the masses themselves, with the real participation of those masses in the government of the country and in the activity of the communistic structure—this should be the type of the proletarian state. The Workers' Councils and similar organizations represent its concrete form.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall carry out the expropriation of private property in the means of production and distribution, by transfer to the proletarian state under socialist administration of the working class; the abolition of capitalist agricultural production; nationalization of the great business enterprises and financial trusts.

5. The present world situation demands the closest relation between the revolutionary proletariat of all countries.

6. The fundamental means of the struggle for power is the mass action of the proletariat, a gathering together and concentration of all its energies; whereas methods such as the revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism are of only subsidiary significance.

In those countries in which the historical development has furnished the opportunity, the working class has utilized the regime of political democracy for its organization against capitalism. In all countries where the conditions for a worker's revolution are not yet ripe, the same process will go on.

But within this process the workers must never lose sight of the true character of bourgeois democracy. If the finance oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the capitalist power has at its command in order to gain its ends, all the traditions and attainments of former centuries of upper-class rule, multiplied by the wonders of capitalist technical lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat that it shall be content to yield itself to the artificial rules devised by its mortal enemy, but not observed by the deemy, is to make a mockery of the proletarian struggle for power—a struggle which depends primarily on the development of separate organs of working-class power.

7. The old Socialist International has broken into three main groups:

(a) Those frankly social patriots who since 1914 have supported their bourgeoisie and transformed those elements of the working class which they control into hangmen of the international revolution.

(b) The "Center", at present theoretically led by Kautsky (by Hillquit in the United States), representing elements which are constantly wavering and incapable of following a definite plan of action, and which are at times positively traitorous; and

(c) The revolutionary Left Wing.

As regards the social patriots, who everywhere in the critical moment oppose the proletarian revolution with force of arms, a merciless fight is absolutely necessary. As regard the "Center" our tactics must be to separate the revolutionary elements by pitilessly criticizing the leaders.

8. It is necessary to rally the groups and proletarian organizations who, though not as yet in the wake of the revolutionary trend of the Left Wing, nevertheless have manifested and developed a tendency leading in that direction.

Socialist criticism has sufficiently stigmatized the bourgeois world order. The task of the International Communist Party is now to overthrow this order and to erect in its place the structure of the socialist world order. Under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won; in the war against imperialistic barbarity, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms of social and national oppression—we call upon the proletarians of all lands to unite!

When the King and Queen of Roumania visited Grosswardein in the territory seized from the Hungarian Soviet by the Roumanian army, they were welcomed by "Hungarian notabilities"—another evidence of the international class war against working-class Socialism!

RENA MOONEY SPEAKS IN FAIRMOUNT PARK SUNDAY AFTERNOON AND WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY EVENING.