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WHOLE No. 136

FIVE CENTS.

COAL OPERATORS MAKE 7,856 PERCENT PROFITS

Bernard Shaw Afraid to Visit America.

KERENSKI SEES ALLIES REAPING WHIRLWIND IN THEIR RUSSIAN POLICY

Former Russian Premier Says Soviet Republic Is "Enduring" Present Form to Escape Monarchism—Bakhetieff Represents No "Government," He Declares.

(By United News.)

London — France, England and the United States, shocked by the gigantic "steamroller successes" of the Soviet armies throughout Russia, are "merely reaping inevitable results of their pernicious policy of aiding monarchists and other enemies of Democracy since the armistice." Alexander Kerenski, former premier of Russia and at one time the idol of his home country and the hope of the allied powers, gave vent to his feelings in the above fashion today when interviewed by the United News. And he added that the Bolsheviks would continue to succeed in their efforts so long as the Allies continue "to interfere in Russia's internal affairs."

Kerenski is now residing in semi-seclusion in the heart of the picturesque Kentish Hills, near

Tunbridge. He is rapidly regaining the health he dissipated during his brief and hectic hour of world fame. Virile, mentally alert and still retaining much of the magnetic personality responsible for his meteoric career, Kerenski lives on anticipation of the near future, when he hopes to resume his crusade for his country's regeneration. He clings, somewhat tragically, to the dream-fabric that opportunity once more will knock at his door.

Kerenski Realizes Mistakes.

He realizes his mistakes of the past, is chafing at delays and obstacles of the present and looking optimistically toward the future. He is surrounded by a group of intellectuals who caused the overthrow of the Czar and who are now middle of the roaders, not radical enough for the Soviets, not conservative enough for the monarchists and despising both.

"Russia," said Kerenski, "is enduring Bolshevism and the ultra-radical members of the Left in order to escape the equally dark monarchistic representatives of the Right. I predicted 18 months ago that this would be the inevitable aftermath of the scheming and intriguing European governments interfering in Russia's internal affairs."

"Italy's policy against interference with the lifeline of the blockade and the resumption of relations with all factions was most commendable and fair, but unfortunately, it is not subscribed to by the other Allies. The Italian Socialists have been unable to convert England and France."

"The declarations of Lloyd George and Premier Clemenceau that they would not aid the monarchists was commendable," said Kerenski, "but so far they are merely empty words."

"Statesmen well versed in politics," he added, "believe speech was given man the better to conceal his intentions when preferring no publicity on the work he does in the dark."

Bitter Against French and British.

He declared that Russian Democrats are the most bitter against the French and British. He expressed his disappointment in America, which, he said, "alone would be able to frustrate the Japanese and Allied design."

Boris Bakhetieff, who now occupies the Russian Embassy at Washington and apparently accepted as the Russian spokesman there, Kerenski declared to be no representative of Russia but merely one who is now accepting orders from Kolchak, "the same as he would from any other who may follow."

Kerenski said he was not surprised at the anti-Ally demonstrations in Vladivostok and other Siberian cities.

"I am most concerned about Secretary Lansing's purported acquiescence to give Japan a free hand in Siberia," he said. "I am hoping that is untrue, because

"I challenge you to cite me an instance in all history of the world where liberty was handed down from above! Liberty always is attained by the forces working below, underneath, by the great movement of the people. That, leavened by the sense of wrong and oppression and injustice, by the ferment of human rights to be attained, brings freedom."

—President Wilson.

PARIS DESIRE FOR EARLY PEACE NICELY NIPPED IN BUD BY THREAT OF BLOCKADE BY GREAT BRITAIN

PROMISED IN 1914 TO BRING U. S. TO AID.

Paris—How the house of J. P. Morgan & Co. was one of the chief factors in beginning the great war, and how it kept the mill-stream of the world's blood grinding out its gold, is told in the first volume of history published by Gabriel Hanotaux, French minister of foreign affairs from 1892 to 1898, and an eminent historian.

The financiers, to keep France fighting their war, the book shows, promised in the fall of 1914 to bring the United States immediately into the conflict. Then they double-crossed France, and neglected to betray their

it is not right and would be most dangerous for the future peace of Russia, China, and the United States.

"Acquisition of the coal and iron deposits in Siberia would make the Japanese economically independent and enable them to carry on an imperialistic program which would make a potential enemy of democracy and an ever growing menace to civilization."

He charged that England and Japan were on the most intimate terms for the purpose of dismembering Russia which "each desires."

He declared that Lloyd George had resurrected statements of Lord Beaconsfield, "dead a half century," for the justification of the Premier's argument that Russia is the greatest menace to the British Empire.

Japan's Justification "Flimsy."

"Attempt to justify Japan's aggression in Siberia for the purpose of preventing Bolshevism spreading into China is extremely flimsy," Kerenski said. "It is impossible for racial, temperamental, industrial, and economic reasons."

own country for the years that spelled the death of France. This was done with the assistance of Great Britain. And the same company, still in the driver's seat of the world's corse, is now offering to "restore" France — at 7 per cent interest.

Early Peace Plan Nipped.

After the first battle of the Marne, in the fall of 1914, which was evidently not such a brilliant French success as it has been painted, France was eager to make peace with Germany. The plan was instantly nipped in the bud. Neutral diplomats at London got wind of it, and immediately a British ultimatum was sent to Bordeaux, threatening France with a blockade if she left the fight.

"By indisputable documentary evidence, Hanotaux proves that it was an American member of the house of J. P. Morgan & Co., that started the fatal machinery going in August, 1914, and then kept it grinding out millions of human lives for more than four years."

Morgan Man In Paris.

At the time of the decision in the fall there were in Paris Robert Bacon, of the house of Morgan, former minister; Myron T. Herrick, retiring minister, and William G. Sharp, the new minister. These three men made an actual contract with France that if she would remain in the war, they would see that America came in at once, the book charges.

"There are at present only 50,000 'influential' men in the United States who want war," they said, "but give us a little time and there will be 100,000, 000 dead-set for it."

Hanotaux declares that the sum which was provided to arouse the people of the United States to war is too large even for American comprehension.

HEARST WARNS EDITORS AGAINST DOCTORED NEWS

Press, He Declares, Is Inflaming Entire Country by Printing Official Lies as Facts.

William Randolph Hearst, stung, he declared, by the fact that the columns of his newspapers are being made the vehicle of vicious and misleading propaganda, put out under the guise of news sent an open letter of reproof and warning to the editors of his various organs.

The "bugaboo" that an organized attempt is under way to establish a soviet form of government in the United States is, Hearst charges, being used by "certain agents of the government, at the instance, I think, of the more or less corrupt financial interests" as a weapon for the accomplishment of their schemes and the throttling of all honest criticism and opposition.

The whole principle of freedom of the press, Hearst warns, is called into question by the present activities.

"They are trying," writes he, "to enact in America the gag laws of the former Georges of England and Alexanders of Russia."

Playing With Fire.

The excuse that these people fear an "anarchist" uprising the publisher brands "as insincere as it is farfetched."

"Nevertheless," he goes on, speaking of the official offensive now being carried on through the press, "we can make it viciously effective if we use our papers to spread a false propaganda grossly exaggerating the importance of this so-called soviet government, and not only exaggerating the situation, but absolutely falsifying it by finding anarchist plots and soviet disturbances where none exist."

"This our newspapers and the other newspapers are doing, for the simple reason that we accept

as fact all the propaganda that is sent into our offices, provided it comes through certain established sources.

"This is a very dangerous thing for newspapers to do. We are going to create a situation which will be ruinous to ourselves and exceedingly injurious to the nation and to all the free citizens of the nation."

Unauthorized Dispatch Cited.

As a specific example of the sort of falsification he hits at, Hearst cites a recent London dispatch run in one of his own papers, saying that a wireless had been flashed from Moscow stating that the whole world would be soviet in a year.

"The dispatch had no authority," he declares, "it did not pretend to have any, and it did not pretend to say from whom such a dispatch came. It did not even assume that it represented the ideas of the Russian government or of any individuals in the Russian government or of any individual in Russia."

