

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

THE TRUTH



MINNESOTA
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14

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IS VILLA ANOTHER KOLCHAK?

CALL ON PEASANTS TO STAND BY SOVIET

TROTSKY DISCLOSES "ANGLO-AMERICAN CONSPIRACY"—IS AGAINST LOOTING

By Isaac Don Levine.
Stockholm, Sweden, May 29.—The red army of soviet Russia numbers 2,300,000 soldiers, according to reliable statistics reported to the American legation here. Of this number 1,300,000 are in the field and the remaining 1,000,000 are mobilized in the rear areas.

Trotsky, who now signs himself "President of the revolutionary military council of the republic, people's commissar for military and naval affairs," issued last month several army orders. In the first of these, addressed to the peasants, he charges that a conspiracy was hatched by "agents of Anglo-French and American capital" for an uprising on March 12 last, but which was nipped by the soviet government. He said:

"The enemies of the workers-peasants' Russia have long been preparing for a spring offensive against us. The English and French intended to move from the north from Archangel on Vologda and Moscow. Kolchak calculated on moving from Perm on Viatka and Vologda, from Ufa on Simbirsk and Samara. From the south they were to be helped by the czar's general, Denikin, and from the west by the followers of Petlura, that is the Ukrainian landlords and peasant-capitalists; by the Polish "Czliachta," that is the noble-landlords, as well as by German white guards who do not wish to give up the Russian fortresses.

Calls Opponents Foreign Agents.
"At the same time the enemies of the workers-peasants' Russia intended to start an uprising within the country. The conspiracy was prepared in a whole series of places. As agents of the Anglo-French and American capital, there are operating among us within the country white guards, who now most often call themselves left social revolutionists. The uprising was timed for March 12, that is for the second anniversary of the revolution. Into the hands of the soviet government have fallen many telegrams and other documents, from which the plan becomes entirely clear.

"The uprising was to begin in the important railroad centers, such as Briansk, Lgov, Liski, Ristchevo, Sizran, Inza, Ruzeyevka. By means of these uprisings it was expected to destroy the more important railway sections, cut off Petrograd and Moscow from grain stores and strangle in this way Central Russia by hunger and cold. Simultaneously with this the foreign imperialists were to break into the country through the four gates in the north east, south and west.

"In order to still more facilitate this offensive, the foreign imperialists ordered their agents and clerks within the country to raise revolts in the red army troops. This plan has failed. The red army remained faithful to the working class and laboring peasantry. They succeeded in inciting revolt among completely worthless and numerically insignificant troops, who have already given up their arms.

"The uprising of the peasant-capitalists has not succeeded. They broke out in two or three places but proved completely insignificant, and are already suppressed. The ring leaders have been shot. Comrades, laboring peasants! Your enemies are attempting to drag you, too, into an uprising against the workmen-peasants' government. Take care, don't believe the wolves disguised as sheep.

"The central government knows the difficult position of the laboring peasantry. The war, which we are compelled to wage against the landlord who wish to re-establish the government of the czar, and the noblemen's ownership of the land demands newer and newer sacrifices on the part of the workmen and peasants. The mobilization of men and the mobilization of horses is a heavy burden on the peasants. At the same time the ruined industry does not furnish the peasants with the necessary products: cloth, agricultural machinery, metal ware and all those things which are necessary for life and on the farm.

"But every national and honest peasant must understand that neither we nor the soviet government are responsible for this war. The old oppressors of the people wish to recover their land, wealth and power. Where they succeeded, as in Siberia, in the Archangel government, in the Crimea, the position of the peasants became a hundred times worse. We only need rapidly to conclude the war, drive out the Kolchaks, the Krasnovs, the Denikins and establish peace and order. The senseless uprising and destructions of railroads only prolong the war, ruin the country and cause misery to the laboring peasants and workers.

"Already the foreign bourgeois governments who wage war against us, are compelled to recognize that the soviet government cannot be broken, and they more and more often speak of the necessity of concluding peace with the Russia of the workers and peasants. Against this with all their power struggle our own international enemies landlords, white guards and peasant-capitalists. Comrades—peasants! Be careful, don't allow yourselves to be deceived. Help the red army and the city laborers to strangle completely the counter revolution.

Trotsky's second proclamation, addressed to the soldiers, follows:

"Soldiers, comrades! Among the peasantry there are heard frequently complaints against the red army.

"Really there are cases where insufficiently intelligent and poorly disciplined troops occasion injury to the laboring peasants. This must not be. The red army must put an end to it. The red army serves the purpose of protecting, the workers and laboring peasants. The peasantry furnishes the army soldiers, horses and bread. The workmen furnish the army soldiers, rifles and clothing. Among these three groups there must be a close fraternal union. We are not responsible for the war, it has been forced upon us by the landlords, capitalists, our own and foreign, who want to strangle us.

"War is a heavy and cruel burden. From war suffers as well the peaceful population, in the first place the peasantry. It can not be helped. The peasantry will get relief when we shall have beaten the enemy and given the country peace and tranquillity. But even now during the war it is inadmissible to increase, except from extreme necessity, the burdens which fall on the peasants. The peasant-capitalist is our enemy, but the middle peasant, the laboring farmer, must be our friend and colleague. To cause him injury is an unpardonable crime. At the slightest attempt at robbing and using violence

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ANOTHER MOONEY

FRAMED UP BY STANDARD OIL

Charles Krieger, in Jail Since December, 1917, Without Trial—Detectives and Lawyers Employed by Oil Co. Take Charge of Government Prosecution.

Arrested without a warrant; held without indictment for seven months kept in prison without trial for a year and a half; framed up by an ex-convict placed in his cell by the oil company as a stool pigeon; rearraigned immediately on a new warrant when the first was thrown out of court as worthless; prosecuted, not by the public officials elected for that purpose, but by expert criminal lawyers hired by the oil company—such is, in abstract, the experience of Charles Krieger, I. W. W. organizer of the hands of Standard Oil "justice" in the Mid-Continental oil district of Oklahoma. And the foul story is not complete. Krieger is still in jail and Standard Oil control is so complete in that district that his attorney holds out little hope of saving him from a long term of imprisonment for a deed with which he had no connection.

The case begins with the usual attempt to blow up the house of a "prominent citizen"—in this case J. Edgar Pew, vice president and general manager of the Carter Oil Company of Tulsa, Okla. On October 29, 1917, some dynamite was exploded under his front porch in such a considerate manner as mere-

ly to injure the porch and the adjoining walls. Whether the "outrage" was perpetrated by men desiring vengeance on Pew or by members of his secret police force anxious to furnish a reason for their existence, or, as has been widely whispered, by the oil company itself, in order to inflame the public mind and give the company an excuse for getting rid of troublesome labor organizers, it must be left to the reader's intelligence to determine.

The fact of the matter is that I. W. W. organizers had been making themselves very obnoxious to the oil companies in this district, the greatest oil field in the United States. They had been meeting with unusual success in organizing victims of Standard Oil oppression.

"Knights of Liberty."

On Saturday night, November 9, 1917, 12 days after the "explosion" at Pew's house, 40 "prominent citizens" of Tulsa, masked and armed and calling themselves "Knights of Liberty," took 16 I. W. W. from the county jail, made them strip to the waist, lashed their bare backs with a stout hemp rope, under the direction of the chief of police, and under the approving eyes of the

editor of the Tulsa World and his wife, rubbed tar and feathers into the raw flesh and drove the men into the woods, after having saturated their clothing with Standard oil and burned it up, along with all their money, about \$500 they had earned working for the oil company.

The names of those who took part in this demonstration of Liberty a la Standard Oil are known to thousands of people, but never a step has been taken to bring them to justice.

On December 28, 1917, Charles Krieger an I. W. W. organizer was arrested on the streets of Tulsa, the United States Marshal, J. J. Moran, admitting that, "so far as he was concerned, the only reason for the arrest was Krieger's membership in the I. W. W."

Indicted After Seven Months.

Bound over under the Espionage act, Krieger lay in jail nearly seven months, until July 12, 1918, when he was indicted on the charge of "conspiracy to obstruct recruiting," the "overt act" alleged against him being the supposed dynamiting of the Pew's house. No explanation of the connection between the Pew

(Continued on page 2)

GRUESOME STORY OF NORTHERN RUSSIA TOLD BY A FRENCH SOLDIER

The working people of Russia will go down to defeat in a welter of blood before they will sacrifice their idea of a communist Bolshevik government.

This is the belief of Leon Bedou, French soldier, who spent four years in the former kingdom of the czar, and who is now on his way home to Paris after a brief sojourn in Seattle.

The workers of Russia will never give up their struggle against the armies of their capitalist foes until they face practical extinction, Bedou declares.

Has Tale of Horror.
This young French soldier, who marched with the French into Russia to aid the czar's troops before the fall of imperialistic regime,

is taking a tale of horror back to his relatives in Paris. And it's not the horror of Bolshevism of which Bedou tells, but the horror of the anti-Bolshevik foes whose slaughter system causes even a four-year soldier to give a shiver of disgust as he recalls incidents of the tragedy which passed before his eyes.

"I would rather not speak of it, but I must," Bedou asserted in an interview. And then he related among other things the following:

Dig Own Graves.
"At Slovenoe in Siberia the anti-Bolshevik armies, who are being aided by the allies, took prisoner 25 Bolshevik soldiers who were forced to surrender through hunger. The 25 soldiers were stripped of

their clothing and then marched to the top of a hill where they were told to dig a grave. Shovels were placed in their hands and the nude men, trembling with the cold, were urged to their task. The grave completed, one of the 25 was separated from his comrades while the other 24, under the rifles of the anti-Bolsheviks, were given guns and compelled to murder their fellow soldier. The 24 were then forced to dig a second grave and the performance was repeated—23 soldiers riddled the body of their comrade and buried him. The same performance was carried down the line. Finally one Bolshevik remained. He refused to dig his own grave, was murdered on the spot and his body left to rot."

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VILLA'S BID FOR SUPREMACY PARALLELS KOLCHAK'S DRIVE

BOTH GUNMEN OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS - IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA FOR OVERTHROW OF CARRANZA INUNDATING COUNTY-BANDIT'S MAS-SACRE THREAT OVERLOOKED.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.
WASHINGTON, — While the imperialist drive to have Kolchak recognized as dictator of Russia still sticks a little short of its goal, the same secret interests have launched their campaign to achieve a similar end in the western hemisphere; that is, to place Kolchak's political prototype, the bandit, Villa, in the Mexican saddle.

Just as the American government moved with shamefaced reluctance into the Russian adventure, so does it hesitate and draw back from the conquest of Mexico, which is the object of the anti-Carranza newspaper propaganda to which the country is now being subjected.

Special dispatches from Paris inform us that Great Britain and France are away behind in their aid to Kolchak because America insists on delay and further information. In like manner special dispatches sent from Washington confess that British and French investors are demanding some kind of international action that will turn Carranza out of office and supplant him with a tool of alien holders of Mexican concessions, but that the United States lags in the enterprise.

The parallel goes farther. Entente military expeditions against the Soviet government have failed and been virtually discarded in favor of bribes to the counter-revolutionists. A foreign expedition sent to overthrow Carranza would shock the world and solidify Mexican sentiment behind the man it is sought to remove, so that direct method must be abandoned for the time being, until outlaw "patriots" have created enough disturbance to veil intervention, perhaps by the League of Nations.

