

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



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INTERNATIONAL STRIKE

WORKERS OF ENGLAND FRANCE AND ITALY WILL STRIKE IN SUPPORT OF THE BOLSHEVIKI OF RUSSIA

RENA MOONEY HERE

TALKS TO TEN THOUSAND PEOPLE
WIFE OF TOM MOONEY GIVES FIRST HAND DESCRIPTION
OF FAMOUS BOMB CASES

Rena Mooney, wife of Tom Mooney, the San Francisco iron molder who with Warren K. Billings is incarcerated in a California prison upon perjured evidence, spent a busy time in Duluth and district.

Mrs. Mooney told the story of the infamous frame-up against her husband and other labor organizers to large audiences. On Sunday, she addressed a large gathering of over seven thousand people in the Fairmount Park. In the evening she addressed a packed audience in the Woodman Hall. Her audiences at both meetings conclusively proved that they were with her and Tom Mooney by presenting her with a collection of over \$240.00.

The Scandinavian Band rendered some excellent musical selections. We trust in future that their musical program will harmonize with the spirit of the meetings they attend.

The signal for great enthusiasm was the reading of the stirring message to Mrs. Mooney, sent by that dear old war-horse J. O. Bentall. We regret that Bentall was not at our meeting in Fairmount Park to see that huge crowd show its appreciation of his great work in the cause of suffering humanity. But some day, Bentall is coming to Fairmount Park and on that day we shall pay our tribute to that dear old soul. Just a little while Jake!

Comrade Thompson and the editor of Truth spoke along with Mrs. Mooney and urged the necessity of solidarity amongst the workers.

In Superior, Two Harbors and Proctor Mrs. Mooney held very successful meetings. At the Superior meeting Mrs. Mooney told the crowd that there was some misapprehension abroad as to how long she had been in prison.

In Jail Nearly Two Years.
"I was in prison for twenty-two months," she said, "and, boys and girls, it's some education to be in prison. I wish you could all go there and see."

This welcome invitation brought a hearty laugh from the crowd.

which voiced its unanimous refusal of the offer.
Mrs. Mooney said that her husband (Continued on Page 2)



WOULD RECOGNISE LENIN

"One Big Union" Convention Demands Withdrawal of Troops.

Butte, Mont., July 8.—Asserting that Soviet Russia was the "grandest government in the world," S. J. Fisher, delegate-at-large, introduced a motion before the one big union convention in session here with the object of tying up the mines and, it is alleged of fomenting a revolution, that the convention go on record as demanding the cessation of hostilities against the Soviet Government of Russia and the immediate withdrawal of troops from that country.

An amendment to the motion also demanded in the name of the one big union the immediate recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia. The motion as amended was carried with great enthusiasm.

WOMEN WORKERS' ORGANISER BAYONETED BRITISH BRISKNESS IN DUBLIN

Dublin, July 4.—(By mail).—The city and environs of Dublin have been lived up lately by numerous raids and searches conducted by Dublin Police under the close supervision of imported Scotland Yard and Military Intelligence Department officials.

The records of acts of aggression culled by the Irish Labour Press from the Dublin dailies is by no means complete, as many incidents are refused publication by the Censor.

A case in point occurred in Rathfarnham on the evening of 23rd of June. A man named O'Brien was shot by one of four policemen from behind a high wall on the road to Ballyboden, and wounded in the left thigh.

Some unknown person summoned the ambulance from Rathmines, four miles away. Fireman Fagan, who accompanied the ambulance, said to an "Evening Herald" reporter:

"When we reached the place we found four policemen pulling and twisting and dragging him about. One of them had him by the throat.

When with the man who accompanied me, I was going to bandage the injured man, we were told by one big policeman to stand back and not interfere.

In the meantime Dr. Crowley of Rathfarnham came on the scene and was obliged to appeal three times to the police to let him attend the wounded man."

O'Brien was then removed in custody of the police after a struggle which must have lasted half an hour, during which he was bleeding from his wound. The police were withdrawn from the hospital on June 26th, when the X-ray examination showed that their prisoner had been crippled for life.

Red Flag Illegal.
At Gort, a man who carried the Red Flag on Labour Day was reported (Continued on Page 2)

Do you know that on Monday and Tuesday, July 21st and 23rd, that ALL the workers of Great Britain, Ireland, France and Italy are going to "down tools" as a protest against Allied Intervention in Russia?

Come to the

WOODMAN HALL

July 20th, 1919, 8 P. M.

And hear the wonderful story of what is going on in Europe.
The story of the International strike will be told by

W. E. TOWNE and JACK CARNEY

You do not know how magnificent this strike it? Come to the WOODMAN HALL SUNDAY EVENING. Hear the wonderful story of the awakening of the giant Labor. The things that you dreamed of and hoped for, they are about to come true. "Watchman, what of the night? What of such a night? And the watchman whose name is Labor and whose voice is Time's own thunder, replies: "THE MORNING COMETH", Already, "the wings of dawn are beating at the gates of day." In Russia they are beating loudly, so in Germany, Hungary, Italy Ireland, England and France, and soon the gates shall swing on sunlit hinges. What of the Night? Capitalism is the Night. Out of capitalism and along with it came wage-slavery and the oppression of the MANY by the Few. Out of the accumulated values stolen by the Few from the Many came the need for world markets. Out of the need for world markets came the struggle for territorial expansion; and out of that struggle came national hatreds and armament firms and secret diplomacy; and out of the aggregation of these came WAR, with dripping fangs and bleary eyes—War, with its far-flung battle-lines, which has made of Europe one vast grave-yard, and the world a house of mourning. CAPITALISM IS DOOMED. The night will pass; the morning cometh when the Many will no longer slave for the Few. In that New Day EACH WILL LABOR FOR ALL. "Then all mine and thine shall be ours." And wars will never come again to curse mankind with madness; for when Labor has ended the rule of capitalism it will have translated into national and international practice the great principle of "ALL WHO LABOR SHALL EAT!"

To the birth of that day, this great strike has been called. The voices of the Russian people have been heard. Labor no longer fooled, but slowly becoming conscious of its task, is now awakening and now the principle that we have talked of, is becoming a living reality, "AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL."

Attend this mass meeting and hear the wonderful story of what is about to take place on the morrow. A power, greater than the power of kings, czars, kaisers or presidents is about to be used, the power of Labor's strong right arm. Men and women of the working-class of Duluth and Superior, you might well be proud of your class in Europe, the day is coming when you will be called upon to play your part. Come to this meeting and learn how.

LABOR WITH RUSSIA

ENGLISH, FRENCH, ITALIAN WORKERS UNITED

BRITISH PROLETARIAT WILL HAVE TREMENDOUS DEMONSTRATIONS JULY 20 AND 21 ALL OVER GREAT BRITAIN

On June the 27th, the British Labor Congress met at Southport and it was announced that the Socialists and Trade Unionists of Britain, France and Italy had agreed to a general demonstration July 20 or 21st in protest against Allied intervention in Russia. By vote of one

million eight hundred and ninety-three thousand and nine hundred and thirty-five thousand, the Congress passed a resolution demanding industrial action to compel the British Government to withdraw troops from Russia.

The Congress also adopted a resolution demanding industrial action to compel abolition of conscription.

The Executive Committee of the General Union of Operative Carpenters and Joiners of England passed a resolution recommending to their members: "Not to work on ships being fitted for conveying troops and munitions to Russia and to seek the co-operation of other unions connected with ship building with the view to direct industrial action."

Italian Federation of Labor Declares General Strike All Over Italy for July 21st.

The Italian Federation of Labor together with representatives of the Italian Socialist Party, met in Rome on July 5th and made the final arrangements for the proposed 24 hour general strike. The general strike order will be read at public meetings Sunday, July 20th. The strike will be in protest against allied intervention in Russia, also against the high cost of living, the censorship and the imprisonment of soldiers and labor leaders.

General Strike in France. French General Federation of Labor, on July 5th, Issued Strike Order.

The Executive Committee of the Confederation Generale du Travail, met on July 4th at Paris and made the official announcement that after conferring with the comrades of Italy and Britain, plans are being laid for an international labor manifestation on July 21st when there will be a complete stoppage of all work in France. The objects of the demonstration are the cessation of armed intervention in Russia, the rapid demobilization of the armies, full and absolute amnesty to all political prisoners.

Socialists of America. This great international protest demonstration by the proletariat of the Allied countries, under the banner (Continued on page 2)

BLOCKADE SENSATION

Wilson's Reported Order to American Ships to Ignore British Orders.

Paris.—President Wilson has ordered all American vessels unloading in German ports to disregard the British orders to cease such unloading.

The seamen have also been commanded to take no notice of the British orders regarding the re-establishment of the blockade. This action was taken prior to the President's departure from Paris.

The news of the British move had aroused feeling, inasmuch as the Supreme Economic Council had not been consulted.—Exchange.

SOLIDARITY AS MOSES TAUGHT

London, June 10.—(By Mail).—Mr. Tom Mann, speaking yesterday afternoon in Trafalgar square at a demonstration organized by the Workers' Socialist Federation to protest against the peace terms, said that the only way in which workers could protest against a capitalist war being made on the workers in Russia was by a social revolution.

"What are we out for? A co-operative commonwealth, in place of capitalist exploitation.

"Don't rely on Parliament. Parliament is the chief executive of the master class, used expressly and ably by them to clinch their power over the people.

"Do you remember what Moses said to the Children of Israel when they asked him to help them against their oppressors?

"He said: 'That depends upon whether you are in agreement with each other.' Or, to modernize Moses, 'Can you show solidarity?'

"He told them that what they could not do for themselves, provided they did all they could, Jehovah would do for them. It was Jehovah who introduced sabotage. Sabotage means interfering thwarting.

"Jehovah thwarted the enemy of the Children of Israel with plagues, lice, and then frogs, I think. I don't know the order.

"But we—the fools that we are!—we help our enemies and give our sons to die for them!

"We have no Moses. We must save ourselves or remain in hell.

"I cannot tell you just when the revolution will be, but it will not be long. Some action of Winston Churchill's, with his capitalistic tendencies, some clumsiness on the part of Bonar Law, and then it will begin!

Cheers for Revolution.

"Now, then, hats off and cheers for a social revolution that will enable the workers to come into their own! Not to rob other people, but to prevent robbery!"

Hats were raised, and Red Flags waved, as a roar of cheering went up. Then the crowd sang "The Red Flag," amid the sharp clink of coins falling on to the plinth—for the chairman (Mr. Victor Beacham) had shouted for a collection.

LABOR AND THE NEW ERA

Reprinted From the Soviet.

In periods of transition, such as the world is now passing through, old conceptions of old things are swept aside and old conceptions of new movements must be also swept away. Any change in the world's affairs must necessarily affect all the peoples and all sections of society. Particularly is that section of society affected which is the instrument of the particular change in question. In succeeding eras the aristocracy, the upper middle classes and the lower middle classes or petty bourgeoisie, have played the dominant role. Now it is the proletariat the propertyless workers, who are the instrument of the change which is at present taking place in society. It therefore behooves the propertyless workers to prepare themselves that they may fulfill their function.

In its upward struggle Labor, like everything else, has had to learn from experience both in its conceptions and its practices. But the rise of Labor has been so swift that its conquest of power in one section finds it still clinging to its old conceptions of its functions in other sections of the world. Thus we have the workers of Russia and Hungary marching on triumphantly to the conquest of their historic mission while in other countries Labor is still arguing over petty concessions. The Canadian workers have not, as yet, recognized the fact that the mission of the workers of the world is to own and control all they produce and that this accomplished they are the rulers of the world. The average union man today wants more pay, shorter hours, better working conditions. He does not dream of owning the tools of his industry, except in the same manner as his boss owns them—so that he might exploit his fellows—he does not see that as long as someone else owns the means whereby he and his family live, his life will be one long struggle for reforms. He is convinced that his boss gives him a job, that a boss to provide a job he would starve. He has a vague idea that his boss amassed enough money to buy the industry that he directs its operation and that he is entitled to the money he gets from his enterprise. The boss recognizes that the worker thinks in his way and so it is a common answer of the employers to the demand for more wages or shorter hours that they cannot afford to make the required concessions.

But with the march of events the worker must revolutionize his ideas. He must study the conditions under which he lives and he must watch the progress of his brothers in Europe who are overthrowing the bosses and operating industry themselves for the benefit of the community as a whole. What do the owners of industry do? What use are they? What do they contribute to the operation of the world's work that entitles them to control the lives of thousands of families? Not one in every five hundred of the capitalists could operate the machines which make their fortunes. Few of them understand anything about the actual operation of industry. Few of them could rivet a bolt, feed a furnace, drive an engine, run a lathe, or perform any of the thousand jobs that go to run industry.

Nor are they capable of performing the executive work of their own plants. If all the owners of industry in Canada were to take a year's vacation tomorrow morning not one wheel would stop as a result. But if all the workers in industry would take a day's vacation the nation would be at a standstill. These are simple truths and they are irrefutable. But if the workers recognized them it would mean the end of the present system of society, and so those who benefit by things as they are attempt to misrepresent the issue. They lie about the progress of the proletarian revolution in Russia, represent all the actions of the Soviet government as destructive, picture Russia in a state of chaos.

When some news about the workers of Russia gets through the capitalist press perverts it. One of the best evidences of this perversion is supplied in the comments of the newspapers and weekly magazines on the pamphlet by Nicholas Lenin, entitled "The Soviets at Work," which the Post Office authorities recently suppressed. In this pamphlet Lenin deals with the dif-

RENA MOONEY HERE

(Continued from page 1)

band in jail was being held upon the same charges that she was tried on and acquitted. She told how, in company with twenty-one other persons, she had stood upon the roof of the building where her studio was located in San Francisco and how a minute before the bomb exploded many blocks up the street, a Y. M. C. A. photographer took a picture of the passing parade and in the foreground of that picture, by pure accident, appeared in clear likeness herself and husband on the roof and down in the street was photographed at the same instant a large street clock, which corroborated the time of the photograph exposure.

Flickert Fades out Photo.
By skillful manipulating this clock was faded out by prosecuting officials who handled the photograph, until it was rendered almost worthless as evidence by the Flickert crowd, which wanted blood at any price.

