

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

THE TRUTH



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RUSSIA CANNOT BE CRUSHED

Despite the fact that the Allies have indorsed and tendered support to Kolchak, the truth of the matter is, that Kolchak is being slowly driven to the wall. The lies that have been circulated about the Bolsheviki of Russia are contradicted by the decisive defeats incurred by the Kolchak forces. We appeal to all workers, at this time to rally to the support of those that are demanding the **WITHDRAWAL OF THE TROOPS FROM RUSSIA**. Let us see that the Russian people work out their own destiny. If they are wrong and are being misguided, time alone will tell. But let us as honest workingmen and workingwomen give them a chance to prove their worth.

WITHDRAW THE TROOPS FROM RUSSIA!

RUSSIA AS ROBERT MINOR SEES IT

MILITARISM ALONE IS THRIVING IN GERMANY

Seems Only Institution Which Stays Strong Amid General Exhaustion.

By BEN HECHT.
Berlin, Germany, June 15 (via Copenhagen, Denmark, June 17).—Seven months after the military termination of the war there is but one thriving institution left in the ruin of the German empire, one noteworthy spirit coursing beneath the country's exhaustion. It answers to the name of militarism.

Kaiser Wilhelm II. and his advisers were no more champions of militarism and a state ruled by militaristic law than are Scheidemann and Noske today. Military suppression of all opposition, firm military regulation of all persons' activities, military bulldozing of the citizenry into a condition of cowering awe, military instead of civil trials for all persons displeasing to the Scheidemann Noske regime, military censorship with martial law dominating everywhere—these are the outstanding features of the "new Germany's" politics.

No Place for an American.

So intense is the military domination of the state and its inhabitants and so far reaching is the attempt of the mailed fist to pound Germany back into a semblance of its former self, that an ordinary minded, typically loose spoken, critical American living in Berlin would find himself an outlaw and his utterances, which he might have printed in any conservative American newspaper, would be regarded as high treason in Marxian Germany.

When I first came to Germany in January the military was just beginning to emerge from the shelter it sought in November. Probably no one is more surprised than the military itself at its revival. Having been most soundly trounced as a class, lies, fallacies and inequities having been most wretchedly illuminated by the lost war, the military had vanished from the gaze of the public. Officers junked monocles and sabers and concealed their iron crosses and other decorations—usignia not so much the symbol of valor as of caste, for I have never met an officer yet who did not own an iron cross—and had generally prepared to make the best of their eclipse.

Called to "Help Fatherland."

As I say, the military must have been the most surprised class in Germany when it suddenly found itself being wooed by this new Germany and when it detected amid the furious chatter of the day the coaxing voices of Messrs. Scheidemann, Ebert and Noske summoning it as of old "to help the fatherland."

The new Germany's tactics in this respect are not difficult to understand. It must be remembered that the Scheidemann who found himself chancellor of this new Germany was the same Scheidemann who had been cozened and congratulated for his patriotism by the former kaiser, who had been entertained by George Michaelis and his majesty at tea in the chancellor's bureau; who, during the war, was one of the firmest friends of unbridled militarism to be found in the empire; who had believed the "economic annexation of Belgium to be a laudable step for the fatherland; who had toured occupied Belgium as a guest of the general staff in 1916 and whom the junkers had regarded as a high minded and worthy ally.

Military Again "Top Dog."

When Herr Scheidemann came into power the social democratic ideals for which had ostensibly stood as leader of the right wing of the social democratic party became by a most inexplicable metamorphosis the theories of bolshevism, to be suppressed with machine guns. He summoned the old military to help him suppress them and save the fatherland. So frank was this politician's conversion that he actually announced publicly that he was calling upon the officers and the military caste generally to help him preserve the fruits of the German revolution. After four months it is no longer possible for the new Germany under Scheidemann and Noske to conceal its actual character. The military is again the top dog. Day by day the German army and the German military spirit are being whipped into shape and organized back toward the point from which they started in 1914.

The newspapers carry pages devoted to military advertisements and to appeals for enrollment in the scores of corps, divisions, protective "vereine" and militias abounding in Prussia. The military budget shows that there are nearly 1,000,000 Germans under arms today. This includes the Noske volunteer corps, Field Marshal von Hindenburg's troops and innumerable guard regiments recruited since November, together with the still mobilized war force. But the new Germany is not content with this. Advertisements for men and more men to save the fatherland increase each week.

Enroll "Protective Guard."

On top of this there is the inhabitants' protective guard. Recruiting squads tour from house

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OUT OF MERE WILD REBELLION LEVEL-HEADED LENINE HAS BUILT SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC STATE

Bolsheviki Did Not Create Anarchistic Condition of a Year Ago, Says Robert Minor, but They Did Create a Real Government.

Our readers may disagree with what Robert Minor states in his article, but nevertheless we feel that his point of view should be brought to the attention of all workers. He comes direct from Russia and so let us hear what he has to say.—ED. TRUTH.

From the London Daily Herald.
HOW THE COPY REACHED US.
(From Our Paris Correspondent).

On one of the busiest days of the peace conference I received a telephone call from an American friend who wanted to know whether I would care to lunch with him and an American artist, Robert Minor, who had just returned from Germany and Russia. I cancelled an appointment and accepted the invitation, and the three of us limbed up the steps that lead to the famous summit of Montmartre. There, sitting on the terrace of a little restaurant overlooking the great city where the peace that is no peace was being made was lunched, and drank cheap "grey" wine, and talked about Russia.

And afterwards Robert Minor drew from his portfolio a number of typewritten sheets, which he handed to us to read, while he himself called for more bread and cheese to make up, as it were, for the year of starvation he had spent in Russia and Germany. It was bad enough now in Berlin, he said, but "I cannot be really sorry for the Germans since I have been in Russia. In Germany most of the people are only very hungry, while in Russia—I've tried to describe it to you there." And he signed to us to read his story of the starvation created by the allied effort to kill the Bolshevik government by hunger. That story now follows. But first a word about Robert Minor.

Minor the Artist.

Robert Minor is a well-known American cartoonist and artist, who, being very curious as to the situation in Russia, managed to go there with an assignment, from an American periodical. He was certainly no pro-Bolshevik before he went in—in fact, as his story will show.

CABINET CANNOT QUIT...

Lisbon, June 14. (delayed).—The Portuguese Cabinet today offered its resignation, but owing to the seriousness of the internal situation the President declined to accept it.

show, he finds very many faults with the present state of Bolshevik evolution—but he had splendid opportunities of getting to know the leaders of every branch of political opinion. He was a Socialist, and a man well qualified to sum up a phase of a socialist government. He sent a certain number of articles to New York from Russia during his nine months he was there, but his "copy" was very garbled, presumably by some interfering censor. His first action on arriving in Berlin from Russia was to write a true report of his experiences, illustrated by his own sketches.

There are not many men who have first-hand knowledge of the Bolshevik government and who can claim to be unbiased. Robert Minor is one of them, and his story should interest readers of the Daily Herald.

By ROBERT MINOR.

Had I the reputation of a prophet I'd shake hands that within a short time the Entente Governments and the United States will conclude a peaceful treaty with the Russian Bolshevik Republic. As soon as they learn the true state of affairs in Russia they will see that there is nothing to fight about, and a whole lot of profitable trade to be had.

A year ago the "Soviet Republic" was a loose federation of workmen, soldiers and peasants. It was governed by no man and was repugnant to State, Socialists and bourgeois alike.

Today the "Soviets" are submerged in a semi-social-democratic state with which any capitalistic government can easily make treaties. Bolsheviks can't afford to say that the old type of Soviets exists no longer in Russia, but I, not being a Bolshevik, can. I undertake to show that the Bolsheviks, can. I undertake to show that the Bolsheviks did not create the early anarchistic condition of Russia, but on the contrary, they have created the only real Government that has existed in Russia, or that could have existed since the Tsar fell, and by the only means by which it could have been done.

In the Czar's Russia, everybody of enlightenment considered himself a revolutionist, and when the crash came in March, 1917, everyone thought it was his kind of revolution. But 180,000,000 men bursting chains make a force before which

all theories have to break or bend. Miliukoff's, Terestchenko's and Kerensky's theories broke. The subtle analyst Lenin's theories bent before the blind giant force, and carefully fitted themselves around it.

Lenine Not the Maker.

Despite the childish habit that we all have of thinking that each event of history is due to the peculiar act of some individual. I shall have to ask the reader to believe that Lenin did not make the October substance of that revolution was roughly mapped out in advance in the mind of dumb millions.

I was in San Francisco in the summer of 1917, when immigrants returning to Russia poured through that city.

Being intensely interested in the social phenomenon of the Russian revolution, I asked many of these travellers who and what Lenin and the Bolsheviks were. None of them knew. But no less than a dozen obscure workmen told me that the workers and peasants were going forcibly to stop the war, overthrow Kerensky, and seize the land industries, which they would run by "Soviets" such as had cropped up in the 1905 revolution and of which they had a miniature imitation then in San Francisco for handling their business of travel. I even heard one argument about street-fighting tactics for capturing Petrograd. A San Francisco window-washer, who did not know what the word "Bolshevik" meant, forecasted the October revolution to me in details that were not very far wrong, three months before it occurred. If I am not mistaken he washed windows at the hotel in which the Mission, headed by Senator Root, stopped on its return from Russia, loaded with misinformation.

No, Lenin did not make the October revolution. Revolt Before October, 1917. By July, 1917, the peasants had covered the valley of the Volga and Central Russia with a network of land committees, and the annihilation of the landlords and the lawless taking of the land had gotten under way. None of these peasants knew at that time what a Bolshevik was. A month before the October revolution a wave of chaceau-burning and landlord-killing swept those

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PROLETARIANS IN SILK HATS BURY 'RED ROSA'

'World Revolutionist' in Berlin Has Become Dignified Business Man Now. NO MORE 'SANS CULOTTE'

By BEN HECHT.

Berlin, Germany, June 13 (via Copenhagen, Denmark, June 17).—The world revolution put on its silk hat today and marched out to the cemetery to bury Rosa Luxemburg. The champions of law and order who draw 8 marks (\$2) a day from Noske patrolled the streets, scowling their disapproval upon the world revolution. The world revolution, cocking its rented silk hat at a defiant angle scowled back. And thus another day has passed. Rosa Luxemburg, the lame little Jewess, lies beside Karl Liebknecht, with 12,000 marks (\$3,000) worth of roses and carnations piled upon her grave.

What of the fighting and the efforts to overthrow the government promised for the day? The answer is that it takes two to make a fight and the world revolutionist refused to revolt. There is no longer the open throated sans culotte figure of January—this world revolutionist in Berlin—but a most dignified business man in a silk hat and heavily decorated with floral wreaths and other high evidences of conventional living.

Not Much Like Munich Scenes.

For two hours I stood near the grave of Rosa Luxemburg, watching this world revolution file by with its banners, its wreaths, its "souvenirs of our martyred comrade," and its silk hat, frock coat and pale underfed face. As a lover of world revolution in the abstract, I could not suppress a sigh of disillusionment in comparing this phase of it with the Medusan dishevelment of April days in Munich.

Working men without guns—this self-conscious proletariat playing with its powers—yesterday holding carnival behind the bloody barricade of the red flag, today intent upon interring Rosa, its feminine Murat, with lugubrious mimicry of bourgeois funeral—this is what I saw.

About 200,000 men, women and children attended. First in the procession came a huge delegation with banners labeled "unemployed." It was a scowling irritable crew, with a minimum of silk hats in its ranks, booing at the street cars and casting glaring eyes upon Mr. Noske's well fed patrols. Workingmen's delegations followed, their members dressed in their Sunday best, with red carnations in their button holes, bearing aloft red flags, and growling placards such as "Our Rosa—She Was, She Is, She Will Be Again."

All Classes in Parade. Here and there was a sprinkling of the inevitable marines—the ribbon-capped playboys of the revolution. And thousands and thousands of noncatalogued mourners—old women in shawls, young girls and boys, students, intellectuals and section gangs bearing great wreaths of flowers, quarreling with the bourgeois on the sidewalks and barking at the newspaper folk trying to photograph them. Altogether a rumbling, feverish, if seemingly orderly, procession—this last ride of Rosa.

The entire afternoon was devoted to oratory. The beauty of radical oratory is that 99 per cent of it is inaudible. The 200,000 cheered and cried "Es lebe die welt revolution." (Long live the world revolution!) They watched rather than listened to the gesticulating prophets on six different rostrums, all speaking at once and all inaudible.

Now that the funeral is over I learn from the headquarters of General Luettwitz' corps that the tension is not yet passed and that precautionary measures will continue against the "coming revolt." Noske has no faith in the silk hat and frock coat which contributed an air of grotesque refinement to the pale, under-fed face of the world revolution today.

