

W 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.

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CONFIDENTIAL LETTER SENT OUT BY WALL STREET

Giving the True Facts Concerning Commercial and Labor Conditions of the Country at the Present Time.

We are sitting on a keg of powder. It is well enough for prominent men to give out optimistic interviews, but such talk is largely for effect. The statistics which they give may be true, but they don't tell the whole story. Fundamental economic conditions are bad, and it is useless to deny it. We could give many reasons for this statement, but shall mention only two basic reasons:

1. This composite plot shows clearly that a period of trouble and depression is ahead. It cannot be side-tracked. We can prepare for the reaction and prevent it from being disastrous, but to stop it is impossible.

2. The industrial classes in many parts of the world are at the point of revolution. Insiders well know that the uprising of the masses in Germany was a vital factor in ending the war, and the disturbances in that country are likely to become worse when peace terms are imposed. We know something of the terrible conditions in Russia, but little is being told us about the bad industrial conditions in Italy, France, Spain, Japan, Holland and Great Britain. In all these countries strikes are numerous. On account of the law of equal and opposite reaction, things are not as bad in America as in Europe. There has been less suppression in America. The idea, however, that these convulsions can take place in Europe without some reaction in America is absolutely foolish. The United States is destined to have great labor troubles unless employers immediately adopt different methods. These troubles will start with the textile industry, the copper industry, or possibly the steel industry. The coal and electrical industries will also be affected. America may see the darkest period of its history in the coming days.

What does this mean to clients? It means that business will be jolted, the earnings of the masses will be cut down and their purchasing power will be greatly curtailed. As people cease to buy, manufacturers will cease to produce, and many workers who have not quit voluntarily will be laid off for lack of orders. The vicious circle will again be in evidence. The prices of certain basic commodities, such as steel, copper and other metals, will continue to decline. There may not be such an extended decline in the manufactured goods, which so largely enter into the cost of living. Owing to interference with production through industrial unrest, the shortening of hours and general inefficiency, prices of manufactured goods may for a while continue relatively high.

During the past years the influence of the farmers in this country has been mostly on the side of conservatism. Although the farmer doesn't know it, he really is a capitalist and his interests should be allied with the conservative group. When, however, the trade routes of the world are again freely opened American farmers are going to get a decided shock. Wheat will drop to \$1 a bushel, while corn and other cereals will fall correspondingly. The prices of farm products will drop much more rapidly than the farmer's expenses. This is going to make him ugly, and Socialism will appear mild compared with some of the propositions which farmers will be making a year or two from now. The farmers of the Western States will unite with the industrial workers of the Eastern cities in attempting most dangerous legislation.

The foregoing illustrates in a marked way the reason for our attitude on securities. Last summer we advised the sale of industrials and coppers which we had recommended in the winter of 1917. Because the end of the war meant falling commodities and better operating conditions, we advised the retention of the railroad stocks. The rails are still selling at or below depression levels of former years and our advice is still to continue to hold them. Industrials have suffered greatly in the past six months from high wages and readjustment problems, and as commodity prices recede and labor troubles increase, they will suffer even more. Our opinion on the copper situation was clearly stated in last week's Barometer Letter. The situation is very bad.

Good bonds and other securities of a strictly investment character are more dependent on the price of money than on the current industrial situation. Such securities should gradually be benefited by the easing in monetary conditions. Although the readjustment in interest rates will be gradual, nevertheless, the trend of money on the long swing is downward and all securities having a fixed rate of interest will benefit by this decline. In view of the present excellent yields which are avail-

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GODDESS OF LIBERTY STILL WATCHES OVER NEW YORK HARBOR

"We are going to climb the slow road until it reaches the upland where the air is fresher, where the whole talk of mere politicians is stilled, where men can look in each others faces and see that there is nothing to conceal, that all they have to talk about they are willing to talk about in the open and talk about with each other; and whence, looking back over the road, we shall see that we have fulfilled our promise to mankind"—Pres. Wilson.

Today beneath the rays of the torch that is held by the Statue of Liberty, fifty-four members of the I. W. W. are to be deported. Shades of Thos. Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln and many other noble Americans! While Europe is intoxicated with the speeches of President Wilson, members of the I. W. W. are denied their elementary rights. The I. W. W. today—the A. F. of L. radicals tomorrow. Drunk with power, American plutocrats seek to stem the rising tide of human freedom by deporting workers. Shades of King Canute!

Organized labor, you have done the necessary work for your masters—you have won the war. Your masters do not want you now. Soon the bread lines will form. Soon your wages will go down and down. The future for you is a gloomy one, if you refuse to act.

DEMAND—SIX-HOUR DAY, NO REDUCTION IN PAY AND A JOB FOR EVERY SOLDIER—LET YOUR RED BLOOD FLOW!!

Hate Divides Mankind Said Karl Liebknecht

Copenhagen.—"Never was there such a gulf of hate between labor and capital as exists today."

Those words were contained in the last interview given out by Karl Liebknecht, the Spartacist leader who was killed by a mob in Berlin. It was given to the Berlin correspondent of the Politiken and printed here.

Liebknecht was tracked down by the correspondent and was finally found writing on a table in the kitchen of a small apartment.

At first Liebknecht refused to be interviewed, saying: "I won't talk; I only make revolution."

Asked for a photograph, the Red leader declared: "I have no private life; I only make revolution."

Becoming angered at some remark made by the correspondent, Liebknecht burst out: "No people in history ever carried through their political ideas without force. It is an idyllic naive plan to try to accomplish social reform by voting. It is absurd. The national assembly will be only a continuation of the Reichstag for talking shop. This last gigantic fight in the world's history means either the end or the continuation of usury and capitalism. A compromise is impossible. Parliaments are finished with and useless."

It was then that Liebknecht brought in the "gulf of hate."

NEW YORK WORKERS UNITE FOR DEFENSE OF CLASS WAR PRISONERS

New York.—As an outgrowth of the Liberty Defense Union, which has been assisting in numerous free speech and free press cases throughout the country, there has been formed the Workers' Defense Union, made up entirely of representatives of organized labor. This union, which has its headquarters in Room 405, 7 East 15th street, has already secured delegates from 170 organizations. Its objects are the following:

1. To work for an amnesty for all industrial and political prisoners convicted during the war.

2. To co-operate in the defense of any such persons now under indictment, but not yet tried, or whose cases are being appealed, and of any who may be prosecuted in the future.

3. To agitate against the present practice of the United States government of deporting foreign-born workers on account of their political opinions or their activity in the labor movement.

4. To work for the establishment in this country of a recognized status for political and industrial prisoners.

DEBS' LINCOLN BIRTHDAY ADDRESS

Assails Men Responsible
For Deportation of
Wage Slaves.

Terre Haute, Ind., Feb. 12.—This is Lincoln's birthday. It is a day rich with memory and dark with tragedy. Lincoln was and is the sweetest product of American soil. Like the Nazarene, he loved the poor, sympathized with the lowly. I was hated, vilified and finally murdered by the ruling class of his time.

The birthday of the immortal Rail-splitter is being celebrated in part by deportation from the land he loved of the men of honest toil, who, like himself, hated the money power, and believed in government of and by and for the people. This is one of the beautiful ironies of capitalism. Its vaunted love of freedom is but the velvet cloak which conceals its iron-fisted despotism.

These men are charged by the ruling class and its prostitute press with being enemies of the government. Precisely the same charge that is being brought against these men today under capitalist despotism was brought against Abraham Lincoln by the slave power of his day.

Lincoln was murdered by the same power that is now tearing our brothers from their families and friends and shipping them over the wide seas like cattle for the crime of protesting against wage-slavery and aspiring to walk the earth free men.

They are charged with being anarchists, Bolsheviks and I. W. W.'s. I care not what they are. I know only that they are human beings and my brothers, and that I love them and am ready to share their lot.

Look at their hands! And then look at the hands of their deporters. This will tell the story. The hands of these workmen at Ellis Island, penned up like hogs awaiting shipment, are the bruised, deformed hands that have dug up the gold, hewn down the forests and gathered the crops of the plutocratic parasites and parasites that are now having them driven from the country for daring to think that they are entitled to more consideration than beasts of burden.

What do I think of this deportation? It is the crime of crimes, and the infamy of infamies, and a foul and indelible blot upon the present administration. No words of mine are sufficient to express my loathing of this outcast by the ruling powers upon the working class. It is a piece with the program of Wall street to make this

country safe for democracy by putting the iron heel on everything; that ventures to oppose the thief rule of the profiteering pirates now in the saddle.

Whom do I blame for this atrocious exhibition of capitalist despotism? Chiefly Gompers and his scabbing and strike-breaking craft unions, which are simply auxiliaries of the Wall Street power. They have broken the strike in Seattle and are now breaking the strikes in the East. The same gang have had an underground alliance with the chamber of commerce in San Francisco in the conspiracy to murder Tom Mooney. Without the sanction and support, open and covert, of these corrupt and reactionary elements which wear the union badge but to traffic in it, to betray and disgrace it, the master class would not dare to embark in the wholesale deportation of men whose only crime is their self-respect and their manly purpose to be free.

The union men marked for deportation are as true to the principles of real unionism as are those false to it, who in the name of organized labor are in league with the exploiters of labor to keep the working class in slavery.

Every labor union, every socialist local and every other body of liberty-loving people should join at once in nation-wide protest against the perpetration of this outrage upon American soil. Let it be made clear to the world that America is not going to begin where old Russia left off!

COMPARISON.
Despised Germany grants 44-hour week to her workers and NO children are allowed in the factories. In North Carolina the children go to work at the age of five and up. Pity there is an Oppression Law or we might say—???

WORKERS CRY "MURDERER!"
Copenhagen.—When King Gustav of Sweden received General Mannerheim, commander of the Finnish White Army, in Stockholm, the police dispersed Socialist demonstrators who were distributing pamphlets referring to the general as the "murderer of our Finnish brother workers," according to a Stockholm dispatch to the Tidende today.

Canadian Miners to Unite.
Ferne, B. C.—The Amalgamated Mines Workers of Nova Scotia—a body of nearly 10,000 members, are about to merge with the United Mine Workers of America. This merger will bring them into closer affiliation with the miners of Western Canada, a condition that has long seemed a necessity to those interested in the labor movement.

EXTRA!
VICTOR BERGER, ADOLPH GERMER, LOUIS ENGELH, ST. JOHN TUCKER AND J. V. KRUSE WERE SENTENCED TO TWENTY YEARS IN PRISON.

BRITISH RADICALS CALL STRIKE REVOLT PRELUDE

"The Tiger" Of France



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PREMIER CLEMENCEAU.

The "Tiger" of France was shot in the back. He is not dead. The press gives him column after column. Last year thousands of little babies were shot in the stomach by the arrows of starvation. Where did you read about them? Not in the papers that sobbed bitterly over the "Tiger"! When the working class think as much of themselves as they do of their rulers, the "Tiger" will lose his job and nobody will want to take a shot at him. Also little babies will grow up and become chubby-cheeked youngsters who will make us happy with their cooing and laughter.

Nobody has blamed the wounding of the "Tiger" on the I. W. W. yet. What is the matter with the press, anyhow?

WELCH RELEASED.

Kansas City, Kas., Feb. 15.—Nathan L. Welch, of Detroit, Mich., formerly editor of the Michigan Socialist, was released from the Federal prison at Leavenworth today. Welch was sentenced to serve 18 months, and was released after completing his full prison term.

"I feel immeasurably strengthened because of the ordeal through which I passed and am anxious to resume Socialist activities," he has been interrupted through an imprisonment," said Welch, as he went through the city on the way to Detroit. "My confinement failed to dampen my enthusiasm, nor has it lessened my faith in the triumph of International Socialism and the coming reign of Industrial Democracy. All signs indicate the consummation of the ideals for which we are struggling and undergoing imprisonment."

"The several hundred class war prisoners serving long terms of imprisonment in the Federal bastille at Leavenworth for their loyalty to the working class maintain an unbroken spirit and are unflinching in their allegiance to the cause of Industrial Democracy."

"In spite of the savage brutalities with which some of them have been subjected by prison officials, they remain calm and serene, confident that the day is near when the workers of America will bring about their release from prison through intelligent, conscious advancement."

Welch was convicted for alleged anti-draft articles published in the Michigan Socialist. The paper was outlawed by the Post Office Department and Welch, along with several other party members, were sentenced to prison terms. Maurice Sugar, another defendant, is serving a one-year sentence in the Detroit house of correction.