"Obviously the sole purpose of putting out such an absurd anonymous dispatch is to convince unthinking persons that our country is in danger of being Russianized, while the only real danger is the possibility of its being Prussianized."

"The papers of this country," he continues, "if they have any intelligence and any democracy and any Americanism, ought not to allow themselves to be hoodwinked and used as tools in a sinister movement to throttle the press, suppress free speech, restrict American rights and liberties, and establish in this country a worse autocracy than that from which we fought to free Europe."

"What good does it do to have editorials defending the right of free speech and free assembly, such as the World and we had on our editorial pages, and then print with apparent indorsement in our news columns the silly propaganda articles which are handed us from prejudiced sources with all their exaggerated and distorted statements, as if they were Gospel facts?"

HOW PROFITEERS MULCTED NATION DURING WAR IS TOLD BY MANLY

Profits of One Steel Corporation Amounted to 290999 Per Cent, Treasury Figures Show.

PALMER IS CRITICISED

Former Labor Board Head Quotes Facts Proving Profiteering—Senate Tried to Suppress.

Revelations of profiteering on a tremendous scale by the leading industries during the war recently were made by Basil M. Manly, former joint chairman of the War Labor Board.

The statement made by former Secretary of the Treasurer McAdoo that coal operators were making earnings as high as 2,000 per cent "was a piker's profit," Manly stated. "He should have told them that the profits ranged as high as 7,856 per cent. And in the steel mills, one concern's profits, as submitted to the Treasury Department, was the tremendous one of 290,999 per cent."

"While the people were exerting their energies in producing material for the successful prosecution of the war, and while others were dying on foreign battlefields the leading industries of the country were profiteering upon a scale almost unbelievable if their own facts and figures had not been submitted to the United States Treasury Department, figures which were partially suppressed by the United States Senate."

Senate Tries to Suppress Reports. "When a move was made to publish the 1917 income tax report submitted to the Treasury Department efforts were made to 'kill' the motion, and after a hard fight it was agreed that only two copies for each senator were to be printed. I managed to obtain one of these reports and the figures given there are such as will astound the American people."

"Attorney General Palmer says that there is great difficulty in securing evidence of profiteering. Why doesn't he go across the street to the Treasury Department and start his investigation with the virtual confessions of profiteering contained in the income and excess profits tax returns? One of the reasons is that Attorney General Palmer is so busy hunting evidence on which to deport 'reds' and 'near reds' that he has no time for the profiteers."

Basil Manly's startling revelations contained in his speech follows: "When the coal controversy was at its height former Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo startled the nation by declaring that in 1917 the operators made shocking and indefensible profits on bituminous coal. He stated that their income tax returns revealed that they were making earnings on their capital stock ranging from 15 per cent to 2,000 per cent and that earnings of from 100 per cent to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon."

McAdoo drew his facts regarding the profits of coal from Senate document No. 259, a report of the Secretary of the Treasury in response to a Senate resolution requesting all facts in possession of the Treasury Department relative to profiteering."

"In the publication of this report every effort was made to conceal from the reader all facts which would reveal the criminal profiteering of the great corporations and trusts."

G. B. S. Fears For Safety Of the Girl In the Harbor

Assembly's Act Confirms Noted Dramatist in Belief U. S. Is "Nation of Villagers" — Is Wilson Still at Large? He Asks—Fears Bloody War.

George Bernard Shaw in commenting upon the suspension of the five Socialist assemblies by the New York State Legislature, bluntly asked when the Statue of Liberty would be pulled down.

Americans are still primitives, he declared.

Americans used to laugh at me when I refused to visit their country. Without a safe conduct. They will hardly now deny that I had a good reason.

The following copyrighted dispatch containing Shaw's statement is reprinted by special permission from the N. Y. World:

By George Bernard Shaw.

"I suppose it must be regarded as a challenge to direct action and as the deliberate preliminary to a war of political creeds which will be far more frightful than the wars of religion in the 17th century."

It is high time for the Mayflower to fit out for sea again.

American used to laugh at me for refusing to visit their country without a safe conduct. They will hardly deny now that I had good reason.

Is President Wilson still at large? He is hardly safer than was Louis XVI. I, as an avowed and active Socialist of over 35 years standing, should have no chance at all.

But there is nothing really surprising in the incident. Beneath their music of civilization the American states have always remained primitive communities, and primitive communities naively persecute opinion as a matter of course.

My old label, "A Nation of Villagers," still holds good.

When is the Bartholdi statue to be pulled down?

Insidious Suppression.

"This report contains 388 pages, but in the first 360 pages you will not find a single corporation with more than \$10,000,000 capitalization and very few with more than a hundred thousand. Was it an accident that all the big corporations were held back while the data on more than 30,000 small companies was compiled and sent to the printer?"

"Some question might also be raised why this report does not include a single one of the big copper companies which in 1916 and 1917 made such stupendous profits, and why other notorious profiteers were omitted."

"But, putting all this aside, an examination of the report shows that some of the coal operators made as high as 7,856 per cent. profit. The fact is the nearly half of the coal companies, 185 out of 404, actually earned profits on their capital stock ranging from 100 per cent. to 7,856 per cent. The prices paid by the American people for their coal in 1917 were so high that nearly half of the mines reported were paid profits equal to their entire capital stock, and at least one of the mines was paid profits equal to 78 times its capitalization!"

"In 1917 the net income of the 404 coal companies reported was \$78,000,000, or nearly half of their total capital stock of \$175,000,000."

"These figures are based upon the original returns of the companies, and take no account whatever of millions of dollars of tax evasions which were revealed by the Internal Revenue Bureau in auditing returns. It is absolutely certain that in the last three years the American people have paid in net profits every dollar's worth of stock of the coal companies."

Capitalist Hypocrisy.

"These are the gentlemen who wrapped the American flag around themselves and denounced as Bolsheviks the coal miners who asked for an increase in wages sufficient to enable them to pay for the increased cost of living caused by such profiteers as these."

"But while the coal operators were making profits ranging as high as 7,856 per cent. on their capital profits ranging as high as 4,244 per cent., canners of fruits and vegetables 2,032 per cent., woolen mills 1,770 per cent., furniture manufacturers 3,295 per cent., clothing and dry goods stores 9,826 per cent., and to cap the climax, steel mills ranging as high as 20,999 per cent."

"A profit of 20,999 per cent seems incredible, but these are the facts. This steel company, according to the Treasury report, had a capital stock of \$5,000 and in 1917 reported to the Treasury Department a net income of \$14,549,952. After paying its excess profit tax, its net income still amounted to 212,584 per cent on its capital stock! This steel company did not stand entirely alone. There is another corporation reported on the same page as earning 20,180 per cent on its capital stock."

"Further in this treasury report is a report of a steel company with a capital stock of \$668,583,600. There is only one corporation in the world with that amount of capital stock—the United States Steel Corporation. I looked to see what income it had reported to the Treasury Department in 1917 and the amount recorded was \$155,854,365 before the deduction of income and excess profits taxes."

"The income reported by the corporation, however, in its published report before the deduction of taxes was \$478,204,342. Comparing these two sets of figures it looked like about \$323,000,000 of the Steel Corporation's income was being concealed."

Denied Permission to See Figures. "It did not seem possible, so I went to the Treasury and asked permission to see the return of the United States Steel Corporation so that facts might be verified. Access to verify these facts was denied me."

"So far as the income and excess profits tax are concerned, the Treasury Department is an impenetrable veil through which no citizen is permitted to see."

"In the industries engaged and manufacturing the necessities of life there was not a single one which made less than 300 per cent or more on its capital stock."

"Out of 506 flour mills, 84 reported net profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock and one company reported 2,628 per cent. The bread and bakery companies were not so fortunate, but out of 217 of them 34 made more than 100 per cent on their capital stock."

"You have read advertisements in the newspapers costing millions of dollars, which tell you how little profit is made by the meat packers, but the Treasury Department's reports show that out of 122 meat packers 30 or one out of every four,

made more than 100 per cent profit on their capital stock. One of these companies made the nice little profit of 4,244 per cent on its capital stock in 1917."