The action of the majority socialist party assemblé in Weimar today makes the situation more dubious than ever. The expectation that the socialist party would purge itself of Scheidemann, Noske and the present ministry has proved futile. The resolutions censuring Scheidemann and Noske and asking their expulsion from the party were withdrawn and resolutions supporting them and pledging "full aid" to help them realize their "socialist programs" were substituted—resolutions which would have elicited screaming protests from the little lame Jewess who now lies beside Liebknecht in a cemetery outside of Berlin.

ITALIAN GENERAL STRIKE POSTPONED; MINISTRY REMAINS.

Rome, June 15.—The proposed general strike scheduled to have taken place in large Italian centers has been postponed owing to the uncertain attitude of several unions. Following a meeting of the Cabinet today, it was announced that a ministerial crisis is now improbable. Minister Ciuffelli has consented to remain. It is believed that Under-Secretary Paratore will succeed Minister Crespi.

RUSSIA AS ROBERT MINOR SEES IT

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parts of Russia where Bolsheviks were least known.

As soon as the Czar's policemen wages that amounted to confiscation of the factories and elected Soviets for the express purpose of dictating to the government. These city workmen had heard of Lenin, but thought at that time that he was a German spy, and therefore they hated him. The workmen determined their own wages, dictated management of the business, and by force prevented the closing of the factories and removal of raw materials—but all the while they had a holy horror of "Bolshevism."

It wasn't Lenin; it was a lack of policemen.

Government machinery had no connection whatever with the social body.

Lenin Guided the Giant.

There were many political experts trying to analyse the situation, and the most successful analyst was Lenin. He knew that the State was dead and that there was nothing in Russia that could be made into another state but this giant anarchic force of the Soviets, if it could be bent under authority. He set about to do it. There was only one way to get control of the giant. It was a way at which we may turn up our noses, but I think it is the only way in which political power was ever won—to say the things that your crowd wants to hear.

Lenin knew what the active masses wanted before the masses knew it themselves.

General Korniloff speeded the were safely jailed or shot, the Petrograd workmen broke up the old government-fostered craft unions, formed industrial unions with shop-steward committees, demanded on coming storm more than Lenin did. His uprising simply laid bare the powder magazine under Kerenski's seat, and gave the match to Lenin; it showed that nearly everything capable of fighting was willing to fight for the most radical phase of the revolution. When Korniloff and Kerenski awoke from their dream, they found every workman in Petrograd armed and in an ugly mood. From that time on there was nothing more to be done than to let the workmen and sailors throw themselves on the shell of a government and crush it in. A little practical organizing by Bolsheviks, and the thing was done.

Early Stage of Bolshevism.

In the first months after the revolution which they had led, the Bolshevik chiefs did not rule Russia. For no man can rule Soviets of the kind that then existed. The workmen had taken the factories, and the peasants the land at a time when Bolsheviks could not have prevented it had they tried. The Bolsheviks passed laws legalizing what the workmen and peasants had already done. That was the only way they had of making their power real. Gradually some of the workmen, and peasants began to regard these laws as the sources of their gains. They were lawless, but if the law brought them what they wanted—well, they were won back to law.

The spirit of lawless but full-hearted communism into which all Russia was plunged for several months was infectious. The military forces were a series of armed groups voluntarily co-operating throughout European and Asiatic Russia in harmony due to their common aims, but taking orders from no man. Regiments elected their own officers, marched where they pleased, fought as they pleased—many of them under the black flag of anarchy—and supported the nominal government from week to week only as a committee that suited them. When orders came from Moscow, regiments decided by vote whether to obey or not, and any dissatisfied minority would secede and pursue its own campaign.

That was the thing that Lenin had found growing out of the wild, dreary soul of Russia, and which by circumstances was tagged with his little political party's name, "Bolshevism."

Idealism or a State.

It might be said that Lenin was for a time swayed from his orthodox Socialism by the thundering charm of the thing. The tremendousness and romance of it flowing as it did in crude form from the lips and arms of millions of peasants and workmen who had been peasants, seemed for a brief while to make Lenin sweep aside the dusty volumes of Marx and to join in the song. Perhaps, though, it was only "Real-politik." I am

sure Lenin would deny ever having been unorthodox. Very soon he began to weld this raw material into something vastly different. The anarchistic song still faintly echoes down the Volga and the Don and the Dnieper, and in the Moscow and Petrograd workshops, and a note or two of it may still creep into Lenin's State affairs; but he very soon began suppressing the anarchy and building a police force. At Brest-Litovsk the departure began. Then and there the Bolsheviks had to decide whether the revolution was simply a fiery fluid to pour over Europe in uncompromised purity at any cost, or whether the revolution's value lay in crystallizing a State. Is the revolution's strength the purity of its ideal or the concreteness of institutions?

Before the world at Brest-Litovsk Trotsky first spoke the message of the uncompromising ideal. That is why "Bolshevism" flew to the end of the earth. Wherever printing presses run man stood in awe when Trotsky said the Russian peasants and working men would take the uncompromising stand, for better or worse, life or death. If Trotsky had died immediately after making his final speech refusing to sign the treaty of shame, yet declaring the war at an end, I don't know what name could be written higher than his in the records of the time. Building a State.

But the Bolsheviks wanted to build a Socialist State at any cost. In November, December, and again in January they quietly pleaded with the Allied embassies for 300 or 400 officers to help them organize a military defense, while in public they denounced "all imperialist governments" alike in the hope of arousing the German working class by that attitude. The French Government assigned three officers about March 25th and the British Government appointed Colonel Boyle, whom Trotsky immediately made dictator of railroads, though Colonel Boyle left in three days. A few American officers appeared and were put to work drilling the Red Guard. The American Ambassador was understood to promise 350 engineers, but they did not come. Paris and Washington had been misled to believe that the Bolsheviks were German spies. On February 23 the Bolsheviks made their last appeal to the Allied Governments.

Then they signed the peace at Brest-Litovsk. They came back to Moscow to get the treaty ratified. Kari Radek (who is by feverish imaginations classed as a German spy—and is now in a German gaol) bitterly denounced the surrender to the German Imperialists and declared that the revolution would stand before Europe in moral bankruptcy if the treaty were ratified. Ryazanoff president of the All-Russian Industrial Unions, demanded that the revolution should die with honor rather than live in shame. Lenin with state-building in his head, in his heart and in his hand, was almost the only man in the Soviet Central Committee who dared to raise his voice for ratification. "We are no children," he said. "Let us look facts in the face; do not become the victims of a phrase."

Lenin had his way, and the revolution cast off from anarchy and started on its State career.

Allies Starve Russia.

Diplomacy begun. Agents of foreign governments, with safe conducts supplied by embassies, traveled throughout Russia systematically wrecking the delicate machinery of all locomotives.

The German armies advanced into Russia wherever there was food, in complete disregard of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, while Count Mirbach assured the new state each morning that it wasn't being done. Slowly the misery of starvation closed in upon Russia. The food-supplying machinery had broken down under the Tsar, gone from bad to worse under Kerenski, until now the population was starving.

Do you know what bread is? I didn't until then. One spends the day thinking about bread and wakes up in the night to think about what it used to taste like. One tries to imagine something else that could take the place of bread. It gets to be torture to think about one thing all the time; but there is nothing that can act as substitute.

Bread, Sugar, Fat.

One must think about it—brown bread, black bread, white bread, bread, till the monotony of the single thought drives one nearly mad.

Next comes sugar, the second prime necessity of life—one learns that from his inside; I don't know what the doctors say about it.

The third necessity is grease.

Any kind of grease. I have swallowed rotten raw bacon, not being willing to wait for it to be cooked. On walking along the street you find your mind wandering into half crazy speculations as to whether the axle grease you see on wagon wheels could be eaten.

Just "Meat."

You don't care very much for meat, comparatively. It can be had in restaurants when nothing else can. Before you get used to the customs, you ask a waiter what kind of meat it is, but he looks at you contemptuously and says "Meat." I have eaten dog meat and cat meat, and I think rats, but never learned to like the stuff and tried fastidiously to get good horse meat.

For routine we lived on tea and rotten fish dried, with the entrails inside. Everything is rotten that anybody will sell. In the morning you would light up the samovar and drink six, seven, or eight glasses of tea as hot as you could, without sugar. It fills out in the stomach, and you try to work. In half an hour the water is passed from the body, and you relapse into misery. You drink more tea and try again to work. At noon you eat a plate of hot water with pieces of cabbage leaf in it, and then you are strong enough to work half an hour more. At night you peel the skin off a stinking little dried fish, pull the entrails out, then chew the tough, salty meat and drink tea, tea, tea. You think about bread while you eat.

One becomes ashamed of his weakness in the famine, and tries to hide it from his friends, but it shows in the feverish mind and body.

The Little Dog.

I met a little dog in the boulevard, the only live dog, I think, that I ever saw running loose in a Russian city. He was very thin. I stopped and looked at him, and he at me. The thing was fascinating. I could see his ribs plainly. They would make good chops. It seemed to me I could smell them frying, and taste them. I began to count the ribs through his tight-drawn hide. He came up and smelt me and swallowed emptily. I was meat to him.

On the street one could pick out the "bread faces," about one in twenty, or maybe fifteen. You can spot a man who has had bread a hundred feet away. They look entirely different, walk differently, and their voices have a strong tone, varying for expression. The other voices have a flat tone that never changes except when it rises into a wail.

Down Tverskaya Ulitsa I saw two of the "bread faced" men walk with springy step, one of them eating a big apple. Close behind came a cadaverous figure with the peculiar wavering gait of the starved, his eyes staring feverishly at the apple. For an eighth of a mile I followed the peculiar procession, when the applecore was tossed into the gutter and the cadaverous man fell upon it.

Stole a Cold Potato.

But he must have been crazy famine-crazy. Apples are no good, says hunger-windom, they are 90-odd per cent water. Potatoes are better; they feel inside almost like bread, for the first hour. A fellow can straighten up his back on potatoes. I once saw two cold potatoes on a neighbor's table and described them to a friend who came to see me; he was restless and excused himself. When he came back he told me he had gone into the neighbor's open door and eaten one of the potatoes, only one. That evening he called on the neighbor to ask his pardon.

Russia is the first place I had ever been in where stealing is punished with death.

Speculating in food is also marked in the law as an offense to be punished with death. There were cafes where one could see the speculators gathering to talk over business, transportations, prices, etc., but unless you are very rich you didn't go inside, but looked at them through the window as they sat by the hour drinking chocolate.

I think the proletariat was very much kinder to the bourgeoisie in those terrible days than it was to itself.

Every day they talked about the harvest that would come in August, in the Volga valley. The Ukraine was lost, gone to feed the Kaiser's armies, as far as the bomb-throwing peasants couldn't prevent it. The Volga valley was the last hope, the last thing between Russia and death. It would be a close shave. Till the harvest. One must hold out until till August!

Czecho-Slovaks.

Two weeks before the harvest the Czecho-Slovaks concentrated at

two points, one on each side of the Volga valley. From Chelubinsk and Omsk in Siberia and from Penza in the west they marched towards the Volga. Samara, the center for shipping the grain from the valley, was captured and the railroad held.

I shall not undertake here to discuss the question of who was at fault, but the Czecho-Slovak affair was the hardest blow that was ever dealt a starving nation. They who thought they could barely hold out two weeks longer had to draw their courage together and starve many months more.

The Entente diplomatic representatives went away, officers of the Allied nations and the United States appeared among the Czecho-Slovaks, and a systematic military campaign commenced in connection with the Archangel forces. In June it was discovered that the French Consul in Moscow had paid 11,000,000 rubles to the Czecho-Slovak Central Committee, and the British Consul 80,000 pounds. Diplomacy had been a success from their point of view.

The Volga Valley was only recaptured by the Bolsheviks two weeks before the river froze again and made it impossible to get the bread out.

ALLIES AGENTS WRECK ENGINES, GERMAN ARMIES LOOT FOOD, THEN COMES SLOW STARVATION.

All a Man Can Think of Is Bread, Bread, Bread—Sugar Is Craved, and the Mouth Frequently Waters for Axle-Grease.

Ukraine Peasants Slay Germans.

The beginning of the end of Kaiserdom was staging itself in the Ukraine. The German armies working feverishly to strip the land of food and to send it to the western front, found themselves in a living hell. Officers and men were daily assassinated. Troops loading grain were blown to atoms by bombs or a concealed machine gun in dare-devil hands would mow down an isolated detachment. Peasants dug out 75-millimeter guns that they had hidden in the forest and went on the war-path.

