

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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GARY IS NO ANGEL! A PRISON MESSAGE

"It makes no difference whether you call it a republic, kingdom, absolute monarchy or despotism, it is the same old system. The people have at last found out that they own the earth and they are getting ready to take charge of it," says Debs.

GARY RECRUITS HIS OWN BLACK ARMY TURNS STEEL PLANTS INTO ARMED BARRACKS

The big steel strike is on!

"Judge" Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the steel trust, says he has \$1,000,000,000 with which to break the organized labor movement in America.

He has started out to do this by turning his steel plants into barracks furnished with cots and facilities for feeding his gunmen; by laying in huge supplies of ammunition, cases of rifles and scores of machine guns.

The strike was caused by "Judge" Gary's defiance of President Wilson when the head of the United States government asked the head of the steel trust to meet and confer with the elected representatives of the steel trust's workers.

During the war the employees of the steel trust bought Liberty bonds and War Savings Stamps, going into debt to support their country, while "Judge" Gary and his associates seized and kept more than \$1,000,000 a day profits out of their labor. Their women knit sweaters and socks for soldiers. They gave to the Red Cross.

Compelled to work twelve hours a day for seven days a week, with a twenty-four-hour work day once every week, they endured their hard lot and remained at work to produce war supplies for their country, while "Judge" Gary and his fellows lolled in ease and luxury and grew fat on interest and dividends.

During the war the government officially recognized the eight-hour day and the right of workers to organize. "Judge" Gary denied his workers a shorter work day than twelve hours and fired them from his plants when they joined unions.

The constitution of the United States guarantees the people of this country the rights of free speech, free press and free assemblage.

For months, the public officials of Pennsylvania, hirelings of the steel trust, have denied these rights to the workers in the steel trust's plants. Gunmen have shot organizers and others in cold blood. Fannie Sellins, an organizer, was not only shot in cold blood at the order of the superintendent of one of the steel trust's coal mines, but her dead body was mutilated and one hoodlum danced around her corpse with her hat upon his head.

The constitution of the United States guarantees to men and women the right of association.

Notwithstanding "Judge" Gary's fair words about not caring whether his employees organize or not, the steel trust has denied its workers the right

to organize. Men have been fired for joining the unions. Men have been murdered deliberately for joining unions and striking for decent living conditions. Four peaceful strikers were shot down in cold blood in Hammond, Ind., while marching in a procession to demonstrate the solidarity of the striking workers of the Standard Steel Car Company, owned by the steel trust.

Not content with the bands of armed mercenaries that have been doing this bloody work—the steel trust's "black hundreds"—Gary is organizing reinforcements into a still greater army.

What for?

His workers are peaceable citizens, whose homes and families constitute the communities in which the steel plants are situated.

"Judge" Gary knows that they do not intend and will not commit violence. "Judge" Gary knows that he and his minions do intend violence. He knows that, with the money and influence of the corporations he controls, he has bought public officials in the communities where his plants are located and that his gunmen can murder without hazard of encountering the law. They have done so already.

"Judge" Gary knows that, with the money and influence of his powerful group, he controls the kept press and that when his gunmen murder, the newspapers will lie for him and blame it on the striking workers.

He has denied these strikers their constitutional rights—the rights the officers of our government are sworn to protect and maintain. He is now denying them these constitutional rights. He intends to continue to deny them these constitutional rights. He has organized his "black hundreds" with which to deprive them of these constitutional rights. He has set himself and his steel trust up in defiance of the government and constitution of the United States as superior to them.

"Judge" Gary is trying to foment violent revolution.

His unarmed workers are seeking to avail themselves of the protection of the government and its constitution.

If a workingman were guilty of attempting to do what "Judge" Gary is doing, he would be taken into custody and, by the orderly processes of the law, the full punishment for his crime would be meted out to him.

Reprinted from New Majority.

EUGENE V. DEBS



Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 24.—There is a germ of revolution in the strike of the steel men now in progress, according to Eugene V. Debs, who is serving a ten-year term in the federal penitentiary here.

"All the classes of labor that have grievances are watching the strike of the steel men," said Debs today. "If they lose, next month it will be the miners. If they lose, then it will be the railroad workers, unless they are given their demands. Some day they will all strike together."

Sees Governments' End

Debs declared that the League of Nations will be a failure because within two years there will not be any of the governments of Europe that signed it in existence.

"He predicted the overthrow of all these governments thru an exercise of the 'real will of the people against the masters.'"

"It makes no difference whether you call it a republic, kingdom, absolute monarchy or despotism, it is the same old system. The people have at last found out that they own the earth and they are getting ready to take charge of it," he said.

Scoffs Wilson Conference

Debs said President Wilson's conference, termed the "round table," which will be held in Washington next month will not achieve any results.

"It is calling together representatives of the master class and the wage-earners. These two classes have fought an age-old struggle, the culmination of which is in sight. You just as well might try to harmonize fire and water as to try to bring them together in that conference," he said.

Debs said he is enjoying good health and good treatment at the prison. He said he had asked no favors and wants none.

He said he has given the matter of getting out no thought.

"I simply feel that I am continuing my work as usual. I feel like this prison is my office and that I am conducting my affairs uninterrupted by prison bars," he said.

Denies He Seeks Pardon.

He said he is not personally seeking a pardon from the President, has renounced none of his principles and will serve out his ten-year term and the rest of his life if necessary, rather than surrender any of his principles to get a pardon.

"If the system by which I was convicted is right then I am wrong and I ought to be here," said Debs.

RAGNAR JOHANSON

Woodman Hall Sunday Evening

DEFECTIVE PAGE

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY

CALL FOR A STATE CONVENTION TO ORGANIZE THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF ILLINOIS

The outstanding fact of this, the most momentous period in the world's history, is that Capitalism is tottering to its ruin. The Great War, heralded throughout the Allied nations as "the war against war" to "establish self-determination of all the world safe for democracy" has inaugurated the era of Capitalist Imperialism. The Peace of Versailles has proven more ruthless than Brest Litovsk. Labor's Bill of Rights, written into the Peace Treaty by Samuel Gompers is but another chain binding the wage slave to the master class. And now we behold the Capitalist World in chaos.

Out of this chaotic condition came the challenge of the Third International held in Moscow last March. Here was a call to action, based upon the wisdom gleaned from the

sent to the Socialist Parties of the United States has failed utterly to measure up to its historic task. On almost every issue which concerns the vital interests of the working class it has shown itself weak, vacillating and reactionary. The despicable acts of the old Executive Committee and the proceedings of the recent National Emergency Convention have laid bare the miserable compromising spirit which animated those in control of the Party's destiny. The Socialist Party has broken faith with the workers. At the Emergency convention it repudiated the Thirds International by a vote of 61 to 33.

In a communication dated Sept. 9th State Secretary Oliver C. Wil-

son declares that no Local or Branch may take under consideration these matters of controversy within the Socialist Party, thereby making himself the censor of what the membership shall or shall not act upon. It was just such usurped power as this by the old National Executive Committee that tore the Socialist Party asunder at the recent National Emergency Convention.

Honest and sincere socialists can no longer remain in the Socialist Party. Thousands of class conscious comrades have already left the Party, and, recognizing the need of a party of revolutionary Socialism have joined the Communist Labor Party which was born in Chicago August 31st, 1919.

In response to the demand from comrades all over the state this call goes forth for the organization of the Communist Labor Party of Illinois. A state convention will be held in Rock Island Sunday Oct. 12th at Workmens Hall, 712 eighth St. The convention will be called to order at 9:30 A. M. and all business logically coming before such a convention shall be transacted, such as drafting a state constitution, selection of a state executive committee, state secretary, and such other committees and officials as the convention may decide. The basis of delegate representation shall be as follows: where a county organization exists it shall have one delegate for every fifty members or major fraction thereof. In districts where this is no county organization every organized group of ten or more members who subscribe to the Principles, Program, and Platform of the Communist Labor Party shall be entitled to one delegate.

PARTY NEWS

— Telegrams in great number are pouring into the national office of the Communist Labor Party. Locals in all parts of the nation are wiring assurances of their co-operation in building the new party and, more important, are demanding dues stamps and supplies.

— Edward Lindgren, acting state secretary of New York wires as follows: "Local Kings County, formerly the second largest local in the Socialist Party, decided at a meeting of the central committee held last Saturday, Sept. 20, to affiliate with the Communist Labor Party. Of course, the controversy has split the local, about 500 going over to the Socialist Party, 800 to the Communist Party including the federation branches, leaving about 2,000 to 2,500 after we get thru with our organization campaign just started. Send me at once for the state office 2,000 dues stamps, 2,000 dues cards and other supplies."

— L. K. England, Edgar Owens and Perry Shipman are engaged in organization work for the Communist Labor Party in Rock Island County, Ill. The C. L. P. state convention for Illinois has been called to meet in Moline on Oct. 12th.

— The Cook County (Chicago) organization committee for the C. L. P. is composed of G. A. Engelken, Arthur Proctor, J. Meisinger, Samuel Hankin and John Nelson. A stirring proclamation has been issued to the revolutionary membership in Cook County calling them to join the C. L. P. which holds its organization meeting Sept. 28th.

— Chas. Baker is assisting in organization work in Chicago. He was conscripted by the Chicago comrades for the greater part of the week of Sept. 21st. Marguerite Prevrey will make a tour beginning about October 1st. Chas. Baker is scheduled to speak in the following: Lima, Ohio, Oct. 1; Columbus 2nd; cities: Ft. Wayne, Ind., Sept. 29, 30, Dayton 3rd; Hamilton 4th; Cincinnati 5th.

— Max Bedacht, member of the national executive committee visited the national office this week. He reports that the mass meeting of German branch members held in Chicago went on record as advising all German branches to affiliate with the C. L. P.

— The First Russian Communist Branch of Chicago has endorsed the C. L. P. program and applied for a charter.

— "I will say for my part that the C. L. P. is the only one of the three parties I can consistently support." W. B. Dillon, New Mexico.

— James Dolsen, California state organizer, is touring the west for the C. L. P.

— Ruby Herman, state secretary of Washington, wires for convention minutes and actions. Mary Geffe, state secretary of Colorado, writes that she will have her undivided support.

— "We have the Scandinavian Branch of Duluth and Local Duluth, 400 members, with the C. L. P." Jack Carney.

— The Italian Branch of New York City has withdrawn from the Italian Socialist Federation, fearing that the federation will remain with the reactionary Socialist Party. It intends organizing an Italian Federation affiliated with the C. L. P.

— The locals at Worcester, Mass., and Conway, Pa., have written for programs and constitutions of the C. L. P.

— Adolph Germer was in Ohio last week attempting to repair his broken fences. It is rumored that he will soon resign his office in the S. P. The ship is sinking. He has since resigned.

— GERMAN FEDERATION JOINS C. L. P.: The national executive of the German Federation voted 41 to 8 to join the Communist Labor Party. Branches in New York and New Jersey, numbering 1,700 members, have already decided to affiliate.

— The first order for dues stamps came from Thos. Crimmins, for Local Syracuse, N. Y. He writes: "The language federations here decided to join the C. L. P. Send 200 dues stamps at once."

— An application for a charter has been received from Local Rock Island County, Ill., the largest local in Illinois outside Chicago.

— "State conferences for the Communist Labor Party were held in Kansas City, Kans., and Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 21 Temporary organization for the party were effected. Sufficient representatives were present from the two states to assure us half the membership at the first sweep. The undersigned was elected secretary for the district comprising Missouri, Kansas and Nebraska." J. P. Cannon.

— L. E. Katterfeld has given up his residence in Kansas to take up his duties in the national office of the C. L. P. His years of organization experience will be of much value to the party nationally.

— The Scandinavian Socialist Federation has decided to withdraw from the Socialist Party and will decide its future affiliation either by referendum or in convention.

— Local Danville, Ill., decided unanimously to withdraw from the Socialist Party and join the Communist Labor Party.

By Lenin

The Imperialists of the Entente countries are blockading Russia with the object of cutting off the Soviet Republic as a source of infection from the capitalist world. These men, while boasting of the democratic character of their institution, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet Republic that they do not perceive how ridiculous they are. Only think: the most advanced, the most civilized and so-called "democratic" countries, armed to the teeth, and exercising, militarily, and undivided sway over the whole world, fear the infection of ideas proceeding from a ruined, backward, and, as they assure us, semi-savage country! This contradiction alone is sufficient to open the eyes of the laboring masses of all countries, and to expose the hypocrisy of the Imperialists, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, and their respective Governments. But not only the blindness of the capitalists, arising through their hatred of the Soviets, but also their mutual quarrels are helpful to us, inasmuch as they constantly are trying to trip one another up. They have agreed upon a conspiracy of silence, fearing above all the spread of truthful reports about the Soviet Republic, and especially of its official documents. Nevertheless, the Temps, the chief organ of the French bourgeoisie, has published the announcement of the formation at Moscow of the Third Communist International. We express our most respectful gratitude for this act to the chief organ of the French bourgeoisie, to the leader of French Chauvinism and Imperialism. We are ready to present the Temps with an address, recording our thanks, for rendering us such timely and successful assistance. For one can see with perfect clearness, from the way in which the Temps worded its announcement on the strength of our wireless, the motives which prompted this organ of the moneybags in its act. It wanted to give "the needle" to Wilson, and to tell him: "See what sort of people are those with whom you want to negotiate." The clever men who drive their quills by order of the moneybags, do not perceive how their attempt to frighten Wilson by the Bolshevik spectre becomes, in the eyes of the laboring masses, an advertisement for the Bolsheviks. The establishment of the Third International took place under such conditions of the world, that no prohibitions, no petty tricks of the Entente Imperialists, or of the flunkies of capitalism, like the Scheidemanns in Germany, or the flunkies in Austria, can prevent the spread among the working class of the world of the news about this International and of its sympathy towards it. These conditions have been brought about by the proletarian Revolution, which is palpably growing by leaps and bounds. They have been brought about by the Soviet movement among the laboring masses, which has already attained such strength as to become really international.

The Three Internationals

The First International (1864-1872) laid the foundations of the international organization of the workers, with a view to their eventual revolutionary assault on capitalism. The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organization of the proletarian movement which grew in breadth and width, and could not but lead to a temporary lowering of the level of the revolutionary spirit, and the consequent growth of opportunism which in the end resulted in the disgraceful collapse of this International. The Third International was, in point of fact, created in 1919, when the long-drawn-out struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism, especially during the war, led, in several countries, to the formation of Communist parties. In point of form, the Third International was established at its first Congress in March, 1919, in Moscow. Its most salient feature, viz., its mission to realize the bequests of Marxism and the secular ideals of Socialism and the Labor movement—this most salient feature of the Third International—has at once manifested itself through the fact that the new, the Third, "International Association of Workers" is already, to an extent, assuming the shape of an alliance of the Soviet Socialist Republics. The First International laid the foundation for the proletarian international struggle for Socialism. The Second International was the time when the ground was being prepared for a wide mass-movement of the working class in various countries. The Third International took over the fruit of the labors of the Second International, casting off its opportunism, social-chauvinism, middle-class exercises, and began to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat. The international alliance of parties which are guiding the revolutionary movement of the working class for the overthrow of the yoke of Capitalism, seems to have now under its feet the firm ground of several Soviet Republics, which embody, on an international scale, the dictatorship of the proletariat, its victory over Capitalism. The world-historical importance of the Third, the Communist, International, consists in this, that it began to carry into life, the greatest of all watchwords of Marx, the watchword which sums up the great development of Socialism and the Labor movement, and which is contained in the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This great prognosis, this mighty theory, is now becoming a reality. These Latin words have now been translated into all the languages of the peoples of contemporary Europe—nay, of the whole world.

Why Russia Leads.