"Concerning packers, the following is a significant thing found in the Treasury's report. A corporation is listed with a capital stock of \$100,000,000 in 1917. There are only two meat packing concerns with such a capital stock in 1917—Armour and Swift."

"In the income account this corporation reported to the Treasury a net income in 1917 of \$49,139,147 and after the payment of income and excess profits taxes it still had a net income of \$43,810,984."

"The published reports of Armour and Swift report to the public that their profits were only \$30,028,157 in 1917, and Swift reported profits of only \$34,650,000. I do not know which of these concerns is represented in the Treasury Department's report, but I do know that whichever one it is concealed from the public somewhere between \$9,000,000 and \$18,000,000 net income which they reported the treasury."

"The Treasury Department reports give the returns of 45 woolen mills, one of which earned 1,770 per cent on its capital stock. Out of the 45.17 reported profits of more than 100 per cent of their capital stock. Among the woolen mills we also have a case similar to the meat packers, of concealment of income of a woolen company capitalized at \$60,000,000."

"So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is only one woolen company in the United States capitalized at \$60,000,000—the American Woolen Company. The Treasury's report shows that in 1917 this \$60,000,000 woolen company reported a net income of \$28,560,342. The annual report of the American Woolen Company for 1917 shows a net income before taxes were deducted of only \$13,883,155."

"If this woolen company is in fact the American Woolen Company—and the evidence seems to be conclusive—it is clear that the American Woolen Company in 1917 concealed from the public profits of nearly \$15,000,000."

"It must not be imagined that manufacturers were the only ones who reaped enormous profits during the war. The report of the Treasury Department shows 2,068 clothing and dry goods stores, one of which earned 9,826 per cent on its capital stock and 26 earned more than 100 per cent. There are 577 furniture stores reported, of which 78, nearly

15 per cent, earned more than 100 per cent on capital stock, and one earned 781 per cent."

Lo, the Poor Contractors.

"We have heard a great deal about the high cost of building in the last few years. In nearly every case an attempt is made to attribute the high cost to the wages paid building labor, but this report shows that out of 809 contractors and construction companies, 154, earned profits of over 100 per cent on their capital stock, or nearly four times its total capital in a single year."

EXTRA

CARNEY AGAIN INDICTED

Chicago Grand Jury Indicts 35 C. L. P. Members.

Irish Labor Supports Carney.

DULUTH, Minn.—Word was received here that the Chicago Grand Jury had indicted W. B. Ross, Lloyd and thirty five members of the Communist Labor Party. Included amongst the thirty five, are the members of the National Executive Committee, of which Carney is a member.

The "Watchword of Labour", the official organ of the Irish Labor movement, in its issue of January 3rd, publishes the following note regarding the arrest of Carney:—

JACK CARNEY AGAIN ARRESTED.

Obstructing Enlistments. Case Will be Fought to the End.

"My country, 'tis of thee, Sweet land of Liberty, Of thee, I sing!"

In his paper dated December 5, Jack Carney—little Jack with the happy smile—editor of The Truth, of Duluth, Minn., U. S. A., and member of the National Executive of the Communist Labour Party of America, reports his arrest in the following article. Jack, in his Belfast days, suffered imprisonment on the



"THAT'S HIM!"

same charge. The high courage and warm comradeship with which he faces the charge is characteristic. Our good wishes go with him in the trials he is called upon to face.

Our correspondent interviewed Jack Carney, relative to his recent indictment by the Chicago Grand Jury. Carney was of the opinion that if he was indicted any more, that he might make a fortune in the wall-paper, due to the exceptionally number of warrants that have been issued against him. He was of the further opinion, that these arrests tended to upset his nervous system and that there was a danger of his being further arrested for dancing the "shimmy dance".

Up to date, Carney has been served with the following warrants:—

1. Charged with obstructing enlistments, due to publishing Berger's platform.
2. Charged with further obstructing enlistments by demanding "Hands Off Russia".
3. Charged with deportation, for conspiring to overthrow the United States Government by force.
4. Indicted by the Chicago Grand Jury for similar "offence".

As there are still forty seven more States in the Union, Carney deems it advisable to withhold comment until all warrants are served. He has definitely refused to run for President on the Bolshevik ticket, owing to

pressing invitations from the United States Government to rest for a little while.

In the meantime Jack Carney will speak at the Woodman Hall, next Sunday evening. The subject of his lecture will be "THE FRAME-UP ON LLOYD GEORGE". He will explain how it is possible in Great Britain to heckle a statesman, but refuses to assume the responsibility of advising the workers of America to follow the example of the British workers.

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All Ex-Service Men Are Cordially Invited to Come and Have a Good Time With Your "Buddies"

Music by World War Veterans
12-piece Orchestra

ADMISSION, COUPLE 75c
EXTRA LADY 25c.

Much had already been written of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but no one knew exactly in what form it would be realized. The Russian Revolution shows us the precise form of that dictatorship. It is the Republic of the Soviets. This is why the arms of the Soviets are inscribed on the banners of the best ranks of the international proletariat.

Having presented to you both sides of the case, it can be readily seen that by carefully studying the evidence that the fundamental reason for the opposition of the capitalist class to the Soviet form of government, is **THE NECESSITY OF BEING WORKER BEFORE YOU CAN BE A VOTER.** The greatest torture that you can inflict upon the capitalist class, is not the nationalization of their womenfolk, but the compelling of them to go to work. Can you imagine how the soul of a Mrs. Pierpoint Morgan will revolt at the very suggestion that she wash her own socks? Fancy Mrs. Julius Barnes being compelled to cook Julius's dinner and darn his socks! The idea is preposterous, but yet the time is coming when ALL women will have to prove their loyalty to the country they claim allegiance to, by the work that they do. The sooner it comes the better. What a relief it will be to the workingclass woman who washes her own clothes and then travels out to the East End and washes the clothes of some fat-bellied parasite, in order that she might add to the scanty wages her husband earns. When we know that someday the Soviet system is going to be introduced into this country and ALL countries, you can readily understand why it is that we smile all the time, even though they arrest and arrest. Kathleen, my old Colleen, you will have to stay at home, because the rich women of this country will have to wait on themselves. What we state regarding the rich women, applies with equal force to their husbands. Judge Gary and his kind can have the benefit of upholding that moral principle of the Judge's, that principle that denies the right of the Steel workers to organize.

The American government can deport us, but they cannot deport the ideas that we represent. Already we are perceiving a change in the minds of the workingclass of this community. When we first came here, we had a hard fight. We found that the greatest opposition came from the workingclass, who had been influenced by the lies of the kept press. But today the same workingclass extends to us its sympathy and support. The many times that we have been arrested and the attempts that have been made to either silence our voice or drive us out of town, have all served to bring us more support and sympathy from the workers of this district. The closing down of the debate last week, has increased our prestige and when we finally leave this town, deported to another clime, there are thousands more of the workingclass who are going to ask, why were we deported? In the answer to that question, their attention is going to be brought around to the principles and ideals that we believe in. So after all, it is not the business element of this city that is going to have the last laugh, it will be JACK CARNEY. If you do not deport us, we will still continue to spread our ideas and if you do deport us, our deportation will serve to advertise them. Say, members of the Commercial Club, Kitchi-Gammi and other abodes of the parasites of this city, what are you going to do? You cannot deport the whole workingclass, because that would mean that YOU would have to work. It is a terrible mess you find yourselves in. We wish you luck!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL OF THE WORKING-CLASS!!

THE PEACE TREATY.

The press announces the signing of the Peace Treaty. Not that it matters to us whether it is signed or not, but to expose the hypocrisy and the duplicity of the Allies, and to substantiate the arguments that we put forth during the war, we purpose examining this "infamous doctrine".