DATE SET FOR WESTERN LABOR CONFERENCE

Vancouver, B. C.—The proposal for holding a Western Labor Conference, in which the labor federations of all of Western Canada are to take part, has now been definitely adopted, and a call has been issued, stating that the conference to begin on March 10 in the Labor Temple, Calgary, Alberta, in connection with it, there will also be held the convention of the British Columbia Federation of Labor.

The strength of one man is great, the strength of a union is greater still, but the union of your class is the greatest power of all.

Workers of Clyde and South Wales Are Rivals for Honor of "Kick-Off."

(N. E. A. Service.)

London.—There's open rivalry between the workers of the Clyde and the miners of South Wales as to which shall be the first to kick off in the "revolution."

Extremists declare that the present series of strike in the United Kingdom involving 200,000 workers is but a grand prelude to the overthrow of the capitalist system and the taking over of industry by the workers.

The shop steward system evolved by the British workers is not far distant from the Soviet government of the Russians.

The plan for a trades parliament in which labor and capital shall be represented, and which is to have a voice in government when industrial affairs are involved, is declared as far behind the aims of the radicals of South Wales and Glasgow and Belfast as Home Rule for Ireland is behind the aims of Sinn Fein.

Organization to Spread Propaganda.

South Wales miners have a "Reform Committee" maintained to secure the mines for the miners. The engineers of the Clyde have a workers' committee with the same aim toward industry. In Fife and in Lanarkshire are similar organizations with a similar purpose.

And through these organizations Mainwaring and Macdonald and MacManus and Maxton and John Maclean and Mrs. Crawford and others of equally radical ideas spread the propaganda of the machinery of production for the workers.

In the districts mentioned there are maintained institutes which train labor leaders to preach the doctrines of Marx and Lenin.

In South Wales it's the Central Labor College. This institution is a split from the Russian college movement, which was financed by a wealthy British anarchist. Central Labor College is reported by the South Wales Miners' Federation and the National Union of Railway Men. The Plebs League is an association connected with the institution, which spreads its teachings, and the Plebs Magazine is a monthly publication which aids still further in the work.

Base Education on Antagonism to Capital.

In a recent pamphlet issued by the league it declared:

"The labor movement has its basis in the antagonism of interests existing between capital and labor. Then the education which it is concerned must be based on a recognition of this same antagonism."

The leaders in the Central Labor College are members of the Independent Labor Party. The party is strong among the miners of South Wales and among the railway workers. And in Midland and Lancashire and Yorkshire and Dunham and Northumberland the same teachings are welcomed, in the same sort of classes—the teachings of Karl Marx.

Throughout the United Kingdom these teachers of what is popularly—or unpopularly—called Bolshevism are at work with the labor unions till the union leaders and the Labor party throw up their hands and declare the revolution is at hand.

A roomy old dwelling in Ammanford is known as "The White House" to the miners of South Wales. It was bought with their money for something like \$7,500, and another \$2,000 was spent in putting it in shape and supplying it with a library of Socialist books.

There is no attempt at concealment of the purpose of the institution, no subtlety about its work.

"Psychology, sociology, politics, we teach everything here," said the representative in charge to a correspondent who visited the place. "Anything that a man wants he can get here. Anything that he wants to discuss he can discuss here."

Here centered strong opposition to the prosecution of the war, and agitation in Britain for its early ending.

"War is caused by economic forces," said the spokesman.

"If I had my way, the workers would work but two hours a day, instead of eight or ten, as now. Then there would be no surplus wealth. Then there would be no war, because there would be nothing to fight for. The men are asking now for six hours a day. I would reduce it to two hours; then the workers would get control."

"The revolution is as sure as heaven or hell. Labor went to the rescue of the capitalists in the election just held, but it is going to be different."

Out to Destroy Capital System.
"The men are not going to take

DEFECTIVE PAGE

Aunt Emmy Wants To Know Who Is a Bolshevist? Britain and Russia

By Harold Kellock

(This remarkable article is reprinted from the conservative magazine, Good Housekeeping.—Editor Truth.)

"I'm studying up on Bolshevism," said Aunt Emmy placidly, as her knitting needles flew over the beginnings of a sock for some lucky lad in the navy.

"What?" I gasped, for Aunt Emmy is an old-fashioned woman. It is true that she is one of those old-fashioned women who make one doubt whether evolution will give us anything better, a home-keeping, sock-darning housewife, an authority on babies and rose gardens and preserving and the poems of Shelley, a person who can make of a little flour and a couple of apples a pie fit for those gormandizing Greek gods, and now a voter with a range of shrewd political and social judgments.

"Bolshevism," declared Aunt Emmy, without interrupting her negotiation of a perfect toe, "seems to be spreading—like the chestnut blight. You remember the chestnut blight began at the New York Botanical Gardens and spread north and east into New England. The Hudson blocked its march south and west for a time, but after it got up the river a ways, it jumped across, and the first thing they knew it was all over Pennsylvania, and in a few months it got as far south as Virginia. In the next generation Longfellow's poem, the great schoolhouse favorite, beginning,

"Under a spreading chestnut tree
The village smithy stands,"

will have no meaning for the boys and girls. They will never have seen a chestnut tree.

"Now I'm wondering, the way this Bolshevism is spreading, if all the wonderful stories about kings and princesses, and how the bright little errand boy grows up to marry the daughter of the head of the firm or of the bank president, won't lose their meaning too. Apparently under Bolshevism not only the kings and princesses, but also the heads of the firms and the bank presidents, disappear like the chestnut trees.

"And more particularly I'm anxious to know how this Bolshevism, whatever it is, will affect babies and young married folks, and the price of butter and eggs and flour, and how it will affect folks who don't get along very well. There are a lot more of them than bank presidents and heads of firms.

"Almost all the nice people I know are excited and alarmed about this Bolshevism. They don't know much about it, but they don't like it. We didn't like the chestnut blight either, but the trees are all gone."

Aunt Emmy smoothed out the sock on her broad lap and looked at it pensively. "I can't believe it's all just murder and robbery," she meditated. "I reckon the Russians are just folks, like ourselves. It worries me, because I don't know anything about it. But I'm going to find out."

She glanced at the clock and jumped up. "I've got four hungry grandchildren coming here tomorrow, and if I don't make a big batch of sugar cookies, there'll be a revolution to abolish grandmothers."

Thus Aunt Emmy. Like her, there are any number of good Americans who are worried about Bolshevism and don't know much about this terrible political phantom.

The newspapers have printed from time to time stories of anarchy and murder and terrorism in Russia, and a number of respectable, well-to-do Russians, including several with titles, have come to our shores with similar tales. Incidentally the newspapers and these Russian exiles have given us periodic assurance that the Bolshevik regime in Russia had fallen or was about to fall.

Yet, somehow, the Bolshevik government goes on. The Bolsheviks came into power on November 7, 1917, and through the Soviets Bolshevik authority still rules over the greater part of European Russia. Moreover, this curious thing called Bolshevism seems to be spreading beyond the boundaries of Russia. Throughout Central Europe and down into the Balkans great numbers of people seem to be infected with it. Like the chestnut blight, it seems to leap over great spaces of territory, skipping Roumania, finding lodgment in Bulgaria.

Who are the Bolshevists? What are they up to? To answer that question we must go back a little.

The old Czarist bureaucracy held its power through a system of medieval oppression. It deliberately kept the great mass of the Russian people in a state of illiteracy, and it deliberately deprived the mass of the peasants of land. Russia was a land of plenty, but for the poor workers

and the poor peasants the wolf was always at the door. The members of the average peasant family lived a life of stolid drudgery—men, women and children. The most elementary necessities of life, things like butter, sugar, tea, coffee, were unknown to millions of them. They were beasts of burden merely, and they lived the life of beasts. The Czarist church cultivated amid this ignorance a superstitious reverence for the Little Father, and the Czar's police railroaded to Siberia persons who dared lift their voices and declare that a better state of things was desirable. Starvation, ignorance, superstition and vodka ruled the lives of the millions, while the bureaucratic upper layers of society were interlarded by a system of wholesale graft and incompetence.

The Russian Situation.

Russia was largely an obscure, immobile mass of human misery. Yet in the mass a ferment began working. In cellars and obscure rooms, in workshop corners and in remote villages, groups would get together and talk of revolution and the dawn of liberty. In subterranean ways this propaganda spread. The liberal intellectuals took it up and carried it even into high places. Leaders of the movement were not infrequently executed or assassinated, and hundreds of thousands of devoted men and women were exiled to bleak Siberia, but the thing continued, and it grew.

The Japanese war demonstrated the rottenness of the Russian structure, and in 1905 the revolution broke in a great strike of the workers. For a time a Workman's Council—the first Soviet—ruled Petrograd, and after an interval one Leon Trotsky became its president. The revolution failed and Trotsky was one of those sent to Siberia for life. He escaped eventually, made his way to Europe, and lived a precarious, fugitive existence in several countries, and at last, after the great war had started, came to New York, where he lodged in a Bronx tenement and lived by writing editorials for a little Russian revolutionary paper on the East Side. The local Socialist leaders generally looked on him with disfavor. He talked in terms of Russian radicalism, which sounded a bit too strong for American ears.

Meanwhile the radical wing of the Russian revolutionary Socialists was conducting its affairs mostly with its leaders in exile. This wing was the Bolshevik party. "Bolsheviki" literally means simply "majority," and the name originated in 1903, when a split arose in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party over some point of minor policy. The winning faction took the name Bolshevik and the losers were called Mensheviks, or minority.

For years Nicholas Lenin was the leader of the radical wing. The Czar's secret police regarded him as the most dangerous and most uncompromising of the revolutionary leaders, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to assassinate him. Lenin had indeed no patience, as had the leaders of some of the other revolutionary factions, with compromises or petty reforms. He worked for thorough revolutionary overturn. He was a cool, far-sighted political chess player, a tireless worker, impersonal as a hill of granite and fully as unyielding. He is the author of some twenty-seven volumes on economic topics, has long been regarded as the great Socialist authority on agrarian problems, and has been an indefatigable pamphleteer. His cool, mathematical mind is in strong contrast to the tempestuous enthusiasm of Trotsky.

The Land Question.

It is often said that the key to the political problem of Russia is the land question, and with that key Lenin opened the door to power. When the Russian revolution broke, most of the Bolshevik leaders were in exile. They went thronging back from every quarter of the world, Trotsky and others from America, Lenin from Switzerland. The German government, without doubt glad to add another "agitator" to the seething caldron of Russia, permitted Lenin to pass through Germany.

From the start of the revolution the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils sprang up all over Russia, and later the peasants added themselves to these organizations. It was soon apparent that the Soviets, and not the provisional government, formed the real binder that knit revolutionary Russia together. The provisional government, headed successively by Lvoff, Miliukoff, and Kerensky, represented a compromise between the intellectual and land-holding elements, and the radicalism of the masses—but the Soviets were

the masses. At first these organizations had a distinctively moderate or Menshevik color, but in time the Bolshevists secured a growing majority, and finally a mass uprising in Petrograd established the Soviet regime with Lenin as premier.

The first thing the new government did was to turn over to the peasants the land for which they had been waiting for hundreds of years. There was an old, old peasant proverb, "The land belongs to nobody, only to God." This the government set out to realize. The great estates were confiscated without compensation. The district Soviets apportioned the land among the village Soviets, and these turned over plots or farms to Peter and Ivan and Paul, not to own, but to work, and they began planning for co-operative use of farm machinery, co-operative buying and selling, and so forth. This was the beginning of Bolshevism.

Of course this tremendous change was not accomplished easily or without violence. In some places the peasants seized the land and wrangled over it like dogs over a bone. Through broad areas the ignorant peasants abused their accession to power. Many splendid manor houses were burned, because they were to the peasants symbols of terrible tyranny. Nice people with good clothes were often persecuted and driven out, sometimes even murdered, and educated persons, decent school teachers and the like, were ill treated, sometimes mobbed, because education had always been denied to the poor peasant, and to him the intellectual was a servant of the great landholder who had held him in virtual slavery. But in spite of these terrible things the spring planting was done, and a bigger acreage sown than at any time since the war. The peasants were working for themselves.

With the confiscation of land all mortgages became worthless scraps of paper, and the whole banking system was shaken. The Soviet government, however, confiscated the banks and made them institutions run by the government. Then the government began taking industries and turning them over to the workers, to be run by committees of workers. This caused a great confusion and much opposition. In some cases, after a time, the workers managed, through their committees, to run the factories well and increase production as well as wages. In other cases they muddled things. The Bolshevik idea was that no person was entitled to live by exploiting the labor of any other person. They wanted to do away with dividends and rents and everything they called capitalism. But after a time they saw that they could not—for the present, at least—expropriate all the industries, so they called off that process. It is likely that most of the industries in Russia today are still under private control, but profits are limited by the government, and committees of workers share in the management.