The Washington Evening Star is very frank in its news account of the Villa uprising. "The time has come when Carranza must pay for having flouted foreign govern-

ments," it says. The American government maintains full and friendly diplomatic relations with Carranza, but an organ of the Villa propaganda assumes that the Mexican government must be overturned because it has committed some grave crime against civilization.

Experts in imperialist propaganda will become more and more fruitful in supplying the details of Mexican "anarchy" and "insolence." The Entente has not declared formal war against Russia, but it enforces a strangling blockade against "chaos" there.

Diplomatic relations with Mexico have not been broken, but the world will be asked to believe that it is a country governed by ignorance and treachery.

Senators opposed to the League of Nations are close observers of the frame-up against Mexico. Several of them profess to see in the technique that will be applied in future when ever the "Super-government of the World" may desire to take over any weak but rich region for distribution among the big commercial groups. As the League is now proposed, in the recent situation America might make Mexico the subject of adjudication by the League and be driven by it into a line of action that would mean war with all of Latin America.

It is obvious that British and French imperialists are ably seconded — by the big American corporations with holdings in Mexico. This was revealed when Carranza asked for permission a few days ago to send his troops through American territory so they could more quickly reach the scene of the bandit uprising. American business men operating in the so-called Villa district registered a vigorous protest, on the specious ground that Villa might begin reprisals against them when he saw his end drawing near.

The League's Gunmen.
Intervention newspapers indulge in open rejoicing at this "peril" to Americans, which serves as a pretext for denying the Carranza request. And the Governor of Texas is implicitly complimented because he objects to the passage of Mexican troops, after the Governors of New Mexico and Arizona had given their quick consent.

It is equally significant that the reported brazen threat by Villa to massacre Americans to stop the transfer of Carranza forces brings the interventionist press no demand for the suppression of Villa by American troops. On the contrary, the old bandit is applauded for having done so much in a little while to promote civil war in Mexico. Villa's turn to be denounced will not come until the interventionists thin: themselves strong enough to lay aside pretense and go in for outright military conquest of the whole land.

Meantime Villa and Kolchak enjoy equal rank in the League of Nations. They are the gunmen of the supergovernment of the world, Neither of them ever will be admitted to the upper tier of statesmen, but both of them know it, and there will be no disappointment on that score. The business of each is to "get" his man, collect his private reward and sink again into protected obscurity.

LOOK HERE!

at the
WOODMAN HALL
Sunday Evening, June 22nd 1919

A. E. HATCHER
will speak

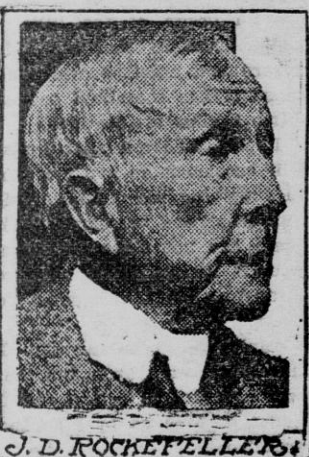
This is the first appearance of comrade Hatcher in the city of Duluth. He was one of the first organizers of the Socialist Party of Minnesota. So turn out and give him an arousing welcome.
Good music. Refreshments.
Admission 35 cents and 15 cents. All welcome.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THE STANDARD OIL FRAME-UP



CHARLES KREIGER



King of the Standard Oil



George Harper, alias Ed. Duncan, Rockefeller Stool

JOHN D. and WHAT WAS ONCE A MAN

MISSOURI STATE PENITENTIARY					
JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI					
INMATE NO.	AGE	WEIGHT	HEIGHT	HAIR	EYES
739	19.1	263	5'6"	Brown	Blue
DATE	RECEIVED	RECEIVED	RECEIVED	RECEIVED	RECEIVED
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15.4	16.2	17.2	18.2	19.2	20.2
21.4	22.2	23.2	24.2	25.2	26.2
27.4	28.2	29.2	30.2	31.2	32.2
33.4	34.2	35.2	36.2	37.2	38.2
39.4	40.2	41.2	42.2	43.2	44.2
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87.4	88.2	89.2	90.2	91.2	92.2
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99.4	100.2	101.2	102.2	103.2	104.2
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909.4	910.2	911.2	912.2	913.2	914.2
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927.4	928.2	929.2	930.2	931.2	932.2
933.4	934.2	935.2	936.2	937.2	938.2
939.4	940.2	941.2	942.2	943.2	944.2
945.4	946.2	947.2	948.2	949.2	950.2
951.4	952.2	953.2	954.2	955.2	956.2
957.4	958.2	959.2	960.2	961.2	962.2
963.4	964.2	965.2	966.2	967.2	968.2
969.4	970.2	971.2	972.2	973.2	974.2
975.4	976.2	977.2	978.2	979.2	980.2
981.4	982.2	983.2	984.2	985.2	986.2
987.4	988.2	989.2	990.2	991.2	992.2
993.4	994.2	995.2	996.2	997.2	998.2
999.4	1000.2	1001.2	1002.2	1003.2	1004.2
1005.4	1006.2	1007.2	1008.2	1009.2	1010.2
1011.4	1012.2	1013.2	1014.2	1015.2	1016.2
1017.4	1018.2	1019.2	1020.2	1021.2	1022.2
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1029.4	1030.2	1031.2	1032.2	1033.2	1034.2
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1041.4	1042.2	1043.2	1044.2	1045.2	1046.2
1047.4	1048.2	1049.2	1050.2	1051.2	1052.2
1053.4	1054.2	1055.2	1056.2	1057.2	1058.2
1059.4	1060.2	1061.2	1062.2	1063.2	1064.2
1065.4	1066.2	1067.2	1068.2	1069.2	1070.2
1071.4	1072.2	1			

THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA

THIS PAGE DEVOTED TO LEFT-WING PROPAGANDA

State Secretary, Jack Carney Rex Hotel Duluth, Minn.; State Treasurer Joseph Ungar, 1080 Park Avenue St. Paul, Minn.; State Executive Board, Comrades, Emma Gordon, A. A. Larson, O. E. Thompson, Joseph Ungar and Jack Carney.

This page is under the supervision of the Left Wing Press Committee.

Emma Gordon)
D. E. Earley) Press Committee
Jack Carney)

All matter for this page must be in by first mail Tuesday. Left Wing locals are invited to send in a report of their doings.

THE I.W.W. AND BOLSHEVISM

By JOHN REED.

THE I. W. W. AND BOLSHEVISM.

The May number of One Big Union, the I. W. W. monthly magazine, contains a number of surprising statements about Bolshevism, and the Bolsheviki, which show a complete misconception of the revolutionary Socialism and of what has happened in Russia.

"They (the Bolsheviki), captured the Government by force and put Bolsheviki into office of the officials of the old regime. The typical Bolsheviki revolution is a political revolution by force. The exterior changes they make in the Government may be ever so conspicuous, but still they are not fundamental. These changes all fall within the outlines of the institution we call 'the state.'"

This is just what Bolsheviki revolutions do not do—they do not merely "put Bolsheviki into office in place of the officials of the old regime." Their chief, peculiarity—the essence of Bolshevism—lies in the fact that they hold, with Marx, that "the proletariat cannot lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and use it for its own purposes." They must destroy the capitalist state, and in order to eradicate it permanently—to destroy its roots—they must set up temporarily a Proletarian Dictatorship, to clear the path for the Industrial Commonwealth which is the aim of the I. W. W. The nature of the new "state" is entirely different from the old one. Its purpose is to abolish the private ownership of the means of production and distribution. How then can anyone say that the "changes" are not "fundamental"? Does not the I. W. W. hold that the capitalist state is merely the instrument by which the capitalist ownership of property is perpetuated and strengthened? Is not the proletarian conquest and destruction of the state a "fundamental change?"

It appears that the I. W. W. is still enamored of the idea that it can organize the workers 100 per cent under capitalism. Apparently the Fellow Workers believe, in spite of what is happening to them now, that they can build up their "new society within the shell of the old" in the teeth of a hostile government. Can't they yet see that by some means the capitalist State must be destroyed to make way for the building up of their new society?

Marxian Socialism demonstrates that the state—i. e. the institutions and class distinctions of society—are dictated by economic conditions; in other words, the capitalist state is the expression of the property relations of modern society. In order to alter these property relations, some power of the workers must be set up. When private property is abolished, the new economic conditions will give birth to the new social order, and the state will automatically cease to exist.

An illustration of this is to be seen in the new form of strikes—Seattle, Butte, Winnipeg—where the workers in control of industry find themselves threatened by the capitalist state, and are themselves compelled to set up their own rudimentary government, which undertakes policing, feeding, etc. This is Proletarian Dictatorship in embryo.

But the writer in One Big Union seems to believe that the Bolsheviki intend that the Proletarian Dicta-

torship shall endure indefinitely. This, in the face of constant reiteration of Lenin and other Bolsheviki spokesmen, that as soon as capitalism is destroyed the Proletarian Dictatorship also vanishes, and gives way to the Industrial Order! How, in this day, after all the lessons of the Russian Revolution, can anyone be so ignorant as to talk this Anarcho-Menshevik twaddle!

Again we quote:

"The Bolsheviki revolution is the culmination of political socialism. The program of political socialism is a very general one. It is 'the abolition of classes,' the abolition of capitalism, 'The socialization of the means of production.' 'The establishment of a socialist republic,' etc., expressions which we ourselves use. But the program of the political socialist is not well worked out on these most important points. They have left the details to chance at the last moment. As a consequence they find themselves without the proper industrial organs for taking over production, at the moment when they have captured political power. The Russians made a hasty experiment with soviets, but as late news inform us, these organs were unequal to the task of taking over production and distribution. The scheme is falling apart, and as a result Russia is partly returning to private ownership and control, partly turning over the work to the co-operative movement, partly resorting to direct government control, only a small part of production and distribution apparently being in control of the workers direct through their industrial organization, as we would have it. In short, the Bolsheviki revolution in Russia has not resulted in Industrial Democracy, but in a makeshift, or temporary arrangement without stability, without any pretense of a final solution. The limitations of political socialism have become plainly discernible. There are various other movements in Russia, each with their economic programs, but none of them would, as far as we can see, result in Industrial Democracy. With the experience of Bolshevism in Russia, we can again upon a basis of tangible facts reiterate our standpoint which we have so persistently repeated in years gone by, namely, that economic reconstruction of society cannot be accomplished by a government trying to order things with a high hand through laws and regulations, but has to be an organic growth from the bottom, through the industrial organization of the workers at the place of work. Russia will yet have to tackle the immense task of organizing the workers industrially, in order to obtain the necessary organs for taking over production."

"Had the political Socialists not been so persistent in ignoring industrial organization, had they not insisted on monopolizing the thought of the workers for their parliamentary schemes, the workers of their countries would not now be in such now be standing helpless, but would be able to carry on production without interruption."

Let us admit at the outset that there is a great deal of truth in the general accusation. It is valid to say that the Socialists generally have paid only too little attention to organizing on the industrial field, so that the workers can take over production. We will admit that we American Socialists have a great

deal to learn from the I. W. W.; but the Russian Bolsheviki have not.