Few people are really aware of the real nature of the Peace Treaty and the harsh terms it imposes upon the German people. They have been led to believe that when President Wilson, spoke on January 22nd, 1917, and uttered the following statement:—

"Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation under duress, at intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting of resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon a quicksand."

that he uttered the sentiments dear to his heart. Or perhaps they believed that demagogue of demagogues, Lloyd George, when he uttered the following statement to the assembled delegates of the British Trade Union Congress, held January 18th, 1918:—

"Germany has occupied a great position in the world. It is not our wish or intention to question or to destroy that position, but rather to turn aside from hopes and schemes of military domination, and to see her devote all her strength to the great beneficent tasks of the world. Our point of view is that the adoption of a really democratic Constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that in her the old spirit of military domination had, indeed, died in the War, and would make it much easier for us to conclude a broad, democratic peace with her."

Yet both these statements(?) after continually advising the German people to revolt, use the opportunity given to them by that revolt, to enforce a set of terms, that not even the hounds of hell could make a more devilish set. Peace Terms! They read more like a death warrant.

In his famous address of January 22nd, 1917, when he formulated his "forgotten" fourteen points, President Wilson stated, "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognise... that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about... as if they were property." Yet the people of "enemy" countries are being moved about, as if they were pawns in some great international chess competition. No thought for the associations and ties of birth, people are handed over to nations, just as if they were cattle. Take the case of the Province of West Prussia. They were formerly German states, yet they have been handed over to Poland, despite the fact that they are both German provinces, with an overwhelming German population. The population of West Prussia is 27.9 % Polish and the remainder German. No matter what one may state about Prussian militarism, they have never become as infamous as Paderowski's friends, who celebrated the birth of the new Polish Republic with a series of pogroms that would have made even the late Czar of Russia blush.

Where is the boasted "point" of the President's, the self-determination of nations? The handing over of the German people to the tender mercies of the Polish autocrats is one damning indictment and exposure of that statesman of the "new social order", President Wilson. We could continue to expose the hypocrisy of the Allied statesmen, but space prevents us from doing so. But let us journey on for awhile and examine the economic aspects of the Peace Terms, we should say P-I-E-C-E Terms.

"As the Lord liveth we had entered into no conspiracy against Germany. We were envying her territory. We sought not a yard of her colonies. We are in this war from motives of purest chivalry, to defend the weak." Mr. Lloyd George, Nov. 10th, 1914.

"The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that knows no frontiers and knows no standards but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned." Pres. Wilson, Sept. 27th, 1918.

After you have read the above extracts you would naturally assume that there would be no division of territory; that things would remain as they were previous to war being declared. Yet what have the Allies done? Have they stood by the statements of their spokesmen, George and Wilson? If you read the Peace Treaty carefully and realise how much Germany has had taken away from her, you will then realise how hypocritical the Allied statesmen are.

What Germany Has Lost.

She has lost from one-third to one (one-half of her coal-mines, due to the seizure of the Saar Basin and Upper Silesia. Two-thirds of her iron mines, due to the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

All ships above 1,600 tons burthen; one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons burthen; one quarter of her fishing fleet. A proportion of the shipping, tugs, and material used on her own waterways; and to France, a proportion of tugs and shipping from the Rhine harbors, or shares in German navigation companies.

Fourteen commercial cables.

140,000 MILCH COWS. When you know that thousands of German babies die at birth and that many mothers die because they are not physically strong enough to bear children, you must admit that this one section of the Peace Terms, is sufficient to condemn the whole Treaty.

This is not all that has been taken away from the German nation.

What Germany Lost Of Her Colonies.

Before we go on to inform you what Germany has lost of her colonial possessions, let us digest the following extract from one of the war speeches of Lloyd George:—

"We to-day are fighting NOT a war of conquest but a war of liberation."—Lloyd George, Feb. 12th, 1917.

Of course you would naturally assume that after the war was over and the Kaiser had been dethroned, that Lloyd George would have been satisfied. Yet we find that the ruling class of the Allied nations was not satisfied. They further required and obtained the following colonies from Germany:—

Kamerun and Togoland in West Africa, a total of 321,000 square miles.

German South-West Africa, 322,450 square miles; German East-Africa 384,180 square miles; Kiauchau in China, 2,020 square miles. In fact all German colonies were taken over or controlled by the Allied nations.

"We are NOT fighting the German people." Pres. Wilson.

The above quotation is taken from one of the war speeches of President Wilson. In fact it was the speeches of Wilson that acted as revolutionary propaganda in Germany. The belief in the statements of Wilson assisted the German people to overthrow the Kaiser and the ruling class of Germany. DID WILSON MEAN WHAT HE SAID?

To discover the truth of this, let us again examine the conditions laid down by the Peace Conference. The German nation is forbidden to construct canals on the right bank of the Rhine. Mind you this is in her own territory! She must grant the capitalist class of France on the right bank of the Rhine, privileges for the purpose of erecting engineering works. The Kiel canal is to be internationalised, not the Rock of Gibraltar. The German system of internal taxation is to be under the SUPERVISION OF THE ALLIES.

What American can honestly say that the Peace Treaty was formed by men who were imbued with the idealism of a liberty-loving people? The Peace Treaty is the product of men, who are just as much militarised in mind and thought as the Kaiser of Germany was. Not content with imposing harsh peace terms upon the German people, the hands of the Allied diplomats are stained with the blood of little children. Children not old enough to appreciate the "niceties" of international diplomacy, are now made to suffer all the horrors of hell. We do not care who you are and what your beliefs are, but if you countenance the terrible blockade that has for its numerous victims, little children, then there is no hope for you. Where is your boasted civilization? Where is the democracy that you were fighting for? We only wish that we could parade before your eyes, the bundles of skin and bones, that once were children. Picture your own child lying helpless in a cradle and a rich nation placing a blockade around your country and depriving your children of even a pint of milk PER MONTH. To hell with your boasted civilization that is built upon the blood and tears of little children. To hell with your so-called statesmen that are so inhuman as to vent their spite and reap their revenge upon little children.

D-E-P-O-R-T-A-T-I-O-N!! Let us get away from this order of things, that we call civilization. Let us go somewhere, where we can forget the horrors of Europe AND America. Let us go where we can close our eyes and blot out the memory of it all. Peace!! Well might the imps of hell laugh! No wonder that HELL hath lost its fears for the people. Hell is a paradise compared to the state of affairs that exist in Germany and Austria. Good Christian masters! You who worship on Sundays in your handsome churches. You who whitened sepulchres and Pharisees and Sadducees! Do you think that this will continue for ever? Bah! You blind and brutal fools!

Men and women of America! If within your bosoms there beats a heart, that contains within it one spark of human feeling, then what are you doing to save the children of today? Let your voices be heard! Sound your mighty protests! If the rulers of the world can only rule with the inflicting of torture upon little children, then let us cast them out into the realms of outer darkness and organize society upon a basis of real comradeship. Study the lot of children in Germany and Austria and also the lot of children in Russia and MAKE YOUR CHOICE-CAPITALISM OR BOLSHIEVISM!

WE HAVE MADE OURS.

LETTER FROM CRYSTAL EASTMAN

Dear Comrades of Duluth:—

Your local authorities preventing my telling you the story of my adventure in Communist Hungary. But let me tell you this. There in Hungary, where Communism is NOT dead but merely sleeping, in Russia where it triumphs, in Italy where it will soon be born,—there lies the hope of the world. Capitalist governments are wise enough to see their own doom in the steady burning flame of this new faith of ours. They try to put it out by persecution, by suppression, by lies. But it is too strong for them. It burns brighter and brighter in the hearts of the workers everyday.

They did not want you to hear my story because they knew I would tell you THE TRUTH; that Bela Kan was a strong wise leader, that he and the other Hungarian commissars were idealists; that under their four months rule everything possible was done, in that great crowded, hunger-stricken, blockaded city of Buda Pesth, to improve the lot of the workers.

Therefore, they did not want me to tell you about the LIBERATOR, the one revolutionary Socialist magazine which

has its OWN correspondents in Russia, in Italy and in Central Europe to-day.

Comrades, the Liberator is in danger, not of suppression, but of perishing from lack of funds. We ask you to come to the rescue, to help us over the present emergency, by SUBSCRIBING NOW FOR THE NEXT TWELVE ISSUES OF THE MAGAZINE. If you are already a subscriber, please subscribe for somebody else, or renew your own. THE LIBERATOR costs \$2.00 per year now, after February 1st, it will cost you \$2.50. Don't forget. Get out your pencil right off and fill in this blank.

