

Our democracy has become a political and moral pretense. We are subjects of a monstrous despotism, since sixty-five per cent of the people own but two per cent of the country, and two per cent own sixty-five per cent of the country. The country is practically owned by fifteen per cent of the people. There are 26,000 millionaires in the United States before the war for democracy. Now there are 30,000. These men own twenty per cent of all the wealth of the country, which means they own the newspapers, the schools, the churches and the public platforms, that is, the government.

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY
DAN EASTMAN.

"The Fourteen Points"

The "Fourteen Points" have become fourteen daggers thrust at the heart of the peace and liberty of the world, --- thrust directly at the heart of the colonial peoples and of the proletarian revolution in Germany.

—"The Communist."

Big Business Flirts With Russia

BUSINESS NEEDS CASH CUSTOMER
SUCH AS RUSSIA—NEEDS IT BAD

FOREIGN TRADE IS DEAD AND SOVIET
REPUBLIC IS FATTEST MARKET
IN THE WORLD

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Washington.—What shall American industry do to check the process of slow stagnation which is apparent in all manufacturing centers? Business men and their ablest representatives at Washington have begun to wonder whether economic paralysis which fell upon Europe after the armistice is coming to the United States in a form no less distressing for having arrived later. "Reconstruction" is only a word so far as the government is concerned. Legislative and executive departments have done nothing to create or encourage substitutes for a market as a consumer of mill and factory products. All steel mills have reduced their output and many have in part shut down. The industrial board of the Department of Commerce—which was a producers' device for stabilizing industry without loss of profits—has died a-borning. It would have sheathed the purchasing power of great consumers, like the railroads, as a business weapon, so they would have none of it.

The foreign market is dead—or in chains—while domestic operations are permitted to languish in many quarters by large employers who believe that a spell of unemployment will do more than anything else to drive wages down. What employers call the present high wage scale is barely enough to cover current high prices for commodities but conventional economists still look to panic and unemployment as the only way out of the vicious circle.

Anxious to Avoid Panic.

There are attendant evils of panic, however, which the smaller employers, bankers and Democratic party leaders are desperately anxious to avoid. There are also some international aspects of the situation which give warrant to the belief that desperate efforts will be made during the present summer to bridge over the situation in such a way that American industry will be kept in trim for the big race after foreign trade which fills the capitalist vision.

This situation gives more prestige every day to those business men and members of Congress who advocate the opening of trade relations with Soviet Russia. The curious and important fact which they now realize is that Soviet Russia is almost the only country abroad that is able and willing to pay spot cash for American products. A deep impression has been made by the failure of American agents to place any orders in England, France and Italy

during the past six months, when beside this failure there is the standing offer of the Soviet government to take hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of clothing, machinery and railway supplies as fast as they can be delivered.

Prior to the war Russia made her principal purchases either in Germany or through German importers, who bought abroad and collected a fat commission on deliveries within the Russian empire. Russia's annual purchases then were very small compared with what they will be in future and the country which becomes her chief provider will have the fattest market in the world. Rumors have been afloat for several months past that Great Britain aimed to procure a "mandatory" over the business of middleman for Russia which Germany formerly enjoyed. The persistence with which this report circulates in Washington has made Congress very uneasy over the administration's do-nothing policy respecting Russian trade.

Russia Has Leather.

In addition to its readiness to pay cash for American finished products, Soviet Russia stands ready to furnish the United States with enormous quantities of raw materials which are now at a premium in the world market. An important example may be cited. The American market has been seriously depleted of hides, an item which concerns every one who buys shoes. The scarcity of those finer skins (calf and goat) which go into shoes for women and children is especially great. One Massachusetts manufacturer has said that his plant will have to shut down by October unless new sources of these fine skins are found.

Soviet Russia is said to have some 20,000,000 calf and goat skins ready for immediate shipment to America, as soon as the blockade is lifted. American manufacturers want these skins, and their spokesmen soon will be asking on the floor of Congress why they can't go and get them. While British war demands have helped deplete the American leather supply, English firms are said to have established a monopoly in Argentine hides, which excludes the United States and gives England the raw material needed for post-war trade.

The Department of Commerce is said to be organizing a special division to consider the opportunities for American trade in Russia, a move which may be attributed directly to the growing apprehension that "nations associated with us in the war"

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CANADIAN WORKERS REVOLT

26,000 WINNIPEG WORKERS CEASED WORK LAST THURSDAY

PRAIRIE METROPOLIS TIED UP TIGHT AND WORKING CLASS DISPLAYS A SOLIDARITY NEVER BEFORE WITNESSED—WATER WILL BE SUPPLIED FOR DOMESTIC PURPOSES ONLY

Per B. C. FEDERATIONIST.

Soviets Look For End of Invasion

Bolshevik Foreign Policy, "Live and Let Live," Says Agent in Berlin

Believes Allied and Central Powers Will Soon Cease Warfare on Russia.

By FRANK J. TAYLOR.

(United Press Staff Correspondent.) Berlin, April 19 (By Mail).—The foreign policy of the Russian Bolsheviks is simply to "live and let live," according to M. Makowski, their secret agent in Berlin.

The Bolsheviks want to be left alone to work out Communism in Russia, he declared. They do not want to invade other countries, and he declared, are fighting only a defensive war. The Communist movement, he said, is considered strong enough in other countries to fight itself without the aid of Russians.

Only the Anglo-Saxon countries can withstand the Bolshevik movement in the next decade, is the belief of Makowski; Great Britain will have her Bolshevik troubles and only America, is free from Bolshevism. She, too, Makowski averred, will reach the same end—Communism—by a different route.

Looks for End of Invasion.

Makowski believes the Allied and Central Powers will soon make known their willingness to make peace. The Russian plums picked and preserved while Uncle Sam patiently awaits the outcome of a mysterious diplomacy.

A prominent manufacturer from western Pennsylvania recently came to Washington to find out, as he expressed it, "why I can't get a permit to do business with a country with which we are at peace." He was advised by the War Trade Board that that no permits are given for exports to Baltic seaports, which is the formal reply to such inquiries. The Pennsylvania man is not one who allows perfunctory opposition to bar him from good business, however, and is said to have joined with several hundred other corporate heads in a move to have the Senate and House Foreign Relations Committees bring pressure upon the White House and State Department.

Sentimental regard for humanity and the abstract rights of weak nations do not enter into this drive against the Russian blockade. It is based upon the two hard facts that America needs business and Russia has business to give. Its backers declare that if the government has no reconstruction plans of its own it should at least stand out of the way and allow business to take advantage of existing opportunities. The administration's present policy is to cancel its own contracts right and left, and still forbid manufacturers to write new business with the only government that is able and ready to place it—the Soviet government of Russia.

peace. They have high hopes of the effects of the report of William Bullitt, whom President Wilson sent to Moscow. The Bolsheviks says Bullitt, was the first mission to meet them in an open manner; and that all the others have tried underhanded methods of conspiracy and bribery.

Lenin's peace proposal to the Allies was as follows:

The Bolsheviks would agree to pay all debts of the old regime. This could be done partly in gold and partly in materials.

The Bolsheviks would keep their armies within the boundaries of the present Soviet Republic until a plebiscite could be held in the territories surrounding it. By this plebiscite, Siberia, Ukraine, the Courland and all other buffer states in the former Russian Empire would decide whether they wanted to remain independent or join a Russian Soviet federation.

The Soviet government also would agree to withhold its propagandists from other countries, and finance no campaign for Bolshevism outside of Russia.

Would Disband Army.

Demobilization of the Bolshevik army would take place as soon as the Allies withdraw their forces.

On the part of the Allies, it was proposed that they evacuate Russian territory, cease financing or encouraging the opponents of the Soviet government, lift the blockade and permit the Bolsheviks to buy railway equipment and other machinery. The Bolsheviks further asked the Allies to recover 1,000,000 rubles in gold, captured by the Czechs and Slovaks at Prymisl and now held in Siberia to be used in payment of Russia's debts to the Allies.

Soviets Attack "League of Nations"

Condemns Berne Conference

In the outline of their program, the Communists, after asserting that the capitalist system of society is falling rapidly to pieces and that civilization itself can only be saved through the embracing of Communism by the workers of the world say:

"In opposition to this, world capitalism is arming for the last battle. Under cover of the League of Nations and of a torrent of pacifist phrases, it would like to stick together the last remnants of the capitalist system that are spontaneously falling apart and direct their forces against the constantly swelling proletarian revolution. The proletariat must answer this new and monstrous conspiracy of the capitalist class by seizing the political power, turning this power against its class enemies and using it as a lever to bring about the economic transformation. The final victory of the proletariat of the world signifies the beginning of the real history of liberated humanity. The winning of political power by the proletariat means the destruction of the capitalist system."

"The Bolsheviks will make no invasion of Germany or any other country," said Makowski. "The Germans and the heads of other states know that even if the people do not. On all sides our enemies are on our soil, the Allies at Archangel and in Southern Russia, the Germans along the Prussian border. We have an army of a little over a million men, all workmen, but commanded by officers of the old army who must work and are glad of a job. They get the same pay as the private. But this army will be disbanded as soon as the Allies and Germans withdraw their armies."

tion of the political power of the bourgeoisie."

The program goes on to point out how the Communists hope to achieve power by wiping out the old style armies and putting all military power in the hands of "Red Guards," admits that the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is a weapon of repression, but that it is necessary to guard the interests of the workers and to clear the road for the building up of a Communist system, gives many details of how the Soviets ought to function, and then refers as follows to the old Socialist International which held a meeting in Berne last February.

"The growth of the revolutionary movement in all countries, the danger of the suffocating of this revolution by the League of Capitalist States, the attempts of the 'social traitorous' parties to unite—the forming of the Yellow International at Berne—in order to help along the Wilsonian League, and finally the absolute necessity of co-ordinating the actions of the proletariat, all these things must lead to the founding of a really revolutionary and really proletarian Communist International."

"The Communist International invites the proletariat of the whole world to join in this last struggle. Arms against arms! Force against force!"

"Down with the imperialistic conspiracy of capital!"

"Long live the International Republic of the proletarian Soviets!" In the manifesto, which is signed by Lenin, Trotsky, and Zinoviev for the Bolsheviks, C. Rakovsky for the Rumanian Communists, and Fritz Platten for the Swiss Reds, it is declared that:

"The nationalization of industrial life against which capitalistic Liberalism struggle so hard has become a fact. There will be no going back, either to free competition or to the system of trusts, syndicates, and economic monstrosities. The only question is as to who is going to manage nationalized production, the imperialistic State or the victorious proletariat? In other words: Is all toiling humanity to become the bondman of the victorious Entente bourgeoisie, which under the name of the League of Nations and with the help of an 'international' army and an 'international' fleet, plunder and throbles here, throws out a few crumbs there, but all the time holds the proletariat in chains, with the single object of maintaining its own rulership—or will the working class itself take control of the disordered and ruined political system in order to insure its reconstruction upon socialistic principles?"

"After Germany was defeated, the bourgeoisie of the little nations, together with their patriotic 'Socialists,' turned to the triumphant imperialism of the Allies and began to seek for a reason for their continued existence in the hypocritical points of the Wilsonian program."

Referring to the colonial problem, the Communists say:

"The Wilsonian program at the best aims at merely changing the company name of colonial slavery. The liberation of the colonies is only possible in connection with the liberation of the working class of the ruling countries."