An All-Russian Workers' Council of Control, consisting of delegates from the various workers' and peasants' organizations and unions, including delegates from "The Engineers and Technical delegates from 'The Engineers and Technical Agents Union of Russia,'" was established to take over control of all industry and commerce. Likewise a Supreme Council of National Economy was formed for the organization of the public ownership of utilities and the state finances. This council consists of the All-Russian Council of Workers' Control, representatives of the people's commissars, and accredited specialists and experts in an advisory capacity.

Every Bolshevist Must Be a Worker. The heart of the Bolshevik idea is this: that in order to exist in the Soviet state, a person must work. This is likewise the law of the beehive, where at intervals the workers get together and stay all the drones. The Bolsheviki have not, so far as the writer has been able to learn, except in sporadic instances due to ignorance, found it necessary to adopt such extreme tactics, nor have they found it necessary to pass special laws against non-workers. The nature of the Soviet state is such as to make it extremely difficult for nonworkers to exist in it.

If you live in a Russian town today and are above eighteen years of age, you may vote for a representative in the Soviet. But to do this you do not, as in America, go to the polls and vote with your neighbors. You vote with the people of your trade or profession. The municipal factory elects a delegate, and shoe factory, the clothing shops, the

brickyards, the glass works, the soldiers and sailors, the organized clerks, school teachers, engineers, physicians, men of other professions. Women workers vote with the men, and organized housewives may send their delegates, too, which, as city government is merely municipal housekeeping, is a very good thing.

Adherents of the Soviet idea declare that this is a more satisfactory method of representation than the normal democratic fashion under which the people of a district have a voting choice between two or more district candidates, whom most of them know nothing about and who are bound to their constituents by no real ties. Under the Soviet system persons bound together by the most vital economic ties vote for one of their own number to represent them, and if at any time they are dissatisfied with him, they may replace him.

There is a Soviet in every city, village, district, and county in the Russian Federated Republic. They knit their power together in the Pan-Russian Congress of Soviets, composed of representatives of all branches of industry and men from all parts of the republic, which meets at least twice a year. This congress elects a central executive committee of not more than two hundred members, which is the permanent governing body of the republic, responsible to the congress. The committee divides itself into eleven administrative colleges, headed by commissars similar to our cabinet officers.

Some remarkable personalities have been included among these commissars. They work for workmen's salaries, 600 rubles (about \$90) a month, with an extra allowance of 100 rubles for each dependent. Thus Lenin, whose wife is employed in the Department of Education, gets 600 rubles, and Trotsky, who has a wife and three children, gets 900 rubles. Both Lenin and Tchicherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, come of old and well-to-do Russian families. Trotsky is the son of a prosperous Jewish merchant. In Petrograd Trotsky and his family lived in a little garret room in Smolny Institute, the Soviet headquarters.

Tchicherin served as a diplomat under the Czar before he became a revolutionary Socialist. While Commissar of Foreign Affairs in Petrograd, he lived in a shabby little lodging house in the working quarter, and members of the American Red Cross Mission, who had occasion to call upon him at his office, would find him transacting affairs of state clad in a soiled sweater and baggy old trousers.

Women's Labor Laws.

Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, is one of the noted writers and scholars of Russia. His first assistant is Maxim Gorky. The Commissar for Public Welfare is a woman, Alexandra Kollontay, known for her many books on mothers and children and general sociological topics. One of her first acts was to secure the passage of a law providing free care for sixteen weeks for women before, during and after confinement, and providing that working women, for a month after they return to their homes, need work in the factories only four hours a day. She also established in Petrograd a home for convalescent mothers, known as the Palace of Motherhood.

The general Soviet idea is to make the wealth and productivity of the nation the heritage of all the people instead of a few. Production is organized in the interest of the general needs, instead of for profit. To this end ambitious plans have been projected, such as harnessing the Volga and other rivers to furnish light and power for the cities. Extensive irrigation projects are planned. A systematic control of production has been introduced. Thus, instead of forty different types of plows produced in Russia under individual enterprise, the number has been reduced to seven normal types. Government purchase of necessary imports has been designed on a great scale to eliminate speculation. Half a billion rubles were voted last spring to purchase cotton from Turkestan. Similar appropriations have been made for the import of wool, farming implements and textiles. The number of co-operative stores has increased remarkably. There were over thirty thousand last fall.

A system of employment bureaus, such as never before has existed in Russia, has been created under the management of workmen. Unemployment insurance has been established. For the first time a real school system has been formed, and every child in Soviet Russia goes to

school. In some districts, last summer, great numbers of children were taken to the big estates under competent teachers and lived there on a communistic basis, supporting themselves from the soil.

Most of this program sounds logical and good. Parts of it some of us would be most emphatically opposed to, because they so thoroughly differ from our own order of individualistic initiative, which the Bolsheviki are wont to refer to as individualistic anarchy.

The complete overturn of society in Russia has beyond doubt caused tremendous confusion, and much hardship and bitterness among the "nicest" people. By the "nicest" people we mean, of course, the well-to-do people. For many of them there is no immediate place in the new order. Many of them have, no doubt, actually starved because they could find no place. Of course powerful elements of the old order have resisted the new regime, and there has been fighting and bloodshed. A revolution is always terrible. In our American revolution some of our most respectable people—Tories—were chased into Canada and their property confiscated under a sort of mob rule. That sort of thing has been going on on a much larger scale in Russia. After the Allied invasion began, the so-called Red Terror broke out in many places, as it did during the French revolution after a similar allied invasion. An infuriated populace in many cases turned on all persons suspected of complicity in bringing in the foreign armies. How far the Soviet leaders were implicated in these outrages is a question.

Popular Sentiment Toward Revolution.

About a century ago the great popular demonstration in France for political democracy was looked upon with horror by the organized societies of the world. Most of the political leaders in other nations could see nothing in the French revolution but chaos and anarchy. The Russian revolution is a popular demonstration for social and industrial democracy. The various factions of the social democratic idea in Russia differs, not on the end to be attained, but merely on method. The Bolsheviki represent one of the most drastic programs. Their view is that the owning class of a country, the people who control the land, the industries, and the money, are bound to control the destinies of the country, and through the press, the schools, and so forth, even the mind and will of the people. Hence they are impatient of parliamentary reforms and insist that the first step toward a popularly governed society must be to take the control of land, of industry, of wealth away from the small owning class and vest it in the general community.

The Workers Are the Dictators.

To conduct this transition process they have set up a temporary dictatorship of the workers, have suppressed minority opinion ruthlessly, and have performed other high-handed acts, including the repudiation of the national debt, which, they declare with some justification, was largely money raised by the old autocracy to crush the democratic aspirations of the Russian people. It is true that they insist that the dictatorship shall cease as soon as the new order is established, and they have recently offered to compromise on the debt, as a sop to foreign opinion. It is also true that as soon as the Russian people wish to place a more moderate faction in power, they can effect this through their Soviets, though it is unlikely that any change will come while Russia is being invaded.

Some sincere Americans see only murder and chaos and repression in Soviet Russia. Others see only a new free society in the building, framed on a program of lofty idealism. If the communistic society the Bolsheviki aim at is a workable thing under Russian conditions and meets the desire of the mass of the Russian people, it will probably survive in spite of foreign efforts to overthrow it. If it is something conceived merely in ignorance and fanaticism, it will fail of its own weight. After all, the test of it will be Aunt Emmy's test, "how it will affect babies and young married folks, and folks who don't get along very well."

WINNIPEG TRADES BAN CAPITALIST PRESS MEN

Winnipeg.—All newspaper representatives other than those of the working class press will be excluded from future meetings of the Trades and Labor Council, according to resolutions adopted by that body at its last meeting.

By Dougla Young.

(Mr. Young, as the British Consul, was in sole charge of British interests in Archangel from December, 1917, until the military occupation on August 2, 1918.)

During my eleven year's service under the Foreign Office in parts ranging from the Equator to the Arctic Circle, I have seen how the direction of foreign affairs is the close preserve of an exclusive class bureaucracy; and how matters vitally affecting international relations are decided by officials, often of minor rank, who, for the most part, have no first-hand knowledge of the countries on which they are experimenting, and who ignore, if they do not actually resent, any suggestions or advice from "outsiders" who happen to possess such knowledge. The plea of "State Secrecy" is used by this bureaucracy to conceal its blunders, which often involve the lives of thousands of the people. Our diplomatic representation abroad is also the exclusive preserve of a caste, the members of which in most cases do not even speak the language of the country in which they reside, and who gather their knowledge within the four walls of their Chancelleries or in the Court or aristocratic circle which they exclusively frequent.

In my three years' service as British Consul at Archangel during the war, I have seen the money of the British taxpayer squandered with the most cynical indifference by a similar bureaucracy established by other departments.

The British Government played a dirty, double game with the Soviet Government in Russia. First they gave a solemn assurance which was published over my name in the Archangel press, that they had no annexationist intentions and that they would not interfere in the internal affairs of Russia. This was accepted by myself and by every man who read it, and who was not concerned with the niceties of diplomatic quibbling, as meaning that the British Government intended no military action against the Soviet government. Then they stabbed that government in the back by forcing a landing of Allied troops at Archangel under a specious pretext.

So far from the Soviet Government having violated the sanctity of the British Embassy at Petrograd, the Embassy no longer existed, as its personnel had ignominiously fled the country some months previously, and official representatives of the British Admiralty and War Office were abusing diplomatic privilege—to which, in fact, they had no claim—to organize, in conjunction with Russian counter-revolutionaries, under cover of the Embassy building, a plot to overthrow the Soviet de facto authorities in Archangel and elsewhere.

The British Government having completely failed to understand the cause and significance of the Russian revolution and the ideals and aims of the Soviet Government, proceeded to suppress any news or any expression of opinion which did not coincide with their preconceived ideas, and was therefore calculated to expose that blunder; and, further, they proceeded to misrepresent and blacken every action of the Soviet Government, giving either deliberately untrue or evasive replies to the few independent members of all parties who have tried by questions in Parliament to extract the truth, though there is, of course, always the possibility that Ministers have not been allowed by their officials to know what was going on.

The Archangel expedition, considered only as a military enterprise, and apart from questions of morality or political expediency, is already admitted even by its militarist sponsors to be an even greater fiasco than might have been anticipated. It is actually in danger of being thrown out into the White Sea, leaving the civil population of Archangel to the vengeance of the Bolsheviki. And this failure is due primarily to the fact that our naive authorities grossly underestimated not only the moral force, but also the military power of the Soviet Government, apparently believing that in its stronghold at Moscow 700 miles from Archangel, the walls of Bolshevism would fall to the ground at the approach from the White Sea of a few "brass hats" and a nondescript force of a few hundred men "scraped together."

I have seen in Archangel a British general acting toward the Russian population in their own country as despotically as any Czar and conducting himself as scandalously as any of the Russian generals of the old regime who were a common subject of superior criticism on the part of British residents in Russia. One can only conclude from this that the war against Prussian militarism has created a Whitehall militar-

ism little better than the Potsdam variety, and a British bureaucracy perhaps less corrupt, but hardly less incompetent than that of St. Petersburg.

I hate "Bolshevism"—a product of reaction working upon national weariness and popular discontent. But I am convinced that the policy or absence of policy—of the British Government as regards Russia is responsible for having strengthened "Bolshevism" by forcing the Soviet Government to adopt cruel and inexcusable measures for its self-preservation, and incidentally for placing Russia still more under the heel of Germany and for slamming the door in Russia in our own faces against British political and commercial influence in that country. I believe that Bolsheviki propaganda has had as much to do with the sudden collapse of Germany as our military operations. And I am afraid that, at the moment the most urgent problems of domestic reconstruction are awaiting settlement at home, we shall fritter away our strength and resource in a vain attempt to restore order in the Russian Colossus; and that if we do this we shall sooner or later provoke an outbreak of Bolshevism in the United Kingdom, thus realizing the aim of the extreme Russian Bolsheviki of spreading their ideas throughout Western Europe.

Russia cannot be invaded and conquered by a few thousand men. The distances are enormous; the difficulties are great; the Bolsheviki are strong and are growing stronger. It is not a question of "restoring order" in Murman or the Crimea. It is a question at least of penetrating to Moscow. That means war on a large scale—it may be years of war. It means the sacrifice of thousands of lives and millions of money, with heaven knows what purpose or result. There cannot be limited intervention. If it continues it must be on a large scale—with all the consequences that implies.