Mrs. Mooney said that she had been speaking for a square deal for her "Tom" in every large city in the country from court house and city hall steps and public meeting places. "They don't dare to stop me because of their framed up charges," she added. "President Wilson has investigated the case three times and the working class has begun to realize that this is their fight. What happened to Tom can and will happen to any of you who are battling for the rights of organized labor, unless this travesty on justice is repudiated."

Mrs. Tom Mooney's Presence Dramatizes the Issue.

Mrs. Tom Mooney's speaking tour through the East and Central States since May 1st has gone far in dramatizing the issue of the Mooney Strike. Up to and including July 4th, she was scheduled as far West as Sioux City, Iowa, from which place she returned to Chicago where she spoke to several monster mass meetings each day during the strike. The most monumental gatherings she addressed here were the Stock Yards Workers' meeting of about 10,000; the Workmen's Circle Picnic at Riverview Park of more than 15,000, and the Street Carriers' Meeting of at least 6,500 assembled within their own magnificent Auditorium on Ashland Boulevard to discuss striking. She also addressed the Chicago Federation of Labor where she was received cordially and cheered enthusiastically. This is the most important labor body between the Pacific Coast and New York City.

Rena Mooney is a Musician and Teacher—not a propagandist speaker. She tells her story simply and clearly. She appears to be just the fine little person she really is, womanly, attractive, and much devoted to Tom. She is keen, determined, loyal and courageous. Tripping lightly along from one big meeting to another—however tired she may be—appears to be the very personification of efficiency. Years of training in organizing her music classes and managing them on schedule time has developed in her the professional or business-like air with which she habitually conducts herself. Her independent spirit and manifest earnestness are so strongly in evidence that she is an inspiration not only to her fellow-workers in the Defense League, but to the thousands of workmen and women who hear her speak from the platform. In short, that type of womanly woman most men would be proud to have as companion and wife.

Mrs. Mooney is very fond of children. Before her terrible experience of twenty-two months imprisonment, she devoted much of her time and energy to teaching the children of the working class in the beautiful art of music, and developing in them a real love for it. She often tells her audiences that her jail experience has taught her much—more, she asserts, than any university. "Take a course—she laughingly advises—it will broaden your views and deepen your sympathies."

Rena Mooney Tells Story.
Wearing the same style hat and carrying the same coat (a neat little affair with Pearl-white buttons) that she wore at the very moment the bomb exploded, she accidentally appeared in three photos taken by a Y. M. C. A. man, almost at the exact time the bomb exploded a mile and a quarter away.

District Attorney Flickert's frame-up experienced by the workers when they took over industry owing to the shortage of engineers and other highly skilled men. The press immediately hailed this as an admission that capitalism was necessary to the preservation of society.

FOR FIVE YEARS

By ANISE.

Seattle Union Record.

He was thrown in
With safe-crackers
And murderers,
And second-story men,
They laughed at him:
"You POOR BOOB."
To hold up a man
And stand in front of him
Where he can SEE YOU!
That's the SILLIEST way
Of making MONEY!
You must take care
To LEAVE HIM
So he CAN'T TELL
What HIT him!"
Then they began to give him
All sorts of POINTERS,
When he comes out, he'll be
an ACCOMPLISHED CROOK!
There was another man,

A LUMBERJACK,
Who went to town
In a DRY STATE
And bought a bottle
Of BOOZE!
And later, when he was walking
Along the railway track
The sheriff opened his pack
And he was SENT UP
For BOOTLEGGING!
He was just an ordinary cuss
Like you and me,
But day in and day out
In the PEN
The ONLY talk he hears
Is the talk of EXPERTS
In CRIME,
Telling the fine points
Of THEIR TRADE.
Men who say right out:

"Sure, I'm a THIEF.
That's my PROFESSION,
I'll be one always,
Don't kid yourself
That you can hold down
An HONEST JOB,
Once you get out of here
With a CRIMINAL RECORD!
And so, when this lumberjack
Gets out, he'll be another
Accomplished CROOK.
Well, since we MUST have
CRIMINALS always
In order to furnish jobs
For judges and policemen,
I think it is so KIND
Of the government
Such first class schools
For teaching CRIME!
To keep at state expense

up gang in San Francisco got possession of those photos first, faked up copies to use in court by re-photographing until the time on the street-clocks showing in the photos could not be discovered under microscope. But the white pearl buttons on the coat show plainly—both in the real and the "faked" photographs.

"When they tried to murder me and put a rope around my neck to hang me until I was dead" is a sentence that sounds ridiculous even to her own ears. "Can one little person like myself," she sometimes asks, "do so much damage to a big street-car corporation that they want to murder me? Yes—I helped Tom to organize the street-car men of San Francisco. That is my crime."

"They know if they tried to hang Tom only that so long as I had breath in my body, I would fight for him as only a woman can, and just as I am doing. The rope slipped—neither of us are hung yet, tho' Tom was dangerously near it. It is hard to believe that in this Democracy of ours, innocent men like Tom and Billings have not only spent three (3) years in prison, but that life sentences even now hang over their heads."

"Asst. Dist. Atty. Cunha gave the whole thing away," says Mrs. Mooney—"when shortly after our arrest (both Tom and myself delivered ourselves and told frankly and exactly all our actions) Dist. Atty. Cunha said: 'I don't understand you, Mrs. Mooney, you must have two personalities. How can you—a woman of talent—of aesthetic tastes, with so fine a home and studio (which he had just visited and ransacked) take any interest in doing as you do?' 'What is it that I have done?' I asked—"expecting of course again to be accused in connection with the bomb outrage. 'Why,' he answered, 'you helped to organize the street carmen.' 'This proves the prosecuting attorney knew I had nothing to do with the bomb explosion, but could not understand why a musician artist should help her husband in his work of organizing workmen.'"

Her explanation was simple. She said: "Mr. Cunha, I can earn \$3.00 in forty minutes by teaching music to the well-to-do. This is more money than your street car company pays a platform man for ten hours' work that is more-over stretched out in installments covering 16 to 18 hours out of 24. To me this is grotesque—it is an outrage. This is the reason I helped Tom try to organize the men for more humane working conditions."

Wants To Go Back and Finish the Job.

After displaying large photographs, showing Tom and herself on the roof of the Music Company Studio Building, and explaining that an immense American flag draped across the entire front of the seven-story building, drove them up there on the roof in order that they might see the Preparedness Parade; that there they were accidentally photographed and their presence witnessed by twenty-one persons (which occurrence doubtless saved their lives) she concludes by stating as

follows: "When Tom gets out, we will go back and finish the job of organizing those same poorly paid street car men of San Francisco."

Mrs. Rena Mooney was made honorary member of the Duluth Shipbuilders Local 617, at their weekly meeting, held last Wednesday evening. The Local turned over to Mrs. Mooney the sum of \$443.05 the result of a dance recently held for the benefit of the Mooney Defense Fund. Mrs. Mooney desires to thank the many workers of Duluth, Superior, Proctor and Two Harbors for the splendid way in which they rallied to the support of her husband and his co-defendants.

Mrs. Mooney received from collections and sales of literature, during the four days that she was here in this district, over ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS. She has left behind a real feeling of solidarity amongst the workers. We have every reason to believe that unless something is done in the Mooney case, that there will be a nation-wide strike on Sept. 1st, 1919.

Women Workers' Organiser Bayoneted

(Continued from page 1)

quired to give bail for 12 months for that crime. "The Red Flag," said the paid Magistrate, "was the symbol of bloody revolution and terrorism, and was turned down by the French revolutionists of 1848." The following is the list of terrorist atrocities carried out under "the token the foul sea-harlot gave," i. e., the Union Jack, in Ireland, from June 20th to June 26th: Raids and searches 26 Arrests 10 Prosecutions 6 Sentences totalling 1 year 1 week (including 2 months hard labour) Fictitious proclamations 3 Occupations by Military 3 Released in ill-health 1 (Thomas Hayes, of Queenstown, aged 17, released under Cat and Mouse Act).

The suppressed fixtures include a lecture at Waterford, by Cathal O'Shannon, Editor, "The Voice of Labour," on "Ireland, Europe, and America." The lecture was given elsewhere, and afterwards an open-air protest meeting was broken up by the police charging with bayonets, in which charge Miss Hoynes, organiser of the Irish women workers' union, was injured.

Fighting the O. B. U.
The rapid advance of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in the past two years is now arousing the active hostility of the officials of the small local unions which are still numerous in Ireland. At the forthcoming Trade Union Congress at Drogheda the small unions will endeavour to raise the question of "overlapping," the "overlapper" being in most cases, the Irish One Big Union.

The Transport Union is, however, committed to the principle of One Union for all workers, and, as it adds one industrial group after another to its membership, it is adopt-

ing its organisation to meet their requirements.

Recently it carried through an All-Ireland programme of wage and hour alterations for the flour-millers, and it is steadily working to raise the level of living for all agricultural workers in the country.

In the small towns, which were absolutely unorganised by separate craft unions, the I. T. & G. W. U., has roped in every worker and carried through programmes of reform which benefitted every wage-earner in the place.

Co-operation is being actively promoted for the common advantage of the rural wage-earners, and the small farmers in the present, and for the evolution of a workers and peasants organisation in the future.

Education is not neglected and the Union's literature department is circulating large numbers of books and pamphlets of the right sort. With such a record of accomplishment and a revolutionary policy to promote, the I. T. & G. W. U., is not likely to be perturbed by the clamour of little job-holders in obsolete Unions.

LABOR WITH RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1)

ner of the Socialist Parties and the Trade Union Federations of Great Britain, France and Italy, in behalf of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic and against the powers of reaction and counter-revolution, means the beginning of the real practical work of the third international. It means the laying of the foundation for future joint action by the European proletariat, irrespective of temporary differences of opinions or quarrels resulting from the world war. It means the class struggle along international lines—the Eastern Advance Guard of the social revolution, in behalf of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary.

The least we can do, the least we must do, is to hold impressive public demonstrations on July the 20th in every city and town in the nation. Arrange such meetings at once. Adopt resolutions remanding of the President and Congress the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Russia. Demand the immediate cessation of meddling in Russian affairs. Demand immediate and drastic action against the food gamblers who are constantly sending the cost of living skyward. Demand the immediate and unconditional release of all class war prisoners. These are the demands of our European comrades.

Join forces for international working class solidarity! Come to the Woodman Hall Sunday evening, July 20th, 8 p. m. Show your solidarity with Russia and the revolutionary working class throughout the world. Sunday, July 20th, 1919, Woodman Hall.

When Capital controls the press, Capital controls the people. When Labor controls the press the people will control capital.

Vote for W. E. TOWNE



"Childhood is at the parting of the ways which lead to success or failure, honor or disgrace, life or death. Society is, or ought to be profoundly concerned in the nature of the environment that is to mold the character and determine the career of its children, and any remissness in such duty is rebuked by the most painful penalties and these are inflicted with increasing severity upon the people of the United States.

"Childhood is the most precious charge of the family and the community, but our capitalist civilization sacrifices it ruthlessly to gratify its brutal lust for pelf and power, and the march of its conquest is stained with the blood of infants and paved with the puny bones of children.

"WHAT SHALL THE HARVEST BE?"
THE ANSWER MEN AND WOMEN
DEPENDS UPON YOU YOURSELVES

CAST YOUR VOTE FOR W. E. TOWNE

You know Towne and you know where he stands. He is the same Billy Towne all the time. He stands for the workers ALL the time.

REMEMBER THE FUTURE OF YOUR
CHILDREN IS IN YOUR HANDS

TO BRITISH LABOR

(This appeal was responded to and the general strike takes place on Monday July 21st, 1919.—Ed. Truth).

The following manifesto to British workers was issued by the undementioned signatories last week-end:

Comrades.—The Confederation Generale du Travail, the Socialist Party of France and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro and Socialist Party of Italy, have sent a call to British workers to join them in a 24 hours' general strike against the armed attack upon the Socialist Governments of Russia and Hungary, and the capitalist politics of Versailles.

This appeal comes from the official Labour and Socialist Parties of France and Italy, which are equivalent to our Trade Union Congress and Labour Party and all the various Socialist Parties of this country.

It is therefore a most important appeal and the strike in France and Italy will undoubtedly take place on a great scale.

In this country forces of Labour are more powerfully organised than in any other. We here should therefore be in an even stronger position than the French and Italian comrades to take successful strike action.

Our movement strongly condemns the intervention against the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary. The principles of our movement are most emphatically opposed to those of the capitalists and politicians of Versailles, who are using the League of Nations to crush the workers' movement in all countries. Warships are actually sent to attack Russia flying the League of Nations flag.

Nevertheless, our British working class movement, which is the strongest in the world, the movement which should have led the way in this crisis, has hitherto failed to respond to the appeal from France and Italy. The officials of organised British Labour have answered that no strike can take place without a ballot of the Trade Union members.

The French and Italians reply by asking that the ballot shall immediately be taken; but matters remain at a deadlock.

We believe that the Labour and Socialist Movement wholeheartedly endorses the object of the strike, and we call on the Movement to rise to this great occasion and take decisive action.

The Russian Soviet Republic has held its own against the forces of the internal and external capitalist reaction for more than a year and a half, and the Hungarian Communists are victorious on all fronts. Lloyd George himself has admitted that the Russian Counter-Revolutionaries had given up the fight against the Soviets and only returned to the struggle on promise of Allied aid. The Hungarian So-

viet Republic was established without a blow, because the capitalist political parties gave way to it in their bankruptcy.

The only menace to the Workers' Communist Republics in Russia and Hungary, and to the growth of Communism throughout the world, comes from the workers in the Allied countries, who are allowing themselves to be used to fight Communism, as soldiers, seamen, ship-builders, dockers, and by working to provide munitions and supplies for the counter-revolutionary war.

We call on British to cease from aiding the counter-revolutionaries and to take a decisive stand on the side of the Socialist Republics.

If the strike takes place in France and Italy on June 23rd, as originally announced, we call on British workers to strike on that day, without waiting for any committee or conference to give the word. If the French and Italians postpone the strike in hope of getting the support of British Labour, all efforts should be bent towards bringing into line the official Labour Party Conference at Southport on June 25th to 27th.