A new era of the world's history has begun. Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: the Capitalist, Wage-slavery. In freeing itself from it, mankind, for the first time passes to real freedom. How did it happen that the first to realize the dictatorship of the proletariat and to organize a Soviet Republic was one of the most backward countries in Europe? We shall scarcely err if we say that it is this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and her jump to the highest form of democracy over capitalist democracy towards Soviet or proletarian democracy, is one of the causes (apart from the weight of opportunistic habits and Philistine prejudices with which the majority of the leaders of Socialism are burdened) that delayed or rendered difficult the understanding of the role of Soviets in the West. The working classes everywhere instinctively perceived the importance of Soviets as instruments in their fight, and as forms of a workingclass State; but the so-called leaders, demoralized by their opportunism, are continuing everywhere to worship capitalist democracy, calling it simply "democracy." Is it surprising that the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat should above all have demonstrated that "contradiction" between the backwardness of Russia and her jump over capitalist democracy? It would have been more surprising if history had made us a present of this new form of democracy without any opposition or contradictions. Any Marxist—in fact, anyone familiar with modern science—would reply in the negative to the question whether the transition of various capitalist countries to the dictatorship of the proletariat is likely to be even, and parallel. In the world of capitalism there has never been, and never could be, any evenness, any parallel, harmony or proportionate progress. Each country developed more fully this or the other aspect, or group of aspects, of Capitalism and the Labor movement, than the other; and the process of development knew no such things as homogeneity or evenness. When France was going through her great bourgeois Revolution and was awakening the entire Continent of Europe to new life, England placed herself at the head of a counter-revolutionary coalition, although at the same time she was capitalistically more developed than France. The British Labor movement of that period wonderfully anticipated much of the subsequent Marxism. When England was giving to the world the first real mass-movement on political lines, namely, the proletarian revolutionary movement of the Chartists, the Continent of Europe was, for the most part, the scene of feeble bourgeois revolutions; while in France the first great civil war between the capitalists and the working class broke out. The capitalist class defeated each national detachment of the working class separately and in a different manner, suited to its respective country.

Evolution of Proletarian Hegemony.

England presented the type of a country in which, as Engels remarked, the capitalists, together with an aristocracy which had become capitalist, brought to life a capitalist aristocracy of Labor. The most advanced capitalist country became, for several decades, the most backward one from the point of view of the revolutionary struggles of the working class. France seemed as if she had exhausted the strength of her proletariat in its two heroic revolts against the capitalist class in 1848 and 1871, by which she made an uncommonly large contribution to the world's history. The hegemony in the International Labor movement then passed to Germany when, from about the seventies of last century, Germany was economically still behind England and France. And when, economically, Germany overtook these two countries—that is, towards the second decade of the present century—the universally-admired and, indeed, model Marxist Labor Party of Germany found itself under the leadership of a gang of scoundrels, of a dirty capitalist-paid clique of Scheidemanns and Noskes, of Davids and Legiens, a set of most infamous hangmen, from the ranks of the working class, in the service of the monarchy and the counter-revolutionary capitalist class. The world's history marches irresistibly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, but its paths are far from being simple, direct, or smooth.

When Karl Kautsky was still a Marxist, and was not yet that renegade of Marxism which he became, as the champion fighter for unity with the Scheidemannites, and for capitalist democracy against Soviet or proletarian democracy—that is, at the beginning of the present century—he wrote an article the title: "The Slavs and the Revolution." In that article he set out those historical conditions which rendered possible the passing of the hegemony in the International Revolutionary movement to the Slavs. This is just what happened. For a time—of course, for a short time only—the hegemony in the revolutionary workingclass International has passed to the Russians, as it belonged, at various periods of the nineteenth century, first to the British, then to the French, and then to the Germans.

I have had already on more than one occasion to say that, in comparison with the more advanced countries, the Russians found it easier to begin the great Working-class Revolution, but that they would find it more difficult to continue and to bring it to a victorious conclusion, in the sense of the complete organization of Socialist society. It was easier for us to begin, first, because the extraordinary—in comparison with Europe of the twentieth century—political backwardness of the Tsarist monarchy called forth an extraordinary strength of the revolutionary assault of the masses. Secondly, the backwardness of Russia combined, in an unique fashion, the proletarian revolution against the capitalist class with the peasant revolution against the landlords. We started from this in November, 1917, and we should not have won so easily if we had not begun with such a combination. As far back as 1856, Marx, speaking of Prussia, was pointing out the possibility of an unique combination of a proletarian revolution with a peasant war. The Bolsheviks had been championing the idea of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry since 1905. Third, the revolution

of 1905 had contributed extraordinarily to the political education of the workers' and peasant masses, both in respect of the assimilation, by their advanced sections, of the latest teachings of Socialism in the West, and of revolutionary mass action. Without such a full-dress rehearsal as that of 1905, the revolutions of 1917, both the middle-class one of March and the proletarian one of November, would have been impossible. Fourth, the geographical conditions of Russia permitted her to maintain herself longer than any other country against the external pressure of the more advanced capitalist countries. Fifth, the peculiar relations between the industrial working class and the peasantry, by facilitating the influence of the town proletariat on the semiproletarian and the poorest sections of the toilers in the village, facilitated thereby the transition from the middle class to the Socialist Revolution.

This list is, of course, not complete, but will suffice for the present. The Soviet proletarian democracy was born in Russia. In comparison with the Paris Commune, a second world historical step was made. The Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic turned out to be the first stable Socialist Republic in the world. It cannot die as a new type of State, and already it stands no longer alone. Much, very much indeed, is still wanted to carry through to the end the constructive work of Socialism. The Soviet Republics of more civilized countries in which the proletariat has more weight and enjoys greater influence, will have the chance of getting ahead of Russia if they step on the road of proletarian dictatorship.

The Yellow Second International.

The bankrupt Second International is dying and decomposing alive. In point of fact, it has become the hand-maid of the international capitalist class. It has become a real Yellow International, whose pre-eminent thinkers—as, for instance, Kautsky—are glorifying middleclass democracy, calling it democracy pure and simple, or, what is still sillier and cruder, "undiluted democracy." Middle-class democracy has outlasted its days just like the Second International, which performed a historically necessary and useful work at a time when it was necessary to prepare the laboring masses within the framework of that democracy. In itself, the democratic middle-class republic never was, and, indeed, could not be, anything else but an instrument in the hands of capitalism for the oppression of labor, an instrument of the political power of capitalism a dictatorship of the capitalist middle class. The democratic middle-class republic would promise and proclaim the power of the majority, but was never able to realize it so long as there existed private property in land and other means of production. Freedom in the middle-class democratic republic was, in effect, freedom only for the rich. The industrial workers and the laboring peasants were able, and indeed were obliged, to make use of it in order to prepare for the overthrow of capitalism, and for the supersession of middle-class democracy; but in point of fact the laboring masses were not able to enjoy any democracy under capitalism. It is the Soviet or proletarian democracy which has first brought about a democracy for the workers and small peasants. There has never yet been in the world such exercise of State power by the majority of the population as under the Soviets. This power suppresses the "liberties" of the exploiters and their aiders and abettors. It deprives them of their "liberty" to exploit, their "liberty" to fight for the restoration of the power of capitalism, their "liberty" to concert with the foreign capitalist classes for action against the workers and peasants. One must be a renegade of Marxism, a renegade of Socialism, like Kautsky, to defend such "liberties." In no respect has the collapse of the leading thinkers of the Second International, such as Kautsky, or Hilferding, so glaringly manifested itself as in their complete incapacity to understand the meaning of Soviet or proletarian democracy, or its relationship with the Paris Commune, of its place in history, and of its necessity as the form of the proletarians' dictatorship. In the Freiheit (Freedom), the organ of the so-called "Independent," but really lower middle-class and Philistine German Social Democracy, of February 11, 1919, we read an appeal "to the revolutionary, proletarian of Germany," over the names of the Committee of the Party and of all its representatives in the National Assembly. It accuses the Scheidemannites of the design to abolish the Soviets, and suggests, in all seriousness, the combination of Soviets with the National Assembly, the inclusion of the Soviets in the Constitution, and their investment with certain public rights. To reconcile, to couple the dictatorship of the capitalist class with the dictatorship of the proletariat—what a wonderful idea, what a sublime, Philistine conception! Pity only that it has already been tried in Russia under Kerensky by the united Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, those lower middle-class democrats who imagine themselves to be Socialists. Those who have read Marx and do not realize that in a capitalist society, at each acute crisis, at every serious conflict of classes, the possibility lies between the dictatorship of the capitalist class and the dictatorship of the proletariat only, have understood neither the economic nor the political teaching of Marx.

The sublime Philistine idea of Hilferding, Kautsky and Co. about the peaceful combination of the dictatorship of the capitalist class with the dictatorship of the proletariat requires a detailed examination, if the economic and political absurdities condensed in this most remarkable and most comical appeal of February 11 are to be exhausted.

We shall do so in our next article.

Moscow, April 15, 1919. N. Lenin.

— W. F. Jackman of Indianapolis writes that at least 75 per cent of the Indiana membership is Left Wing.

— TELEGRAM: Rhode Island state mass convention voted overwhelmingly to affiliate with the C. L. P. Temporary state committee elected. Yours truly elected state secretary. Rush stamps and supplies. Will remit by return mail." James P. Reid.

— The "Melting Pot" has been offered to the Party by the editor, H. M. Tichnor, to be owned and controlled by the party as one of its official monthlies.

— A Unity Convention was held by the rank and file of Left Wing members of Manhattan, N. Y. Communist Party adherents discouraged attendance at this convention. Communist Labor Party adherents encouraged the convention. The order of business was the question of securing one unified communist organization. Delegates to either convention were not admitted.

DUES STAMPS AND SUPPLIES

New dues stamps, charter member stamps and party supplies are now ready. Locals in states where the state office is with the Communist Labor Party should make purchases direct from their state secretaries. Locals in states where the state secretaries still adhere to the reactionary Socialist Party should buy stamps and supplies direct from the national office.

Dues stamps to state offices of affiliated with our party and to locals in states where the state office is not affiliated, are 20 cents each. Charter member stamps sell for 25c each. Initiation stamp (the same as charter stamps for the first year) sell for 25 cents each. Dues cards are \$1.00 a hundred and membership application blanks are \$2.50 a thousand.

Five thousand dues stamps, 1,000 charter stamps and a large shipment of supplies have gone forward to the office of the German Communist Labor Party Federation.

A uniform dues of 50 cents per month must be collected from all members. All members should purchase a CHARTER MEMBER stamp so that all who affiliate with our party may be registered as charter members of it. Members will pay \$1.00 for such stamp. The

proceeds from their sale will go into the organization fund. Applicants for membership are required to pay \$1.00 initiation fee.

PLACE ORDERS FOR DUES STAMPS AND SUPPLIES AT ONCE.

— NEW YORK LETTER: Local Queens has a membership of about 500, has gone Communist Party by a very narrow margin. There is every possibility that this local will reverse itself in a very short time. Local Kings, the largest local of the Left Wing section in New York will positively line up with the C. L. P. In Manhattan proper, the branches have decided upon a Unity Conference to settle the opposition from the Communist Party comrades. In one branch, the 8th A. D., which sent four delegates

to the Communist Party convention, the unity conference was endorsed whereupon Maximilian Cohen, Jos. and Karl Brodsky and Fannie Horowitz, all delegates to the Communist Party convention, resigned. The following branches will surely line up with the C. L. P. Four Russian branches, one Lettish branch, five English branches, all German branches, one Italian branch and several of the Jewish branches. In the Bronx the Communist Party comrades, true to their "rule or quit" tactics, refused to abide by the decision of the general membership meeting and bolted. Here we will have the Hungarian branch, the Russian branch, two English branches and probably one Jewish branch.

CHICAGO CONVENTIONS *By* MAX EASTMAN

The convention of the old Socialist Party began with a belligerent apology by the national secretary, Adolph Germer. The convention of the Left Wing began with a great singing of the "Internationale", three cheers for Revolutionary Socialism, three cheers for the Russian Soviet Republic, three cheers for Debs, and three cheers for the I. W. W. The convention of the Communist Party began with an announcement that "the management committee has decided that there shall be no smoking during the convention," followed by an accurate rendition of the "Internationale" with full orchestra and brass.

These different ways of beginning were characteristic. In the old S. P. convention, the "parent body", the emotional tone was a little apologetic throughout, a little criticism—about what you might expect of the mother of twins.

The Left Wing convention—which became the Communist Labor Party—had a little of the quality of a revival meeting. The delegates were always singing and shouting and feeling that the true faith was about to be restored in their hearts and homes. At last they were, until the Program Committee made its report, training some big guns from the Manifesto of the Third International on them, and they realized that they must either put their nines to a program of deliberate, hardheaded revolutionary science, or go back here they came from. They took a long, hard breath then, and most of them "came through," but they did not come through singing.

The Communist Convention—more properly called the Slavic-American Communist Convention—as characterized throughout by a spirit of youthful but sophisticated efficiency. It was a consensually expert convention. It showed the rest of them what a convention ought to be. It was almost incredibly neat and clean and regular. I was sitting there some time before the formal opening, admiring the way the big sheets of heavy yellow paper were spread over the delegates' tables and folded and tacked underneath; I was admiring the smooth high railing of new wood which divided the delegates' stalls from the audience room at the back; in particular I was admiring the soda-waterfountain shine and polish on the white oil-cloth which covered the press-table where I had laid my hat; I was just reflecting that these things had surely been prepared and arranged by an unmarried lady of advanced years, when a young Russian comrade came up with a damp cloth and asked me kindly to remove my hat so that he could "clean" that oil-cloth!

A Little History

In order to understand how these conventions came to be, and what they came to be, it is necessary to apply the mind to some rather complicated history. I will generalize that history as clearly and fairly as I can.

There have always been elements in the American Socialist Party who were more revolutionary than the majority, and in a state of continual protest against the official conduct of the party. They were more devoted to the principle of the class struggle, less willing to waste energy in office-seeking, reformism, and parliamentarism. They believed in the I. W. W. They believed in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. These elements were for the most part distinctly American; they were never very conspicuous in the "foreign federations" affiliated with the American party. And also they were never very strong.

The proletarian revolution in Russia and the surrounding countries—proving the literal truth of almost every word in the Communist Manifesto—gave them their strength. It sent a wave of militant or Bolshevik, or Communist, Socialism around the world. And this wave naturally reached the Slavic federations first, and affected them the most. They became almost unanimously and automatically Bolshevik. At the same time their membership increased enormously—the gospel being accepted by thousands of new recruits, both through a genuine emotion not unrelated to patriotism, and through expediency, it being generally understood that a Russian would not amount to much at home unless he had been a socialist here. This very willing membership was organized into a magnificent political machine by the brainy officials of the Slavic Federations, and it supplied both revolutionary ill and revolutionary power to the scattered elements of the American Left Wing.

These officials were able to cast the vote and appropriate the funds of about 40,000 out of the 100,000 members of the Socialist Party. They made Louis C. Fraina's paper, The

Revolutionary Age, and its wide circulation, possible. They made it possible, in spite of the Postoffice censorship, to carry the "Left Wing Manifesto and Program," and the motto, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism," into the hands of almost every Socialist in the country. No one can estimate the amount that this propaganda accomplished—as compared with the direct effect of the European revolutions upon the party membership—but it is certain that by last May or June an overwhelming majority of American Socialists were committed to the Left Wing Program in general, and the Slavic Federations formed the solid and well-organized heart of this majority.

That all sounds very simple, but it was not so simple. In the first place the Left Wing took to itself a degree of organization and autonomy, which gave the Right Wing officials who controlled the party, plenty of emotional, and now a few legal, grounds for expelling Left Wing members. The Slavic Federations were expelled in a body; the State of Michigan was expelled; other states, locals, branches and members are expelled. The membership of the party was reduced by and during these proceedings—according to the report of its own secretary—from 109,000 to 39,000.

In the second place, the leaders of the Slavic Federations—partly as a result of their expulsion, partly through a thinly veiled nationalistic egotism, and partly through a sincere if somewhat theological desire to exclude all wavering or "centrist" elements from the new organization, decided at the national Left Wing conference in June, that the idea of capturing the American Socialist party, or even attempting to capture it, was wrong, and that a call should be issued for the immediate organization of a "Communist Party".

In the third place the expelled "Michigan Crowd"—although really too political-minded to be called communists—joined with the Slavic Federations in this particular demand, and the Federation Leaders made every use of this increase of their voting power in the Left Wing, although privately condemning the Michigan ideas and intending to suppress them when it came time to adopt a platform.

Even so, however, they were unable to control the Left Wing conference. It decided by a considerable majority to adhere to the original program of capturing the party, and it elected a "Left Wing Council" to carry this out. The Slavic Federations and the "Michigan crowd" then decided to ignore the decision of the conference and call a Communist Convention, whether the rest of the Left Wing agreed to do it or not.

The majority of the "Left Wing Council," together with the Revolutionary Age—the organ of the whole movement—denounced them as "traitors" for a week or two, but then suddenly capitulated in the middle of the summer, abandoned the slogan, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism," upon which their paper had built up its constituency and united the American revolutionaries, and joined in the call for immediate Communist Convention to meet in Chicago on September 1st.

This sudden change of front occurred so late that there was no time left, even if there had been a moral possibility, for those who had united upon the original plan to unite upon the change. For better or worse, the Left Wing was split into two camps.