There is another alternative. I believe that if a delegation, composed not of bureaucrats or militarists but of broad-minded representatives of all British political parties, were to meet a Soviet delegation in a neutral country an understanding might be swiftly reached after a few hours' deliberation. And I believe that that understanding might be acceptable alike to our extreme Socialists and to British capitalists whose sole interests in Russia seem to be to get their money back and to secure a field for making more.

M. Litvinoff is reported to be in Stockholm offering to open negotiations. It is for British public opinion to see that the opportunity for retrieving a ghastly blunder and for removing a stain on our national honor is not missed.

DELENDA EST CARTHAGO.

(Cato, the Roman senator, desired the ruin of Carthage—ending his every speech with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed." Later, when he was banished from Rome, the grim irony of fate found him musing on the ruins of the destroyed city—an outcast.)

By S. A. De Witt.

Time has broken from his man-made traces—
Days are fleeting over aeon spaces—
Changes flash and thunder;
The wildest fancies of our unbelieved
Are shaping solid form, and we are weaving
Full cloth upon the looms of wonder.

So swift these transformations sweep to being—
So vast the shackled forces they are freeing
That the near hereafter
May banish us—Cato like—to wander
And on the ruin we have made to ponder

With his weak tears . . . or
our exultant laughter!

REMOVING WAR.

So long as you have a parasitic class who claim as their right the privilege of taking a dishonest toll out of the labor and sweat of their fellowmen, just so long will you have war and bloodshed on the earth. The only power that can save the present and future generations from a repetition of the ruthless struggle that has just taken place is a united world democracy. It is not sufficient that the people shall have a clear vision of the new world in which they desire to dwell, they must organize with a unity and the strength of purpose which shall give concrete and practical expression to the spiritual aspirations, special ideals and moral passions of their very being.

this lying down an longer. We have simply existed as slaves on the land. We are out to destroy the capitalist system—the system that makes it possible for capital to exploit labor. Capitalism has had a beginning, so it must have an end.

The capitalist class has got to go, just as every other domineering class has gone in the past. There must be a new world, and it is high time.

This is the teaching that is boldly proclaimed at a time when nearly a quarter of a million workers are testing their strength by strikes against the system they believe oppresses them. At a time when England is most uncomfortable by reason of the shortage of necessities, high prices and prospective unemployment through demobilization of the army and slow readjustment of industrial conditions.

Each Concession New Proof of Strength.

Each concession reveals anew to the working people their strength. Employers of labor put the ratio of extremists among the strikers at 10 per cent. Twenty or thirty thousand is perhaps too low an estimate. And the extent of the influence of even 20,000 or 30,000 is incalculable.

A dozen men whose names are known to the government are said to be working out the plans for the revolution.

How great a following they can command will be known only when they deem the time ripe for action.

AUSTRALIA CONGRESS MEETS AT MELBOURNE

Melbourne.—As a further step toward realizing the project for a One-Big-Union of all the working men of Australia, the Commonwealth One-Big-Union Congress was held in Melbourne. There were in attendance representatives of all the Australian states. Reports showed that a vigorous campaign of education had gone on throughout the Commonwealth among the labor bodies, and that a special paper, "The One-Big-Union Herald," had been established as the official organ of the Workers' Industrial Union of Australia.

Business Booming.

The sign of a store's popularity is seen in its trade. If a store in these trying times finds itself compelled to move to bigger quarters, it is sure sign that there is a popular demand for the articles they display. Such a store is ERICKSON'S HARDWARE, now located at 2005 West Superior street.

Visit this store and judge for yourself the truth of the above. You are not asked to just walk around and meet that delightful philosopher and business man, Erickson.—Adv.

CONFIDENTIAL LETTER SENT OUT BY WALL STREET.

(Continued from page 1)

ian workers for refusing to address one of their labor conferences. They retaliated by darkening the city and cutting off transportation for two days. Here we see that the weapon of direct action is being used in Italy.

In Portugal the recent attempted overthrow of the republic of the monarchist party, indicates that the working classes of Portugal are demanding power and have broken with the present regime. Seeing this dissonance, the monarchists took the opportunity and attempted the restoration of the Portuguese royalty. In Spain the working class and labor riots are frequent. While no recent reports have been received, there is bitter class feeling in that country which may burst into flame at any moment. In Japan trouble is imminent, as is further indicated by the rapid withdrawal of Japanese troops from Russia. The rice riots of a few months ago show the temper of the people, who are beginning to revolt against the imperialistic designs of their leaders.

At this moment the Allies are confronted with the very serious and

pressing problem of demobilizing their armies. French labor groups are demanding that their members be immediately released from army service. British labor groups are also persistently demanding the demobilization of the workers. The reason that this demand is not complied with is not because they need any longer fear the German army, but because of the more genuine fear of sending back these millions of soldiers to the homes, factories and workshops from which they were conscripted during the war, to find panics and unemployment.

On the other hand, to keep millions of soldiers resting on their arms with no immediate prospect of using them, tends to disrupt army discipline and precipitate mutiny. The longer they remain resting on their arms, the worse this situation becomes. If they are released and sent back to civilian life and do not find conditions and opportunities such as all the promises of the war guaranteed, then there is going to be trouble on a scale such as we have never known before. People in the United States have little conception of what is really going on. The conditions which exist abroad may not be duplicated here, but we cannot hope to have prosperity in America while there is revolution and anarchy in Europe.

PURE MILK IS A NECESSITY.

In these times with milk at such high prices and no guarantee that it is pure, it is a real discovery to find one milk dealer who will guarantee his milk and also show you a certificate showing the excellent quality of his milk as backed by the Duluth Board of Health. Where can you buy absolutely pure milk at fourteen cents per quart? Milk, without the cream extracted, at fourteen cents per quart? Readers do not fail to send a trial order to JENS NILSEN, who has his own cows and guarantees his milk.

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MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

Manifesto and Program of Left Wing of American Socialist Movement

The members of the Socialist Party of America are entitled to an explanation for the issuance of this pamphlet by the Left Wing Group.

First of all, be it understood, we are not a secessionist movement, nor do we contemplate splitting the party. We are a very active and growing section of the Socialist party which is attempting to reach the rank and file with our urgent message over the heads of the powers that be, who, through inertia or a lack of vision, cannot see the necessity for a critical analysis of the party's policies and tactics.

The daily press is closed to us; therefore we cannot adequately present our side of the case.

In the various discussions that arise wherever party members or delegates assemble, both sides grow too heated for calm, dispassionate judgment.

Therefore we have decided to issue our Manifesto and Program in pamphlet form, so that the rank and file may read and judge our case on its merits.

Comrades—and this is addressed exclusively to members of the party—the situation is such that a careful study of our position is absolutely imperative.

We come to you, the court of last resort, for judgment.

Manifesto.

Prior to August, 1914, the nations of the world lived on a volcano. Violent eruptions from time to time gave warning of the cataclysm to come, but the diplomats and statesmen managed to localize the outbreaks, and the masses, slightly aroused, sank back into their accustomed lethargy with doubts and misgivings, and the subterranean fires continued to smoulder. Surely the people reasoned, no one would be so mad as to precipitate a world war!

Besides, they trusted blindly—some in their statesmen, some in the cohesive power of Christianity, their common religion, and some in the growing strength of the international Socialist movement. Had not the German Social Democracy exchanged dramatic telegrams with the French Socialist Party, each pledging itself not to fight in case their governments declared war on each other? A general strike of workers led by these determined Socialists would quickly bring the government to their senses!

So the workers reasoned, until the thunder clap of Sarajevo and Austria's ultimatum to Serbia. Then, suddenly, the storm broke. Mobilization everywhere. Declarations of war. In three or four days Europe was in arms.

The present structure of society—Capitalism—with its pretensions to democracy on the one hand, and its commercial rivalries, armament rings and standing armies on the other, all based on the exploitation of the working class and the division of the loot, was cast into the furnace of the war. Two things only could issue from the flames; either international capitalist control, through a League of Nations, or Social Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Both of these forms are today contending for world power.

The Social Democracies of Europe, unable to meet the crisis, were themselves hurled into the conflagration, to be tempered or consumed by it.

The Collapse of the Second International.

At first the question which agitated Socialist minds all over the world was: why have they failed? All sorts of extenuating circumstances were pleaded in their behalf—"defensive war," and "a low type of civilization menaces a higher type," and "Socialism must fight on the side of democracy," and "Socialism is not free from the virus of nationalism." All these excuses equally begged the question.

We know that great mass demonstrations were held in every European country by Socialists protesting against their governments' declarations of war, and mobilization for

war. And we know, too, that these demonstrations were suddenly rendered impotent by the complete surrender of the Socialist parliamentary leaders and the official Socialist press. Why the sudden change of front? Why did the Socialist leaders in the parliaments of the future belligerents vote the war credits? Why did the official Socialist press in Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, etc., suddenly reverse its position and call for resistance to the invader? In short, why did the dominant Socialists support their governments?

The Development of "Modern Socialism."

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Social Democracies of Europe set out to "legislate Capitalism out of office." The class struggle was to be won in the capitalist legislatures. Step by step concessions were to be wrested from the state; the working class and the Socialist parties were to be strengthened by means of "constructive" reforms and social legislation; each concession would act as a rung in the ladder of Social Revolution, upon which the workers could climb step by step, until finally, some bright sunny morning the peoples would awake to find the Co-operative Commonwealth functioning without disorder, confusion or hitch on the ruins of the capitalist state.

But what happened? When a few legislative seats had been captured, the thunderous denunciations of the Socialist legislators suddenly ceased. No more were the parliaments used as platforms from which the challenge of militant Socialism was flung to all corners of Europe. Another era had set in, the era of "constructive" social reform legislation. All powers to shape the policies and tactics of the Socialist parties were entrusted to the parliamentary leaders. And these lost sight of Socialism's original purpose; their goal became two-fold—"constructive reforms" and Cabinet portfolios, of the means to an end they made an end in itself. Moderate Socialism in the hands of these parliamentary leaders, was now ready to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class—as for instance during the first Briand ministry in France, when the official party press was opened to a defense of the shooting of striking railway workers at the order of the Socialist Bourgeois Coalition Cabinet.

"Sausage Socialism."

This situation was brought about by mixing pure scientific Socialism with bourgeois reforms and the democratic cant of the eighteenth century. The result was what Rosa Luxemburg called "sausage Socialism." The Socialist parliamentarians forgot that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link. They emphasized petty bourgeois social reformism in order to attract tradesmen, shopkeepers and members of the professions, and of course the latter flocked to the Socialists' movement in great numbers, seeking relief from the constant grinding between corporate capital and awakening labor.

The Socialist organization actively competed for votes, on the basis of social reforms, with the bourgeois liberal political parties. And so they catered to the ignorance and prejudices of the workers, trading promises of immediate reforms for votes.

Dominant "moderate Socialism" forgot the teachings of the founders of scientific Socialism, forgot its function as a proletarian movement—"the most resolute and advanced section of the working class parties"—and permitted the bourgeois and self-seeking trade union element to share its policies and tactics.

This was the condition in which the Social Democracies of Europe found themselves at the outbreak of war in 1914. Demoralized and confused by the cross-currents within their own parties vacillating and compromising with the bourgeois state, they fell an easy prey to so-

cial patriotism and nationalism. Spartacides and Bolsheviki.

But revolutionary Socialism was not destined to lie inert for long. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht, Franz Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin organized the Spartacus group. But their voices were drowned in the roar of cannon and the shrieks of the dying and the maimed.

Russia, however, was to be the first battle ground where "moderate" and revolutionary Socialism came to grips for the mastery of the state. The breakdown of the corrupt, bureaucratic Czarist regime opened the flood gates of revolution. Centuries of oppression had paved the way.

Three main contending parties attempted to ride into power on the revolutionary tide: the Cadets, the "moderate Socialists"—Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists—and the revolutionary Socialists—the Bolsheviki. The Cadets were first to be swept into power; but they tried to stem the still rising flood with a few abstract political ideals, and were soon carried away. The soldiers, workers and peasant could no longer be fooled by phrases. The Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists succeeded the Cadets. And now came the crucial test; would they, in accord with Marxian teachings make themselves the ruling class and sweep away the old conditions of production and thus prepare the way for the Co-operative Commonwealth? Or would they tinker with the old machinery and try to foist it on the masses as something just as good?