Comrades, let us act now; in order that we may not be guilty of the massacre of our Russian and Hungarian comrades which will undoubtedly follow if the counter-revolutionaries succeed; let us act in order that we may retrieve the already tarnished reputation of our movement; and that we may join in the glorious struggle to establish the International Commonwealth of the Workers.

ALBERT INKPIN,
British Socialist Party.
D. A. DAVIES,
South Wales Socialist Society.
E. SYLVIA PANKHURST,
Workers' Socialist Federation.
L. COTTON,
Socialist Labour Party.

DAVID BROWN ATTENTION.

Anyone knowing the whereabouts of David Brown, last seen in Salt Lake City, Utah, working as a cook, two and a half years ago. His wife, Mary Brown c/o Finnish Hall 318 Wyoming Street, Butte, Montana and two daughters would like to hear of him. Will all radical papers please copy this notice and also will all workers please make inquiries in their locality.

LABOR AND THE NEW ERA

Reprinted From the Soviet.

In periods of transition, such as the world is now passing through old conceptions of old things are swept aside and old conceptions of new movements must be also swept away. Any change in the world's affairs must necessarily affect all the peoples and all sections of society. Particularly is that section of society affected which is the instrument of the particular change in question. In succeeding eras the aristocracy, the upper middle classes and the lower middle classes or petty bourgeoisie, have played the dominant role. Now it is the proletariat the propertyless workers, who are the instrument of the change which is at present taking place in society. It therefore behooves the propertyless workers to prepare themselves that they may fulfill their function.

In its upward struggle Labor, like everything else, has had to learn from experience both in its conceptions and its practices. But the rise of Labor has been so swift that its conquest of power in one section finds it still clinging to its old conceptions of its functions in other sections of the world. Thus we have the workers of Russia and Hungary marching on triumphantly to the conquest of their historic mission while in other countries Labor is still arguing over petty concessions. The Canadian workers have not, as yet, recognized the fact that the mission of the workers of the world is to own and control all they produce and that this accomplished they are the rulers of the world. The average union man today wants more pay, shorter hours, better working conditions. He does not dream of owning the tools of his industry, except in the same manner as his boss owns them—so that he might exploit his fellows—he does not see that as long as someone else owns the means whereby he and his family live, his life will be one long struggle for reforms. He is convinced that his boss gives him a job, that a boss to provide a job he would starve. He has a vague idea that his boss amassed enough money to buy the industry that he directs its operation and that he is entitled to the money he gets from his enterprise. The boss recognizes that the worker thinks in his way and so it is a common answer of the employers to the demand for more wages or shorter hours that they cannot afford to make the required concessions.

But with the march of events the worker must revolutionize his ideas. He must study the conditions under which he lives and he must watch the progress of his brothers in Europe who are overthrowing the bosses and operating industry themselves for the benefit of the community as a whole.

What do the owners of industry do? What use are they? What do they contribute to the operation of the world's work that entitles them to control the lives of thousands of families? Not one in every five hundred of the capitalists could operate the machines which make their fortunes. Few of them understand anything about the actual operation of industry. Few of them could rivet a bolt, feed a furnace, drive an engine, run a lathe, or perform any of the thousand jobs that go to run industry.

Nor are they capable of performing the executive work of their own plants. If all the owners of industry in Canada were to take a year's vacation tomorrow morning not one wheel would stop as a result. But if all the workers in industry would take a day's vacation the nation would be at a standstill. These are simple truths and they are irrefutable. But if the workers recognized them it would mean the end of the present system of society, and so those who benefit by things as they are attempt to misrepresent the issue. They lie about the progress of the proletarian revolution in Russia, represent all the actions of the Soviet government as destructive, picture Russia in a state of chaos.

When some news about the workers of Russia gets through the capitalist press perverts it. One of the best evidences of this perversion is supplied in the comments of the newspapers and weekly magazines on the pamphlet by Nicholas Lenin, entitled "The Soviets at Work," which the Post Office authorities recently suppressed. In this pamphlet Lenin deals with the dif-

RENA MOONEY HERE

Continued from page 1)

band in jail was being held upon the same charges that she was tried on and acquitted. She told how, in company with twenty-one other persons, she had stood upon the roof of the building where her studio was located in San Francisco and how a minute before the bomb exploded many blocks up the street, a Y. M. C. A. photographer took a picture of the passing parade and in the foreground of that picture, by pure accident, appeared in clear likeness herself and husband on the roof and down in the street was photographed at the same instant a large street clock, which corroborated the time of the photograph exposure.

Fickert Fades out Photo.

By skillful manipulating this clock was faded out by prosecuting officials who handled the photograph, until it was rendered almost worthless as evidence by the Fickert crowd, which wanted blood at any price.

Mrs. Mooney said that she had been speaking for a square deal for her "Tom" in every large city in the country from court house and city hall steps and public meeting places. "They don't dare to stop me because of their framed up charges," she added. "President Wilson has investigated the case three times and the working class has begun to realize that this is their fight. What happened to Tom can and will happen to any of you who are battling for the rights of organized labor, unless this travesty on justice is repudiated."

Mrs. Tom Mooney's Presence Dramatizes the Issue.

Mrs. Tom Mooney's speaking tour thruout the East and Central States since May last has gone far in dramatizing the issue of the Mooney strike. Up to and including July 4th, she was scheduled as far West as Sioux City, Iowa, from which place she returned to Chicago where she spoke to several monster mass meetings each day during the strike. The most monumental gathering she addressed here were the Stock Yards Workers' meeting of about 10,000; the Workmen's Circle Picnic at Riverview Park of more than 15,000, and the Street Carmen's Meeting of at least 6,500 assembled within their own magnificent Auditorium on Ashland Boulevard to discuss striking. She also addressed the Chicago Federation of Labor where she was received cordially and cheered enthusiastically. This is the most important labor body between the Pacific Coast and New York City.

Rena Mooney is a Musician and Teacher—not a propagandist speaker. She tells her story simply and clearly. She appears to be just the fine little person she really is, womanly, attractive, and much devoted to Tom. She is keen, determined, loyal and courageous. Tripping lightly along from one big meeting to another—however tired she may be—appears to be the very personification of efficiency. Years of training in organizing her music classes and managing them on schedule time has developed in her the professional or business-like air with which she habitually conducts herself. Her independent spirit and manifest earnestness are so strongly in evidence that she is an inspiration not only to her fellow-workers in the Defense League, but to the thousands of workingmen and women who hear her speak from the platform. In short, that type of womanly woman most men would be proud to have as companion and wife.

Mrs. Mooney is very fond of children. Before her terrible experience of twenty-two months imprisonment, she devoted much of her time and energy to teaching the children of the working class in the beautiful art of music, and developing in them a real love for it. She often tells her audiences that her jail experience has taught her much—more, she asserts, than any university. "Take a course—she laughingly advises—it will broaden your views and deepen your sympathies."

Rena Mooney Tells Story.

Wearing the same style hat and carrying the same coat (a neat little affair with Pearl-white buttons) that she wore at the very moment the bomb exploded, she shows how Tom and she accidentally appeared in three photos taken by a Y. M. C. A. man, almost at the exact time the bomb exploded a mile and a quarter away.

District Attorney Fickert's frame-up experienced by the workers when they took over industry owing to the shortage of engineers and other highly skilled men. The press immediately hailed this as an admission that capitalism was necessary to the preservation of society.

FOR FIVE YEARS

By ANISE.

Seattle Union Record.

He was thrown in
With safe-crackers
And murderers,
And second-story men,
They laughed at him:
"You POOR BOOB.
To hold up a man
And stand in front of him
Where he can SEE YOU!
That's the SILLIEST way
Of making MONEY!
You must take care
To LEAVE HIM
So he CAN'T TELL
What HIT him!"
Then they began to give him
All sorts of POINTERS,
When he comes out, he'll be
an ACCOMPLISHED CROOK!
There was another man,

A LUMBERJACK,
Who went to town
In a DRY STATE
And bought a bottle
Of BOOZE!
And later, when he was walking
Along the railway track
The sheriff opened his pack
And he was SENT UP
For BOOTLEGGING!
He was just an ordinary cuss
Like you and me,
But day in and day out
In the PEN
The ONLY talk he hears
Is the talk of EXPERTS
In CRIME,
Telling the fine points
Of THEIR TRADE.
Men who say right out:

"Sure, I'm a THIEF.
That's my PROFESSION,
I'll be one always,
Don't kid yourself
That you can hold down
An HONEST JOB,
Once you get out of here
With a CRIMINAL RECORD!
And so, when this lumberjack
Gets out, he'll be another
Accomplished CROOK.
Well, since we MUST have
CRIMINALS always
In order to furnish jobs
For judges and policemen,
I think it is so KIND
Of the government
Such first class schools
For teaching CRIME!
To keep at state expense"

up gang in San Francisco got possession of those photos first, faked up copies to use in court by re-photographing until the time on the street-clocks showing in the photos could not be discovered under microscope. But the white pearl buttons on the coat show plainly—both in the real and the "faked" photographs.

"When they tried to murder me and put a rope around my neck to hang me until I was dead" is a sentence that sounds ridiculous even to her own ears. "Can one little person like myself," she sometimes asks, "do so much damage to a big street-car corporation that they want to murder me? Yes—I helped Tom to organize the street-car men of San Francisco. That is my crime."

"They know if they tried to hang Tom only that so long as I had breath in my body, I would fight for him as only a woman can, and just as I am doing. The rope slipped—neither of us are hung yet, tho' Tom was dangerously near it. It is hard to believe that in this Democracy of ours, innocent men like Tom and Billings have not only spent three (3) years in prison, but that life sentences even now hang over their heads."

"Asst. Dist. Atty. Cunha gave the whole thing away," says Mrs. Mooney—"when shortly after our arrest (both Tom and myself delivered ourselves and told frankly and exactly all our actions) Dist. Atty. Cunha said: 'I don't understand you, Mrs. Mooney, you must have two personalities. How can you—a woman of talent—of aesthetic tastes, with so fine a home and studio (which he had just visited and ransacked) take any interest in doing as you do?' "What is it that I have done," I asked—"expecting of course again to be accused in connection with the bomb outrage. 'Why,' he answered, 'you helped to organize the street carmen.' "This proves the prosecuting attorney knew I had nothing to do with the bomb explosion, but could not understand why a musician artist should help her husband in his work of organizing workingmen."

Her explanation was simple. She said: "Mr. Cunha, I can earn \$3.00 in forty minutes by teaching music to the well-to-do. This is more money than your street car company pays a platform man for ten hours' work that is more-over stretched out in installments covering 16 to 18 hours out of 24. To me this is grotesque—it is an outrage. This is the reason I helped Tom try to organize the men for more humane working conditions."

Wants To Go Back and Finish the Job.

After displaying large photographs, showing Tom and herself on the roof of the Music Company Studio Building, and explaining that an immense American flag draped across the entire front of the seven-story building, drove them up there on the roof in order that they might see the Preparedness Parade; that there they were accidentally photographed and their presence witnessed by twenty-one persons (which occurrence doubtless saved their lives) she concludes by stating as

follows: "When Tom gets out, we will go back and finish the job of organizing those same poorly paid street car men of San Francisco."

Mrs. Rena Mooney was made honorary member of the Duluth Shipbuilders Local 617, at their weekly meeting, held last Wednesday evening. The Local turned over to Mrs. Mooney the sum of \$443.05 the result of a dance recently held for the benefit of the Mooney Defense Fund. Mrs. Mooney desires to thank the many workers of Duluth, Superior, Proctor and Two Harbors for the splendid way in which they rallied to the support of her husband and his co-defendants.

Mrs. Mooney received from collections and sales of literature, during the four days that she was here in this district, over ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS. She has left behind a real feeling of solidarity amongst the workers. We have every reason to believe that unless something is done in the Mooney case, that there will be a nation-wide strike on Sept. 1st, 1919.

Women Workers' Organiser Bayoneted

(Continued from page 1)

quired to give bail for 12 months for that crime. "The Red Flag," said the paid Magistrate, "was the symbol of bloody revolution and terrorism, and was turned down by the French revolutionists of 1848."

The following is the list of terrorist atrocities carried out under "the token the foul sea-harlot gave," i. e., the Union Jack, in Ireland, from June 20th to June 26th: Raids and searches 26 Arrests 10 Prosecutions 6 Sentences totalling 1 year 1 week (including 2 months hard labour) Fixtures proclaimed 3 Occupations by Military 3 Released in ill-health 1 (Thomas Hayes, of Queenstown, aged 17, released under Cat and Mouse Act).

The suppressed fixtures include a lecture at Waterford, by Cathal O'Shannon, Editor, "The Voice of Labour," on "Ireland, Europe, and America." The lecture was given elsewhere, and afterwards an open-air protest meeting was broken up by the police charging with bayonets, in which charge Miss Hoynes, organiser of the Irish women workers' union, was injured.

Fighting the O. B. U.

The rapid advance of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union in the past two years is now arousing the active hostility of the officials of the small local unions which are still numerous in Ireland. At the forthcoming Trade Union Congress at Drogheda the small unions will endeavour to raise the question of "overlapping," the "overlapper" being in most cases, the Irish One Big Union.

The Transport Union is, however, committed to the principle of One Union for all workers, and, as it adds one industrial group after another to its membership, it is adopt-

ing its organisation to meet their requirements.

Recently it carried through an All-Ireland programme of wage and hour alterations for the flour-millers, and it is steadily working to raise the level of living for all agricultural workers in the country.

In the small towns, which were absolutely unorganised by separate craft unions, the I. T. & G. W. U., has roped in every worker and carried through programmes of reform which benefitted every wage-earner in the place.

Co-operation is being actively promoted for the common advantage of the rural wage-earners, and the small farmers in the present, and for the evolution of a workers and peasants organisation in the future.

Education is not neglected and the Union's literature department is circulating large numbers of books and pamphlets of the right sort.

With such a record of accomplishment and a revolutionary policy to promote, the I. T. & G. W. U., is not likely to be perturbed by the clamour of little job-holders in obsolete Unions.