Stored grain and munitions disappeared in flames before they could be shipped or used. I had a peculiarly good opportunity to study the manner in which this was done. A steady flow of Left Social Revolutionaries and what was left of the anarchists was leaving Moscow for the south, loaded with disguised packages. Often they told me they received expense money from the Bolshevik government, and I think Bolsheviks sometimes personally engaged in the work, though it was usually left to Left S. R.'s and anarchists as more in their line of tactical culture. I heard one of the Bolsheviks say to one of them: "You anarchists are good to start it, but we Socialists must come in and finish it."

But Russian help for the Ukraine was only pitiful, much spied upon by German agents, and sometimes the Bolsheviks stopped it under the threats of Count Mirbach. The moral effect of it was largely lost by the Bolshevik government's policy of denying that it was being done.

"Not War, But Revolt."

Many have assumed that the Left Social Revolutionaries were pro-Ally and would have resumed the war in conjunction with the Entente armies. Dismiss the illusion. The Left Social Revolutionaries' cry was, "Not war but revolt!" As repeatedly stated in their press, they intended to fight in fly-by-night raids of workmen, soldiers and peasants, retreating before big forces, attacking small detachments, blowing up munition stores wrecking troop trains, burning supplies—in short by that system of assassination and terror that Russians made into a science under the Czar's reign. I have every reason to believe that had they succeeded in precipitating it against Germany they would have made exactly the same campaign of terror against any Allied armies that might have landed in Russia; and it is probable they would have arrested the American and Allied Ambassadors as hostages and have shot them as they did Mirbach had there been an Allied advance.

Crushing Bolshevism in the Army.

The old Red Guard did not suit. Red Guards are good to make revolution, but not good for making a state.

The effort to organize an obedient army was assigned to Trotsky. The jealous love of anarchic freedom was so deeply embedded in the workmen's and peasant's hearts that it was very difficult to get started. The first government posters plastered on the walls ordering mobilization were regarded as a joke. To receive orders was out of the question to these revolutionists.

Then further posters appeared threatening a terrible punishment to any one who did not at once register. A few timid souls responded. Still more terrible threats to slackers, and a very few more registered. Whoever did not obey didn't have to.

Slowly War Minister Trotsky increased his mobilized forces aided by the lack of employment and famine, and began cautiously to substitute them for the old Red guard. The "Red" guard was called "red." Military discipline was in disrepute, as the new obedience was called "revolutionary discipline." Old-time officers began to drift back into service.

Trotsky's Struggle With Anarchy.

The strategic points of the Don front and the Czecho-Slovak front were being held by dare-devil "partisan" regiments, to whom the "War Minister" was nothing but a more or less reliable information center. Trotsky couldn't have a state until he could manoeuvre these "partisan" regiments out of place and slip the conscript army in. During the summer when the world was puzzled at the apparent lack of activity of the Bolshevik military, this grim sparing for place was going on between Trotsky and his anarchic forces.

By controlling all communications Trotsky now and then isolated a regiment and disarmed it. Sometimes he would send a conscripted force to disarm a "partisan" regiment, and the drafted men would come back without their weapons. And all this time the "partisan" regiments were fighting the counter-revolutionists, and Trotsky knew they could be relied upon to continue to do so. Once the fight-within-the-fight was held up temporarily to give the "partisan" regiments a chance to regain a hard battle against General Krasnoff, after some conscripted troops had failed to hold their line, in one instance Trotsky went with a military force to tame some "partisan" regiments and arrest their commanders. The commanders came to parley with Trotsky, but field guns were pointed at Trotsky's car during the parley.

By diplomacy and cautious shuffling of forces Trotsky got the men with guns into his power.

Discipline in New Army. They say there are more than a million in the new conscripted forces. There is discipline. There is some return to the old custom of saluting though it is not yet universal.

The officers are a mixture of three elements. There is a great proportion from the old days of the Czar. At the price of calling soldiers "comrades," they can get back into the military life with soldiers that obey and won't shoot them. Then there is a small mixture of the dare-devil sort similar to the American I. W. W. agitators, who have first applied their ingenuity to learning military arts and then settled down into the most official and un-I. W. W. type of officer imaginable. Thirdly, there is a big crop of young new officers who are heralded as "sons of working men and peasants, and guardians of the rights of the proletariat." But officers are officers.

NOSKE OFFICERS AGAINST PEACE.

Hope for Radical Revolt Which Will Lead to Military Measures.

Berlin, Germany, June 18 (via Copenhagen, Denmark, June 23).—The officers commanding Noske's 600,000 soldiers are almost to a man against signing the peace treaty. The hope that there will be a revolt by the radical parties which will necessitate suppression by the military has not yet been abandoned. At military headquarters everything is in readiness for the "revolution." Lists of 15,000 men and women to be arrested with the first outbreak of hostilities have been prepared.

"We were ready to arrest 15,000 men last March," said a military commander to me today, "but the government was weak and allowed us to arrest only 5,000. The propaganda of the independent socialists is hurting our army. The radicals appeal to our men to desert, pointing out that when peace is signed 400,000 of them will be demobilized and will be without jobs and that no workingman will work with them after they have served in Noske's army."

"One of the entire 600,000 men we have only about 60,000 men on whom we can depend in case of real trouble. The rest are men who have joined merely for the job offered by military service. We have two battalions of officers ready to suppress anarchy."

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LENIN DENOUNCES BERNE SOCIALISTS

Bolshevik Leader Expresses Contempt for Those Who Talk of "Supreme Democracy".

DEMANDS ONLY CLASS WAR

Without Liberty Except for the Proletariat.—A clear Statement of Bolshevik Theory.

A recent article contributed by Lenin, head of the Bolshevik dictatorship in Russia, to the *Folkers Dagblat*, Politiken is translated in part by The New Europe to show to Socialists how far the Bolshevik theory is removed from their ideas and how the Bolshevik leader groups the Socialists with the bourgeois democracy his party is bent upon destroying. Lenin's article has added interest in the recent attempts of the Bolsheviks to make concessions in return for recognition by the orderly Government of the world. This article, which appeared in the Scandinavian paper on May 3, shows the doctrine of Lenin untainted by any opportunism, proclaiming the right of the proletariat to suppress all the usual liberties in order to gain power. The editor of The New Europe, R. W. Seton-Watson, a well-known British authority on Southeastern Europe and international politics, particularly commends this expression of the philosophy of Bolshevism to "all true Socialists and Democrats." Extracts from Lenin's article follow:

"The growth of the revolutionary movement among the proletariat of all countries has called forth strenuous efforts on the part of the bourgeois and their agents employed in workers' organizations, to find ideal political arguments in defense of the dominion of the extortioners. One argument in particular advocates the abolition of the dictatorship and the defense of democracy. The prevarication and hypocrisy of such an argument, repeated in a thousand ways by the capitalist press and at the conference held at Berne, February, 1919, must be obvious to all who will not be traitors to the doctrines of socialism.

"Above all, this argument acts on the ideas of the supreme democracy, the supreme dictatorship, without inquiring what class is referred to. Such argument being outside, or above the standpoint of class, and put forward as the accepted standpoint of the whole nation in question, is a direct insult to the principles of socialism, namely, the doctrine of 'class war,' which, though recognized verbally, is forgotten in action by the Socialists who have gone over to the bourgeois camp. For in none of the capitalist countries does there exist a supreme democracy, but only a bourgeois democracy.

"History teaches us that no oppressed class has ever yet come into power, or could do so without going through a period of dictatorship—that is, the conquest of political power, and the forcible suppression of the most desperate, furious, and ruthless resistance always offered by the extortioners. The bourgeoisie, whose dominion is now championed by Socialists who are against the supreme dictatorship, and throw themselves heart and soul into the breach for the supreme democracy, have acquired power in civilized countries through a series of rebellions and civil wars, through a violent suppression of the monarchy, the feudal system, slave-owners, and through attempts at reform.

"By pointing out the class character of bourgeois civilization, bourgeois democracy and bourgeois parliamentarianism, all Socialists have put into words the idea expressed with the greatest scientific accuracy by Marx and Engels, that the democratic bourgeois republic was nothing but an apparatus for the oppression of the working class by the bourgeois class and of the working masses by a handful of capitalists. Among those who now uplift their voice against dictatorship and throw themselves in the breach for democracy, there is not a single revolutionary, nor a single Marxist, who has not solemnly sworn to the workmen that he recognized that fundamental truth of socialism. But now that a movement is started among the revolutionary proletariat with the object of doing away with this apparatus of oppression and introducing a dictatorship of the proletariat, these traitors to socialism represent the case as though the bourgeoisie desisted from opposition and were willing

to yield to a workingman's majority and as though the democratic republic possessed no State apparatus for the oppression of labor by capital.

"The Paris commune, extolled by every one who wishes to be considered a Socialist, since they know it possesses the vast and genuine sympathy of the working classes, has very clearly proved the historic arbitrariness and the limited worth of bourgeois parliamentarianism and bourgeois democracy, which, as compared with the state of things in the Middle Ages, are very free institutions, but now, in these times of proletarian revolution, call for absolutely necessary and fundamental changes. * * * The commune was a nonparliamentary institution.

"The importance of the commune further consists in the effort to destroy and overthrow the bourgeois State machinery, the officials, courts of justice, military and police apparatus, and replace it by a self workmen who could make no distinction between the law-giving and the executive powers. All bourgeois democratic republics of these days, among them also the German, which the treacherous Socialists falsely assert to be proletarian, retain this bourgeois State apparatus. This again is a clear and distinct proof that the call for the defense of the supreme democracy is nothing but a defense of the bourgeois and its extortionists privilege.

"Liberty to hold meetings may be cited as an example of what is demanded by 'pure democracy.' Every responsible workman who has not broken away from his class understands at once that it would be quite wrong to give the extortionists liberty to hold meetings in this present situation, when they are resisting attempts to overthrow them, and defending their privileges. Neither in England in 1649, nor yet in France in 1793, did the bourgeois in its revolutionary phase grant liberty to hold meetings to the monarchists and aristocracy when the latter called foreign troops into the country, and met to organize an attempt at restoration. But when the bourgeois, having long since become reactionary, now demand of the proletariat guarantees in advance, that they, the extortioners, shall be free to hold meetings irrespective of what resistance the capitalists may offer against expropriation, the workmen simply laugh at such hypocrisy on the part of the bourgeois.

"Liberty of the press is also a much used catchword of 'pure democracy.' But the workmen know, and Socialists throughout every country have often confirmed it, that this liberty is a deception as long as the best printing offices and largest stocks of paper remain in the hands of the capitalists, and as long as capital retains its power over the press, a power which throughout the world, is always more pronounced whenever democracy and the republican regime are most highly developed, as, for instance in America. Real liberty and equality must be the order to be established by the communists, where there must be no possibility of profiting at another's expense, no possibility of either directly or indirectly giving the press into the power of the money makers, and where nothing will prevent the workmen from owning and realizing equal rights in using the printing offices and stocks of paper belonging to the community.

"The history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries showed us, already before the war, what is the true meaning of the renowned 'pure democracy' under capitalism. The Marxists have always maintained that the more developed and 'purer' democracy is the sharper and more unendurable becomes the fight between the classes, and the more evident becomes the pressure of capital and the dictatorship of the bourgeois. The Dreyfus affair in republican France, the sanguinary attacks on strikers by soldiers supplied with arms for the purpose from capitalistic sources that took place in the free and democratic Re-

(Continued on page 4.)

THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA

THIS PAGE DEVOTED TO LEFT-WING PROPAGANDA

THE LEFT WING OF MINNESOTA.

Many comrades are of the opinion that the present controversy within the Socialist Party is one of personalities. Therefore from week to week, on this page we intend to place before our members, articles written by Left Wingers showing that the present crisis is one that had to come. It means that the Socialist Party must either go forward or backward. The Left Wing desires a thorough understanding of the position of the Left Wing, we reprint an article from the late International Socialist Review, by S. J. Rutgers, one of the founders of the Left Wing in this country.

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THE CALIFORNIA CONVENTION.

By ALANSON SESSIONS.

The California State Convention of the Socialist Party, held on May 30th, 31st and June 1st at San Francisco, resulted in a more or less definite decision to affiliate with the Left Wing movement of the American Socialist Party. The greater part of Sunday, June 1st, was spent in a discussion of the practicability of the Left Wing Program. It is unfortunate that a clear-cut decision was not taken before the adjournment of the convention. While Left Wing sentiment seemed to be dominant, a vote on the subject was either adroitly avoided by the machinations of the Right or overlooked by the Left.

The first two days of the convention were occupied in the discussion of methods of organization and propaganda and of the nature and future of the Socialist press. But from the outset it was clear to all that such discussion was futile until the momentous question of basic party policy was determined. The subject of organization and propaganda must be confused and incoherent if the party does not know precisely where it stands with relation to the Left Wing. It was to be expected, therefore, that the first two days of the convention would be wasted in tiresome verbosity.