At 11 o'clock last Thursday morning, 26,000 Winnipeg trades unionists quit work, and the greatest strike in the history of the Prairie Capital commenced. Some 60 local unions are participating in the strike, and with the exception of the typographical union, every organization that was called upon to cease work did so without a hitch. Everything was carried out in an orderly manner. The policemen were not called out, although they have voted in favor of striking with the rest of the workers. The firemen struck along with the industrial workers, and the postal workers went home after the early rounds with the mails. The general strike has been called owing to the fact that no settlement has been reached in the building and metal trades disputes, the employers taking a stand against dealing with the leaders, or officers of the unions. This policy, adopted by the employers, shows how sincere the talk of creating greater harmony between capital and labor, which has been so much indulged in by representatives of the employers, is, and proves that when the interests of the employing class is threatened, that there is a class consciousness displayed that would be well followed by the workers. In this strike, there is a greater unanimity displayed amongst the workers than ever before in the history of the Winnipeg labor movement. The street railway men, the bakers, hotel and restaurant employees, caretakers, elevator operators, the theatrical workers, moving picture operators, and workers in every industry, are on strike, and Winnipeg is tied up as it never was before.

A statement issued by the committee in charge of the strike on Wednesday evening, says that while the policemen have voted in favor of the strike, that they have instructed the policemen to continue work, thus proving that the only desire of the workers is to preserve law and order. Arrangements have also been made for the supply of water for domestic purposes, and for the remaining at work of hospital attendants, etc. It is expected that the telephone workers will cease work this morning, if no settlement is arrived at.

With such a settlement of solidarity as displayed by the workers of Winnipeg, there can be no doubt as to the final results of the strike. Workers all over Canada will be watching developments, and are prepared to act in whatever way may be necessary to assist the members of the working class in the Peg, in the event of any attempt to intimidate, or break the strike by force, or the usual ruling class methods.

ATTENTION!!

A mass meeting will be held in the Finnish Workers Opera House, Monday evening May 26th.

Speakers: A. S. Embree, J. Korbi, Jack Carney and others. Everybody welcome.

ONE BILLION DOLLARS REWARD!

The editor of Truth, following the stirring example of the "Squeal for Treason", offers a reward of \$1,000,000.00 to any person who will prove that the Soviets of Russia believe in the nationalization of women.

We will also provide the necessary expense, to enable an anti-Bolshevik to marry a Russian woman. And if he succeeds in subduing her we will present him with one month's salary.

JACK CARNEY,
Editor of Truth.

THE O. B. U. AND FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

By CHAS. LESTOR.

The working men on this western continent are now discussing the O. B. U. and a few words from the standpoint of a would-be red may be of interest. "The employing class and the working class have nothing in common," says old Dan de Leon and if this is so harmony between the two is impossible. The individual employer may often have many things in common with his employes but this does not alter the fact that their class interests are diametrically opposed.

The class struggle is not on the job because we only find one class there. The worker is exploited where he works but his exploitation is due to the fact that he is compelled to sell himself before he starts.

The capitalist bargains not for the wealth the worker produces but for the energy measured by time of the producer. If I buy a thing it is mine. If the capitalist class buys the working class eight hours a day for five dollars per man per day, then the capitalist class owns the working class when it is working, that is to say, during the only period when it is producing wealth, therefore, it naturally follows that all that the working class produces belongs to the capitalist class by virtue of the fact that the capitalist class owns the working class when it is producing wealth.

The working class is an enslaved class. This is a fact, and the question that confronts it is, how will the O. B. U. help the working class to escape from its bondage? The function that the union fulfills in addition to maintaining the value of labor power is that of nourishing, protecting and defending those revolutionary spirits that endeavor to arouse their fellow workmen to a realization of their degraded position and try to unite them into a political force, powerful enough to crush their enemies. The class struggle is a struggle for freedom—from ownership. Had it not been for the trade union movement in this country protecting the propaganda of the education of the proletariat may not have been so far advanced as it is. Wherever you have a miner's organization for example you can get a Socialist meeting and the speaker will generally be protected from outside interference. On the other side of the line the A. F. of L. is controlled by such a reactionary element that it is used to retard not only the revolutionary movement on this continent, but as seen by the capers of Gompers and Co., in Europe it has been used against the interests of the working class the world over. The A. F. of L. has been manipulated as a powerful lever and used to disrupt and disorganize the proletariat of Europe in the interests of the capitalist class and the total destruction of this organization might result in the formation of something more in sympathy with the progressive forces.

The imprisonment of Debs is due to the support the leaders of the A. F. of L. gives to capitalism. The horrible tortures inflicted upon the working men and women in the States who dare to espouse the cause of labor are made possible by the fact that Gompers and Co. are behind the judges and condone also the actions of those brutal cowards who tar and feather, lynch and beat up those noble-minded men and women who refuse to bow to the yoke of capital and try to educate the members of their class to a realization of their position. The A. F. of L. is daily cursed by every political prisoner in the "land of the free." Why is education, working class education so far behind in the United States? The economic conditions are rotten ripe but, ye gods, and little fishes that wag their tails in the mighty deep, did you ever see anything like the ignorance of the slaves of God's country? The O. B. U. will protect the propagandist against discrimination and will be the means of providing facilities for education along class lines. In the opinion of the writer it is impossible to consciously construct any portion of the new social order in this country at the present time. The union occupies the position of the placenta and when the revolu-

THE "DULUTH LABOR WORLD"

By JACK CARNEY.

Speaking at a banquet, given in his honor some years ago, John Swinton stated:—

"There is no such thing in America as an independent press unless it is in the country towns.

"You know it and I know it. There is not one of you who dares to write his honest opinions, and if you did you know before hand that it would never appear in print.

"I am paid \$150.00 a week for keeping my honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with—others of you are paid similar salaries for similar things—and any of you who would be so foolish as to write his honest opinions would be out on the streets looking for another job.

"The business of the journalist is to destroy the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the feet of the Mammon, and to sell his race and his country for his daily bread.

"You know this and I know it, and what folly is this to be toasting an 'Independent Press.'

"We are the tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping-jacks; they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities, and our lives are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

So spoke a Metropolitan editor, who was conversant with all the arts of the newspaper game, because after all it is only a game and the workers are the pawns.

The purpose of the press is to conserve the existing order, so that the capitalist class may be free to continue their exploitation of the workers. It therefore naturally follows that any strike of the workers will be keenly resented by the press.

Mr. Pulitzer in an address on the "Accuracy of News" delivered before the Pulitzer School of Journalism, December 12th, 1912, stated, in part:—

"During a series of so-called 'bread-riots' on the East Side, one reporter is known actually to have hired a gang

of half a dozen strong arm men to upset bakers' wagons in order that the photographer working with him might get realistic snapshots to illustrate fittingly his own written fakes."

So the same thing is carried on by the vast majority of reporters. They do not care what news they get into print, so long as it is sensational and ridiculous and vilifies the labor movement.

WHY DO THEY DO THIS?

Simply because big business through its advertising supplies the press, with the necessary finance to carry on their papers. Without the advertising, these papers could not exist one single day. The tremendous expense required to carry on these papers, makes it absolutely necessary that they receive advertising from those best able to pay for it. With the result that all news published in the papers must not in any way reflect upon the business of the advertisers.

THE ADVERTISERS CONTROL THE PRESS.

So it can be readily seen that the labor movement can never hope to receive justice at the hands of the "kept" press.

The need for the workers to have their own press has been steadily growing, until today we have thousands of labor and socialist papers throughout the country. Many of these papers are called labor papers, yet a perusal of their columns will convince the most bigotted of labor antagonists, that these labor papers are performing greater service to the employing class, than they are to the workingclass. Such a paper is the DULUTH LABOR WORLD.

The Duluth Labor World is privately owned by W. McEwen. Its financial success means to the editor his bread and butter. If that paper is a failure, the editor loses to that extent. The truth of the matter is that the paper, from the standpoint of its circulation is a failure. Therefore the editor has to depend upon his advertisers in order that he might carry it on. Throughout its columns will be seen the

advertisements of the local firms. Firms that are not friendly to Labor. During the Clyde Strike, the Clyde Iron Works advertised in the paper. What is the result, these firms are able to convince the outside world that they are favorable to labor. "Don't we advertise in the Labor World?"

The Labor World has ceased to represent the labor movement. Its conservative policy is out of tune with the new order of things.

What shall we say of an editor of a labor paper, who appeals to business men for funds in order to fight the radical elements within the trade unions? Yet this is what the Labor World has been doing. They have appealed to West End merchants and rumor has it, that one leading firm in the city gave them a check for one hundred dollars. Furthermore, the editor of the Labor World stated that a general strike must be resorted to in order to assist the workers who were locked out by the Duluth Show Case Company. Yet a special edition of his paper was circulated broadcast throughout the Twin Cities, with the object of discouraging the move for a general strike for Mooney. May we ask at this time, who is financing the circulation of the Labor World in the Twin Cities? We shall not pursue this matter any further at present, but we strongly advise all union men to closely watch the Labor World. They will find it interesting and it MAY open their eyes to a few things they little dream of.

Will, McEwen, the editor of the Labor World and a member of the Plumbers' Union and an advocate of the general strike for the Show Case locked out cabinet makers explain the unanimous vote of his union AGAINST the strike? A vote cannot be unanimous if one member is against it. We know that McEwen is against such action because he has said so. His explanation will satisfy many union men in this city, who have asked us to put this matter up to him. More about the Labor World will appear in future issues.

"LABOR MUST CHOOSE"

REPLY TO THE HERALD

Under the above title, the Duluth Herald pours forth its usual hypocritical, canting and ridiculous bunk called by "sane" members of society commonsense (?) on the labor question.

As the Duluth Herald rightly states, **LABOR MUST CHOOSE and CHOOSE NOW.**

The workers of this country are possessed of a history, bloodier than that of the rotten degenerate Czar, that ruled supreme over Russia. Think fellow-workers of the countless victims, whose blood marks the trail of the age-long fight of labor. Think of the bones that have paved the way, that the workers of this republic are now treading. Pause for a while and choose which way you shall travel. If you line up with those that are responsible for the horrors and cruelties of Bayonne, Colorado, Calumet, Cripple Creek, and many other places, then prepare to see your fondest hopes blighted and more victims made out of your class. Think what it means, if you follow out the advice of the Herald. Think of a mother joining hands with the class that sent her daughter on the streets, to end her miserable career in the morgue, so that the wives and daughters of that class might be clothed in silks and satins. Think of the millions of child-slaves that toil in the factories from early hours of the dawn to the closing hours of sun-down. Men of labor the world is awakening. Now that the workers are beginning to rub their eyes. Now that they are awakening from their age-long sleep, the Herald asks you to join hands with your betrayers and seducers. Well might the gods laugh. The lamb to lie down with the wolf. The victim to join hands with the hold-up man. The appeal of the Herald is but the whining of a frightened master class. They are conscious of their own bloody misdeeds and they fear that if the workers gain power, they might be as bloody and as ruthless in their day as they are in theirs. Rattle your typewriter Bingham. Bale out billions of buckets of blood. **YOU ARE TOO LATE.** All the editorials of the Herald are but music to our ears. They are the funeral march of capitalism. Labor is awakening and fast becoming conscious of its power. Labor, the mocked, oppressed, betrayed and outraged labor stands today and compels peace delegates to walk to its international conferences. Labor compels all rulers to sit up and take notice. What a day we live in and what a glorious future awaits the mighty forces of labor. Oh, men of labor every appeal from the Herald is a compliment to your growing power. Now they can feel the lash of your whip. When they could play you one against the other. When they could sell you out by buying your leaders or giving them soft jobs, they laughed at you. Now they go on their knees and whine to you. Make pitying appeals. Go to it my worthy comrades in the struggle from freedom. Yours the power if you will but stand up and tell the editors of the kept press to go to where they

ought to be. No more can the kept press or "sane" labor leaders and labor editors fool you. Today you are asking questions and you say that the INJURY OF ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL. O blessed word SOLIDARITY. O labor by the power of thy strong right arm canst thou make a world free.

"But does labor recognize that it cannot have collective bargaining and the general strike" says Bunco Bunkham. Certainly not. You can keep your collective bargaining we will keep the general strike. This is our day Bunkham and as far as collective bargaining with masters is concerned just tell that to Seth Marshall and Mr. Ostrom.