On the one hand there were the heads of the Slavic Federations and the Michigan Socialists, with the Revolutionary Age and all the National Machinery of the Left Wing organization, in the hands of Louis C. Fraina of Boston, I. E. Ferguson of Chicago, C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, Maximilian Cohen of New York, John Ballam of Massachusetts, Hiltzik of the Left Wing Jewish Federation, Jay Lovestone, Rose Pastor Stokes and a few other non-Slavic delegates.

On the other hand, adhering to the original program of attempting to capture the party, there was the minority of the National Left Wing Council, Ben Gitlow and John Reed of New York, with other prominent Socialists of the Left like Kate Greenhalgh (Kate Sadler) of Washington, Joe Caldwell of Rhode Island, Fred Harwood of New Jersey, Max Bedacht of California, Jack Carney of Duluth, William Bross Lloyd of Chicago, Ludwig Lore, Editor of the Volkszeitung of New York, Margaret Prevey of Ohio, Tichenor of St. Louis, Owens of Illinois, Wagenknecht of Ohio, Katterfield of Indiana, Mrs. Harmon of Kansas, and 92 other delegates from 22 States. To this group there was

also promised the adherence of the Italian Socialist Federation, and the Scandinavian and Left Wing German Federations, together with 19 Slavic Federations, who were expelled from the major organization for resisting the machine.

Each of these groups would like to think that the rank and file of the American Communist movement was represented in its convention. But it is impossible to decide that question now. The rank and file never had time to consider and act upon the issue between them. It was a division among leaders, and a very vague and queer one too. Delegates were wandering from one convention to another under indefinite instructions, or no instructions at all, except the understanding that they were to form a party in accord with the Manifesto of the Third International. Out of this unhappy confusion almost everybody waded and strove for a unity of the revolutionary elements, except the heads of the Slavic Federations, whose absolute control would have disappeared if unity had been achieved, and who maintained that their absolute control was necessary to the formation of a pure and perfect party of communism.

The Parent Body

If this confusion of elements represented is exasperating, it is at least a relief to know that the conventions occurred in some historic

they proceeded upstairs in a rather formidable frame of mind. They were met and opposed at the door by J. Gerber, the sec. of local New York, and it seems that Gerber in his turn was "set aside." We heard a good many different stories of this incident by eye-witnesses, and none of them were quite so blood-curdling as what we read in the newspapers. It seemed to one of our informers that "Gerber could have licked Reed, if Reed hadn't held him so far up in the air that he couldn't reach down." Another comrade said that Reed acted just like a nice big dog, shaking himself. Another reported that there was "a little windpipe work on both sides." Gerber stated to the convention that he made Reed understand that swinging a sledgehammer with the proletariat is just as good a preparation for life's battles as playing football at college. At any rate the "Left Wing-ers" got in, and there they were, and what was the right wing going to do about it?

Some of them didn't know what they were going to do, but Adolph Germer knew. He may not have consulted anybody when he arranged to have the police there, but he consulted the membership figures and the record of recent votes for officers, and votes on referendums, which were in his possession, and he decided that if the official minority were going to exclude the voting ma-

"It don't make any difference," he said. "Clear the room. If you don't I'll call the police."

"I said to myself, 'Well I have a right to the convention floor, and I'm going to sit here till the police tell me to go.'"

"Pretty soon a policeman came up to me and said, 'You'll have to go, Misses.'"

"I went, but I went kind of slow, and I heard Germer say, 'Officer, clear the hall, and if they don't go, policemen, do your duty!'"

"So the delegates who were with Berger and Germer stayed in the hall, and the rest of us went out, and our delegate who received the largest vote in the State of Kansas was put out of the Socialist Convention by the police!"

Perhaps these excessively lively preliminaries accounted for the unceremonious opening of the convention. With a beautiful upstairs hall like a little theatre, one whole side a great sunny sky-window, and decorations containing twenty-five American flags, I expected a certain amount of introductory Lullaby of some kind. But Germer simply stood p, looking like a big well-dressed police-sergeant off duty, banged the gavel on the table, and started in.

He stated to a round of applause that "We intend to follow the splendid example set by our comrades in Russia," and added in a severe

their neighbors, beaten and worn down by the universal war-madness of a nation, and not flinching. They could not understand why they should be shoved aside. And I could not either, any more than I can understand death. But it is significant that in the conventions of the young, the conventions whose eyes were on the future and their muscles ready for action, there was not a single person to be found who would say that the split was personal, and that there were no vital issues at stake. They could not think of saying it; they were wholly absorbed in the issues at stake.

Germer's speech did not sail very clear after he began denouncing the Left Wing leaders as "Harry Orchards of the Socialist movement," describing them as going about "in the dark like midnight thieves sneaking from ear to ear, whispering, indubitably hoping thereby that the comrades may think there is something wrong with those selected by the comrades to manage the affairs of the party." Cries of "Count the Ballots!" "Is it in the Constitution that you have to make a speech?" brought his defense to an end, and the balloting for temporary chairman began.

Keymour Stedman, the Right Wing candidate, received 88 votes, and J. M. Codwell of Rhode Island, the Left Wing candidate, 37. There were enough Left Wing delegates in the building to have elected Codwell with a substantial majority, even though 40,000 of their members had already gone over to the Communist Party, but only these 37 had trickled through the official sieve. The rest were "contested," and most of them never got through the credentials committee, and many of them never tried.

The pulse of the convention rose noticeably when Stedman took the chair. His sturdy and winning grace of utterance made the delegates feel a little sure they were not wrong. But his speech, like Germer's, was a summing up for the defense. And his defense, like Germer's, rested upon a record that is past, and in this time of rapid movement, stale and ready to be forgotten. He did not say that the Socialist Party would join the Third International and loyally stand up with our Russian comrades who are starving and dying and pouring out their blood in battle for socialism, and everybody knew that it would not.

Stedman scored a point as chairman when some impertinent delegate, "rose to inquire" why we should elect a sergeant-at-arms when we have the police force?

"Well," he said, "that election was provided for at a time when it was understood that all the comrades would be gentlemen at least." But the police question would not down. It would not let itself be forgotten for two hours at a time. Once it was white-faced ministerial comrade in the audience room, at the side of the hall.

"Comrades, I demand the attention of the delegates!" he shouted. "I just heard one of these policemen threaten to throw a comrade down-stairs, and he said 'You won't light on your feet either, you'll think you came down in an aeroplane.' I ask if that is the way visiting Socialists are going to be treated by this convention?"

"What kind of Socialists are they?" from the New York delegation.

From Stedman: "I should suggest that it would be a good idea to forget what occurred this morning. At the present time Chicago is under the police department, whether you like it or not."

From George Goebel: "I say anybody who says we invited the police here are God damn liars!"

Grom Germer: "I'm glad they're here!"

And this second storm was no sooner past, and the troubled hearts quieting themselves a little, when in pops a letter from the Chicago Machinists—that one dread sovereign of all political socialists, a real labor union:

Dear Comrades and Friends:

On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers Lodge No. 113, International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists Society of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary, of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection; we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection, when we as an organization condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representatives of an organi-

zation, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we can not let the police remain as your protectors, or perhaps as your invited guests, without submitting our deepest protest. We ask you to remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to put hardships on you, but for the best interest of the Socialist party and the labor movement in general.

Yours for International Solidarity, Executive Board Die & Tool Makers Lodge No. 113.

L. P. Vance, Carl Harig, G. T. Franckel, P. Pokara.

After a serious pause one of the delegates proposed a resolution stating that it is "the sense of this convention" that the police are not here at the invitation of the party officials. Another remarked that such a resolution would prove that the convention had no sense, for they would be stating something that they could not know.

Claessens of New York offered a resolution "that the police department of Chicago shall be and hereby is disbanded."

Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee asserted that "they came here under the invitation of Germer for the purpose of protecting our legitimate rights and purposes," and proposed that no apologies should be made.

"We in Milwaukee," said Berger, "would done it a good deal better than Germer did, because we have our own police." His speech was the straightest one I heard. "I've never tried to be revolutionary," he said, "but I've tried to be honest. If the police weren't here, none of you would be, so what's the use of all this hypocrisy?"

It was finally voted to send a communication to the Machinists union stating the facts, but just what the facts were, nobody knew—unless it was the policeman who told a reporter that Germer had called up the chief and asked that they be on hand early.

In the midst of this storm a telegram arrived from some rustic local: "Peace and harmony will lead us to success—hurrah for International Socialism!"

The Left Wing Delegates—about 30 of them—walked out of this convention after it adopted a motion to consider (but not act upon) the report of the National Executive Committee, before the status of all contested delegates was determined. J. M. Codwell of Rhode Island simply rose in his chair and said, "At this point I am going to leave this convention and I call upon all delegates of the Left Wing to withdraw."

"That is your privilege," said Stedman, and the business of the convention proceeded.

It was a business largely as I have indicated, of selfjustification upon the part of the official machine for resisting the Left Wing machine up to the point of wrecking the party—although the Left Wing Machine had organized a clear Majority of the members. And this business was made interesting by the fact that a lively handful of semi-Left Wingers, or at least conscientious objectors against tyranny, was left on the floor. They were led by Kruse, who stated that in spite of his disgust at the acts of the officials, he believed it was a question of "sane Socialism against direct action," and he intended to "stick by the party and make it what he thought it ought to be."

Judge Panken of New York was less moderate. For him it was a question of "tying up with a bunch of anarchists," and he was glad of everything they did.

A delegate from Maryland supported him with the statement that "Every organization has an inherent right to preserve itself." He said "we lawyers" in the course of his remarks, but it was not quite clear whom he meant to include.

Another delegate offered the prudent remark that "We've got to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee, but we've also got to be able to inform our constituents that we gave the N. E. C. hell!"

Barney Berlin of Chicago, for twenty-five years a worker in the Socialist movement, was the old man Nestor of this council, presenting what seems to me the only justification for the National Executive Committee that there is. He reminded the convention of historic instances in which legal and constitutional forms and formulas had been violated in the interest of a deeper principle, and concluded, "I have not been in harmony with certain tendencies in the N. E. C., but I glory in their spunk in having saved the party."

A MESSAGE FROM WILLIAM GALLAGHER

of the Clyde Engineers

American comrades of the working class:

The War, with all its tragic horrors, its massacre by machinery, is ended, and an exhausted, bankrupt Europe must either sink down under a load of imperialism and militarism, or, through the path of revolution, rise from the dismal swamp of wage-slavery to the broad high land of Social Justice and Human Brotherhood.

Capitalism with its greed for profits, its treacherous diplomacy, ever seeking new markets, ever plotting and striving for spheres of influence, made such a war as we have just passed through inevitable. If the world is to have peace, capitalism must go. The Workers of Europe in everincreasing numbers are realizing this, and making preparations for the final conflict. Russia has given the world's workers a noble lead. Austria, Hungary, Germany and Italy are all marching forward to the battle. In France a great awakening is taking place. Here in Britain the revolutionary section of the working class is struggling to its feet. Soon, too, we will be on the march.

Comrades of America, we look to you to play a big part in the fight that lies ahead.

The forces arrayed against us are subtle, strong and ruthless. It will be no easy task to overcome them. But strong of heart let us go forward gathering new strength from day to day, perfecting our organization while we march. In the end we shall surely prevail.

"Liberator."

order. The Socialist Party Convention was convened in Machinists Hall on Saturday morning, August 30. The Left Wing delegates who were seated in that convention, walked out, and joined with the rejected delegates waiting in a room downstairs, to form the Convention of the Communist Labor Party, on Sunday afternoon. The Convention of the Communist Party was called to order in "Smolny Institute" (a hall leased by the Russian Federation of Chicago, on Monday, September 1st, at about noon.

Art Young and I arrived at Machinists' Hall early Saturday morning—early enough to find Julius Gerber looking like an unsettled thundercloud, and Jack Reed beaming. This is not because Julius was vanquished and Jack Reed victorious, but because Julius doesn't enjoy a fight and Jack does. It seems that some of the Left Wingers arrived early at the building, and decided after a caucus to go upstairs and take possession of the hall, putting their own national secretary, Wagenknecht in the chair when the time came, and proceeding to organize the Convention. Having elected their National Executive Committee by an overwhelming majority, and having through their committee duly appointed their secretary, they felt justified in this procedure, notwithstanding that the election had been set aside as fraudulent by the old National Executive Committee. So

larity from the convention, they would have to do it with the forces of the capitalist state. In that he was entirely right.

Germer never denied that he had arranged to have the police there, although some members of the national committee denied it for him. When he was asked pointblank across the floor of the convention whether the officials of the Socialist Party had brought the police to that hall he said, "What officials do you mean?" and withdrew his attention while some interrupter took up the talk. But he did deny that he told the police to "treat" "em rough", as two passionately indignant delegates subsequently informed the convention. He said that he asked the contested delegates two or three times "in a comradely spirit" to leave the room, before he told the police to put them out, and that he didn't tell the police anything else.

Two women who were among those put out, swore to the truth of the following account; one of them, Mrs. Harmon of Kansas, was later seated in the Convention, and made the convention believe what she said:

"The first thing I saw was that they were trying to eject Reed through the door. Soon after that Germer came up to us where we were sitting, and said, 'You'll have to leave the room.'"

"I'm a delegate," I said.

silence, "By that I want it distinctly understood that we do not intend to adopt the same methods."

He struck the key-note of the convention there. And he struck another key-note when he said, "The St. Louis program and the jail-sentences of our officials prove the revolutionary and non-Scheidemann character of the party."

It is characteristic of old people to attach a great importance to what they have done in the past. And the majority in this convention were old. Even some of the young ones were old. They seemed to think it was personal and impertinent for any one to be chiefly concerned about what they were doing now, or what they were going to do in the future.

"There is no issue at stake!"—"We are all agreed in principle!"—"It is a matter of personal jealousy!"—"If a few so-called leaders would get out of the way, we could have a united party!"—that was the burden of the talk and feeling in the ante-rooms of the convention. I suppose it will be a rather exasperating thing to say, but I felt sorry for a good many of the delegates. They had served their time, they had born the heat of battle when some of us were in our cradles, and then to crown it all they had stood up under the bitter test of the St. Louis declaration, going around their home towns for two years, solitary, vilified, whipped with the hatred of

That is a pretty final attitude to adopt toward all the atrocity-stories that have accompanied this conflict, and it applies equally to both wings. The people who created the Socialists, party all of them have enough healthy anarchy in their blood, to transgress the forms of law when they are aroused over a principle. There is no doubt that they were so aroused, and did so transgress on both sides. And while I think that the principle on the Left side is the true one, and therefore I can applaud their "spunk" a little more heartily than that of the Right, nevertheless I recognize a similar moral quality in them both. "Necessity knows no law," is a maxim that lives in the heart of every live man.

Somebody will ask me just what the principle is upon which this split occurred, and which enabled trustworthy people to commit so many moral and legal atrocities. And I answer, in the most general terms, as follows:

It is question of whether the Socialist theory shall be permitted to recede into the cerebrum, where it becomes a mere matter of creed, ritual and sabbath-day emotion, as the Christian theory has done, or whether it shall be kept in live and going contact with every-day nerves and muscles of action.

Before parting from the picture of the Right Wing convention, I ought to state that a motion endorsing the action of the old N. E. C. in setting aside as invalid the recent election of a new N. E. C., was passed by those remaining in the convention, without a dissenting vote. I ought to record also some of the indignant demands for "justice" to the Left Wing, or what remained of it, which were occasionally voiced by comrades of the right. In particular I preserve a picture of George Goebel's long, earnest and excited figure, darting about over the convention like a superintending dragon-fly. "Aw comrades, let's take a chance on fair play!" was one of his characteristic interpellations.

The Left Wing Convention

It was twilight when the Left Wing delegates convened in the billiard room down stairs—twilight that came dimly through ground glass windows into a low room with dull blue walls. But there was more life to be felt there—life is spontaneous volition—than anywhere else during all the conventions. It seemed as though a thing with growth in it were being born in that place. In the other places whatever came, was engineered into being by the perceptible working of an established machine. This may be—in cold reality—either a good or a bad sign for the Communist Labor Party. I record it simply as a fact.

Wagenknecht, who had been made National Secretary by that Executive Committee whose election was declared invalid upstairs, opened the convention here. The sound of his gavel was greeted with a song and those cheers for which all the delegates stoop up. Wagenknecht's speech was a simple statement that having done everything else in his power to give the membership a chance to express itself, he had summoned the delegates here "as the Regular Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States." He then presided during the election of Owens of Illinois as Temporary Chairman.