They did the latter, and proved for all time that "moderate Socialism" cannot be trusted.

The Socialists began to understand why dominant "moderate Socialism" had broken down. "Moderate Socialism" was not prepared to seize the power of the workers during a revolution. "Moderate Socialism" had a rigid formula—"Constructive" social reform legislation within the capitalist state; and to that formula it clung. It believed that bourgeois democracy could be used as a means of constructing the Socialist order; therefore it must wait until the people, through a Constituent Assembly, should vote Socialism into existence. And in the meantime, it held that there must be established a government of coalition with the enemy, the bourgeoisie. As if with all the means of controlling public opinion in the hands of the bourgeoisie, a Constituent Assembly could or would ever vote the Socialists into power!

Revolutionary Socialists hold, with the founders of scientific Socialism, that there are two dominant classes in society—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; that between these two classes a struggle must go on until the working class, through the seizure of the instruments of production and distribution, the abolition of the capitalist state, and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, creates a Socialist order. Revolutionary Socialists do not propose to wait until the vast majority of the people vote them in a power; but "if it is the proletariat during its struggle with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and as such sweeps away by force the old conditions of production; then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of close antagonisms, and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class."

Marx and Engels clearly explain the function of the Socialists' movement. It is the "moderate Socialists," through intellectual gymnastics, evasions, misquotations and the tearing of sentences and phrases from their context, who make Marx and Engels sponsors for their perverted version of Socialism.

Problems of American Socialism.

At the present moment the Socialist Party of America is agitated by several cross-currents, some local in their character, and some a reflex of cleavages within the European Socialist movements. Many see

in this internal dissension merely an unimportant difference of opinion, or at most, dissatisfaction with the control of the party, and the desire to replace those who have misused it with better men.

We, however, maintain that there is a fundamental distinction in views concerning party policies and tactics. And we believe that this difference is so vast that it forces our standpoint a radical change in party policies and tactics is necessary.

This essential task is being shirked by our party leaders and officials generally. In view of the impending change in the tactics of organized labor in this country, we must hurry to readjust the Socialist movement to the new conditions or find ourselves left behind by the march of events.

Already there is formidable industrial unrest, a seething ferment of discontent, evidenced by inarticulate rumblings which presage striking occurrences. The transformation of industry from a war to a peace basis has thoroughly disorganized the economic structure. Thousands upon thousands of workers are being thrown out of work. Demobilized sailors and soldiers find themselves a drug on the labor market, unless they act as scabs and strike breakers. Skilled mechanics, fighting desperately to maintain their war wage, find their industrial status, as forced to accept lower wages, while during the war have been welcomed into industries hitherto closed to them, are struggling to keep their jobs. And to cap the climax, the capitalists, through their Chambers of Commerce and their Merchants' and Manufacturers' Associations, have resolved to take advantage of the situation to break down even the inadequate organizations labor has built up through generations of painful struggle.

The temper of the workers and the soldiers, after the sacrifices they have made in the war, is such that they will not endure the reactionary labor conditions so openly advocated by the master class. A series of labor struggles is bound to follow—indeed, is beginning now. Shall the Socialist Party continue to feed the workers with social reform legislation at this critical period? Shall it approach the whole question from the standpoint of votes and the election of representatives to the legislature? Shall it emphasize the consumer's point of view, when Socialists principles teach that the worker is robbed, at the point of production? Shall it talk about cost of living and taxation, when it should be explaining how the worker is robbed at his job?

There are many signs of the awakening of Labor. The organized Trade Unions, against the definite commands of their leaders, are reacting to independent political action, and are endeavoring to carry out the policy of the workers which they have won and wrest new concessions from the master class. What shall be our attitude toward the awakening workers?

On the basis of the class struggle we shall go among them, impregnating them with revolutionary Socialism; we shall teach them solidarity; we shall teach them class consciousness; we shall teach them the hopelessness of social reform; we shall teach them the meaning of Revolution. And the industrial unrest, the ferment of discontent will compel them to listen!

Capitalist Imperialism.

Among the many problems immediately confronting us are those new questions springing from Capitalist Imperialism, the final and decisive stage of Capitalism. How shall the Socialist Party meet these problems? Imperialism is that stage of Capitalism in which the accumulated capital or surplus of a nation is too great for the home market to reinvest or absorb. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficient methods, and the mere subsistence wage which permits the worker to buy back a small portion of what he produces, causes an ever increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn becomes capital and must be invested in further production. When Capitalism has reached the stage in which it imports raw

materials from undeveloped countries and exports them again in the shape of manufactured products, it has reached its highest development.

This process is universal. Foreign markets, spheres of influence and protectorates, under the intensive development of capital, industry and finance in turn become highly developed. They, too, seek for markets, but in co-operation with them, to save itself from ruin, breaks its national bonds and emerges full grown as a capitalist League of Nations, with international armies and navies to maintain its supremacy.

The new situation the Socialist Party must meet. From now on the United States will no longer hold itself aloof, isolated and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, new zones of influence, new protectorates; not alone, and not in competition with other capitalist nations, but in co-operation with them. They will divide the world among them. And the League of Nations will be the instrument through which they will work.

The master class of America will soon attempt to use organized labor for its imperialistic purposes. But a restless and discontented working class cannot pile up profits. Therefore in this country we may soon expect the master class, in true Bismarckian fashion, to grant factory laws, medical laws, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits and the whole category of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept physically and mentally fit to produce the greatest profits at the greatest speed.

Dangers to American Socialism.

There is danger that the Socialist Party of America might make use of these purely bourgeois reforms to attract the workers' votes, by claiming that they are victories for Socialism, and that they have been won by Socialist political action; when, as a matter of fact, the object of these master class measures is to prevent the growing class-consciousness of the workers, and to divert them from their revolutionary aim. By agitating for these reforms, therefore, the Socialist Party would be playing into the hands of our American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must reorganize itself—must prepare to come to grips with the master class during the difficult period of capitalist readjustment now going on. This it can do only by teaching the working class the truth about present-day conditions; it must preach revolutionary industrial unionism, and urge the workers to turn their craft unions into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern aggregations of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns, not merely as means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as a year-around educational campaign to arouse the workers to class conscious economic and political action, and to keep alive the burning ideal of revolution in the hearts of the people.

For New Policies and Tactics.

We believe that the time has come for the Socialist Party of America to adopt the following course of action: To throw off its parliamentary opportunism and to stand squarely behind the Soviet Republic of Russia, the Spartacus group in Germany, and the revolutionary working class movement in Europe. Thus it will be ready when the hour strikes in this country—and it will strike soon—to take the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle with the capitalist class, instead of obstructing its path with the palliative of parliamentary reforms and lead the workers onward to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the final phase of the class struggle, necessary to the ushering in of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Political Action.

Realizing that vital difference between revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" lies in their varying conceptions of political action, and realizing too that on this point revolutionary Socialists are most misunderstood and misrepresented, we append a detailed explanation of the scientific Socialist conception of political action.

Since we assert with Marx, that "the class struggle is essentially a political struggle," we can only accept his own oft repeated interpretation of that phrase. The class struggle, whether it manifests itself on the industrial field or in the direct struggle for government control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist political state. This is a political act. In this broader view of the term "political," Marx includes revolutionary industrial action. In other words, the objective of Socialist industrial action is also "political," in the sense that it aims to undermine the state, which "is nothing less than a machine for the oppression of one class by another and that no less so in a democratic republic than under a monarchy."

Political action is also and more generally used to refer to participation in election campaigns for the immediate purpose of capturing legislative seats. In this sense also we urge the use of political action as a revolutionary weapon.

But both in the nature and the purpose of this form of political action, revolutionary Socialism and "moderate Socialism" are completely at odds.

We contend that such political action is a valuable means of propaganda; and further, that the capture of legislative seats is an effective means of capturing the political state, but—and here is the vital point for the "moderate Socialists"—goes no further—we hold that this capture of the political state is merely for the purpose of destroying it. The nature of Socialist parliamentary activity should be purely destructive.

"Moderate Socialism" aims to "simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery and wield it for its own purposes"—the attainment of Socialism. And so the "moderate" falls into the error of believing that parliamentary activity is constructive—that he can eventually legislate Socialism into existence.

This error leads to two dangerous practices: (1) making parliamentary activity an end in itself; and (2) making essentially destructive political action the instrument for constructing the Socialist order. To avoid these dangers, and to strengthen Labor's political arm, the Socialist ballot must be supported by the might of "the industrial organization of the working class." Only the economic organization of the working class can build the new society within the frame of the old.

Revolutionary Industrial Unionism.

"Moderate Socialism" constantly overlooks this fact. We must continually remind the working class that Labor's economic organizations are naturally the school for Socialism. All political parties, and without exception, whatever their complexion may be, warm up the working class only for a season, transiently.

Only through his industrial organization can the worker receive training in the control of production. It is by means of this weapon that the working class will eventually take over and hold the mines, mills and factories, not for the purpose of destroying them, but for their permanent control and development. Thus, the only thing worth taking from capitalist society and keeping the highly developed means of production and distribution—will be won for the working class by its Revolutionary Economic Organization.

Because of its constructive nature, our Economic Arm, unlike our Political Arm, may take "a little at a time." Our economic movement is not unlike a military movement. All means are used to win a war—infantry attacks, heavy and light artillery, bombardments, sieges and guerrilla fighting. In the industrial struggle the working class employs strikes, boycotts and the like. The political movement, however, has for its object only the storming of the political citadel of capitalist tyranny; therefore the Political Arm cannot compromise. Our political movement should be the essence and in-

carnation of our revolutionary aim. With Liebknecht we say, "To parliamentarize is to compromise, to log-roll, to sell out."

Syndicalism and Parliamentarism.

In characteristic utopian fashion the Syndicalism forgot that the Social Revolution must in part grow "within the capitalist shell." They forget that the state, the engine of oppression employed by the capitalist class, must be destroyed through capture by the working class.

In equally characteristic utopian fashion, the "moderate Socialists," with his pure and simple parliamentarism forgets that "because of its destructive object and because of its structure, which is arbitrary and determined by geographical lines, the Political Arm of Labor cannot be used as a means of taking away from the capitalists and holding for the working men the means of production."

Thus the utopian Syndicalist fails to utilize the political weapon; and the Twentieth Century Utopian Socialist misuses the political weapon and fails altogether to utilize the industrial weapon.

A combination of these two methods is necessary to the revolutionary Socialist movement, and this combination the Left Wing intends to effect.

Program.

1. We stand for a uniform declaration of principles in all party platforms both local and national and the abolition of all social reform planks now contained in them.
2. The party must "each, propagate and agitate exclusively for the overthrow of Capitalism, and the establishment of Socialism through a Proletarian Dictatorship."
3. The Socialist candidates elected to office shall adhere strictly to the above provisions.
4. Realizing that a political party cannot reorganize and reconstruct the industrial organization of the working class and that that is the task of the economic organizations themselves, we demand that the party assist this process of reorganization by a propaganda for revolutionary and industrial unionism as part of its general activities. We believe it is the mission of the Socialist movement to encourage and assist the proletariat to adopt newer and more effective forms of organization and to stir into new and more revolutionary modes of action.
5. We demand that the official party press be party owned and controlled.
6. We demand that officially recognized educational institutions be party owned and controlled.
7. We demand that the party discard its obsolete literature and publish new literature in keeping with the policies and tactics above mentioned.

Immediate Demands.

1. We demand that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of reorganizing party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.
2. We demand that the American Socialist Party shall not participate in the proposed Lausanne Conference engineered by "moderate Socialists" and social patriots.
3. We demand that the Socialist Party of America issue a call for an international congress of those groups of the Socialist movement that participated both in the Zimmerwald Conference in September, 1915, and the Kienthal Conference in 1916, and those groups that are in agreement with them today.
4. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.
5. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Spartacus Group of Germany.
6. We demand the unequivocal endorsement of the Left Wing movement of Europe.

(WE TRUST EVERY LOCAL IN THE STATE WILL IMMEDIATELY ENDORSE THE ABOVE MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM. SEND WORD OF ACTION YOUR LOCAL TOOK ON THIS MATTER.—Editor Truth.)

Example to Follow

By K. G. A. Lind.

It was Saturday evening and the Johnson family were all at home. There was pa and ma and Jack and Emma. Ma was busy knitting a pair of socks and father was reading a Socialist paper that had been given to him by Mr. Swenson.

"I heard today that the Socialists were going to start a Sunday school tomorrow," said pa, "and if they all be like Swenson, well the least we can say about them they are good company."