"The employer who has completed the bargain with his employees has a right to expect that for the period of a contract, expressed or implied, there will be no interruptions of his operations" says Bunco again. Also when the job is completed and the warehouses are full of goods, manufactured by the workers, the workers can go jump to — and starve. "Snice. Is it not?"

"Labor should think at this point most seriously. Above all, it should think most seriously about the type of leadership which advocates the general strike on slight provocation, regardless of bargains or contracts." We will let Bingham or a select committee from the Commercial pick them for us. That would be fair enough. These leaders would never organize a union. That would be fair enough. The workers could work for Seth Marshall for about eighteen dollars per week and then when they died, Seth would pay them sick benefit. Awfully kind of Mr. Bunkham, we assure you.

"Both capital and labor should have an eye on their dangerous extremists, because they constitute their gravest peril." That is how we feel. Such raving anarchists as Samuel Gompers and John D. Rockefeller should be suppressed. Who knows that some day Gompers might call a strike and Rockefeller organize a union. What a terrible day that would be. Organized labor would stand aghast. Chaos would ensue and then—ask Bingham.

Poor Herald. Sweet are the days of adversity. They told the workers that THEY won the war. Now that the workers have begun to realize their power, the Herald whines and moans piteously.

Organized labor do not allow yourselves to be fooled by the sophistry of the Herald. If any member of you class is attacked, don't waste your time passing resolutions, call a halt. While you investigate, your masters prepare. So that when you come out on strike the scabs are on the job and you lose out. Go to it all the time. Make your masters realize that you are not dumb beasts but men with a man's courage to do and to dare. If your masters can smash up your organizations, then watch the Herald gloat over your downfall. They will tell you that you got all what was

coming to you. Allow no sentimental twaddle to delay you or hinder you in any way. The hen protects her chickens; the lion protects her cubs; the bear protects her young, how much more should you protect your children. Organize now and drive the industrial Kaisers from off their thrones. Organize and control your own labor-power and close every factory door to every child. Close every brothel to every girl. Close every sweat-shop and industrial hell. Go to it fellow-workers and prepare to live the lives of freemen. The sounds of the tramp of marching men can be heard. The men in Europe prepare for the new day when the birds will sing their songs in unison with the happy laughter of free children, sons and daughters of free fathers and mothers. Men of labor yours the day to prepare, tomorrow you strike for freedom. Go to it, the world awaits you.

"More than half beaten, but fearless,
Facing the storm and the night;
Breathless and reeling, but tearless,
Here in the hush of the fight,
I, who bow not but before thee,
God of the fighting clan,
Lifting my fists I implore thee,
Give me the heart of a Man!"

"What though I live with the winners
Or perish with those who fall?
Only the cowards are sinners,
Fighting the fight is all.
Strong is my foe—he advances!
Snapped is my blade, O Lord!
See the proud banners and lances!
Oh spare me this stub of a sword."

"Give me no pity, nor spare me;
Calm not the wrath of my foe.
See where he beckons to dare me!
Bleeding, half-beaten—I go.
Not for the glory of winning,
Not for the fear of the night;
Shunning the battle is sinning—
Oh spare me the heart to fight."

"Red is the mist about me;
Deep is the wound in my side;
"Coward" thou criest to flaunt me?
O terrible foe, thou hast led!
Here with my battle before me,—
God of the fighting clan,
Grant that the woman who bore me
Suffered to suckle a man."

JOHN G. NEIHARDT.

tionary baby is born the afterbirth—the placenta comes with it. This is no good. It is destroyed or it perishes. The same with all unions, industrial or craft, now existing or proposed.

The working class must take things as it finds them, but amid the echoes and confusion now existing and to come the goal must be kept clearly in view. "The abolition of the wage system," and the establishment of a system of production for use. To attain this our battle cry must be "All power to the working class." The struggle is for freedom, liberty and the O. B. U. will be a help or a hindrance in accordance with the knowledge possessed by those who form it. (Its value depends entirely upon the psychological influences that presides at its birth.) Will it be a means of generating in the minds of the slaves on this Western continent, "The will to be free."

SOVIETS COME TO STAY

SOVIETS IN EUROPE COME TO STAY, SAYS OSWALD G. VILLARD
Editor of Nation, Back From Other Side, Says America Faces Overtures.

The Soviet form of government will rule Europe until it is thoroughly tried out, in the opinion of Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the Nation, who recently returned from Europe.

"I believe the Soviet form of government has come in Europe to stay until it is thoroughly tried out," declared Villard.

He declared conditions in the Central Empires, and, especially Berlin and Munich, which he visited after the assassination of Premier Eisner. He declared the working class of Germany is evidently determined to try any experiment which might better their conditions.

Villard asserted he didn't believe this country could escape the same experiment being tried out in Europe unless there was "a decided change in the attitude toward the working class and a disposition shown at least to approximate a greater degree of justice toward the workers than we have yet shown."

The desperate counter-revolts against the Soviets brought together all the European imperialists, the Czech-Slovaks and everyone in Russia who stood for the feudal land-owners and Capitalism. The rich peasants joined the counter-revolutionary movement.

The rural districts ceased to be united. The peasants who had fought as one man against the land-owners (pomieschicks) were split into two antagonistic groups, the rich and the poor peasants.

The poorest toiling peasants went hand in hand with the proletariat toward Socialism, continuing the struggle against Capitalism. The feudal nobility being eliminated they now had to fight against the power of money, against the speculators and the rich peasants, who tried to use the great change in land-ownership for their own personal profit. In this struggle all the bourgeois and exploiting classes were swept aside, and our revolution started as a whole on the march toward Socialism, which the city proletariat had initiated in November, 1917; but which did not become general and never could—until the rural population, the peas-

antry, gave the proletariat united and determined support.

There we have the tremendously important link of our Revolution, forged during the last summer and autumn. The Revolution penetrated the most backward and isolated sections of Russia, spreading all through the rural districts. It was not quite so spectacular and conspicuous a movement as the coup d'etat of November 1917, but of much more importance and deeper significance.

SYLVIA PANKHURST FREED.

Sylvia Pankhurst and Amelia Mahoney, who were arrested May Day when women attempted to force an entrance into the House of Commons in a May Day demonstration, were ordered in police court to give bonds for their good behavior. Neither would give the necessary bond and they remained under detention for a time, but the magistrate discharged them later.

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN BOL- SHEVIK RUSSIA

The Populaire, Paris, March 30, gives an interesting description of this aspect of the revolution, drawn from the accounts of teachers who have just been repatriated from Petrograd for Education is continuing his attempt to carry out gigantic reforms, despite the famine, and that he has been assisted throughout by the readiness to co-operate shown by the teachers, who, recognizing that they have unexampled opportunity for introducing methods and ideas they had hoped for for years, have—almost almost of the bourgeoisie—refused to sabotage the Bolshevik reorganization. The introduction of free education for all necessitated the suppression, or, rather, the merging of many of the smaller and quite inadequate private schools; but existing foundations were made use of as much as possible, the guiding principle being the creation of large educational centers, enjoying as much autonomy as possible. The schools are governed in all departments, even financially (like the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge), by the masters or professors jointly, and at every meeting the parents of the pupils, and the pupils themselves, are represented by two delegates each—though in a consultative capacity only and not, as our capitalist press would have us believe for the purpose of dismissing and appointing masters, etc. State interference is confined to the sending round of inspectors to see that the child-spirit is allowed to develop freely; so great is the reaction against the standard textbooks, full of barren formulae or cooked history, which used to be drawn up by Pobiedonostseff under the old regime and forced arbitrarily upon the teaching profession. Finally free dinners daily and social evenings two or three times a week at which a well-garnished buffet is not the least of attractions, insure that the children, whatever their parents' circumstances, receive what help the state can give during the present shortage. The Populaire adds that the ladies who supply this information left Russia against their will, at the order of the French consul, while now, in Paris, they find themselves out of work.

WAR AND REV- OLUTION

By LEON TROTSKY.

War shatters the fetters of the commonplace, and consequently the oppressive, debasing, unenlightened conditions. War destroys the existing equilibrium, tears one out of the accustomed track and gives promise of change. War clutches all classes and, consequently, those who are oppressed and overburdened feel themselves on an equal footing with the wealthy and powerful.

These powerful hopes for decisive changes are one of the reasons why war so often brings revolution in its train. Because war alone can never make good the hopes which it arouses. Having convulsed the masses with the most excruciating crises, war invariably deceives them in the end.

At this very time, sections of society, which in ordinary times are scarcely touched by our propaganda, look in the direction of the revolutionary party for the realization of the hopes which not so long ago they thought the government would make good, with its apparatus for war. The success of the revolution depends in no slight degree on the extent to which the Socialist party is able to convince the masses that their hopes are not illusions.—"Chapter From My Diary"

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STUDY CLASS

FOREWORD.

(All members of the study class are advised to study this lesson. They will be required to explain it at the next meeting of the study class. Remember it is up to you to do your own thinking. So sit down and learn this lesson. We will publish one each week. Jack Carney.)

How Profits Are Made.

Many of us have been accustomed to think that profits are made from graft, from special privileges or from monopoly. We have talked so much of the thieving among capitalists that we have altogether overlooked the great main method of profit taking.

As Marx says, if you cannot explain profits on the supposition that commodities exchange at their values, you cannot explain them at all.

And so we shall assume (as in truth they generally do) that commodities, on the average, exchange at their value.

Suppose that it takes two hours of necessary labor to produce the necessities of life for a workingman—or, in other words, two hours of labor a day to produce **laboring-power**.

Suppose too (as is very likely the case), that \$2.00 in gold represents two hours of labor.

Now the value of labor-power (which the workingman sells) is determined, as the values of all commodities are determined by the social labor contained in it. It is represented by the necessities of life, produced by two hours of necessary labor a day.

If the workman sells his labor-power at its value he will receive in return a commodity containing two hours of necessary social labor. In the case we mention above, he would receive \$2.00 a day.

In other words, a day's labor-power represents two hours of labor, embodied in the food, clothing and shelter that produce it, just as the two dollars in gold (or an equivalent) represent two hours of necessary labor. The labor-power is equal in value to the value of the \$2.00 in gold. The workman has sold his labor-power at its value.

The workman receives enough (\$2.00) in wages to eat, drink, to rest and clothe himself—enough to produce more labor-power. He receives the value of his labor-power.

But wage laborers sell their laboring-power to the bosses by the day or the week, at so many hours a day. The capitalist buys the commodity (labor-power), paying for it at its value. If the wage worker is a miner, in two hours he will dig coal equal in value to his wage of \$2.00 a day. The coal he digs will contain two hours of labor and as the necessities for which he exchanges his two dollars, contain two hours of labor.

In other words, in two hours (of necessary labor) the miner would have produced value in coal equal to the value of his wages (or his laboring-power). But he sells his labor-power by the day or week and the boss prolongs the hours of work as far as possible.

In two hours, however, the miner has produced enough value to pay his own wages, but the boss, having bought the laboring-power by the day, may be able to make the wage-worker work ten hours daily. The miner needs only to work two hours to produce a value of \$2.00 to reproduce his labor-power. As Marx would say:

He must daily reproduce a value of \$2.00 (which he will do in two hours), to daily reproduce his labor-power.

But when he sells his laboring-power to the boss the boss acquires the right to use his labor-power the entire day—as many hours as the worker's physical endurance will permit.

If he forces the miner to work ten hours daily, the workingman will be laboring eight hours beyond the time necessary to pay his own wages (or value of his labor-power). These eight hours of surplus labor are embodied in a surplus value or a surplus product.

In two hours the miner produces in coal value sufficient to pay for his labor-power, but in the eight succeeding hours of labor he will produce coal valuing \$8.00, all of which the capitalist retains for himself.

Since the miner sold his laboring-power to the capitalist, the coal, or value the miner produces, belongs to the capitalist.

Thus the capitalist spends \$2.00

a day in wages (or two hours of labor) and acquires coal, or other commodities, equal to \$10.00 (or ten hours of labor). Thus come profits.