LABOR WITH RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1)

ner of the Socialist Parties and the Trade Union Federations of Great Britain, France and Italy, in behalf of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic and against the powers of reaction and counter-revolution, means the beginning of the real practical work of the third international. It means the laying of the foundation for future joint action by the European proletariat, irrespective of temporary differences of opinions or quarrels resulting from the world war. It means the class struggle along international lines—the class struggle in behalf of the Eastern Advance Guard of the social revolution, in behalf of Soviet Russia and Soviet Hungary.

The least we can do, the least we must do, is to hold impressive public demonstrations on July the 20th in every city and town in the nation. Arrange such meetings at once. Adopt resolutions remanding of the President and Congress the immediate withdrawal of the troops from Russia. Demand the immediate cessation of meddling in Russian affairs. Demand immediate and drastic action against the food gamblers who are constantly sending the cost of living skyward. Demand the immediate and unconditional release of all class war prisoners. These are the demands of our European comrades.

Join forces for international working class solidarity!

Come to the Woodman Hall Sunday evening, July 20th, 8 p. m. Show your solidarity with Russia and the revolutionary working class throughout the world. Sunday, July 20th, 1919, Woodman Hall.

When Capital controls the press, Capital controls the people. When Labor controls the press the people will control capital.

Vote for W. E. TOWNE



"Childhood is at the parting of the ways which lead to success or failure, honor or disgrace, life or death. Society is, or ought to be profoundly concerned in the nature of the environment that is to mold the character and determine the career of its children, and any remissness in such duty is rebuked by the most painful penalties and these are inflicted with increasing severity upon the people of the United States.

"Childhood is the most precious charge of the family and the community, but our capitalist civilization sacrifices it ruthlessly to gratify its brutal lust for pelf and power, and the march of its conquest is stained with the blood of infants and paved with the puny bones of children.

"WHAT SHALL THE HARVEST BE?"
THE ANSWER MEN AND WOMEN
DEPENDS UPON YOU YOURSELVES

CAST YOUR VOTE FOR W. E. TOWNE

You know Towne and you know where he stands. He is the same Billy Towne all the time. He stands for the workers ALL the time.

REMEMBER THE FUTURE OF YOUR
CHILDREN IS IN YOUR HANDS

TO BRITISH LABOR

(This appeal was responded to and the general strike takes place on Monday July 21st, 1919.—Ed. Truth).

The following manifesto to British workers was issued by the undementioned signatories last week-end:

Comrades,—The Confederation Generale du Travail, the Socialist Party of France and the Confederazione Generale del Lavoro and Socialist Party of Italy, have sent a call to British workers to join them in a 24 hours' general strike against the armed attack upon the Socialist Governments of Russia and Hungary, and the capitalist politics of Versailles.

This appeal comes from the official Labour and Socialist Parties of France and Italy, which are equivalent to our Trade Union Congress and Labour Party and all the various Socialist Parties of this country.

It is therefore a most important appeal and the strike in France and Italy will undoubtedly take place on a great scale.

In this country forces of Labour are more powerfully organised than in any other. We here should therefore be in an even stronger position than the French and Italian comrades to take successful strike action.

Our movement strongly condemns the intervention against the Workers' Republics of Russia and Hungary. The principles of our movement are most emphatically opposed to those of the capitalists and politicians of Versailles, who are using the League of Nations to crush the workers' movement in all countries. Warships are actually sent to attack Russia flying the League of Nations flag.

Nevertheless, our British working class movement, which is the strongest in the world, the movement which should have led the way in this crisis, has hitherto failed to respond to the appeal from France and Italy. The officials of organised British Labour have answered that no strike can take place without a ballot of the Trade Union members.

The French and Italians reply by asking that the ballot shall immediately be taken; but matters remain at a deadlock.

We believe that the Labour and Socialist Movement wholeheartedly endorses the object of the strike, and we call on the Movement to rise to this great occasion and take decisive action.

The Russian Soviet Republic has held its own against the forces of the internal and external capitalist reaction for more than a year and a half, and the Hungarian Communists are victorious on all fronts. Lloyd George himself has admitted that the Russian Counter-Revolutionaries had given up the fight against the Soviets and only returned to the struggle on promise of Allied aid. The Hungarian So-

viet Republic was established without a blow, because the capitalist political parties gave way to it in their bankruptcy.

The only menace to the Workers' Communist Republics in Russia and Hungary, and to the growth of Communism throughout the world, comes from the workers in the Allied countries, who are allowing themselves to be used to fight Communism, as soldiers, seamen, shipbuilders, dockers, and by working to provide munitions and supplies for the counter-revolutionary war.

We call on British to cease from aiding the counter-revolutionaries and to take a decisive stand on the side of the Socialist Republics.

If the strike takes place in France and Italy on June 23rd, as originally announced, we call on British workers to strike on that day, without waiting for any committee or conference to give the word. If the French and Italians postpone the strike in hope of getting the support of British Labour, all efforts should be bent towards bringing into line the official Labour Party Conference at Southport on June 25th to 27th.

Comrades, let us act now; in order that we may not be guilty of the massacre of our Russian and Hungarian comrades which will undoubtedly follow if the counter-revolutionaries succeed; let us act in order that we may retrieve the already tarnished reputation of our movement; and that we may join in the glorious struggle to establish the International Commonwealth of the Workers.

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DAVID BROWN ATTENTION.

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MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, HELD AT MOSCOW, MARCH 2--6, 1919. ISSUED MARCH 10TH AND SIGNED CHARLES RAKOVSKY, N. LENIN, G. ZINOVIEV, LEON TROTZKY, FRITZ PLATTEN.

TEXT RECEIVED DIRECT FROM MOSCOW.

Translated by IDA FERGUSON

TO THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES!

Seventy-two years have gone by since the Communist Party of the World proclaimed its program in the form of the Manifesto written by the greatest teachers of the proletarian revolution, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Even at that early time, when Communism had scarcely come into the arena of conflict, it was hounded by the lies, hatred and calumny of the possessing classes, who rightly suspected in it their mortal enemy. During these seven decades Communism has travelled a hard road: of ascent followed by periods of sharp decline; successes, but also severe defeats. In spite of all, the development at bottom went the way forecast by the Manifesto of the Communist party. The epoch of the last decisive battle came later than the apostles of the social revolution expected and wished. But it has come.

We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of the different countries of Europe, America and Asia, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel and consider ourselves followers and fulfillers of the program proclaimed seventy-two years ago. It is our task now to sum up the practical revolutionary experience of the working class, to cleanse the movement of its admixtures of opportunism and social patriotism, and to gather together the forces of all the true revolutionary proletarian parties in order to further and hasten the complete victory of the communist revolution.

I.

For a long span of years Socialism predicted the inevitableness of the imperialistic war; it perceived the essential cause of this war in the insatiable greed of the possessing classes in both camps of capitalist nations. Two years before the outbreak of the war, at the Congress of Basle, the responsible Socialist leaders of all countries branded Imperialism as the instigator of the coming war, and menaced the bourgeoisie with the threat of the Socialist revolution—the reparation of the proletariat for the crimes of militarism. Now, after the experience of five years, after history has disclosed the predatory lust of Germany, and has unmasked the no less criminal deeds on the part of the Allies, the State Socialists of the Entente nations, together with their governments, again unmask the deposed German Kaiser. And the German social patriots, who in August 1914 proclaimed the diplomatic White Book of the Hohenzollern as the holiest gospel of the people, today, in vulgar sycophancy, join with the Socialists of the Entente countries in accusing as arch-criminals the deposed German monarchy which they formerly served as slaves. In this way they hope to erase the memory of their own guilt and to gain the good will of the victors. But alongside the dethroned dynasties of the Romanoffs, Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and the capitalistic cliques of these lands, the rulers of France, England, Italy and the United States stand revealed in the light of unfolding events and diplomatic disclosures in their immeasurable villainess.

The contradictions of the capitalist system were converted by the war into beastly torments of hunger and cold, epidemics and moral savagery, for all mankind. In this the academic quarrel in Socialism over the theory of increasing misery, and also of the undermining of Capitalism through Socialism, is now finally determined. Statisticians and teachers of the theory of reconciliation of these contradictions have endeavored for decades to gather together from all countries of the earth real and apparent facts which evidence the increasing well-being of the working class.

Finance-capital, which threw mankind into the abyss of war, has itself suffered catastrophic changes during the course of the war. The dependence of paper money upon the material basis of production was completely destroyed. More and more losing its significance as medium and regulator of capitalistic commodity circulation, paper money becomes merely a means of exploitation, robbery, of military-economic oppression. The complete deterioration of paper money now reflects the general deadly crisis of capitalist commodity exchange.

As free competition was replaced as regulator of production and distribution in the chief domains of economy, during the decades which preceded the war, by the system of trusts and monopolies, so the exigencies of the war took the regulating role out of the hands of the monopolies and gave it directly to the military power. Distribution of raw materials, utilization of petroleum from Baku or Roumania, of coal from Donetz, of cereals from the Ukraine; the fate of German locomotives, railroad cars and automobiles, the provisioning of famine-stricken Europe with bread and meat,—all these basic questions of the economic life of the world are no longer regulated by free competition, nor yet by combinations of national and international trusts, but through direct application of military force.

Just as complete subordination of the power of the State of the purposes finance-capital led mankind to the imperialistic shambles, so finance-capital has, through this mass slaughter, completely militarized not alone the State but also itself. It is no longer able to fulfill its essential economic functions otherwise than by means of blood and iron.

The opportunists who before the war exhorted the workers, in the name of the gradual transition to Socialism, to be temperate; who, during the war, asked for submission in the name of "civil peace" and defense of the Fatherland, now again demand of the workers selfabnegation to overcome the terrible consequences of the war. If this preaching were listened to by the workers Capitalism would build out of the bones of several generations a new and still more formidable structure, leading to a new and inevitable world war. Fortunately for humanity, this is no longer possible.

The absorption by the State of the economic life, so vigorously opposed by capitalist Liberalism, has now become a fact. There can be no return either to free competition nor to the rule of the trusts, syndicates and other economic monsters. The only question is what shall be the future ~~mainstay~~ of state production, the Imperialistic State of the State of the victorious proletariat? In other words, shall the whole of working humanity become the feudal bond-servants of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under the name of a League of Nations aided by an "international" army and an "international" navy, here plunders and murders, there throws a crumb, but everywhere en-

chains the proletariat, with the single aim of maintaining its own rule? Or will the working class take into its own hands the disorganized and shattered economic life and make certain its reconstruction on a Socialist basis?

Only the Proletarian Dictatorship, which recognizes neither inherited privileges nor rights of property, but which arises from the needs of the hungering masses, can shorten the period of the present crisis; and for this purpose it mobilizes all materials and forces, introduces the universal duty to labor, establishes the regime of industrial discipline, this way to heal in the course of a few years the open wounds caused by the war and also raise humanity to new unreamed-of heights.

The national State which was given a tremendous impulse by capitalistic evolution has become too narrow for the development of the productive forces, and even more untenable has become the position of the small States, distributed among the great powers of Europe and in other parts of the world. These small States came into existence at different times as fragments split off the bigger States, as petty currency in payment for services rendered, to serve as strategic, buffer States. They, too, have their ruling gangs, their imperialistic pretensions, their diplomatic machinations, their illusory independence had until the war precisely the same support as the European balance of power; namely, the continuous opposition between the two imperialistic camps. The war has destroyed this balance. The tremendous preponderance of power which the war gave to Germany in the beginning compelled these smaller nations to seek their welfare and safety under the wings of German militarism. After Germany was beaten the bourgeoisie of the small nations, together with their patriotic "Socialists," turned to the victorious Imperialism of the Allies and began to seek assurance for their further independent existence in the hypocritical "points" of the Wilson program. At the same time the number of little States has increased; out of the unity of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, out of the different parts of Czarist Empire, new sovereignties have formed themselves. And these, as soon as born, jump at each other's throats on account of their frontier disputes. Meanwhile the Allied imperialists brought about certain combinations of new and old small States through the cement of mutual hatreds and general weakness. Even while violating the small and weak peoples and delivering them to famine and degradation, the Entente imperialists, exactly as the imperialists of the Central powers before them, did not cease to talk of the right of self-determination of all peoples, a right which is now entirely destroyed in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Only the proletarian revolution can secure the existence of the small nations, a revolution which frees the productive forces of all countries from the restrictions of the national States, which unites all peoples in the closest economic co-operation on the basis of a universal economic plan, and gives even to the smallest and weakest peoples the possibility freely and independently to carry on their national culture without detriment to the united and centralized economy of Europe and of the whole world.

The last war, after all a war against the colonies, was at the same time a war with the aid of the colonies. In an unprecedented extent the population of the colonies was drawn into the European war. Indians, Arabs, Madagascans battled on the European continent—what for?—for their right to remain slaves of England or France? Never did capitalist rule show itself more shameless, never was the truth of colonial slavery brought into such sharp relief. As a consequence we witnessed a series of open rebellions and revolutionary ferment in all colonies. In Europe itself it was Ireland which reminded us in bloody street battles that it is still an enslaved country and feels itself as such. In Madagascar, in Annam, and in other countries, the troops of the bourgeois Republic have had more than one insurrection of the colonial slaves to suppress during the war. In India the revolutionary movement has not been at a standstill for one day, and lately we have witnessed the greatest labor strike in Asia, to which the government of Great Britain answered with armored cars.

In this manner the colonial question in its entirety became the order of the day not alone on the green table of the diplomatic conferences at Paris but also in the colonies themselves. The Wilson program, at the very best, calls only for a change in the firm-name of colonial enslavement. Liberation of the colonies can come only through liberation of the working class of the oppressing nations. The workers and peasants not only of Annam, Algeria, Bengal, but also of Persia and Armenia, can gain independent existence only after the laborers of England and France have overthrown Lloyd George and Clemenceau and taken the power into their own hands. Even now in the more advanced colonies the battle goes on not only under the flag of national liberation but it assumes also an open and outspoken social character. Capitalistic Europe has drawn the backward countries by force into the capitalistic whirlpool, and Socialistic Europe will come to the aid of the liberated colonies with its technique, its organization, its spiritual influence, in order to facilitate their transition into the orderly system of Socialistic economy.