Owens is a cripple—pale, but jolly and fearless as crippled people sometimes are. I can remember one sentence of his speech: "We must be ready to back up the revolutionary implications of everything we do here, and if it leads us along with Debs we must be willing to go there."

Margaret Prevey was elected vice-chairman, and soon took Owens' place in the chair. It would have been well if she had stayed there throughout the convention, for she was not prepared in her mind for the actions which were taken on the floor, but she was the most able and good-humored and the best-looking chairman in the place. In its initial mood of exaltation the convention hesitated a little at the election of a sergeant-at-arms, and finally appointed William Bross Lloyd "a sort of page boy." But there was no demur after about three hours of work, when Lloyd asked the chair to appoint "two assistant sergeants-at-arms for the purpose of clearing the aisles."

After sending a greeting to Debs and all class-war-prisoners and accepting the report of the National Executive Committee, the convention proceeded immediately to attempt to achieve unity with the "Communist Convention." C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, who had joined in the call for the Communist Convention, but nevertheless took his seat here for the time, introduced a motion that would have delayed the organization of a party here, until after a consultation could be had with those who were to organize the Communist Party the next day. It

would have been a humble act on the part of these delegates, leading towards a possible submission to the control of the Slavic Federations. It was vigorously, and at times violently opposed—especially by Jack Carney, who declared "before God", as irreligious Irishmen always do, that if this convention went over to the Federations, he would go home and tell the workers of Duluth that there was no part of communism in existence.

John Reed offered to amend Ruthenberg's motion somewhat to the following effect: We declare ourselves to be the party of Communism in the United States and we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us.

Katterfeld of Indiana offered a further amendment, to this effect: We declare ourselves to be the official Socialist Party of the United States, we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us, and we will elect a committee of five to confer with the Committee of the Communist Convention in order to find a basis for uniting the Communist elements in one party. It was amendment (I regret to say not accurately quoted) which finally passed with an almost unanimous vote.

The principal points advanced by speakers, in favor of sacrificing everything to unite with the Communist Convention were these:

- (1) No principles divide us.
- (2) Our unwillingness to do so is due to the personal pride of a few leaders.
- (3) The whole trouble is that "there are too many statesmen in New York."
- (4) The capitalists are uniting, and they will be glad to see us divide.
- (5) It is a cheap satisfaction to say that we organized the party of Communism first.

These points were acknowledged by the opposition, who advanced the following points in favor of organizing a party nevertheless:

- (1) The delegates of the Slavic Federations have already made it clear that they will not admit us, except upon terms which leave their machine in control of the convention.
- (2) They are politicians and political bosses.
- (3) They are at heart against industrial union action in the class struggle.
- (4) They were traitors to the Left Wing program, and the decision of the Left Wing conference in June.
- (5) They are incapable of co-operating with American comrades, they will demand autonomy, and another split will follow.
- (6) It is impossible to start a Communist movement in the American proletariat with a Russian nationalistic group in control.

It was midnight when Katterfeld's motion was passed and the committee elected. And thus having declared itself to be a party—indeed the party—the convention adjourned until morning, when the election of committees for routine work would begin.

The Chicago police supplied the best of all arguments in favor of the Communist Convention. The Right Wing was protected by the police, the Left Wing was ignored, but the hall of the Communist convention was raided, photographs taken, decorations and revolutionary placards destroyed, and two men arrested. Perhaps this argument is a little crippled by the fact that one of the men arrested was a lawyer, and the other was Dennis E. Batt of Detroit, one of the leaders of that Michigan group whose excessively political or educational brand of Communism is the chief weakness of the Convention.

A glowing tribute was paid to the female sex by Detective-Sergeant Egan when he arrested Batt. Rose Pastor Stokes called out: "They are arresting our comrade—three cheers for the revolution!" Egan yelled back: "Shut up—it's always a woman that starts the trouble!"

Batt was informed of the presence of a detective with a warrant for his arrest just before he went on the platform to open the convention, but he was not much disturbed by it. He stood up here looking very four-square, as he is, with a long cigarette holder in his mouth, and a lighted cigarette—defying the regulations just laid down by his own committee if not the laws of the land—and his speech was brief and quiet. He hoped that the delegates would "exercise forbearance in their deliberations and conduct themselves as men and women who have the good of the American working class at heart."

Louis C. Fraina was elected temporary chairman, and made the "key note" speech. It was the same note that he had been sounding all along in the Revolutionary Age, with this significant, if somewhat incredible addition: "We now end once for all all factional disputes. We are at an end with bickering. We are at

LABOR-FREE YOUR PRISONERS

Nationwide Strike to Free Mooney and all Political and Class-War Prisoners. Also a demand upon the Imperialists that they Withdraw from Russia

On October 8th, there is to be a nation-wide strike for the purpose of obtaining the release of ALL political and class-war prisoners and the withdrawal of troops from Russia.

We trust that every worker throughout the land will answer this call and so by the use of the economic power of the workers we will be able to bring the master class to their senses. The worker who is in prison, is there because he has either urged the organization of his class or he has spoken the truth about the world war. It is up to the men of labor to see that all workers in prison are immediately released.

Furthermore, there is no real reason why the working class should assist the ruling class of America to drown the Russian Republic in seas of blood. The Longshoremen of Seattle refuse to load munitions for Koltchak. We hope that every longshoreman in the country will follow the stirring example set by Seattle. We would like to see the railroad brotherhoods refuse to transport them. Those of you who read this paper and are a member of the brotherhoods agitate in your unions for the withdrawal of TROOPS and SUPPLIES from Russia. To think that the lives of those men who died in Europe were wasted. That is all they were—wasted. Where is the so-called democracy that finds American soldiers on the side of a degenerate ruler like Koltchak, fighting against the rising working class of Russia?

On October 8th, you will have a chance to prove your loyalty to your class. On that day all men and women with red blood in their veins, will be striking.

WHAT WILL YOU BE DOING?

It depends upon your own self. The time is short. Call a meeting of the boys on the job and arrange a strike committee at once. Shut down every factory, mine and shop and inform your BOSS that you are out on strike because your fellow worker is in prison. Tell him to see to it that all prisoners are handed back to the labor movement. The men and women who are in prison are there because they thought more of the freedom of their class, than they did of their own personal freedom. They lie in U. S. prisons and suffer the tortures of hell and the horrors of the modern Inquisition. THEY ARE DOING THIS FOR YOU, WHAT ARE YOU DOING FOR THEM? Men and women of the labor movement, on October 8th show that you are real. Let your red blood flow and act like men and women who understand and appreciate the sacrifices that have been made for you.

October 8th brings to you the message of solidarity. You of the working class must on that day come together. United, LABOR CONQUERS ALL; divided it remains the tool of the master class. United, resolute, determined and refusing to be side-tracked by specious promises and arrangements, the working class nationally and internationally can consolidate its ranks, and prepare, first for the clearing the ground of the encumbrances of autocracy and despotism, industrial and political; and secondly for the building of a new society. Those who do the work of the world have the FIRST CLAIM to the good things of the earth, which without their labor could not be produced, but which, because they have so far not had the will to prevent it, have been stolen from them by a master class whose usefulness in society has long passed away. A glorious future awaits us and calls us on. Today in Russia they call on you to lend them your assistance, so that they may erect the Workers' Republic of Russia. In the American prisons there are other workers calling on you to lend your assistance, so that they may once again take their position in the revolutionary army of the working class. Our own class interests demand that we shall obey the call of October 8th and march shoulder to shoulder, skilled and unskilled, men and women, all banded together for one common purpose—the winning of true freedom.

RELEASE ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS!

HANDS OFF RUSSIA!

GET OFF OUR BACKS!

an end with controversy. We are here to build a party of action."

Considering that the convention was to spend the remaining hours of that day until well after midnight, and all of the next day until late afternoon, in a looked battle between its two factions on the question whether or not it would deign to elect a committee of five to meet the committee elected by a third faction represented in the Left Wing Convention—Fraina's promise seemed a little bit premature.

To anyone interested in brains for brains' sake, this battle was vividly entertaining. It was brilliant, sharp, rapid, full of poignant contrasts in personality, far more philosophic, more erudite, more at ease in the Marxian dialect, than anything to be heard at either of the other conventions. The points made by those opposing the election of a "conciliatory" committee was that the elements who had bolted from the old Socialist Party with the Left Wing were not true Communists. They were "centrists", "Kautskians", in some cases mere radicals who objected to the tyranny of the party officials. All but a few, at least, of the true Communists had abandoned the Left Wing program of capturing the party, and come directly to this communist convention.

The point made by those advocating conciliation was that, although undoubtedly some Kautskians and centrists were to be found in the other convention, they were not predominant, and they were not any more predominant than the centrists in this present convention—the "Michigan crowd" being those alluded to.

Having already attended a session of the other convention, and satisfied myself that there were really many delegates there who had no understanding of the Moscow program, and whose revolt against the old party was but an emotional reaction against the acts of its officials, I was rather friendly to the opposition in this debate. I cannot divide and classify people, and place them so accurately in the various pigeon-holes of the Marxian theory, in advance of their acts, as most of these speakers could; but I fully realize the necessity of casting out of the concept of proletarian solidarity, not only the Scheidemanns and Noskes who murder the revolution with machine guns, but also the Kautskys, the Longuets and MacDonalds, who poison it with passivity and negative thoughts. That peculiar state of mind described by Lenin as the "wavering centre," expressing the fluctuating will of those economic classes not wholly bourgeois, nor yet wholly proletarian, is an identifiable thing, and a thing that must be regarded as hostile in the period of the actual breakdown of capitalism.

In spite of my realization of this fact, however, and a prepossession that had been growing in favor of the "Communist Convention," I was discouraged by what I heard in the course of this debate, and when the opposition won, and the Left Wing convention was given the cold shoulder by a vote of 75 to 31, I felt like going back to the Left Wing convention.

It is not easy to tell exactly why, but after I recovered from admiring the mere quantity of abstract intellectuality which filled the air, my mind began to grow a little tired, as it does at a game of chess, with so many problems that are unrelated to reality or action. Along towards ten or eleven o'clock a realization stole into my head that there was something a little childish, a little sophomoric, in all this exaggerated statesmanship. I saw in the flesh that academic and rather wordy self-importance which has characterized the official literature of the Left Wing, and made it get so much on my nerves, as well as on the nerves of the I. W. W. editors. The political and educational expression of the class struggle is always excessively loud and distressing, like the racing of a motor when you detach it from the running-gear without shutting off the gas, and in this group of self-consciously detached and perfect Bolsheviks that impression was exaggerated almost to the point of burlesque.

"Our purpose is to organize a real, a pure communist party," said comrade Lunin. "We will allow the delegates of the other convention to come to our credentials committee one by one, and we will examine them thoroughly to find out if they are communists or not. For you can not become a communist in one day—no, nor in two days, nor in three days, nor in a year. Even in Russia it takes plenty of time to make a true Bolshevik." Like most of the Slavic Federation leaders, Lunin was himself a Menshevik only about a year ago.

"Give them the test of humiliation," said another earnest youth. "Demand that they come here and ask admission to this convention. This humiliation will test the sincerity of their revolutionary principles."

"Let them come here and sit in our convention without a voice," said Nicholas Hourwich. "We are perfectly willing to allow them to sit here. They might learn something. They might even learn enough to go next time to the communist convention." Hourwich is the editor of the Russian daily, Novy Mir—a strange, intense and intensely impractical intellectual gnome, with feminine gesture and attitude, but a kind of obdurate unsentimental force. He observed the ruthless workings of his political machine with so infinitely complacent a smile on his features, that I could not help feeling glad he was so happy.

The only effective opposition he received was from Fraina and I. E. Ferguson of Chicago, who made gnashing and spirited attacks upon this machine that was rolling over them, to the added delight of its engineers. "That man is a communist," said Fraina, "who happens to agree with your particular purposes at a particular moment. While you were boasting of the purity of your communism, you have made unholy deals with those whom you know and admit are not communists."

"The real question is," said Ferguson, "Do you want to exclude English speaking delegates from the floor of this convention. It is not whether you want to exclude centrists. The test of a communist for you is when or where one chooses to organize the communist party."

At the conclusion of the same speech he said: "I don't want you to lose control of this convention, because I know that your control means that we will have a real communist party in the United States." I do not know how to reconcile these two statements, and I do not believe Ferguson does either, but he was sincerely convinced of them both.

My impression was—to sum it up—that the heads of the Slavic Socialist Machine are in a mood for the organization of a Russian Bolshevik church, with more interest in expelling heretics than winning converts, and with a pretty fixed opinion that although Americans must perforce be admitted to the church they must not be admitted in such numbers as to endanger the machine's hold upon the dogmas and the collection box. (It is their mood, not their conscious intent, that these words describe.) And it seems to me that what has compelled some at least of the American comrades to accept the dictation of this machine, and try to form an American proletarian party with so preposterous a handicap, is that inward dread of not proving sufficiently revolutionary which hounds us all. It hounds us because we are conscious of the continual temptation of respectability and personal prudence, and because we see so many of our fighting comrades lose their courage and fall by the wayside. It is a wholesome dread. But we ought to be sufficiently sure we are revolutionary, so that we have a good deal of energy left for trying to be intelligent. And it is not intelligent to start the American Communist Party with a mixture of theological zeal, machine politics and nationalistic egoism in control.

Taking Fraina's and Ferguson's own characterization of these Federations, without adding a word, there is enough reason for desiring that they should function by themselves as a Slavic Communist Party, and that the American party should begin elsewhere, more modestly, and more in proportion to the actual state of the revolutionary movement in America. I could not help thinking what Lenin himself would do to this group who are trying to bluff us in the name of our internationalism, into accepting a nationalistic control of the movement.

Some similar thoughts must have entered the minds of the American delegates, for after this session was over and the vote taken, they delivered an ultimatum to the Federations, stating that they would bolt the convention and go home, if the vote was not rescinded, and the committee appointed. Accordingly the convention was adjourned, and the next morning and afternoon devoted to a caucus of the Slavic machine. Then the convention was called together again about five o'clock, and the vote rescinded—unanimously. It is a formidable machine that can reverse 75 votes without a slip, without allowing one single individual opinion to record itself. It commands admiration. But I think there is a discouraging lack of realism and the sense of workmanship in a convention that will spend twenty-four hours fighting over the appointment of a committee, when it is clearly obvious all the time that the committee will do exactly the same thing that the convention would have done if the committee had not been appointed.

The committee did, of course, go up to the convention of the Left

(Continued on page 7)

A STATEMENT and A CHALLENGE

By Nicolai Lenin.

When compared with feudalism, Capitalism is a historical advance along the line of liberty, democracy, civilization. But, nevertheless, Capitalism is and remains the system of wage-slavery, of enslavement of millions of toilers, of workers and peasants, to a little minority of modern slave drivers; the landowners and capitalists.

Bourgeois democracy has changed the form of this economic slavery, as compared with feudalism, and has created an especially splendid cover in order to conceal it, but has not and could not change its essence. Capitalism and bourgeois democracy are wage-slavery.

The gigantic progress of things in general, and of means of communication in particular, the boundless growth of capital and of the banks, have resulted in Capitalism's becoming mature and over-mature. It has outlived itself. It has become the most reactionary hindrance to human progress.

It has reduced itself to the almighty power of a handful of millionaires, who send the people to the chambers in order to decide whether the German shall supersede the English influence, for "mandates for administration," and so on. During the war of 1914-18 tens of millions of human beings were killed or mutilated for that purpose and for that alone.

The recognition of this truth is spreading with insuperable force and swiftness among the masses of toilers in all countries, and the more in consequence of the fact that the war has everywhere resulted in exhaustion and poverty, and that the war interests and debts have to be paid everywhere, even among the people called "victors." And what are these interests? They are the tribute of the masses to the millionaires, because the latter have been so kind as to allow to the tens of millions of workers and peasants to kill and mutilate one another.

The most that the Capitalists--the bourgeoisie can do, is to delay the victory of Socialism in one or the other separate country, at the price of the extermination of thousands more of workers and peasants. To save Capitalism is impossible for them.

Its successor has become the Soviet Republic, which gives power to the toilers, and only to the toilers, which entrusts the proletariat with the guidance of the work of their liberation, which abolishes private property of land, factories and means of production, because this private property is the source of the exploitation of the many by the few, the source of the misery of the masses, the source of the predatory wars among peoples, and enriches only the Capitalists. The victory of the International Soviet Republic is sure.

The American bourgeoisie delivered the people, and boasts of the liberty, equality and democracy, reigning in its country. But neither this nor any other bourgeoisie, neither the American nor any other Capitalist Government in the world, will be able or will dare to take up a challenge with our Government in the matter of real liberty, equality and democracy.