The writer says: "The Russians made a hasty experiment with Soviets." He apparently thinks that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were organs created to take over production. After a year of almost incessant explanation about the Soviets and their functions, this Fellow Worker seems not to know that the Soviets are political organs, and have nothing to do with the management of production, which is left to the Councils of Workers' Control, based upon the Industrial Unions (of which five at least have adopted the I. W. W. preamble intact) and upon the Factory Shop Committee—Syndicalist organizations springing from the rank and file of the workers.

Already within the shell of the Soviet Government is being created (with the help and encouragement of the Government itself) the new Industrial Society. This consists of the Unions, the Councils of Workers' Control, the Peasants' Agricultural Committees, and is united in one central body, the Supreme Council of People's Economy—the frame-work of the pure Industrial Commonwealth, toward which, as Lenin points out, the Russian Revolution is irresistibly moving.

The writer points out that the organs of the Soviet Government "as the late news inform us, were unequal to the task of taking over production and distribution." In the first place, where does the Fellow-worker get his "late news?" From the capitalist press? And in the second place, does he really imagine that Russian industry is backward because the Russian workers were unequal to the task of taking over production? Russian industry, he should know, was wrecked by the War—by the Tsarist and the Krensky Government; it was a bankrupt industry which the Bolsheviki took over. And since that time does he not understand that there has been war—both civil and foreign war—a desperate war of defense by a people starving and exhausted? Read the report recently published in The Communist entitled, "The Productivity of Russian Labor," by the Acting Commissar of Labor, and then say that the Russian workers' organizations were unfit to manage industry—

with most of their fuel cut off, with most of their raw materials lacking, with decrepit machinery unrenewed for more than three years! And by the way, after years of propaganda in a politically democratic country, how large a section of the American working class has the I. W. W. organized?

The Fellow-Worker blames the up the workers' economic organization Bolsheviki for not having built unions properly years before. Does he not know that all Unions were illegal under the Tsar, that propaganda and organization in Russia up to 1917 were punished most cruelly, that the workers were deliberately kept in the blackest ignorance? How could the Bolsheviki build up labor organizations before the Revolution?

But when the Revolution finally broke, it was the Bolsheviki who encouraged and forced Labor organization. It was the Bolsheviki who introduced a carefully worked-out plan of Industrial Unionism into Russia, which within three months, had more than two million dues-paying members—many more than the I. W. W.—and today has twelve million. However, when the Syndicalist Factory Shop Committees turned out to be the best form of revolutionary labor organization for the taking over of production, the Bolsheviki welcomed the Syndicalist form of organization. Bill Shatov was one of the leading builders of the Factory Shop Committee form of organization (although he was not, as one writer in One Big Union has it, the originator of Workers' Control).

We agree with the Fellow-Worker that Syndicalism has supplied the missing link in the problem of labor organization for the mass action of the unit working class. But we want to call his attention to the fact that the Syndicalists of Russia—and among them Shatov, Nelson and other former I. W. W. members in this country—are co-operating with the Bolsheviki, and have accepted the principle of Proletarian Dictatorship as the necessary characteristic of the transition-period between Capitalism and the Industrial Commonwealth. We want to point out that the Syndicalists of Europe have been profoundly influenced by the Russian Revolution, and that in Italy, for example, they are working hand in

hand with the revolutionary Socialists.

If these articles in One Big Union are the real expression of the thought of the I. W. W. upon Bolshevism, then the I. W. W. has learned nothing and forgotten nothing. I cannot see any difference between the Bolsheviki and the Scheidemann Socialists. It will not face the fact that the period of Social Revolution has come, and that the collapse of Capitalism will not wait until the working class is entirely organized according to the I. W. W. chart.

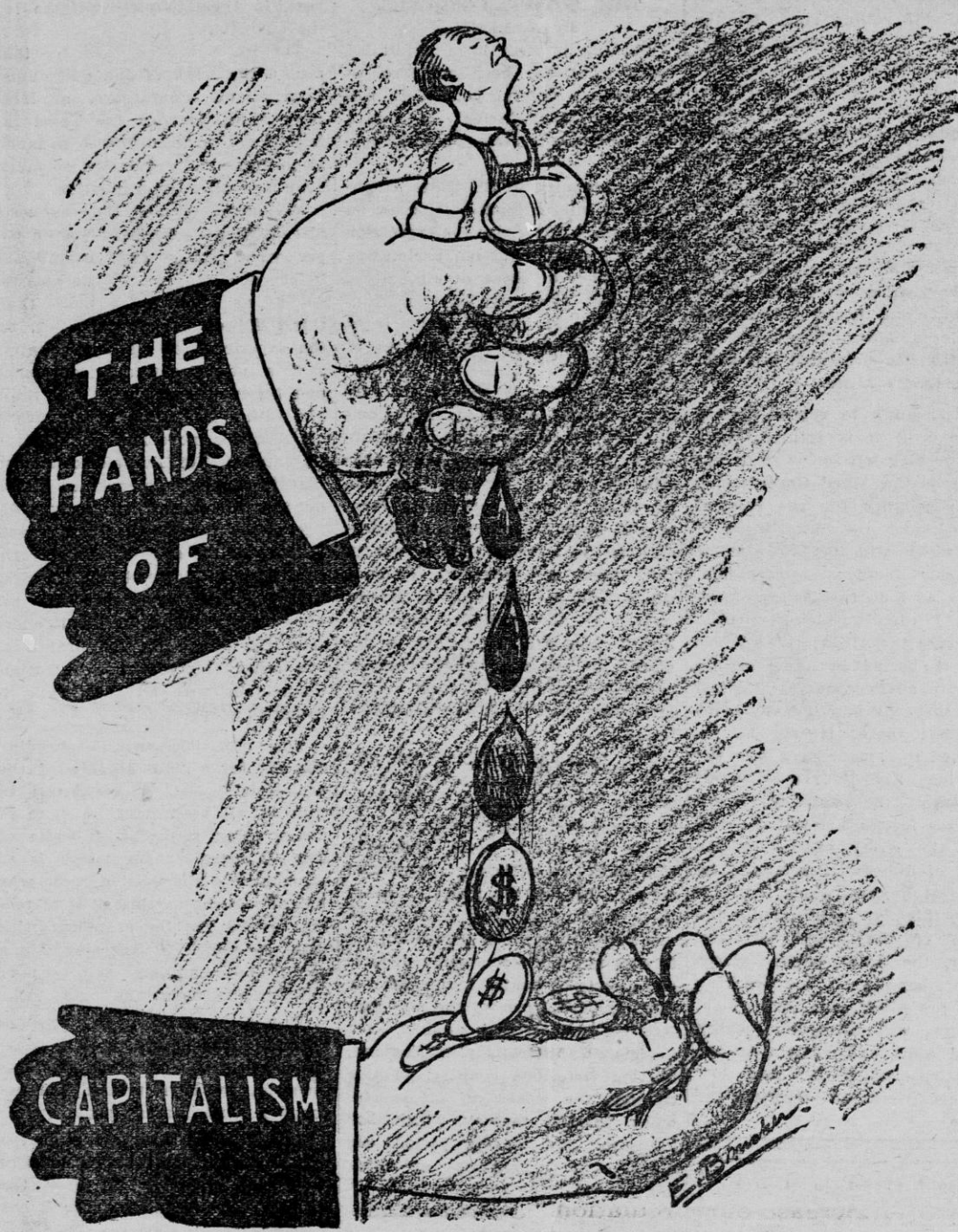
The final gem of the collection is this:

"Economic reconstruction of society cannot be accomplished by a government trying to order things with a high hand through laws and regulations, but has to be an organic growth from the bottom, through the industrial organization of the workers at the place of work."

If the Fellow-Worker by this time has not discovered the essential characteristic of the Russian Revolution—its economic as well as its political side—namely, that it is "an organic growth from the bottom," then we don't know what to do with him. While the Fellow-worker is criticizing the Proletarian Revolution in full swing, from the lofty point of view of an organization professing not really to revolution, Russia is tackling "the immense task of organizing the workers industrially, in order to obtain the necessary organs for taking over production." In Russia the workers are taking over production, and there is no return to the capitalist system of ownership and control, however much of a halt may be necessary in the process.

We of the Left Wing have learned our lessons from the War and the European Revolutions. We humbly admit our mistakes, and the fallacies inherent in political Socialism. We turn with more and more intense interest toward the industrial field, where the I. W. W. has gained priceless experience in a dramatic labor struggle lasting more than a decade. We are reaching toward you, Fellow-Workers.

But we demand that you, too, shall learn your lessons from events and cease to repeat formulas which date back to the old world—before the War.



THE CRISIS AND THE WORKERS

By L. C. Fraina.

The world is in crisis. The old society is being shaken to its foundations, proving itself utterly incapable of realizing peace and happiness for the masses of the people. The system of Capitalism, with its oppression of the poor by the rich, its despotic control of industry and its enslavement of the workers, is offering the final inescapable proof of its utter incompetence. It is necessary that the proletariat, through revolutionary Socialism, should complete the downfall of Capitalism and organize a new society of peace and plenty for all.

The workers of the United States are in a crisis—a developing industrial crisis that threatens the peace and happiness of our people.

Unemployment is becoming a real danger. The army of the unemployed (which is always large under Capitalism) is being increased by the demobilization of the soldiers and by the reorganization of war industry to a peace basis.

The steady employment during the war was due to three causes: (1) the mobilization of 3,000,000 men for the army and navy, developing a comparative scarcity of workers; (2) the unprecedented orders for munitions placed by the United States government and by the governments of the Allies; and (3) the fact that the larger nations were actively producing death instead of the means of life, allowing the United States to practically usurp a monopoly of the markets of the world. Our capitalists fully exploited this unusual opportunity; they made more than \$5,000,000,000 profits out of the war; what have the workers to show?

But now that the war is ended (except the "small war" against the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia—your comrades) 3,000,000 men demobilized from the armed forces of the nation must again be absorbed in industry. This is in itself an enormous problem. But this problem is complicated by the fact that the United States, is no longer able to monopolize the world's markets, the other nations again resuming production and again competing with American manufacturers. These circumstances produce an industrial crisis in two ways: (1) by displacing workers with demobilized soldiers, and (2) by lessening the world demand upon American production.

The employed are potentially unemployed. Those workers "assured of steady employment" are having wages reduced or threatened with reduction, the employers using the bludgeon of unemployment to compel submission.

The cost of living, instead of declining with the coming peace, as was promised, is actually soaring again; and this makes the crisis all the more acute.

The workers, actually or potentially in this crisis, have answered by means of large strikes. The answer of the employers has been—terrorism: terrorism against strikers and their representatives, the threat and actual use of armed force. This terrorism indicates the tactics Capitalism will use as the crisis develops—crush the workers!

The prospect, accordingly, is a prospect of unemployment, of lower wages, of more intense toil, of a higher cost of living, and of terrorism against the workers should they actually move to alter these terrible conditions of misery and oppression.

Capitalism promised a new world from the war. Instead of a new world. Capitalism offers—a new terror and a new oppression.

This crisis and these developments are much more acute in other nations, directly traceable to the war and the economic forces that produced the war.