Yours for the great change.

CRYSTAL EASTMAN.

We regret that Crystal Eastman was unable to place her story before you. So we trust you will assist the Liberator to tide over the present crisis. The Liberator is an absolute necessity and is well-worth the support of the entire radical movement. We trust everyone of our readers will fill in the following blank and send, at least, one dollar for six months' subscription. We have promised to secure for the Liberator, at least ONE HUNDRED SIX MONTHS SUBSCRIPTIONS. We feel positively sure that you will send in your sub. DO IT AT ONCE. MAKE NO DELAY—JUST PIN A DOLLAR BILL TO THE BLANK AND YOUR SUBSCRIPTION WILL START WITH THE NEXT NUMBER.

Tear off here today.

THE LIBERATOR,

34 Union Square, East,

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Enclosed please find

\$2.00 for one year's subscription.

\$1.00 for six months' subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____

Truth, Duluth, Minn., January 23, 1920.

WE WILL PRESENT A COPY OF THE BULLET REPORT TO ANY PERSON SENDING IN FOUR SIX MONTH SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE LIBERATOR.

SOCIALIST PARTY GOING STRONG!

New York after all is the barometer. New York gives the Socialist Party its national color. And it's not red.

The Socialist Party has exposed itself. All that has been said about it by its critics of the left has been proven true by its actions since the expulsion of the five Socialist Party legislators from the New York state assembly.

Coming close upon the heels of the red raids the news reached the nation that five Socialist Party assemblymen had been expelled by the New York state assembly. It was a deathblow to the Socialist Party until—prominent capitalist politicians, lawyers and masters of industry sensed that this action on the part of the New York assembly proved the contention of the communists that simple political action would never emancipate the working class and that the capitalist class dictatorship would never permit a working class majority in any legislative assembly to function, even in a pseudo-revolutionary manner.

The "agents" of the master class wanted to do a good job of the clean-up they were making. And they went right ahead, denied representative government, constitutional guarantees, boasted liberties and democracy and everything, just exactly as they will again do at any time the dictatorship of capitalists is threatened. Wise heads among some of the capitalists and their retainers, saw the danger. They decided it was too early in the game to take extreme measures, especially against a party which was not dangerous, a party which is reform and moderate and a splendid safety valve to keep capitalism from exploding.

What underground wires were working as between the Socialist Party leaders and leaders of the republican and democratic parties only few know. However, as if they had been paid for it and handsomely, prominent lawyers and politicians of ruling class views began making public their opposition to the action of the New York state assembly.

Charles Hughes and the New York City Bar Association began by resolution and public interviews, to criticize the action of the assembly. Other "big" men lent a hand. Several capitalist papers of New York City decided to champion the cause of the expelled Socialists. All this was done to help preserve representative government—for a little while longer, we might add.

Had the Socialist Party and its officials acted independently of this support which was coming their way from an enemy source, some respect for that party might have been maintained. The direct contrary happened. The leaders of the Socialist Party began bending the knee to the big lawyers who smiled upon them, lawyers which have and will again spit upon them. Hillquit, the gig man in the party, salomed his best when news reached him that Hughes was against expelling the Socialist assemblymen. And when the bar association elected a committee of five, Hughes among them, to go to Albany and help fight for representative government, Hillquit, in a letter in the Call, graciously bid for Hughes support as one of the counsel for the party. Note that it was not a case of hiring Hughes as counsel, but a sheer compromise with a capitalist class representative in a fight which should have been made independently if the Socialist Party had any honor.

Now comes the New York World, a daily capitalist sheet and starts a fund for the defense of the expelled Socialists. The money is to be used to defray the legal expenses. Does the Socialist Party refuse this enemy money? The World itself gives \$250.00. Ralph Pulitzer gives \$100.00. And low and behold, here is Barney Baruch with a hundred in blood money made out of the war. Forward steps Hillquit again and tells the readers of this capitalist sheet which is gathering these dollars from enemy sources, how the money so obtained will be spent. That means that the Socialist Party proves of these contributions from the capitalist class.

The Socialist Party is done for as a weapon for the working class. Only those will remain in its ranks who are dishonest or who do not understand the difference between reform with its compromising program and revolution with its deadly opposition to the master class.

The Socialist Party is now a lightning rod for the capitalist class. From it will be born a Noske and a Scheidemann. It is going strong down the wrong road, not in numbers, for the masses have left it, but in tactics. Its flag is pink and here in New York it is turning yellow.

And if the New York assembly decides to make the expulsion of the five Socialist assemblymen permanent? Then what?

Order a coffin!

EDITORS AND MANAGER OF "INDUSTRIALIST" ARRESTED

Last Tuesday witnessed the arrest of the editors and manager of "Industrialist", the Finnish I. W. W. daily newspaper. They were arrested on a warrant issued by county attorney Greene. They are charged under the "Criminal Syndicalism Law of Minnesota."

We shall refrain from making any criticism of County Attorney Greene, until after the hearing of the above case. In the meantime we trust that all workers will rally to the assistance of our Finnish fellow-workers and assist them in procuring the necessary funds for an adequate defense.

PREPARING FOR THE CRISIS

(The Scottish "Socialist")

One of the most dangerous developments in the industrial organisations of the working class demanding the serious attention of every worker and student, is the growth of an official class with its own vested interests and an excessive control over all the movements of the workers. Centralisation is proceeding apace, and as it does so the officials fasten themselves in office for longer and longer periods, and become the veritable rulers of the organisations. Centralisation is not necessarily bad; but centralisation which takes away all power of initiative, turns the rank and file of a movement into sheep-like beings devoid of individuality, and makes them blind worshippers of their rulers is a vicious development which must be checked. That it has grown quite naturally and almost unobserved by the members of the organisations and thrived on expediency we do not deny. That there are occasions when quick decisions are demanded by an executive body we also appreciate. But the fact remains that when all allowances have been made for these features, the gainst from them are outbalanced by the losses.

Every time the rank and file members relegate their power to an elected person they lose control over such a person, cease to have the power to recall the elected officer, their fate is largely in the hands of officialdom.

When it is remembered that Trade Unions are limited constitutionally, to narrow channels of activity, and that officialdom is a product of this limited activity, it is only to be expected that the official leaders are essentially conservative in outlook and action. To-day they have a nineteenth century psychology with which to face twentieth century problems. We have entered an era of revolution, demanding revolutionary leadership: we get in response pathetic appeals to do nothing which will disturb the equilibrium of the existing order issues are confined to narrow channels. Sectionalism becomes a virtue to them and class action a dreadful nightmare. The unity we have appealed for becomes a unity to stop action by the mass rather than a unity which shall lead them to victory. But worse even than these things has befallen us. They have confined the activities of the rank and file to negative acts. The most the rank and file have ever been asked to do is to stand still, to stop work, and wait and wait until somebody has done something for them. What more pitiable than to see thousands and thousands of workers quietly, patiently, waiting through weeks and weeks of a strike, appealing to these who are working to contribute funds to aid them. We call it grim tenacity. It may be. But the working class needs more than the grim tenacity of negative facism. If we are ever to become free, if we are ever to stop the exploitation of the peoples of the world, if we are ever to cease to be a subject class, we must learn to act positively and move to take that which by right is ours to rise and sweep the capitalist class aside and take control. The time has gone by when we should tolerate long, drawn-out sectional strikes. The bravery which can stand aside and see wives and children starve is not the bravery of the man who would be free. It is the bravery of obedience, the bravery of the slave, prepared to endure as a slave, created by sectional unionism and encouraged by caucus control. None can deny these features of trade unionism, and none can deny that more than negative virtues are demanded today.

Anything more than negative virtues, however, cannot exist apart from responsibility. Responsibility, initiative, character, capacity to do things all go together. To thrust more responsibility upon the rank and file is therefore of paramount importance for the checking of the baneful features we have enumerated, and for the development of the qualities necessary to achieve our freedom. We must transform the representative into a delegate and establish the power to recall elected persons. By these means, and these alone, can the rank and file assume full responsibility.