Let us suppose, for example, that a treaty between our Government

and some Capitalist Government allows to both liberty of exchange of pamphlets, which, in the name of the respective governments, are to be published in any language, and to contain the text of the laws of the respective country and of its constitution with the explanation of their superiority as compared with others.

No bourgeois government in the world will dare to adopt such a peaceful, equal and democratic treaty with us. Why not? Because all the governments, with the exception of the Soviet government, rest upon oppression and deception of the masses.

But the great war of 1914-1918 has smashed the great falsehood.

NOTE:—Late in July the United Press obtained an interview with Lenin by wireless from Buda Pesth. Lenin prefaced his answers to their questions with the following sentence: "I answer the five questions put to me under the condition that the written promise given me be fulfilled, that my answer will be published without alteration or mutilation in over one hundred papers in the United States of North America."

After answering the five questions Lenin said: "In addition I would like to make the following statement to the American people." This gave the United Press a loop-hole, and they sent out his answers as they had promised, but suppressed his statement as "unadulterated Bolshevik propaganda."

The above is an accurate copy of his statement. Is there any American patriot who can answer it?

The Liberator.

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ATTEND THESE MEETINGS EVEN IF YOU HAVE
TO FIRE THE BOSS

BRITISH RAILROADS COMPLETELY TIED UP

Engineers and Firemen
Go Out in Sympathy
With Other Rail-
way Workers

Anarchism Says Lloyd George
Bunk Say the Workers.

The biggest tie-up of industry that has ever taken place in the history of England, is how the railway strike has been described by practically every capitalist paper on both sides of the Atlantic. Virtually every railway line and station is closed up and all railway traffic is at a complete standstill in England, Scotland and Wales.

Premier Lloyd George declared that the strike is an "anarchist conspiracy". The men reply that this idea of the Premier's is all pure bunk. It is the reply of the railroad workers to the Government's refusal to grant the demands of the men, which are not anarchistic, but the usual demands of strikers, shorter hours, wages etc.

The following organizations have struck, National Union of Railway Men and the Society of Firemen and Engineers. The Miners and the Transport Unions, the latter of which includes the longshoremen, are expected at any moment to down tools in sympathy with the railway workers.

The Irish Sea steamers and railway boats, that play between Wales, England and Ireland are also tied up and soon it is expected that England, Wales and Scotland will be completely isolated from the outside world.

The effect on business is disastrous. Those who want to work cannot arrive, due to lack of transportation facilities and those who can are likely to strike in sympathy. The busmen, street-car conductors, drivers etc. and the taxi-men will not assist in breaking the strike by transporting those who are able to pay huge sums for being carried to work. It is expected that ALL means of transport will be tied up. So as to make the tie-up absolutely complete, without any danger of using one section against the other.

As per usual "all the resources of the State" will be used to break the strike. But the present morale of the Army and the Navy is not very promising and so very few soldiers will be found who will take the job of scabbing.

The mining industry has been affected by the strike. The cars that are filled that cannot be moved and empty cars cannot be brought in to be filled, so the miners had to quit.

A REAL TREAT AWAITING YOU

A well written PAMPHLET, crammed full of telling facts. It takes you straight into MEXICO. J. E. Snyder, Editor "The World", Oakland, Cal. The "CONSPIRACY AGAINST MEXICO" is a pamphlet from a straight front, it tells of the PETRO-LEUM and the influence of the JESUIT and the Money Lords of ENGLAND and AMERICA. It should be carefully read by every American Work-
man.
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BOLSHEVIKI INDORSED

Utah State Federation of
Labor Approves of
Their Rule

Salt Lake City, Utah.—The Bolshevik regime in Russia was indorsed by the Utah State Federation of Labor at its fifteenth annual convention recently concluded here. The delegates went on record by a vote of 4 to 13 favoring the Soviet Government, and demanded that American troops should be withdrawn from Russian soil.

James P. Bales, who was elected president of the federation at the convention, in speaking in support of the Bolshevik Government, addressed the delegates as "Brother Bolsheviks."

The convention adopted a resolution against the invasion of Mexico and indorsed a "hands off" policy in dealing with the Mexican situation. Other resolutions were: that convicted profiteers should be sentenced to 20 years in prison without the option of a fine; for continued federal control of railroads; abolition of the contract system between employers and employees; the raising of the blockade of Russian and Austrian ports; recognition of the "Irish Republic"; protest against the "railroading" of Thomas J. Mooney and Warren K. Billings to the penitentiary in connection with the San Francisco Preparedness Day bomb outrage, and higher pay for postal employees.

STRIKE IN VIRGINIA

Latz Bros. Employees
Strike

Messrs. Latz Bros., the well known dry cleaners and dyers of Virginia, like all other dry cleaners in the district, found it necessary to raise the price of dry cleaning etc. 25 %. This was due to an increase in the cost of dyes etc. The men and women who work for Latz Bros, due to the increased cost of living, also desire an increase. They claim and rightly claim that \$15.00 for a woman and \$30.00 for a man is not a living wage, it is a camouflage for even a wage.

Latz Bros. are completely tied up. They have one boy working for them. We wish to offer a word of advice, and perhaps we may be betraying personal friends, but we advise the strikers to keep their eyes upon Hibbing. See that no work goes from Virginia to Hibbing.

ALL DRY CLEANERS ARE
REQUESTED TO KEEP AWAY
FROM VIRGINIA WHILST THE
STRIKE IS ON.

It seems to be the fashion to strike. So do not fail to strike on October 8th for the release of all class-war prisoners.

PEACE WHERE THERE IS NO PEACE!

Manifesto of the Social
Democratic League of
New South Wales

Comrades of the Proletariat.—For four and a half years blood-soaked Armageddon has raged and now, by Governmental proclamation, you are compelled to celebrate a "victorious peace."

A "Victorious Peace"—the irony of it! Let us pass on to consider what it is.

From thousands of miles across the seas there comes to this land of Australia the vision of a group of aged men steeped in conservatism, representative of the ruling class of France, America, Italy, and England, croaking solemnly over a set of conditions drawn up for the object of bringing to an end the hideous slaughter, as though they had not borne their full share in the common responsibility for the prolongation of such.

To this doddering compact the representatives of the ruling class of an allegedly vanquished Germany have placed their aristocratic signatures in acceptance thereof. Thus you, the working class of Australia, are commanded by your Government, representative of your ruling class, to don festive garb on the nineteenth day of this July and to rejoice, and to be glad, and to celebrate — what? — a "Victorious Peace."

Peace! What mockery! Rejoice and be glad! What ghastly hypocrisy!

Peace—when millions of your brother workers of the world, who have gasped out their dying breath in a welter of blood in the interests of their masters, yet lie half rotted to putrefaction upon those who yet live!

Peace—when disease and starvation are rife in your midst; when the very children stricken with the plague that comes from the half-buried soldier corpses sob out their young lives in a howling, wailing for bread!

Peace—when the armies of France, America and England are, without declaration of war, seeking to destroy the newly-won liberties of the Russian workers.

Peace—when men and women, aye, and children, soldiers of the industrial army, are daily maimed and broken in the fields, the factories, and the workshops, where they are driven by every effort imaginable to speed on the production of profits. Profits. Profits for the exploiters of their labour power!

Peace—when throughout the world the soldier, who was lured into the belief that he was playing his part in the recent blood orgy in order to make the world "safe for democracy," now raises his hands in supplication for a master to purchase the shattered remnants of his energy in order that he may get bread—when the loved of his wom-

UNIONS ON STRIKE AGAINST STEEL TRUST

Blacksmiths, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Builders of America.
Brick and Clay Workers.
United Bricklayers, Plasterers and Masons.
Coopers' International Union.
Electrical Workers Brotherhood.
Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America.
Iron, Steel and Tinplate Workers.
International Machinists.
Metal Polishers Union of America.
Mine, Mill and Melter Workers International Union.
Mine Workers, United.
Molders' Union, International.
Pattern Makers' League of N. America.
Plumbers' and Steam Fitters International Union.
Quarry Workers' International Union.
Railway Carmen of America.
Seamen's Union.
Sheet Metal Workers.
Stationary Firemen and Oilers.
Steam and Operating Engineers.
Steam Shovel and Dredgemen.
Switchmen's Union.

en-folk are scourged into the streets by hunger to lurchingly offer up for sale their sex within the very shadows of the edifices of the culture profiteers, who have feasted and grown fat upon the bloody spoils of war.

Peace—when the price of food-stuffs are being raised and the necessities of life being cornered with a revolting disregard of suffering caused!

Peace—when armed forces are being used to coerce the peoples of India, Egypt and Ireland with a brutality before unknown! Peace—when a blockade whose one object is starvation continues against a country alleged to have been crushed into submission! Peace—when revolt is the order of the day, and only by strikes can the workers hope to wring from their exploiters the pittance that they dare to claim as rightfully theirs!

Peace! It is a shallow mockery! There can be no Peace while present system of society exists, in which the privileged few live on the exploitation and misery of the many.

Comrades of the Proletariat, awaken! Rise in your might and shake off the shackles that kind you! "Emancipation from wage slavery!" That is the cry of the working class! Throughout the world it is ringing and will not be silenced!

Here in your midst the class war, the only war that concerns you, is raging in all its terrible intensity, and, standing as one regardless of empires and frontiers, ye will form a battle front the gates of Hell shall not prevail against.

VANCE MARSHALL (Gen. Sec.).
H. CHARLESWORTH (Organiser).

CANNOT IMAGINE

"There are apostles of Lenin in our midst. I cannot imagine what it means to be an apostle of Lenin," says Wilson.

There are several hundred million apostles of Lenin in the world, and it might be a good idea to quit trying to imagine, and buckle down and find out. It is all contained in the brief statement which we publish this month. Will somebody please show it to Wilson?

Senator Johnson asked the President whether he had any knowledge of the "Secret Treaties" prior to the conference at Paris.

The President answered: "No, sir I can confidently answer that question, no, in regard to myself."

The publication of these treaties in Russia was almost the most startling diplomatic event of the

entire war. They were discussed in Associated Press despatches, United Press despatches, news stories, articles, editorials throughout the world. They were reproduced in full by the New York Evening Post. Everybody who knows anything about current history knew about the secret treaties. It seems as though the president was offered a choice between appearing as an imbecile and appearing as a liar, and he chose both.

The Longshoremen of Seattle have refused to load munitions destined for Kolchak's army the best news of the month.

—LIBERATOR.

MAD DANCE ROUND CORPSES

Tsarist Colonel's Savage
Gloating Over Hun-
dred Victims

Stockholm, Sept. 12th.—The report of the Hadji Lashet murder case, which has just been published, is the longest document of its kind in Swedish police history. It comprises 500 typewritten pages.

The effect of the document is to represent Hadji Lashet as a unique type of criminal with brutal instincts, who committed the murders with the object of obtaining large sums of money and valuables, while his accomplices "entered the Anti-Bolshevik organization from an ideal motive."

For God and the Tsar! The conclusion arrived at is that these accomplices were led away by the apparently patriotic argument of the Cossack Colonel, who declared that his purpose was to reestablish Tsardom in Russia and to regain possession of half a milliard roubles and the Crown jewels, which had been brought to Sweden by Bolshevik agents.

Hadji Lashet's own statements are described as a tangle of truth and fantastic lies. The confession of his accomplices show that they realized that they had been misled by Hadji Lashet, whose foremost motive was to obtain money, large amounts of which he had sent to his wife, who is in France and whom he intended to join shortly after giving up the organization in Sweden.

The report gives lurid descriptions of the murders. Hadji Lashet, it is alleged, strangled his victims with his own hands and afterwards, in a seizure of frenzy, jumped, danced and shouted, and pulled a cord tied around the victims' necks.—Reuter.



Overcoats

Order your overcoat before the cold
weather sets in.

O.P. LANGDAHL

18 N. 21st Ave. W.

WORKERS MUST STRIKE FOR RELEASE CLASS-WAR PRISONERS

By James H. Fisher.

Listen all of you that have ears to hear. See, you that have eyes to see. For I am Capital, Emperor of all the World, excepting hateful Russia. I am the ethical and moral code. I am the Lawmaker, the Judge of Right and Wrong. It is I who define Justice and tell you what Freedom means. I am The God and the only God; I have Worshipers more than any. Wars are my speciality; lives to me are naught. Statesmen court and fatter me. Editors I buy and sell. Kings are my Pawns, Professions my Handmaids. I am the Mother of the Terms of Peace, the League of Nations. Race Hatred I adore, Child Slavery I practice, Secret Treaties, I engage in; the Solidarity of Labor is my only fear. This day I hold court. Bring in the prisoners.

Your Majesty, the first prisoner is charged 'with having exploited the workingclass of ninety million dollars. What is your verdict?

I give him further rights to rob and plunder in ratio to the Capital at his command.

Your Majesty, the second prisoner is charged with having stolen bread to feed her young. What is your verdict?

To make more bitter yet, her poverty, I sentence the culprit to three months imprisonment.

Your Majesty, the third prisoner is charged with dribbling hypocrisy. What is your verdict?

Make him President.

Your Majesty, the fourth prisoner has 'Conscientious scruples about killing others.' What is your verdict?

Damn his honesty. Ten years.

Your Majesty, the case before you now is that of a Corporation Gunman, he is charged 'with having shot and killed a striking Miner.' What is your verdict?

Increase his pay.

Your Majesty, this case at your disposal is one in which the housewife of a certain deceased wage-earner lays claim for Compensation, stating that her husband the father of four children was killed in the Shipyards due to the Employers Speeding for Profit. What is your verdict?

In the process of My Justice, there are Technicalities, and on one of these, I dismiss the case.

Your Majesty, the next case is one of Profiteering. What is your wish?

Why bring this honorable Gentleman before me. Go your way Sir and increase your profits.

Your Majesty, this man shot at Clemenceau, commonly known as the Tiger. What is your sentence?

Death.

Your Majesty, the prisoner before you is the murderer of Jules Jaures the great Socialist of France. What shall be done with him?

Do him honor, give him leisure, and praise him in your Daily Newspapers.

Your Majesty, there are many cases yet to come before you, Murder, embezzlement, highway robbery, swindling and a score of liars. What do you desire?

Treat them all according to their class position, their property holdings, but let the liars loose, we need them in the Press.

Are there any more to come before me this day?

Just one, Your Majesty. A Class War Prisoner charged with having challenged your right, to fool, rule, and rob. What is your verdict?

A Rebel in my dominions? What have you to say, you agitating slave? Speak before I sentence you, for all the offenders, none madden me more than who would educate and organize labor. Speak, for I must listen, though every word pierce and cut me through.

The worker rises.

"Yes, Your Satanic Majesty, I will speak and though you sentence me and mine into your graves called jails our message will go forward until you are dragged from your throne and all your benefactors put to work.

"You may send me to join the thousands, of other class war prisoners that are already in your dark tombs, but the truth of our class will and shall be heard. Labor produces all wealth. Capital is non-producing. The working class and the capitalist class have nothing in common. Your morality, religion, politics, your concepts of right and wrong, of justice, freedom and democracy are but the reflections of the manner and the way in which wealth is produced and distributed under your robber regims. Every ounce of Profit you ever pocket, comes from the sweat and blood of the working class. We toil for you in the factories, we bleed for you on the battlefields, we feed, clothe, and house you. Our comrades in Europe starve but all you offer is your bayonets. You take from the tiny mouths of sucking babes the last drop that would save their lives. Your system is bankrupt, your economic structure wrecked, you have nothing to give, no remedy to offer, but still you cling and hang. Get off our backs, and there will be no poverty, no wars, no high cost of living. Get down and let the workers who mind the machines, who till the soil, who create the wealth; own and enjoy the fruits of their toil. Your hypocrisies cry to the very heavens, for whilst you scream freedom you are stabbing our Russian comrades in the back. Get out of Russia, you incarnation of greed. Get out. Let them tend their own affairs. Haven't they fed, and bled for you long enough. Didn't they pile their dead high, in your war for the Dardanelles? Didn't you satisfy yourself, with the tens of thousands, that you sent over the frozen steppes to Siberia? With the use of your knout? With your Bloody Fridays? Russia will build the first Communist Society if you do not murder her, during the struggle of transition. Your Satanic Majesty, you've played your part, now make your exit. Your tyranny is unequalled. Our class is suffering bitterly under your whip. You have sent our Gene to jail. You have sent him for life, for ten years to him, means life. O'Hare, Haywood, Wells, thousands more are sinking in your bastiles. You are torturing them, as in days of old. You know Mooney did not throw the bomb, but you hold him still in jail. You are deporting men and women simply because they challenge your pirate rule. But listen, as you told us. The Twilight of your reign has come. We are educating and organizing. We are getting together. We will forget your national boundaries, we will unite as an International working class. We will be tame. History is as much with us as it is against you. As your power decays ours grows stronger. The jail doors will yet be opened, the Commonwealth of the Working class is as sure as the rising sun. Long Live the Solidarity of Labor.