The ordinary "peaceful" competition for the economic, territorial and financial division of the world developed to a point where military force alone could decide the issue. Imperialism—the financial domination of the world, the struggle for monopolistic control of the investment markets of the world and undeveloped territory—determined the war, and Imperialism determines

the peace. The Peace Conference in Paris is dividing the world territorially, economically and financially among the Five Great Powers.

The League of Nations—a league against the nations and the liberty of the world—is to guarantee the conquests of the Allies and maintain the supremacy of their Imperialism. There can be no peace as long as Imperialism—the cause of modern war—is not crushed by the revolutionary working class.

Imperialism, in one aspect, means the subjugation and oppression of colonial peoples—the "prosperity" of an imperialistic nation comes to depend upon the misery and exploitation of these "undeveloped" peoples. Upon this parasitic foundation depends the "prosperity" of modern Capitalism. But these colonial peoples are already in revolt; and their general revolt will topple over the prosperity of the "great" nations.

The unity of the revolt of the colonial peoples and the revolt of the proletariat means the end of Capitalism and Imperialism and the coming of world Socialism.

The break down of Capitalism provides the opportunity for the revolt. The war was an admission by Capitalism that it could not solve its economic antagonisms. The war has broken down the industrial system of Europe. The problems of reconstruction and the payment of war debts present an issue that can be solved only by the proletariat either becoming slaves, or overthrowing Capitalism and establishing Socialism. The governments are bankrupt; they are adrift on the tides of crisis, and they cannot actually solve the enormous problems that press down upon them. The crisis will drag along, but Socialism is inevitable, since Socialism alone can reconstruct society, realize work, peace and happiness for the workers of the world.

Reconstruction is the order of the day—in words. The old system has clearly—shown its evils to the masses. The workers have been lured to expect great things of reconstruction from the promises made during the war. But these promises are not being realized. Nor are they realized under Capitalism, where the profits of the Capitalists are more important than the peace and happiness of the masses.

American Capitalism is utterly incompetent on the problems of reconstruction as they concern the masses. Congress is bankrupt; it dodges every real issue. Congress is the organ of Capitalism and must act to promote the interests of Capitalism.

Reconstruction, accordingly, proceeds on the basis of promoting Capitalism, which controls our life. Industry has concentrated to the point where it dominates the whole of society, where a group of industrial concerns and bankers control industry.

But this concentration of industry provides the basis for the socialization of industry—control and management of industry, of the shops, mills and mines, by the workers through their own organizations—industrial democracy.

This does not mean state control or ownership of industry. The capitalist state is the organ of the capitalists, to protect the interests of the capitalists and crush the workers. State control of industry means capitalist control of industry control of the workers by the capitalists and their state. Industrial democracy is realizable only by breaking the power of the capitalist state and of the capitalists, ending profits and placing all industry under the control of the workers.

All these problems are determined by the class struggle that rages in capitalist society—where a few capitalists own the industries on which depends the life and happiness of the many. Every act of the state in war and peace, is determined by the class struggle; to promote the supremacy of the capitalist class, against the working class.

This class struggle comes, from (Continued on page 4.)

FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

From the Moscow "Pravda," March 6.—Issued to the World by Radio.

THE SOVIET CONQUERS.

By N. LENIN.

Nothing is firm in a revolution except what has been achieved by the masses of the people. It will therefore be sufficient to record in writing our real and solid conquests.

The founding of the Third (Communist) International at Moscow on March 2nd, 1919, was the expression not only of the Russian proletarian masses, but of those of all nations of Russia, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Finland, Switzerland, in a word of the proletarian masses of the world.

This is precisely the reason why the founding of the Third (Communist) International is a lasting work. But four months ago it was still impossible to say that the power of Soviets, the Soviet form of the state, constituted an international achievement. There was in this form an essential element which belonged not only to Russia but to all the capitalist countries. But it was still impossible to declare in advance what changes would be made in this form by the later development of the world revolution.

The German revolution was the necessary experiment performed to answer these questions. The most advanced capitalist country presented to the entire world, following the most reactionary capitalist country, within the short space of a hundred days, not only fundamentally the same revolutionary forces, not only the same general direction of events, but even the same essential form of the new proletarian democracy; namely, the Soviets. Simultaneously, in England, in this victorious country, in this country, the richest of all in colonies, in the country which has been for the longest period the model of social harmony or which has seemed to be such, in the most ancient home of Capitalism, we behold a wide, freestanding transformation, a powerful growth of the Soviets, and of the new Soviet forms of the conflict of the proletarian masses: the Shop Stewards committees.

In America, the most powerful capitalist country, and the youngest there is an immense sympathy of the working masses for the Soviets. The ice is broken. The Soviets have triumphed all over the world. They have triumphed particularly and above all in the sense that they have conquered the sympathy of the proletarian masses. That is the important part. That is a conquest which the atrocities of the imperialistic bourgeoisie and the persecutions and assassinations of the Bolsheviks cannot now take away from the masses. The greater the fury of the so-called democratic bourgeoisie, the more will these conquests live in the souls of the proletarian masses, in their conscious-

ness, in their heroic readiness for the struggle.

The ice is broken. And for that reason the work of the Communist International Conference, at Moscow, which founded the Third International, proceeded with so much smoothness and regularity, so much calm and firm determination.

We have recorded the conquests already made. We have put on paper what was already established in the consciousness of the masses. All of us knew much more than this. All of us saw and felt, by the experience of his own country, that a new proletarian movement had begun to ferment with a force and with a depth that were unheard of; that this movement would never fit into any of the old channels; that it cannot be restrained either by the "Socialism" of petty politics or by the Lloyd Georges and Wilsons of the so-called Democratic Capitalism of England and America, with all their experience and all their cleverness, nor by the Hendersons, the Renaudis, the Brantings, and other empty heroes of social-Chauvinism with all their skill in reconciling opposites.

This new movement is heading directly for a "dictatorship of the proletariat." It is advancing in spite of all hesitations, in spite of discouraging set-backs, in spite of this "Russian" chaos which is so prominent in the eyes of those who judge from the outside; it is marching toward the Soviet power with amig h which is carrying along on its path millions and tens of millions of proletarians.

This is the record of our accomplishments. In our orders of the day, our reports, our papers, and our speeches, we have printed the accomplishments already made.

The Marxist theory, illuminated by the bright light of reason and experience, reacting all over the world in revolutionary workers, has assisted in grasping the full logic of events. It will aid all proletarians in the entire world who are struggling to overthrow capitalist slavery, to become clearly conscious of the object of their struggle, to grasp more surely and consolidate their achievement. The founding of the Third International is the gateway of the International Soviet Republic, of the International victory of Communism.

II.

A GREAT EPOCH.

By LEON TROTSKY.

I suppose the czars and the former priests who controlled the Moscow Kremlin, never imagined that there would gather within its venerable walls representatives of the most revolutionary party of the modern world. Yet this has happened. In one of the halls of the palace of justice, still haunted by

the melancholy shades of the ancient Czarist penal code, are sitting the delegates of the Third International.

In truth, the tooth of war has done effective work in undermining the walls of the Kremlin.

This physical background for the Communist Congress is simply the external manifestation of the numerous changes that have taken place in the ten or twenty years just passed, in the conditions of the whole world.

In the days of the Second International, as well as of the First Czarist Russia was the principal support of world reaction. In the International Socialist congresses, the Russian revolution was represented by emigrants whom the majority of the opportunist leaders of the European Socialists regarded with an ironical condescension. The functionaries of parliamentarism were imbued with an unalterable conviction that the misfortunes of the revolution were the lot of semi-Asiatic Russia, while Europe might rely on a gradual, peaceful and painless development from Capitalism to Socialism.

In August 1914 the internal contradictions that had been heaped up by Imperialism broke through the pacific crust of Capitalism, with its parliamentarism, legal liberties, and its political and other propositions sanctified by law. From the pinnacle of civilization, humanity was cast down into a terrible abyss of barbarism and bloody savagery.

Although the Marxist theory had foreseen the bloody catastrophe, the reformist Socialist parties were taken unawares. The prospect of peaceful development vanished in thin air. The opportunists could see no other duty than to invite the working masses to defend their nationalistic bourgeois fatherland. On August 4, 1914, the Second International perished ingloriously. Since that day, all true revolutionists, the heirs of Marxist spirit, have had no other aim than to create a new international for the implacable revolutionary struggle against capitalist society. The war unleashed by Imperialism has thrown the entire capitalist world out of its equilibrium. All questions have been revealed as revolutionary questions. The old masters of so-

cial-patriotism have displayed all their talent in the effort to preserve the appearance of their former parties, their former lies, and their old organizations. But it was no use. Once more in history, war was the mother of revolution. The imperialist war was them other of a proletarian revolution.

The honor of initiating a proletarian revolution belongs to the Russian working class and to its Communist Party, hardened as it has been in conflict. By its November revolution, the Russian proletariat not only opened the gates of the Kremlin to the representatives of the International proletariat, but it also laid the cornerstone of the edifice of the Third International.

The revolutions of Germany, Austria, Hungary, the lightning spread of the Soviet movement and of civil war, marked by the martyrdom of Liebknecht and Rost Duemburg, and of how many nameless thousands of nameless heroes showed that Europe did not have at its disposal any other methods than those of Russia. The essential identity of the methods in the struggle for Socialism, which has been proved by experience, has permitted the creation of the Communist International and simultaneously rendered immediately necessary the convoking of the Communist Congress.

This Congress is in session within the walls of the Kremlin. We were witnesses and participants in one of the greatest events of the world war. The working class of the whole world has captured from its enemies the most inaccessible citadel of the ancient Russia of the Czars, and from this citadel it launches all its energies for the final conflict. What a joy to fight and live in such a time!



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A Picture of Soviet Russia.

(Continues from page 5)

In all, the Commissariats' constructive work is being carried on feverishly, but naturally the practical administration is considerably behind the legislation. Perfect public order reigns in both capitals, and all reports of brigandage and murder in the streets are absolute fabrications. In Moscow the streets are full of people up to midnight. Not only the common inhabitants, but also the People's Commissars go about in the night without any escort and without fear of attack.

Moscow is absolutely calm. In the processions in connection with the celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution almost the entire population took part. Even the bourgeoisie exhibits no sign of hostility or mischief making. If it had not been for the secret hopes of the overthrow of the Soviets by the Allied armies, the bourgeoisie would have already reconciled itself to the new regime, and would have adopted itself to it. What is causing complaints is not the régime itself but the corruption of individual officials, of which I spoke before. This, indeed, is our chief evil at present. It is the legacy of the Tsar's regime, intensified by the war and the increased cost of living caused by it. As such, it is no longer a specific Russian evil, but is well-nigh international, being life in all countries of Western Europe, especially in Germany. Of course, this and other defects of the new regime can and will be eliminated, and, in spite of the gigantic difficulties in their way, the Soviets have, in the course of twelve months, carried out constructive work of colossal dimensions. The activity of the Commissariat of Public Instruction is evoking the admiration even of the bourgeoisie, more particularly the provision of hot breakfast for all children in the schools. The theaters are working as before, and even the former

Court actors and actresses have remained at their posts, being highly satisfied with the large measure of autonomy granted to them.