Year after year the capitalists buy labor-power, paying for it at its value (in the case of the miner at \$2.00 a day). The capitalists own the products of the workers—equaling ten hours of labor. They exchange a commodity (gold or money), containing two hours of labor for labor-power (containing two hours of necessary labor—represented by the necessities of life). But when the miner goes home at night the capitalists find themselves **owners** of the coal he has dug, which contains ten hours of labor.

Coal (representing ten hours of labor) will exchange for gold (or money) containing ten hours of labor; in this case for \$10.00. The miner has produced \$10.00 worth of coal. He received \$2.00.

The eight hours of value, or \$8.00 worth of coal, which the capitalists appropriate, is **surplus value**, for which they give no equivalent.

"It is this sort of exchange between capital and labor upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the workingman as workingman and the capitalist as capitalist."

"The rate of surplus value, all other circumstances remaining the same, will depend on the proportion between that part of the working day necessary to reproduce the value of the laboring-power and the surplus time or **surplus labor** performed for the capitalist. It will, therefore, depend on the ratio in which the working day is prolonged over and above the extent, by working which the workingman would only reproduce the value of his laboring-power or replace his wages." (Page 81, Value, Price and Profit, by Karl Marx.)

The capitalist owns the product of his wage-worker. When he sells this product he disposes of commodities a part of which have cost him absolutely nothing, although they have cost his workman labor.

It is easy to see how the miner received the value of his laboring-power; \$2.00 gold contain two hours of labor, \$2.00 exchange for—or will buy—the necessities of life (produced by two hours of labor) which will enable the miner to produce more labor-power for the net day's work.

In this case the miner's product the coal he digs in one day, contains five times the quantity of labor needed to produce the necessities of life, which produce, in him, more strength or more labor-power.

For the things he gets for his labor-power contain only two hours of labor, while the things he produces, and which are claimed by the capitalist, contain ten hours of labor.

The miner sells his labor-power and, naturally, the capitalist desires to use it as profitably (for himself) as possible. If the wage worker demanded commodities in exchange for his products, containing an equal quantity of labor, he would no longer be a wage-worker, for capitalists would no longer employ him. There would be nothing—no surplus value—left for the capitalists.

But men and women who have nothing to sell but their labor-power have no choice in the matter. They are compelled to sell their strength or labor-power in order to get wages to live. Capitalists, on the other hand, employ them for the sole purpose of taking profits. Capitalists are forced to give the working class enough to live and work on, but they try by every means at their command

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to prolong the working day into ten, or even twelve hours, in order that more surplus products, or surplus value, may remain for themselves.

But intelligent workmen and women are not content with selling their labor-power at its value. They are coming more and more to demand the value of their products. We are growing weary of being mere commodities, compelled to sell ourselves, for wages at the regular "market price." We are weary of receiving a product of two hours of labor for products containing ten hours of our labor. We are tired of living on meagre wages while we pile up millions for the capitalist class.

This is the chief demand of socialism; that workingmen and women cease selling themselves, or their strength, as commodities. We propose to own the commodities we produce ourselves and to exchange commodities containing a certain quantity of necessary social labor, for other commodities representing an equal quantity of necessary social labor.

You and I work for the boss because he owns the factory or mine or railroad or the mill. Ownership of the means of production and distribution (the factories, land, mines, mills—the machinery that produces things) makes masters of capitalists and wage-workers of you and me.

Socialists propose the ownership, in common, of the mines, mills, factories and land, of all the productive industries, by the workers of the world.

When you and I and our comrades own the factory in which we work, we will no longer need to turn over to anybody the commodities we have produced. We shall be joint owners of the things we have made socially. We shall demand labor for labor in the exchange of commodities. This is the kernel of socialism. It proposes to make men and women of us instead of commodities to be bought and sold upon the cheapest market as men buy shoes or cows.

QUESTIONS.

In the illustrations given above, can the mine owner pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit? Can the mine owners sell coal at its value and pay the mine-workers the value of their labor-power and still make a profit?

Would it be possible for the mine owners to pay the mine-workers MORE than the value of their labor-power and to sell the coal at less than its value, and still make a profit? Explain why this would be possible.

If the wage-workers should become strong enough to demand the value of their products what would happen? Would there be any surplus left for the capitalist class? Explain why not.

What becomes of the difference between the value of your labor-

power and the value of the things you produce in the factory or mine?

Suppose you are working in a California mine and earning \$3.00 a day, which is sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter IN CALIFORNIA, enough to produce your labor-power. Suppose your employer wants to send you, and 200 of your California comrades to work in his mines in Alaska. The value of the necessities of life is far more in Alaska than it is in California. It requires \$6.00 a day to buy food, clothing and shelter (to produce LABOR-POWER) in Alaska.

Will you be able to save any more money in Alaska at \$6.00 a day than you would in California at \$3.00 a day? Why not? Who pays the difference in the high prices of the necessities of life? YOU or YOUR BOSS? (We are not speaking of individual cases, but of high prices charged for food, etc., in general.)

Of course, we all know that the working class produce all exchange value. We make all commodities, but as we have sold our labor-power to the boss, our products belong to HIM. So the boss pays for nearly everything, because he has appropriated the things we have made.

When they value of the necessities of life RISE, does the working class or the capitalist CLASS pay the bill? In the case of our mining jobs in Alaska, do WE pay \$6.00 for our board, clothes and room, or does the \$3.00 increase in OUR cost of living FALL ON THE CAPITALIST?

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16th April, 1919.

The Editor, "Truth," Duluth, Minn., U. S. A.
Dear Jack Carney:—

I am glad to send to your paper "Truth," and through it, to the workers of Minnesota, best wishes for the success of the Socialist Movement in the United States. The Revolution, which started in Russia and is now spreading to Hungary, Germany and countries further east is the beginning of a world-wide movement which will undoubtedly reach America. May the American Soviets be shortly established.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

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LEFT WING MANIFESTO

"The enemy who comes to us with open visor we face with a smile; to set our foot upon his neck is mere play for us. The stupidly brutal acts of violence of police, politicians, the outrages of anti-socialist laws, the anti-revolution laws, penitentiary bills—these only arouse feelings of pitying contempt; the enemy, however, that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance, and introduces himself upon us as a friend and brother—him and him alone have we to fear.

Our fortress can withstand every assault—it can not be stormed nor taken from us by siege—it can only fall when we ourselves open the doors to the enemy and take him into our ranks as a fellow comrade. Growing out of the class struggle, our party rests upon the class struggle as a condition of its existence. Through and with that struggle the party is unconquerable; without it the party is lost, for it will have lost the source of its strength. Whoever fails to understand this or thinks that the class struggle is a dead issue, or that class antagonisms are gradually being effaced, stands upon the basis of bourgeois philosophy."

William Liebknecht, father of Karl Liebknecht. Liebknecht wrote the above, when he clearly perceived that there was a constant danger of the German Social Democratic Party of renouncing the class struggle and endeavoring to conciliate with the bourgeoisie in order to obtain votes. In the same way that Liebknecht was accused of splitting the party, the Left Wing are being accused today. No comrade, who has studied the tactics and the program of the Socialist Party, can deny that there is a need for a reorganization of the party upon a sounder basis and a resort to tactics that will make it a rightful member of the Third International.

The present "leaders" of the Socialist Party, by their actions plainly show that they do NOT understand the class struggle. The mere fact that men like Berger advocate the buying out of the capitalist class, proves that they do not understand the Socialist position. We have comrades in New York elected to office and when in office they endeavor to retain office, by dragging the principles of Socialism down into the dust and mire of sordid capitalist politics. Men like Lee, a New York Alderman, who voted for an arch to be erected to commemorate the victory of the American troops over the Bolsheviks. Could a Socialist sink to lower depths? We have also Socialists in Chicago, elected to office and then they vote for resolutions contrary to the aims and principles of the party. The reason why they do this, is not because they in themselves are bad fellows, it is because they seem to understand that the present political state can be captured and utilized for the work of bringing about a new social order. The only part we can play in regard to the political state, is to wrest it from the hands of the ruling class and in its stead erect the Soviet form of government. As Gabriel Deville points out, in his preface to the "People's Marx;"—

"Material interests have always been the inciting motives of the incessant struggles of the privileged classes, either with each other, or against the inferior classes at whose expense they live. Man is dominated by the material conditions of life, and these conditions, and therefore the mode of production, have determined and will determine human customs, ethics and institutions—social, economic, political, judicial, etc.

"As soon as one part of society has monopolized the means of production, the other part, upon whom the burden of labor falls, is obliged to add to the labor-time necessary for its own support a certain surplus—time that is devoted to supporting and enriching the possessors of unpaid labor, which by means of the increasing surplus-value whose source it is, accumulates every day more and more in the hands of the proprietary class the instruments of its domination, the capitalist regime surpasses in power all the antecedent regimes founded on compulsory labor.

"But today the economic conditions begotten by this regime, inexorably tend to break the capitalist mould which can no longer contain them, and these destroying principles are the elements of the new society.

"The historic mission of the class at present exploited—the proletariat—which is being organized and disciplined by the very mechanism of capitalist production, is to complete the work of destruction begun by the development of social antagonisms. It must, first of all, definitely wrest from its class adversaries the political power—the command of the force devoted by them to preserving intact their economic monopolies and privileges.

"Once in control of the political power it will be able, by proceeding to the socialization of the means of production through the expropriation of the usurpers of the fruits of others' toil, to suppress the present contradiction between collective production and private capitalist appropriation, and to realize the universalization of labor and the abolition of classes."

The above does not imply that by voting we will capture the political state. Only a man, unaware of the ways of modern capitalism, would seriously believe for one moment that the capitalist class are going to give up the control of the armed forces of the State, by simply voting them out. We shall have to resort to more forcible means. What our means will be, will depend upon the prevailing conditions of the times. If the capitalist class are endowed with a remarkable foresight and a supernatural sense of justice towards the workers, then the transition from capitalism into socialism will be a peaceful one. That is, if the capitalists, who are responsible for Ludlow, Mesaba, Butte, Bayonne and other places, that mark the workers' dead, should feel that after all they are not overdoing things by giving up industry to the workers. But we are afraid that the class that shoots us down in strikes will be far more violent, in the day when we deliver our demand for the whole works. Consequently we of the Socialist Party must be prepared for that day. We must be prepared to use every method that the conditions may deem necessary. What those methods might be, is our business to learn.

The bringing about of the social revolution must be the work of the Socialist Party. In the Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels wrote in 1847, "The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air." Again in drawing up the principles of the First International, Marx stated, "The emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers themselves." It can be readily seen that a socialist party, that is dominated by the middle-class and whose programs are the product of middle-class

CALL FOR A CONFERENCE OF THE LEFT WING OF THE STATE OF MINNESOTA

(Issued by the Left Wing Group of the Twin Cities.)

May 15, 1919.

Dear Comrades:—

"The international situation and the crisis in the American Socialist Party; the sabotage the party bureaucracy has practised on the emergency national convention; the N. E. C. aligning our party with the social-patriots at Berne, with the Congress of the Great Betrayal; the necessity of reconstructing our policy in accord with revolutionary events,—all this and more, makes it necessary that the revolutionary forces in the Socialist Party get together for counsel and action."

Thus begins the call for a National Conference of the Left Wing issued by Locals Boston, Cleveland and New York, for June 21; and thus we may well begin our call for a Conference of the Left Wing of the State of Minnesota, to be held SUNDAY MORNING, JUNE 8, 10:00 A. M., AT COMMONWEALTH HALL, 1217 Hennepin Ave., 2d Fl., Minneapolis, Minn.

TO GIVE EXPRESSION TO AND TO SOLIDIFY THE LEFT WING OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF MINNESOTA; and TO ACT UPON SENDING DELEGATES TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO REPRESENT THE STATE OF MINNESOTA.