His Majesty trembles, as he yells—

"Twenty Years."

The Forge.

CAN "CAPITAL AND LABOR" UNITE?

The President has called a meeting of CAPITAL and LABOR, as he calls it, for the purpose of bringing about social peace. The press is assisting the President, by endeavoring to prove that the interests of the working class and the capitalist class are identical. They also say that WAGES are the reward paid to the workers for work done and that PROFIT is the reward paid to the Capitalist for the benefit he confers on society by making use of his money or allowing someone else to use it. Sometimes they vary the argument by insisting that the Capitalist must receive a profit in return for the risk he runs in allowing his wealth to be invested in an industry.

It is hardly necessary for us to say that we do not accept that view, but for the sake of argument, let us assume it to be a sound one and see where it will lead us.

First of All Let Us Consider the Worker

The workers obtains a job and receives his wages. These wages are usually all spent in maintaining himself and his family in a very meagre way of life. At the end of a few years, generally when old age is creeping along, he finds, that if he has been sick or laid off from work by an accident, that he is

in exactly the same position as he was in when he first started out on the job. That is from a financial standpoint, but from the standpoint of health he is worse off. He is older and has lost much of the vitality that he once possessed. He is older and NO better off.

Now Let us Consider the Capitalist

He invests his wealth. The probability is that he received that wealth by inheritance, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and J. P. Morgan, for instance, and did nothing to merit his good fortune. Having invested it, he waits for the mail man to bring to him his dividend coupons, and his secretary clips them for him and swells the bank account of the capitalist, not the secretary. He finds that the dividends from his first investment give his sufficient surplus to re-invest the dividends. The original capital remains the same. It is still the same as it was when it was originally invested, but it has increased in value. The life of the worker wears out, but the capital of the capitalist increases. A mere difference?

Let us take some examples of how capital does NOT wear out. We here publish a list of the profits made by American corporation during the years 1916-7-8.

NET INCOMES OF REPRESENTATIVE INDUSTRIAL CORPORATIONS FOR PRE-WAR PERIOD, 1916-17-18				
Company or Corporation. Average for pre-War Period.	1916.	1917.	1918.	
American Agricultural Chemical Co.	2,475,609	5,445,527	5,546,356	8,044,979
American Beet Sugar Co.	1,246,650	2,445,190	4,882,980	1,887,638
American Can Co.	5,195,003	7,962,981	11,892,859	6,000,827
American Car & Foundry Co.	3,467,538	2,816,618	10,310,872	11,281,742
American Cotton Oil Co.	1,194,339	2,028,459	1,534,042	1,661,328
American Locomotive Co.	3,872,807	10,769,429	7,210,680	5,911,134
American Smelting & Refining Co.	9,060,396	22,152,250	18,495,625	7,707,499
American Steel Founders	517,430	3,418,057	5,025,677	2,386,097
American Sugar Refining Co.	5,751,638	8,319,832	8,212,787	8,434,375
American Sumatra Tobacco Co.	223,609	267,653	1,019,607	2,164,655
American Tobacco Co.	20,189,936	12,298,057	13,310,685	16,613,040
American T. & T. Co.	30,905,434	38,013,277	38,471,106	43,906,322
American Zinc, Lead & Smelting Co.	197,384	9,307,968	1,780,764	911,416
Armour & Co.	4,746,632	20,100,000	21,955,663	15,247,838
Associated Oil Co.	1,606,367	3,198,389	3,841,789	4,541,307
Baldwin Locomotive Works	3,653,287	2,619,466	8,305,722	5,752,295
Barrett Co. (American Coal Prod.)	1,221,815	4,247,857	3,461,388	3,614,253
Bethlehem Steel Corporation	3,075,108	43,593,968	27,320,737	16,000,000 (approx.)
Brown Shoe Company	710,463	1,467,750	1,668,560	1,338,385
Butte & Superior Mining Co.	942,888	6,365,399	72,911	628,349
Calumet & Arizona Mining Co.	2,966,934	11,155,004	6,628,501	4,086,238
Central Leather Company	3,472,804	15,489,202	14,404,855	6,476,434
Colorado Fuel & Iron Company	1,596,031	2,301,170	3,979,469	2,732,046
Continental Can Company	788,016	2,143,554	3,280,977	2,499,043
Corn Products Refining Co.	2,046,781	6,083,746	11,348,460	8,652,401
Cramp, Wm. & Sons, Ship & Engine Bldg. Co.	173,651	1,087,704	1,288,927	2,398,413
Crucible Steel Company	3,629,467	13,223,656	12,282,358	13,812,128
Cuban-American Sugar Co.	409,988	8,235,112	6,256,080	4,227,202
Distillers Securities Corporation	614,791	4,651,686	4,790,433	2,269,615
DuPont (E. I.) de Nemours & Co.	5,525,964	82,107,693	49,258,662	43,998,075
General Chemical Company	2,067,548	9,695,188	7,071,181	3,632,069
General Motors Company	4,557,358	28,789,256	25,079,226	15,391,028
Goodrich (B. F.)	3,040,745	9,447,299	10,505,490	15,587,122
Hercules Powder Company	1,017,212	16,658,873	5,822,462	2,315,693
International Agricultural Corporation	966,750	1,186,231	1,418,544	1,168,242
International Nickel Co.	4,125,955	11,748,270	13,557,970	10,129,988
International Paper Co.	1,105,913	4,620,727	8,180,787	5,152,278
Lackawanna Steel Co.	1,282,500	12,218,234	16,106,976	8,348,354
Mexican Petroleum Co., Ltd., of Delaware	3,139,560	7,158,060	4,980,020	4,752,222
Miami Copper Company	1,296,602	5,852,560	3,204,261	2,889,532
National Enameling & Stamping Co.	728,952	1,917,803	4,245,555	2,773,205
Nevada Consolidated Copper Company	3,419,266	15,002,051	9,937,599	3,459,880
Morris & Company (Packers)	1,588,799	3,632,213	5,301,071	4,217,859
Phelps-Dodge Corporation	7,442,399	21,974,263	22,456,906	15,946,983
Pittsburgh Coal Company	2,047,896	3,143,927	14,076,852	7,167,374
Pittsburgh Steel Company	1,191,855	4,564,067	7,811,444	4,556,113
Pressed Steel Car Company	1,412,665	2,751,152	2,130,308	3,956,786
Railway Steel Spring Co.	1,276,808	3,710,805	4,307,859	3,120,009
Ray, Cons. Copper Company	1,634,365	11,716,428	9,701,170	4,652,541
Republic Iron & Steel Co.	2,265,694	14,789,162	15,857,197	7,781,985
Sears, Roebuck & Company	8,111,749	16,488,622	14,119,328	12,704,064
Shattuck Arizona Copper Co.	1,115,504	3,039,077	713,641	243,468
Sloss-Sheffield & Iron	545,457	1,990,674	2,087,373	1,972,071
Standard Oil Co. of Indiana	14,687,696	30,043,614	25,408,931	3,263,879
Standard Oil Co. of Kansas	1,509,408	1,270,314	1,422,981	1,413,890
Standard Oil Co. of California	9,877,964	17,605,304	18,649,630	14,553,074
Standard Oil Co. of Kentucky	1,002,458	2,068,598	1,701,156	1,463,948
Studebaker Corporation	2,184,383	8,611,245	3,500,741	3,884,195
Swift & Company	7,879,167	20,465,000	24,650,000	21,156,277
Texas Company (Oil)	3,856,667	13,898,862	19,724,526	20,640,991
United Cigar Stores	1,561,583	2,819,072	2,873,500	4,010,105
United Fruit Company	4,978,043	11,943,151	13,037,955	14,094,047
U. S. Rubber Company	6,661,777	11,226,208	15,340,577	10,072,042
U. S. Smelting, Refining & Mining Co.	3,552,988	8,898,464	3,505,315	4,775,090
U. S. Steel Corporation	63,585,777	271,531,730	224,219,565	125,318,368
Utah Copper Company	7,733,435	39,738,675	28,695,495	18,945,781
Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co.	2,177,807	4,507,549	4,656,387	8,384,669
Westinghouse Airbrake Co.	3,934,661	9,585,928	6,388,463	7,461,900
Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co.	3,581,966	9,666,789	18,079,889	15,495,681
Willis-Overland Company	5,653,929	10,884,383	6,121,544	5,536,265
Wilson & Company (Packers)	1,344,936	4,913,873	6,504,422	7,631,235
Grand total.	\$35,797,661	\$1,070,342,983	\$975,573,296	\$736,068,796

We could with very little difficulty prolong this list until we had filled up the whole of this issue of Truth, but enough has been written to show that the existing system is a very good one for the CAPITALIST, but it leads the worker a helluva of a dance. There is no identity of interests, no mutuality, nothing but profits for the capitalist and work for the workers.

In every case given above the employer is continually improving his position; he draws interest and his capital grows bigger. In the vast majority of cases, he has received more than he ever paid in.

It is because this system is so generous to the capital that the employing class are so anxious to prolong its life. They will use any means to destroy those who desire to destroy their order. Whether this means shooting down women, like the Steel Trust, bolstering up the rotten, degenerate Koltchaks or killing strikers at home. Our reply to the capitalist system is no quarter. We will organize our forces and match power with power.

Let the capitalist class howl about Bol-

shevism, but by their very greed and selfishness they are hurrying on the culmination of the glorious Social Revolution, which shall universally end their reign of brutal exploitation. The half of Europe is seething with revolution, it is almost in the hands of the working class, and we must watch and wait—our opportunity is coming; evolution moves on, and in the red glow of the sunset we look and read anew the sings of the times and see our duty clear and unmistakable. Take your stand for International Communism now, and Russia, backed up by the workers of Hungary, Italy, and perhaps even Germany, shall prevail against the enemies of the working class. Confidently we look the capitalist class square in the face, for we realize that the battering ram of facts material is surely hurling their crumbling edifice into the limbo of pre-history. Train your hands and train your sons' hand, and your daughters too, ye gentlemen of the Capitalist class, because in the days which are to come, both you and they will have to use them.

REPORT OF AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION CONGRESS

By H. SNEEVLIET.

(Reprinted from Glasgow Socialist)
The delegates of nearly 17 million Trade Unionists, representing the united workers in 14 countries, met at Amsterdam from July 28 to August 3, 1919, with a view to the reconstruction of the Trade Unions International.

At the end of April the transport workers' organisations from only a very few countries met for a similar purpose. At this meeting England was represented by Harry Gosling, Bevin, and Bob Williams. Whereas the chairman of this conference (the Dutch reformist, J. Oudegeest) as well as the German delegation (the majority-Socialists Jochade, Brunner and Doering) thought of nothing but the formal part of the problem of reorganisation; the fighting spirit of the English workers was expressed by Bevin and Williams, who testified to the enormous growth of the state of mind of the English proletariat. Williams alluded to the formation of the Triple Alliance and suggested the readiness of this powerful combination to bring its industrial power to bear upon the settling of both important questions of an international nature—referring to the Versailles Peace of Violence; to the organised efforts of capitalist powers in the various countries to crush Soviet Government in Russia—and purely domestic affairs. Williams' magnificent speech was expressive of intense revolutionary sentiments, a fervent desire to establish a change in the relationship between the powers, which might be affected by "direct action" of the working masses. This has caused the International Conference of Transport Workers to take a very important place, notwithstanding the small number of countries represented.

This time there has been a "successful" conference, but the innovating spirit noticeable in Bob Williams' words was entirely absent. Here, with the very same Mr. Oudegeest (nomen est omen) in the chair, there were assembled advocates of harmony of the S. Gompers type, reformists like Legien (Germany) and Hueber (Austria), French Syndicalists degenerated to reformists, like M. Jouhaux. With hardly any distinction men who during the war had actually helped to eliminate the Workers' International and who more or less enthusiastically had made the cause of their national governments their own—men belonging to the right wing and centre of the international working-class movement. Of course there were no representatives from the Soviet countries who might tell us of the new experiences they had gone through of late. The French delegation contained a few Socialists who had been to Zimmerwald at the time, but Merheim and Bourderon were hardly heard during the Conference meetings, the most notable voice from France being Jouhaux. In the English delegation there was not one direct-actionist, on the contrary, only men of the old stamp, advocates of a sharp dividing line between economic and political action. Was it not Williams' namesake who, in the third committee of the Conference, opposed an action against intervention and blockade, appealing to the antiquated conception of Trade Union work, which depreciates any interference with political affairs. Germany had sent as representatives of 5 millions of organised workers men who have to a large extent lost the confidence of the German working class.

It could be anticipated that notwithstanding the great number of organised workers represented, notwithstanding many machinations behind the scenes, and diplomatic skill, very little would be accomplished by delegates, who were strangers to the great events of the new age, in the way of reconstructing a real, living Trade Unions International, fit for joint action. The chairman, Mr. Oudegeest, managed to refer in his opening address in no way to the event most important to the proletariat: the Revolution in Eastern Europe, the foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. He dealt with the task of the Conference and suggested as its task: devising new means to be adopted in order to obtain its end. But when Saturday night had come and the rather sentimental parting speeches had been made, not a single decision had been arrived at, nor had there been a discussion about the necessity of new fighting means and the use of few weapons. The whole Conference stood in the sign of the struggle of Nations. Previous to the opening of the

Conference there had been a preliminary meeting, lasting some days, where the former 'International', which had shamefully perished, was going to be wound up. During this meeting there was a continuous concussing of nationalities, and though the Germans are of old experts in forming endless resolutions which express as little as possible, yet another meeting had to be called after the official opening of the Conference because the Germans had not succeeded within the appointed time in producing an explanation of their attitude during war which could satisfy themselves as well as the other delegates.

The great antagonists at the Conference were the United States and Germany. On every occasion this became clear, when adopting a plan for voting; at the question whether the new way to voting should come into force at once when electing the members of the new Executive. It was perfectly disgusting. War was continually in the air at the Conference.

Because of the uncertainty of the present social situation, the continuance of passport difficulties (of which especially the revolutionary workers' organisations are the victims), and the absence of Russians, and Hungarians, the National Workers' Secretariat (N.A.S.) of Holland—the revolutionary federation of Trade Unions—had proposed to the Conference not to make any definite decisions now about the organisation and methods of work. This proposal was rejected. But those who have been present at the Conference, who have heard the eruptions of national hatred, will probably be inclined, if only for that reason, to answer in the negative to the question: whether this is the right time to establish the international connections. Was the proletariat really so very much in need of witnessing the skill of those who have always shown a strong predisposition for glueing together the pieces?

The German delegation, backed up by the Dutch reformists, Austria and the Scandinavian countries were by far in the minority at the Conference. The way of voting decided upon gave to England and America no less than 20 out of 52 votes, and, to these allies were added so many others, that Appleton was elected first chairman by 31 votes, whereas the candidate of the Germans, Mr. Oudegeest, was accorded only 18 votes. Then Jouhaux got 30 votes for first vice-chairman and Legien was dropped with 19 votes. This was too much for the Germans, and they assumed an attitude of abstaining from voting. However, they were allowed the satisfaction that the two secretariats were assigned to the disciples of the German "General-kommission", the Dutchmen Oudegeest and Fimmen, who will direct the International Bureau in the well tried German way. A struggle for power in the International had been fought between the very same rivals who, as accomplices of their Governments, had fought against each other for the worldpower of their propriated classes. Hardly anything good and new is to be expected of an international action of Trade Unionism which starts with a Conference permeated with the spirit of war. Only those satisfied with sham successes will attach any value to this international meeting.