Factories can only be restarted according as raw material and fuel become available. The economic reconstruction is hampered, to a large extent, by the militarization of the country. Having created a large army and carrying on a war at so many fronts, we are obliged in a measure, to restore to its place of honor the old principle. "Everything for the war." Instead of using the available rolling stock for the conveyance of raw material and foodstuffs, we are obliged to employ it for the transport of troops, food, and war material to the fronts. If you add to this the severe blockade by the Allies who do not allow even neutral countries to supply us with the means of production, which they are prepared to exchange for our surplus stock of raw material, you will understand that it is not the weakness of the Soviet regime, but our desire to restore healthy economic conditions in Russia, which has prompted our offer of peace to the Allies.

We are going to repeat it once again, and, if it is refused, there will be nothing left for us to do but throw upon the Allied Governments the responsibility for the colossal bloodshed and the devastation of Russia which will inevitably result from their further intervention. Knowing as I do the feeling of the masses, I can confidently predict that in case the Allies or the White Guards supported by them should attempt to advance against Central Russia, they will not find any bourgeoisie left there; it will be exterminated to a man. Even now the Government finds it very difficult to restrain the popular wrath against the foreign and native bourgeoisie—the wrath caused by the rupture of diplomatic relations by the neutral Powers, which have decided on this step mainly under the pressure of the Allied ultimata. However, the Soviet regime places its chief hope upon the working class in the Allied countries, which, it expects, will ultimately realize the real aims and objects of the intervention, which has now lost its former pretext of fighting the Germans.

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(Continues from page 3)
the fact that the workers, the majority of the people, are denied all control of industry, are an exploited class. The purpose of the class struggle of the proletariat is to secure control of industry for workers.

In the shops mills and mines are the workers exploited. They are exploited by not securing the full social value of their labor, by being compelled to work for the profit of the capitalist. This exploitation develops the class struggle, the purpose of which is to socialize industry for the proletariat. This socialization of industry requires the conquest of the power of the state for its realization—the construction of a new workers' state, or government, which will proceed to socialize industry.

Political democracy is of slight value to the workers. There can be no democracy without industrial democracy—the industrial vote by means of which the workers shall absolutely direct industry for the peace and happiness of the workers.

Revolutionary Socialism proposes a new government, that shall be industrial in character and functions. This government, elected directly by the workers in the factory and the farmers in the village, shall be the directing source of industrial management, depriving the capitalists of power, using industry exclusively for life and not for profit. This is the object—political mass action and proletarian dictatorship the means.

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ALLIED IMPERIALISM COVERTLY SEEKS TO CRUSH BOLSHEVIKI

Stockholm, May 3, (By Mail).—The position of the Soviet power at this moment is comparatively difficult internally as well as externally, due almost exclusively to the intervention in Russia by the imperialistic forces of the Entente powers. Having emerged a victor in the world war, British, American and French capital not only wants to extend its rule to the defeated Central Powers and in their own colonies, but also desires to grab the rich parts of Russia to use them for investment of capital.

Inasmuch as Soviet Russia naturally is opposed to such a plan, combined British-American-French capital is now trying at any price to crush the Russian revolution and the republic of the Russian peasants and workers.

British imperialism is now striving to extend its power all over the world. The Russian revolution—Bolshevism—at this moment is one of the greatest obstacles and dangers to this plan. For this reason, Bolshevism must be crushed, and its heart and brain, the Russian Soviet Republic, destroyed.

To begin with, Entente imperialism tried to make the process with Russia as brief as possible. They tried to destroy the Russian revolution by an open general war.

But this plan could not materialize first, because Soviet Russia had created a strong Socialist army to defend herself against the combined attacks on the part of world imperialism, and, secondly, an open war carried on by the Entente powers against Soviet Russia, led to opposition among the workers in the attacking countries—an opposition which, to be sure, was not very energetic, yet powerful enough to make the leaders of the imperialists afraid of the menace of Bolshevism in their own countries.

Attack Takes Subtle Form.
Because of these reasons, the attack against Russia had to take a more subtle form—such a form that it could be secretly carried on without creating undue attention on the part of the workers. First, a part of the imperialist camp, Wilson and Lloyd George, formally placed themselves on record as opposing armed intervention—this in order to make the general impression that the victorious imperialists "did not plan an interference in internal Russian affairs."

In this manner, public opinion was misled as to the real plans which still aimed at an armed suppression of the Russian revolution. Instead of withdrawing their troops from the Murmansk, from Southern Russia and from Siberia, the British continued to maintain a state of war, regular fronts and to develop a systematic gradual annexation of Russian territory.

The disinclination of British soldiers to fight against Russia nevertheless led to the failure of this plan, in place of the Entente troops having taken vast territories in Russia as the plan obviously was, the Russian workers gradually occupied the territory evacuated by the Germans. This, to be sure, could be done only after a bitter struggle against the local bourgeoisie and German detachments supporting them.

Russia Regain Land.
In this manner, however, it was possible for the Russian workers to retake the territory up to the borders of Germany and Poland, and now almost the whole of the Ukraine and White Russia and Lettland have been established.

Against these republics, a fight is now being carried on by German, Polish and British-French armies aided by colonial troops and the local bourgeoisie. The Russian Socialist army up till now has been fighting on these fronts with obviously good success.

The situation on the Murman coast, on the other hand, recently underwent a change. The British have sent to the Murman coast volunteer regiments inasmuch as previously sent troops were found unreliable. There were constant strikes and open revolt among these troops. By sending volunteers to the Murman coast, Britain has at her disposal there at this time strong forces, notwithstanding the fact that Britain "does not want an armed intervention in Russian internal affairs."

In addition to the above, it must be noted that British-French capital has compelled Finland to take a part in these struggles against Soviet Russia. A force of Finnish volunteers numbering about 3,000, materially supported by the French government and receiving from that government arms and military instructions, crossed the Russian border at the end of April, north of Ladoga.

Finns Seize Territory.
With the aid of local White Guards, they succeeded without any opposition worth mentioning to capture the greatest part of the provinces of Onega, reaching the Murman railway in the neighborhood of Lotianpelto. Some time before this expedition the Finns armed Karelians in that district, organized White Guards there, armed them and made plans to annex East Karelia.

Taking into consideration the fact that special French, British and American military missions for a long time have been busy in Finland and, according to reliable information, are backing this venture, which is being bitterly opposed in public statements made by the Finnish Socialist-Democratic party and by a part of the Swedish population of Finland, and also taking into consideration the fact that East Karelia has been proclaimed an independent state, it becomes quite clear that this venture is only one link in that chain of attacks whereby Entente imperialism is trying to capture Russia to use it for investment of their capital and for re-enslavement of the Russian workers.

East Karelia, which against the will of her people is being proclaimed an "independent" state, in all circumstances is yet ripe for independence. But the intention, of course, is nothing but to use it as an advantageous base for imperialistic military operations in northern France.

It is also possible that one of the guiding forces of this adventure is the avidity of the Finnish imperialists and their jingoism which makes them try to play some role in the world—yet it is obvious that the clans of world imperialism are behind the whole game.

We thus find that the open warfare in Soviet Russia has been replaced with an insidious subtle warfare, with the help of ignorant people in the border provinces who are being subtly exploited by the imperialists—and with the help of mercenary troops. The slogan used by the imperialists today is "let us help the educated, society-preserving people of Russia with ammunition, food and voluntary troops, and then they will be able to destroy the Bolsheviki."

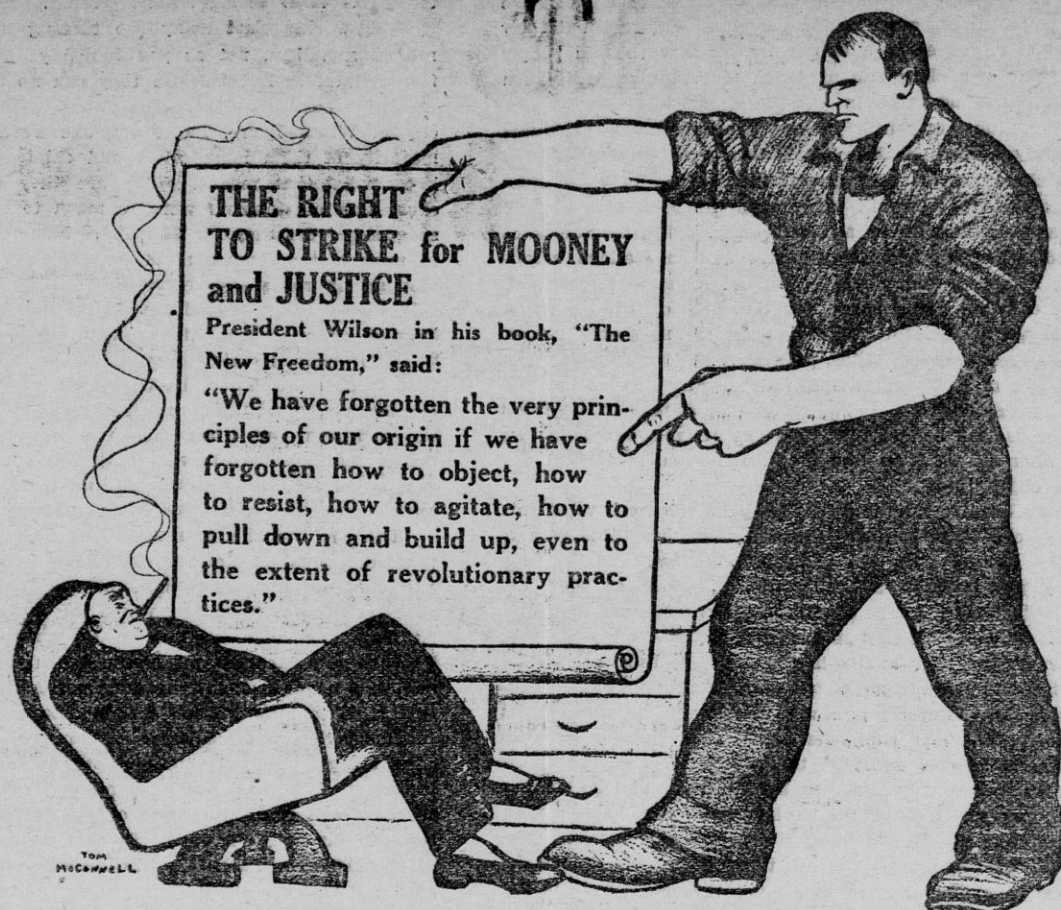
Incite Small Groups.
Frightened by the workers in their own countries, the Entente imperialists did not dare—at least not at his time—openly to carry on a war against the Russian Soviet republic. But, in the place of that, they are doing all they can to incite against the Russian workers small "independent" groups, promising them rich spoils and to help materially the Russian bourgeoisie, which in itself is absolutely helpless and powerless to carry on war, and to destroy the power of the Bolsheviki.

On the other hand, the Entente imperialists have one really formidable weapon in their hands against the Russian Soviet republic, and that is the actually existing, absolute isolation of Russia from the rest of the world, the complete blockade under which Soviet Russia now lives. This last-mentioned action of the world imperialists is most dangerous to the workers' republic, threatening internally to crush the Soviet power and to bring the whole Russian people into economic bankruptcy.

Exchange of raw materials and finished products which are absolutely necessary for a modern civilized state is at a standstill. Russia gets no goods from the outside, and cannot send any to foreign countries in order to establish trade balances.