"Well, suppose we take Jack and Emma and we all go over to this new Sunday School and a kind of find out things for ourselves?" says ma. "You know those children of Swenson's and Johnson's are very smart; they know more about some things than we grown-ups."

So after a little talk over things it was decided that they would get up and pay the Sunday school a visit. Sunday morning arrived and pa looked a kind of smart and ma was endeavoring to impress the neighbors with the fact that her husband was a carpenter and not a

common laborer. The children looked a kind of nervous, as they had been told not to make themselves too free and to always know their place. Poor kids, they looked miserable, until they could not contain themselves any longer and entered into the spirit of the whole place. They just let themselves go and soon they were comrades of the Sunday school.

"Well of all the men I expected to see, you were the last," said Ole Anderson to Pa Johnson. "Well, I thought it would not do me any harm to see you Socialists and hear what you had to say, so I brought Mrs. Johnson and the children with me." And so all the neighbors who were Socialists took it in turns to make the Johnson family feel at home.

The Sunday School opened and the chairman announced that there would be no prayers. He said that the Socialists were organizing to stop our masters from preying on us. After that short speech the Internationale was sung. Poor Pa Johnson did not know it, but he just

stood up and watched the whole proceedings with the eye of a critic.

Then the speaker was announced, a young fellow, who spoke with a foreign accent. He was a typical Swede, and while his English was not of the best, yet there was personal magnetism which made itself felt among the audience. Pa Johnson at first was uneasy in his seat, but gradually he felt himself gripped by what the speaker was saying. Intently he devoured every word of truth the speaker gave utterance to. Like a man who had been deaf for years, Johnson sat amazed at the facts that were being told. Was it possible, he thought, that such things could be so? Suddenly it seemed as if the speaker was pointing at him, as if he had singled him out particularly for his remarks; and so Johnson became suddenly aware of the voice, trembling with emotion, with pain and longing, with a burden of things unutterable, not to be compassed by words. To hear it was to be suddenly arrested; to be gripped, transfixed.

"You listen to these things," the comrade was saying, "and you say, 'Yes, they are true, but they have been that way always.' Or you say, 'Maybe it will come, but not in my time—it will not help me.' And so

you return to your daily toil, you go back to the factory and make more profits for your boss. You dress your own wife in shoddy clothes, while those who hound you at your daily toil dress their wives in silks and satins. Men, I appeal to you this very Sunday morning to make yourselves real men. Why stand idly by while your wife lives a life of misery and suffering and your children are denied a real chance in life? Have you the manhood to stand up here this morning and let that red blood flow in your veins? If so stand up now. Stand up and let the world know that you are a man. I know that many of you have heard many things spoken against Socialists. They tell you that we believe in free love. But they do not tell you that we show our love for our wives by fighting for more wages and more time at home. While you accept what the boss tells you and are content to live on small wages, we protest and give our wives some of the real joys of life. Our children are not dumb beasts of burden to be sent into factories. We organize, we Socialists and we get higher wages and keep our children at school, while yours go into the factory. Free love—tonight millions of our sisters parade the streets of the

cities of the world. Love they want. They want to be the lovers of men. But no, under this brutal system they sell their love that they might live. Live—to live they sell their love. We fight this debasing of women's affections and they have the audacity to call us free lovers. Look well what you do. Watch your own little girl grow up, and if you want to close the brothel door, so that it will not claim your daughter, you must come with us. I am thinking today of the many sisters and daughters, whose eyes are wet with tears. They are thinking of the home they left to make a name for themselves. Their fathers and mothers watch and wait for their return. There will be no return. The daughters that went away now lead lives of shame and they forget their homes, because they do not want to break the hearts of their people. So you can see how sordid are those that call us free lovers. We want love to be freed. We want women to live in a system of society where womanhood will be sacred. So to my friends who sat down I do appeal to him to study our pamphlets. Don't go away and condemn us until you understand us. When you feel the passion for social justice as we feel it, you will then come with us. To you all I make

a final appeal to study our literature and attend our meetings.

"I appeal to you to join in with us, with the voice of the voice of the little child-slave wasting his life away in the factory; with the voice of the girl who walks the street; with the voice of the maimed and crippled; and all the social outcasts of today ringing in my ears, I do appeal to you to come forward. Come with us and march with us into the land of industrial freedom out of the land of industrial slavery."

Johnson was well supplied with literature before he made his way home. Mrs. Johnson came to the Sewing Circle and Jack and Emma went to Sunday school every Sunday. The Johnson family see life from a different viewpoint than they did before. They do not go about with a hopeless look on their faces. They feel that life is good after all and that it can be made better. The Johnson family are now looking after the Carlsons' and soon the Carlsons' will look after the Swensons', and so we shall get solidarity. Let every family be a Johnson and a Swenson family.

Success.

If success is the thing that makes one man rich and thousands poor, abolish success.

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MINNESOTA SOCIALIST PARTY BULLETIN



OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF MINNESOTA.

Charles Dirba, Secretary, 1217 Hennepin Avenue, Second Floor, Minneapolis, Minn.

FEBRUARY, 1919.

PUBLISHED MONTHLY.

FIFTH YEAR. No. 9.

Give the Party a Chance

It is impossible to fight billions with pennies.

It is impossible to overturn a society with pygmy efforts.

To destroy Capitalism, to usher in Socialism—this is the function of the Socialist Party.

It is a Herculean task.

But it can be done! It will be done! We are even now witnessing the final efforts of the Plutocracy to stave off the inevitable Revolution.

What must we do? As their efforts are redoubled, we must exert our energies with redoubled vigor. Our propaganda must be incessant. To quit is suicide, is to destroy the years of our work.

The State Committee has voted to send through this state an organizer; the State Office is publishing Bolshevik leaflets by the fifty thousands.

But speakers cannot be routed nor literature distributed without a well-filled treasury. The Crisis is coming; the old days of propaganda are over; we are in the final lap of the struggle against the system. Every cent and every bit of energy we can muster must be thrown into the fight.

So the old dues of a quarter a month no longer will suffice. Speakers cannot be routed at old prices; literature today cannot be printed at the old costs.

To expect the State Office to carry on today the work of the Socialist Party (a greater work than ever before) at the same expense of years ago, is folly. It is cutting the throat of the organization; it is tying the hands of the state secretary; it is asking the organization to do the impossible.

Yesterday we could print a thousand leaflets for seventy-five cents. Today the thousand costs us twice the amount and you are asking us to print five times as many. You are demanding that we buy seven dollars' worth of printing, and you are allowing us seventy-five cents with which to do the job.

Twenty-five-cent dues will not carry on the work of this organization. You have two alternatives. You can adopt this increased dues referendum and thus put the organization on its feet, making it a live, virile, fighting factor for Revolution. You can vote against this referendum and in that way make of the Party an impotent thing, powerless to fight the great battles it has to fight.

What will be your choice?

Returns on Referendum "K-1918" For the Election of State Officers For 1919-1920.

LOCAL.	STATE SEC'Y.	STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD																ALTERNATES.		
	Charles Dirba	C. M. DeGroot	George Hoffman	H. Holm	H. Husman	J. F. Kardong	H. L. Kramerman	L. Oleksy	C. H. Rudsell	John E. Sala	H. T. Sondergaard	Peter Stegner	A. L. Sugarman	L. Vandenberg	Ernst Weiss	Fred Wilson	S. Friedman	D. SHIER	Alfred Tiala	
Minneapolis, Ukrainian..	26	1	9	22	1	5	26	1	5	4	3	19	25	7	4	1	12	7	26	
Minneapolis, 1st Ward..	8	3	10	6	8	1	4	1	5	4	3	2	1	8	10	4	9	5	3	
Minneapolis, Crystal....	7	10	3	1	4	1	3	1	5	8	10	2	13	8	10	5	6	5	6	
St. Paul, Jewish.....	11	2	7	11	2	11	1	5	5	7	8	7	3	6	5	7	5	5	5	
St. Paul, Scandinavian..	12	7	6	12	2	11	1	4	2	10	4	5	3	4	10	11	5	5	5	
Minneapolis, 11th Ward..	9	12	11	9	2	1	1	12	8	1	12	3	11	9	10	3	11	3	3	
St. Paul, German.....	65	6	15	58	56	3	43	36	7	6	60	49	10	18	17	23	16	51	51	
Eveleth, Finnish.....	30	32	31	11	14	3	2	10	19	31	13	8	6	23	12	29	30	29	9	
Virginia, English.....	5	2	3	2	1	2	2	1	3	2	6	1	1	3	1	3	4	4	4	
Minneapolis, 13th Ward..	10	10	1	1	1	1	1	10	9	10	1	10	1	1	7	8	1	1	1	
Montevideo.....	6	6	1	1	1	4	2	6	3	3	5	4	1	6	6	1	5	5	5	
Duluth, Finnish.....	7	10	11	3	5	3	7	8	4	3	3	9	2	9	10	1	12	12	12	
Wright.....	5	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	3	2	1	4	4	1	4	4	4	
Verdon.....	5	7	3	4	2	1	1	8	7	8	1	8	1	1	6	6	3	3	3	
Minneapolis, 7th Ward..	7	1	1	1	1	7	8	1	2	2	2	9	1	8	7	4	4	4	4	
Minneapolis, 6th Ward..	19	23	24	1	1	1	17	23	14	3	2	20	9	22	23	19	4	4	4	
Hibbing, Finnish.....	12	1	4	1	1	1	13	2	3	1	1	1	10	4	3	12	12	12	12	
Palisade.....	3	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Rochester.....	6	6	13	2	1	1	3	5	13	2	1	1	6	4	14	8	2	5	5	
Gilbert, Finnish.....	11	11	11	1	1	1	11	11	11	11	11	11	2	9	11	11	11	11	11	
Pine River.....	89	90	90	1	1	1	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	90	
Virginia, Finnish.....	5	1	4	3	3	5	3	4	5	1	4	1	2	1	3	4	4	4	4	
Bovey, Finnish.....	9	5	12	1	1	1	13	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Nashauk, Finnish.....	10	9	12	6	3	6	11	14	8	10	2	9	9	3	7	1	9	5	5	
Minneapolis, Jewish.....	2	10	5	5	2	4	9	8	8	3	2	11	5	6	5	5	7	5	5	
Minneapolis, 10th Ward..	18	1	2	20	10	1	9	18	3	5	3	19	17	2	1	2	2	5	17	
St. Paul, English.....	9	8	6	3	1	4	8	4	5	2	1	1	9	4	3	5	8	5	5	
St. Paul, Bohemian.....	20	18	10	11	5	9	8	5	22	16	14	12	1	20	13	17	19	18	16	
Minneapolis, 12th Ward..	73	28	11	72	66	10	9	63	12	7	13	17	74	8	9	9	14	15	79	
Minneapolis, English....	14	6	7	10	9	2	8	6	8	2	2	13	3	9	8	10	8	10	10	
Two Harbors, Finnish....	3	7	8	7	3	1	2	3	2	9	3	4	1	5	1	5	9	4	5	
Brainerd, Finnish.....	45	38	38	16	12	5	1	16	48	55	40	9	3	50	8	37	47	39	11	
Minneapolis, Scan. No. 93	26	19	15	19	6	7	4	15	10	19	10	10	5	11	11	14	24	7	19	
Virginia, Scandinavian..	6	1	5	6	1	4	1	2	1	1	6	4	6	1	4	6	3	3	3	
Two Harbors, Scand....	7	1	2	5	3	2	2	1	5	2	5	7	2	3	7	2	5	17	17	
Minneapolis, Scan. No. 62	20	18	3	16	2	2	15	16	3	19	13	10	5	16	14	6	16	16	16	
Chisholm, Finnish.....	14	7	4	12	3	2	6	3	8	18	1	5	6	4	3	12	12	4	8	
Duluth, English.....	14	7	13	3	12	8	2	14	1	1	1	1	14	4	2	2	1	14	14	
Sparta.....	6	6	6	1	1	1	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	
Minneapolis, Lettish....	14	2	1	3	6	1	3	11	1	2	2	13	1	1	1	2	3	3	11	
Members at large.....	6	2	3	4	2	1	2	2	1	2	3	6	2	1	2	3	3	2	11	
Totals.....	No 2 *659	*420	*408	*375	285	91	127	203	*421	*434	347	234	306	*415	158	*427	*485	379	*408	

*Elected.

REPORT OF THE CANVASSING BOARD

February 5, 1918.

Present: Stafford, Gordon and Darth. Gordon elected chairman.