Mr. Gompers showed himself to be a firm advocate of Anglo-American Imperialism, not only when struggling for power in the International, but also when wanting to turn this power to account by urging the Conference to proclaim Wilson's glory. This he did when, with regard to social legislation he advised not to take as starting point the Berne charter, but the official Paris charter, in which Gompers himself had co-operated. This he did, too, in a resolution for which he was responsible, which was discussed and rejected in the third committee and which glorified the League of Nations; and lastly when declining a proposal to go to the Washington Conference of Governments. Employers and Workers without stipulating any conditions. Mr. Gompers feels his importance, and rightly so, to a limited extent; he develops an energy which, taking into consideration his advanced age, commands respect. But he entertains ideas about the class struggle which render him fitter for banquets with advocates of "ethical" capitalism than for an International Workers' Conference. We were not amazed that the only thing he should want

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the international organization of Labour to do was to join in the etical capitalist bogs. But what did amaze us was the close accord between the English delegation and Mr. Gompers, notwithstanding the fact that in the English working-class movement changes are being carried out which give it a pronounced revolutionary character. Even in the absence of the English delegates Mr. Gompers disposed of their votes. Only on the occasion of a resolution for Socialization, moved by the French delegate Merheim, and of which it should be said that by its final clause it gives scope to propaganda purposes of antirevolutionary elements, the English and Americans separated. Mr. Gompers voting against it, whereas the English delegate had voted for it in the committee. When the final vote was taken at the Conference England had left. Lastly, we must record the fact that the English delegate Williams (not Bob Williams) voted against lifting the blockade, which illustrates clearly the enormous distance between the delegates at Amsterdam and a great number of workers they profess to represent.

There is yet no Trade Unions International which may be trusted by the working class. This will

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only then be created when internationalists, revolutionaries, will meet to discuss the foundations of international relations.

Amsterdam, August 6.

Programme of Dutch Syndicalists.
These for the International Conference at Amsterdam, submitted by the Dutch syndicalist Workers' Organization (N.A.S.).

(1) The efforts to establish a definite regulation of the International Syndicalist Organization are premature in view of the social instability and continual change of circumstances and besides in view of the difficulties in obtaining passports, which prevent a general participation. These difficulties render impossible the presence of delegates from Russia and Hungary, whose presence would be of great importance in the discussion of the various problems.

(2) The results of steps taken in this direction will be rather prejudicial to the aim, that is the reinforcement and concentration of the working-class power, because the revolutionary organizations in particular experience the difficulties of obtaining passports from their own Government or the Dutch Government.

(3) This Conference can only make the decision of setting up a committee, charged with an inquiry concerning the changes which have been realized in the Syndicalist movement of the Socialist Bolsheviks.

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Republics, and concerning the mutual relations between the Soviet system and the movement referred to.

(4) The various tendencies will be represented in this committee.

(5) Taking into consideration the experiences of the war concerning the total insufficiency of the international relations of the proletarian movement, the situation created by the war for the proletariat, the fact that the capitalist system has been revealed as a system, absolutely insupportable for the working class, the possibility in the present period of social evolution to substitute the Socialist production for the capitalist production, the Conference decides that this revolution, the Socialization of the means of production, will be the aim of the revolutionary, economic and political action of the Syndicalist movement.

(6) In order to realize these aspirations the present Syndicalist movement will propagate and advance the plan of "direct action" in the economic and political field of the proletarian masses, and will fight the partisans of the false idea that "Parliamentary" action by the Socialist representatives, collective contracts, "die Arbeitsgemeinschaften" and economic democracy could create a tolerable situation for the working class.

(7) The principle of class struggle will be propagated in all its consequences, and at the same time the proclamation of international solidarity strikes, obstruction (stay-in strike) and boycott.

(8) Conforming to these conceptions the Conference will appoint a committee, composed of the delegates of organizations with various tendencies, which will draft the statutes of the Syndicalist International for the next Conference, which will be convened in 1920 after the examination of the Committee of Inquiry.

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CHICAGO CONVENTION

Continued from page 4)

Wing—by this time already the Communist Labor Party—and hand in a type-written document embodying the will of the Slavic Federations. Beneath a good deal of diplomatic and rather Wilsonian indelicacy, this document simply stated that the Slavic Federations would not permit a union of the two elements upon terms that would endanger their control, which they consider essential to the formation of a party of true communism.

The Communist Labor Party adopted a resolution making a standing offer to the Communists to unite the two parties upon equal terms. That is the end of the matter, until the rank and file of the revolutionary workers take action upon it. The Communist Labor Party It was something of a relief to wander down to the I. W. W. headquarters, after all this theoretical striving after wind, and examine the new rotary press they are installing, and hear the clicking of two accomplished line-o-type machines in the back room. And it seemed a good omen for the Communist Labor Party that when they found themselves too large and busy for the downstairs room in the Machinists Building, they moved over to the I. W. W. Hall on Third Street.

There a battle was fought and won, which for me seemed to contain the heart of the drama of these Chicago Conventions. It was not a battle between two machines, for there was no time or possibility here for the formation of a machine. It was a battle between those who understood and accepted the Moscow manifesto, and wanted to apply it in a concrete realistic way to American conditions, and those who did not understand or accept it, dreaded its practical application, and wanted to take refuge in more vague and old fashioned socialistic pronouncements. The most powerful figure in the militant group—and the best speaker, I should say, in all three of the conventions—was Ben Gitlow. The function of furnishing forth drafts of documents, making motions, drawing up amendments and resolutions, and being ever on hand in general with a wealth of ideas, was filled by John Reed. On the other side Margaret Prevey and Louis Boudin were equally prominent and equally definite in their opinions.

The convention, being somewhat dismayed by the voluminous and plain-spoken "program" which Reed's committee brought in, and yet feeling in their bones that they were going to have to adopt it, appointed another committee to draw up a "platform." I think they had an idea that they would keep the program as a kind of "esoteric doctrine" to be revealed only to the true disciples, and distribute the platform to the general public. So they put their more tender-minded or "centrist" members on the platform committee, and these members drew up a brief document expressing only a little more vigorously than usual, the time-worn "ultimate demands" of the Socialist Party. The communist element did not oppose the plan of adopting a brief and highly generalized "platform" in addition to their program of action, but they were determined that this platform should be in fact a generalization, and not an evaporation of the communist principles. Therefore they assailed the document that was reported to the floor, and succeeded in striking out every one of its vague or unscientific clauses, and substituting amendments in their own language. They succeeded with surprising ease until they arrived at the two final clauses, and here the minority rallied for a last obstinate resistance.

The clauses as reported by the committee, read as follows:
"To this end, we ask the workers

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to unite with the Communist Labor Party on the political field for the conquest of the State and thus secure control of the powers of government.

"We also urge the workers to organize themselves on the industrial field, and thus unite their political and economic power to establish a cooperative commonwealth."

For these clauses Reed offered the following substitute:

"To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power, to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation."

The significance of this change in the "Platform" is made apparent by the following clauses of the "Program" which had been reported to the floor, but not yet at that time adopted:

"The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists."

"This new working class government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth."

"Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot."

"However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote; and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system."

"The political action of the working class means any action taken by the workers to impose their class will upon the capitalist State."

It was an all day debate. I recall a few sentences somewhat at random. The first is from Margaret Prevey, whose friendship for Debs and her consecration to the task of liberating him from prison, gave a special interest to her opinions. "We came here," she said, "to form a political organization to supplement the industrial organization of the workers. If not why are we here? We must use the political power in order to get a hearing for the working class. I want to see a working class judge to pass sentences upon the workers, a working class jury to open the doors for the working class. I want to see the working class get control of the police and the United States army, so that they can be used on the side of the workers, instead of against them in their industrial battles."

John Reed answered her in the one burst of oratory that came out of him. He reminded her that when a socialist Mayor of Minneapolis wanted to use the police to protect the meetings of the workers, his policemen were superceded by a body of special deputies appointed by the Governor of the State; when a radical governor of Illinois (Altgeld) tried to use the state power to protect the workers in the Pullman strike in Chicago, Grover Cleveland sent the United States army into Illinois to protect capital; "and if you had a Socialist president in the place of Grover Cleveland, the Supreme Court would come to the protection of capital; and if you had a Socialist Supreme Court, J. P. Morgan would organize a volunteer White Guard, and the interests of capital would still be protected! So it would always be. The struggle is between economic forces and is cannot be settled upon the political field." He asked Margaret Prevey and the others who opposed the program which he had drafted, and who wanted to elect Centrists to the executive committee, to explain candidly to the convention just what kind of a program they wanted, and what they conceived communism to be. After some hesitation the answer came that they wanted to go back to the language of the previous Manifestoes of the Left Wing. The special significance of this lies in the fact that those more academic and therefore less revolutionary Manifestoes were written by the very delegates in the "Communist Convention" who were now scorning this convention because of the presence of Margaret Prevey and these other not sufficiently revolutionary elements!

If that makes the reader dizzy, he has the satisfaction of knowing that he would have been a thousand times dizzier if he had actually tried to attend those three conventions.

Kate Greenhalgh said that she had often heard working men in the northwest say that they would never again put their name and address down in a poll book to be used in hunting them out by the master-class, but still she believed in political action as a means of acquiring a "political status" for the revolutionary propaganda.

Jack Carney supported the amendment with the vehemence of one who doesn't really care whether the propaganda acquires a "political status" or not. "I resigned from the Socialist Party," he said, "not because they expelled the members and refused to do their will, but because I want the American workers to get down to the real fight, and the real fight is on the job."

Margaret Prevey's position was supported by Baker of Ohio, who said in the course of his remarks that, "The old guard used to be always telling us how they do things in Germany; now we have a crowd that are telling us how they do things in Russia; I thought we were here to decide how we are going to do things in America!"

Ludwig Lore asserted that the absence of "immediate demands" was enough to distinguish this platform from the reformist platform of the past.

Zimmerman of Indiana was on the same side, although with a different note: "When the revolution comes," he said, "then we know what kind of methods we are going to use, and we won't have to ask any platform."

But the ever-present voice on the side of the Mensheviks was that of Louis B. Boudin of New York. Boudin is a Marxian scholar of great erudition, so great that he was given an honorary chair in the international university established by the Bolshevik Government at Moscow, although he happened to be employing his erudition in an attack on the Bolshevik Government at the time.

Boudin laughed with a learned scorn at one of the phrases which John Reed had embodied in an amendment to the platform. Reed said nothing, but quietly slipped out of the building and pretty soon came back with a copy of the Communist Manifesto, in which he showed Boudin the identical phrase at which he had been laughing. The scholarly brows were bent in perplexity: "It's a very poor translation," he said.

Boudin has learned a great deal about Karl Marx in spite of a busy life, but he has never learned to control those neural conduits which lead from the cerebral cortex to the organs of articulation. An idea no sooner pops into his head than it pops out of his mouth; and this makes it very difficult to conduct a parliamentary assembly in which he sits. Therefore it was a practical, as well as a theoretical triumph, for the majority, when Ben Gitlow, walking up to the front of the hall like a great sombre mountain, gradually unloosed the crackling thunder of his eloquence to the effect that Boudin had deliberately employed his knowledge of Marx to dilute and destroy the scientific integrity of this platform, and Boudin, crying "It's a lie, it's a damn lie!" got up and fled like a leaf out of the storm.

Reed's amendment was then soon adopted, and the question whether this should be a communist or a "centrist" party essentially settled by a vote of 46 to 22. There was clear sailing for the "program" after that. It was adopted substantially as reported by the committee. A kind of anticipatory "St. Louis Resolution" on the war with Mexico, was also adopted, and it was called to every organization in the Communist International. An executive committee was elected, composed not of public celebrities who will meet once in a while, but of members of the party who are going to work—all of them ultimately, it is hoped, on salary from the party. With these good signs of life the convention closed.

Its program is upon the whole a vital, simple and realistic application of the theories of Marx, and the policies of Lenin, to present conditions in America. It contrasts with the program of the communist convention in no point of principle, but it applies its principles more specifically to existing conditions. It is written in a more American idiom, it is written in the language of action rather than of historic theory, it is not abstractly didactic in its attitude toward organized labor, but somewhat humbly instructive and promising of concrete help. In these respects it seems to me superior to the program of the Communist Party, although I have not had time to study and compare them at length.

It would be foolish to pretend that The Communist Labor Party, any more than the Communist Party, is a wholly satisfactory nucleus for the growth of Communism in America. Nothing that happened in Chicago was satisfactory. But the Communist Labor Party has a certain atmosphere of reality, a sense of work to be done, a freedom from theological dogma on the one hand and machine politics on the other, which is new in American socialism, and hopeful. A strong movement of the rank and file of revolutionists to the Communist Labor Party would weaken, convince or drive out its uncertain minority, and at the same time leave the Federations where the attitude of their leaders naturally places them, in a separate or autonomous Slavic Party of Communism.

P. S. The above report is taken from the October "LIBERATOR", an advance copy having been sent to us by Max Eastman, to whom we tender our best thanks. The emphasised portions were emphasised by us. We trust that every member of the Communist Party will read this report carefully and then they will gain a better impression of the conventions held in Chicago.—Ed. Truth.

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SHANTUNG

Shantung has lately received much prominence due to the outrage perpetrated by that "statesman of the new order"—President Wilson. All the democratic phraseology that was known to him, was used by him to convince the people that only the League of Nations could save them. Shantung brands Wilson as a scheming diplomat, who was not sincere when he stated that the war was fought for the "self-determination of small nations." Unfortunately the American people are slaves to phrases and they have been lulled to sleep by the smooth talk of Wilson. It is a pitying sight to see a Democrat endeavoring to explain away Shantung. Like an Englishman endeavoring to explain Ireland!

Shantung is a rich province of China. Guy Morrison Walker, writing in "ASIA," states:

"To turn Shantung over directly or indirectly to any foreign power would be to give it complete control not only of one of the richest and most densely populated provinces of the earth, but also because of its control over the Grand Canal and the mouth of the Yellow River, absolute control over the internal commerce and communications of the Chinese Empire. The western end of the Province of Shantung puts into China as does the State of Pennsylvania into our United States, and it cuts off all North China from the rest of China as placing Pennsylvania in the hands of some alien power would cut off New York and New England from our South. The Port of Tsingtao lies in relation to Eastern China much as Philadelphia does in the United States. And the railroad built by the Germans, control of which the Japanese now attempt to seize, extends westward nearly three hundred miles, as the Pennsylvania Railroad runs from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh; while Tsinan-fu, the capital of Shantung, now held by the Japanese, lies at the western end of the Province as does Pittsburgh in Pennsylvania. You may thus get some idea of what the claims of Japan in Shantung mean to China."

If Shantung had been a desert marsh, there would have been no Shantung question cropping up. But Shantung is a prize in the market of the world and hence the imperialists of Japan sought it. It is Japan's reward for entering the war.

The Chinese, who did not know Wilson, like many of his own people have learnt to know him, were made happy by the following statement, uttered by Wilson last April:

"The war was ended, moreover," said the President, "by proposing to Germany an armistice and peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles which should set up a new order of right and justice. Upon these principles the peace with Germany has been conceived, not only, but formulated. Upon those principles it will be executed. . . . Interest is not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of states, new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy of right; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure. These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace."

That statement had the effect of disturbing the made-up minds of the Japanese delegates to the Peace Conference. Later Wilson saw the error of his ways and we know now that it was considered a dangerous piece of work to make of Japan an enemy, because America needs the Open Door to the East. So to satisfy the demands of the imperialists of America, Shantung was given to the Japanese. In a word all the idealistic fourteen points of Wilson and his speeches were mere camouflage to cover up the imperialistic designs of the American ruling class.

The case of Shantung proves that MIGHT IS RIGHT. The Allied diplomats knew that China is not in a position to defeat a Japanese invasion. As one writer puts it, "They have as much chance in a war with Japan as Honduras or Santo Domingo has with America." The only way in which China can obtain Shantung back is by bringing into being a MIGHT stronger than the MIGHT of Japan. All the persuasive talks of the Chinese delegates will avail them nothing. In the world today might is the deciding factor in all things. If the workers of the Steel plant are strong enough to enforce their demands they will win and they will be RIGHT. If they are not strong enough then their organization will be crushed and they will be WRONG.

To our Chinese friends who have urged us to say a word on Shantung, we want to offer them a word of advice. A few years ago you threw off the yoke of the Manchu dynasty. Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen stated at a meeting held in London at that time, that the present revolt in China carried with it the adoption of the following three principles:

1. Supremacy of the Chinese race.
2. Government of the people by the people.
3. Supremacy of the people in the production of wealth.

He also stated that the next revolution in China must be an economic revolution. That economic revolution does not mean as some of the Young China supporters imagine, a China that will rank with the rest of the nations of the world, in its command of wealth, etc. It means a China that will be free from the evils that curse the "civilized" nations of the world. In a word it means a China full of freemen not wage-slaves. To obtain such a state of society, the Chinese workers must join hands with the Japanese workers. They must absolutely refuse to fight in any war against the Japanese workers. Shantung will be the property of the Chinese workers, and who else is entitled to it, when the Chinese and the Japanese workers stretch out their hands across their national boundaries and in one union of their class overthrow the capitalist class of both nations. That road lies freedom.