Tremendous quantities of such goods have accumulated in Russia, goods badly needed in most of the European countries. Industries af-

THE ARM-CHAIR EXECUTIVE vs. RANK and FILE of LABOR



THE MAN IN THE CHAIR vs. THE MAN ON THE JOB

ready disrupted by the world war, means of communication, agriculture etc.—i. e., productive activity in all these fields—cannot be organized, and production cannot be kept at a regular pace as long as necessary raw materials cannot be had from the outside, as long as exports cannot be organized for the establishment of external credits and as long as the country is not allowed peaceful conditions for the evolution of her productive institutions.

Must Turn to Workers.

For this reason it is absolutely necessary for the whole Russian people, and not only for the Bolsheviki, that the proletariat of the world—i. e., the workers in all countries—would make it impossible for the world imperialists to carry on a war against Soviet Russia, so that privation, starvation and unemployment could be avoided. This has been recognized, not only by the Bolsheviki, but by all Russian labor parties, who are now united in a struggle against the attacking mercenary forces of the world imperialists.

But this struggle is in the long unhelpless, if the proletariat of other countries do not come to their aid. The existence of Soviet Russia now is threatened more than ever before. There is a war on all fronts against the international bourgeoisie, and there is an economic crisis brought about by the blockade. If help does not come speedily, the internal order of Russia, which has been established at such great cost and effort, will disappear and the country will become a victim of an unlimited anarchy. The result will be at least 10 years of unheard of misery all over eastern Europe.

The military forces of the Entente power will never be able to establish orderly conditions in Russia, even if they would inaugurate absolute slavery after they have destroyed the Soviet republic.

Information recently received is that the imperialists of the Entente countries, in spite of everything, are going to start a strong offensive against Russia, with the aid of the small Baltic states. They have been promised recognition of their independence only on the condition that they should aid the Russian bourgeoisie to capture Petrograd.

Entente military forces also are ready to act in this offensive. A British fleet, consisting of about 30 ships, has arrived in the Gulf of Finland for this purpose. Information from reliable sources has it that in the near future 50,000 Canadian soldiers are expected to reach Helsingfors.

Helsingfors is being used as the base of the attack, and the city resembles an armed camp. The plan is to make an attack simultaneously from Murmansk, Onega, Finland, Esthonia, Lettland and Poland.

Hettman Skoropadski, who a year ago, with the grace of the German imperialists, established his rule in the Ukraine and who ruthlessly maintained the German supremacy in that country, is now in Stockholm on his way to Helsingfors to discuss the contemplated action against Soviet Russia and to take part actively, together with his old friend, the bloody General Mannerheim, in the re-establishment of Czarism in Russia.

A PICTURE OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By Maxim Litvinov.

Extracts from two letters on the situation in Russia, addressed by M. Litvinov, former Russian Plenipotentiary in London, so an American correspondent at the end of January and the middle of December last. The January letter is printed first.

These letters are printed because, although several months old, they give a picture of Soviet Russia which makes impossible the conditions described by this week's news dispatches.)

Since my last letter a good deal has changed. The authority of the Soviets has extended in every direction. The Lettish Communists have firmly established themselves in Finland, the Lithuanian Communists have occupied the greater part of Lithuania and the Ukrainian Communists have captured almost all the big towns with the exception of Kiev, such as Kharkov, Poltava, Ekaterinoslav, Tchernigov, etc. The Petliurians are important and may sell themselves at any moment to the Entente, just as they previously sold themselves to Germany. The Estonians alone have had bad luck. They did not possess sufficient forces to retain the districts, which they had recaptured, while the Russian Soviets refrained from sending troops there in order not to provoke Finland to war. Measures, however, have been taken to prevent the Estonian and Finnish White Guards from proceeding beyond the present front. In the East, after the capture of Orenburg and Ufa, we are expecting the fall of Zlatoust. The defeat at Perm, which has been so much exaggerated abroad, was scarcely noticed in Russia. There, as in Fothome, it was a case of treachery on the part of the commanders. In the South, General Krasnov is idling his time away. In Siberia the workers and peasants do not cease to rebel.

The committee of the Constituent Assembly proposed to the Soviet Government an alliance for joint action against Kolchak. Tchernov, who had fled from Kolchak to Ufa, has received permission to return to Moscow. The Mensheviki too, have reemerged, but continue to chant their dirges. A new conspiracy of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries has been detected, but it is of a local character. Lenin is trying to unite all the Socialist parties which recognize the Soviet regime, but down below among the masses, the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionaries inspire great distrust.

The army continues to grow, and in a couple of months will amount to several millions.

Thanks to imports from Ukraine, the food situation at Moscow has lost its acuteness, but there is little fuel, and the people are suffering exceedingly from cold. At Petrograd even the food situation is bad. The reports about disturbances are lies.

The Allied blockade is condemning the country to starvation and cold. The Scandinavian countries have broken with us very unwillingly, yielding to the pressure of

the Allies who presented them with an ultimatum. Owing to this rupture, we are unable to import from Denmark vegetable seeds to the amount of 94,000,000 roubles which we had bought there and paid for in cash. We cannot import agricultural implements and machines from Sweden; and the British have forbidden them to export even paper to Russia. A large quantity of flax bought by the Swedes in Russia and conveyed from Petrograd in Russian bottoms was seized by the British at Revel and taken to British ports. We are being strangled and deprived of the possibility of bettering the internal conditions and yet it is we who are made responsible for the consequence. Neutral countries are being forced to boycott us, and then the fact is used as proof of our wickedness.

The decisive factors in the situation at present are: (1) the complete collapse of the counter-revolution and the disappearance of opposition inside the country, and (2) the formation of a large efficient, and well-disciplined new army. Whatever view one may take of the activity of the Extraordinary Commissions (for Fighting the Counter-Revolution, Speculation, and Sabotage), they are entitled to the credit of having succeeded, within a short time, in clearing Russia of all the most active counter-revolutionary and conspiring elements. This has been achieved not so much by physical extermination, as by the intimidation of the bourgeoisie. The capitalists, monarchists, and Social-Revolutionaries of the Right, choosing the better part of valor, have, for the most part, sought safety in flight, choosing the Ukraine, Finland, and foreign countries as the fields for their intrigues. In Russia itself, apart from small riots which sporadically break out in isolated villages in connection with the mobilization, or under the influence of the agitation of reactionaries from outside, there have of late been no conspiracies and no rebellions. These have been speedily and peaceably coped with for the most part. The most important revolt during the last three months was the action of some 500 sailors in Petrograd, but that bore more the character of a protest demonstration. The ring-leaders were shot at the instance of the demonstrators themselves.

The Left Socialist Revolutionaries who, up to the time of the German Revolution, had been indulging in lachrymose complaints about the "Brest noose," have now calmed down and for the most part fused with the Communist party in virtue of a decision of their central committee. The Menshevik Central Committee is appealing for the support of the Soviet Government and for a fight against the counter-revolution though it repeats, to save appearances, the helpless twaddle about the Constituent Assembly. Even the Jewish Bund, is, individually and collectively, migrating into our camp. Of the Internationalists and the "Novaya Zhizn" group scarcely

EBERT REGIME MURDERS POLISH PIONEER SOCIALIST AS SOVIET AGITATOR

Tyschko, Many Times Delegate to International Congress and Factor in German Revolution, Slain by Firing Squad, Assert Moscow and Petrograd Wireless Dispatches.

LONDON, April 15 (by mail).—The social-patriotic regime of Ebert and Scheidemann in Germany has added the murder of another revolutionary Socialist to its record. According to two wireless messages, one from Petrograd and one from Moscow, which have been picked up here, the Polish veteran and pioneer Socialist, Leo Tyschko, repeatedly representative to International Socialist Congress, has been shot by a firing squad for Soviet propaganda in Germany.

One of the communications is addressed "to the proletarians of all countries." The other, signed "the Third International," is addressed to the German Communists (Spartacists). The first wireless reads:

"Petrograd, April 3.—The Third Communist International addresses the following circular dispatch to the proletarians of the world:

anything need be said. They have for a long time past been working conscientiously in Soviet institutions. Gorky and Andreyeva (his wife) have unreservedly joined us, confirming their criticisms to the little details of the big machine.

As for the villagers, their frame of mind is best illustrated by the recent congress of the Poverty Committees of the Union of Northern Communes, which was attended, beyond expectation, by no fewer than 16,000 delegates. A suggestion to form a model regiment of 4,000 from among the members of the congress was met by the immediate offer to enroll on the part of 6,000 delegates. Altogether, the formation of the Poverty Committees in the villages has proved a successful measure. These committees are waging a successful battle with the village cultures and the rich who had contrived to entrench themselves in the village Soviets of the old type. But the rich peasants, too, are hostile, not so much to the Soviet Government as to the collection of taxes.

Mobilization is proceeding almost everywhere pretty successfully. The peasants gather at the various centers without any compulsion whatsoever. The idea of the necessity of actively protecting the People's Government is striking deep roots. The food supply has greatly improved, but is still defective, partly on account of the difficulties of transport, but also in part owing to the dishonesty of the above-mentioned elements. Bread, however, is supplied to the towns pretty regularly, while other articles of consumption, such as tea, sugar, butter, etc., are distributed only now and then, when sufficient quantities reach the towns. In the corn-growing provinces, the number of which has of late considerably increased, thanks to the clearing-out of the Czech-Slovaks from the Volga, the peasants supply the elevators with sufficient quantities of grain, but the further transport to the capitals still leaves much to be desired. Illicit self-provisioning has been suppressed, yet the rich bourgeoisie still contrives to obtain absolutely everything for money. All the restaurants have been closed, and in their place public kitchens have been opened where the population can get coupon dinners, far from luxurious and not always satisfying. Their number is still insufficient, and queues, unfortunately, are not of rare occurrence. The shops, too, are almost all closed or nationalized, and all articles, as well as food-stuffs, are distributed by the food committees among the district centers, whence they are delivered to the house committees. Prices are fixed for everything, and are comparatively speaking, not high. Bread for instance, is sold at Moscow at 60 kopecks (1s. 3d. at pre-war rates) a pound, while the bourgeois pays, by buying from illegal traders, 10 roubles (£1 at pre-war rates) a pound. The same ratio between the fixed and free prices holds good in the case of all other articles.

Killing Off Undesirables.
"Since the most courageous fighters are daily being delivered by their former comrades to the revengeful hangmen of the White Guard, no doubt can exist that this is a systematic means by which the German and Entente imperialists are ridding themselves and their accomplices of undesirable Socialist fighters."

"This system, for which its supporters are forever covering themselves with blood and shame, awakes in the proletariat of the entire world the deepest spirit of revolt and urges it on to the revolutionary struggle."

"Under the banner of International Communism, led by the spirits of the martyrs of the social revolution, the class-conscious proletarians of all countries pledge themselves not to give up the fight until everything and everybody who stands in the way of the victory of Socialism is conquered."

"The German Communists may be assured that they do not stand alone in their grave struggle and in their bereavement of their murdered leaders, just as the Communists of all countries are convinced that their German comrades will let nothing interfere with their determination to win."

"Glorious be the memory of the martyrs of the revolution!"
"Everlasting shame to the traitors and hangmen of the working class! Long live the social revolution!"

"The new atrocities of the 'Socialist' government in Berlin."

The German Social Democratic government has committed another crime. The government of Scheidemann, without pity, has had Leo Tyschko executed. He represented the Polish Social Democratic party in the Second International. For more than 30 years Tyschko was in the ranks of the workers who fought for the Social Democratic cause. Even at the time when the first barricades were erected in Warsaw and Lodz, he was at the head of the heroic Polish proletariat. He spent many years in prison for his loyalty to the cause of the workers. In 1906 he was sentenced to eight years at hard labor. As soon as he effected his escape, he again participated actively in the work of the Socialist movement.

Leo Spartacus.

"The Ebert revolution found him in a German prison, to which the government of William II had banished him. He was one of the most self-sacrificing fighters and a main factor in the German revolution. He ranked with Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. He was one of the chief leaders of the Spartacus group and later of the German Communist party."

"International Socialism had no more altruistic and energetic member than Tyschko, whom Scheidemann and his followers have caused to be shot. And they still dare to call themselves Socialists. Comrade Tyschko was a loyal fighter for the interests of the working class and the Communist ideas. He was executed because he was an arch foe of the bourgeoisie. The Communist International is certain that the day is near when the workers of Germany will dispose of the hangmen of the Communists, Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske, as they merited."

"SINOJEFF,
President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International."

The second wireless reads:
"MOSCOW, April 3.—The Third International addresses the following radiogram to the German Communists:

"To the German Communists:
"By the sinister murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the German government, which calls itself 'Socialist,' sought to strike the brains and the heart of the German and International Communist movement. By the shameful and treacherous murder of our Comrade Leo Tyschko, who, since his earliest youth gave his burning enthusiasm for freedom and justice, his unbending will, his courage tempered in the struggle with Czarism, his scientific talent and his extraordinary power of organization to the service of the Socialist movement, the same government thought it had finally killed the nerve of the Communist movement."

"Since the most courageous fighters are daily being delivered by their former comrades to the revengeful hangmen of the White Guard, no doubt can exist that this is a systematic means by which the German and Entente imperialists are ridding themselves and their accomplices of undesirable Socialist fighters."

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"Glorious be the memory of the martyrs of the revolution!"
"Everlasting shame to the traitors and hangmen of the working class! Long live the social revolution!"

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NORWAY AND SWEDEN TO THE LEFT

Recent cablegrams from the Scandinavian countries inform us that the Norwegian Socialist Party at its annual congress, instead of putting the moderate socialists back into power, went overwhelmingly to the Left. The voting was three to one for the Left Wing.

The congress also, amidst deafening cheers, voted to join the Moscow Communist International.

At the same time the Swedish Y. P. S. L. voted to join the Third International by a vote of 117 to 5.

NORWEGIAN SOCIALIST AND THE INTERNATIONAL

The Executive of the Norwegian Socialist Democratic Party by a majority of votes have decided to secede from the Second International, whose conference was held recently at Berne, and to join the Third International, of which Lenin is President, and the headquarters of which are in Moscow. The Norwegian Party holds an extraordinary general meeting at Chritiana at Whitsuntide. The Party refused to take part in the meetings of the Permanent Commission appointed at Berne, which were recently held in Amsterdam.

The program of policy to be presented to the Whitsun conference is described as purely Bolshevik. It proposes that all political power shall rest in the hands of the Workers' Councils, and during the period of reconstruction a dictatorship of the workers is to be established. Industry is to be socialized, and Soldiers' Councils are to suppress militarism. A minority of the executive favors a less revolutionary program which does not exclude parliamentary methods.

SWISS SOCIALISTS AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

A similar decision to that of the Norwegian Socialists has been taken by the executive of the Swiss Socialists Party. They refused to attend the meetings at Amsterdam and have decided to secede from the Second International. It has apparently not yet been determined to join the Third International organized at Moscow, but a vigorous campaign to this end is under way.

The Social Democratic Party of Denmark has, during the last 18 months, increased by over 200 societies and 20,000 members; there are now 800 social democratic societies in Denmark and the program is to get one established in each of the 1,200 communes.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Tonight in San Quentin Prison lies Tom Mooney. It is as clear as the day that Mooney is innocent. Yet the International Unions will not allow their locals to strike, because it is against their constitution.

The majority of the delegates, we shall never see them for a long time to come, of the Duluth Trades Assembly over-rode the constitution and seated the editor of the Labor World as a delegate. They would not over-ride the constitution to save an innocent, but to seat a labor skate they will do it. O the intellectual and moral grandeur of our trades' assembly.

Also read this, from the New York Times of June 11th:—"Secret Service Circles received information today that Samuel Gompers was co-operating with the Federal authorities on this side of the line to take a survey of the United States cities adjacent to the border and try to account for all known labor agitators of a dangerous type."

THERE WILL BE NO MOONEY STRIKE.

Read the above extract, just once more, and then—? Well, why go further?

DULUTH LOYALTY LEAGUE

The Duluth Loyalty League was organized Thursday, June 5th, and they are rather surprised, that, here in Duluth, there are meetings being held in favor of the Bolsheviks and the I. W. W. The purpose of the organization is to bring about the destruction of Bolshevism and the creation of real Americanism.

If some of the promoters of such organizations as the Duluth Loyalty League, would prove by DEEDS their Americanism, then we would feel inclined to tolerate them and accept their advice. But the truth of the matter is, that these organizations are only created for the sole purpose of intimidating the workingclass and so keep them under.

We do not deny the fact that we stand for the Soviets of Russia. To us they represent all that is worth fighting for. To see millions of workers and peasants rise up and overthrow a rotten, degenerate set of rulers and in their place carry on the government, is something to have lived and seen. Strip the truth about Russia, of all the lies that have been circulated, examine it with the mind of a person who wants to see the world progress; and you will find that **BOLSHEVISM MEANS CONTROL BY THE COMMON PEOPLE.** There is absolutely nothing in it that implies bloodshed or chaos. The only bloodshed that will take place, in any country that seeks to adopt Bolshevism, is the bloodshed occasioned by that class that refuses to work and insists on living upon the sweat and labor of others.

Today we live in an age of wonderful achievements. If men who lived one hundred years ago, were to come back to life, they would be hypnotized by the marvellous inventions that we now possess. The old man digging in the ground, with his pick and shovel, to come back and see the mighty steam shovel at work. The old runner who ran with the letters to see the marvellous telegraph inventions. To allow him to talk to a friend in San Francisco and then for him to ponder over the length of time it took to communicate with his friends, in his day. To think of the old shoemaker working laboriously for a week to make one pair of shoes and then

to see the machines that turn out thousands of pairs each day. To see the old mother making her bread in front of the fire and to see the huge baking machines that turn out their thousands of loaves each hour. To see how the old people made their own cloth and to watch the spinning mills turn out thousands of yards in one tenth of the time. To see the marvellous machines in the printing industry, which are nearly human in their mechanism, and to think of the old parchment days. Yet despite all the wonderful achievements of science, we still today have the poor with us. We still have children, in an age of science, dying for the want of food, when we have huge farms and marvellous bread-baking machines and plenty of human labor to work them. To see children going naked for the want of clothes, when there is plenty of cloth. To see women selling themselves on the streets of our big cities, for the sake of obtaining the necessities of life. Yet the Duluth Loyalty League has the gall and the audacity to say that they intend to suppress those of us who believe that time has arrived, and none too soon, when the workers who produce the good things of life should enjoy them.

If the Loyalty League wants to make the workers of this country love their country, then they can best obtain their ends by joining with the radicals. We want to see this country pay tribute, not in words, to the class that has created the wealth of the country. We want to see the Commercial Club of this city as generous in its displays of hospitality, to the poor hunk in the mine, as they are to the parasites that live off the earnings of the poor miners, dock-workers, etc. Poverty is always the lot of the worker. It is poverty that ever confronts him. Yet when he seeks to rid himself of this accursed thing poverty, associations of Pharisees and canting hypocrits say lie down and be content. That may suit some of the workers, who are obsessed with the idea that there is something better in this business element of this community, but to those of us who know the business element and know how much they contribute to the real welfare of the community, it will not pass.

We shall pursue our campaign of education, organization and agitation and if there comes a time when we shall be sent down and out, then we can at least have the personal satisfaction of knowing that we died fighting, rather than died a submissive slave. The time has gone by, when we could be fooled with words or the pious editorials of bribed, bought and degenerate labor editors and misleaders. We have arrived at that stage where we think ourselves. If the business community of this city wants to play a real part in the civic life of the community, the opportunity lies before them. We extend to them a little friendly advice at this time. Go down to the Steel Plant and stand for one day before a hot furnace, with the sweat pouring down their backs and then home to a dirty little shack. See the men who are being killed and injured day after day and not a word in the press. To rid the world of these things, is, to our way of thinking, real Americanism, or internationalism. But to stand up in your little bethels and endeavor to dictate to us as to what we shall do, without endeavoring to understand our lives and our miseries, is but cant and hypocrisy and we treat it with the contempt that it deserves. We want to enjoy life, as you do. We want to have children well-fed, as yours are. We want to have our children educated, as yours are. We want our sisters to live good lives, without any fear of the rothel, as yours do. We want to live a real life, and to be able to enjoy the wonderful music, the fine masterpieces, the lovely scenery etc., as you do. But no, dragged down by poverty, we do not enjoy life. We are all our life engaged in one sordid struggle to get away from this soul-destroying thing called poverty. We want to live out in the country and enjoy the fresh air and the scenery and you drive us into slums. We want to enjoy the pictures that you enjoy, but your rotten slums have despoiled our vision. We see our children dying before our eyes, for the want of fresh milk, and fresh air. We see our sisters caught up in the tides of prostitution that sweep over the land. We cannot accept your dictation, because we have a soul and a mind of our own. We have begged of you, gone down on our knees to you and you have flouted us. Now that we are awakening and we feel the blood course through our veins and we catch the spirit of a new day, you seek to hold us back. You cannot do it. We march on, with a new spirit born of a self-confidence that seeks no favors nor asks for them. We shall organize our class. We know you will fight us. You might for a time stay the day of victory, but as sure the sun sets we shall win.

If you want to obtain our ear, then come to us with clean hands. Show to us that you stand for real Americanism. Show to us that you stand for men, women and children and then, gentlemen of the Duluth Loyalty League, as we oppose you today, we will fight by your side tomorrow.

—PART TWO:—

At the last meeting held June 12th if the report of the press is to be taken as correct, you have taken upon your shoulders the mantle of Old King Canute. When you talk of "fighting Bolshevism and radical socialism to the knife," you fail to appreciate the task you have taken unto yourselves.

Furthermore, I have your membership card before me, it reads as follows:—

"The object of this association shall be the banding together of citizens of unquestioned loyalty residing in Duluth and vicinity."

What do you mean about unquestioned loyalty? Loyalty to whom? To the masters that have debauched and degraded the workers of this country or do you mean standing by the workers? You cannot stand by both sides, that is why most of you belong to an organization known as the Commercial Club. The presence of Commercial Clubs and Trade Unions proves that there is an essential difference between the worker and the employer. We find it in the homes of the two sections of the community. We find the employer living out in the East, surrounded by all the beauties of Nature and the worker living in the slums, being slowly killed by the fetid atmosphere that exists therein. Why is that we see morale workers buying ready made clothes, than we see employers? Why is it that workers hang on to straps of street-cars and their employers go lolling by in their automobiles? Gentlemen, there is a difference and you know it. THAT difference is going to be eliminated by the Bolsheviks and radical socialists and you know that also. You fear the when ALL men will have to work, and because of that fear, you form Loyalty Leagues. You may fool a few of the workingclass, but not all of them. Today the mighty giant of Labor is awakening. Years ago he refused to strike. Then he became wiser and struck, whenever he was struck. From the small local strike, the forces of labor have begun to recognize that labor must strike as one, both nationally and internationally. The menace that you call the general strike, is the savior of the workingclass. It comes like a mighty sword, clearing all forces from before it, that seek to impede the path of Labor. Labor today is standing erect. The sunlight of a new day shines in his eyes and there is no power on earth that can

turn back the mighty forces of labor when once they begin to move. **AND THEY ARE MOVING.**

The workingclass today are turning to Bolshevism and radical socialism, not as you foolishly think, because of a few agitators. But because they can no longer endure the miserable conditions they exist under. Tonight in the small city of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., ninety-one workers lie dead; the majority of them leave wives and children behind and you know what that means. Why are they dead? Simply because the mine-owners were to mean to employ extra cars, so greedy were they for \$\$\$\$\$\$. Men were forced to ride to work in the same cars as the explosive powder used for blowing up rocks and dynamiting. With the inevitable result, homes of the workingclass resound with the moans of anguish of fatherless children and widows. Where in your work is their any sign of you coming out and demanding that these mine-owners be punished? You will never have the courage to take your stand on the side of those who are the sufferers, but when men rise up and say that these things shall not be allowed to go any longer, you have the cool nerve and the unmitigated gall to talk of a war to the knife. You fool yourselves and yourselves alone.

You are but the representatives of a small middle-class that soon must go down to its doom. You will be crushed out and your hope is to join in with the workers and cast your lot in with them or become the lackeys of the capitalist class that now has you in the grasp of its tentacles. There is no escape for you, because with your minds distorted and your heads swelled, you must suffer the fate of the frog that tried to blow himself up and become as big as a cow.

Bolshevism and radical socialism are but one and the same thing. They are the next step in the march of human progress. Man has slowly come up from the jungle and soon he will reach the state of his development, where he can call his body his own. To that end, we who are BOLSHEVISTS and RADICAL SOCIALISTS, are working. We shall not rest content until we have finally placed the whole resources of nature, the mines, factories, mills, etc., in the hands of those who built them and who now work in them. The task that we have started out to accomplish, is no light one, but the memory of those that have died for human liberty stirs us on. We set out on the road to industrial freedom with a light heart and a mind equipped with a sound knowledge of the workings and the trend of the developments of human society. We know the road that we are travelling, we know where it leads to and we know how to get there. Think gentlemen, of the Duluth Loyalty League, what you have set yourselves up against."

Yours for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

JACK CARNEY, Editor.

ARE WE BOLSHEVISTS?

In an article, bearing the above heading, George Bernard Shaw answers the question in the affirmative. All sensible people are Bolsheviks. But ALL people are not prepared to go the same way as the Bolsheviks. That is a distinction with a decided difference. Many of the Socialists in this country are supporters of the Bolsheviks, but their support is confined to issuing manifestos, etc. Any person may indorse a movement or lend it "lung" support, but to attempt to assist movements, similar to the Bolsheviks, that are being fought by all the powers of the powers-that-be, is another question.

Being a Bolshevik means that you have sufficient confidence in YOUR own class, as to get out and organize and educate them so that they may take over industry and control it for the same oppressed purposes as those now being carried out in Russia. To inform the rich that you intend to make it a universal law, that only those that work shall eat is a big task. It means action and above all things it means getting down to business.

How many of you, who style yourselves revolutionists are prepared to do that?

For the benefit of our readers, we will explain certain statements made by Shaw in his article, "Are We Bolsheviks?"

Shaw refers to the Central Hull election. But a few months after the celebrated political victory (?) of Lloyd George, a vacancy occurred in Central Hull, a seaport town in Yorkshire, England. The Coalition government put up a candidate, also the independent Liberals. Mind you Yorkshire returned at the previous election, a Government supporter, with a 6,000 majority. At the recent election, Commander Kenworthy, the Liberal candidate, won by a handsome majority. Clearly showing that the political triumph of Lloyd George was short-lived.

Shaw states that the people are not fit to govern themselves. With all due respect to Shaw, he does not know what he is talking about. Shaw lives in an environment far removed from the actual life of the workers. Despite the fact that Shaw is a keen critic of our modern conventions, shams etc., he does not know the workers. The intellectuals never did know the workers. They never can understand the workers. For only the workers can understand the workers. That is why we support the Left Wing, because we want the Socialist Party to represent the workers. Lawyers, dentists, book-writers, pulpless ministers etc. are but barnacles on our movement. They hinder us with their political compromising and sentimental twaddle. The class war is a fact. It makes no allowance for any compromise or hemoaning about its affects. It must be fought by men, who are fully conscious of the fact, that in society there are only TWO classes, those who work and those who work those that work. We, the workers, are controlled by the power that is possessed by our employers. We shall not rest content until we get that power. Our demands may be considered utopian by the intellectuals. The task set before us, may be great. But nevertheless, we are resolved to carry on the fight, until we triumph. Our demands will always be the same, the control of industry, the world if you please.

The following article, is reprinted from the English Labor Leader, the official organ of the Independent Labor Party of England:—

ARE WE BOLSHEVISTS?

By GEORGE BERNARD SHAW.

Well, of course, we are. What else are we, pray?

Why do we hesitate to call ourselves Bolsheviks?

Partly funk, no doubt. But there are other reasons. The name is ambiguous. Under one definition of the word or another the whole House of Commons is Bolshevik; and no gentleman can afford to be mixed up with some of the heroes of the late General Election.

There are two definitions of Bolshevism.

In the mouths of the supporters of the existing order (if you can now call it order) Bolshevism means simply Socialism. I am a Socialist, and, as such, a Bolshevik.

In the mouths of the doctrinaire democrats a Bolshevik is one who, having given up democracy as hopeless in view of such events as the aforesaid election and the war which primed it, faces the fact that the masses are governable only by a mixture of cajolery and coercion dressed up in fine phrases, and applied, by an energetic minority which know what it wants and means to have it, to the majority; that is, to Carlyle's "forty millions of people, mostly fools," for-

merly known in English as John Bull, Uncle Sam, or Brother Jonathan, and now rechristened by the more expressive name of Henry Dubb. This definition ropes in all our governing classes and their supporters. So we are all Bolsheviks now. Three cheers for Bolshevism!

Why then does the British Bolshevik of this second variety thirst unnaturally for the gore of his brother in Russia? They both have the same opinion of Henry Dubb, and act on it in the same way.

True! but their aims are different. Lenin coerces and cajoles in the interests of those whom he coerces and cajoles, and in the name of the prophet Marx. Our British Bolsheviks (like Fanny Squeers I name no names and say, "Let them as the cap fits, wear it") coerce and cajole in the interests of property, without bothering about prophets. Profits are good enough for them.

I cannot deny that I am a bit of a Bolshevik myself under the second definition, though I have called myself a democrat often enough. One cannot always avoid it when there is a meeting of Dubbs to be humbugged. When you tell Henry that his voice is the voice of God, he always cries "Hear, hear, governor! Tell us what to say." Then you tell him! and he says it. Henry is no more capable of making his own laws than he is of writing his own plays. You give him a vote because cajolery is less trouble than coercion, just as you give performing rights to a musician so that he may have something to sell cheaply to the Gramophone Trust.

When you argue the democratic question out fairly with anyone over the age of twenty who has had any practical experience of electioneering, it always comes down from "government by the people" to "government by consent of the people."

Now the moment you try to govern by consent of the people you discover that the people will not consent to be governed. Not a man of them will pay his rates and taxes unless he knows that he will be imprisoned for life if he refuses. My tailor cannot take my body in execution for his bill if I do not pay it. Even my landlord cannot, though he can take my furniture if I have not prudently removed it by moonlight. But the King can. This is a very necessary reservation. Henry Dubb has some conscience about his tailor and his landlord. But he has none about his King, whose vicar the tax collector is.

In State affairs Henry wants to do as he likes, and have everything for nothing; hence his deep sympathy with the landed gentry and the peerage, who carry the same millennial aspiration into private life also. Henry calls Socialism the Servile State, and public account-keeping Red Tape. The private employer who exploits him as long as it pays, and throws him into the gutter to starve when it does not, is his worshipful benefactor; the public official who gives him permanent employment in his own service, with a pension, is a Bureaucrat.

Conferring the benefits of Socialism on Henry will be very like forcibly feeding a ferocious dog with a bad sore throat. No doubt Lenin and Trotsky have found that out. But if they let Henry (or Ivan) alone, some other energetic representative of a minority will come along and humbug and coerce him, not for his good and for the world's good, but for his destruction, and the perdition of his posterity. Since Henry, until he learns the necessity of government, must be bullied into submitting to it by somebody, he had better be bullied into submitting to honest than dishonest government.

That is the reply to all the assurances we receive that the Russian people object strongly to Lenin's government. Of course they do. All peoples object to all governments.

I wish our own Government could be induced to take the present situation seriously. If we persist in making war on Russia to force Ivan to restore the Tsardom we shall produce a political crisis compared to which that produced by the late war is a joke.

During that war we had Englishmen who wanted the war to stop. We had Englishmen who thought it should never have begun. We had Englishmen who hoped it would end in a draw, leaving no bitterness worse than the bitterness of those who cursed their own folly for ever entering on such a constricting attempt at European murder and suicide. But no Englishman wanted the Germans to win and to impose the Prussian system on England. Pro-Germanism was a myth, a mere excuse for thieves who wanted to loot bakers' shops, and political and intellectual rioters who wanted to loot Parliament and the universities.

But if we continue our, royalist war on the Russian revolution there will be genuine pro-Russianism in England. There will be millions of Englishmen, including all the best Englishmen, who, far from wanting Generals Koltchak and Denikin to win, will most ardently pray that they may be knocked into a cocked hat by the Bolshevik troops, even if, to our eternal disgrace, some of their soldiers may be English soldiers.

The schism will not be an easy matter of giving a Quaker two years' hard labor for refusing to put on a khaki tunic! It will be a matter of passive resistance to the tax collector on an unprecedented scale, and possibly of active resistance pushed to the point of civil war. For the war in the East is a reflection of the social struggle here.

If the Government is mad enough to play with that fire, it will not be able to extinguish it with its silly penny dreadful White Papers. No atrocity that it can publish could approach in horror the atrocity of a restoration of the Tsardom by British arms.

I am sorry I cannot credit our present rulers with knowledge enough, brains enough, or political conscience enough to appreciate the gravity of this warning. But at least they can appreciate the result at Central Hull. For the moment they probably regard it merely as a throw back to obsolete Liberalism. They have not yet made the acquaintance of Commander Kenworthy. I have. Lenin will seem to them the mildest of mortals by contrast when they know the Commander a little better.

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