The third day proved that the majority of the membership is Left Wing by sentiment, if not by intellectual conviction. Most of the delegates felt that there is a dire need for a radical alteration in tactics, but few of them had done any serious and consecutive thinking on the subject. Taylor, state secretary, and Dolsen, one of the most prominent of the party organizers, are both Left Wing. Others like Lillian B. Symes and Cameron King, recognized as big figures in the California movement, were emphatically Right Wing in their attitude. King especially bitterly attacked the Left Wing Program and denounced "frenzied Fraina" as a phrase-monger and a vulgar disrupter.

King based his argument principally on the fact that a revolution in the United States is not likely for many years to come. This being the case, he contended, it was idle to agitate for a dictatorship of the proletariat and an application of Russian tactics to American conditions. The leader of the Left Wing, Comrade Coleman, in answer to King, argued that the possibility of an immediate overturn in this country was something quite beside the point that the Left Wing wished only to make the party strictly revolutionary in its aims and tactics and to prepare thoroughly for the revolution when it comes.

There is little doubt that the referendum vote on the Left Wing and Right Wing issue will result in favor of the former. The leaders of the Left, however, recognize the fact that many of their supporters are not well-grounded, and they are carrying on a strenuous campaign of education among their ranks.

It is interesting to note although the Left Wingers have been denounced by the Right Wingers as hysterical, etc., at the California convention the exponents of the Left Wing were far more scholarly and unyielding than their op-

THE LEFT WING

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF IMPERIALISM

By S. J. RUTGERS

In analyzing Imperialism in its broader sense, as the term is understood by the Left Wing of the European Socialists, we found that this kind of Imperialism is quite familiar to American workers in their every-day class struggle, also that Imperialism is at the bottom of the failure of parliamentary action, and of the temporary setback in the class struggle of the wage-workers of the United States.

This important issue (Imperialism) makes it necessary for us to consider closely the economic facts, which go to show, that the aggressive foreign policy, to protect the investments of capital for the exploitation of undeveloped foreign countries, and the aggressive brutal home policy take their origin from the same special economic causes.

Given the elementary economic fact, that the share of labor in its product is determined by the cost of its reproduction, that is, the cost of living, according to historical standards, influenced within certain limits by the fighting power of the workers; given also the all important tendency under capitalism of an ever-growing productivity of labor; the result is, an increasing tendency for expansion of the markets. That the products should be disposed of by increasing the purchasing power of labor is not likely to happen, unless labor should get into power, which means the end of the Capitalist system. For the capitalist class to consume the growing product in unlimited luxury is against the most essential characteristic of capitalism, which demands that the surplus value be invested in new and bigger industries, more highly developed machinery, etc., bringing certain ruin to those capitalists that fall behind in the race. To invest the surplus value in more productive machinery means increasing the difficulty of finding a market, unless there is expansion at the same time.

To certain extent the means of production may create their own market, which strengthens the present characteristic of the supremacy of iron and steel and basic industries, as compared with textiles and other similar commodities in an earlier period of capitalism, but the rapid growth of modern machinery at the same time tends to stimulate the output on all fields of capitalistic production. So we can easily understand that expansion is one of the most fundamental characteristics of capitalism.

Now since all this is a normal feature of capitalism, it does not, even though it is at the bottom of imperialism, account in itself for the advent of what we have called a new phase of capitalism. We might say, that this new development into Imperialism is an example of a dialectic development, in which a quantitative change turns at a certain point into a qualitative one—but such a statement will appeal only to a few of the more philosophic socialists.

Keeping, however, to every-day facts, it will be easy to understand how this fundamental change came about.

The ever-growing concentration and the technical development did not affect all branches of production to the same degree. On the contrary, this concentration and trustification did affect first of all some of the basic industries; steel, coal, copper, oil, etc. In most of these basic industries, there developed a tendency toward monopoly, while at the same time other industries were far behind in their development, and continued along the old lines of capitalistic production.

ponents. Cameron King, for instance did not hesitate to resort to epithets and personal denunciation in his speeches, while Coleman's talk was a dispassionate, impersonal analysis of the situation.

This convention is a preliminary convention to larger and more representative one which will be in the near future.

Now we all know, that "free competition" is one of the fundamentals of capitalist economics; that in the early days of capitalism this free competition was the all-important slogan from which developed the ideology of "freedom," which played so important a part in the French Revolution, as well as in the policy of the bourgeois at a time when they still believed in bringing in a better world.

Free competition forms a most important element in the capitalist economy. Although it does not affect directly the problems of surplus value and exploitation of the wage workers, it constitutes the regulating factor in the division of the surplus value among the different groups of capitalists, assuring each an equal return upon an equal sum of money invested. The capitalist, being "free" to invest his money where he thinks it most profitable, will shift it from industries with smaller profits to such as offer higher returns. Investors, however, are only interested in the total returns on their investments, regardless of whether this is in fixed capital, machinery, etc., yielding no surplus value, or in labor, which produces all of the surplus value. This brings about a shifting of capital and of surplus value from the less-developed to the more highly developed industries—automatically regulated by the price of commodities; these selling above or below their values in a way to keep the profit in each industry at about the average rate.

Within the limit of an article, it is only possible to mention these fundamental problems, which are treated in the third volume of Marx's "Capital." Those who are not familiar with these theories will nevertheless be able to understand the general meaning and to compare the results derived from the application of the theory with the every-day facts. So they are invited to proceed.

Given monopolistic tendencies in some of the basic industries, it follows that the capitalist law, regulating the price of the basis of free competition, becomes fallacious, and is partly superseded by what the monopolists call "price policy"—a policy well described by a typical phrase derived from American railroad methods as "all the traffic will bear."

Let us suppose that there is a perfect monopoly in one of the basic industries, such as the production of steel. Then the price of steel to a certain extent can be fixed arbitrarily by the monopolist. What will be the limit under these circumstances?

The monopolist cannot escape the laws of value, and he does not increase the amount of surplus value by his price policy. He may be in a position to reduce the standard of living of the wage-workers to a certain degree, not, however, as a monopolist, but as a powerful master. For even if the monopolist reduces the standard of living by means of high prices, it will depend upon the relative power of labor whether it is compensated by an increase in wages. The economic struggle of labor has always been for an actual (or a desired) standard of living, not for a certain money wage, regardless of what can be bought with it. And although, as a general rule, a monopolist will be at the same time a powerful master, the worker will always have to receive a wage on which he can live, so that his exploitation can continue.

Does he monopolist get this extra profit when he increases the price of his products? The answer is that he pumps a greater part of the general surplus value into his own barrel, by reducing the share of his fellow-capitalists, and he can go on pumping until—until the profits of the other capitalists are reduced to a certain standard of income, more or less according to economic conditions, that allow them to carry on those industries that

are not yet ripe for being controlled directly by Big Capital.

So we find a new element entering the capitalist economy, which influences the profits of the independent capitalists in a way which greatly resembles that in which the salaries of employees and the wages of laborers are fixed, and although the "standard of living" is higher, there is the same tendency to reduce this standard gradually. There remains, of course, a competition among the smaller capitalists themselves, to get a greater share of what is left by Big Capital and besides, we must not forget that there is no such thing as a complete monopoly. But the tendency to increase the profits of Big Capital at the expense of the other capitalist groups is indisputable, and has most important results.

Monopolistic Big Capital getting an extra profit as compared with other capitalists, it is logical that the big interests want to invest their profits in some equally profitable way. This means that they will use their enormous profits principally in two ways; in industries that will soon be ripe for combining with other highly developed industries; or in extending the highly developed industries that have already monopolistic tendencies.

The development of industries of lower organization into a higher capitalist form is a process that cannot be forced in a given situation, beyond certain technical and social limits. Thus the second possibility that of extending the existing monopolistic enterprises becomes of first importance. And here we are at the bottom of Imperialism in its foreign aggression, with steel and oil interests and the extractive industries in control preferably in their generalized form of financing banking capital.

In the United States, until very recently, conditions have been such as to induce Big Capital to pay more attention to the first form of investment, by subjugating less developed industries, under its own control. At the same time, there were opportunities for developing the western part of the United States, which gave room for quantitative expansion, without foreign aggression. Now that this possibility has, relatively speaking, come to a standstill, foreign aggression is decided upon by Financial Capital, and you may be sure that this will be carried out with efficiency and without the slightest scruples.

We have thus shown very briefly the results of economic developments as affecting big monopolistic capital. But how about the rest of the capitalist class?

Since Big Capital pumps its extra profits out of less developed capital enterprises, some of us might expect that the majority of capitalists would combine to fight Big Capital. And indeed there has been some fighting of this kind. The United States has witnessed several attempts to fight monopolies, and an equal number of failures to accomplish anything. The anti-trust laws have been used against labor unions, but have had no visible effect upon the Rockefeller interests. There is unconscious humor in the big signs posted in some of the smaller New York lunch rooms, printed on paper from the paper trust, in which the appetite of customers is stimulated by the legend: "We Buy No Products from Any Trust." As this assumes that they have oil fields, anthracite mines and steel mills of their own, the only solution of the statement seems to be that these lunch rooms must themselves be part of a gigantic trust.

It is highly interesting to realize, why it is that this fight against Big Capital is such a failure. On one side we find a small number of interested individuals, on the other side the great majority of capitalists, in a country with so-called "democratic institutions," and without even so much as militarism to protect the interests of the few.

We observe the majority making up their minds to attack the few, and failing, failing lamentably and giving it up, to become the obedient servants of Big Capital. Is not this mysterious, and can labor maintain any hope in its own victory in view of such facts?

Here is a brilliant example of the importance of economic facts, of economic power, when backed by historical tendencies.

Small capital is historically doomed; it is not an indispensable economic factor. And the more highly developed, the more powerful an industry is, the greater its chance of emerging into Big monopolistic capital. The feeling of dependence upon Financial Capital is already so overwhelming in the capitalist class, that any serious opposition is impossible. In fact if any capitalist were to venture a serious attack on the Big interests, he can be most easily ruined. The tendency of history is to do away with "independent" capital, and this makes the smaller capitalists powerless. The tendency of history can not do away with labor, however; on the contrary, Big Capital derives its power from labor. In this fact lies our power and our hope.

The failure of capitalist attacks upon monopoly implies, of course, the absolute dependency of the capitalist class upon Big Capital; it means the control of the latter over the whole field of social and political life. It means therefore, that the tendency of Big Capital toward Imperialism becomes a general policy of the whole capitalist class. Since the smaller capitalist can not resist Big Capital, their only possible policy is to try to make the best of the situation by supporting Big Capital, and seeking a share in the profits that result from foreign and home aggression. For as against Labor, all the capitalists have a common interest; they all live from surplus value, and they all try to keep labor cheap and submissive. Moreover, Big Capital is perfectly willing to grant a certain higher standard of living and some material advantages to those who are needed to keep labor down; this includes not only little "capitalists" but the higher salaried employees as well, and even some elements of the laboring class. Big Capital is able and willing to pay for services, but it will not allow any form of independent thought or action. Even the highest official of a corporation or the President of the United States will be "fired" if he acts counter to the fundamental interests of Big Capital.

This means the end of old style "politics," in which the conflicting interests of different capitalist groups might be skillfully used by brilliant labor leaders to further the interests of the working class (or of themselves). This means, that we have arrived at what Marx predicted in the Communist Manifesto, "the splitting up of society into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other; Bourgeoisie and Proletariat." It means absolutism, brutality, reaction; it means in one word "Imperialism," not only as foreign aggression, but as a home policy of the ruling class as well. It means the justification of the European conception of Imperialism.

And it means even more. It means a tendency towards a more complete form of industrial concentration, in which the whole powerful organization of the capitalist State will be put into the direct service of the controlling Financial Interests, to exploit the workers more efficiently. State Capitalism is the logical outcome, because this means the highest form of capitalist organization of industries, and at the same time constitutes the political form best adapted to serve the interests of the various capitalist groups.

The large group of better-paid employees and officials, the so-called new middle class, who depend upon their salaries, may reasonably expect to be better protected in their standard of living by a state organization, with an official standardization of salaries, than under privately controlled monopolies. The so-called "independent" capitalists as a group are, as we have seen above, practically in the same po-

THE LEFT WING MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM

By LOUIS C. FRAINA

II. Moderate "Socialism."

Having indicated the collapse of the dominant moderate Socialism, of the Second International, upon the declaration of war on August 4, 1914, and during the war, the Left Wing Manifesto proceeds to trace the development of moderate "Socialism."

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Social-Democracies of Europe set out to "legislate Capitalism out of office." The class struggle was to be won in the capitalist legislatures. Step by step concessions were to be wrested from the state; the working class and the Socialist Parties were to be strengthened by means of "constructive" reform and social legislation. No more were the parliaments used as platforms from which the challenge of revolutionary Socialism was flung to all the corners of Europe. Another era had set in, the era of "constructive" social reform legislation. Dominant moderate Socialism accepted the bourgeois state as the basis of its action and strengthened that state. The goal became "constructive reforms" and cabinet portfolios—the co-operation of classes," the policy of openly or tacitly declaring that the coming of Socialism was a concern "of all the classes," instead of emphasizing the Marxian policy that the construction of the Socialist system is the task of the revolutionary proletariat alone. "Moderate Socialism" accepted the bourgeois state; and through its leaders was now ready to share responsibility with the bourgeoisie in the control of the capitalist state, even to the extent of defending the bourgeoisie against the working class as the salaried employees. And Big Capital, which will control the organization of the new monopolistic state, will find it the most effective machine that can be devised to enslave the workers, and therefore will accept this form of imperialism.

State Capitalism will mean the most efficient form of organization in the struggle for foreign aggression and world power as well as the strongest form of class organization against labor, making labor strikes a crime against the nation, and international solidarity high treason.

No great effort of the imagination is required to picture this aggressive form of future State Capitalism, in which the most brutal State, with the most effective militarism in the trenches as well as in the workshop, will have the best chances for world power.

But this is a conception of the future, with some uncertain elements, above all the uncertainty whether labor will continue to support the capitalist class in its "national" ambitions—whether labor will fail to recognize its duty to its own class under imperialism.

But Imperialism as a class policy of modern financial capitalism under present conditions, for the exploitation of the world-proletariat, is no conception of the future; it is a living fact before our eyes.

This form of Imperialism is without doubt highly developed in the United States, and the fact that the workers have not realized it, and have kept to the old and obsolete forms of lifeless democracy, accounts for the scanty results accomplished by the socialist movement on this side of the ocean. Here is a beginning of new life, a beginning of mass-democracy, but it lacks a clear understanding of its relation to the past and the future, as well as to the rest of the world. As soon as red-blooded, class-conscious workers get into their heads that the present day form of capitalism is Imperialism, and that under Imperialism the only possible form of democracy is mass action; there will be the beginning of a new fighting period; there will be an end to the present stagnation.

class—as in the first Briand ministry in France, when the official party press was opened to a defense of the shooting of striking railway workers at the order of the "Socialist" bourgeois coalition cabinet.

It is absolutely necessary to clearly understand the differences between moderate Socialism and revolutionary Socialism in order to understand the development of contemporary Socialism. All the issues in dispute are simply manifestations of one central issue—the castration of fundamental Socialism by that moderate, petty bourgeois "Socialism" which everywhere is actually or potentially counter-revolutionary.

Socialism appears upon the stage of events as a revolutionary movement. It appears as a revolutionary movement, not out of the consciousness of Marx, but out of the compulsion of itself. Socialism was conceived as a class movement of the revolutionary proletariat, as the most consistent and resolute expression of the working class movement for emancipation.

Considering itself as the expression of the mass movement of the proletariat, Socialism necessarily was affected by the prevailing social condition. After the Franco-Prussian War and the collapse of the first International, social conditions determined organized Socialism as a movement of the aristocracy of labor (skilled workers) organized in the trades unions, and the middle class. In other words, Socialism in action developed into a petty bourgeois liberal reform movement with nationalism as an inevitable accompaniment.

The emergence of this new Social-Democratic Party in Germany, —the unity of the Eisenachers and the Lassalleans. These factions were unified and the party organized on the basis of the Gotha Program. In this unity fundamental revolutionary Socialism was abandoned, the Gotha Program being mercilessly criticized by Marx, particularly in its conception of the state as the means for proletarian emancipation. This Program evaded completely the revolutionary task of the conquest of power of that fundamental problem which Marx, in his Criticism of the Gotha Program, characterized as follows: "Between the capitalist society and the communist, lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period in which the state cannot be anything else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat." Evading the actual problems of the Revolution, Socialism developed into a peaceful movement of organization, of trades union struggles, of parliamentary action, of conceiving legislation and the bourgeois state as the means of introducing Socialism.

The period 1875-1900 was a period of feverish industrial expansion on the basis of the national state. In this period there was a joint movement which affected the ideology and the practice of the Socialist movement; on the one hand, the organization of the skilled workers into trade unions, which secured certain concessions and became a privileged caste; and, on the other, the decay of the industrial middle class, crushed by the iron tread of industrial concentration. As one moved upwards and the other downwards, they met, formed a juncture, and united in a struggle to use the state to improve their conditions. This necessarily meant the use of a political party; and in Europe the party chosen was the party of Socialism, upon which the trades unions and the middle class imposed a petty bourgeois policy of reform legislation and State Capitalism.

(Continued on page 5.)

LENIN DENOUNCES BERNE SOCIALISTS

(Continued from page 1.)

public of America, these and thousands of similar facts reveal the truth which the bourgeois tries in vain to conceal, that even in the most democratic of republics the terrorism and dictatorship of the bourgeoisie reigns and shows itself quite openly each time the extortioners imagine that the power of capital is beginning to tremble.

"The imperialistic war of 1914-1918 has, once for all, revealed to the survivors among the workmen the true character of bourgeois democracy as bourgeois dictatorship in some of the most free republics. To enrich the German and English groups of millionaires, dozens of millions of men have been murdered and bourgeois military dictatorship established in the most free of the republics. This dictatorship is still kept up in the Entente countries even after the defeat of Germany. The war, more than anything else, has served to open the eyes of the workingman, has stripped bourgeois democracy of its sham adornment, and shows the nation the vast abyss of speculation and love of gain. The bourgeoisie carried on the war in the name of liberty and equality, and in that same name military contractors have raked in unheard-of riches. No effort on the part of the Bern International will be able to conceal from the masses the thieving character definitely unmasked, of bourgeois liberty, bourgeois equality, and bourgeois democracy.

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THE RED FLAG IN IRELAND

Reminiscences of May Day.

Thanks to the authorities, especially that they were to the fore on May 1st. They have sanctified the Red Flag with the frown of their disapproval.

In other countries where May Day has been generally observed for many years one will not readily understand or realize what a great event the celebration in Ireland of May Day this year means. For the first time in Ireland the people have demonstrated their comradeship with the workers of the world. They demonstrated their realization that communication with the world henceforth must be through the ranks of Labor. And with that demonstration has come to them the realization that they are the important body of the community, that without them their masters could not exist, but that they could exist without their masters.

For the people in Ireland that is a great step forward. It spells the awakening of the people to the fact that political freedom is not the be-all of freedom; that to be truly free economic freedom must be linked with their political freedom. The inevitable has come. With the awakening of revolutionary spirit (caused by the insurrection of 1916) has come an intensive growth of revolutionary thought. The people of Ireland have always felt a quick sympathy with any movement by a people towards freedom, and have always rejoiced at the overthrow of a tyrant or oppressor. Since the overthrow of the Czar the Irish people have watched, as far as they were able, the acts of the liberated Russians, and the system they have set up in the place of the old tyranny. And they have found it good. It appeals to

them, it is easy for them to understand, easy for them to approve. They have placed it side by side with the systems that prevail in the free republics of France and America, and have decided that the Russian system is the system that appeals to them, and which appears the most just. And we in Ireland have long been hungry for justice; our hunger has whetted our desire.

But to get back to May Day. All over the country it was observed with the exception of a few places in the North. The thrifty, hard-headed Northerner could not support a principle at the expense of a day's pay, so we had the amazing spectacle of "Progressive Ulster" being two days behind the world in celebrating May Day. As one of the reports has it, "They had a May Day of their own on May 3rd."

A general order appears to have been sent out by the authorities to the police all over the country that they were to warn the people not to carry Red Flags under pain of prosecution. I will take a few extracts from reports on May Day to show how the people met this order. The first is from a town in Monaghan, one of the Ulster counties.

"The workers assembled in their meeting halls, and dividing themselves into squads with a leader to each, went on an organizing mission through the country districts and stopped all work, turning back all vehicles going to the railway station or to the town. It was market day in the town, but a week previous notices had been posted up in the surrounding districts announcing — 'The World rests on May 1st, 1919—no work on that day.' The local police, however, went round the town trying to get the shopkeepers to open, and promising them police protection. On the morning of May 1st the police came into the town and posted themselves at various points. Notwithstanding their activ-

ities the shopkeepers closed down with one exception, whose eight assistants were brought out. The day was brought to a fitting conclusion by a workers' dance."

This in a district scarcely two months organized!

In another report from the North we are told that the police issued the usual warning about the Red Flag. The workers had a red banner. On receipt of the warning a deputation went to the police to know if their banner could be called a Red Flag. "We want to know," said one of the deputation, "if our banner can be called a Red Flag. If not we'll have to get one."

Report from Maryborough.—"Labor Day was observed as a general holiday all places of business, without except being closed, and there being an all round downing of tools. The great country demonstration which testified to the strength of Labor was a huge success, and made a big impression on all who witnessed it. The procession was quite as imposing as that which took place on the memorable 23rd of April last year, and even more so, having regard to the display of red flags and banners, which was quite an innovation. Red rosettes were generally worn by the processionists. The day was not merely a "red letter" day. It was a Red Flag Day and no other color but red could be seen. Who would dare sing 'The Green above the Red' on a day like this? The speeches, delivered at the great public meeting were masterpieces of oratory and well worth listening to, and the conduct of the crowds after the meeting was exemplary, reflecting the utmost possible credit on the Labor movement: Labor omnia vincit! Altogether Labor can feel proud of its achievement on May Day in Maryborough." This extract is taken from the "Red press."

At Kilmacomas 2,000 marched in a procession headed by a red banner bearing the inscription "A Workers' Republic."

Maynooth workers marched to Kilkenny carrying the Red Flag triumphantly, although warned not to do so by the police, who threatened prosecutions.

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Mount Mellick workers marched to Maryborough. Before the procession started the police endeavored to seize the Red Flag, "but the workers weren't having any." Having failed in their efforts the police busied themselves in taking names.

Street observed Labor Day. "Every worker doing the gent." The farmers of the district are described as "wondering what the world is coming to."

Dunshaughin was the scene of some excitement when the police endeavored to take down the Red Flag. One result of their action was that the spokesman of the workers procured a supply of red material and distributed it amongst the people who displayed the color prominently.

In Drogheda the Trades Council on receiving the warning from the police re Red Flag, decided to hold no celebration. The I. T. and G. W. Union members insisted on celebrating Labor Day, and they held a most successful demonstration at which the Red Flag was prominently displayed. Ballycough workers marched to Mallow to take part in Labor Day demonstration, a distance of twenty miles. Cappoquin reports that Labor Day was a great success. As a result "Labor advanced to a solid position in the weak spots."

In one place in Co. Dublin the speaker turned the police warning into ridicule. Immediately after being warned by the police not to carry the Red Flag he mounted the platform and holding the Red Flag in his hand said, "The police object to me carrying the Red Flag. Well, I've carried a red head for over twenty years and nobody has ever objected to it."

And so I might go on through over a hundred reports but but I think I have given sufficient to show that the workers of Ireland have definitely pledged their support to the banner of Labor.

NORA CONNOLLY.

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MUSICAL PROGRAM

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The preamble of the soviet resolution, submitted by James A. Dunne by instruction of the central labor council of Seattle, reads as follows:

"The workers of Russia are endeavoring to establish in their country a government of, by and for the workers.

"We find the capitalists of the whole world seeking to annul their efforts by every conceivable, underhanded method known to them, such as starving the people of Russia by a blockade, intervention by Japanese, our allies and United States troops without the consent of congress, and assisting financially the counter revolutionists of the old czar regime; all of which methods are out of harmony with justice, progress, civilization and democracy.

"We believe the workers of America have the power to prevent the capitalists of the United States from carrying out their part in the plan for the destruction of the new workingmen's government of Russia."

The resolution, which was adopted by the Seattle organization, calls upon congress immediately to order troops out of Russia and recognize

the soviet government, and would require the American Federation of Labor to conduct a ballot of all local unions "to ascertain the sentiment" of the membership upon the question of recognition of the bolsheviks. The result, it is declared "would serve as a guide to the conduct of all labor officials and unionists generally."



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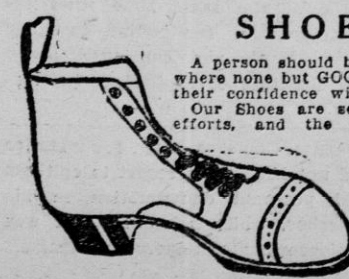
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GERMAN SOCIALISTS HOPELESSLY DIVEDED

Breach Between Majority and Independents
Widened by Weimar Convention

By MICHAEL FARBMAN.

Weimar Germany, June 14 (via Copenhagen, Denmark, June 18).—The leaders of the opposition in the majority socialist conference, which has just closed, have been anxiously warning their fellow delegates that the working masses are impatiently awaiting the decisions of this convention to know which way to go. Thousands of the party members, they say, are on the verge of despondency and are putting their last hope in the prospect that this convention might end the impossible situation.

The contention among the masses is tremendous and if the party continues its civil strife with the other socialist party, thus strengthening the counter-revolution; if it goes on supporting Noske's fight with the working class and approves the shelving of the necessary socialist reforms, the masses will indignantly break with the majority socialists and join the independents or even the communists (bolshviki).

All Warnings in Vain.

This warning of the few and rather feeble and staggering members of the opposition was brought home to the convention with greater force and more convincingly by the numerous resolution sent in by the mass meetings of branches of the party and the provincial conferences of the majority socialists. It was in vain. The Weimar convention had no ear and no understanding for those passionate warnings. The alleged brutality of Noske and his guards, ruled by martial law, unprecedented even under the old regime; the use of military force to destroy the working class organization and the working class solidarity; the capitulation of the government before the old military gang—all this makes the blood of the working men boil, but it was very little felt by the Weimar convention.

A resolution demanding the resignation or expulsion of Noske from the government, and even from the party, was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The Noske policy was accepted by the party and Noske himself was not only assured of confidence and trust, but was actually made a kind of hero for his startling revelations about some of the independent socialist leaders who tried to win over a few of the most reactionary commanders of the "freiwillige" (volunteers) corps. Noske is no more the "bloodhound" (bloodhound) of the revolution, but the trusted leader of the majority socialists, and his policy of "belagerungszustand" (state of siege) is now the accepted policy of the party.

"Rebuke" Couched in Mild Words.

It is true that the convention rebuked the "freiwillige" for their rough behavior, but this rebuke was couched in extremely mild and guarded words, and even so the real blame was put upon the socialist workers, who would not enter the ranks of the corps in sufficient numbers to convert the troop to a different attitude.

As to rule by martial law, the convention admitted that it is unavoidable and only demanded as a kind of democratic guaranty that martial law should not be proclaimed without consultation with the local party organizations. Alas, that will be no guaranty whatever, as, according to a definite statement by Noske, in no case was martial law proclaimed and "freiwillige" sent without a special invitation from the local majority socialist organizations. So Noske becomes more powerful and more dictatorial than ever. The "freiwillige" remain and Noske promised that they will continue to defend law and order in their own peculiar way, that is, in his own words, "by force," and the "belagerungszustand" remains—this time not only with the approval of the socialist cabinet ministers, but by the whole of the majority socialist party.

Leader of Opposition Downhearted.

These are the main results of the Weimar convention. The leaders of the opposition and those few optimists who have been hoping against hope that reason will prevail at the other end are now very confused and frankly downhearted. I spoke to them, and they admitted that they will be helpless to prevent the mass desertion of the rank and file to the independents and communists.

The only hope, they say, not only for socialism but for real democracy in Germany lies in the unity of the working class. However, unity is absolutely out of the question so long as the majority socialists insist upon ruling with a mercenary army instructed and commanded by officers belonging body and soul to the old regime. The Weimar convention passed a unity resolution, but it was nothing else than a plain invitation of unconditional surrender.

Put Blame on Independents.

The majority socialists will sacrifice nothing for the sake of unity. They put the discord entirely to the account of the independents whom they accuse of disrespect of democratic principles. As a preliminary for unity the convention demands relentless acceptance by the independents of democratic principles and a definite break with the communists. The wording of this resolution shows clearly that its authors do not expect any practical success. The only purpose is to put the blame for the continuation of the feud on the other side. It is questionable whether even this modest purpose will succeed.

That the independents will ignore this curious invitation for submission is obvious and they are confident that the rank and file even of the majority socialists are becoming more indignant with the childish pretension to identify rule by martial law with democracy. It is a curious fact but it can be observed at present all over the world that the more people speak of democracy the less actual democracy remains. I had many opportunities to watch the independent socialist leaders as well as the rank and file and I venture the statement that they are honest and wise enough not to pretend that their rule will be a kingdom of absolute democracy. They are conscious that real democracy is not to be established by words.

Communist Element Growing.

By their honest refusal to pay lip services to democracy the independent socialists are probably nearer the goal than those socialist bureaucrats who base their power upon mercenaries, while accusing everybody else of disrespect to democratic principles. Nothing is more wrong than to imagine that the independents are favoring the communists. The real attitude of the independents to the communists is very much the same as that of the majority socialists to the independents—mutual distrust and struggle for power.

As a matter of fact the independents are losing to the communists as much as they are gaining to themselves from the majority socialists. According to some trustworthy observers the communists are growing even more rapidly in numbers than the independent socialists. The rivalry between those two parties of the left is strong and genuine and yet there is something in common between the independents and the communists which makes absurd the idea of a union between the majority socialists and the independents for the purpose of defeating the communists.

Industrial Control Is Issue.

This common interest is their mutual adherence to the soviet idea of industrial control or as it is here called, "real-gedanke." It is now clearly seen that this principle of labor control over industry is the main result of the revolution. It is virtually the acid test of revolutions. There are plenty of party divisions in Germany, but the real one is based upon the attitude toward the principle of industrial democracy. On the one side are the growing numbers of workingmen, conscious of the paramount necessity to acquire control over industry and on the other are the enemies of industrial control by the workers.

If one judged from external evidence the revolution in Germany seems destroyed and the counter-revolution faces of old Germany are appearing but that impression is wrong. Revolutionary actions are growing among the masses and the demand for industrial control is steadily gaining ground. The growth of the Noske guards may give an impression of the defeat of the revolution, but the real measure of the success of the revolution is the success of the revolution.

THE LEFT WING MANIFESTO AND PROGRAM

(Continues from page 3)

The ideal of this middle class crushed under the iron tread of industrial concentration was state ownership and control of the large aggregations of capital, of the trusts. Unable to wield real economic power, the middle class tried through state beneficence, by means of legislative measures, to crush trust capital and reassert its independence. This policy was doomed to disaster, since industrial concentration, being an economic necessity of Capitalism itself, could not be prevented by the state.

The aristocracy of labor, having secured concessions and a privileged status because of its skill, was equally menaced by this industrial concentration, which expropriated the skilled workers of their skill. These privileged workers menaced by industrial development combined with the middle class to secure legislative measures of reform on the basis of Capitalism.

Out of this unity of the aristocracy of labor, the privileged unions and the middle class, the small producers, arose the general campaign for legislative reforms and for State Capitalism. The dominant organized Socialism became the expression of this bourgeois policy, abandoning fundamental Socialism and the revolutionary class struggle. Bourgeois liberal ideals were absorbed by the Socialist spokesmen and became, largely, the official Socialist policy, with parliamentarism the means of struggle.

This development meant, obviously, the abandonment of fundamental Socialism. It meant working on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, instead of destroying that state; it meant the "co-operation of classes" for State Capitalism instead of the uncompromising proletarian class struggle for Socialism. Instead of the revolutionary theory of the necessity of conquering Capitalism the official practice now was that of modifying Capitalism gradually, of a peaceful growing into Socialism on the basis of legislative reforms,—in the words of Jaures, we shall carry on our reform work to a complete transformation of the existing order.

But instead of modifying or transforming the existing order of Capitalism, the legislative reform policy of the dominant moderate Socialism strengthened Capitalism. Out of this fact, and out of the fact that concentrated capital was mobilizing the typical proletariat of unskilled labor, develop mass movements against parliamentarism and the dominant Socialism.

Syndicalism was a departure from Marxism, theoretically unsound, although its life-impulse was a factor of prime importance, becoming a distorted expression because of the opposition of parliamentary Socialism. But the Left Wing theory of mass action and the American concept of industrial unionism were in absolute accord with Marxian Socialism, a tactical supplementary to Marxism.

The struggle against the dominant Socialism became a struggle against its perversion of parliamentarism, against its petty bourgeois conception of the state. Industrial unionism and mass action equally realized the necessity of dynamic extra-parliamentary action in order to wage the immediate struggle of the proletariat and ultimately realize the Social Revolution. There was another fundamental point of agreement—the necessity of weakening the bourgeois parliamentary state, of destroying it in order to replace it by the proletarian state. The growth of working class consciousness and of the demand for control over industry. It is a question not as to who will possess the guns, but as to who will have the control over the economic life.

Noske Disarmed o'Working Class.

The future historian of the German revolution will remember Noske not only as the "bloodhound" of the revolution, as he seems to fear, but also as the man who succeeded in changing the methods of the working class revolution. He totally disarmed the working class and armed the capitalists and the middle class and thus he has put an end to the desperate and detestable attempts to establish socialism by means of machine guns and hand grenades. The working class in Germany is reviving now its powerful methods of industrial action. There will be no more red guard attacks upon capitalism in Germany. The new German militarism will be undermined by industrial action. The "freiwillige" will be demoralized and finally destroyed by lack of occupation.

realize Socialism. The experience of the revolutionary proletariat in Russia and Germany, abundantly confirms, while supplementing, this theory of revolutionary Socialism.

The clash between the dominant moderate Socialism and revolutionary Socialism, accordingly, developed into this moderate Socialism emphasized the necessity of legislative activity, of using the bourgeois parliamentary state to realize Socialism; revolutionary Socialism rejected legislative measures as a means of realizing Socialism, considered parliamentary action as simply a means of agitation, emphasized that the parliamentary political state should be weakened and finally overturned by means of revolutionary industrial and mass action in order to realize Socialism. The one was petty bourgeois and moderate; the other proletarian and revolutionary.

Revolutionary Socialism emphasized that the policy of parliamentary reform promoted State Capitalism, and that State Capitalism was directly counter-revolutionary; moderate Socialism maintained that every extension of the functions of the state, of state ownership or control of industry was a "step toward" Socialism. Imperialism solved the controversy, unanswerably, by making State Capitalism the mechanism of Imperialism.

Imperialism develops out of the concentration of industry and the domination of industry by finance-capital—the unity of industrial and bank capital. Imperialism requires the centralized state capable of unifying the forces of capital, of maintaining the discontented class groups in subjection of mobilizing the whole national power in the international struggle of Imperialism. State Capitalism is the particular form of expression of Imperialism, the final stage of Capitalism. What the parliamentary policy of the dominant moderate Socialism accomplished was to strengthen the capitalist state, to promote State Capitalism, and, accordingly, to strengthen Imperialism.

The dominant moderate Socialism, expressing the middle class and the aristocracy of labor (two groups which are aggrandized by Imperialism and converted into consciously counter-revolutionary agents) developed into the existing system of Imperialism. Upon the declaration of war, accordingly, this dominant moderate "Socialism" accepted the war and the policy of the imperialist governments, betrayed the proletariat and revolutionary Socialism. Moderate Socialism is a traitor to Socialism and a betrayer of the proletariat in war and in peace, and particularly during the Revolution. Moderate Socialism is the expression of the national liberal movement, which is fundamentally reactionary, the movement in theory of the middle class and the aristocracy of labor which have been bribed by Imperialism into nationalism and reaction. It is the worst enemy of the militant proletariat and Socialism.

MILITARISM ALONE IS THRIVING IN GERMANY

(Continued from page 1)

to house in Berlin arguing with the inhabitants to enroll "for the preservation of law and order."

"I am sick of the army," says the inhabitant who has fought for four years on the Kaiser's battle fronts. "I don't want to have anything to do with the army again. It seems to me that you have enough without me. I did my service in the war and think that is plenty. I don't see the need of organizing another tremendous army."

"Oh, so you are a bolshevik," replies the recruiting squad. "You don't want Noske to overthrow bolshevism. Well —"

"I am not a bolshevik," interrupts the inhabitant hastily.

Can't Be Considered Bolsheviki.

He knows that Berlin is ruled by martial law, that it is under a state of siege and that if the military authorities get the idea into their heads that he is a bolshevik it will mean his arrest and imprisonment without trial, and heaven knows what else.

The recruiting squad's argument causes him to stammer. He begs that he be given a few days to think it over. The recruiting squad presses the advantage and talks of the murdering and plundering going on all the time—a palpable lie—and the inhabitant finally puts his name in the service of the fatherland, again a soldier liable to be called at any moment into battle. He reflects perhaps that the only difference

between social democracy and the Kaiser's rule is that the latter used honest and above board methods in its work, while the former resorts to insidious moral blackmail.

But He Isn't Through Yet.

But the inhabitant is not yet through. There is some talk of having Noske take the troops out of Berlin and of having a government army of less than 400,000 volunteers. Along comes another squad of an underofficer and helmeted soldiers with guns. The inhabitant opens the door to them. Yes, he has been enrolled in the inhabitants' guard. What do they want now?

"We are getting the signatures of all citizens—respectable citizens—who do not want the Noske troops to be withdrawn from Berlin and who do not desire the state of siege to be raised," explains the squad.

The inhabitant frowns. He knows that it is costing 2,000,000,000 marks a month (\$500,000,000) to maintain the Noske guard—about fifteen times more than it cost to maintain the Kaiser's armies. He knows that nearly all of the government's money is going for the upkeep of its military and that there is no money left for helping the poor, for providing pensions for war crippled soldiers or even for feeding the sick in hospitals. He knows also that during a state of siege the soldiers receive 10 per cent more pay than in normal times.

"Bolshevik" Argument Used Again.

"I think things would be all right if the Noske troops were withdrawn," he begins. "Especially I do not think that a state of siege is necessary. I don't think it will sign."

"Oh, then you are a bolshevik," retorts the squad. "You want the Noske soldiers withdrawn to give the bolshevik a chance to overthrow the government. Well, we shall have to look into this."

And such is the terror under which the inhabitant lives from day to day—the terror of bolshevism, but even more the terror of the powers and temper of the new German government—that he signs.

Leaving out the inhabitant, now a member of the inhabitants' guard and one of the thousands of respectable citizens who desire Noske's army to remain in Berlin and the state of siege likewise to remain, behold the intellectual—say rather the thinking citizen who long before the war cherished the ideal of a democratic country. The thinking citizen attends a meeting at which the speakers attack the growing militarism. He is arrested a trial is denied him for Noske has decreed that he is a dangerous character.

Write for Papers? May Be Arrested.

Or the thinking citizen writes articles for a newspaper or publishes a pamphlet calling attention to the fact that all is not as it should be in this new Germany. He is warned not to repeat the offense; if he does he is arrested. It is indeed possible to attack the politics of Schiedemann; many newspapers and magazines do so. But woe to the man who seeks to cast slurs upon

WORTH THEIR MONEY

Leo Stark, is now incarcerated in the Reno County Jail, Hutchinson, Kansas. He is making some gorgeous and remarkably fine pillow tops. We have received one of them and they are too fine for words. The material in them costs \$2.50 and they take twelve hours to make.

Fellow-worker Stark is asking our readers to send him five dollars for one. Of course if you agree with us, you will send more, but nevertheless send him five dollars. Besides getting value for your money you will be helping Stark along.

"COMRADESHIP IS LIFE IN ITS NOBLEST EXPRESSION."

Leo Stark, Reno County Jail,
Hutchinson, Kansas.

the military, who caricatures Noske, who refers bitterly to any phase of the new militarism now saddling itself upon the German nation—this is the grand treason, even as in 1914 this was the unpardonable offense.

As for the weak-minded imbecile who actually intrigues and openly announces that he desires the overturn of the militarists, you can count his graves in the prison cemeteries. Arrest and execution without the privilege of a civil trial is as often as not his lot.

It must not be thought that Schiedemann and Noske are alone responsible for this state of affairs. Schiedemann and Noske could not do what they are doing were they not abetted by a large part of the German people, and their being so abetted shows that a large part of the German people do not hate militarism. On the contrary, they love it. They revel in the sight of a marching column and in the sound of a brass band. They do not blame militarism for the war; they blame the cupidity and jealousy of the entente for the war.

Mathias Erzberger is one of the social democratic spokesmen of this theory and every citizen one meets is part of its voice.

New Germany is recovering from the shock of the lost war. It has not had enough. Its people prefer a militarist government to a nonmilitarist government. These are the obvious deductions one draws today in Berlin. There are other things less obvious. The future, for instance. The great bulk of the German working classes hate Noskeism more than they hate kaiserism. In Noskeism they declare lies betrayal while in kaiserism they saw the logical dictatorship of an avowed caste system. While the bourgeois newspapers are praising Noske to the skies and referring to him in all seriousness as Noske the First and proclaiming him to be the man able to save Germany—meaning the man able to bring Germany back into the military caste dictatorship

which prevailed before the war—the workmen's newspapers are leagued against him. They can attack him only covertly, for the censorship is rigorous and martial law is swift.

The future of Germany swings between Noskeism or militarism and a democratic revolution. A democratic revolution in Germany means a socialist revolution. The several attempts at such a revolution, including that of November, have failed. The next attempt will be a decision one way or the other, effective for years to come. It may arrive as the logical collapse of a government misrepresenting the working class or it may come via a revolt, via barricades and red flags. If such a revolution once succeeds it will mean the elimination of militarism from the German state and the substitution of a democracy based upon the unity of the working class. If such a revolution fails it will mean the continuance of militarism despite any mandates contained in the entente's peace terms.

Socialists, I. W. W., Radicals, Rationalists and all Lovers of good Literature, why write to some distant town for your favorite Books, while you can obtain all books on any subject from Milwaukee at the

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A Message From Hungary

TO THE AMERICAN WORKINGMEN

(By Cable to The Liberator)

We send heartiest greetings to the working proletariat of America. Although it has been possible for capitalism to put one part of you against the others, especially the well-paid workers against those not so well paid, we firmly believe that you will within a short time see clearly that you all belong to an oppressed class, that the bourgeoisie has become unnecessary in your country as it has shown itself to be unnecessary in ours.

For European capitalism the twilight of the gods has arrived. Everybody sees this now. But capitalists console themselves with the hope that the American workingmen will save capitalism for them. We trust that the American workingmen will frustrate this hope.

We particularly greet the Hungarian workmen of America. They had to emigrate from Hungary because it did not offer them a home. We now have made it a home for them.

(Signed) BELA KUN

People's Commissaire of Foreign Affairs

OF THE HUNGARIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC

This message was delivered personally to Crystal Eastman in Buda Pesth by Bela Kun. Her full story of the interview with him, and her account of conditions in Hungary, will appear in the next number of The Liberator.

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THE BOY SCOUTS.

Today there is wide-spread campaign to make every boy a Boy Scout. It is the bouden duty of every father and mother to enter an emphatic protest against the promotion of such an organization. Must we forever train our children, in all the arts and wiles of militarism. Deny it if you can, that the Boy Scout is a non-military organization and then explain why General Baden Powell is over here to engage in a Boy Scout campaign.

If you want to promote the welfare of the boys of this country, then go into the sweatshops and the industrial hells of this country and bring them forth out into the fresh air. Give them decent surroundings and a proper education and you will make them better citizens, than by drilling them and making them into submissive slaves.

Mothers and fathers educate your children in the right way. Teach them to think for themselves and you will then live to see a world set free. But if you want to see the fields of the world drenched with blood again, then support the Boy Scout movement. Tonight seven million men, from the silence of the grave ask, was this war to stop militarism and the answer of the dead must be responded to by the living. If you are workmen and workwomen with red blood in your veins, you will stand up now and tell the rulers of the world, that your children will grow up only to respect their own class, to stand up by their own class and to fight for their own class. Let those who seek to make nations, nations of soldiers to do more fighting, do the fighting they so earnestly long for.

The need of the hour is action. Start with your children now and never let this world be denched in blood and tears again.

"If This Be Treason, Then Make the Most of It!"

The "patriots" of America are out to stamp out Bolshevism. Just for the sake of coming down to an understanding, let us review the history of one of these "patriots" during the Civil War.

In 1861, a number of condemned carbines, some five thousand in all, were lying in the Government Arsenal New York. They were the remainder of a consignment that was condemned in 1857 by the Government, just because they were so bad, when the soldiers used them, they shot their own thumbs off. That was all that was the matted with them.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

The Minneapolis Tribune, in its editorial of the 9th inst. states:—

"There may have been a time when a good many employers would have witnessed the overthrow of the Gompers element in the Federation with indifference, or would even have looked on with satisfaction if the Federation had been split in two, but there are not many who would feel that way now. Too many of them look upon the maintenance of the Federation as a strong Trades Union body as one of the strongest safeguards of society today against the delusions and perils of Socialism."

In the same edition we also learn that Mr. Gompers is in direct touch with the administration of this country and he will see to it, that nothing is done to interfere with the policies of the Government. The department of justice, we also learn, is watching the movements of the radicals within the A. F. of L.

In other words the American Federation of Labor, through the machinations of Mr. Gompers, is bound body and soul to the Democratic party. It is plain to be seen why Gompers opposes even a Labor Party in this country. A well-known labor leader, one who was at the recent conference in Paris, when asked about the A. F. of L., stated, that the Federation was the kept woman of the Democratic Party and sooner or later must go the way of all kept women, that is, to be cast out on to the street after it has been used and no longer serves the purpose of its master. This labor leader is not a young hot-headed radical, he is an old timer and one who has been in the Labor movement, as the head of an international organization for over thirty years.

The American Federation of Labor boasts about its increased membership during the war. It tells of the millions of new members that came into the organization. It forgets to tell, why those new members joined up. The truth of the matter is this, that the War Labor Board made it a rule to deal with organized labor and therefore the workers in order to bring their grievances before the Government, found it necessary to join the A. F. of L. So when Gompers points to the increased membership as a sign that the A. F. of L. is growing in strength, he fools himself and his followers.

Study the evolution of man and there you will find positive proof that sooner or later the American Federation of Labor will crumble up and go down to eternal oblivion. It may seem far fetched to draw the analogy between the theory of evolution and the increased membership of the A. F. of L., yet it will be seen that the process of evolution in the animal world is analogous to the process of evolution in the industrial world. In the Tertiary era—some twenty millions of years ago—the earth, basking in the warmth of a tropical climate, had produced a luxuriant vegetation, and a swarming progeny of gigantic, small-brained animals for which the exuberant vegetation provided abundant and easily acquired sustenance. They were a breed of huge, clumsy and grotesque creatures, that wandered heavily and gorged lazily over the land. At that time the giant dinosaurs were in existence. They were the product of prosperous days, destined to perish at the first onslaught of adversity. With the advance of the carnivora, the flesh-eating tribe, the primitive forerunners of the tiger, wolf, hyena, foxes, etc., there ensued a terrific struggle. The stolid barborivorous mon-

sters were subjected a severe selective struggle. Gone were the days, when they could go about gorging lazily. This new condition of affairs found them at the mercy of the flesh-eating animals and in but a few years they perished unable to flee from their oppressors and to clumsy to resist attack. It was a case of adapt or die. The herbivorous animals could not adapt themselves and they died.

Now let us turn to the American Federation of Labor. During the prosperous days of the war, when labor was scarce. When men could go about and obtain a job almost anywhere, the organizations of labor prospered. It was easy for men to obtain better conditions and higher wages. Into the American Federation of Labor flocked thousands of members of the workingclass. With the indorsement given to the A. F. of L. by the War Labor Board it was not to be wondered at, that they increased their membership. But now that the prosperous days of the war are over and the struggle becomes more acute, the A. F. of L. like the herbivorous monsters of prehistoric days, will perish in the struggle for existence. Faced by the mighty trust of organized capital, the A. F. of L. with its organizations of small joint stock company days finds itself compelled to make appeals to public opinion. In the everyday war between capitalists and workers, sentiment plays no part whatsoever. If an organization has the power to enforce its demands, then that organization wins out. But if an organization depends upon public opinion, it is doomed to certain failure. There is one way to combat the organized capitalist class and that is form your organizations on the lines laid down by the industrial development of today. Make every worker realize that the basis of industry is commodity production. Every worker engaged in one industry should be organized within the industrial union that covers that industry. Take the transport industry, every member of the workingclass engaged in the transport industry should be organized in the transport industrial union and so on. Every industrial union to be organized into the One Big Union and so make the workingclass one vast organization of the workers combatting the one big union of the capitalist class. If the workers do that, then they will be able to conquer in the struggle. But if they follow out the policy of the A. F. of L., then they are going to be broken upon the rack of capitalism, bound there by the cords of craft unionism. Cast your eyes towards Winnipeg and see the rank betrayal of the Winnipeg workers. See the members of the Typographical Union printing the scab news that is being used to intimidate the strikers and also discredit them in the eyes of organized labor throughout Canada and America. See the actions of the International officers and then be frank with yourselves and ask what hope is there in the A. F. of L.? Bound body and soul by agreements to the capitalist class, the A. F. of L. is holding labor back. So the sooner the rank and file of the A. F. of L. realize how impossible their position is, the better it will be for them.

The American Federation of Labor could have saved Tom Mooney and they refused. For example, witness the actions of the international officers, who refuse to allow THEIR unions to take part in a general strike for Mooney. Watch the action of the A. F. of L. in regard to Debs, a man who has given more to the labor movement than any other member of the A. F. of L. Watch the denunciation of the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes and then ask, is the A. F. of L. even friendly to labor?

UNIONISM.

The recent war has demonstrated one fact more than another and that is we live in a machine age.