If the Chinese become nationalistic and allow their masters to inflame their hearts against the workers of Japan, they will be fastening the chains of slavery more firmly around their own necks.

Let your slogan be, not China for the Chinese nor Japan for the Japanese, but the world for the workers of the world.

Shantung explodes all the idealistic pretensions of Wilson. It explains the meaning of capitalist imperialism. All the

finest manhood of the land was sent to the Europe, inspired by the false plea of Wilson, that they were going out to battle for freedom. As the blood of the American working class was spilt upon the fields of Flanders it was distilled into blood-red war profits. The guilty promoters of war, and they were not all in Berlin, were in their counting houses reaping a harvest of dividends as the list of Basil Manly's on another page will prove. They were interested in the fate of small nations, only in so far that these small nations could be utilized as buffer states to prevent the economic development of rival powers. For property, for the profits of trade, for economic power, for the imperialist tyranny of capitalism, the men of all nations had their bowels ripped out and their guts spilt upon the fields of Europe; conscripted and forced into submission, drilled by a military machine, armed to kill for causes they did not know about and causes that were not theirs, mutilated, blown into a thousand fragments, or their rotting carcasses eaten up by the vultures that were ever ready to swoop down upon them. Capitalism without soul-pity or mercy has used millions of the working class to further its rotten ends. No power on earth can prevent capitalism from pursuing its mad policy of destruction but ONE, THAT power is the organized international working class. They alone can make a League of Nations that will bring lasting peace. They alone can properly solve the Shantung question.

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!!
SUCCESS TO COMMUNISM!!
LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL!!
RELEASE ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!!

THE REAL ISSUE

"The Communist Revolution is, at the same time, the best and only means with which the powerful productive society—the proletariat—and with it society itself, can be maintained."—LENIN.

That "Labour" in this country could always be relied upon to take a "sane" view of whatever industrial or political issues were paramount for the moment has ever been the proud boast of British capitalism. In the face of recent events however, that tradition bids fair to be shattered. When "legitimate" trade unionism even pauses to discuss the possibility of taking industrial action for political purposes, or vice-versa, by that very act a breach has been made in all hitherto procedure in Labour policy. It is furthermore an earnest of the triumph at no distant date of revolutionary policy over the time-worn methods of Labour opportunism peculiar to the working class movement of these islands.

In this respect the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress at Glasgow is especially interesting. No one who is acquainted with the make-up of that body needs to be informed of its weakness of strength. It has long been recognised that as a force in Labour affairs it counts for nothing, except in a reactionary sense, when it may prove indeed a potent force for evil. Witness, for instance, the delight of the capitalist Press when the Triple Alliance deferred its decision on "direct action" until the Congress had discussed it. As one leading capitalist daily naively put it, "Direct action is as good as dead." While the defect of the Trade Union Congress lies in the circumstance that it may be likened to an army without any general staff, and therefore impotent for doing things; nevertheless it does serve a useful purpose inasmuch as it brings to the front in a general way the trend of opinion in trade union outlook, thereby helping to focus the minds of the workers on the issues that lie before them.

In the presidential address this year Mr. Stuart Bunting, one of the representatives of what our Russian comrades call, "The yellow international of social traitors," leaves no doubt as to the crux of the problem to be faced, nor does he conceal where he stands. The problem to be tackled, Bunting argues, is no less than the issue of constitutionalism versus revolution. And we agree. But in what does this plea for constitutionalism consist? and how comes it that the mass of the workers are losing faith in Parliament as a remedy for the social slavery under which they live? An analysis of such questions would have been more value to the delegates than the admonition to Lloyd George.

These two questions, however, are in reality but different sides to the same medal, and what the president failed to do we shall attempt to accomplish. We probably could not call to the witness-box a better testimony to the weakness of constitutionalism than that organ of Liberal bourgeois democracy par excellence, the Manchester Guardian.

In a leading article of September 3 it discusses the impatience, latent in the working class movement generally, with Parliament, and goes on to say:

The House of Commons is elected at long intervals, as a rule on one or at most two issues which happen to dominate public attention at the moment. It sits for some years, and during those years has to decide all manner of questions, some of which had never been heard of at the time of its election. The machinery for keeping it in touch with public opinion is very defective. By-elections give it jerks and bumps, and the Press keeps on assuring it that it is, and also that it is not, disgracing itself for ever in the eyes of the people by doing or not doing something that commands passing attention. But there is no regular method of discovering the real state of public opinion on public issues in the intervals between elections, and what the public really wants is a matter to opinion which each man is apt to decide for himself on the basis of what he personally wants. In particular, three general elections out of four are fought on Imperial or foreign issues—Ireland, South Africa, Ireland again, hanging the Kaiser, or whatever it may be. At the polls these issues have a way of coming to the front, and the humdrum economic and social questions recede into the background. Yet these questions we have always with us. They are normally much closer to our daily lives than the Imperial issues, and the working classes in particular are apt to find, to their chagrin, that they have satisfied their emotions by putting in power men who will withhold from them the things they permanently care about. Hence they are tempted to a short cut, Parliament loses credit with democracy, and there is much talk of the ineptitude of geographical constituencies and the need of grouping men politically according to their occupations.

It will be seen that the Guardian goes straight to the roots of the issue of constitutionalism and revolution when it says: "There is no regular method of discovering the real state of public opinion on public issues," and particularly "these humdrum economic and social questions that are normally closer to the lives of the workers than imperial issues, the machinery for keeping these in touch being defective." But if there is no redress beyond a by-election, which may never happen, or a general election, which is often engineered by our capitalist rulers for class purposes, what, we ask, is this so-called democracy but the dictatorship of the capitalist?

The "will of the people" is a myth. In reality we are dominated by a small minority of capitalists who, with their control over the Press, the law courts and judges, educational facilities and a thousand and one institutions through which they can swindle the workers out of their "democratic rights",

dominate and rule, forsooth, in the name of "democracy"—in reality capitalist domination.

The Parliamentary system, by separating the legislative from the executive power, in point of fact divides the working class from the State. Proletarian or working class democracy, demands the closest contact between the toilers and their representatives. That is impossible with the capitalist Parliamentary system. Such a consummation can only be achieved by the institution of a council system in which the delegatory powers of representatives can be withdrawn immediately they fail to express or respond to the will of the proletariat. And since the Parliamentary system by reason of its geographical structure is incapable of responding to the needs of the people, is must be abolished to make room for a real workers' democracy.

Equally fictitious is the belief that the lot of the workers can be permanently improved by "increased production." Increased production simply means increased power for the wealthy capitalists who are in the saddle, leaving the wage-workers the helots they are at present.

The economic improvement, not to say emancipation, of the working class can only be assured by the taking over and management of the means of production by the working class in the interests of the entire community instead of a small minority as at present.

Thus the main and real issue before the Labour movement at present strikes at the roots of capitalism itself, and may be summed up in three words—Parliament or Soviets.

But while there is reason to be satisfied that the final triumph of revolution is but a question of time, we can rest assured that such a victory is not to be won without a struggle. All the forces of reaction, espionage, bribery and corruption are already at work. Not the least important in the capitalist armoury of defence being the Labour opportunist of the Thomas, Tillett, Henderson, MacDonald and Bunting type.

And if the leaders of Labour, in imitation of their Parliamentary confederates, the capitalists, are prepared to thwart the real aspirations of the workers, then the challenge must be met by a vigorous unofficial effort of the rank and file to do for themselves what their leaders are too cowardly or incompetent to do for them.

The working class must be prepared to assume responsibility for and control of its own affairs. That is the lesson to be drawn from the experience of our comrades abroad.

The communist i. e., social revolution, is not something to be imposed from the top. It has got to be a movement carrying with it the enthusiasm and self-reliance of the mass of the workers. It must be essentially a workers' revolution. There is no other avenue of escape.

(Reprinted from Glasgow "Socialist".)

PARLIAMENT AND REVOLUTION

In previous articles an attempt was made to portray the S. L. P. conception of Parliament, in the light of its historic growth and development, and here but remains for us now to explain what we hope the Revolutionary movement can extract from that institution which will be of value either agitational or administrative.

To do this effectively, it is best to view Parliament through the spectacles of one whose sole mission in life is to work for a Social Revolution, which will end wageslavery and emancipate the workers.

Those with another purpose in life than this, and whose soul is animated with a different mission from ours, of such people or movements we neither write for nor take heed of. The day for argument for and against the theoretical virtues of Socialism, or the practical and concrete views of Capitalism is past, and our task is rather to address ourselves to those who accept Socialism, accept the view that Socialism presupposes a Social Revolution, and who consequently estimate the value of all institutions and movements in the measure of their contribution to the Revolution, either agitational or administrative.

It is to such individuals we commend our views. Hence, why we ignore entirely the claims of ameliorative merit advanced on behalf of Parliament by both persons and parties. Amelioration may possess the virtue of being snug and comfortable in method—for the ameliorators, but it is a tedious, tortuous, and somewhat trying process for those whose lot is subject to the drawing to a close, and its end is near at hand gaily commit their souls to the limbo of public triflers. Having done so, we can turn with satisfied relief to an examination of our revolutionary policy and tactics, and their relation to Parliament. We have previously argued that Parliament and Parliamentarianism are NOT necessarily part of the equipment of a Social Revolutionary's paraphernalia, and consequently not absolutely essential for purposes of Revolution. There is thus established the fact that the elements of Revolution work out their destiny quite independently of Parliament, and typify or conflict NOT between a growing system nor a mature institution, but between a growing system and an existing and obsolete system. The standard of measurement, therefore, which we should apply to any or all existing institutions is the extent and value of their contribution towards the assistance of the Revolution or the system which the Revolution heralds. If the contribution is nil, then our policy in that particular direction is simple; but should there be a positive quantity, however small, then it is our bounden duty to extract that quantity lest we earn the title of Triflers, who accept, not the consequent obligations and responsibilities of Revolution—but only those which suit our whims and caprices. The filthiest job which a Revolution imposes upon a Revolutionary becomes sanctified and made clean by the purpose of the Revolution, and likewise distasteful and repulsive opinions are ennobled when they become duties of the Revolution. Keeping these things in mind, and approaching the subject in this spirit, we will best ascertain what is right and good for Revolution.

Does Parliament contain any constructive or administrative value for purposes of Revolution? This question is easily answered, and, in fact, was answered previously when it was shown that Parliament was an institution born of Capitalism and dependent upon Capitalism for its existence. Obviously then there is little to hope for in this direction. Can Parliament be of any agitational value to us?

The answer to this question introduces us to the "ways and means" of Revolution, and consequently should render this question no more difficult than the first—and certainly will be less complicated if we here visualise what we mean by a Revolutionary situation.

Lenin has done this for us admirably in the following: "What is a Revolutionary Situation?"

What are, as a rule, the symptoms of a revolutionary situation? We shall certainly be on the right track in pointing out three main symptoms: (1) A ruling class finds it impossible to retain its domination intact, due to its passing through a crisis which stimulates the oppressed class to revolt against its rule. For revolution to break out it is not enough for those at the bottom not to be content to live as they did before, they must also see to it that it becomes impossible for those at the top to continue their old policy; (2) want and suffering are experienced by the oppressed class in a more intense degree than ordinarily; (3) the causes indicated compel increased activity amongst the masses. During "times of peace" they

calmly allow themselves to be fleeced, but in times of stress they are stimulated by the staging of the crisis, together with the action of those at the top, to enter the arena as in independent historical force. Without these abject charges independent of the will, not only of the separate groups and parties, but even of separate classes—revolution is, as a rule, impossible. Taken in the sum, these objective changes constitute what is called a revolutionary situation.—LENIN.

It will be seen from this statement that a number of objective changes are stipulated independent of the will of group, party or class, but the part in italics, which I underlined for emphasis, deals with something which is dependent upon the will—and that the will of the subjected class. And that is the task of the Revolutionary Socialist, to make it impossible for Capitalism to reign.

It is, therefore, our duty wherever Capitalism secures a foothold, to be on the spot; loosen the ground from under its feet, until it finally collapses exhausted in its vain efforts to prop itself up after each successive attack.

An awkward question is sometimes sufficient, if put at the right moment, to upset and shatter the whole effect of a moment, to upset and shatter the whole effect of a meeting, and just to might a pin-prick at the right moment and in the right place bring down the edifice of Capitalism. It behoves us, therefore, to extend our tentacles throughout the entire ramifications of Capitalism in order to act as lightning conductors guiding the Revolution along its proper course. Parliament is included in this category, and argument is needless when one remembers Trotsky's appealing statement:

Without direct political aid from the European proletariat, the working class of Russia will not be able to retain its power and to turn its temporary supremacy into a permanent Socialist dictatorship.

And who will deny that it is simply by virtue of there being no challengeable voice, hold, clear, and determined, within the House of Commons, that the public mind, and by that I mean the working class is lulled into quiescently tolerating Churchill's class war policy of intervention in Russia. Parliamentarianism for purposes of construction along Revolutionary lines—No. But Parliamentarianism for agitational purposes—Yes. Let us drop our puny scruples then, or at least save them for use after the Revolution, and determine our policy and tactics according to the extent and measure of their contribution towards the Revolution. "We must not only propagate Revolution; we must ourselves move towards the Revolution," said Trotsky in one of his works, and this in our propaganda zeal we are of incliner to overlook.

Let us keep this in our mind, and also that Revolution—Social Revolution must be world-wide, and, therefore our vision must extend beyond the borders of our own land. That it is a sordid business, at best, but so is all life in its negative character—and find solace in the fact that only when we have a system of Socialism established will Humanity be able to express the positive side of life.

That fact eases the tension of the most stringent scruple, and blesses a multitude of sordid doings in a world which is sordid to the core, and whose haloism is hypocrisy.

Arthur MacManus.
"Glasgow Socialist."
P. S. S. L. P. in Scotland is not the dogmatic S. L. P. of U. S. A.

DULUTH LABOR FALLS DOWN

To the lasting disgrace of the Organization Committee of the Duluth Trades Assembly, the Duluth Steel Plant is running 100 % strength. The Duluth Trades Assembly must either act or resign. All this talk about the men not being organized is pure "bunk". There has been no attempt made to organize them. The I. W. W. have tried, with their meagre resources, but due to the power they have to contend with, no progress was made. If all the workers in this city would march up to the Trades Assembly and demand that organization work be immediately started, something might be done to help the steel workers who are striking.

Th Duluth Labor Movement is now witnessing the results of its work. With a Trade Assembly that has no vision and no guts, the labor movement of this city is becoming a standing joke. One would have thought that the recent coal strike would have done at least one thing and that was to stir up the movement. But the movement has just turned over and taken another rest.

What Duluth needs in the first place, is a LABOR PAPER, owned and controlled by the Labor movement and not by a private individual, who admits, that his outlook on many questions is effected by his bread and butter. Start a paper that will rally the forces of labor in this city. There is room for a live paper. The only paper that has stood by the workers is TRUTH. We have found that our policy has received the support of the workingclass. Where the other "labor" paper has lost out, we have gained considerably. So men of the labor movement, rest not on the laurels of the past, that is if you won any in the past, but start with the present and build up a labor movement that will act. In the meantime scrape the barnacles of your present movement off and elect some real men who will act.

WHAT DID HE EXPECT?

Prefers Bolshevism To Anglocapitalism.

A correspondent to the Bristol Daily Press (England) says: "In conversation with one who came home on board the ss. Kuf new light was thrown upon the aspect of affairs at the Russian port. Our informant declared that the only people there who were not Bolsheviks were the property owners. The sympathies of the population generally were decidedly anti-Ally, and the presence of English troops, according to this gentleman, is regarded as anything but a blessing. As a matter of fact, all save those who own property will be glad when the British have gone. The gentleman with whom our representative conversed had very little that was good to say for the Russians at Archangel. Anything like gratitude for Britain's protection was unknown. The young men allowed themselves to be trained and equipped for fighting, and at the first opportunity many of them went over to the Bolsheviks. All things considered, this gentleman added, the sooner the evacuation takes place the better for Britain."

CAPITALIST ELDORADO IN MINIATURE

Situated between Austria and Switzerland, there is a miniature Principality called Liechtenstein, which remained undisturbed during the war. There is no compulsory military service here; there are neither harsh employers nor strikers; and the police force consists of five "part time" constables.

The Parliament, which consists of 12 members, has complete control of finance. The Cabinet consists of the Prime Minister, nominated by Prince von Liechtenstein, and two Ministers nominated by Parliament, and directs foreign and home policy.

THERE ARE MORE DESERTERS FROM THE CAPITALIST ARMIES THAN FROM THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION