

"Keep accurate and conscientious accounts; do not loaf; do not steal; maintain strict discipline at work." These slogans, which were justly ridiculed by revolutionary proletarians when they were used by the bourgeoisie to cover its domination as a class of exploiters, have now, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, become the urgent and principal slogans. And the practical realization of these slogans by the toiling masses is, on one hand, the sole condition for the salvation of the country and on the other hand, the practical realization of these slogans by the Soviet power, with its methods, and on the basis of its laws, is necessary and sufficient for the final victory of Socialism.

—Nikolai Lenine in "The Soviets at Work."

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

THE TRUTH



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WHOLE NUMBER 81

"A CHRISTIAN NATION"

Over seven millions of men were killed in the world war and over thirteen millions wounded. This terrible total is said to be incomplete. Of the thirteen millions wounded, at least one million are so cruelly maimed that words fail to describe the horror of this earthly inferno. The immense burden of woe that has been placed upon the shoulders of tens of millions of bereaved women and children is so staggering that the mind revolts at its contemplation. --- And today in this country there are men and women in prison, and others about to enter its gates, who have denounced war and the makers of it. "A Christian Nation!" It is a blasphemous lie. The imprisoning of these men and women is a damning indictment against our humanity and a proclamation to the world of our hypocrisy.

SOVIET TALESPRUNG IN SOCIALIST TRIAL

City Yipsel Charges Abuse by United States Agents

Federal Operatives Chased Him From Court Building for Telling Prosecutor He Didn't Receive an Alleged Letter From Kruse, Socialist Lad Swears.

In reviewing the evidence of Victor L. Berger, supplied by a member of the Socialist Party, David Karsner, we are more than disappointed, we feel embittered against our so-called leaders in endeavoring to keep themselves out of jail, at the expense of the I. W. W. The evidence presented by Victor L. Berger is a lasting disgrace to the rank and file of the Socialist Party and we strongly urge upon our readers to clip this evidence from Truth and keep it in safe keeping, so that we may hereafter deal with Berger and those who are afraid to take a revolutionary stand in capitalist courts. We regret that we are compelled to write in this strain, but unfortunately we can do no other. We would be false to our own class, if we allowed any person, be they Socialist or otherwise, to use internal affairs of the party as a means to keep them out of prison. Better to be true to your own class and in prison, than betray them and go free. — Ed. Truth.

By David Karsner,
Staff Correspondent.

CHICAGO. — "Do you know it to be a fact that the Russian Soviet was bought with German gold?"

The questioner was an assistant District Attorney for the prosecution in the trial of five Socialist party officials for alleged conspiracy under the Espionage act.

"No, sir; that is an exploded lie," snapped J. Louis Engdahl, one of the defendants, who completed his testimony today.

"Don't you know that Lenine and Trotsky were the paid agents of the Kaiser?" returned the young prosecutor.

It seemed as though one were living in a forgotten age, with all the literature and thought of the day dead and buried.

In a moment a legal squall had blown up in the solemn courtroom, almost deserted by the spectators because of the Christmas blizzard that has buried this great gray city beneath a brown carpet of slush and mud.

Stedman, Cunnea and Cochenis, attorneys for the Socialists, were on their feet, shaking fists at the young prosecuting attorney. All were trying to explain the Russian revolution and the part played in it by Nikolai Lenine and Leon Trotsky.

The one man in the courtroom who could have solved the whole riddle

in a moment sat back quiet and smiling. He was Santeri Nuorteva, representative to the United States from the workers' Finnish government.

Judge Landis stretched himself from the leather confines of his great chair and, walking over to the end of the bench, said to the jury:

"Gentlemen, it does not make any difference whether Lenine is a hog thief or a gentleman, or whether Trotsky is a saint or a sinner. It has nothing in the world to do with this litigation."

Then, waving angry hands at the protesting lawyers, he admonished them "to get back to the lawsuit."

The Russian Soviet was the government that, more than any other influence, overthrew the German Imperial government and hastened world peace," shot in Engdahl, to explain what he meant by the Soviet and proletariat, and other terms relating to the class struggle.

Red Roses for Landis.

He also delved into the history of the red flag, over which the nation seems to be in the throes of an epileptic fit at present. While Engdahl was explaining why red was the predominant color in the flags of free nations, Judge Landis' messenger brought in three feet of red roses and placed them on the desk of the court. The roses were the Christmas gift of the jury to the court.

"I hope the court observes the color of the roses," said Cunnea.

The court smiled a wry smile.

Congressmen and senators who voted against the declaration of war, and opposed the draft law, were inferentially taken to task today by Prosecutor Fleming. At least, Engdahl was severely questioned by the prosecutor because he had printed in the American Socialist some of the extracts from the speeches of the men in Congress.

Prisoner's Letter Read.

During the day the prosecution introduced a letter from a Socialist conscientious objector in jail at St. Paul, Minn., in which the Socialist said he was converting the whole jail to Socialism.

The letter, or portions of it, were printed in the Yipsel column of the American Socialist.

The Socialist letter writer drew attention to his statement that 9,000 failed to register in St. Paul and only eight were arrested.

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THE ROAD TO POWER

By KARL DANNENBURG
(Reprinted from his famous work "Karl Marx. The Man and His Message.")

Consequently, through the importance of their economic function, through their irreplaceability in the process of social production, the power of the working class is much greater than its numerical strength would have it appear.

However, mere numbers and economic significance can not alone give a class power, if it is not conscious of the same. If a class has not recognized its peculiar position in society, and the distinct interests interwoven therewith; if a class, thoughtless and enervated, submits to the domination of its oppressors, thinking this to be the eternal order of things, then all its numbers and economic significance will not carry any weight.

Therefore, to these factors of working class power, clear conception and knowledge must be added. Only through class-consciousness will this large number of workers become a contingent of workers for its own class, only thereby will they become conscious of the might slumbering in their economic irreplaceability, and be able to apply the same in their own interests. Class-consciousness first infuses this gigantic, muscular but dead body with life, and makes it competent to engage in class activity.

Anton Pannekoek.

It is a recognized and accepted proposition amongst Socialists that Socialism derives its claim to a science from two branches of scientific investigation: The first, Marxian Economics, is a thorough dissection and profound critique of capitalist production; and the second, the Materialist Conception of History, provides the student with a theory for the understanding and appreciation of historical phenomena or social development.

Through the application of the Socialist method of historic investigation to social evolution, the various and ever changing stages in the complex development of mankind assume a more distinct form, and the driving forces and causes underlying this endless chain of struggles, transformations and revolutions are laid bare and exposed to the investigator. Through the proper utilization of the Materialist Conception of History in studying the past and present of human progress, history, with its many almost impenetrable mysteries and strange labyrinths, ceases to be a closed book to the student, and becomes a vital, interesting narrative, depicting the unceasing struggles of the classes through the ages; a struggle that finds its culmination in the furious class war raging between Capital and Labor to-day, and that will be definitely concluded with the abolition of class prerogatives in property and the establishment of

the Industrial Republic. As stated before, to shed light on the multifarious phase of historical development, and to thus enable the investigator to intelligently appreciate and appraise existing conditions by a sound knowledge of the past, also to enable him to vision and penetrate into the future with the aid of scientific spectacles, that is the domain of Historical Materialism, the ground work of the Socialist philosophy.

Upon this massive and imposing foundation the system of Socialism or, to be more exact, Marxian Economics is erected. The Economics of Marx are nothing else but a key for the proper understanding of the origin, nature and culmination of the capitalist system of production. Marxian Economics furnish to the student a complete analysis of the laws underlying present day production; they point out the causes of the various industrial manifestations and also expose and formulate the tendencies inherent in these economic potentialities. Thus the genesis of profit, interest, rent, unemployment, pauperism, competition and wars is easily ascertained from the aid of the Marxian system of economic research. For a scientific conception of Capitalism, therefore, the study of Socialist Economics is indispensable. And without a sound knowledge of capitalist production, no effective Socialist activity, economic or political, is possible.

The Materialist Conception of History and Marxian Economics, i. e., the Socialist conception of historic development plus the Socialist analysis of capitalist production, these two theoretical systems are the intellectual pillars upon which the Socialist movement rests — they symbolize the bedrock of Socialist science. In proportion as the Socialist movement organizes and develops in accord with the dictates flowing from a proper assimilation of these principles, in that proportion will it become a Socialist movement and possess the revolutionary and constructive vitalities so peculiar to a class-conscious movement, and vice versa. Therefore, the strength of the Socialist movement is necessarily to be found in a sound and comprehensive understanding of its principles and aims by the rank and file. Without this understanding no intelligent action is possible, and no responsible opinion can be rendered or decision arrived at. Consequently, familiarity with the fundamentals of the Socialist philosophy as an imperative prerequisite for a competent conception of party problems, and also for the proper understanding of Socialist tactics.

The question of Socialist tactics belongs to the Constructive Department of Socialism. It is a question which is generally raised unwillingly, and mostly considered not worthy of serious discussion. To many Socialists, and they are generally of the

calibre who have not mastered the fundamental prerequisites underscored above, the tactics of the Socialist movement are not determined by the conscious efforts of the Socialists, but are more or less the product of chance. And when we study the tactics employed by the different state and local organizations of the Socialist Party in this country, and notice the different conceptions responsible for the same — conceptions that, in many cases, go as far apart as day and night — then we must conclude: that this melting pot of tactics, this tactical hash, is only conceivable and possible in an organization whose members have as yet developed no unity of opinion as to the aim and historic mission of Socialism. A proper conception of the social significance of Capitalism, coupled with a knowledge of the economic structure of capitalist production, is bound to equip every worker with a proper understanding of the role played, or to be played, by the Socialist movement in present society. Such an understanding will necessarily and instinctively stimulate the imagination, and create a vision of the goal of the Socialist movement in the mind of every proletarian. The historic role and status, and the goal of the Socialist movement being given, the determination of the proper tactics and methods to be employed in the struggle for industrial liberty now becomes imperative and a burning question.

The Constructive Department of Socialism is that branch of socialist philosophy which occupies itself with the methods and form of organization to be employed by the workers in their struggle against the exploiters for the Industrial Republic. It is the logical supplement to the two theoretical systems touched upon above; Marxian Economics and Historical Materialism emphasizing the necessity for and historic basis of Socialism, and Constructive Socialism pointing out the method for its realization. This constructive phase of Socialism is in reality the most important element in the Socialist philosophy, because the development and success of the class-conscious proletariat actually depends upon its proper organization and the correct tactical interpretation and application of Socialist principles. Without the proper appreciation of the Socialist goal and adoption of the tactics resulting therefrom, no decisive victory for the working class is possible — no victory for Socialism can be obtained. The tactics, nature and form of organization of the Socialist movement may, therefore, be defined as the tools of the working class absolutely essential to the erection of the Industrial Republic. To determine and define these methods

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THE SOVIETS IN SIBERIA

American Wife of Murdered President of Siberia Tells of Ruin Wrought by Japanese Invasion.

From Seattle Union Leader.

(Comrade Tobin was the principal of the Workers' Institute of Chicago. When the Russian revolution first took place, Tobin was firmly established in a lucrative law practice. The future was a rosy one for him. He threw it all on one side, despite the fact that he was beginning to reap the reward of his struggles. Well do we remember the look in his face when we bid him good-bye one Saturday afternoon. Russia meant so much to Tobin. Here was a chance to get into action, far removed from the sordid life of Chicago. Russia the beginning of a world-wide Socialist Republic. His story is best told by his beloved wife. Comrades how long are we going to stand for this? Comrades out there they are giving up their lives, whilst we are frittering away our time arguing about foolish reforms. There they are doing big things, upsetting thrones and despotism, we here are talking about immediate demands, they talk of revolution, more than that they translate their words into deeds. Out on the cold steppes of Siberia lies the murdered body of our comrade Tobin. Murdered by the dirty, soulless, slimy imperialists of the world. Idealists murdered by debauched degenerates. Men and women are you and all of us mad? Shall we who built the world allow degenerate rulers to trample on and murder our comrades? Comrades of you have been holding back in the past, now, because we are going to need you. Come and let us avenge the death of Tobin. Let us rise and take from the bloated, degenerate imperialists of the world, the industries etc that we built. Comrades the power is in your hands, let us drop all state and act together. "For the cause alone is worthy until the good days bring the best,"

Ed. Truth.)

An American teacher-lawyer-painter, who went from Chicago to Siberia, rose rapidly in the Soviet government, introduced Montessori education and American sanitation, put his section of the country on a sound financial gold basis, closed saloons and brothels and established a great conservatory of music — and was then murdered in the counter-revolution by the old officers of the czar under the shelter of the Japanese invaders — such is the romantic tale told by Mrs. A. S. Tobin, widow of the murdered man.

Strangest fact of all the strange story is this: When Mrs. Tobin left Siberia to come home, she collected many papers revealing methods and purposes and ac-

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ALLIES GENDARMES OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTION

Shall United States Be A Party To What Is Nothing More Or Less Than An Attempt To Restore Czardom In Russia?

By John Reed.

At the present time the Allied armies in Russia — American troops among them — are supporting three "governments" at Archangel, Vladivostok and Omsk. These "governments", which are said to be "supported" by the majority of the Russian people (whoever they may be), have one characteristic in common; they stand for the return of czarism. So that the Allies, who started out with the scarcely disguised intention of "restoring the constituent assembly," and thus setting up a bourgeois republic, now find themselves in the position of gendarmes of the counter revolution.

According to official statements of the American and Japanese governments, the objects of intervention in Russia were protection of military supplies in Archangel and Vladivostok against German and Austrian war prisoners and assistance to the Czechoslovaks, who were presumably trying to leave Russia. The most "solemn and public" promises were given by both governments that they had no intention of "interfering in the internal affairs of Russia." But the British government, which was associated with the Americans and Japanese, stated through Lloyd George that the purpose of the intervention was to create "a center for the elements opposed to Bolshevism." And the French government, whose aims in Russia can least bear the light of liberal scrutiny, did not deign to publish them.

Russia Asks Reason for Intervention

As soon as foreign troops landed on Russian soil the Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, Tchitcherine, addressed a note to the Allied and American governments, asking why no notice of intervention had ever been given to the government and demanding a bill of complaint.

"If the Allied and American governments have any cause for complaint against the conduct of the government of the Russian republic," he said in effect, "we respectfully ask why it has not been called to our attention, that we may satisfy it..."

When the armistice with Germany was signed by the Allied and American governments, Tchitcherine asked for an armistice with the Soviet government also.

Both these communications were ignored. It may be urged that neither the Allies nor the United States recognized or now recognize the Russian government. But for months all these governments carried on semi-official relations with Russia, have made demands on

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THE ROAD TO POWER

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and forms of proletarian organization is, consequently, synonymous with laying the theoretical foundation of the Socialist Commonwealth. Marxian Economics clearly emphasize that the capitalist system will only disappear with the abolition of private ownership in the means of production. This proclaims the necessity for industrial revolution. The basis of Capitalism is private ownership, consequently, the basis of Socialism, its antithesis, can only be social ownership; as can readily be seen—one excludes the other, and the domination of one implies the subjugation of the other. Industrial revolution, or the movement for industrial revolution, can, therefore, project only one demand and that is the socialization of industry and all agencies of production. Such a demand, however, is not only in accord with the tendencies and dictates of social evolution, but also voices at the same time the specific class interests of the proletariat, and can, therefore, only emanate from that social class. The demand of social ownership, whose obedient servant the working class is, is a demand at war with the basic interests of the capitalist class. The working class, as an agent of social evolution, and the capitalist class, as an obstacle in the path of economic progress, have, therefore, nothing in common. This fundamental difference of interests, functions and historic destinies breeds the class antagonism and the struggle for power.

To-day Capitalism is strongly fortified behind economic and political bulwarks. By virtue of its industrial powers, it has humanity the world over at the throat. To dislodge Capitalism from this powerful position, and to thus lay the cornerstone of the Socialist Commonwealth is the august mission of Constructive Socialism.

In this struggle between the capitalist class and the proletariat, the latter, being in the position of aggressor, is naturally at a disadvantage. It is a disadvantage, however, that compels a survey of the battlefield by the workers, the results of which contain the solution to the problem of how to overcome and eliminate this obstacle. This survey of the economic, political and social position of the capitalist class reveals, that the basic power or influence of this class resides; not, as is so often erroneously assumed, in its political domination or control of government, but in its economic rule over society. History teaches and profusely illustrates; that the class in control of the economic resources of society in a given period has also been the class to exercise practical control over political society, i. e.—over society itself. History vindicates the contention that the economic life of society, the form of ownership and methods of production and exchange existing at a certain stage of social development, is the compelling factor, the preponderant form, which determines, influences and shapes all other ethical, moral, intellectual and political, in short—cultural phases of life.

A casual study of the periods of Antiquity, Feudalism and Capitalism will serve to convincingly illustrate this contention. Such a study will reveal that the roots of Slavery rested in the absolute domination of a people by another; that the enslavement and exploitation of a people by Rome was made possible only by the superior and well organized economic resources and the disciplined armies of the conquerors. The economic foundation of Rome was predicated on organized slavery; and even the classic period of Letters and Art in Greece and Rome, that as yet uneclipsed period of splendor, was reared upon the backs of slaves. With the decay and fall of Slavery, the marvelous splendor and the political and military power of Rome also collapsed. The same tendencies are also detectable, when examining Feudalism. Here we note the unlimited power of social control vested in the same feudalism, which through its ownership or tenure of the land—the then main agent of production—exercised practically an undivided influence over every detail in the life of its subjects. By virtue of this economic control—land ownership—the feudal lord was actually elevated to the position of arbitrator over the life, happiness and prosperity of his serfs. He held their destinies in the hollow of his hand, because he monopolized the wherewith of life—the land. And when we make an investigation of Capitalism, the by far preponderant role played by the economic element of the capitalists' power in present

society is easily discernible. Here we are compelled to admit that the class divisions of to-day, similar to the ones of yore, are fundamentally economic or property divisions. Furthermore, that the influence of a class is not measured by the degree of its productivity, or the proportion of its work for the social welfare, etc., but mainly by the economic power in its control. To illustrate, in society to-day the high illimitable and colossal dimensions of the workers' productive facilities are easily recognized and acknowledged by everyone. At the same time, the relatively insignificant and minor role played by the capitalists in this industrial process is well known. If social and political influence were apportioned in ratio to the economic use-value of a class, then the proletariat would certainly be the dominant class in society and the capitalists occupy a most insignificant position. The opposite being the case, proves conclusively that political and social influence is not the fruit of social service, but the product, as was the case in previous centuries, of economic power in some shape or form. The economic power of the capitalist class, a power to which the vast majority of the population is compelled to pay homage, is not only lodged in the private ownership of land, as in the case of Feudalism, but in the private ownership of all instruments and agencies of wealth production. The title of private ownership to the means necessary to the life and prosperity of a nation, vested in a numerically insignificant minority, gives this minority an unlimited control over the welfare and happiness of a people. Here we have the source of capitalist power—the genesis of the social and political significance of the capitalist class. The title of private ownership in the means of production is the cornerstone of the capitalists' social influence—the generator of every form of capitalist power.

To shatter this foundation of capitalist class might, to capture this stronghold of industrial despotism in the interest of the workers, must, therefore, be the one great object of Constructive Socialism. The destruction of the economic power of the capitalist class, of course, also spells the collapse of its political rule, together with the social position occupied by this class, and announces the inception of the social revolution and the elevation of all the producers in society to the rulership of society. The question how to organize the proletarian forces for this momentous and gigantic object; how to create the essential power in the working class; this question is now in order, and its proper solution forms the quintessence of Constructive Socialism—the basis for scientific Socialist tactics and effective action.

I.I.

It is a recognized truism that pressure begets pressure and that might breeds might. Furthermore, must the inexorable fact be recognized that the means and tactics of warfare of the aggressor, in this case the proletariat, are largely dependent on and determined by the strategical position and general methods employed by the enemy, the capitalist class. A study of the social position of the capitalist class has already revealed to us that the roots of the exploiters' power in society are to be found in their economic control of the socially necessary means of production. The holding of this economic citadel imparts a strength or power to the capitalist class phenomenal in scope and only explainable by the absolute indispensability of these economic resources to society. To capture this position from the capitalist class, to meet the economic power of the plutocrats with a superior economic power of the workers, that is the next logical step in this gigantic struggle.

Economic power, as has been sufficiently illustrated in the foregoing pages, is the source of all other forms of social influence. Therefore, economic power can be correctly defined as the basic element of social might. Consequently, if a class seeks to rise to political domination, seeks to capture the governmental institutions of a nation, in short, seeks to attain control of society, it must first predicate its ambitions and demands upon a solid structure of organized economic power. Demands and movements not so fortified are in the outset doomed to ignominious failure and defeat. This deduction applies particularly to the struggle of the proletariat against the exploiting class.

In our investigation we have clearly defined the seat of the capitalists' economic power, and, therefore, fully appreciate the significance and source of the political and social influence exercised

by this class in society. We know that the title of private ownership in the means of production, vested in the capitalist class, is at the bottom of it all. In the face of such a powerful force, what form of economic power can the working class organize with which to be able to overcome and obliterate the property prerogatives of Capitalism?

We are fully aware that all ruling classes in the past have based on established their social supremacy upon some form of ownership, i. e., upon some property prerogative. The patricians of Rome considered birth and the possession of land, cattle and a multitude of slaves a fitting recommendation to rule; the feudal lord pivoted his era of the mailed first upon the absolute control of the land; and the capitalist is in undisputed possession of the ship of state, by virtue of his absolute control over all the agencies of production in society. The working class, mustering its forces to give battle to the advocates and upholders of the present system, finds itself the only class in the long chain of social development that seeks to acquire the economic and political supremacy in society without possessing or attempting to fortify this supremacy with some form of property prerogatives.

The working class, being toolless and stripped of every vestige of property, can not organize its economic power of the proletariat rests not, as it is, and has been the case with all parasitic ruling classes, in the power of ownership, but in the power of production; not in its problematical indispensability as a possessing class, but in its actual indispensability as a producing class. The physical and intellectual productive faculties of the working class form the groundwork of present day society and symbolize the pulsating blood of our social organism. Consequently, these faculties organized on a class-conscious basis and in line with the dictates of economic development, in other words, these physical and intellectual productive forces of the workers organized in the interest of the proletariat represent and form the structure of working class economic power. As can be readily seen, the seat of working class power, different from that of previous ruling classes, does not rest in the usurpation and possession of rights and property respectively, but in the consciousness of the proletariat's indispensability as a productive agent—in the consciousness of being the working class. This class-consciousness of the workers is the generator of the economic power of the proletariat. Recognizing the economic indispensability of the workers in the process of production, and thereby appreciating the role played by the proletariat in the maintenance of society, it is now a simple matter for the class-conscious worker to translate these conceptions into proper forms of organization.

Production being the origin of and maintaining element in social life; production also being solely carried on by the workers; furthermore, exploitation or the appropriation of surplus value also taking place at the point of production; and, again, the point of production being also the seat of the capitalists' economic power, it logically follows that the class organizations of the workers will first marshal and organize its forces at this point. The organization of the workers along class-conscious lines at the point of production is synonymous to rearing and developing the economic power in the proletariat. Consequently, this power increases as the class-consciousness increases amongst the workers, and their economic and political organizations will grow in the same proportion.

To sum up: The economic power of the workers rests not in some form of ownership or property prerogative, as is the case with the capitalists, but in the recognition of his status as a worker, in the recognition of his economic worth or indispensability—in his class-consciousness. In order to assert itself effectively, this class-consciousness must take on certain organized forms on the industrial as well as political field, i. e., must express itself in accord with the requirements of capitalist development in particular and social evolution in general.



SOVIET TALE SPRUNG IN SOCIALIST TRIAL

(Continued from page 1)

"Had there been some sort of censorship in the country in those early days of the war," said Engdahl, "we editors would have known what to do. When we sought advice from the government on this question, they would tell us nothing, neither the Department of Justice nor the Postoffice Department."

Engdahl tried to say it would have been well if the government had suspended all constitutional guarantees during the war, but the prosecutor would not let him finish his statement.

Work Testifies.

John M. Work, former national secretary of the Socialist party, member of the national committee and, since May, 1917, editorial writer on the staff of the Milwaukee Leader, testified today in behalf of Victor L. Berger, a defendant. Henry Coehms, Milwaukee lawyer, especially representing Berger in this trial, conducted the examination.

Work claimed authorship of four of the five editorials from the Leader cited in the indictment as overt acts. "Do you know that the ten commandments of the Constitution were set aside during the war?" asked Coehms.

Work said he had never heard of it. He denied Berger had ever given him instructions to "play up" the German side of the war, and said he had had a free hand in the conduct of the editorial writing on the Leader.

Coehms asked Work to explain certain paragraphs in his editorials reprinted in the indictment. So a thorough definition of capitalism, profiteering, Socialism and similar subjects was given to the jury.

Work referred to some of the editorials directly relating to the Kaiser "as a part of Socialist propaganda."

Sought to Print Truth.

"I considered it to be a part of my duty to print the truth about the war. The capitalist newspapers not only did not divine the truth, but they would not have printed it had they known it," said Work.

"I object to this statement as hearsay and a conclusion," said Fleming.

Work's observation was stricken from the record. In one of his editorials Work had written:

"This is a business man's war and the object it profits, not democracy."

Work then had to explain how he had arrived at that conclusion, and he went into the profiteering phase of the war. He gave his opinion that the war was in reality between two rival economic groups, each struggling for control of disputed world markets.

Berger Took Patriotic Ads.

Attorney Coehms tried to bring out, through the examination of Work, that Berger had accepted a number of advertisements for the Milwaukee Leader from patriotic organizations connected with the war, such as the Red Cross, war savings stamps and Liberty bonds. Coehms also wanted to show the jury that Berger had time and again expressed himself as opposed to the Industrial Workers of the World and their ideas.

"Do you know who initiated the movement in the 1912 convention of the Socialist party at Indianapolis to oust Bill Hayward and his followers from the Socialist party?" asked Coehms.

The obvious inference of this question was to show that Berger had been behind that move, familiarly known as Article 2, Section 6, through the adoption of which members of the I. W. W. in the Socialist party were to be expelled because of their advocacy of the practice of sabotage.

Work said he did not know who had sponsored that attempt to read the I. W. W. out of the Socialist party.

Fleming tried to prove that Berger had not accepted patriotic advertising until after the indictment had been returned against him and his four co-defendants.

New York Yipsei Testifies.

The defense sprung a surprise this afternoon when it put on the stand Mannie Deutsch, of 412 West 148th street, New York. A Yipsei. The prosecution put in the indictment a letter written to Deutsch by William F. Kruse, national secretary of the Yipseis, on August 6, 1917.

Deutsch said he was subpoenaed to appear as a witness for the prosecution. He arrived in Chicago on December 9, and was then stalled for several days.

He said he told Prosecutor Fleming that he never received the letter referred to in the indictment. He was told "to brush up his memory." But he stuck to his story that he

had not received it.

He told of abuse received at the hands of agents of the Department of Justice because he had "fallen down" as a prosecution witness.

Later, he said, he was given his carfare back to New York, but before he thought of going he told his story to Attorney Cunnea for the defense. He has been kept in Chicago by the defense for several days past.

He said agents of the Department of Justice chased him out of the Federal building, telling him "to get to hell out of Chicago and don't come back."

Before court adjourned today, Cunnea asked Judge Landis for protection for the New York boy. The lad said he "was pro-war" and employed by the ordinance department of the army.

Judge Landis adjourned court in the early afternoon. There will be no session tomorrow.

THE SOVIETS IN SIBERIA

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compliments of the Soviets and of her husband, and she declares that in Japan the United States consul burned them, even destroying snapshot photographs of her friends.

Mrs. Tobin lives in Oak Park, a cultured suburb of Chicago. Her story is published in Oak Leaves, the local town weekly, a pleasantly conservative paper. The editor comments on Mrs. Tobin's culture and reputation among Oak Park housewives for the good management of her children. She came back to Oak Park to get the benefit of the schools there, but expects to return to Russia as soon as the rule of the Soviets is re-established in Siberia, because she believes intensely in the great future development of that country.

She is a native of Poland, a student of English literature and the Montessori system. But what an adventurous tale of revolution and counter-revolution in Siberia, of idealism and sacrifice and death is told by the quiet little teacher-mother in quiet, conservative Oak Park, Ill.

Tobinson was once a house painter and paper hanger at Oak Park. While living there he studied at John Marshall Law School and the University of Chicago. He had been admitted to the bar and established a college in the foreign district on Ashland avenue, which he conducted much like a social settlement, teaching English and American history himself. His law practice was prospering and he was working toward a well-established position in Chicago when the Russian revolution came.

He made plans at once to go to Russia, and arrived at Vladivostok with his wife and two children before Kereny's fall. Before long he was elected mayor of Nizholsk. He started a school, stopped speculation in food and conducted an orderly government. The people cooperated gladly with his measures to improve sanitary, social and political conditions.

In the Soviet Tobin saw a means of creating an industrial government. After the overthrow of Kereny, he rose rapidly in the central committee of the Far Eastern Republic of Soviets, a position similar to that of president of a republic. After Siberia was cut off from Russia he conducted negotiations with China, Japan and other governments. He also had the position of a general, and later planned successful battles.

Tobinson's capital was at Habarovsk. The Soviets had full power there, and as they had access to some of the richest gold mines in plenty of money.

Mrs. Tobin says that they issued 10,000,000 roubles in paper money, and that before the Soviets were driven out by the occupying troops they left enough gold to redeem all the paper money. If the persons now in charge of the government are honest, the Russians have suffered no financial loss, she declares.

Every person had a chance to participate in the government. This applied to both men and women, but each person who wished to vote had to join a Soviet of 300 members, usually composed of those doing the same work. Those who did not join were not citizens. Everyone who wished to live had to work or serve in some way, and all profit, interest and rent was abolished.

School teachers and doctors were leading members of the Soviet, Mrs. Tobin says. They adopted the Montessori system of training children. She said they established a great conservatory of music in a building formerly used as a military academy, and the people were glad

ALLIES GENDARMES OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 1)

it again and again; and in March, President Wilson publicly addressed the Fourth Congress of Soviets as representatives of the Russian people. . . . Is the only conclusion possible from all this that the aims of intervention are so frankly imperialistic that any statement of them would be extremely compromising?

Kaiser's Fall Strengthens Bolsheviki

Even those persons who were persuaded by the Sisson documents and other forgeries, and the subsidized propaganda of Miliukov's ambassador in Washington, Mr. Bakhetiev, that Lenin and Trotsky were German agents, must now be considerably puzzled. If it were true that the Bolsheviki in Russia were a tyrannical minority supported by German gold and German bayonets the collapse of Imperial Germany would necessarily entail the collapse of the Bolsheviki—just as it entailed the collapse of the Ukrainian dictatorship and the "National Council" of the Baltic provinces. But the defeat of Germany has merely strengthened the Russian Soviet government. Only the most credulous will be able to swallow the accusation of the capitalist press that the Kaiser, defeated in Germany, is still ruler of Russia!

One of the armistice terms imposed upon Germany requires that the indemnity paid by Russia to Germany must be surrendered to the Allies—to hold in trust for some future Russian government. This government, of course, must be acceptable to the Allies. There remains in Russia no force with any power except the force of the Black Hundreds—the Dark Forces against which the Russian people revolted in March, 1917, to the applause of the liberal world; any other government set up in Russia must immediately fail, for the Russian "moderates" and "liberals" have no following whatever.

This is clearly shown by the

to come and sing and hear the music. (This building is now full of drunken army officers, she says.) The people liked this government, and it was soon able to function. Each Soviet chose a delegate to a larger body in the city, which in turn elected delegates to a Soviet which represented the republic. All voting was done in the meeting. No voter chose a delegate whom he did not see before him with his own eyes.

Tobinson made Habarovsk as dry and sanitary as Oak Park, says Mrs. Tobin. Even the poorest and most ignorant people disciplined themselves, and they all worked harder than ever before for eight hours a day. There was no sign of uprising, she says.

"The people were so weary of war and bloodshed, and my husband hated war and weapons. We were all happy until one day the Japanese war boats came, and the end. The old Czar's officers, aided by the allied armies, came, and the Soviet was forced to retreat."

"Before I left Siberia, Habarovsk, Vladivostok and other cities had been restored to the officers of the Czar. They again wore the Czar's uniforms and insignia. They again went down the streets in their drunken way, the saloons and brothels were open again. The old regime of monarchy and the bourgeois was restored; and law and order, as the Allies call it, was again in full flower."

"Now that the war is done and the Japanese, Americans and British have no excuse for keeping those old Russian monarchists in power in Siberia, the moment the Allies leave Siberia the people will overthrow those terrible, cruel, drunken and ignorant men. The American army men already despise the Czar's men, and they love the Russian people. I met American soldiers there, one of them from Oak Park, but I have forgotten his name. They said they never would fight the Russian people."

Mrs. Tobin comments quietly on the destruction of her papers. "Can any one tell why the United States Government should destroy those papers?" she asks. "Is the Bolsheviki idea so alluring that the people here dare not be permitted to even hear about it? It was beautiful to see the people improve under the Soviets, to see the impossible idealist' dreams of my wonderful husband realized. Such lies the American newspaper tell!"

Shakespeare? That's the best cock-tail he ever sipped? Spencer, Darwin and Huxley? Tut, tut! They played on the Giants back in '98, Karl Marx? That's the name of the staff that they sell in the drug stores? Tennyson? Sure! That's the guy who played the lead in "Why Democrats Go Wrong," the five-reeler at the Nickelodeon!

So far as wisdom is concerned, the capitalist has Solomon looking like a Republican. Anything that he don't "now, ain't."

Summed up, the life of the capitalist is bounded on the east by one-arm beanery, on the west by a white collar, on the north by a movie, and on the south by a hall-room.

Moral: People who live in glass houses shouldn't drop doughnuts on the floor

history of the various so-called "governments" which have been set up and supported by Allied troops. These governments—the government of the North, at Archangel, the All-Russian provisional governments at Ufa and at Omsk, and the Siberian government at Irkutsk, centered about certain reactionary delegates to the constituent assembly—Tschaikovsky, Avksentiev, Zenzinov and others; men who were too conservative even for the "moderate" Socialist parties to which they belonged under Kereny's regime.

Proof Of Power Of Bolsheviki

It is a proof of the power of the Bolsheviki over the masses of the people, and a justification of the dispersal of the constituent assembly, that these "liberals" and "Socialists" were forced to depend for their fighting forces upon renegade Cossacks and Chinese mercenaries under outcasts like Generals Semenov, Horvath and Gurke and Admiral Kolchak; upon the Czech-Slovaks, the Japanese and the Allies. . . . And as was natural in such a situation, even the Allied and American troops could not save these "governments" from being overthrown by the Russian riff-raff they had evoked to fight their battles.

The pressure upon the Russian Soviets has been terrible. The Allied diplomatic representatives, it seems, made use of their diplomatic privileges to plot counter-revolution and even the blowing up of bridges and munitions works, after the pattern of the Kaiser's hirelings in this country. Armed attacks having failed, deliberate and concerted efforts are being made to starve the Russian people into submission. In answer to this the Russian Soviet government, while Allied troops were actually shooting down Russian peasants by the thousand in the North and on the East, treated subjects and citizens of the Allied nations and the United States with the greatest consideration. And in all this time they have left no stone unturned to make peace, even, according to dispatches, offering reparation for property confiscated or destroyed in Russia, and for repudiated debts.

Shall the United States be a party to what, after all, has inevitably taken on the significance of an attempt to restore the Russian czar?

THE CAPITALIST

By Thomas Thursday.

You don't need an adding machine to figure out that there are more capitalists than capitalists.

The capitalist is a bird who rests off about 15 silent-talkers per week. That's his weekly salary. (I spelled that "weakly," you type shooter—and don't twist it different!) To him that's all the coin that's circulating in the world at the present time. If he pipes any one else with a bundle equally as healthy, he immediately puts his mitt to his hip pocket, to see if he wasn't frisked.

As soon as the grind mill calls it a day, he struts off to visit Gwendolyn. He wears trick shoes, puzzle suits, and riddle hats. To observe him sauntering down the street, you would imagine that his paw had left him a million dollars worth of nickels. He has an Automaton appetite and a Automat income. He's willing to gargle a beef stew for lunch, so long as he can buy a pair of spats once in a while.

He never looks into the future, for fear of straining his glimmers. If the sky fell on his bean, his brains wouldn't leave a spot on the sidewalk.

The capitalist has a future that's just as bright and golden as a ton of coal. As to the mentality of the capitalist. Well, that's a job for Lombroso. However, we know this much: The capitalist is sure that Sweden is the largest river in Denmark, and that Norway is the name of a cabaret. As to things literary, he's there like a double-jointed duck.

Shakespeare? That's the best cock-tail he ever sipped? Spencer, Darwin and Huxley? Tut, tut! They played on the Giants back in '98, Karl Marx? That's the name of the staff that they sell in the drug stores? Tennyson? Sure! That's the guy who played the lead in "Why Democrats Go Wrong," the five-reeler at the Nickelodeon!

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Moral: People who live in glass houses shouldn't drop doughnuts on the floor

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OPEN DISCUSSION

EXTRA! EXTRA! CANADIAN TROOPS REFUSE TO GO TO RUSSIA

Detroit.—That a number of Canadian troops have refused to sail for Siberia and are being held on a charge of insubordination by the military authorities of the dominion, is the burden of a story carried on the first page of Monday's London, Ontario, Morning Advertiser. The Advertiser, while an anti-conscription and Laurier-Liberal organ, is violently anti-Bolshevik and opposed to progressive labor.

"Canadian Troops said to have refused to sail for Siberia are held at B. C. (British Columbia) Coast" is the headline the newspaper gives to the story, which has not appeared in the Toronto daily newspapers. "Canadians refuse to go to Siberia: Now in Vancouver," the sub-head says.

The story, which was displayed in large type by the Advertiser, follows under a Toronto date line:

Toronto, Dec. 22.—Tom Moore, president of the Dominion Trades and Labor Congress, while in Toronto today in conference with the executive of the Toronto Police-men's Union, received a message from a well-known labor organizer asking him to take up with the government immediately the situation which has arisen in Vancouver because of the alleged refusal of members of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces to Siberia to proceed any further.

"Mr. Moore said the story upon which he was asked to act was that, when the troops were gathered in

British Columbia and about to sail, hostilities had ceased and the men were asked to volunteer again. A number refused and, after some days, were taken aboard one of the ships which was later returned when it had been at sea two days.

Troops in Camp.
"The troops were in camp in British Columbia now, and positive in their determination that they would take no part in the Siberian expedition."

"According to my informant, insubordination has broken out. I will take the matter up immediately with the Militia Department. And, if I have been correctly informed, I will press the views of the different trades unions against Canadian police duty in Siberia."

"I think it is stretching the Military Service act to the limit to force men to police duty in Siberia. In fact, I doubt if the government has the authority to compel men to do duty in Siberia when we have not yet declared war against Russia," said Mr. Moore.

Other reports from Victoria, capital city of British Columbia, situated on the Island of Vancouver and one of the last ports of call for Canadian troops bound for Asiatic Russia, tell about seven hundred khaki-clad Canadian soldiers attending a mass meeting of the British Columbia section of the Federated Labor party of Canada and cheering references to the Bolshevik. The Federated Labor party stands for the

complete and immediate transfer of the means of production to the workers. The soldiers cheered J. H. Hawthornthwaite, Labor party member of the British Columbia Legislature, one of the speakers, in his declaration that "the Bolshevik are the hope of the world."

Workers Are World's Hope.
"And I do not mean the Russian Bolsheviks alone," said the speaker, "but the proletariat or working class of the world is the hope of the world."

Last Sunday night, in Winnipeg, a mass meeting gathered in the Walker theater, held under the direction of the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council, adopted unanimously a resolution which declared that "this meeting sends greetings to the Russian Soviet republic and wishes it success."

The council is the central labor body of the Winnipeg unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

"Long live the Russian Soviet republic. Karl Liebknecht and the working class," said Alderman John Queen representative of the Manitoba section of the Federated Labor party, who acted as chairman, and the sentiment was cheered by the assembled throng. The meeting passed resolutions demanding the withdrawal of allied troops from Russia, the release of all political prisoners, including draft objectors, and the repeal of all orders-in-council.

myrcat of the dimogenats, born and bred in the bone." And he plowed away on his landlord's crop in order to pay the rent, and the chiggers wandered up his legs and fed to their heart's content.—Henry M. Tichenor.

The bill to be presented at the next session of the Minnesota Legislature forbids, not only the display of the red flag, but of the red necktie and the red carnation—and here's the part that we approve of most decidedly—"for the purpose of showing allegiance to the so-called Socialist party." No sneaking hypocrisy about that. Note, also, the expression "the so-called Socialist party," meaning by that the only Socialist party there is in this country, the only one that wants to wear red, there being a small bunch that prefers for its emblem a streak of yellow.—N. Y. Call.

JEWISH LADIES AUXILLIARY

Jewish Ladies Auxiliary Arbeiter Ring, Box 353, Jewish Ladies Auxiliary at a recent meeting DONATED TEN DOLLARS FOR TRUTH and gave \$30.00 to the DEFENSE FUND of the Editor of Truth.

The following officers were elected.

Bessie Myers, Financial Secretary.
Mrs. A. Y. Lilman, Treasurer.
Mrs. Berger, Recording Secretary.

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THE TAILOR

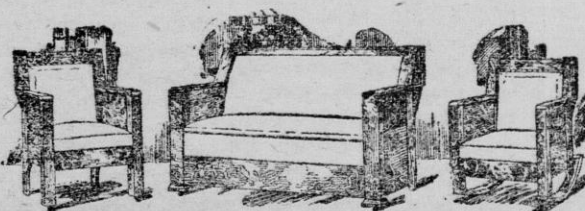
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BRED IN THE BONE.

He lived in a rented tenement, where the wind blew through the cracks, and his overalls were tattered and patched, and his wife wore gunnysacks. He'd been a wanderer all his life and hither and thither he'd roam, but he cussed and raved at Socialism, "Begosh, it would bust his home!" He never went to church at all—he looked too darn forlorn—he had not been to a barber shop since the pesky twins were born. But he "voted a mossback ticket," he said "for it's plain enough to see that a Socialist vote would paralyze the religion that's in me. Besides," he went on, as he shook his fist and his eyes grew bigger and bigger, "if the Socialists win on election day I'll have to marry a nigger. They believe in free love of every sort, free love with all the trimmin'—they'll force me, when they get in power, to live with a dozen wimmin. No Socialism for me and mine—I'll let well enough alone—I'm a dim-

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)
EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

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BRITISH ELECTIONS.

The recent elections in Great Britain and Ireland have been held at a time when the people of England were flushed with the victory of the Allies over Germany. Consequently it would be unfair to judge the results from the standpoint of the radical movement.

The defeat of the Socialist members of Parliament is depressing, to say the least of it. Comrades MacDonald, Snowden, Jowett, Anderson were defeated, also, George Lansbury who was an ex-member of parliament. Outhwaite, one of the Single Tax group, was also defeated. Outhwaite was very much opposed to the war, hence the great fight that was launched against him.

Whatever our views may be of the men defeated, it must be said that they stood by the workers all through the struggles of the last four years and a half. Never an injury was inflicted upon the workers, but that one of the defeated Socialists rose up and denounced same. But whilst we may feel pessimistic about their defeat, let us realize that after all their defeat is not a defeat in the sense that we interpret the elections. The workers of Great Britain have realized during this war, more than at any other time, that economic power is the power that counts. Consequently their has been more effort on the industrial field, than on the political field. When the revolution takes place in Great Britain, the workers will be so organized that no legal instrument will be strong enough to crush them.

The Labor Party previous to the elections held forty two seats in the House of Commons, now they hold seventy-five.

The political results of the fight in Ireland are encouraging. The success of the Sinn Fein movement in capturing over seventy seats will clarify the whole Irish position. The Labor party wisely decided not to go into the election, leaving the issue as to whether England should further control the Irish people in the hands of the Sinn Feiners. They were under the impression that if they entered the contest, they might allow a reactionary to win by a split vote, so they decided that the Sinn Feiners should carry on the fight. The result is that seventy seats in the British House of Commons will be minus their rightful occupants. The empty chairs will be more eloquent than the voices of the Sinn Feiners. They will ever be there to act as a guide to the rest of the House as to the feeling of the Irish people.

The Sinn Feiners have succeeded in their first plan of action. Now they will have to prove the merit of their propaganda. What they can do, remains to be seen? If they are of the opinion that, without an organized force of the workers behind them, they can control the country, they will be sadly mistaken. It will avail the Sinn Feiners nothing to merely declare a Irish Republic. The task of maintaining an Irish Republic can only be achieved by the workers. The Sinn Feiners must of necessity embrace the principles of Socialism or go down to an eternal defeat. So long as the workers of Ireland remain at work, the Sinn Feiners will be unable to defeat the attempts of the British Government to suppress their Government. Only when a political movement has control of industry is it powerful enough to defeat those who seek to destroy it. Therefore either the Sinn Feiners must ally themselves with the Labor movement or suffer defeat. The attempts at such alliance will be sternly opposed by many whose sympathies whilst they are in opposition to the idea of English control of Ireland, yet they are in accord with those who only seek a change of masters. What Ireland needs is a change of systems, more than masters. The discussion of this point will have to be held sooner or later. The emotionalism of Sinn Fein will have to submit to the reason of Socialism. Where there to be created tomorrow a republic in Ireland, many of those who profess Sinn Feinism would line up with the forces that have ever kept the people of Ireland in subjection.

The capture of seventy seats in Ireland by the Sinn Feiners is an event that must appeal to all people, more especially the Irish. It comes fraught with great possibilities. Action can only take place on two fields, political and the industrial. Sinn Feiners reject the former and

as regards the latter they are like ships in a fog.

The future is with the Labor movement. We learn that Jim Larkin contemplates returning back to Ireland. His return will be the commencing of a very aggressive fight by the Irish workers for the control of industry, the first step in the formation of any republic, whether Irish or otherwise. Until then it will be a waste of time prophesying what is going to take place, but rest assured Labor holds the winning card.

A FOOL THERE WAS—

Ellis O. Jones was sent to the psychopathic hospital for distributing the following handbill:

No speeches come to Central Park Friday December 13th afternoon. Let us Stroll & Talk & Meditate. Wear black crepe on arm. Freedom is dead. Free speech. Free press. Free assemblage. Thousands imprisoned!

Yet the editor of the Herald is allowed his freedom, for printing the following editorial in his issue of the 28th. December:

What IS Socialism, anyway? As a hard and fast and indexed program for an international commonwealth it is a made-in-Germany philosophy with of course some grain of truth in its principles. Probably a majority of most European peoples are Socialists, so-called; but when you come to examine the principles of the majority of these masses of "Socialists," you find them nowhere near red—hardly a pale pink—but merely about what in this country we would call "Progressives," or, at worst "Populists."

Only where Socialism, by a natural process of mental disintegration, degenerates into "Bolshevism" is it at all dangerous; and Bolshevism develops in a country in proportion to the ignorance and poverty of its people. Its strength will be, therefore, in inverse proportion to the education and prosperity of the rank and file of a country. The more a people are educated, the more widely a country's prosperity is shared by its people, the less Socialism and the less Bolshevism. On that basis there is small chance for Marxian Socialism and Leninist Bolshevism in this country; though we never should forget that the more ignorant people we have and the more wage earners there are who do not earn a full living wage, the greater the danger of explosive doctrines, always.

A very great deal of what is commonly called Socialism isn't Socialism at all. When a man believes it is better for the country that the government should own the railroads, that doesn't make him a Socialist or his idea Socialism. When a man believes that industries should be servants of the people, not their masters, that belief does not make him a Socialist. When a man believes that governmental powers should be exerted to protect the producer against injustice and the consumer against extortion, that does not make him a Socialist. When a man holds that industry should share its prosperity fairly with its workers, so that no worker need lack full provision not only for actual living but for reasonable leisure, reasonable pleasure and adequate education for his children, that isn't Socialism; it's plain common sense. A man who declares that it is not the aggregate wealth of a country, but the way that wealth is distributed which determines its real prosperity, is not necessarily a Socialist; he may abhor Socialism.

Yet, by those whose unfair privileges these ideas threaten, every one of them is labelled Socialism, and those who hold them are called Socialists—always with an air as though that disposed of them utterly.

If these hurlers of epithets are correct, then ninety per cent of the American peoples are Socialists; when the fact is that not one per cent of them are Socialists.

William Allen White in an article in the Yale Review tells the truth about the situation: "Two things have been everlastingly blown up by the big shells bursting on the battlefield. One is Marxian Socialism, and the other is unrestrained capitalism."

Socialism is blowing up and disappearing. Bolshevism will burn itself out and vanish. Whatever there was in Socialism that was sound and valid and able to stand the test of experience is rapidly being put into effect in all countries, and the war

has hastened the process by a generation.

—Duluth Herald.

The greatest pretense in the world of intellect is the average newspaper editor and the city of Duluth is blessed with two of the worst of their kind. Study their editorials and if you can discover one particle of logical reasoning in any of them, we will make you a present of one year's subscription to this paper. Mental prostitution is no name for the work of these two editors. We can appreciate the venom and the abuse of a Brisbane, because Brisbane is gifted with intelligence, but the editors of the Herald and the News-Tribune, bah-nuff sed.

What is Socialism? Imagine the standard of intelligence that prevails in the editorial sanctum of the Herald, after you have read the answer of the Herald "deaditor." What is Socialism? Socialism is not a program, in the same way as the discovery of the law of natural selection by Darwin was not a program. Socialism is a step in the evolution of human society. You cannot say that we like so and so of Socialism and discard the rest. You have got to accept the whole philosophy of Socialism and the sooner you accept it the better it is for yourselves, because you will have to accept it sooner or later, the sooner the better. To understand Socialism and also to be able to criticize it, you must first of all allow your mind to have full play. If you are bound body and soul to the capitalist, like the average editor, how can you discuss the big issues of the day. If you disprove of the foregoing statement, write an article on Socialism and send it to the Herald and find out for yourself, whether they will publish it or not.

JOSEPH DIETZGEN STATES,— "The fundamental proposition of 'inductive Socialism may thus be formulated; there is no eternal principle or an a priori idea of the 'divine, just and free; there is no 'revelation or a chosen people, but 'there are material facts which 'govern human society."

Karl Marx took hold of these material facts and examined and analysed them. As a result of his work we have been able to understand human society. Editors and writers may belittle the works of Marx, but we of the Socialist movement know that their attacks on Marx are like rain drops upon the mountain. Marx needs no monument to perpetuate his memory, we erect monuments to the memory of those who destroy mankind, not assist them. Go where you will, into any small hamlet, village, town, city, state, or nation, and there you will find someone who bravely stands up for the ideas given to them by Marx. Go into the thousands of Socialist halls and gaze upon the picture of Marx. Go into any library and gaze at those three volumes of Das Kapital. Go into Russia and Germany, England or France, Italy or Austria and, poor fools that you are, then deny Marx and his works. Marx today lives in the hearts of millions of people. When presidents, czars, kings, kaisers and emperors are forgotten and their homes are rotting in the grave the memory of Marx will be as fresh in our minds as if he had died yesterday. The battlefields of France are but a monument to the prophetic vision of Marx. Over thirty years ago Marx and Engels told you of a world-war that was coming. They took hold of your doings and examined them and showed step by step where you would eventually land. It is because they told you the truth and exposed your exploitation to the exploited that you fear them. Poor misguided editors, what you are attempting to combat today, an aroused workingclass will show you the truth and the strength of. In the days to come we will be honest with you. We shall free you from the chains that bind you, so that you may be men and not the servile tools of a sordid capitalist class.

Bolshevism is only another word for Socialism. The capitalist class know that the workers can be enslaved by mere phrases. "He kept you out of war" and the people voted him in to declare war. Now they seek to stem the tide of Socialism by calling it another name, Bolshevism. Bolshevism has come to stay, despite the foolish ravings of our editor friend. Bolshevism is the highest form of workingclass organization and it must triumph internationally.

When the editor of the Herald states that the less poverty there is, the greater chances there are of

stemming Bolshevism, he states a truism of which he does not know the meaning of. Bolshevism means the abolition of poverty. But so long as we have capitalism, we will have poverty. Riches and poverty are not the result of an ethical mistake, they are a social relation. Poverty is the logical condition of those who are robbed and luxury the logical position of those who perform the robbing. The hold-up man that robs you is made richer by his act and you are made poorer by the same act. There is no half-way. The slum of today is a challenge to the mansion, questions it, threatens it and someday the slum will be torn down and those who built the mansions will seek to live in them. You cannot give poodle-dogs fashionable dinners that cost thousands of dollars, without making somebody go without and those who go without are the little tots that are dying in the slums for the want of fresh air and pure milk. Take your Commercial Club of this town with its petty business men and real estate sharks and ask them what are they doing to better the lot of the workers of Duluth. Nothing, absolutely nothing. Real estate agents fight housing reforms. Why? Because so long as they can make huge profits out of dirty, dilapidated houses, they will oppose all measures of reform that mean the pulling down of those slums that bring them in. \$\$. You see it is a business proposition. They want a Steel Plant here. They know that it means hard work, sweating, and all the social injustices of the day for those who work in the Steel Plant, but they know that if a Steel Plant comes here, it is business, more \$\$\$\$\$\$, hell what they do care if the workers are killed or starved, swell the bankroll, even at the expense of the degradation of women and children. Why do department store owners pay starvation wages, simply because starvation wages means more profits. Do you think the department store owner worries about the living conditions of his female workers? Do you think he worries about whether they supplement their wages with the selling of bodies? No, a thousand times no. Children are slowly dying in the mills of America? Why because child-labor is cheap. Child-labor means more profits. As Victor Hugo truthfully states,—"The heaven of the rich is built upon the hell of the poor."

The challenge of the slums is being taken up by the workers and the master-class stand in awe. We know that poverty will not be abolished by any set of people only by those who live in poverty. When John D. Rockefeller gives millions of dollars to fight tuberculosis, his act of charity (?) is not inspired by his sympathy for the poor, it is because he fears the spread of the plague, and perhaps HE may be caught in it. When the capitalist class hand out soup to the unemployed, they are attempting to stay the rising discontent of the workers. But all the acts of charity that are performed by the rich will be of no avail. The system under which they have lived lives of idle luxury and debauchery is doomed. As sure as the night comes, so will the end of capitalism come. Call the movement of the workers by what name you like to call it, that will not crush it, it may retard its growth for a time being, but when the workers become disillusioned, when they see through the sophistry of the editors of the servile press, in the hour of their disillusionment they will rise with a greater power, because the lion always exhibits his greatest strength when he is aroused.

You say that this is only mere word. You ask for proof. Well we give you proof. The workers go to work in a factory. They produce more wealth than the wages they receive. That is true, because no employer employs men for the sake of giving them a living. All workers must produce profit. That is a fixed axiom in business. The workers of this country according to Senator Reed receive one-fifth of the wealth they produce. The rest of the wealth is sent abroad, after the home market has been supplied. The result being that other countries are being industrially developed. They are slowly learning that the things they buy from us, they can produce themselves much cheaper. Therefore the American capitalists go into these countries and erect factories, like Hearst, Rockefeller and others do in Mexico. Those countries develop themselves and they two have a surplus left over.