This call is issued to locals of the Socialist Party of Minnesota, or Left Wing groups within them. The test of admission, provisionally, will be the acceptance of the Manifesto of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party.

Left Wing locals are invited to send delegates officially. Very promptly special meetings should be called to elect these delegates in time, if necessary. Where a local officially refuses to participate, minority group within it accepting the principles of the Left Wing should send their delegate.

Representation—at least one delegate from each local or group, and more according to decision of the locals and groups themselves; the larger the representation, the better.

Left Wing Locals and Groups, act! Send advance notices of your action and your delegates to the undersigned at 1217 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn., promptly. The future of the Socialist Party and of the revolutionary movement in America depends upon you, upon us.

Yours for Immediate Action,
Alfred Tiala, Sec'y,
Left Wing Group of the Twin Cities.

minds, cannot represent the revolutionary workingclass. The comrades who form what is known as the Left Wing feel that the party should express the aims and ideas of the revolutionary proletariat.

We therefore appeal to all locals to send a delegate to the Conference of the Left Wing, to be held in Minneapolis on June 8th. We have not injected into this editorial our own ideas as to what constitutes the best methods of bringing about the social revolution. We are content to let the matter be thoroughly discussed at the convention. In the meantime, see that your local sends at least one delegate.

JACK CARNEY.

MANIFESTO OF THE LEFT WING.

Foreword.—We beg to draw the attention of our readers to an extract from the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing. On Sunday, June 8th, there will be a convention held, composed of the locals and minority groups of locals who are in favor of the Left Wing. We trust that every local will be represented at that convention. The Left Wing is not aiming to split the party into two factions, as is stated by the Right Wing. What the Left Wing desires to do, is to place the party on a sound basis. While the workers of Europe are preparing for the revolution, we of the Socialist Party are conducting "Bryan" campaigns. Let us be real men and women and take our place in the Third International. To do that we must adopt the tactics and principles of the Third International. Ed. Truth.

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 from 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.

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 soldiers and sailors find themselves a drug upon the labor market, unless they act as scabs and strike-breakers. Skilled mechanics, fighting desperately to maintain their war-wage and their industrial status, are forced to strike. Women, who 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 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, 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 legislatures? Shall it emphasize the consumers' point of view, when Socialist principles teach that

the worker is robbed at the point of production? Shall it talk about the 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. Strikes are developing which verge on revolutionary action; the trade unions are organizing a Labor Party, in an effort to conserve what they have won and wrest new concessions from the master class. The organization of the Labor Party is an immature expression of a new spirit in the Labor movement; but a Labor Party is not the instrument for the emancipation of the working class; its policy would be in general what is now the official policy of the Social Party—reforming Capitalism on the basis of the bourgeois state. Laborism is as much a danger to the revolutionary proletariat as "moderate" Socialism; neither is an instrument for the conquest of power.

CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM

Imperialism is the final stage of Capitalism, in which the accumulated capital or surplus of a nation is too great to be reinvested in the home markets. The increased productivity of the working class, due to improved machinery and efficiency methods, and the mere subsistence wage which permits the worker to buy back only a small portion of what he produces, causes an ever increasing accumulation of commodities, which in turn become 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 capitalist industry and finance in turn become highly developed. They, too, seek for markets. National capitalist control, 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 United States no longer holds itself aloof, isolated and provincial. It is reaching out for new markets, new zones of influence, new protectorates.

The capitalist class of America is using organized labor for its imperialistic purposes. We may soon expect the capitalist class, in true Bismarckian fashion to grant factory laws, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, sick benefits, and the whole litter of bourgeois reforms, so that the workers may be kept 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 the American imperialists.

On the basis of the class struggle, then, the Socialist Party of America must re-organize 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 all the workers to organize into industrial unions, the only form of labor organization which can cope with the power of great modern ag-

tions of capital. It must carry on its political campaigns, not merely as a means of electing officials to political office, as in the past, but as a year-round 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.

POLITICAL ACTION.

We assert with Marx that "the class struggle is essentially a political struggle," and 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 governmental control, is essentially a struggle for the capture and destruction of the capitalist 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 "political" in the sense that it aims to undermine the bourgeois 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."

It is the task of a revolutionary Socialist party to direct the struggles of the proletariat and provide a program for the culminating crisis. Its propaganda must be so directed that when this crisis comes, the workers will be prepared to accept a program of the following character:

(a) The organization of Workmen's Councils; recognition of, and propaganda for, these mass organizations in the immediate struggle as the form of expression of the class struggle, and as the instruments for the seizure of the power of the state and the basis of the new proletarian state of the organized producers and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(b) Workmen's control of industry, to be exercised by the industrial organization (industrial unions or Soviets) of the workers and the industrial vote, as against government ownership or state control of industry.

(c) Repudiation of all national debts—with provisions to safeguard small investors.

(d) Expropriation of the bank—preliminary measure for the complete expropriation of capital.

(e) Expropriation of the railways, and the large (trust) organizations of capital—no compensation to be paid, as "buying-out" the capitalists would insure a continuance of the exploitation of the workers; provision, however, to be made during the transition period for the protection of small owners of stock.

(f) The nationalization of foreign trade.

These are not the "immediate demands" comprised in the social reform plank now in the platform of our party; they are not a compromise with the capitalist state, but imply a revolutionary struggle against that state and against capitalism, the conquest of power by the proletariat through revolutionary mass action. They imply the new Soviet state of the organized producers, the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are preliminary revolutionary measures for the expropriation of capital and the introduction of communist Socialism.

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 teach, 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 organizations 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 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 it into newer 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.

8. We demand that the National Executive Committee call an immediate emergency national convention for the purpose of formulating party policies and tactics to meet the present crisis.

9. We demand that the Socialist Party repudiate the Berne Congress or any other conference engineered by "moderate Socialists" and social patriots.

10. We demand that the Socialist Party shall elect delegates to the International Congress proposed by the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik); that our party shall participate only in a new international with which are affiliated the Communist Party of Russia (Bolshevik), the Communist Labor Party of Germany (Spartacists), and all other Left Wing parties and groups.

MAY-DAY GREETINGS

May Day greetings to the readers of "The Truth" of Duluth, and to all our fellow workers in the United States. Many of us here in Britain are conscious of the great fact that we are now actually in the period of the Social Revolution, not Russia, Hungary, and Germany alone but also in Britain has the time come for the great change. I have for more than thirty years been advocating the necessity for the great change from production for the profit of a master class to production for the use of the whole people.

Fate confronted Russia with the great task of grappling with the whole Social, Political and Economic conditions, and magnificently have the Russians faced the situation, handicapped with the active forces of many countries from the outside and in, and inside by all the remnants of reaction, and by the Labor men of other countries whose outlook is that of the bourgeois, and withall they have held the field.

I count it my chief duty to be identified with the overthrow of the dominant class in this country, and that implies—I desire to see the Socialist Commonwealth made truly International. I hope the enlightened workers of the United States will speedily bring to a finish the reign of Capitalism and usher in the time when the workers will entirely control their own Social and Industrial destiny.

TOM MANN.

HAIL TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

The revolutionary aspirations of May Day are magnificently expressed in this appeal of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and Clara Zetkin, issued December 25, 1918.

Proletarians! Men and Women of Labor! Comrades!

The revolution in Germany has come! The masses of the soldiers who for four years were driven to slaughter for the sake of capitalist profits; the masses of workers, who for four years were exploited, crushed, and starved, have revolted. Prussian militarism, that fearful tool of oppression, that scourge of humanity—has broken on the ground. Its most noticeable representatives, and therewith the most noticeable of those guilty of this war, the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, have fled from the country. Workers' and Soldiers' Councils have been formed everywhere.

Workers of all countries, we do not say that in Germany all power actually lies in the hands of the working people, that the complete triumph of the proletarian revolution has already been attained. There still sit in the government all those Socialists who in August, 1914, abandoned our most precious possession, the International, who for four years betrayed the German working class and the International.

But, workers of all countries, now the German proletarian himself speaks to you. We believe we have the right to appear before your forum in his name. From the first day of this war we endeavored to do our international duty by fighting that criminal government with all our power and branding it as the one really guilty of the war.

Now at this moment we are justified before history before the International and before the German proletarian. The masses agree with us enthusiastically, constantly widening circles of the proletarian share the conviction that the hour has struck for a settlement with capitalist class rule.

But this great task cannot be accomplished by the German proletarian alone; it can only fight and triumph by appealing to the solidarity of the proletarians of the whole world.

Comrades of the belligerent countries, we are aware of your situation. We know full well that your governments now that they have won the victory, are dazzling the eyes of many strata of the people with the external brilliancy of their triumph. We know that they thus succeed through the success of the murdering in making its causes and aims forgotten.

But we also know that in your countries the proletariat made the most fearful sacrifices of flesh and blood, that it is weary of the dreadful butchery, that the proletarian is now returning to his home, and is finding want and misery there, while fortunes amounting to billions are heaped up in the hands of a few capitalists. He has recognized, and will continue to recognize, that your governments, too, have carried on the war for the sake of the big money bags. And he will further perceive that your governments, when they spoke of "justice and civilization" and of the "protection of small nations," meant capitalist profits as surely as did ours when it talked about the "defence of home," and the peace of "justice" and of the "League of Nations" are but a part of the same base brigandage that produced the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Here as well as there the same shameless lust for booty, the same desire for oppression, the same determination to exploit to the limit the brutal preponderance of murderous steel.

The Imperialism of all countries knows no "understanding," it knows only one right—capital's profits; it knows only one method—violence. And if it is now talking in all countries, in yours as well as ours, about the "League of Nations," "disarmament," "rights of small nations," "self-determination of the peoples," it is merely using the customary lying phrases of the rulers for the purpose of lulling to sleep the watchfulness of the proletarian.

Proletarians of all countries! This must be the last war! We owe that to the twelve million murdered victims, we owe that to our children, we owe that to humanity.

Europe has been ruined by this damnable slaughter. Twelve million

bodies cover the gruesome scenes of this imperialistic crime. The flower of youth and the best man power of the peoples have been mowed down. Uncounted productive forces have been annihilated. Humanity is almost ready to bleed to death from the unexampled blood-letting of history. Victors and vanquished stand at the edge of the abyss. Humanity is threatened with famine, a stoppage of the entire mechanism of production, plagues, and degeneration.

The great criminals of this fearful anarchy, of this unchained chaos—the ruling classes—are not able to control their own creation. The beast of capital that conjured up the hell of the world war is incapable of banishing it, of restoring real order, of insuring bread and work, peace and civilization, justice and liberty, to tortured humanity.

What is being prepared by the ruling classes as peace and justice is only a new work of brutal force from which the hydra of oppression, hatred and fresh, bloody wars raises its thousand heads.

Socialism alone is in a position to complete the great work of permanent peace, to heal the thousand wounds from which humanity is bleeding, to transform the pains of Europe, trampled down by the passage of the apocryphal horseman of war, into blossoming gardens, to conjure up ten productive forces for every one destroyed, to awaken all the physical and moral energies of humanity, and to replace hatred and dissension with internal solidarity, harmony, and respect for every human being.

If representatives of the proletarians of all countries could but clasp hands under the banner of Socialism for the purpose of making peace, then peace would be concluded in a few hours. Then there will be no disputed questions about the left bank of the Rhine, Mesopotamia, Egypt or colonies. Then there will be no disputed questions about human beings of all races and tongues. Then there will be only one right the equality of all men. Then there will be only one aim, prosperity and progress for everybody.

Humanity is facing the alternative: Dissolution and downfall in capitalist anarchy, or regeneration through the social revolution. The hour of fate has struck. If you believe in Socialism, it is now time to show it by deeds. If you are Socialists, now is the time to act.