Immediately we proceed to consider how this can be accomplished we are faced with the canker-ridden bodies in power, many constitutions and long-drawn proceedings for alterations. Meanwhile Rome burns and deeds are demanded. Hence the only possible way to meet the situation is for the rank and file to build an alternative organisation, which can exercise its power to urge the Trade Union leaders forward, or set independently when circumstances demand.

We must be in the unions, of the unions, but not determined by their limitations. The working-class movement as a whole is greater than any section of it, and our tactics must be determined by correspondingly greater principle. To effectively accomplish these things a class organisation, with its elected officers controlled by the rank and file, is necessary. We have shown that such an organisation is essential from a structural point of view, when examining the Trades Unions in relationship to their capacity to control industry. Now we have shown the need for it from a tactical point of view. The industrial barometer steadily moves towards the storm signal, urging continually that preparations be not delayed. We have had one great strike in recent months, which found everybody at a loss and pathetically gazing on London. The next great crisis, with potentialities vaster than any wage issue, must not find the workers unprepared. We must complete the local organisations, make a working-class alliance in every locality that will be far superior to a top-heavy Triple Alliance. Complete local organisation co-ordinated by a National Council, with a capacity to seize the situation developed through the acceptance of responsibility with courage and initiative generated through conflict, such is the need of the hour and such is the immediate aim of the Workers' Movement. — J. T. Murphy.

MARTENS TELLS REPORTERS HE'S NO ALIEN ENEMY

(By United Press.)

WASHINGTON, D. C., — Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet republic, received the newspapers men at his headquarters here and denied that he had engaged in any activities in this country which would make him subject to deportation, as charged by the Department of Justice.

"I belong to no societies in the United States," said Martens. "My activities in the United States have been entirely friendly and along commercial lines." "My work in the United States has confined itself strictly to the presentation of arguments in favor of the establishment of friendly relations between the United States and Russia," he said, "and there has been no interference on my part in the internal affairs of the United States."

"Newspaper reports say that the United States officials plan to take action against me on the allegation that I am an enemy alien; if they are true, they are amusing. The United States is not at war with Russia and being a Russian citizen I cannot be an enemy alien. I have documentary evidence of my Russian citizenship."

"It is clear now that the Russian Soviet republic has been in existence two years and its strength and stability has been gloriously demonstrated by the complete victory of the Russian workers' forces over the reactionary Czarist elements in Russia, the world as a whole will find it possible and absolutely necessary to establish friendly relations with Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia has no unfriendly designs on the United States. On the contrary, it sincerely wishes to dispel the clouds which prevent an understanding at this time."

"We do not want to impose ourselves upon the American people. We only know that relations will be established sooner or later and if my presence is not desired in America, somebody else will be received by the United States government at the establishment of such relations. If I can in any way lay the foundations for these relations I shall have fulfilled by mission."

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

CARNEY DEFENSE FUND.

We wish to thank you all for your generous donations. Our case will be tried on February 17th. We do not know what the government is going to do, whether they are going to deport us or try us. You can rest assured that we shall not flinch when the time of trial comes. Therefore we ask you to put forth all your energy, so that we can make the best defense that is humanly possible.

We have every confidence that the GOVERNMENT HAS NO CASE AGAINST US. Even business men of this community, who are diametrically opposed to our political and economic beliefs, are agreed that our arrest was a deliberate perversion of the powers of the Government. Let us fight this case and if we win, we will make it well-nigh impossible for the local officials to pull off any more "raw stunts". If we allow the government officials to get away with cases like these, then heaven only knows where they will stop. So we trust you will rally to our side and send in THAT DAY'S WAGES.

We wish to thank you for your generous support in the procuring of cash bonds for comrades Haglund, and ourselves. It has been a surprise to the self-imposed guardians of "Ioranorder" to know that the workingclass of this city could raise \$20,000.00 in three days. Full steam ahead! It is either Ireland or Leavenworth. We are not worried which it is. Someday we shall have the pleasure of trying a few people that take a delight in trying us.

KINDLY SEND IN YOUR DEFENSE LISTS AT ONCE.

TRUTH--DULUTH WILL FIND US

"SOCIALISM'S BANANA PEEL."

"The whole of these various sorts of Socialism are based on one primary conception and that is that the productivity of the human being can be maintained under the impulse of altruism, and that the selection of the particular human for his most productive performance can be made by some superimposed bureaucracy.

My emphatic conclusion from all these observations is, therefore, that Socialism as a philosophy of possible human application is bankrupt.—Herbert Hoover.

If you want to test "statemen" these days, just try them out on a definition of what is Socialism and you will be surprised by the amount of ignorance that will be displayed. We venture so say, that we can go to any mine, factory or the shipyards of Duluth and pick out at least a dozen workers, who will, metaphorically speaking, wipe the floor with any of your professed leaders of public opinion. No wonder the world is in such a helluva mess! What else could we expect?

Let us examine the above statement of Hoover's. What was the motive that prompted millions of workers to stick on the job, all through the war? Was it a love for the boss? Certainly not. It was the spirit of altruism expressing itself. It was the feeling that they were saving the world for democracy. If you had placed the proposition before the workers of America, that the war was a commercial war and that it was a war being fought out for commercial advantages, how long would you have been able to keep the workers on the job? When you appealed to their humanitarian spirit and told them harrowing stories about the outraged Belgian women and the poor Armenian children, what were your reasons Hoover? Were they not a realization of the noble spirit of the workingclass, that ever prompts them to extend the hand of sympathy to those that they feel need it. All the support that the capitalist class secured for the war, they obtained because, "THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE HUMAN BEING CAN BE MAINTAINED UNDER THE IMPULSES OF ALTRUISM." But it Hoover is correct, then the American people only worked to carry on the war, just for what they could get out of it. In other words, your boasted patriotism is all a mere sham and is just another name for the sordid materialism that we hear so much about. Hoover cannot have it both ways. Either the people of America were imbued with a spirit of altruism or they were not? The opposite of altruism is selfishness. Which was it Mr. Hoover?

"That the selection of the particular human for his most productive performance can be made by some superimposed bureaucracy."

Who gives you job? The foreman. Who gives the foreman his job? The manager. Who gives the manager his job? The superintendent. Who gives the superintendent his job? The directors. Who gives the directors their jobs? They give themselves their own jobs. What did Mr. Hoover say, "a superimposed bureaucracy". The directors of all companies are a superimposed bureaucracy. You never heard of Judge Gary working before a steel furnace and working his way up. You might possibly hear someday of his working his work down. Not yet, but soon. The huge majority of your directors never knew what it was to even understand the technique of the industry they control. They are self-appointed, the farce of being elected by shareholders has long since been exploded. These directors dominate the industry of America and THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT. The workingclass, under this super-imposed bureaucracy, cannot select its own jobs. It must take the jobs that are offered to it and at the terms that this superimposed bureaucracy imposes. Mr. Hoover makes one profound mistake and that is, that he uses the term SOCIALISM when he refers to CAPITALISM.

We feel sorry for Bingham, the purveyor of billious bunk, that appears daily in the columns of the Duluth Herald. He endeavors to pull Hoover out of the quagmire of political ideology. Hoover is bad enough, but Bingham! R-I-P. Bingham states the foundation of Socialism to be, "the conception of an evergrowing proletariat getting poorer all the time and an ever-decreasing class of plutocrats growing richer as they grow less numerous. "Between ourselves, what can you do with a man who publishes such stuff?