The old style of brickmaking has been superseded, due to the fact that it is more efficient to work with the machine and also it saves labor-power. The old style brickmaker, assisted with four or five helpers can make 500 bricks an hour. By working every day throughout the season, a matter of twenty weeks, a man can make 500,000 bricks. Yet, even as far back as fifty years ago, a brick making machine could make the same number of bricks in seven weeks. That is with the machine working eight hours per day and six days per week.

In the manufacture of files, it is stated, on good authority, that an industrious file-cutter delivered 46,000 blows, the majority of them with a hammer weighing seven and one-half pounds, so that his total effort for the day was equal to 1432 tons. The file-cutting machine delivers them as rapidly as the sewing machine thrusts its needle up and down—that is, at the rate of 1,000 per minute. All manner of nice adjustments can be made to suit the character of the file in the machine. The result has been that more files are made by the machine, that could ever be made by the workers, using the old methods.

So we could go on citing the advance made by the machine in industry. In other words, the skill of the craftsman is being annihilated and the skilled men are gradually joining the ranks of the unskilled.

Still there are men who foolishly cling to the old craft union. They feel that they are the aristocrats of labor. Aristocracy is going by the board. Let us realize that fact before it is too late. Do not let the machine divide us to our own detriment, but organize as a class and control the machine.

What shall it be?

Isolation which means damnation!

Or solidarity which means emancipation!

SHURE A SIX HOUR DAY!

The Long Prairie Leader and the Duluth Herald are worried about our demand for a six hour day. We are out for a six hour day and then, as Long Prairie Leader states, we are for a four hour day. But to save any further trouble we are not going to advocate a four hour day, just the taking over of the whole works. That will save time.

The Duluth Herald states that we are alien. The Herald, likewise the News Tribune, might as well be the official organ of British Imperialism. It is rather amusing to be called alien, when we know that 97 per cent of the population of this country, at the time of the revolutionary wars, were also alien.

Let us state, at this time, our position, in order to make it clear and save the Herald any further worry. We are neither alien nor American. We stand for the workers of the world. We stand for the millions of Austrian and German workers, who today are being slowly starved to death by the Allies. We stand for the Russian workers and the workers of every and any country. We stand for the control of the world by the workers. In America we fight for the workers and NOT the shirkers. We stand for all workers in this country, no matter where they were born. What with the Herald, News Tribune and Charlie Chaplin, life is not so empty after all!

THE LAWS OF ADAPTATION.

A few days we had a discussion with a religious friend. We had advised him to read the works of Dietzgen, but he refused and fell back upon the idea that there was a supreme being who controlled the universe. He pointed out

the actions of certain animals, the colors of birds harmonizing with their environment etc., and sought to prove that they were unmistakable evidences of the existence of a supreme being.

Then we received a letter from a State Secretary of a Southern state, asking us to write another editorial dealing preme being, who controlled the universe. He pointed out with the subject of evolution. So we shall endeavor to kill two birds with one stone.

Darwin in his "Origin of Species" shows that in society there is a continuous struggle going on. Many types are eliminated, because they are unfitted to survive and others survive, because they are able to adapt themselves to their environment. Our religious friend fails to see, that the forms and functions of certain organisms are the direct result of this struggle to survive.

The teeth, claws, skin, color, fur, feathers, horns, tusks, wily instincts, strength, stealth, deceit and humility, all these characteristics of the animal world are but the result of this self-same struggle to survive. The survival of any organism implies that it is protected against the climate, starvation or annihilation by enemies, in order that it may live and produce offspring.

In the plant world the same struggle goes on. Where there is cold or drouth, severity of heat or scarcity of food, you will find that the roots of the trees are many times larger than the tree. They make vast ramifications into the earth, in order that they might obtain the necessary sustenance. Again where food is plentiful, there you will find abundant foliage and plant life. Here we find plants surrounded by an abundance of other plants. In the midst of so many plants it becomes well-nigh impossible for the plants to scatter their seeds. Hence we have the various contrivances of fruits and flowers by which animals are enticed to devour the seed and eject it; or by which seeds are easily disseminated by the wind—balloon-like pods in which the seeds are encased, easily rolled along by the wind; or elegant plumage like the dandelion, by means of which the seeds are lightly wafted by the breeze. Each variation, as it occurs sporadically, is adjudged by the environment, condemned or suppressed if harmful; approved, perpetuated and perfected if advantageous.

So when you observe the various animals and plants and you are struck by the manner in which they protect and perpetrate themselves, remember that it is the obeying of the law of adaptation which has made these plants and animals take on their various forms and methods. It is not the work of a supreme being.

The question is sometimes asked, why is it that the field mouse, which is such a delicate creature, manages to survive? It is due to its great fertility. It breeds and breeds in large numbers. One animal by its fangs and venom protects itself and survives, another, like the skunk, throws off a repulsive emanation and so keeps its persecutors away.

The Canadian ptarmigan, an inhabitant of the Rocky mountains, alters its color according to the season be easily year. It is white in the winter, so that it cannot be easily distinguished from the snow. In summer it is green and gray, so as not to distinguish it from the soil, the trees and the foliage of the mountains. In the spring it is a mottled color. The ermine fox of the north has the same adaptability. It will also be found that creatures that come out in the night, such as mice, bats, moles etc., are possessed of a dark skin. The giraffe when standing up amidst the trees, cannot hardly be distinguished owing to the fact that it appears to be a tall tree.

So we may examine all forms of life and we will be struck with this one fact, that only those organisms that adapt themselves to their environment are fitted to survive.

In what is known as the Tertiary era—some twenty million years ago earth basking in the warmth of the tropical climate, had produced a luxuriant vegetation, and a swarming progeny of gigantic small-brained animals. Food was in abundance, far in excess of the demands made upon it. Therefore there was no need for animals to live upon each and grotesque monsters. They travelled about and gorged lazily on the abundant food at hand. At that time there other. The earth at this time, was full of giant, clumsy prevailed such types as the giant dinosaurs, mere feeding and breeding machines. They were the product of prosperous days. The first approach of adverse days brought about the destruction of these giant dinosaurs. They were to heavy and clumsy to risk the attacks of carnivora. The carnivora were the primitive forerunners of our tigers, wolves, hyenas and foxes. During the severe famines, the stolid herbivorous monsters were subjected to a severe selective struggle.

Before the attacks of the carnivora, the lighter, lither and more intelligent foes, the clumsy, inelastic fell. Only those survived that were able to evolve methods of attack and defense. This was a time when the quality most needed to survive was the ability to preceive enemies afar and flee from them. So you can readily see the disadvantage the giant dinosaur was placed at. It was the day of the animals with more plastic forms, such as the horse, antelope, deer, ox, elephant, etc. Many, unable to evolve the acute senses and fleet limbs necessary for the combat on the ground, shrank from the fray and acquired more negative and passive means of defense. Some, like the bat, took to the air, others like the squirrel and the ape took to the trees.

It is here the life of man commences. Driven to the trees by the carnivorous animals, the ape had to use his front feet as a means of swinging from branch to branch. It was here that the ape had to obey the law of adaptation or die. Therefore after obtaining food from one tree he swung to the next and so acquired the use of his front feet, in the form of hands, to grip with. The driving of the ape to the tree did for the carnivora what the carnivora did for the giant dinosaurs. The primeval man, a product of the ape, was forced to adapt himself to his environment. He came down from the trees and invented the arrow and so when chased to the hills, he sent back a shower of arrows and darts and killed his pursuers. Primeval man also invented fire to keep marauders away. So the story can be written, if there is a pen that can do justice to the story, of the wonderful adventures of man, as he obeyed the law of adaptation. The assaults and the attacks of the carnivora upon man, developed the brain of man. It compelled the primeval man to think and invent various weapons wherewith to defend himself.

So we could go on and inform our readers of the many discoveries that have been brought about by mankind obeying the law of adaptation. The inventions of today are but a product of our environment. As man watched various things being done, he saw the necessity of improving upon them. So when our Christian friend examines the various organism, he must understand that the things he witnesses, that seem to strike him with awe, are but the result of the environment of that particular organism.

At this juncture, we can do no better than remind our readers of that wonderful poem of Mrs. Charlotte Stetson:—

SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

In northern climes, the polar bear
Protects himself with fat and hair,
Where snow is deep and ice is stark,
And half the year is cold and dark,
He still survives a clime like that
By growing fur, by growing fat.
These traits, O bear, which thou transmittest
Prove the Survival of the Fittest.

To polar regions waste and wan,
Comes the encroaching race of man,
A puny, feeble, little bubber,
He has no fur, he has no blubber.
The scornful bear sat down at ease
To see the stranger starve and freeze—
But, lo! the stranger slew the bear,
And ate his fat and wore his hair;
These deeds, O Man, which thou committest
Prove the Survival of the Fittest.

In modern times the Millionaire
Protects himself as did the bear;
Where Poverty and Hunger are
He counts his bullion by the car:
Where thousands perish still he thrives—
The wealth, O Croesus, thou transmittest.
Proves the Survival of the Fittest.
But, lo. Some people odd and funny,
Some men without a cent of money—
The simple common human race
Chose too improve their dwelling place;
They had no use for millionaires,
They calmly said the world was theirs,
They were so wise, so strong, so many,
These deeds, O Man, which thou committest
Prove the Survival of the Fittest.

The Bolsheviks of Russia are carrying out the law of adaptation. By their organization of the workers in the factory and their capturing the political state, they have succeeded in obtaining control of Russia. Today the Bolsheviks remain in control because they are best fitted to survive. No sentimental appeals to justice, right and goodness keep them in power, only the intelligent and organized might of the Russian workers. So we, in this country, must organize and educate ourselves, so that by the power of our organization we may capture the political state and upon the ruins of capitalism erect the new society. We shall have to organize industrially and understand for what purpose. By having an industrial organization of the workingclass, not necessarily the majority of the workers, but a militant minority, who understand the philosophy of scientific socialism and know the value of mass action. When we are organized and educated, then we shall survive in the struggle for control. If we are wise we will prepare ourselves, so that we shall win the victory.

ALIEN! WHADDAYAMEAN?

The Duluth Herald seems to take a special delight in informing its readers, that we are an alien. Of course the mere fact that we are an alien, in the orthodox meaning of the term, has no worries for us. But what we do object to, is the Herald and the loyalty leagues parading their so-called Americanism, with a view to discrediting the alien. For any American to point the finger of scorn at an alien is the height of snobbery and conceit. Because all that America has, it owes to the spirit of this so-called alienism.

The atmosphere of this country is becoming so oppressive that even its writers are feeling the effects of it. In what country would the posthumous works of Mark Twain be denied publicity? Only in this country with its Comstockian morality. Mark Twain the grand and illustrious Twain, because he wrote a book that certain people could not appreciate, because of their intellectual stupidity, the book was banned. In what other country, would a millionaire, who does not possess any knowledge of music or any of the arts, be allowed to censor what shall be sung at the Metropolitan Opera House? Only in America. Where are the born American poets, who sing of America in the language of America? They are either dead, smothered under piles of abuse and ridicule or they are wearing their lives away in some forgotten village. The soul of liberty in this country has been killed. We have set up an unseen government that threatens the life of those that dare to be pioneers. Art, literature, etc. all have their censorial committees generally composed of men and women who never had an idea and members of these committees oft-times called dramatic critics etc. kill the intellectual life of America.

We sometimes smile when people tell us that the Irish are always fighting. Better by far to be fighting until the end of time, than to be silent in the midst of social injustices. The mere fact that the Irish question excites so much interest, because of its active side, conclusively proves that there is no American question yet and until the people of this country realize that there is an American question and begin fighting about it, there is no hope for this country.

Shure we are an alien. It was the fault of our parents and they are dead and so we must bear the consequences of their unfortunate act. But what does it matter where a man or woman is born? Does the fact that a man or woman call themselves an American prove that they possess all the virtues and the poor alien all the vices? Does it mean that if the alien takes out papers he sheds his vices and takes on the virtues? The idea is foolish. The alien comes from a land where liberty is not and the people know it. The American is born in a country where he thinks liberty is and it is not. Just a matter of consciousness, is what differentiates between the American and the alien.

The mere fact that men can be taken from their beds and lynched, proves that there is no liberty. The mere fact that corporations can employ kummen to shoot down Americans, proves that there is no political freedom. Americans, we have no quarrel with you, we recite facts. We want to see the world set free. We love this country, like we love all countries. We love the men and women of this country, like we love all men and women. But so long as there is one man or woman denied their just rights, then we fight for their maintenance. To the workingclass of all countries we shall keep the faith. To that class we shall work and fight for. But to ask us to fight for the men who shoot down the class we belong to, to that we cannot agree. True it is that we shall be severely criticized for saying the above, but the time has arrived when ALL men must assert themselves. When the people of this country and of all countries can say what they feel and know to be true, we shall have advanced far along the road that leads to freedom.

Speed the day!