Objection to counting votes for Comrade Tiala, in view of his letter stating that he is not in good standing, raised by secretary (W. A. Stafford).

On motion, secretary was instructed to write Financial Secretary of Local Minneapolis English to explain why apparently their vote is larger than the number of dues stamps purchased.

Objection made by secretary to receiving the vote of Local Minneapolis English on account of local not being in good standing and not having bought stamps enough to have 79 members in good standing.

After canvassing referendum "K-1918" for election of state officers we find the following comrades elected on face of returns:

State Secretary—Charles Dirba.
Executive Board—C. M. DeGroot, George Hoffman, H. Holm, C. H. Rudstil, John E. Sala, L. Vandenberg, Fred Wilson.
Alternates—S. Friedman, Alfred Tiala.

Signed: Canvassing Board,
W. A. Stafford, Secy.,
Bernie Gordon, Chairman,
G. P. Darth.

P. S. No. 1.—The Minneapolis English Local had voted, previous to the nomination of Comrade Tiala for the state office, to keep in good standing all their members who are in jail, among them Comrade Tiala.

P. S. No. 2.—The German Local of Minneapolis transferred to the English Local just prior to the referendum, and voted with the English Local. This explains the larger vote.

P. S. No. 3.—Technically Minneapolis English Local could have been regarded as not in good standing on account of not having sent in reports for the two months just preceding the counting of the referendum, but it would not be fair to do so, since they have been meeting right in the state headquarters, and the State Secretary having a pretty definite idea of their membership and general standing from personal conversations with the secretary of the local.

CHAS. DIRBA, State Sec.

Notices.

STATE BULLETIN MISSING
for January, May and June, 1918. These numbers are needed to complete the files of Bulletin in the State Office. If you can spare them, send them in, and it will be greatly appreciated. It is very important for the State Office to have the file of the Bulletin complete.

REFERENDUM BALLOTS SENT
out on the 14th of February. State

MINUTES OF THE STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

February 10, 1919.

Old Board—Present: Berot, Carl-gren, Adams, Gisslen and Hoffman. Adams elected chairman. Minutes of previous meeting, January 11, approved as read and placed on file.

Report of Canvassing Board—The following comrades elected:
State Secretary—Charles Dirba.
Executive Board—C. M. DeGroot, George Hoffman, H. Holm, C. H. Rudstil, John E. Sala, L. Vandenberg and Fred Wilson.
Alternates—S. Friedman and Alfred Tiala.

Question raised by W. A. Stafford, secretary canvassing board, as to the good standing of Comrade Tiala. Minneapolis English Local secretary stated that their local had voted to keep in good standing all comrades in jail.

Moved and seconded that the new officers be seated as reported by the canvassing board, and Tiala's question left to the new board. Carried.

Moved and seconded to adjourn and let the new board proceed with the business. Carried.

New Board—Present: Holm, Sala, Wilson, Hoffman, Rudstil, Vandenberg, Friedman.

Executive Board—submitting to another vote the increase of dues. If you have not received the ballots by this time, notify the State Office immediately and a new supply will be sent you promptly.

THE STATE OFFICE MOVED
to 1217 Hennepin Avenue, second floor, Minneapolis, Minn. Address all communications and parcels to the new place.

Vandenberg elected chairman of the meeting; DeGroot, permanent treasurer.

Charters—None new. Sand Lake returns charter; disbanding.

Moved and seconded (Sala-Hoffman) that this charter be placed on file. Carried.

Communications. National Office asking for the list of locals to circulate for funds for new national headquarters of our own.

Moved and seconded (Sala-Wilson) that the national office be furnished with the names and addresses of the local secretaries in the state. Carried.

"Truth" of Duluth not wanting to print Bulletin any more.

Moved and seconded (Rudstil-Sala) that we urge the "Truth" to continue printing the Bulletin. Carried.

Moved and seconded (Sala-Rudstil) that if Comrade Carney still refuses to print the Bulletin in the "Truth," the State Secretary should get out one himself with only the official matter in. Carried.

Minneapolis Lettish Local appealing their charges against Van Lear.

Moved and seconded (Rudstil-Sala) that this communication be sent to the Thirteenth Ward Local

asking for an answer. Carried.

J. G. Soltis applying for the position of State Organizer, or for a lecture tour.

The State Secretary took determined stand against this, and recommended the employment of A. E. Hatcher instead.

Moved and seconded (Friedman-Sala) to engage Comrade Soltis for State Organizer at the rate of \$5.00 per day and railroad fares. Carried. (Only Holm against.)

Moved and seconded (Rudstil-Sala) to meet again next Monday night, and that the secretary prepare a list of dead locals, with approximate date they died. Carried.

National Office asking to name one for Action Committee to arrange for an Amnesty Convention. Secretary appointed O. Purin of Chicago.

Moved and seconded that the communication be received and placed on file. Carried.

Moved and seconded (Holm-Rudstil) to approve of the action of the Secretary in allowing to the Finnish Federation "that those of the Minnesota sufferers from the forest fire who are unable to pay their monthly dues be provided with exempt stamps for the period decided by the locals." Carried.

Duluth Scandinavian moving re-submission to referendum of the increase in dues. St. Paul German, Two Harbors Finnish, Minneapolis 10th Ward, second in (Minneapolis 1st Ward protesting against the increase.)

Moved and seconded (Sala-Friedman) that the proposition of increasing dues by 25 cents be resubmitted to referendum. Carried. Sala, Hoffman, Friedman and Wilson, for; Holm, Vandenberg and Rudstil, against.

On motion, meeting adjourned at 11:45 p. m.

CHAS. DIRBA, Sec.

ATTENTION!
Read the reports on this page carefully, so as to be able to answer all questions that may arise intelligently and correctly.

CASH STATEMENT.

Cash Receipts—January, 1919.	
Balance from December.....	\$ 36.88
Dues.....	194.62
Contributions.....	19.95
Lit. and sup. sales.....	137.37
Return on campaign lit.....	5.90
Contribution for Mrs. Broms.....	5.00
Dues for Ramsey county.....	3.00
Contribution for prisoners.....	2.50
Loans.....	175.00
Credit to R. S. R. L.....	1.95
A. L. Sugarman, on account.....	7.31
Speakers and organizers (J. O. Bentall).....	55.50
Defense stamps.....	7.00
Pledges (Minneapolis Sixth Ward).....	2.00
Total receipts.....	\$654.00
Cash Paid, January, 1919.	
Dues (Nat. Office).....	30.00
Lit. and supplies.....	181.96
Office Expense—	
Salary.....	\$100.00
Rent.....	15.00
Stat. and supplies.....	21.02
Tel. and tel.....	14.66
Postage.....	32.32
Miscellaneous.....	10.86
Bulletin.....	30.00
Printing.....	8.00
Contribution for Mrs. Broms.....	5.00
On old accounts payable.....	62.85
Prisoners' relief.....	9.34
St. Paul Telegram.....	2.75
Loans returned.....	50.00
Speakers and organizers.....	73.00
Total paid.....	\$648.07
Balance to February.....	6.93
	\$654.08
Dues Received, January, 1919.	
For H. C. C. C. (not included below).....	\$ 7.14
Due Dual Exmt.....	76.12
Fin. Fed.....	272 272
Scand. Fed.....	438
German Fed.....	80 50
Bohem. Fed.....	40
So. Slav Fed.....	100
Jewish Fed.....	80 10 10
Totals.....	1,230 354 10 \$194.62

REPORTS OF LOCALS.

REPORTS OF LOCALS.	
Ball Bluff.....	Dec. Jan.
Becker.....	14
Bovey.....	16
Braham.....	17
Chisholm, Finnish.....	46 51
Duluth, English.....	37 30
Duluth, Finnish.....	48
Duluth, Scandinavian.....	408
Eveleth, Finnish.....	65
Gilbert, Finnish.....	40 45
Granada.....	5
Heron Lake.....	20
Hibbing, Finnish.....	44 54
Leonard.....	12
Mahtowa.....	12
Minneapolis, 1st Ward.....	16
Minneapolis, 6th Ward.....	28 27
Minneapolis, 7th Ward.....	21 19
Minneapolis, 10th Ward.....	63 64
Minneapolis, 11th Ward.....	44
Minneapolis, 12th Ward.....	86 93
Minneapolis, 13th Ward.....	20
Minneapolis, Crystal.....	13
Minneapolis, English.....	115
Minneapolis, Finnish.....	140
Minneapolis, Jewish.....	48
Minneapolis, Lettish.....	44
Minneapolis, Russian.....	18
Minneapolis, Scand. No. 62.....	57
Minneapolis, Scand. No. 93.....	65 82
Nashauk, Finnish.....	47 38
Palisade.....	20
Palo.....	11
Pine River.....	26
Pipestone.....	10
Royal.....	18
St. Cloud.....	19
St. Paul, English.....	108 108
St. Paul, German.....	170
St. Paul, Jewish.....	31 31
St. Paul, Scandinavian.....	49
St. Paul, West.....	10
Sandstone.....	14
Sauk Rapids.....	32 48
Sparta.....	7
Two Harbors, Scand.....	35
Verdon.....	10 10
Virginia English.....	20

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

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—PHONE MEI. 2517—

THE DULUTH TRADES ASSEMBLY.

At the last meeting of the Duluth Trades Assembly, held Friday evening, February 14, Delegate Lietem, Painters' Union, made the statement that the Socialist Party of the city of Duluth had made way for the Trades Assembly during the forthcoming city elections. This is NOT so. The Socialist Party realizes that there are bigger things to be done which require our time and energy, instead of wasting them on the coming elections.

The present platform of the Labor Party of Duluth is not a Socialist platform and does not merit the support of any member of the party. The nominating of two candidates for the commissionership was neither democratic nor in any way conducive to the best interests of labor. Take the case of Commissioner Farrell. The platform of the Trades Assembly calls for public ownership. Farrell is opposed to public ownership. When it comes to a show down Farrell will cast an adverse vote on the question of taking over the street railway system. **Why did the Trades Assembly indorse a man who is neither a union man nor does he support their platform?** It does not matter what a politician promises, it is what he will do, and Farrell will not stand by the platform of the Trades Assembly. The Trades Assembly is duty bound to REPUDIATE Farrell or else resign their positions as delegates from organized labor.

We further desire to point out to the Trades Assembly that delegate Lietem has NO right to speak in behalf of the Socialist Party of the city of Duluth. The Socialist Party of the city of Duluth will make its announcements through the columns of its official organ—the Truth.

The Duluth Trades Assembly suffers from politicians, "orators" and conservatives. It is not a rank and file assembly. It is not directly in touch with the rank and file insofar that it expresses the feelings of the men on the job. If the assembly did express the feelings of the men on the job it would not engage in foolish discussions and waste the time and finance of the workers in futile political excursions. If the assembly desires to engage in effective political action, let it take men from off the job, who have lived and worked as workers. Men who understand and feel the necessity of action by the workers themselves. The indorsement of smooth politicians is a direct insult to the rank and file of the labor movement who supply the finance to carry on these fights. The political activities of the assembly will eventually destroy the effectiveness of the labor movement. **It is not at the city hall that the trouble lies, it is on the job.** It does not matter how well organized and represented you are politically, if you have not behind your political organization a well organized industrial movement, it is as the late Daniel De Leon wisely stated:

"The ballot is weaker than a woman's tears,
Tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance,
Less valiant than the virgin of the night,
And skillless as unpracticed infancy,
Unless it is backed by the might to enforce it."

All parties that engage in politics have behind them the organized power of some interests. Despite the glowing phrases of politicians, the political parties of today that hold sway in Congress are but the reflection of certain economic interests. One has but to study the campaign lists of both parties to find proof of the foregoing statement. Therefore it behooves the trades assembly to have behind it the organized power of the workers. Furthermore that power must be efficiently organized and therefore we suggest that the trades assembly take up the matter of a more thorough organization of the labor movement of Duluth. Endeavor to call a conference of the workers at least once per month. Let them at that conference discuss what is going on. Any new developments that take place to be discussed at that conference and changes if any to be suggested. In that way we will have a complete expression of what the workers are thinking of. It would be foolish to state that the trades assembly is an expression of the rank and file. The trades assembly is not an active body, in the sense of what an active body means in these critical times. The mere excursions into politics prove nothing. The workers of the steel industry are today slaves of the worst type. It may grate upon your ears to call them slaves, but nevertheless it is so. In the days of Rome slaves were well fed, housed and clothed. They were looked after so that they did not die unnecessary deaths. Can you say the same of the workers of the steel industry? Certainly not, but due to the fact that we have become intoxicated with phrases, we are inclined to believe that we are living in a paradise.