"The political events are but the surface, but a rippling of what is raging in the depths of history, at the bottom of social life," so wrote Joseph Dietzgen several years ago. The mere fact that aspirants for the Presidency of America, deem it worth while to make their position regarding Socialism known, is proof positive that they recognise that Socialism is now a dominant issue in the world of international politics. Time there was when they classed it as a fantasy, born of the minds of dreamers, today they attempt to prove that it is a bankrupt philosophy. Socialism, or to give it its modern name, Communism or Bolshevism, the name depends upon the amount of the moral courage that you are possessed of, is the next stage in the development of human society. It will come into being, not as the result of a religious revival, with its appeals to the emotions of the people, but will come as a result of the conscious, systematic organization of the workingclass, backed by a firm determination on the part of that class, to refuse to be the slaves of those that hold power today. No matter how one may argue in the class room, about the soundness of the arguments of the Communist, Socialist or Bolshevik, the

fact still remains that there is a growing desire on the part of the workingclass to get away from wage-slavery and to rise to something higher, than being the mere tools of a slave-owning class, the employing class.

Personally we are not concerned about proving whether Hoover is right or wrong. Who cares? Proving the "Justice" of your arguments is a task that has been the work of the politician. He wants votes and so he must appeal to all the "nice" people. But to the worker that really wants to introduce the new order of society, there is more important work to be done and that work is on the job. We have got to introduce into industry, democracy and that introduction will be performed by the workingclass. To obtain industrial democracy, the workingclass must organize into industrial unions, these must be part and parcel of the ONE BIG UNION. With the organization of the workingclass into industrial unions, the task becomes twofold. First, they must utilize their political power in order to obtain control of the State. Secondly, they must also educate themselves into a thorough understanding of how to carry on industry, after the collapse of capitalism has set in. To obtain control of the State, they must utilize the ballot as well as the strike. They must whenever possible, elect their men to office, but they must also use their economic power in order to nullify or enforce all laws that may be opposed or in favor of their interests. If the Cummins Bill is passed and the right to strike is taken away from the railroad workers, they must strike in order to nullify the Cummins Bill. The American people have the right to kill any law that is opposed to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Again if any law is declared to be unconstitutional and that law is in the best interests of the workingclass, they must strike to enforce it.

The workingclass of this country have lately witnessed a series of raids of deportations. We trust that the American worker is not going to allow himself to be fooled by the specious pleas of politicians of the type of Palmer, the cunning Quaker. Palmer wants to be President and so he uses the offices of the government to prove to the paymasters of the political parties, that he is a "strong" man. Palmer resorted to force, in order to prove that he did not believe in it. Don't be fooled, American workers! Once you allow any gang of corrupt politicians to frighten you into submission, then prepare for the worst. In your strong right arm, you have the power that moves the world. Without the use of that strong right arm, not one wheel of industry will turn. Therefore if you have the power to run the world, you have the power to decide as to whether that power shall be used to make the many happy and free, or the few rich and powerful. Never allow any man or group of men to hold you down. Stand up and assert yourself at all times. If there is a shortage of food, then let those that do NOT work go without. If there is any hoovering to be done, let Hoover's pals start in first. The foreigners are going home, are you going to submit to the degradation and the oppression that the foreigner submits to? You must realize that somebody will have to do the dirty and hard work of the nation and if the foreigner is deported, then you will have to do it. It is all very well and good saying that you will never do it, but if you stand alone or an simply organized in craft unions, then you are powerless to prevent yourselves being driven into the lumbercamps, mines or the steel plants. Let your manhood assert itself. Let there be no delay.

You may argue that the reason why the foreigner had to submit to had conditions, was on account of his stupidity and ignorance. Let us call to your attention, the words of a Philadelphian minister:—

"Add one cubit to the aspirations of those men, and you will rock the social order from which you all derive your privileges and all are trying to preserve!" he exclaimed.

Then he explained. He described the economic function of the immigrant, as assigned him by the big employing corporations, which were yearly penetrating farther into the East to procure the simple, docile class of labor they desired. He described the pleasant old streets in Philadelphia which had been transformed into rows of squalid barracks which the aliens called homes, in which they swallowed rank whiskey to digest their fatty food, and shuffled over bare floors in coarsened boots. He named the great corporations whose settled policy it was to compose their working force of at least three hostile racial groups, an d to weed out for discharge the men who learned English and sought to promote fraternity among the groups. He measured their known weekly wage against the known cost of a bottomdog existence and the pennies each alien tried to save to take him back to Greece or Bessarabia.

"The ignorance you point to, the squalor you deplore, are an exact social consequence of the wages you pay and the isolation you impose upon the alien," the preacher continued. "Do not come to these people with any talk about Americanization and assimilation until you have measured the cost of a comfortable existence against the wages they receive, and you know the difference will be made up by their employers. Keep in mind that what you have is based in large part upon what they have and have not. Never forget that you cannot wipe out things at the bottom which you don't like without wiping out some things at the top which you do like.

You can't lift up unless you are willing to give up. If you are not ready to give up anything, then go your way and thank God that He has peopled the earth with millions of human beings whose minds are so dull and senses so coarse that they will submit to the slavery you have imposed on them."

THAT MINISTER SPOKE THE TRUTH. Your so-called Americanization committees never attempted to educate the foreigner, because they realised that educated foreigners are "dangerous", they might object to the rotten conditions they have had to contend with. The only fault we find with the foreigner and the fault is a more grievous one, when applied to the native born Americans, is that they have not got together in the industrial organization of their class and asserted themselves. It does not matter what nationality you are, if you produce the wealth of ANY country, you have the right to demand that your comfort and wellbeing be the first charge upon the community. The only reason why they arrest us on a deportation warrant, also comrade Haglund, is because they cannot put that "foreigner" stuff over. Let us all get together, we mean those of you that are left behind. Discard your foolish ideas about one nationality being better than another. Stand as one and be possessed of sufficient moral courage to be able to stand erect and look your boss straight in the eyes and if necessary tell him to go to plumb to h—l. Why be slaves, when you can be freemen? Why go without, when you produce plenty? The world awaits you, in all its glory and wonders of nature. The most efficient machinery applied to the natural resources of the earth, together with your labor-power, can bring joy and contentment to all mankind. Are you content to forever be satisfied with the sordid struggle of existence or is there within your soul a desire to stand with your fellow-worker and march forward with head erect, out of the darkness of capitalism into the sunshine of industrial democracy? Stand up workers of America, for remember THE GREAT ARE ONLY GREAT BECAUSE WE ARE ON OUR KNEES!

WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

Whilst it has been found absolutely necessary to disband the Communist Party of Minnesota, we wish to inform those concerned that we ourselves still retain membership in the Communist Labor Party. We still insist that we have the right to our point of view and we are not going to allow even a reactionary politician like Palmer to deny us that right.

Other comrades have had to withdraw their membership. Their lot was harder than ours, but WE STILL CARRY ON THE SAME FIGHT AS BEFORE.

DEBATE ON BOLSHEVISM.

After a considerable amount had been spent on advertising the debate between the Editor of the "North-West Warriors" Magazine" and ourselves, the debate was suddenly called off.

The instigators of the debate thought that if we were to openly proclaim ourselves as an advocate of the theories of Bolshevism, that a wave of resentment would arise and we would be swamped by it. But to our surprise, and more to the surprise of the other side, the people of this community exhibited an interest, that was not very comforting to the imitations of a demented Kaiser, that inhabit the East of this city. They little realised or understood the temper of the workingclass. Despite the fact that the cancellation of the debate was announced through the local press, thousands of people turned out in the anticipation of hearing it. We regret that the debate was not allowed to go on. We were extremely anxious to have before us the business element of this community, so that we might let them know what we thought about them, and how little they counted in the world of real things.