Colonial slaves of Africa and Asia! The hour of triumph of the Proletarian Dictatorship of Europe will also be the hour of your liberation!

II.

The whole bourgeois world accuses the Communists of destroying liberties and political democracy. That is not true. Having come into power the proletariat only asserts the absolute impossibility of applying the methods of bourgeois democracy and creates the conditions and forms of a higher working-class democracy. The whole course of capitalistic development undermined political democracy, not only by dividing the nation into two irreconcilable classes, but also by condemning the numerous petty bourgeois and semi-proletarian elements, as well as the slum proletariat, to permanent economic stagnation and political impotence.

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 the great middle layers on the farms, as well as in the cities, are hindered by Capitalism in the historic development and remain stagnant for whole epochs. The

peasant of Bavaria and Baden who does not look beyond his church spire, the small French winegrower who has been ruined by the adulterations practiced by the big capitalists, the small farmer of America plundered and betrayed by bankers and legislators,—all these social ranks which have been shoved aside from the main road of development by Capitalism, are called on paper by the regime of political democracy to the administration of the State. In reality, however, the finance-oligarchy decides all important questions which determine the destinies of nations behind the back of parliamentary democracy. Particularly was this true of the war question. The same applies to the question of peace.

If the finance-oligarchy considers it advantageous to veil its deeds of violence behind parliamentary votes, then the bourgeois State 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 capitalistic technique: lies, demagogism, persecution, slander, bribery, calumny and terror. To demand of the proletariat in the final life and death struggle with Capitalism that it should follow lamblike the demands of bourgeois democracy would be the same as to ask a man who is defending his life against robbers to follow the artificial rules of a French duel that have been set by his enemy but not followed by him.

In an empire of destruction, where not only the means of production and transportation, but also the institutions of political democracy represent bloody ruins, the proletariat must create its own forms, to serve above all as a bond of unity for the working class and to enable it to accomplish a revolutionary intervention in the further development of mankind. Such apparatus is represented in the Workers' Councils. The old parties, the old unions have proved incapable, in person of their leaders, to understand, much less to carry out, the task which the new epoch presents to them. The proletariat created a new institution which embraces the entire working class, without distinction of vocation or political maturity, an elastic form of organization capable of continually renewing itself, expanding, and of drawing into itself ever new elements, ready to open its doors to the working groups of city and village which are near to the proletariat. This indispensable autonomous organization of the working class in the present struggle and in the future conquests of different lands, tests the proletariat and represents the greatest inspiration and the mightiest weapon of the proletariat of our time.

Wherever the masses are awakened to consciousness, Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Councils will be formed. To fortify these Councils, to increase their authority, to oppose them to the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, is now the chief task of the class-conscious and honest workers of all countries. By means of these Councils the working class can counteract that disorganization which has been brought into it by the infernal anguish of the war, by hunger, by the violent deeds of the possessing classes, and by the betrayal of their former leaders. By means of these Councils the working class will gain power in all countries most readily and most certainly when these Councils gain the support of the majority of the laboring population. By means of these Councils the working class, once attaining power, will control all the field of economic and cultural life, as in Soviet Russia.

The collapse of the imperialistic State, czaristic to most democratic, goes on simultaneously with the collapse of the imperialistic military system. The armies of millions, mobilized by Imperialism, could remain steadfast only so long as the proletariat remained obedient under the yoke of the bourgeoisie. The complete break-down of national unity signifies also an inevitable disintegration of the army. Thus it happened, first in Russia, then in Austria-Hungary, then in Germany. The same also is to be expected in other imperialistic states. Insurrection of the peasants against the landowners, of laborer against capitalist, of both against the monarchic or "democratic" bureaucracy, must lead inevitably to the insurrection of soldier against commander and, furthermore, to a sharp division between the proletarian and bourgeois elements within the army. The imperialistic war which pitted nation against nation, has passed and is passing into the civil war which lines up class against class.

The outcry of the bourgeois world against the civil war and the red terror is the most colossal hypocrisy of which the history of political struggles can boast. There would be no civil war if the exploiters who have carried mankind to the very brink of ruin had not prevented every forward step of the laboring masses, if they had not instigated plots and murders and called to their aid armed help from outside to maintain or restore their predatory privileges. Civil war is forced upon the laboring classes by their arch-enemies. The working class must answer blow for blow, if it will not renounce its own object and its own future which is at the same time the future of all humanity.

The Communist parties, far from conjuring up civil war artificially, rather strive to shorten its duration as much as possible—in case it has become an iron necessity—to minimize the number of its victims, and above all to secure victory for the proletariat. This makes necessary the disarming of the bourgeoisie at the proper time, the arming of the laborer, and the formation of a communist army as the protector of the rule of the proletariat and the inviolability of the social structure. Such is the Red Army of Soviet Russia which arose to protect the achievements of the working class against every assault from within or without. The Soviet Army is inseparable from the Soviet State.

Conscious of the world historic character of their mission, the enlightened workers strove from the very beginning of the organized Socialist movement for an international union. The foundation stone of this union was laid in the year 1864 in London, in the first International. The Franco-Prussian War, from which arose the Germany of the Hohenzollerns, undermined the First International, giving rise at the same time to the national labor parties. As early as 1889 these parties united at the Congress of Paris and organized the Second International. But during this period the center of gravity of the labor movement rested entirely on national ground, confining itself within the realm of national parliamentarism, to the narrow compass of national states and national industries. Decades of organizing and labor reformism created a generation of leaders most of whom gave verbal recognition to the program of

social revolution but denied it in substance. They were lost in the swamp of reformism and adaptation to the bourgeois state. The opportunistic character of the leading parties of the Second International was finally revealed—and led to the greatest collapse of the movement in all its history—when events required revolutionary methods of warfare from the labor parties. Just as the war of 1870 dealt a death-blow to the First International by revealing that there was not in fact behind the social-revolutionary program any compact power of the masses, so the war of 1914 killed the Second International by showing that above the consolidated labor masses there stood labor parties which converted themselves into servile organs of the bourgeois state.

This includes not only the social patriots who today are openly in the camp of the bourgeoisie as preferred confidential advisers and reliable henchmen of the working class, but also the hazy, fickle and irresolute Socialist Centre which is today trying to revive the Second International, i. e., the narrowness, opportunism and revolutionary impotence of their predecessors. The independents of Germany, the present Majority of the Socialist Party in France, the Independent Labor Party in England, and similar groups, are actually trying to re-establish themselves in the position which the old official parties of the Second International held before the war. They appear as before with proposals of compromise and conciliation and thereby paralyze the energy of the proletariat, lengthening the period of crisis and consequently increasing the misery of Europe. War against the Socialist Centre is a necessary condition of successful war against Imperialism.

Spurning the half-heartedness, hypocrisy and corruption of the decadent official Socialist parties, we, the Communists assembled in the Third International, feel ourselves to be the direct successors of the heroic efforts and martyrdom of a long series of revolutionary generations from Babeuf to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the First International foresaw the future development and pointed the way; as the Second International gathered together and organized millions of the proletarians, so the Third International is the International of open mass action of the revolutionary realization, the International of deeds. 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. We urge the working men and women of all countries to unite under the Communist banner, the emblem under which the first great victories have already been won.

Proletarians of all countries! In the war against imperialistic barbarity, against monarchy, against the privileged classes, against the bourgeois state and bourgeois property, against all forms and varieties of social and national oppression—unite!

Under the standard of the Workers' Councils, under the banner of the Third International, in the revolutionary struggle for power and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, proletarians of all countries unite!

PROGRAM.

The new era has begun! The era of the downfall of Capitalism—its internal disintegration. The epoch of the proletarian communist revolution. In some countries, victorious proletarian revolution; increasing revolutionary ferment in other lands; uprisings in the colonies; utter incapacity of the ruling classes to control the fate of peoples any longer,—that is the picture of world conditions today.

Humanity, whose whole culture now lies in ruins, faces danger of complete destruction. There is only one power which can save it—the power of the proletariat. The old capitalist "order" can exist no longer. The ultimate result of the capitalistic mode of production is chaos—a chaos to be overcome only by the great producing class, the proletariat. It is the proletariat which must establish real order, the order of Communism. It must end the domination of capital, make war impossible, wipe out state boundaries, transform the whole world into one co-operative commonwealth, and bring about real human brotherhood and freedom.

World Capitalism prepares itself for the final battle. Under cover of the "League of Nations" and a deluge of pacifist phrase-mongering, a desperate effort is being made to pull together the tumbling capitalist system and to direct its forces against the constantly growing proletarian revolt. This monstrous new conspiracy of the capitalist class must be met by the proletariat by seizure of the political power of the State, turning this power against its class enemies, and using it as a lever to set in motion the economic revolution. The final victory of the proletariat of the world means the beginning of the real history of free mankind.

The Conquest of Political Power.

Seizure of political power by the proletariat means destruction of the political power of the bourgeoisie. The organized power of the bourgeoisie is in the civil State, with its capitalistic army under control of bourgeois-junker officers, its police and gendarmes, jailers and judges, its priests, government officials, etc. Conquest of the political power means not merely a change in the personnel of ministries but annihilation of the enemy's apparatus of government: disarmament of the bourgeoisie, of the counter-revolutionary officers, of the White Guard; arming of the proletariat, the revolutionary soldiers, the Red Guard of workmen; displacement of all bourgeois judges and organization of proletarian courts; elimination of control by reactionary government officials and substitution of new organs of management of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat. Victory of the proletariat consists in shattering the enemy's organization and organizing the proletarian power; in the destruction of the bourgeois and upbuilding of the proletarian State apparatus. Not until the proletariat has achieved this victory and broken the resistance of the bourgeoisie can the former enemies of the new order be made useful, by bringing them into accord with its work.

Democracy and Dictatorship.

The proletarian State, like every State, is an organ of suppression, but it arrays itself against the opposition of the despoilers of labor, who are using every means in a desperate effort to stifle the revolution in blood, and to make impossible further opposition. The dictatorship of the proletariat, which gives it the favored position in the community, is only a provisional institution. As the opposition of the bourgeoisie is broken, as it is expropriated and gradually

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absorbed into the working groups, the proletarian dictatorship disappears, until finally the State dies and there are no more class distinctions.

Democracy, so-called, that is, bourgeois democracy, is nothing more nor less than veiled dictatorship by the bourgeoisie. The much vaunted "popular will" exists as little as a unified people. In reality, there are the classes, with antagonistic, irreconcilable purposes. However, since the bourgeoisie is only a small minority, it needs this fiction of the "popular will" as a flourish of fine-sounding words to reinforce its rule over the working classes and to impose its own class will upon the people. The proletariat, on the contrary, as the overwhelming majority of the people, openly exercises its class power by means of its mass organization and through its Soviets, in order to wipe out the privileges of the bourgeoisie and to secure the transition, rather the transformation, into a classless Communist Commonwealth.

The main emphasis of bourgeois democracy is on formal declaration of rights and liberties which are actually unattainable by the proletariat, because of want of the material means for their enjoyment; while the bourgeoisie uses its material advantages, through its press and organizations, to deceive and betray the people. On the other hand, the Soviet type of government makes it possible for the proletariat to realize its rights and liberties. The Soviet power gives to the people palaces, houses, printing offices, paper supply, etc., for their press, their societies and assemblies. And in this way alone is actual proletarian democracy made possible.

Bourgeois democracy, with its parliamentary system, uses words to induce belief in popular participation in government. Actually the masses and their organizations are held far out of reach of the real power and the real State administration. In the Council-Soviet system the mass organizations rule and through them the mass itself, inasmuch as the Councils draw constantly increasing numbers of workers into the State administration; and only by this process will the entire working population gradually become part of the government. The Council system also builds itself directly on the mass organizations of the proletariat, on the Councils themselves, the revolutionary trade unions, the co-operatives, etc. Bourgeois democracy and its parliamentary system sharpen the separation of the masses from the State by division of the government into legislative and executive powers, and through parliamentary mandates beyond popular recall. The Council system, by contrast, unites the masses with the organs of government by right of recall, amalgamation of legislature and executive powers, and by use of working boards. Above all his union is fostered by the fact that in the Council system election are based not on arbitrary territorial districts, but on units of production.

In this way the Council-Soviet system brings true proletarian democracy, democracy by and for the proletarians against the bourgeoisie. The industrial proletariat is favored in this system because it is the most aggressive, best organized and politically ripest; class, under whose leadership the semi-proletarians and small farmers will be gradually elevated. These temporary privileges of the industrial proletariat must be utilized to draw the small farmers away from the control of the big landowners and bourgeoisie and to organize and train them as helpers in the building of the communistic structure.

Expropriation of the Bourgeoisie and Socialization of Production.

The breakdown of the capitalistic order and the disruption of capitalistic industrial discipline makes impossible the reorganization of production on a capitalistic basis. Wage wars of the workmen—even when successful—do not bring the anticipated betterment of conditions of living; the workers can only become emancipated when production is no longer controlled by the bourgeoisie but by the proletariat. In order to raise the standards of productivity, in

order to crush the opposition on the part of the bourgeoisie (which only prolongs the death struggle of the old regime and thereby invites danger of total ruin), the Proletarian Dictatorship must carry out the expropriation of the greater bourgeoisie and junkerdom and convert the means of production and distribution into the common property of the proletarian State.

Communism is now being born out of the ruins of Capitalism—there is no other salvation for humanity. The opportunists who are making utopian demands for the reconstruction of the economic system of Capitalism, so as to postpone socialization, only delay the process of disintegration and increase the danger of total demolition. The communist revolution, on the other hand, is the best, only means, by which the most important social power of production—the proletariat—can be saved, and with it society itself.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not in any way call for partition of the means of production and exchange; rather, on the contrary, its aim is further to centralize the forces of production and to subject all of production to a systematic plan. As the first step—socialization of the great banks which now control production; the taking over by the power of the proletariat of all government-controlled economic utilities; the transferring of all communal enterprises; the socializing of the syndicated and trustified units of production, as well as all other branches of production in which the degree of concentration and centralization of capital makes this technically practicable; the socializing of agricultural estates and their conversion into co-operative establishments.