Therefore they too must find somewhere to unload their surplus. That means America is also without a place to unload its surplus, so the two countries set out to find markets, which incidentally is the cause of all wars. The result being that countries are found that will take the surplus. They follow the same process out as the previous countries have done and then they too have a surplus. Now when they all have a surplus, where are they all going to unload it? Editor of the Herald with your super-wisdom please answer this question? Will the goods produced by the workers be destroyed, of course not. The capitalists realize the position as it exists and so they are forming a League of Nations. Against that League of Nations is the Bolshevik, which is not alone in Russia, but in Germany and in England, Scotland, Ireland, France and Italy. In fact it is here in Duluth. Every act of the trust that ruins a small business man increases the ranks of the workers and so today we can well afford to laugh at the foolish editorials of the Herald. The position of the workingclass is that of a triumphant army. True it is the victory is postponed. True it is that many of our own army are opposed to us, but this we know that the whole workingclass will soon join together and the blood that flows through their veins that gives us the color in our old Red Flag will flow much quicker and then Mr. Edittawh what will you do?

You can never stop the waves of the ocean beating upon the shore. Neither can you combat the logic of Marx with foolish editorials. Marx built his arguments upon the rock of reason, you build yours upon the fleeting sands of emotion and vague speculation. Shells that fell in France exploded many ideas and above all they exploded the idea that masters are necessary. In the hour of your triumph, oh capitalism, you called for Labor to help you out. You were unable to carry on the job, Labor is now taking the job on and intends to remain at the post. Dream on and wave your foolish phantasies, for in the hour of the international solidarity of Labor you will awake to the foolishness of your own ravings.

WORKERS COUNCIL FORMED IN DULUTH.

Away out on the snow-clad steppes of Russia comrades of ours are gathered together to defend the revolution. In all the big cities of Russia they are suffering the agonies of a cold, endless winter. They are OUR comrades and YOUR comrades. They have kept their faith in the cause of Internationalism. They have sealed that faith with their own blood and at the risk of their lives. Today as Lenin writes in our last issue, "they are in a beleaguered fortress." The whole of the capitalist class watches the Soviet Government of Russia. Ready to pounce upon it and destroy it and wreak their vengeance upon those who dared to rise up and challenge the brutal arrogance and despotism of the capitalist class.

As we all watch the fight, we know that there two sides to THAT fight. The Bolsheviks represent OUR side and the Allied troops that are in Russia are there representing the interests of the Imperial nations of the world, with no exceptions. You may differ with this statement, but the military authorities of Canada do not differ with us, they substantiate every word we have written. In reply to a demand by several unions and Socialist locals, the Minister of Militia in Canada, Maj. Gen. S. C. Mewburn, who is also the head of the Canadian Army, has declared that NO MORE SOLDIERS WILL BE SENT TO RUSSIA. If it was in the interests of democracy to send them there in the first place, why are they being recalled? The Canadian authorities have failed to hoodwink the Canadian workers, hence their compliance with the demand of the workers.

What forced the hand of the Canadian authorities?

Was it resolutions? No. Was it an appeal to fair-minded Liberal politicians? No. What was it then? It must have been a gracious act on part of the authorities of Canada! It was the threat of a general strike that compelled the authorities to decide that no more Canadian soldiers will be sent to Russia. It was action in the shop. Action that compels all men to stop and think. Whilst our masters consider our resolutions, the wheels of industry

Entertainment

Given by SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL at

Woodman Hall

SUNDAY EVE, JANUARY 5th, 1919, 8 P. M.

Adolph Driefus

Translator Secretary German Socialist Federation

WILL SPEAK ON THE

"Release of Political Prisoners"

Mrs. Paul Essen will recite. Scandinavian Band will play.
Wenfield Hoffman, Cornet Solo
Refreshments provided. Admission 35c and 15c.

The Woodman Hall has seats for 800, so if you arrive late and fail to obtain a seat, you will know who to blame.
EVERYBODY WELCOME!

continue to revolve, but once we strike, then the wheels of industry stop. Therefore it is only fair to our masters, for us to strike, so that they may have time to think over things. Besides you cannot hear yourself talk, when the machines are going at top speed.

Even the County Councils in Canada are objecting to the presence of Canadian soldiers in Russia, how soon can we expect a protest from the Duluth City Commission?

Tom Mooney is still in prison. The laws of this country state that even if Mooney is innocent, he cannot be given a new trial. It would be a perversion of the law to grant him one. So Tom Mooney lies in prison. And there he will continue to lie, if we leave it to the master-class to set him free. Now let us think this over. The courts state that Mooney cannot have a new trial. Workers' unions protest, commission appointed and makes its report. Report it read and filed and still Tom Mooney is in prison. If commissions and courts cannot help Mooney, then in the name of commonsense what is the use of passing resolutions? Don't get scared, frankly what would you do if the position was up to you? Courts no redress, workers organized can free the whole world never mind Tom Mooney. Now what would you do? Never mind all the bull you have heard about the I. W. W. and the Bolsheviks, just tell us what would you do? You are afraid to say strike? Who are you afraid of? Your boss! Why? If my boss knows that I am in favor of a strike he will fire me. Suppose you all get together? He would fire us all. Suppose he fired you all, who would run the factory? Ah-em-em ah-ah. If you stop work, the bosses' profits stop and as his heart is in his bankroll, the only way to reach his heart is to attack his profits. You can do that by organizing and striking. Remember that down in San Quentin Prison, lies Tom Mooney. If you were working outside and you saw a fellow-worker in danger of being killed, would you pull him out of the way? Of course you would, well do not forget Tom Mooney.

The I. W. W. organized more workers during the war, and obtain bigger increases in wages than the A. F. of L. This is the truth. The result is the I. W. W. are in jail. Remember they are not the agents of the Kaiser, because the Department of Justice has issued a statement containing the names of those who were the agents of Germany and in that list there was not the name of one I. W. W. But still they are in prison. Shall they remain there? The trade unionists of Great Britain and Ireland say no. They have sent resolutions of protest to the Government of this country, demanding their release. But you know how far resolutions go. Tom Mooney has had enough resolutions passed to fill the Woolworth Building, and by the way, Mooney is still in prison.

Eugene V. Debs, Rose Pastor Stokes and many others are in prison for simply talking, whilst Pierpoint Morgan is in Wall Street for pro-

fitting. Now are we going to allow these people to remain in prison? Absolutely no, but resolutions are of no use to us.

Something has got to be done. You betcha. We are forming in Duluth a Workers' Council, composed ONLY of workers. If you have never been a worker, we are sorry to have to tell you we do not want you in on this deal. We want to carry the thing through ourselves. It will be a Council of wage-workers, all formed together and acting as one. We shall deal with the Mooney case, class-war prisoners and the Russian Intervention.

The workers council is the biggest thing that will be formed in the city of Duluth and the whole of America. It is the gathering together of ALL workers. The solidarity we talked of is going to be realized. The workers are going to unite on the fundamental questions of the hour. No more scrapping amongst ourselves, but standing united we are going to show the masters of our lives, that a new day is dawning. We know our enemy, we know his ways and above all things we know his tricks. We are not going to allow ourselves to be fooled and tricked into spectacular demonstrations. We are going to quietly pursue our propaganda and soon the masters will awake to a united workingclass movement. Watch out for the Workers' Council.

The workers of the world have been patient too long they have given of their best and have received and endured the worst. Recognising now their position, they are going to organize as they have never organized before. They will not ask for any mercy or any quarter. It will be the power of you, our masters, against the power of the workers. We shall be as relentlessly in the day of our triumph as you are today in the hour of your triumph. If you want mercy go to the poor outraged victims of the brothel and the millions of wrecks that inhabit your slums. Ask them for mercy for we shall not give you any. We ask no quarter, neither shall we give you any. We are coming for the factories, mines, ships, workshops and all the things that WE produced. WE shall take them for OUR wives and OUR children. If you want to live, throw off the evening dress and don the overalls, for the day of ease is over as far as you are concerned. We are going to torture you worst than you ever tortured us. We are not going to tar and feather you, neither shall we lynch you. We shall not burn you at the stake. No we shall do worst than all of the crimes that you have committed. We shall make you work. Remember WE are coming-stop us if you can.