Men of the labor movement, we have no desire to engage in negative criticism, neither are we possessed of a desire to score in an argument. We want to see the labor movement of Duluth justify its existence. Tonight in Europe men of the labor movement are advancing at a pace that takes us off our feet. The workers, the common ordinary workers, if you please, are demanding that they be given a share in the management of the industry in which they work. It is the manhood of the workers expressing itself. That is what we want to see here in Duluth. The manhood of the labor movement expressing itself. The men who work in the steel industry are your fellow workers. It does not matter what their nationality is, they are workers and they are entitled to your consideration. Today they are not earning sufficient to keep body and soul alive. Some of them have been discharged and they must now face many days and nights of hunger. Talk

of going into politics when right at your own doors are men who cannot vote as they want to. How can you ever hope to be free when on the job you dare not express your innermost thoughts? Men address your assembly and denounce the Bolsheviks, yet they never breathe a word about the autocracy of the Steel Trust. So men of the labor movement can we not induce you to catch the new spirit that is urging the workers on to hope and fight for better things? Has the GREAT WAR been fought and failed to leave an impression upon your minds? Tonight soldiers are out of work. Tonight the spectre of hunger and want is haunting the homes of thousands of workers. Tonight little children are crying for bread and some die for the want of it. So men of labor shake yourselves and gird yourselves with the armor of real men. Stand erect and feel the glow of youth burning within your very souls. Stand erect and say that from now on you will not rest content until every man, woman and child shall enjoy the blessings and the bounteous goodness of Nature. Out there men died amidst all the sickening slime and blood of the battlefield. Out here men stayed at home and made huge fortunes, not you, my friends, your masters. Out there men died in a fight against Prussianism, which is autocracy. Tonight their voices are appealing to you from the grave and they seem to ask when are you to make the world safe for industrial democracy? They are asking you has it been worth while for them to die? Upon each and every one of you delegates the appeal falls, and it must be answered! The care of the living must be your appreciation of the work of the dead. The soldiers who came back from France today require work. There are many of you out of work, and if soldiers are to obtain work it must be at the expense of another worker. That is if you as a trades assembly continue in your present manner of doing things. We are going to suggest a slogan for you all, and it is:

**A SIX-HOUR DAY,
NO REDUCTION IN PAY
AND A
JOB FOR EVERY SOLDIER.**

A six-hour day will absorb the unemployed and so enable you to maintain your present standard of wages and also demand more. Will you be men of sufficient courage to demand the above or will you—?

We shall watch you with interest. The future contains many bright hopes, if you will be men with the interests of labor at heart. Let others talk of politics, but you men who use the tools that you made, should organize for the ownership of the tools that you made and enjoy all that your labor produces. Give to your own children the same joys of life that you give to your masters. The world offers you life in abundance if you are wise enough to take hold of it. The world never gives you things. You have got to take them.

It is a sad commentary on our boasted civilization that men who have faced death in the trenches, come home and find their jobs taken by women. It is sad, we say, and so we are appealing to you members of the Trade Assembly to arouse yourselves. We must have more solidarity, one with another. Tonight we have our unemployed. Tonight women walk the streets. Tonight children hunger for food. Men of the working class, we are appealing to you from the heart. We want to impress you with the fact that a gloomy future stares us all in the face. Let our hearts beat in unison and let us act as one. Drop all our petty squabbles and unite on the big things. Can we not bring you to all realize that by your economic power you can change things? No politician or leader will help you out. You must do things for yourselves. You must let your red blood your veins. Come, my comrades and brothers! Come, let us join together and demand that those who labor receive the necessities of life and taste of its joys. Foolish men cry anarchist, I. W. W., and while we divide ourselves on these foolish cries our masters profit by our disorganization. Let the voices of the starving worker, the social outcast of the brothel and the child of the slums ring in your ears. Let those cries urge you on to act like men of the labor movement and demand that hunger, want and poverty be driven from off the face of society never more to return. Is there a spirit of real love for your class within you; if so, let it express itself in action?

Let your slogan be a six-hour day, no reduction in pay and a job for every soldier. Let your motto be solidarity. Action is what counts. The day for resolutions is over.

A 1919 JOKE!!

The press has created a new joke—Deportation is its name. All you aliens are going to be placed on a ship and sent home. B-r-r-r. We are going to show you foreigners that this is a "free" country, and so we show you that you cannot tell us guys anything. Yes, this is a free country because if the country wasn't free, how did Jawn D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan and the rest of the I. W. W. collar it? They just plants their feet down and say this is ours, and as the country was free they just took it.

We have a declaration of Independence, us Americans. We were the first to have one, and if youse guys think that you can show us a thing or two, well we will deport you.

So don't do it again.

Garn you and yer free country, anyhow. We want to go home. Yer send your emigration advertisers to Europe and yer kid us that if we come to America we

can make enough money in five years so that we need not work for the rest of our lives. The reason why we're here now is because we haven't got enough money to pay our fare back. You and your deportation. Don't make us laugh. It hurts our weak stomach which you and your blooming tin this and tin that have ruined. Deportation you say; say youse guys come to Russia, Germany, Sweden and Ireland and England and all the rest of the countries of Europe and we will show you a working class that cannot be cowed by gunmen or Knights of Liberty. Come with us and we will show you men and women whose souls are aflame with the passion of social justice. There the torch of liberty burns within the hearts of comrades. We do not need stone statues to tell us that we have liberty. The deeds of men and women prove it exists. So go to it. On with your deportation. The sooner you deport us, the less time we will have to sweat for the mere sake of getting our fare back home.

THE LEFT WING.

On another page you will find the manifesto and program of the newly-formed Left Wing of the Socialist Party. This document is well worth your consideration and we trust that you take this matter up in your own local.

This week Truth will go to every member of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, and we strongly urge upon you to discuss this manifesto and program and immediately write to the Revolutionary Age, Boston, Mass., and tell them what you think about it. Even if you are opposed to the manifesto and program, write and tell them, so that we may have a complete expression of the party.

There can be no question about the need for such a manifesto and program. The Socialist Party of America has now got to justify itself by its deeds, the time for phrases has gone by. The social revolution will find us unprepared if we do not act at once. Therefore we greet the Left Wing of the party with cordial greetings and beg to assure them that the comrades of the Scandinavian and the English locals of Duluth and this paper will render to them all the support that they are capable of. The Left Wing manifesto and program comes at a time when it is most needed. It will arouse those comrades who have left the party disgusted with the opportunism of its leaders. It will inspire those who have remained true to the cause of the International, before the war, during the war and after the war. It will compel those who have stood still, to reconsider their position anew. So we extend to the Left Wing of the Socialist Party the right hand of fellowship and a hearty greeting.

WHY I AM A BOLSHEVIK.

By Mrs. Jack Carney.

A short time ago there appeared an announcement in the capitalist press that all girls over 18 in Russia had to submit to marriage, whether they loved their husband or not. Upon making an investigation it was found that a feminist in a small Russian town had written an article on the freedom of the sexes. Immediately the capitalist press took hold of it and gave it to the world as an official document of the Soviet Government of Russia. The mere fact that the capitalist press has stooped to such low tactics, proves conclusively how weak their case is against the Bolsheviks.

Bolshevism is only a name. Yet at this time I feel proud to call myself a Bolshevik, because we need people with the spirit and the vision of the Russian Bolsheviks, so that we in this country may live up to the ideals we so earnestly "speechify" about.

I want to see the killing of hundreds of thousands of American babies stopped, that is one reason why I am a Bolshevik.

I want to see my sisters taste of the real joys of life, without the bitter need of selling their bodies to those who are responsible for their shame.

I want to see mothers love life, and they cannot at present because I know their hearts are breaking because there is some one out on the fields of Flanders—dead.

In a word I want freedom. Out there in Russia for over fifteen months the Russian people have pledged their honor in Lenin and Trotsky. They have sacrificed their lives as volunteers in order that Bolshevism might live and spread over all the world. I know that those people love the Bolsheviks because the Bolsheviks give them the light that is guiding them out of the darkness of Czarism to the glorious land of freedom.

Let us all in this hour stand firm. Against bullets, cannons and all the modern implements of a murderous civilization, the Russian people are standing firm. Are we so cowardly that we can be frightened by the paper bullets of mental bankrupts?

Let your voices catch the strain of the life-giving International and in one huge army we will conquer the world.

'Tis the final conflict.

Let each stand in his place.

The Red Internationale

Shall be the human race.

THANKS.

We thank you for your kind letters. We are sorry but we do not publish letters in the paper. Our subscription list is increasing. In two months we have secured two thousand new readers. Now for another two thousand.

THE SOVIET OF RUSSIA.

It is somewhat amusing to note the various constructions that are being placed upon the work and the character of the Soviets of Russia.

The work of the Bolsheviks has upset the ideas of those who believe that once the worker is educated he will overthrow the political state and then presto: "The I. W. W. a reform organization;" "industrial unionism supports capitalism" are a few of the classic arguments of some of our worthy "Marxian" friends. In order to cover up their own mistakes they quibble over names.

The Bolsheviks were compelled to recognize, by force of events, what we are endeavoring to ignore in this country. The War Labor Board hears the appeal of the Bethlehem steel workers and makes an award. In the meantime Charles Schwab goes to Europe. The award is now getting dusty on the shelves of the union offices. Because there was no real economic power behind the demand of the Bethlehem steel workers, the Steel Trust turned them down. In other words, without an economic organization the workers are powerless to achieve anything.

The average student of Marx is as much anti-Marx as the capitalist. They study Marx, and because Marx does not mention the changes that have taken place in industry since Marx died, well they have not taken place, that is all there is to it, and if they have, we refuse to deal with them. Unless you can turn to page so and so in Vol. 1, 2 or 3 of Das Kapital, it cannot be done!

The Bolsheviks organized the workers in the factory. So that when they had overthrown the political state, the rule of the capitalist, they could form a new state—the industrial state—the rule of the worker. How any Socialist can be blind to the necessity of industrial unionism, as a necessary means to carry on society after the revolution has taken place, we do not know. Furthermore, you have got to organize for a revolution. Counting noses does not spell revolution. You have got to have the man on the job, organized where he is robbed, my "Marxian" comrades. There he works and there he must carry on the fight. Vote to keep away the watch dogs of the society. The foundation must be laid and the structure must be built. You will never do it by sticking in a study class. You must get down on the job. The same power that you urge to be used to free Mooney and ALL political class-war prisoners will be the same power that will free the workers. "By the power of thy strong right arm, O Labor" Power! The magic word power spells freedom. Resolutions are like snowballs in Hades, they last for a while. You cannot reason with an autocracy drunk with power. Take the power away from it and then reason. Back on the job my comrades. Do not allow "intellectuals" to fool you. We all must prepare for the coming of the storm. We will have to weather that storm or perish. Resolutions on paper are as useful as paper napkins in a thunder storm. So organize and then some more. Until finally with labor in one huge revolutionary army, we shall win. In that day there will be no tears of regret. We shall shout with joy, for the day will be ours.

GO TO IT!

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION.

A member of the I. O. G. T. asks what has the Socialist Party done for religion? The answer we give is what have the churches done for religion?

The commandments state that thou shalt not kill. Over one thousand men are in prison today for believing such a commandment.

The commandments state that six days shalt thou labor. Yet if a minister were to advocate such a commandment to the shipyard workers, he would be arrested under the Espionage Law.

The Bible says, "Suffer the little children to come unto . . . whosoever offends one of these little ones is in danger of h— . . ." Over 300,000 little children died last year due to the want of food. There are thousands of others wasting and sweating their lives away in the factories and cotton mills of America.

The Socialists are the only people who are striving to make it possible to carry out the precepts and teachings of Christianity. How can you love your neighbor as thyself, when you are both after the same job? How can you believe in the commandment Thou Shalt Not Kill, when Christian (?) ministers talk about killing the people of other nations?

We recommend the following poem to our worthy Christian friend:

To the "Christians."

By Francis Adams.

Take then, your paltry Christ,
Your gentlemen God.
We want the mother's son,
With his saw and hod.

We want the man who loved
The poor and the oppressed,
Who hated the Rich man and King
And the Scribe and Priest.

We want the Galilean
Who knew cross and rod.
It's your "good taste" that prefers
A bastard "God!"

After our good friend has read that poem, we advise him to read the works of Joseph Dietzgen, and he will find what true religion is. Hymn singing and church going are like flag-waving in war time.