The local papers were very much upset over the fact, that an alien should presume to teach the American people their business. It was an unforgivable crime on our part to even question the United States form of government, much less suggest an alternative. Looking over our library we find that some of the books and writers that have influenced our minds, since we came to this country, are "Pure Sociology" by Lester F. Ward, "Man as Adaptive Mechanism" by J. Crile, "The Universal Kinship" by Professor Moore, "The Instinct of Workmanship," "The Theory of the Leisure Class", "Vested Interests", the three latter works by Professor Veblen, "Ancient Society" by Lewis H. Morgan, and "Ancient Lowly" (two vols) by C. Osborne Ward. There are many other American writers whom we have read. Now the responsibility for our ideas rests upon the publishers of this country, who gave us the opportunity of obtaining access to works, that we were unable to obtain in Europe. Consequently our ideas are not "alien", by the way whoever heard of thought having a nationality, but are a product of the American literature, that we bought in American stores, written by American writers. Furthermore it will become American people to chastise us for offering them advice on how to run the country. President Wilson went to Paris, prepared to run the world. So we have not quite got the same amount of gall as the President. Some years ago we heard the late Theodore Roosevelt speak in the Guildhall, London. At that meeting he made a statement that set the ears of members of the British Government a tingling. The Statement was in reference to the British rule in Egypt, Roosevelt stated, "IF YOU CANNOT RULE EGYPT, THEN GET OUT". Yet there was not ONE British newspaper that exhibited the bigotry of the Duluth Herald or the News-Tribune. They welcomed the criticism of the British colonial policy. If criticism is not true, then it kills itself and also kills the public career of the person who makes it. If criticism is true, then the critic renders a public service by drawing the attention of the people to a state of affairs, with which they are not acquainted. Only knaves or stupid fools object to criticism. Are the American people so sensitive, that they are afraid to have their (?) government criticised? Or is it because we touched a very sore spot that they resent our remarks? We feel inclined to believe that the latter reason is the correct one. When we first came to this country, the report of the Industrial Committee was made public. We read it from the beginning to the end if there is any American who feels proud of the work of the American capitalist class, through its Government, then we strongly advise him to read this report. That report is a scathing indictment of the boasted civilization of America. Yet it is a report of a Committee of Americans, appointed by an American (by birth), President Wilson. We advise you to read it, that is if you can obtain a copy.

Another matter we desire to bring to the attention of the workers of Duluth, is that the business element through L. C. HARRIS, a briefless lawyer of this city, had organized a gang of hoodlums. If during the debate our remarks were applauded, then this gang would immediately attempt to wipe the floor with those that sympathised with us. The authorities were afraid that our supporters would get the best of the argument, and we feel sure, that if you have ever seen a meeting of our supporters, you will agree with the authorities. We defy any gang in this city to attempt to pull off any rough stuff. We may object to going over to Europe to fight, but that does not mean that we are pacifists. We trust the ill-informed workers of this city will realise, that all that the business element of this city tells them is not the gospel truth. If you want to start a fight, always find out who your opponent is. It pays in the end.

Let us come to the real issue of the controversy that this debate has created. The issue is, the SOVIET GOVERNMENT v. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT? By the way, let us quote the AMERICAN DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, so that we shall not be accused of transplanting foreign ideas in this country. We are now quoting from a photographed copy of the original Declaration:—

"When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.—We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORMS, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS."

Having established a legal basis for our argument, a legal basis furnished by the best legal minds of the world, because they were American men who formulated the above declaration and so there can be no question as to their ability, we will now proceed to demonstrate why we believe in the Soviet form of government as opposed to the American form of government.

The fundamental difference between the Soviet form of government and the parliamentary form is this, that under a Soviet form of government, only those that WORK can vote. To vote in an election you have got to show your

time-ticket. In the parliamentary form, you are allowed to vote, worker or shirker, providing you fill certain requirements of the law. In many cases, thousands of workers are disqualified from voting. The transients for instance. Those who are engaged in seasonal employment. Under the Soviet form of government, if you are a gunman, stool-pigeon, white-slaver, capitalist or hanger-on of the capitalists you cannot vote. Hence there is raised a wild objection to the Soviet system, also a decided objection to the common people knowing the truth about what constitutes a Soviet government. In the parliament or Congress, not only are the voters obtained from the ranks of the workers, but from the ranks of gunmen, stool-pigeons, white-slavers, capitalists, bankers stockbrokers and other parasitical sections of the community.

A study of the work of Congress will prove to any person, who is not bigoted, that the capitalist class have used Congress as a means to enslave and hoodwink the workingclass. Through the acts of Congress hundreds of workng-class could only gain their information from the few papers that were left and the thousands of capitalist papers that are published. Therefore, if one section of the community is allowed to state its case and the other section is denied that opportunity, then how can we honestly claim that the voters receive a fair knowledge of the political issues that are presented to them at election times? In addition workingclass speakers are jailed for telling the truth about the acts of the Administration, consequently the people are again prevented from knowing the truth. The result being that the election of men to Congress is not "democratic" but AUTOCRATIC. We will suppose for one moment that workingclass papers are allowed to circulate and that as a result they elect their representatives to Congress, as in NEW YORK CITY and MILWAUKEE. What follows? Immediately the capitalist class discover that these men have the overwhelming support of the workingclass behind them, they are DEBARRED from taking their seats. Where now is your boasted democracy? But for the sake of pursuing the argument further, we will suppose that no objection is offered to the seating of radical workmen. What then? These men decide that certain laws should be passed, "in the interests of the workingclass. The laws are passed. Then the United States Supreme Court declares them unconstitutional. Will anybody state that the election of judges to the U. S. Supreme Court is a democratic election? Of course not. THEY ARE APPOINTED by the President. So where is your GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE AND FROM THE PEOPLE? We could fill the columns of this paper with examples of the UN-democratic form of the Congress of these United States.

We will now present to you comrade N. Bakharin, of the Russian Soviet Government. He will state the argument for the Soviet form of government.

The Soviet System.

In the Soviet Republic, born of the dictatorship of the workers, the administration rests on an altogether new bases. It is not an organisation of officials independent of the masses and dependent on the capitalists. The central government is established on the great class organisations of the workers and peasants: the industrial unions, the factory committees, local workers' and peasants' councils, and organisations of soldiers and sailors. From the centre stretch thousands and millions of conducting threads which lead to the provincial Soviets, the municipal Soviets, the local Soviets, and finally to the factory and workshop Soviets.

Take, for example, the Chief Economic Soviet (or Council). It is composed of representatives of industrial commissions, factory committees, and similar institutions. On the one hand, the industrial unions embrace all industrial activity, they have ramifications in the various towns and are maintained by the masses of the organised workers. On the other hand, there exists to-day in every factory a committee elected by the workers. The factory committees group themselves and send their representatives to the Chief Economic Soviet, which elaborates plans for economic changes and the administration of production. In the same way the central organism of administration is composed of representative workers, and rests upon the mass organisations of the working class.

Popular Initiative.

Thus we have an institution quite different from the capitalist republic. Not only because the non-producer is deprived of the right to vote; not only because the country is administered by the workers and peasants, but above all because the Government of the Soviets is in constant relations with the organised masses, and in this way, at all times, the greater part of the population joins in the administration of the State. Every organised worker exercises an influence, not only because, once or twice a month, he elects to represent him in whom he places confidence, but because the industrial unions can themselves elaborate their own plans of organisation. These plans are examined by the Soviets concerned, by the economic Soviets, and, if approved, they become law as soon as the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets has ratified them. An industrial union, or factory committee can in this way take part in the common work of building up new forms of life.

The New Status of the Workers.

In the capitalist republic the position of the State improves as the activities of the masses are restricted, for the interests of the masses are in conflict with the capitalist State. The Soviet Republic, which embodies the dictatorship of the popular masses, could not subsist for a single instant without their support. On the contrary its strength grows as the masses become more conscious, and as they become more active in every direction: in the factory and the workshop, and in every town and village.

Before the October revolution the organisations of workers and peasants were simply the instruments of the class war against the ruling and possessing capitalists. The organisations fought capital for higher wages and shorter working days, and in the villages they fought for the expropriation of the land. Now that the power is in the hands of the workers and peasants, they have become the wheels of the governmental mechanism. The industrial unions are not merely fighting capitalism. As an organic and integral part of the Workers' Soviet Government they join in the organisation of production and economic activity. In the same way, the village and peasant Soviets, not only wage war upon the village usurers, the capitalists, and the proprietors of the soil, but, as organs of government, as wheels in the mechanism of this giant, the workers and peasants' State, they work to elaborate new agrarian laws.

The Victory of the Workers.

Thus, little by little, through the organisations of the workers and peasants, the most extensive sections of the active population are summoned to take part in the affairs of State. No other country offers anything to compare with this, because no other country has known the victory of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Republic of the Soviets.

(Continued on page 3)