As far as the smaller enterprises are concerned, the proletariat must gradually unite them, according to the degree of their importance. It must be particularly emphasized that small properties will in no way be expropriated and that property owners who are not exploiters of labor will not be forcibly dispossessed. This element will gradually be drawn into the socialistic organization through the force of example, through practical demonstration of the superiority of the new order of things, and the regulation by which the small farmers and the petty bourgeoisie of the cities will be freed from economic bondage to usurious capital and landlordism, and from tax burdens (especially by annulment of the national debts), etc.

The task of the Proletarian Dictatorship in the economic field can only be fulfilled to the extent that the proletariat is enabled to create centralized organs of management and to institute workers' control. To this end it must make use of its mass organizations which are in closest relation to the process of production. In the field of distribution the Proletarian Dictatorship must re-establish commerce by an accurate distribution of products; to which end the following methods are to be considered: the socialization of wholesale establishments, the taking over of all bourgeois State and municipal apparatus of distribution; control of the great co-operative societies, which organizations will still have an important role in the production-epoch; the gradual centralization of all these organs and their conversion into a systematic unity for the rational distribution of products.

As in the field of production so also in the field of distribution all qualified technicians and specialists are to be made use of, provided their political resistance is broken and they are still capable of adapting themselves, not to the service of capital, but to the new system of production. For from oppressing them the proletariat will make it possible for the first time for them to develop intensive creative work. The Proletarian Dictatorship, with their co-operation, will relieve the separation of physical and mental work which Capitalism has developed and thus will Science and

Labor be unified. Besides expropriating the factories, mines, estates, etc., the proletariat must also abolish the exploitation of the people by capitalistic landlords, transfer the large mansions to the local workers' councils, and move the working people into the bourgeois dwellings.

During this great transition period the power of the Councils must constantly build up the entire administrative organization into a more centralized structure, but on the other hand constantly draw ever increasing elements of the working people into the immediate control of government.

The Way of Victory.

The revolutionary era compels the proletariat to make use of the means of battle which will concentrate its entire energies, namely, mass action, with its logical resultant, direct conflict with the governmental machinery in open combat. All other methods, such as revolutionary use of bourgeois parliamentarism, will be of only secondary significance.

The indispensable condition for successful struggle is separation not only from the direct servitors of Capitalism and enemies of the communist revolution, in which role the Social Democrats of the Right appear, but also from the Party of the Centre (Kautskians), who desert the proletariat at the critical moment in order to come to terms with its open antagonists. On the other hand, there are essential elements of the proletariat, heretofore not within the Socialist Party, who stand now completely and absolutely on the platform of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of Soviet rule, for example, the corresponding elements among the Syndicalists.

The growth of the revolutionary movement in all lands, the danger of suppression of this revolution through the coalition of capitalistic States, the attempts of the Socialist betrayers to unite with one another (the formation of the Yellow "International" at Berne), and to give their services to the Wilsonian League; finally, the absolute necessity for co-ordination of proletarian action,—all these demand the formation of a real revolutionary and real proletarian Communist International. This International, which subordinates the so-called national interests to the interests of the international revolution, will personify the mutual help of the proletariat of the different countries, for without economic and other mutual helpfulness the proletariat will not be able to organize the new society. On the other hand, in contrast with the Yellow International of the social-patriots, the Proletarian Communist International will support the plundered colonial peoples in their fight against Imperialism, in order to hasten the final collapse of the imperialistic world system.

The capitalistic criminals asserted at the beginning of the world war that it was only in defense of the common Fatherland. But soon German Imperialism revealed its real brigand character by its bloody deeds in Russia, in the Ukraine and Finland. Now the Entente states unmask themselves as world spoilers and murderers of the proletariat. Together with the German bourgeoisie and social-patriots, with hypocritical phrases about peace on their lips, they are trying to throttle the revolution of the European proletariat by means of their war machinery and stupid barbaric colonial soldiery. Indescribable is the White Terror of the bourgeois cannibals. Incalculable are the sacrifices of the working class. Their best—Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg—have they lost. Against this the proletariat must defend itself, defend at any price. The Communist International calls the whole world proletariat to this final struggle.

Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital!

Long live the International Republic of the Proletarian Councils!

DEMOCRACY!!

"I FIND IT NECESSARY TO DIVERGE FROM ACCEPTED MORALITY."

ASSISTED BY JAPANESE, KOLCHAK INSTIGATES JEWISH POGROMS

We publish details, furnished by a Vladivostok correspondent, of Kolchak's regime in Siberia.

We call particular attention to the document immediately following, which is an official order concerning the treatment of political prisoners.

"Order of the Supreme Controller of Peace and Order in the Yenisei and (Part of) Irkutsk Provinces.

"The Government troops are fighting with bands of robbers. The offending elements—dregs of society—are waging an armed struggle for gain, theft and violence. Bolshevism gave them organization. The disorderly acts performed by the robbers, the smashing of passenger trains, the murder of administrative officials (i. e., the Militia, which being now appointed by the Central Government—as the police were before the Revolution instead of by Local organizations, as during the revolution, are not popular in the villages, and always get it first), and of priests . . . all this has made it necessary to diverge from the general principles of morality applied to an enemy in time of war.

"The prisons are full of the leaders of these murderers (a paper recently stated there were 10,000 people in prison at present in Siberia). I order the Commanders of Garrisons of the cities in the region entrusted to me:—

"(1) To consider the Bolsheviks and bandits detained in the prisons as hostages.

"(2) To communicate to me every act of violence similar to those I have stated above; and for every offense taking place in the stated region to shoot from 3 to 20 of the local hostages.

"(3) To bring this order into execution by telegraph.

"(4) To publish it broadcast.

"ROSANOFF."

"Kill in 24 Hours."

"The 'detailed instructions' attached say:—

4. The facts and accusations given to headquarters should not contain an estimate of the guilt of the person. This estimate is to be made by the Garrison Commander, but the person and institution giving the facts and accusations shall be responsible for their accuracy.

5. In cases of undoubted guilt the Garrison Commander, upon receiving from me permission in a given case to shoot a given number of hostages, shall communicate to me by telegraph only the surnames, christian names, by whom, when and for what they have been detained. Upon receipt of my telegram: "I agree with the contents of your telegram, recommending the shooting of No. —" to proceed to shoot the required number within 24 hours.

6. In doubtful cases all the evidential material in summarized form to be sent me by telegraph, and in this case to await my confirmation of the shooting of each hatch.

7. Only persons detained for Bolshevism in general, or for acts, even although of criminal nature, implicating them in the present revolt, can be held as hostages. Simple ordinary criminals (not implicated in the revolt) are not to be included among the hostages.

ROZANOFF, Chief of Staff.

AFANASIEFF, Captain of the Gen. Staff.

March 28, 1919. Krasnoyarsk.

Justice under Kolchak.

You will note No. 7 makes it quite clear that it is political prisoners that are singled out for this monstrous treatment. We used to criticize the old regime for treating political prisoners and criminals on the same footing. This goes one better. It must not be forgotten that there is military law along all the railways, and in Glazov and Uralsk.

Also that there are now laws for (1) preventive arrests for up to two weeks, and if the Governor of a Province says so, for a month; and you can let a man out and arrest him "preventively" on the spot. (2) A law of administrative exile: A man can be exiled for five or 15 years by an executive official, without reference to the judiciary.

Our Japanese Allies.

The Japanese some time ago issued a proclamation stating that, as it was impossible for them to distinguish between Bolsheviks and non-Bolsheviks, they were going to treat all armed bands operating against the "Omsk Government" alike, as "Red Guards." Any village whose inhabitants had given aid to the enemy would be burned to the ground.

This put the peasants in rather a difficult position, since the anti-Kolchak forces made exactly the same threats. Well, the Japanese did burn this village, Ivanovska, to the ground. Some time later, General Oi (Commander-in-Chief in those parts) issued a proclamation saying that the enemy had been definitely routed, and the remnants of his forces were being pursued and annihilated.

I am told, on the basis of facts related by the Japanese Intelligence Officer, that the Japanese in this part of the world have committed fully as many atrocities as any other party concerned. There are three other parties—the Kolchak troops (largely yellow), the Kalmikov bands (which admittedly include a large number of ex-Red Guards, also Mongols and Chinese; Kalmikov was until lately free-lance supported by Japan; now he is under Senemob, who has acknowledged the Omsk Government, and the Red forces, against which the Japanese and Kolchak's and Kalmikov's parti-coloured troops are operating.

Prisoners' Fate.

In one case, on the authority of this Intelligence Officer, the Japanese near Blagoveshchensk found three of their men killed and mutilated. They captured a detachment of 60 Bolsheviks the next day, and cut all their heads off. In another case a Jap N. C. O. and detachment near Blagoveshchensk captured a party of Lett recruits.

He wasn't sure whether they were Bolsheviks or not, and so marched them along "on spec." Then he struck a village where there was fighting between "Russians" and "Bolsheviks." Finding his 30 prisoners an encumbrance, he had them all shot, also "on spec."

Hungarian Socialists Appeal

A call to workers of Allied Nations

The Hungarian Socialists have addressed the following appeal to the Entente workers:—

"The mask has fallen from the face of your governments. They are about to try and close the most formidable of all wars by an imperialist peace such as the world has never before seen. This war into which they dragged you in the name of democracy, of justice and the liberty of nations! You have given your blood, your strength and your lives so that the vanquished German people should be broken economically; that the might and wealth of your capitalists should grow indefinitely, and that their power, built up on oppression and exploitation, on blood and iron should embrace the whole world. All your hopes of a more free and happy future which should have been the result of victory by the Western Powers over German militarism and imperialism, have been betrayed. They were but lies in the mouths of your masters who wished to make you struggle with all your force till victory was attained—a victory which had and could have no other aim than to construct on the ruins of German imperialism the world domination of the Entente bourgeoisie even at the price of the destruction of civilization and of whole peoples.

"Comrades, this does not exhaust the list of crimes of your imperialists. A year ago, long before the world war had come to an end, they engaged in a new war, the war against the new enemy which threatens to deprive them of their victory, the war against the international working class revolution the flames of which first sprang up in Russia and which there broke the chain of capitalism by seeking to establish the Kingdom of work, a realm without exploiters or exploited. Then your bourgeoisie allied itself with its most bitter enemy—the German bourgeoisie—in order to attack the young working class Republic of Russia, to pillage and occupy its richest territory, to destroy, as far as possible, the achievements of the revolution and to reestablish, by the help of the Russian exploiters the capitalist regime of oppression. German imperialism which had triumphed over the Tsar's armies and established itself in Russia was then the principal enemy of Soviet Russia, but held in check by the war in the West it was unable to push all its strength against the Russian working class."

The manifesto then points out that now that the Entente has eliminated its economic rivals it is using all its strength to break the international revolution by first of all attacking the working class Republic of Russia and Hungary. For this purpose the Entente bourgeoisie has allied itself with the infamous White Guards of Finland.

"Your bourgeoisie is inciting the Rumanians and Czechs against the revolutionary working class of Hungary which, having seized power only two months ago, has already nationalised all the great concerns, the banks, factories, and houses, thus making it possible for the workers to free themselves from the grip of capitalism. . . . Comrades! your bourgeoisie declares that Bolshevism has played Russia into disorganisation and famine, and that it menaces the whole world with the same fate. It is true that Petrograd lacks many necessities, that transport is disorganised, that many industries are paralysed." But this is due entirely to the blockade and to the military attacks of the Entente which is forcing the Bolsheviks to give most of their time and efforts to warding off the attacks of their enemies.

"Comrades! the Russian and Hungarian workers cannot attain the victory of the revolution unaided. They could not do it even if the German workers ranged themselves on their side. Now that your bourgeoisie has attained the height of its power, now that it is in its turn trying to hold the whole world in the iron grip of its militarism—there is but one force that can save the Russian and Hungarian revolutions and conduct the international revolution to victory. This force is yours, workers of the Entente nations. On your shoulders, comrades, now rests the tremendous responsibility for the future of the workers' revolution which is, at the same time, the future of humanity. And it is your sacred duty, your historic task to raise the awful weight that Entente capitalism is holding down on the famished and bleeding peoples, to save the threatened revolutions and to prepare for the victory of Socialism the whole world over by overthrowing your governments and assuming power yourselves.

"Comrades, when in July, 1918, German imperialism, intoxicated by victory, prepared to cast its reign of violence

over the East of Europe a million workers rose in Germany, Austria, and Hungary and proclaimed a general strike. They did not succeed in breaking the powerful State machine and their rising was crushed by the army." But it was a first step towards the November revolution which tore up the Brest-Litovsk treaty and so saved the honour of the working class of Germany, Austria and Hungary, that had been dragged in the mud by some of its leaders.

"It is now your turn to act likewise. It is not enough for your parliamentary representatives to vote against the budget; they will be dominated by a majority. It is not enough to protest in meetings for your Lloyd George's, Orlando's, Clemenceau's and Wilson's disdain to notice such protests. You must not wait to obtain a majority in your parliaments for every day which passes in inactivity means the death of thousands of workers, the destruction of natural riches, the dragging of humanity further into the morass of capitalist anarchy. Every day you let go by may mean the destruction of the workers' revolution in Russia or in Hungary. . . .

"The eyes of the working class of the East in all their struggles, sufferings and constructive work, are turned towards you. On your revolutionary will and revolutionary acts depend the fruit of their heroic efforts—which are also preparing your own liberation—on them depend your future and the future of the workers of the whole world. . . . Show your exploiters by acts, by demonstrations, by mass strikes that you are determined to carry on the struggle for Socialism to bring help to your working-class brothers. Show that you are worthy of your revolutionary ancestors. Your struggle, too, will be rough and will demand many sacrifices. You will not triumph in the first attack, but every one of your steps on the revolutionary road will prepare the way for the final victory.

"Long live the Workers Republics!

"Long live the French, English and Italian revolutions!"

WE APOLOGISE

We wish to extend an apology to all of our readers, for not mentioning the following outrage.

A few weeks ago, comrade Georgian was ordered to get ready and report himself to the authorities. He is to be deported.