Proletarians of all countries, if we now summon you for a common struggle it is not done for the sake of the German capitalists who, under the label of "German nation" are trying to escape the consequences of their own crimes; it is being done for your sake as well as for ours. Remember that your victorious capitalists stand ready to suppress in blood our revolution, which they fear as they do their own. You yourselves have not become any freer through the "victory," you have only become still more enslaved. If your ruling classes succeed in throttling the proletarian revolution in Germany, and in Russia, then they will turn against you with redoubled violence. Your capitalists hope that victory over us and over revolutionary Russia will give them the power to scourge you with a whip of scorpions.

Therefore the proletariat of Germany looks toward you in this hour. Germany is pregnant with the social revolution, but Socialism can only be realized by the proletariat of the world.

And therefore, we call to you; "Arise for the struggle! Arise for action! The time for empty manifestos, platonic resolutions, and high-sounding words is gone! The hour of action has struck for the International!" We ask you to elect Workers' and Soldiers' Councils everywhere that will seize political power, and, together with us, will restore peace.

Not Lloyd George and Poincaré, nor Sonnino, Wilson, and Erzberger or Scheidemann, must be allowed to make peace. Peace must be concluded under the waving banner of the Socialist world revolution.

Proletarians of all countries! We call upon you to complete the work of Socialist liberation, to give a human aspect to the disfigured world and to make true those words with which we sang as we parted: "And the Internationale shall be the human race!"

Lenine at the Peace Table

By WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE.

Editor of the Emporia (Kansas) "Gazette," Appointed by President Wilson to the Frinkipo Conference.

(Cable Dispatch to the New York World).

PARIS, March 29.—In the week's gloom which is enveloping the Peace Conference it is continually more obvious that Moscow, not Berlin, has focussed the attention of the leaders. Lenine has displaced Wilson as director of the Conference. The fear of revolution wiping out the score of Allied victory is acute. The ribald threat of the winter is becoming the real menace of spring. Leadership in England and America is seriously considering terms upon which proposals of peace may be made to Lenine.

And power in the French Assembly is veering slowly away from the present Government to the Socialists, who expect to control France when the people generally know that Germany can pay only \$3,000,000,000 or \$4,000,000,000 annually instead of the large cash war indemnity of over \$200,000,000,000 needed by the Allies to pay for the war.

GERMANY EXPECTS TO REFUSE.

If French Socialists control, France will insist upon Bolshevik recognition. The French Government is postponing its fiscal policy until Germany signs or refuses to sign the peace terms, and the betting is two to one among Americans that Germany will refuse. French Government leaders say frankly that they will go under if Germany does refuse, and Germany's refusal means that Lenine may sit actually at the peace table in the flesh, a strong force than Wilson.

The United States has tried to save Germany from Lenine by sending food. But food failed to arrive in Hungary in time and Hungary joined the Bolsheviks. And Austria and Germany are unquestionably alarmingly hungry, and American strikes seem to be keeping back food. Allied financial experts are \$15,000,000,000 apart on the estimated figures of Germany's ability to pay, and their disagreement is holding back peace. One set of experts claims that Germany can pay \$30,000,000,000 of the \$200,000,000,000 war costs, while the other contends that \$15,000,000,000 is the maximum.

ALLIES FEAR REPARATION TALK.

It is not the League of Nations that is holding back peace, but fear among the Allies to make public the small reparation Germany will be asked to pay. Now it is estimated that Germany will not hear her terms before May first, yet the very uncertainty of the prospect is disorganizing business, making for unemployment, high prices of food and discontent among the working people, all of which is grist for Lenine's mill.

Undoubtedly he has stopped terror, organized his industries upon a starvation basis, put spirit into his army, which is scoring new victories every week, and is making his Communist Government function, and now is seeking to enter the family of nations upon the best terms possible.

Bolshevik success in Roumania or Spain, both of which are in a ferment, or the revolt of Germany after hearing the peace terms, would give to Lenine tremendous prestige. His cars are these:

If the German peace terms are too low, France will join his forces; if too high, Germany will join him and France will follow Germany's refusal to accept. These things the leaders of the Peace Conference actually realize. Hence the gloom, also hence the desire to speed up and the fear to come to finalities, and over it all the spirit of Lenine, a sinister ghost at the table dictating amendments to the League of Nations to suit the American Senate. In fact these are the great days in Paris of Lenine and Lodge, the two unwelcome guests at the feast.

Below is a Reprint of a Circular Distributed Among British Soldiers in Russia by the Russian Soviet Government at Moscow. It will be of interest to American Workers.

Quit Fighting, British Soldiers, and Join Your Russian Comrades!

English Prisoner from Archangel Front Writes to His Brother Scots

"Is it right for working people of one country to kill working people of another?"

The Allied troops, invading Russia, have so often been told that if they are taken prisoner they will be tortured and killed by the Bolsheviks, that it is interesting to see what in fact happens when an English soldier falls into the hands of the Russian workmen's and peasants' army. Here is the letter of a private of the Royal Scots taken prisoner last month near Archangel.

TO THE MEN OF THE ROYAL SCOTS

Koutlas, Monday, Oct. 14, 1918.

"I wonder if you all knew the kind of men you are fighting. I do. You are fighting an army of workingmen, and there are no officers amongst them. Everybody is the same. They ask, why do we fight them? Well, we have come to fight them, and another thing that that is more than I can say; in fact, I don't know why counts is, they don't want to fight us. They are not fighting their own class, the working class, but the capitalists of Russia and all countries. Since I have been a prisoner I have been treated as one of themselves, and given me plenty to eat and drink. I have also one of our men that lies in the hospital wounded. He tells me that he has been well treated and looked after as a friend, a working man, and not a soldier.

"Now I ask you this question: is it right, that the working class of one country should come and fight the working class of another country? We are not at war with Russia, and the Russians are not at war with us, but with the capitalists of all the countries, the people whom we work for and keep in plenty, while we, the working class, merely exist. If the working class knew why they are fighting and for who they would refuse to fight any longer. Think things over and ask yourselves, is it worth while killing each other to please other people, who care not what happens, as long as their pockets are being filled at our expense. From what I have seen the Russians are a good people and they are fighting for a good cause, a cause that every country in the world should follow.

"PRIVATE LAPHAM, 10th ROYAL SCOTS."

SIX-HOUR DAY BOURGEOISE OR PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP---WHICH?

To the Workers of North America

The war in Europe has apparently ended—let it rest in peace! But the war's problems stand out more glaringly than ever before. Four and a half years of destruction of human life, of Labor's products, munitions, clothes, food, etc., on a most gigantic scale. Four and a half years WAR; millions of workers engaged in destroying on the field of battle; millions engaged in producing purely means of destruction, munitions, guns and war equipment generally; while comparatively few were actually engaged in useful toil, in work which meant food, clothing and shelter for humankind. Yet these latter who produced the things actually necessary to life—what did they do? What did they not do?

1. They produced in some cases a higher standard of living for themselves.

2. They produced all the food, clothing and shelter necessary to maintain in a most efficient working order the vast army of munition workers.

3. They produced all the food, clothing, etc., necessary for the upkeep, of the boys in the trenches, etc., boys who, in contradistinction to their former mode of living, were fed regularly and clothed properly.

4. In addition to the foregoing, they maintained in luxury and idleness a vast parasite class. Politicians, pulpsters and publicists, retainers of the present master class, grew up during the war period in rich profusion. They were all fed, clothed and sheltered through the efforts of those useful workers already mentioned.

Again, those useful workers were so productive that from their efforts arose a new group of millionaires—the war profiteers—the Flavelles, DuPonts, etc. etc.

And having thus demonstrated beyond cavil the ability of a small section of the workers to maintain human society in decent food, decent clothes and adequate shelter, what do we find at the present day with the din of battle hardly subsided?

A falling market! Growing unemployment! Men and women being thrown out of work in wholesale fashion—ten millions unemployed, according to the press, already in the United States of America.

Not only so, but the vast army of war-workers, the war market having suddenly disappeared, are trying to find a place in the industries of peace. This aggravates the already existing menace of unemployment in those industries.

What are YOU going to do about it? And while the army of unemployed grows by leaps and bounds men returning from overseas by thousands, look in vain for the promises made to them before they went, being kept. They must be re-fitted into the industrial life whence they were taken. This is their immediate need. It is our immediate problem.

The market is entering upon a slump, orders are falling off and industries are closing down. Shall these returning boys, who were workers before they went overseas, along with many of us who worked day after day producing munitions and other war material, be dumped on the industrial scrap heap? We say NO. We are sure they will say no!

As a measure of relief during this crucial period, we urge the introduction, as soon as possible, of a six-hour working day, and a five day week.

This question of acute unemployment is demanding great attention in Britain, and there we observe a great agitation in favor of the temporary remedy herein proposed.

If we can produce so prodigiously for purposes of destruction, can we not arrange our working day so as to provide work for the greatest possible number. And until we know enough to be able to arrange industrial affairs so as to produce the greatest good for the greatest number, what alternative is there which will temporarily solve the pressing problem of unemployment? If but a few workers comparatively could maintain us all during wartime, can not the whole working class maintain us all, to a better degree, during times of peace?

READ! THINK! ACT!

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

219 Labor Temple, Vancouver, B. C.

The dark forces of Capitalism always avail themselves of the opportunity, at any favorable moment, to raise a howl about the "horrors" of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia. To Russia is now added the Soviet Republics of Hungary, and Bavaria. Every opportunity and every means are used to spread condemnation and calumny. In the press the churches, clubs, theaters, parliaments and courts, the bourgeoisie and the agents of the bourgeoisie hypocritically express their "indignation" at the fact that, the proletariat of Russia, Hungary and Bavaria having become the ruling class, it deals blow after blow mercilessly at the class of the exploiters: Look—say these impudent lackeys of Capitalism—the Soviet Government rejects "freedom" of the press, "freedom" of assembly; it deprives the people of the right to the franchise; it prosecutes and even throws into prison those who until now were considered the "elite" of society.

To be sure; the proletariat of Russia, Hungary and Bavaria, having become the ruling class, builds its policy in accordance with its class interests. Fearlessly, it introduces measures which are dictated by the interests of the proletariat and the poor (proletarian) peasantry. Needless to say, all the measures of the Soviet Government in Russia, Hungary and Bavaria are directed toward one object—to raise the oppressed class economically, politically and socially, and crush the oppressors; to end the division of society into classes. If the accomplishment of this requires the application of forcible measures against the bourgeoisie, these measures are determined by the logic of the class struggle, by the dominant majority of the proletariat and proletarian peasantry.

But has the bourgeoisie the right to attack the proletarian dictatorship when it itself everywhere has established an iron dictatorship of the bourgeois class?

When a delegation of Norwegian journalists interviewed Lenin, in March, and asked him concerning the suppression of "freedom" in Soviet Russia, Lenin advised them to go to Siberia and compare the bourgeois dictatorship there with the dictatorship of the Socialist proletariat.

We know already how Admiral Kolchak, that hireling of the Russian and Allied bourgeoisie, deals not only with the Bolsheviks but with his own former supporters—the social-patriots. Kolchak suppresses them both, thoroughly, brutally.

The Kolchak dictatorship—which the Peace Conference in Paris apparently wishes to recognize—is an eloquent example of bourgeois dictatorship in all countries. If there is any difference between the Kolchak dictatorship in Siberia and the bourgeoisie now in power in Italy, France, India and Egypt, in any capitalistic country, the difference is purely formal. And always the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is the dictatorship of the privileged minority against the vast majority of the people, the toiling masses.

Let us take as an example the coterie of Allied diplomats now sitting in Conference on Peace in Paris. Do they realize, in fact, the dictatorship of the imperialistic bourgeoisie of the Allies, a dictatorship directed against not alone the proletariat, but against the whole peoples (Russia, German, Hungarians)?

When a clique of British imperialists applies violent measures to crush the Hindus, Egyptians and other oppressed peoples, is not this a dictatorship of an insignificant minority over an overwhelming majority?

The bourgeoisie, with the aid of the press, parliaments, courts and prisons, in a most cynical and brutal manner crushes down the least move of the working class to better its conditions. Martial law and "states of siege" are not an exception but the rule in bourgeois society. The so-called "freedom" of the press in bourgeois society is an obvious mockery of real freedom of the press. Consider our own American press. The proprietors of our "big" newspapers are large capitalists and financiers, possessing excellently equipped printing plants, their own factories where paper is manufactured for them, and their own large capital. The whole of the

"influential" press is in the hands of imperialistic bourgeoisie, the big capitalists. Where does even the most elementary freedom of the press come in when the organs of information and publicity are under the vigilant eye and the rigid control of the large capitalists? As Lenin phrases it, "the so-called freedom of the press under the bourgeois is to deceive the people."

Against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, defending the interests of all the toiling masses of the people, has the full right to introduce its own concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only is this its right, it is its duty. The hysterical cries of "indignation" on the part of representatives of bourgeois society against the ideas and the practice of proletarian dictatorship are merely the impertinent hypocrisy and fraud of deceivers and oppressors, who for centuries have plundered the people. There is no sense in arguing with them or "moralizing" with them. There is one answer to them—proletarian dictatorship itself.—Revolutionary Age.

Peasants' Convention

Comrades: The composition of this convention in itself indicates, in my opinion, the considerable change and the big step forward that has been made by us, the Soviet Republic, in the field of Socialist reconstruction; and particularly in adjusting our agricultural relations, the most important for our country. In this convention are united representatives from the Land Committees, from the Committees of the Poor Peasants, and from the agricultural communes; and this unity shows that during a brief period—just a year—our Revolution has gone far in reconstructing those relations which are the hardest to change, which in previous revolutions were the most difficult obstacles to Socialism, and which require fundamental reconstruction in order to insure the victory of Socialism.

The first period, the first link in the development of our Revolution was characterized mainly by the victory over the pomeshchiks (land-owning nobility).

All of you comrades know very well that the March (1917) Revolution—the Revolution of the bourgeoisie and the compromisers—promised this victory over the landowners, but did not fulfill the promise. Only the November Revolution and the victory of the proletariat in the cities, only the power of the Soviets made it possible in reality to clean up all Russia from end to end of the disease of serfdom, to deliver the peasantry from the old feudal exploitation, from feudal land-ownership, and generally from the yoke of the pomeshchiks.

In this struggle against the landowners, the peasants rose in mass. They couldn't do otherwise. In this struggle were united all the poor peasants, those who did not live by hiring and exploiting other men. In this struggle, also, were united the most prosperous and richest of the peasantry, who cannot exist without hired labor.

While our Revolution had this task on its hands, while it had to use all the efforts of the united poor peasantry and the city proletariat in order to annihilate the power of the landowners, the Revolution had to remain a peasant's, an agrarian revolution, and couldn't break through its bourgeois limits.

The Revolution as yet didn't touch the more powerful and more modern enemy of the toilers—Capital. There was danger that it would end half way, as did the revolutions of western Europe, where the united efforts of the peasantry and the proletariat destroyed the monarchies, and more or less completely annihilated the remnants of feudalism and feudal land-ownership, but where the fundamentals of the power of Capitalism were not affected.

And this much more important and most difficult task we started to accomplish at the end of the summer of 1918 and in the fall, by means of our Revolution. The counter-revolutionary movement, which began in the summer of 1917, became very strong. The invading armies of the imperialists of western Europe were reinforced by the hiring Czech-Slovakia and by all the forces of exploitation and oppression still existent in Russia. This counter-revolutionary movement developed new currents and a new life in the rural districts.

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TRUTH,

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BOLSHEVISM IN IRELAND

The British Government decided to place the city of Limerick under martial law. The workers resented this and came out on strike. Then the military authorities announced that no one person could go to work without a permit. That was agreed to by the workers. But they tore up the permits of the British Government and issued their own.

Today Limerick is in the hands of the workingclass. All newspapers published are published by PERMISSION of the Irish workers. The press tells stories of starvation. It is not so. Food is cheaper today, under workers' control, than it ever was. The Strike Committee fixes prices and then pickets go around and see that all merchants adhere to those prices. If any merchant increases his prices, his shop is closed up and pickets placed around it. Arrangements have been made to call a general strike if necessary. The British Government, the godfather of the suffering Belgians, has replied by placing 10,000 troops, also a goodly supply of machine guns, tanks (both kinds human or otherwise), and the peaceful weapons of imperialism.

To ask the Irish workers to waste their time on Home Rule these days, is like asking Bill Haywood to advocate the nationalization of soda-fountains. The Irish workers realize that the political success of Sinn Feinism amounts to nothing, if it lacks the economic power of the workers. Ireland has rejected Sinn Feinism and adopted what is known as Larkism, industrial organization. The only form of government that will bring the Irish workers any relief is the Soviet form of government. The Green Flag and the Orange Flag must give way to the Red Flag of the Soviet Republic. Only by the workers of Ireland coming together, like they are doing in Limerick and other parts of Ireland, will the Irish ever obtain their freedom.

As Marx points out, the aristocracy of England gains its support from the land that it owns in Ireland. Once the Irish workers wrest control of the land etc., from the hands of the English aristocracy, that moment spells the death-knell of the British Empire. Short-sighted "internationalists" have characterized the Irish workers as nationalists, using the term in the orthodox sense. The Irish workers realize above all things they have interests in common with the rest of the Workers of the World. It is only by the workers of each individual country organizing within the confines of the nation they live in and joining up in the Third International that liberty can be achieved. True it is that we are all internationalists, but at the same time pious resolutions do not count for anything. It is action that we require. The mere fact you know all about the Russian revolution is not sufficient to guarantee that you are doing YOUR share in this country. The Left Wing must realize that unless its program and resolutions are backed up by the might of the workers, that they are but a waste of time. The Irish workers have been in the same position as the Left Wing is today. They have passed resolution after resolution and found themselves in the same position they were when they started. But when they went down on the job and organized the workers they then found that they were achieving results. You can argue as much as you like in a study class and you may never convince the worker, but bring him down on the job. Confront him with the facts of life and he is bound to agree with you. That was the method of propaganda adopted by Jim Larkin. Today Ireland reaps the fruits of the work that Jim Larkin performed years ago. The Irish workers in Limerick have done a great service to the cause of international socialism by making the strike a political weapon. The I. W. W. in this country must follow the example of the Limerick and use the strike as a political weapon. The I. W. W. possess greater power than any other organization in the country, due to the fact that it is more scientifically organized and also due to the fact that its officers are class-conscious and fully understand the class struggle.

The Limerick strike in Ireland is the beginning of the end. It promises the workers of the world a glorious future. We must follow the example of Limerick and every time that any Government issues an order that is aimed at labor, that order must be either revoked or nullified by the power of labor. The North went to war with the South and shed many lives in order to abolish negro slavery. How much more must Labor be prepared to fight for its rights? The Civil War was the war that decided the future of the negro. The Class War decides the future of labor. The Irish in Limerick struck and rendered the British Government helpless. What can you do American workers? Remember Mooney, Debs, Haywood and 2,000 class war prisoners are still in prison.

IS LABOR A COMMODITY?

The secretary of the Duluth Trades' Assembly in a letter to a local cockroach business man, stated that "labor was not a commodity." Of course legally labor is NOT a commodity. Legally we are all equal. Legally there is such a thing as justice. Legally the poor man has an equal chance with the rich man. But as a matter of fact none of the foregoing statements are true, in their application to our everyday life. Equality, justice, etc., are merely legal phrases. Ask Tom Mooney, Debs, Haywood is there such a thing as justice? Ask the woman on the street is there such a thing as equality? Same is true of labor. Labor is a commodity and all the legal verbiage and the "bunk" of politicians will not alter the fact. So long as we live under capitalism, so long will labor be a commodity.

The power of the strong right arm of all workers, is

bought and sold in the open market like pigs, mules, bibles, chewing gum and other commodities. The manufacturer in order to find out the cost of the various commodities considers the amount of labor embodied in their production. In other words, the socially necessary labor power embodied in a commodity determines its value. The cost of mining and smelting determines the price of copper. The same is true of labor. The food, clothing, shelter, etc., that it takes to keep a worker in order that he may be physically fit to do more work is what he receives for his labor-power, i. e., his wages. In China the workers receive about 25 cents per day. For the simple reason that they can live on twenty-five cents per day. In America the average wage is \$3.50 per day. That is the amount that is required to keep a worker alive. If the cost of living was lowered, wages would come down correspondingly. Where you find the cost of living low there you will find wages low. In Butte printers receive higher wages than they do in Duluth. But the cost of living is higher in Butte than it is in Duluth.

Labor will always be a commodity so long as labor is bought and sold. The only time when labor will not be a commodity, will be when the workers organize and control industry, in other words control their own labor power.

MEXICAN SITUATION

The Mexican situation looms upon the horizon once more. It is said that a cat has nine lives, but the feline tribe has nothing on old man Vanilla. According to the press he is on the war track once more and therefore, we of the United States must step in and restore law and order. Being the avowed champions of democracy, it becomes our bounden duty to place Mexico within the category of nations made "safe for democracy." We have made the world safe for democracy, therefore, with the hundreds of thousands of soldiers returning home, and there being no work for them to do, it is quite a simple matter to make Mexico safe for democracy also.

Placing all joking on one side, the Mexican problem is but the effect of a cause, Imperialism. The rapid development of capitalism makes its increasingly necessary that foreign markets be found for the surplus products left over from the home market. It does not matter how these foreign markets are obtained, they must be obtained. We either go to war and by the power of armies and navies capture the foreign markets or we politically control the country. In Mexico there are millions of American capital invested. Carranza desires to see the wealth created by the Mexicans kept within the confines of Mexico and not taken control of by foreign investors. When Carranza decided to place heavy taxes upon the oil-wells owned by American capitalists, the American State Department immediately wrote to Carranza and informed him that in the event of the taxes being levied, they would feel compelled to stand by the interests of the American capitalists. In other words, if Carranza insists on introducing democracy into Mexico and persists in ignoring the interests of the American capitalists, then we will have to force him to come to reason, that is we will go to war with Mexico, you will understand that they are just certain raisers for the human drama about to take place, that of strangling another small republic and making it as "free" as Ould Ireland.

Resolutions of protest against American intervention in Mexico will have no effect. The only way to assist the Mexican workers and save them from shedding their blood in a "defensive" war for the preservation of the rights of the Mexican capitalists, is to, organize industrially and say to the Imperialists of America, "If you want to protect your rights (?) in Mexico, go to it. We shall neither fight for you or supply you with arms." This can be done by the workers placing their hands upon the industrial machine and stopping it.

Let us organize today and stop the onward march of Imperialism. Let us refuse to shed our blood for the sake of enriching the coffers of the sordid, bloody and brutal Imperialists of the world. If we must shed our blood, then let us shed it in the cause of the Third International. Long Live the International!

LEFT WING AND THE I. W. W.

Socialists everywhere must give their support to the Left Wing. The Left Wing represents the revolutionary portion of the Socialist Party in opposition to the opportunism of the Right Wing. Therefore we must, in order to make the Socialist Party a revolutionary expression of the workingclass joins hands with the Left Wing.

Left Wingers everywhere must give their support to the I. W. W. The I. W. W. represents the revolutionary section of the workingclass in opposition to the opportunism of Compens et al. Therefore, we must in order to make workingclass organizations revolutionary join hands with the I. W. W.

The resolutions and the manifestos of the Left Wing are revolutionary expressions. But action counts for more than words. If all Left Wingers are sincere they will join in the I. W. W. and endeavor to make the I. W. W. the dominant workingclass organization throughout the country. The times demand that we must make ready to enforce our demands. No pious resolution will bring us freedom. Only POWER through organization on the job will bring us freedom. True it is that we will have to resort to mass action. But the basis of our mass action must be organization on the job. The I. W. W. represent the highest form of industrial organization and therefore merits our support.

So we trust that ALL Left Wingers will join with the I. W. W. This is not the time to indulge in hair-splitting. If you are enraptured by what has taken place in Russia, do your share here in America.

BRYAN'S BILLIOUS BUNK

Speaking in Superior, Wis., W. J. Bryan recently stated: "The Darwinian theory of evolution is rapidly losing its popularity." Only a man of the antediluvian period would make such a statement. Bryan is a consummate ass. He brays and bawls, just like an ass and does not know why he is braying and bawling. He tried to beat the trusts through legislation and failed. Now he is endeavoring to make good through the church by attacking the theory of evolution.

We beg to draw the attention of our readers to an extract from the lecture, delivered by Arthur Morrow Lewis on the Darwinian theory of natural selection:

His famous theory may be formulated under the three following heads:

- (1) Heredity.
- (2) Variation.
- (3) The struggle for existence, with its resultant, survival of the fittest.

Darwin requires very little of heredity, and what he does ask is beyond dispute. It is enough for his theory if like begets like and "figs do not grow on thistles."

Similarly with variation, the demands of his hypothesis are very slight. If it be conceded that variation is a fact,

that offspring do vary from their parents and each other, it is enough. And who will dispute this in a world where no two creatures are exactly and in all particulars alike? The apparent contradiction that, heredity demands likeness, while variation requires the difference is particular. A sheep may be born with shorter or longer legs, by variation; but it will be a sheep and not a horse, by heredity.

As an example of the working of the theory let us take Lamarck's piece de resistance, the giraffe. Lamarck's says: "We know that this animal, the tallest of mammals, inhabits the interior of Africa, and that it lives in localities where the earth, almost always arid and destitute of herbage, obliges it to browse on the foliage of trees and to make continual efforts to reach it. It has resulted from this habit, maintained for a long period in all the individuals of its race, that its forelegs have become longer than the hinder ones, and that its neck is so elongated that the giraffe, without standing on its hind legs, raises its head and reaches six meters in height (almost twenty feet)."

Lamarck thought this length of neck was acquired by "continual efforts to reach," or, as Alfred Russell Wallace puts it in his criticism of Lamarck—"stretching." Many critics ventilated their wit on this theory of Lamarck's, under the impression that they were lampooning Darwin's idea.

They made a blunder similar to that of those critics of Utopian Socialism who labor under the pleasing delusion that they are riddling the theories of Marx. Professor Ritchie has preserved a couple of stanza's by a witty Scotch judge who aimed his poem at Darwin, but hit Lamarck.

"A deer with a neck that was longer by half
Than the rest of his family, try not to laugh,
By stretching and stretching became a giraffe,
Which nobody can deny."

That four-footed beast which we now call a whale.
Held his hind-legs so close that they grew to a tail,
Which he uses for threshing the sea, like a flail,
Which nobody can deny."

But Darwin's theory is altogether independent of the "stretching" idea. The causes and origin of heredity and variation are up to this moment, alike wrapped in mystery. But when science succeeds in penetrating those secrets, it is extremely unlikely that Darwin's theory will be seriously weakened, no matter what the causes may prove to be.

Now about the giraffe. We will suppose, for the sake of illustration, two giraffes, a male and a female, whose necks are precisely five feet long. We will confine our illustration to the question of the neck alone. We will suppose this particular pair to give birth to a family of three. First comes heredity. All we ask of heredity is that the young shall be giraffes, not camels or any other species; and this heredity guarantees. Now comes variation. As this is an ideal case for the purpose of illustrating the theory, we will have one of the three shorter-necked than the parents, another the same length, while the third has a longer neck—over five feet.

Now comes the struggle for existence. When this family of giraffes is fairly grown and the new-comers are approaching breeding age—mark the importance of this matter of "breeding age," for the problem is to find out how nature determines which shall be bred from—they are obliged to forage for themselves. There is no pasture to graze; they live in what is almost a desert. There are few shrubs; scarcely anything but fairly high trees—from ten to twenty feet. If a giraffe breeder had this matter in hand and he wished to increase the length of the giraffe's neck, the problem would be simple. He would select number three with the longest neck, pair it with the longest neck member of the opposite sex in some other family and the trick would be done. But this is in Central Africa, where there is no breeder to interfere, and the question is; can nature accomplish the same result without his help?

This is what happens. First the leaves are eaten from all the lower branches as they are reached with the least effort. Then they go higher and still higher until the point is reached where number one with the shortest neck cannot reach any further and the terrible struggle for existence begins. Number two sees no danger as yet and number three has things all his own way. But with short-necked number one, a tragedy has begun. Every day now sees the food further out of his reach and even number two is obliged to reach out for his supply. The breeding time is approaching but the longer necked and therefore well-fed and vigorous females will have nothing to do with this wobbly starving creature, and the longer necked, well-fed males shun the short-necked starving females. If the starving ones mate, the mother dies before giving birth to off-spring, or she cannot get nourishment enough to rear her progeny; in either case there is no effective succession. So the longer-necked are the fittest and they survive. Thus does nature "select" one by the negative process of destroying the rest, in about the same way as a man "selects" one puppy in a litter by drowning the rest.

In the case of the puppies we may say "artificial selection;" in the case of the giraffe it is "natural selection." And this theory, simple as it may seem here, revolutionized Biology.

It is worthy of note that "natural" selection has many advantages over "artificial" selection. The breeder may be mistaken; he may select the wrong puppy and drown its superior. The horse that won the great race may have had a fleet-footed companion in the same stable had the trainer known how to develop his possibilities. The gardener may have passed the best root or stem through carelessness. But nature makes no such mistakes, or if she does she eventually redeems them. Her method, while it is wholly fortuitous and unintelligent, is in itself, a sure test of fitness. True, moral considerations are eliminated—at least in the non-social world—yet nature offers something like a fair field and no favors. When we speak of nature's favorites, we simply mean those who are best fitted to meet her hard conditions.

Take a row of celery plants, from which future seedlings are to be "selected."

In this instance, let us suppose, the quality desired is ability to resist frost. How is the gardener to know which of fifty plants are the "best" in this respect. He has no method of finding out with any degree of certainty. But nature comes along some night with a sharp frost and "selects" ten by killing forty. And the very act of this "natural" selection proves that these ten are better able to withstand the frost than their fellows.

Breeders of white sheep who supply the white wool market have a very tangible guide—they kill every lamb that shows the least tinge of black. But even here, nature is not to be out-done. In Virginia there is—or at least was in Darwin's days—a wild hog of pure black. One of its staple foods was known as the "paint-root." Any hog with the least speck of white or its body was poisoned by this root while its all-black brothers found it a health-sustaining and succulent food.

In an environment which remained constant and where a species of animals had reached a population which strained the limits of subsistence—food supply—those off-spring which most closely resemble their parents, who had won

out in that environment, would again succeed and be selected. While if the environment changed—became warmer or colder for example—those descendants which happened to vary in a direction making them better able to cope with the new conditions would be selected for survival as against those who resembled their parents, which parents had survived in their day because they were adapted to the prior environment.

For example, a country is well supplied with water and it is as a consequence fertile and "green." In such a country green insects and green reptiles will be selected, because a green background will render them almost invisible to their enemies. Individuals of other colors will make their appearance by variation, but they will be devoured before they reach breeding age and have a chance to reproduce their variation.

But suppose desiccation (drying up) sets in. The country loses its water supply, as Kropotkin has shown to have been the case in North West Mongolia and East Turkestan, leading to the enforced exodus of the barbarians. Now green will disappear and brown or yellow—say brown—takes its place. While this change will not, so far as we know cause insects and lizards to breed brown instead of green, it will ensure the survival or "selection" of such as are born brown and the destruction of those who breed true to their green ancestors. Now every atavistic return to green will be mercilessly weeded out, just as, when the country was well-watered and green, every sporadic production of brown was done to death.

This is the biological foundation of that environment philosophy which now pervades all our thinking. Change the physical environment, says the biologist, and the species will be transformed. Change the economic environment, says the Socialist, and, if you make the right change, the race will be redeemed. Both statements rest on the same fundamental laws.

As the many and highly important implications of this theory, are fully dealt with in subsequent lectures most of them will be passed here.

We may note however, that whenever any nation in the modern world, produces, in the development of its industry, a Socialist variation, that new feature at once proves its utility and is "selected" in the Darwinian sense, because it constitutes an advantage over the previous form of social organization, in that particular. This is the reason why the trust—which is socialistic and revolutionary in its essential tendencies—is always victorious, in spite of the foolish ravings of the Hearst newspapers and the antediluvian twaddle of William Jennings Bryan.

But Darwin's crowning achievement is that he made the general theory of evolution impregnable by thoroughly and conclusively demonstrating it in his own field as a naturalist. From then on it was only a question of time as to when its application would be universal.

Socialism may be defined as the application of the theory of evolution to the phenomena of society. This is precisely what Marx and Engels accomplished, and this why their work is so fundamentally opposed to the conventional theories and theological superstitious current in their time, and so fully in harmony with all the latest achievements in the scientific world. History ceases to be a meaningless mass of war and famine, bloodshed and cruelty. It becomes a panorama presenting the development of society according to laws which may be understood and with a future that may be measurably predicted.

It develops by the operation of forces that no man or class can wholly stay or hinder. The power of those forces and the direction in which they are now making has been well set forth by Victor Hugo by a very striking simile in the following passage:

"We are in Russia. The Neva is frozen. Heavy carriages roll upon its surface. They improvise a city. They lay out streets. They build houses. They buy. They sell. They laugh. They dance. They permit themselves anything. They even light fires on this water become granite. There is winter, there is ice and they shall last forever. A gleam pale and wan spreads over the sky and one would say that the sun is dead. But no, thou are not dead, of Liberty! At an hour when they have most profoundly forgotten thee; at a moment when they least expect thee, thou shalt arise, oh, dazzling sight! Thou shalt shoot thy bright and burning rays, thy heat, thy life, on all this mass of ice become hideous and dead. Do you hear that rull thud, that crackling, deep and dreadful? 'Tis the Neva tearing loose. You said it was granite. See it splits like glass. 'Tis the breaking of the ice, I tell you. 'Tis the water alive, joyous and terrible. Progress recommences. 'Tis humanity again beginning its march. 'Tis the river which retakes its course, uproots, mangles, strikes together, crushes and drowns in its waves not only the empire of upstart Czar Nicholas, but all of the relics of ancient and modern despotism. That trestle work floating away? It is the throne. That other trestle? It is the scaffold. That old book, half sunk? It is the old code of capitalists laws and morals. That old ruckery just sinking? It is a tenement house in which wage slaves lived. See these all pass by; passing by never more to return; and for this immense engulfing, for this supreme victory of life over death, what has been the power necessary? One of thy looks, oh, sun! One stroke of thy strong arm, oh, labor!"

All radicals are cordially invited to attend the dance of the Workmen's Circle at the Forester's hall Sunday Eve. May 25th. Admission 50 cents per couple. For a good time attend this dance.

A surprise party was given last Monday evening by the Ladies Auxiliary, Br. 353, in honor of Mrs. Sam Myers. The Club presented comrade Myers with a beautiful set of cut-glass. Other comrades made handsome donations.

Jack Carney, Editor "The Truth."

Duluth, Minn., U. S. A.

Dear Comrade Carney:—

The readers of "The Truth" will share with me the hope and belief that on this May Day, throughout the world which the workers are yet to become the masters of, there will be an awakening of Labor, on a scale greater than even we dared dream of a few years since. In every land the power of organized labor and Socialism grow apace under the relentless pressure of a capitalism which gathers together all its forces for the last stand it is about to make in defense of its right to rob, to bully, to maim, and to kill. In this struggle neither seas nor frontier can divide the working class.

With you we draw strength from the knowledge that we are nearing the reign of everlasting peace, the fraternity of peoples, and the rule of labor which shall return the whole product to the community of producers.

Yours Fraternally,

E. C. FAIRCHILD, Editor London Call.