Deportation to a good many of us would be welcome. But to be deported to a part of Russia, that is being controlled by the Anti-Soviets, is DEATH. Death of the worst kind, because it will be a LIVING DEATH.

Comrade Georgian and his courageous wife have played their part in the revolutionary movement, IF EVER ANY COMRADES PLAYED THEIR PART. They have stood by the party, at a time when many who were better situated, climbed down. If you recognise loyalty to the party and above all, sincerity of purpose and loyalty to your class, then you will pay your tribute to the glorious work of our good comrades Georgian.

Besides comrades Georgian, there are their children to be cared for. These children are too young to understand the reasons behind the deportation proceedings, but nevertheless they too will feel the lash of autocracy. You, my comrades, will not allow their children to go without.

Comrades, the immediate thing to be done, is to help our good comrades. The issue is not comrades Georgian it is the revolutionary movement. Shall we go down as servile comrades without a fighting spirit or shall we conquer?

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Against the most formidable opposition that was ever encountered by any Government, the Bolsheviks of Russia have accomplished more good for the workers than all the combined governments of the world. The Russian Revolution marks the beginning of the end of Imperialist Autocracy. The continued success of the Russian people has instilled a feeling of fear into the hearts of all rulers and so they have decided to assist the reactionaries of Russia, in order that they might drown the New Russian Republic in seas of blood. The European workers on Monday July 21st will down tools and serve notice on the capitalist class that they must keep their hands off Russia. On July 20th we invite you all to come to the Woodman Hall. The time is too short and our labor leaders are too reactionary to allow us to strike in sympathy with Russia. So on Sunday next, at the Woodman Hall we will voice our support of the action to be taken by our European comrades.

Comrades, next Sunday make it a special part of your business to attend the Woodman Hall. On that day let the people see that we are in earnest. That we mean to stand by our Russian comrades. The day is fast approaching when all countries will be controlled by the workingclass. To the coming of that day let us pledge our faith anew and with renewed energy we will continue on in the fight for the emancipation of the working-class.

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THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

By NIKOLAI LENIN.

Throughout the whole civilized world at present the deportation, persecution, and internment of Bolsheviks is taking place, as, for instance, in Switzerland, one of the most free of bourgeois republics. In America, too, there are even Bolshevik pogroms. From the general point of view of democracy it is simply ludicrous to see that civilized, advanced, democratic countries, armed to the teeth as they are, should dread the presence of some few dozens of individuals from starving, ruined, and scarcely surviving Russia, who have been spoken of in millions of bourgeois papers as outlaws and criminals. It is obvious that social conditions which could produce such a crying contrast to the reality must be the work of bourgeois dictatorship.

"In such a state of things the proletarian dictatorship is not only fully justified as a means to overthrow the extortioners and suppress their resistance, but is also absolutely necessary for the mass of the

working men, as the only protection against bourgeois dictatorship which led to war and is preparing a new war.

"The chief thing which the Socialists do not understand, thereby just showing their theoretical shortsightedness, their dependence on bourgeois prejudices, their treachery toward the proletariat, is that, in the capitalist community, there can be no middle course between bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship. Any dream of a third course is merely the lament of some petty bourgeois reactionary. The experiences of a development, more than 100 years old, of bourgeois democracy and the labor movement in all advanced countries, and especially the experiences of the last five years, plainly show this. The entire doctrine of national economics and the whole gist of Marxism are eloquent of it, clearly pointing out the economic necessity of bourgeois dictatorship wherever commercial management is concerned—a dictatorship which can only be done away with by the class which, as capitalism develops, further develops, increases and strengthens itself, namely, the proletarian class.

"The other theoretical and political mistake of the Socialists is that they do not understand that democratic forms have inevitably, in the course of centuries, changed. In the republics of ancient Greece, in the mediaeval towns, in the most developed capitalist States, democracy has had different forms and has been of varied extent. It would be the greatest folly to assume that the greatest revolution in the history of man, the first transfer of power from the hands of a minority of extortioners into the hands of the impoverished majority, could take place within the framework of the old bourgeois parliamentary democracy without causing vast upheavals or creating new forms of democracy, new institutions, and new regulations for working them.

"The proletarian dictatorship is like the dictatorship of other classes in that it emanates from the necessity of forcibly suppressing the resistance of the class that loses its political power. The fundamental difference between the proletarian dictatorship and that of other classes, such as the dictatorship of the great estate-owners in the Middle Ages, and that of the bourgeoisie in all civilized capital-

istic countries, is simply that the two last-named dictatorships were a forcible suppression of the resistance of the majority of the population, the masses of the working class. In contradistinction to this, the proletarian dictatorship is a forcible suppression of the resistance of the extortioners, that is the obvious minority of the population, the great estate-owners and the capitalists.

"The forms of proletarian dictatorship which actually are already drawn up—viz., the Soviet power in Russia, the Council system in Germany, the so-called shop Stewards' Committees, and similar Soviet institutions in other countries—all these combine to realize and signify for the working classes the practical possibility of making use of democratic liberty and privileges to an extent that was never before known in the best democratic bourgeois republics.

"The essence of the Soviet power consists in the fact that the massed organization of those very classes that were kept down by the capitalists—that is, the workingmen and the semi-proletarians—forms the steady and only bulwark for the whole power of the State and the whole of the State machinery. These very masses who, even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, are still kept from all participation in political life and from the enjoyment of all democratic liberty and right, although according to the law they enjoy an equal share in all rights, are now brought into permanent and definite touch with the democratic administration of the State.

"The equality of all fellow citizens, irrespective of sex, religion, race, or nationality, which was always promised but never carried out by the bourgeois democracy, and never could be carried out owing to the power of capitalism, has now been amply realized by Soviet power or the proletarian dictatorship, as it is only the power of the workers who are not interested in private property as a means for ever-recurring distribution of the same.

"The old bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism were so organized as to keep the working classes at the greatest distance from the administrative machinery. But the Soviet power, the proletarian dictatorship, on the contrary, is organized so that it brings the masses

of the working class into close touch with the administration. The same purpose is attained by the legislative and executive power of the State's Soviet organizations, and by substituting industrial units, such as works and factories, for territorial constituencies.

"The army was an organ for suppression, not only under the monarchy, but also afterward in all bourgeois, and even in the most democratic republics. The Soviet Government is the only established State organization that, in the interests of the classes oppressed by capitalism, is capable of abolishing military dependence on bourgeois ability to command, and of really amalgamating the proletariat with the military, as well as of arming the proletariat and disarming the bourgeois, without which conditions the victory of socialism would be impossible.

"The Soviet organization of the State is so arranged that the proletariat, as being the class which, owing to capitalism, is the most concentrated and the most enlightened, plays a leading part in the State. Experiences gained from all revolutions and all movements in the enslaved classes, experiences also from socialistic world movements, teach us that it is only the proletariat that is able to unite and carry with it the scattered remnants of the working and impoverished population.

"The State Soviet organization alone is able to overthrow completely the old apparatus of officialdom which, under capitalism, existed even in the most democratic republics and formed for the masses of the workingmen the greatest obstacle in the way of realizing democracy. The Paris Commune took the first world-historic step along this path; the Soviet has taken the second.

"The annihilation of State power is the aim all Socialists have in view, first and foremost among them Marx. Without the realization of this aim, true democracy, that is, liberty and equality, is unattainable. This aim, however, can, as a matter of fact, only be achieved by the Soviet and proletarian democracy, for it begins at once to prepare for the respective States' complete extermination by bringing forward the massed organizations of the working people into a permanent and absolute participation in State administration."

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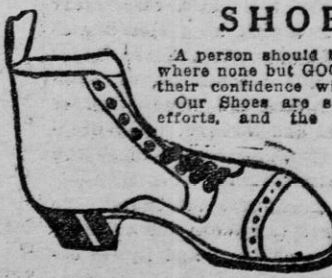
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INTERNATIONAL STRIKE

On Monday, July 21st, the workers of England, France and Italy are to undertake a general strike in order to prove to the ruling classes of their respective countries that they are in dead earnest in their support of the Bolshevik of Russia.

On that day not a wheel of industry will turn in any of the above three countries. Imagine if you can, what the effect is going to be and the result of it all. Labor is going to say the ruling class; "HANDS OFF RUSSIA." In a word the people of Russia are to be allowed to go on with their government and create a socialist industrial republic, wherein the workers will rule and the rich will have to work also. That is going to be achieved in spite of the League of Nations. No ships are to be loaded for Russia, that carry munitions or troops. It makes one feel all aglow with youthful enthusiasm. When we thought that labor had once more laid down before the lion, it suddenly launches forth with its demands and in no uncertain tones states to the rulers of the world, "keep your hands off Russia or by the eternal gods we will crush you with the strength of our economic power." We can feel the revolution coming. There is a growing feeling amongst the workers that the day of their breaking loose from their chains is not far off. Labor the mighty giant of labor is awakening and soon he will stand up and will take unto his branny arms, the things that he has produced. The day the German ruling class sent their forces into Russia, was the day upon which they signed their death warrant. The day the Allies sent their troops into Russia was the day upon which they too signed their death warrant.

Comrades the future is ours. You, our masters, can just prepare for the day when we shall rule. Hear those shouts. The rulers of France heard the same shouts over one hundred years and they realized that their end was near. So today we forget the past and work for the future. Let your voices sound, comrades, it is our day now. Comrades who are in prison send forth your hearty responses through the prison bars. The jails are going to soon open and you are going to walk out free-men and free-women.

Monday, July 21st, 1919, the workers of the European countries will strike. Not for higher wages or shorter hours, but for the freedom of their class. Goodbye Samuel, goodbye all of you parasitical labor leaders. Your days are numbered, the rank and file from the shops, the factories, the lands, the mines and from off the sea are coming ten million strong. They are marching towards the goal of industrial freedom. Strike on the anvils of life and send forth the sweet sounds of the songs of a new democracy. Come forth all you workers. Bring forth all your children, break down all the brothels for the working class is now preparing for the day of freedom.

On Sunday we will all gather together at the Woodman Hall. We will all show our support to the courageous workers of Europe by assembling together and standing up for the people of Russia. Comrades the night has been long but the morning cometh.

The following appeal was written by a British comrade and sent out amongst the British workers. Read it and come to the Woodman Hall Sunday evening. It will be your night. The night of the workers.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONALE!

RUSSIA

AN APPEAL TO THE WORKING-CLASS

By A. A. WATTS

We are but uttering the plain unvarnished truth when we say that the question of the intervention in Russia is for British workers the most supreme question to-day. To the average man, Russia is a long way off. He is notoriously unconcerned about things, and people, a long way off—unless they are Britishers; then he can get intensely interested in them. Knowing this attitude of mind, we yet urge our fellow workers all over the country to put aside this unconcern and for once to get as keenly interested in their fellow workers in Russia as they may be about any of British birth in any part of the globe. Nay, we demand it, for in our name, with our money and our men, a diabolical attempt is being made to strangle the young Socialist Republic of Russia.

A Look Back.

Let us very briefly recall some recent history. Prior to the war, for centuries Russia has been ruled by the Tsars and the Tsarist gang. It was, generally, a bloody rule, a repressive rule. No freedom of thought, of expression, of action. The last representative of this regime, Nicholas, who reigned when the war broke out, and who very probably was as glibly as anyone for its occurrence, was a typical Tsar. Very few Englishmen of ordinary intelligence and reading have not learned something of his cruel, barbarous and corrupt reign. Actions and speech which here are regarded as the ordinary occurrences of life were there crimes, and for those who were striving for ordinary liberty and freedom there were terrible penalties. Spirited away and cast into dungeons and fortresses, with no trial, their relatives and friends in absolute ignorance of their fate, they either rotted in their cells or were sent on that awful journey to Siberia. Siberia! The very word makes one shudder. Right across the snowy, ice wastes of half a continent, for hundreds and hundreds of miles, stretched the bloody trail of the martyrs of freedom. Shackled and fettered, many dropped, to die on the way. The survivors only lived to endure the tortures of hell in the Siberian mines.

This was the condition of Russia under the Tsars. We remind our readers of three things: (1) When the ordinary cruelties were varied by a massacre of Jews, and it was demanded that our Government protest, we were told one State could not interfere in the internal affairs of another State;

(2) Our capitalist Government made friends with this monster, the Tsar, and a visit here was actually arranged, but this was too much for our people, whose protests prevented this indignity; (3) Our Government made an Ally of the Tsar, prior to the war, and when war broke out he was one of the Allies.

Tsardism Swept Away.

The traitorous conduct of the war by the ruling caste of Russia, and the non-equipment of their soldiers—which simply meant wholesale massacre in face of the well-equipped Germans—brought about the first Revolution, and the Tsar and his gang were swept aside like so much straw. But base elements were mixed with the gold, and it was necessary to have a second, and even a third, Revolution before the uprising movement of the Russian people was purged of its dross. Meanwhile, the other members of the Allied group were filled with anger—anger at the desire of the Russian people for peace, and their refusal any longer to carry on the war, and fury to think that the capitalist and landlord order had been abolished in Russia. And well may they be furious, for if this wave of revolution, with its sweeping away of monarchs, capitalists, and landlords, is not stopped, where will they be? But—there is a "but" in the way. You see, we are democracies, the "Western Democracies," and it does seem a little bit awkward, does it not? that if you are a democracy, and fighting for freedom, and to abolish this, that and the other—it does seem a little bit awkward to attack a democracy which is also doing its work of abolition of various things. A way, however, is soon found. The Revolution must be blackguarded (even as the great French Revolution was), and libelled, and our good friend, the Press, must make it out to be cruel and terrible, and ruthless. If it is not, well, so much the worse for it; the newspapers must invent what is not there. Then we will put up a blockade. The blockade is a very effective weapon. It has succeeded in starving Germany, and it can perform the same beneficent action for that wicked Russia. Then there's Koltchak. Ah, Koltchak! What a godsend! Admiral Koltchak, and one or two other smaller fry, saw the opportunity in the Revolution to obtain power, and, getting together an army of sorts, he attacks the People's Republic. Here is a chance for the Allies. This adventurer, who might win, will undoubtedly restore the old order of capitalist exploitation. Arms and ammunition he shall have in plenty; men—well, some men, but not too many. Those confounded Socialists kick up such a row if we send any men to fight the Russian Republic. But we will do all we can to help Koltchak, or any other who will overturn the Revolution.

Koltchak has been asked by the Allies to promise to establish a democratic form of government, if he wins. This in itself is amusing. But Koltchak is evidently too old a bird to be caught even by this hollow pretence, and declines to promise.

The Truth About the Revolution.

Now with regard to the Bolsheviks, and the Revolution itself. The lies so industriously circulated by the Press are one by one being exposed as the lies they are. An administration that is looking after the children's welfare by providing homes for them and sanatorium for those whose health needs recuperation; that sets aside 20,000,000 for the feeding of children; that is arranging for existing children's homes to be transferred to large estates in the country formerly in the possession of barons, etc.; that provides for free educational excursions to various museums, galleries, institutes, palaces, and other historical buildings for the study of natural history, culture, art, and history; that has legalised illegitimate children; that has issued its terms of peace as a basis for negotiation; whose towns and people are so orderly that scarcely a policeman or soldier is seen; where prisoners taken in war go about without escort or convoy; that is organising industry, and as an example, has organised the whole textile industry into one complete concern as a national industry in place of the hundreds of competitive profit-making concerns of capitalist days—such an administration cannot be so black as it is painted. These are all facts, and can be proved. And this is but a hundredth, a thousandth, part of what is going on. And when we remember that this difficult work of social reconstruction has to go on under a food supply that means semi-starvation, with a ruinous shortage of railways, locomotives, and machinery of all kinds, and with war going on on all its fronts—when we remember all this, the continued existence and growing strength of the Revolution is as much a marvel as its accomplishment.

A Call to Action.

The Revolution stands! Its future is now practically assured! It is winning through in face of all its difficulties! And we? Shall we any longer tamely look on and allow our capitalistic gang to continue its effort to strangle it? Are we to remain satisfied with our puerile Labour leaders who went humbly cap-in-hand to Mr. Bonar Law and retired satisfied with his assurances? This is a matter that vitally concerns us all. If we permit this to go on, if we permit these nefarious plans to succeed, we stand for ever condemned as traitors to our class! What power, what right, have we to resist and defeat oppression here at home if we permit it to be inflicted in our name upon others?

Fellow workers, it is time to act. Resolutions are very good, but something more is needed. We urge the whole working class immediately to take effective steps to stop all attempts to crush our fellow workers in their efforts to realise the Co-operative Commonwealth.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Duluth Herald, the sentimental sister of the local newspaper world, comes out with a pitiful appeal for support of the League of Nations.

They quote the editorial of a soldier paper and so hope to play upon the emotions of the populace and induce them to vote for the Democratic ticket at the next election. The Herald tells of the men and women who died during the war before the idea of the League of Nations was formulated, but they fail to tell of the men, women and children who have died since the war, AFTER the League of Nations was formed.

Across in Germany, the cemeteries contain close upon a million dead men, women and children. The League of Nations, that is to prevent war, was responsible for the cold-blooded murder of these people. Today, thousands of German children are dying for the want of milk, yet President Wilson was one of the responsible persons who formulated those despicable Peace Terms, that compelled the German people to turn over to the Allies over 150,000 milch cows, at a time, mind you, when the children of Germany are dying like flies. Death, the grim reaper, is reaping a rich harvest in Germany and Austria, as a result of the viciousness of the militaristic spirit of the promoters of the League of Nations. To talk of abolishing war, and allow children to die for the want of milk, is all cant and hypocrisy! Give us war with its sharp and sudden deaths, rather than see children die the slow agonising deaths, caused through starvation. Starvation that can be abolished, if the promoters of the League of Nations were sincere

and imbued with a real desire to save the world from the horrors of war.

What becomes of the speeches and utterances of President Wilson, when thousands must die, AFTER the war is over? Where is the Democrat who does not remember the words of Wilson, when he said, that "this war was not a war against the people of Germany?" The League of Nations can be as much depended upon to stop war, as President Wilson's words could be relied upon during the presidential campaign of 1916.

President Wilson speaks in glowing terms about the League of Nations. Of course President Wilson was always good at making speeches. But the DEEDS OF WILSON are not the SPEECHES OF WILSON. Today the Allies, along with President Wilson, have decided to support the Bloody Koltchak and Denikin with arms, troops and all the assistance necessary to drive back the Russian people into the arms of Czarism. Wilson knows that when the forces of Allies, along with the forces of Koltchak and Denikin make their drive upon the cities of Moscow and Petrograd, the streets of these cities will be paved with the bones of the Russian dead and washed with their blood. The Russian people, with vivid memories of Czarist days, will never submit tamely to the restoration of those conditions, they will fight until death. And when the Russian people are dying in defense of their new found freedom, remember you Democrats, that Wilson, the "statesman of the new order," will be responsible for their deaths. For was it not President Wilson, who offered sustenance to the Russian people, during January 1918, when he plainly said that we should assist Russia and that it would be by our actions towards Russia that we would be judged?

In the Far East, Japan has China by the throat, yet the League, knowing that the sword of militarism is being rattled by the Japanese over the heads of the Chinese, gives to Japan Kiao-Chau. What about the rights of nations and the point of the fourteen, "self-determination?"

President Wilson went to Europe, hailed by millions of people as the "New Savior" to save them from the hands of the greedy Imperialists who were seeking to enslave the world. Today there is not a city in Europe that would turn out to give a civic welcome to him. Wilson returns, not as a new savior of democracy, but the willing tool of mad and brutal Imperialists, drunk with power. Slowly the mask is falling from the face of President Wilson. The working class that voted him into office are being slowly aroused. It may take months, or years to make the workers realise that Wilson is no better than the system that he upholds. It may take months we say, but when the workers are aroused, we would rather be the humblest miner digging down in the dirt, of the mines of the Iron Range, than President Wilson in the White House.

The League of Nations means more power for the imperialists of the world. Power to enable them to retain their hold upon the things they possess. Power is the magic word fellow-workers that means more than you appreciate. If you desire to be free, you too must be possessed of power. So prepare for the obtaining of that power. You must control the State and not allow others to control it, in order to crush and enslave you. Capture the State and with yourselves organised in the factory you too will have power. Power that will drive all autocrats from their thrones, whether they are clothed in kingly robes or democratic phraseology.

EXTRA!! EXTRA!!

Patient Slowly Dying. No Hope for Recovery.

Born amidst the splendor of the Elks' Club, the poor child is dying. Surrounded by his friends, bankless bankers, briefless lawyers, businessless business men, there is no hope of his recovery.

The child recently contracted a dose of patriotic diabetes and the unsympathetic community refuses to feed the child, who insists upon being fed with dollar bills. Along with this the child is suffering with mental constipation. Doctors all agree that the child cannot live.

Its death will be regretted, because it was our only source of pleasure. Humorous weeklies come out but once a week, but this child we had with us every day.

"Gone But Not Forgotten!"

The name of the child is the Duluth Loyalty League.

CZAR IS DEAD

Shure the Czar is dead alright. The United Press correspondent has wired to that effect. So is Frank Little!

"WAS IT?"

President Wilson in his recent speech to the Senate, stated that the war was fought in the interests of the people. The motives of the Allies were purely humanitarian. Millions of lives were wasted, in order to pump the people full of democracy. In fact—well don't let us disturb the dung heap too much!

The London Times, an organ of British Imperialism, lets the cat out of the bag, in the following article. They clearly show the nature of the war, but yet it was a war for democracy, wasn't it George? Don't make us laugh!

This article was clipped from the Times Supplement of May 5th, 1919:

One of the most outstanding industrial results of the war is the restoration of the famous Lorraine iron ore fields to France. To appreciate the significance of this it is necessary to note that the iron and steel group of trades now constitute mankind's chief industry next to agriculture, and that it was whilst Germany was able to exploit Lorraine ore that she became the world's second steel country in point of output, and the first in point of exportation.

When Lorraine passed from France to Germany in the early seventies Britain produced more than four times as much iron and steel as Germany, and exported about six times as much. On the eve of war Germany was producing pig-iron at the rate of 19,000,000 tons a year, against our 10,000,000 tons; she was making steel at the rate of 17,000,000 tons, against our 7,000,000 tons; and she was exporting iron and steel goods at the rate of 7,000,000 tons, against our 5,000,000 tons. The international iron and steel trade situation is now revolutionised. What will be the outcome?

There are authorities who contend that France will become the leading European steel producing country, and also as formidable a competitor in exports as Germany was prior to the war. On the other hand, the argument may be made that France will adopt no such competitive tactics as characterised German trade methods.

Briefly, the facts are these. The Alsace-Lorraine iron ore basin is the best in Europe. It has provided enormous employment, wealth, and trade for Germany—mainly, let it be noted, to the detriment of British industry and trade. The proved ore fields of French Lorraine cover 150,000 acres, with an additional 30,000 acres expected to rank equally rich. The proved deposits are estimated to contain

3,000,000,000 tons of ore. Allowing another 1,000,000,000 for the remaining area, that gives an estimated 4,000,000,000 tons. What is called the German Lorraine mining district covers nearly 100,000 acres, and is supposed to contain about 1,850,000,000 tons of workable ore. France possesses in the ore fields of the Pyrenees and Normandy about 3,000,000,000 tons of workable ore. Thus, with the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, our neighbours will own 6,000,000,000 tons of iron ore.

French Output.

On the eve of the war France was mining her iron ore at the rate of 21,000,000 tons a year. Germany was getting from the Lorraine mines about the same quantity. Thus, mining on the pre-war scale will now give France about 42,000,000 tons of ore a year. That should yield about 18,000,000 tons of pig-iron, assuming the whole of it is smelted at home, or, if France continues to export ore on the pre-war scale, but works the Lorraine plants as the Germans have done, the French output of pig-iron may be about 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 tons a year. That would substantially exceed our British output.

At all events, France will hold much more iron ore than any other country in Europe. Against her 6,000,000,000 tons Germany will now hold only about 1,800,000,000 tons; Britain, 1,500,000,000 tons of presently workable ore; Sweden about 1,200,000,000 tons; and Spain about 1,000,000,000 tons. Of course these figures are largely conjectural. There are high authorities who estimate that our British reserves are very much beyond the figure just given. But there is no conjecture about the fact that France emerges from the great struggle as the richest iron country on the Continent. But from this it does not follow that we have anything to fear from French competition in the steel group of trades. But it does follow that Germany's loss of the Lorraine ore fields rids us of much German competition.

On the eve of the war France was producing pig-iron at the rate of 5,500,000 tons a year. Blast furnaces in course of construction, or definitely planned, would have brought the output up to about 6,500,000 tons by about 1916 but for the war. The acquisition of the Lorraine ore fields and iron works will give France a potential productive capacity of about 10,000,000 tons almost immediately, and a not remote prospective capacity of some 13,000,000 tons. And that would still leave a margin of about 5,000,000 tons of ore available for export, Belgium probably taking most of this. If the French iron and steel industry now develops optimistic French engineers and manufacturers hope, the production of the country will exceed that of Germany, now the latter country is deprived of the Lorraine deposits.

Then the question of exports will arise. The population of France is more than 20,000,000 less than that of Germany. The home market for iron and steel will be proportionately smaller. France, with an output of anything like 13,000,000 tons of pig-iron, or 12,000,000 tons of steel, would have about half that steel tonnage available for export. In other words, France would take the place hitherto held by Germany as the greatest Continental exporting country. But will France ever offer us competition like that we have experienced from Germany?

"TO PREVENT WAR"

The American Government has recognized the present Finnish Government, presumably to make the world safe for democracy. Let us review the record of the Finnish Government during the month of April, 1919:

"On April 12 and 13 during the revolutionary agitation," writes comrade Aalto, editor of the chief Socialist paper in Finland, "the white terror commenced in Helsinki and 90,000 workers were arrested. The executive committee of the Socialist Party has instituted a commission which will endeavor to ascertain the number of murders committed during this period.

"The figure is high. Some 15,517 men, women and children were executed summarily—and this does not include 250 parishes; 400 people were killed in Helsinki, 1200 at Kotka, 2,000 at Rahtis, 600 at Tammerfors, and 3,000 at Viborg.

"Among the victims were many of the Social Democratic movement and ten journalists. Quite apart from this 15,000 workmen have died of hunger in prison, and 60,000 workmen have been condemned to prison, sentences varying from six years to life imprisonment for crimes against the State.

"In the last parliament were included 92 Social Democrats, of these 46 have been sent to penal servitude and two have been shot.

"A few fled to Russia and Stockholm. The lowest sentence received by any of these men was seven years imprisonment; four of them died in prison, including Eetu Salin, the foremost Social Democrat of Finland. The Finnish Government wishes to enter Petrograd. It may take the city, but it can never hold it."

The United States government in affording recognition to the Finnish Government, is indirectly responsible for these outrages. But then our President makes such lovely speeches!

"RING OUT THE OLD-RING IN THE NEW!"

The Duluth Herald thinks that the recent troubles in Italy were due to the high cost of living. The Italian situation is not one that is confined within the borders of Italy. It is an international problem, world-wide in its dominion. It is the class struggle asserting itself and expressing itself through the struggles of the workers.

When the workers of the West met in Butte and supported the Soviets of Russia, they were only taking part in the same struggle as their comrades in Italy. The difference being that there is more bread, at present, in Butte than there is in Italy. The strikes that have taken place, within recent months, in Seattle, Winnipeg and other places are but the shadows of coming events. Blind are they who think that these strikes are but froth upon the sea of life. They are just the moaning of winds, that tell of the approaching storm.

The recent war was but confined to a few countries, but the war of the workers is a world wide war. A war that has no boundaries, knows no nationality.

Point to any part of map, where capitalism reigns and there you will find strikes going on. Whether it be in down-trodden India or Labor Government-controlled Australia, the same old class struggle is taking place. Pick up a newspaper and endeavor to read it without seeing news of a strike and it will be as hard as finding a popular man at the Peace Conference.

President Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George may understand diplomacy, but they do NOT understand the nature of the strikes that are now taking place. If they did they would not be so blind. They would not send troops into Russia or starve the women and children of the Central Empires. The old order is passing and the dawn will awaken to greet the new.