

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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GENERAL STRIKE IN GERMANY KOLTCHAK'S ARMY DESERTING

GERMAN WORKERS REVOLT STRIKERS IN FEVERISH MOOD

By Michael Farbman.

Special Cable to the Daily News.

Berlin, Germany, July 21 (via Copenhagen, Denmark, July 24).

Flags were again flying in Berlin to-day, Berlin once more had a general strike. The independent socialist workers struck to-day to help the 'world revolution' and in sympathy with the 'world strike.' How far the 'world revolution' is a reality and how far the 'world strike' has materialized one cannot judge from here, but to-day's manifestations have clearly enough demonstrated the feverish over-excitement of the masses and the dangerous, almost intoxicated mood of the German workers.

The whole of the German press, including Vorwaerts, the majority socialist newspaper, is putting the entire responsibility for to-day's strikes upon the independent socialist leaders.

To Prevent a Business Revival.

The independent leaders say they have only one intention—to prevent by perpetual strikes German industry from reviving. Theodore Wolff puts it in to-day's Tageblatt very bluntly. Do not the independent socialist see, says Mr. Wolff, how grotesque they look and what a farcical

figure they cut by their perpetual use in, and out of the season of the one meaningless formula "strike"?

I confess that the situation seems to me to be much more dangerous than such an alleged imbecile policy of party leaders would be. If the strikes in Germany were in fact merely the work of wire pullers, amateurs and frivolous "party leaders," Germany's problem would be easy enough to solve. The responsible instigators of strikes would at any time and in any country ultimately be repudiated by the common sense of the masses.

However, the thing which has impressed me most in Germany and especially of late has been the mood of the workmen themselves, their quick reaction to events, their responsiveness of temperament, their psychological instability and their warlike spirit. The danger of the German situation lies in the fact that the masses are rapidly moving to the extreme "left" and that this process of radicalization in Germany is coming from below.

In December, January and March last there was certainly much more wire pulling than now, but the overwhelming majority of the workers were inert and immutably loyal to the doctrines of the majority socialist party.

Masses Leaving Old Socialists.

During that period the agitators, wirepullers and "leaders" were accustomed to give out slogans and put up all sorts of programs and instructions, but there was little response and time and again the leaders were ignobly defended by the common sense of the mass of the workers. The most striking instance of the repudiation by the masses of the "leaders" was the defeat of the independent socialists and communists over the question of a national assembly. The leaders of the left ordered that the assembly should be ignored, but the masses paid no attention and returned majority socialists. However, when the majority socialists in the next few months failed to satisfy the needs of the people the masses of workers gradually began to turn to the left. In fact it was rather a double of

(Continued on Page 5)

WELTER OF LIES HIDES PLAN OF ENTENTE TO KILL SOVIET RUSSIA

Hunger That Slays Women and Children Caused by Blockade to Aid Monarchists.

French Sabotage R. R. System By Destroying Engines—Greater Than Belgium Rape.

The N. Y. call has just received a statement from Robert Minor regarding the situation in Russia. Minor has criticized quite frankly the Bolshevik administration of the Soviet government of Russia, where its methods did not meet with his approval. It is needless to state that these criticisms were not, however, made from the same standpoint as those of the capitalist press in all countries. But when the Soviet government is lied about and charged with crimes that it never committed; when it is accused of a lack of capacity that in reality is the impossibility of doing the things that it wished to do because of the help extended to the forces of reaction by the imperialists of the world, Minor at once champions the cause of the first working-class republic in the world.

By ROBERT MINOR.

Of the past year I have spent nine months in central Russia, and am in a good position to know what the situation there is. I wish to tell you that nearly every article now being published to disparage the Soviet republic is damnably false and is propaganda financed by men interested in restoring reaction.

The persistent stories of bloodshed in Russian cities are false almost in toto. I have read accounts of battles in Moscow at times when I was there, and I can certify that such stories are ridiculously untrue. There is less disorder, and a man, woman or child of the bourgeois or any other class is safer on the streets of Moscow than in any other city I have ever been in.

Hunger Caused by Blockade.

There is terrible hunger in Russia. But that hunger is due almost entirely to other causes

Soviet Heads May File Protest Against Terror in Washington

Sensational Story That Russian and Hungarian Premiers May Ask Civilized Governments to Repress Anarchy in Streets of Capital of United States.

Washington.—Joint protest by the Russian and Hungarian Soviet governments against the state of anarchy which prevails nightly at Washington may shortly be filed here, according to a sensational rumor current about the State Department today.

It is agreed that such a protest would be largely for propaganda purpose, inasmuch as no Russian or Hungarian citizens have as yet been injured by the bands of the white and black terrorists who course the principal streets of Washington in motor cars and drive innocent citizens before them with volleys from their firearms.

Lenine and Bela Kun are believed fully capable of addressing a formal request to all civilized governments to unite in a movement to discourage chaos here, in imitation of Secretary Lansing's call to the powers a year ago in behalf of those classes in Russia alleged to be suffering under the Soviet regime.

Members of the Overman Committee that investigated social disaffection in America believe the blockaded Russian and Hungarian chieftains would not hesitate at such a protest designed to curry favor, on the one hand with the millions of American Negroes and on the other with scores of diplomatic heads and attaches from Latin American, Mediterranean and Oriental countries, whose swarthy complexions make them shining targets for the undisciplined gunmen who have overthrown law and order at Washington.

than Bolshevik rule. The chief cause at the present moment is the blockade by the Entente navies. By preventing by force Russia's trading with foreign markets, hundreds of thousands of women and children are being starved by the Entente and American governments. Hypocritical offers of charity are made in order to cover up the fact that the starvation is due to the blockade. By means of shutting off Russia's natural food supply until the people are desperately hungry, and then by sending in political and military expeditions behind food trains, the bankers of Paris and London and New York hope to whip the Russian people into submission.

French Destroy Engines.

I should say that the second greatest cause of Russia's present hunger is that the French consulate from May, 1918, until it left Soviet Russia, engaged in destroying all the locomotives that its agents could reach. Many

men were sent out with French consulate 'sauf conduits' and suitcases containing emery powder. By thus "sabotaging" the railroad system, placing the emery powder in the bearings of the locomotives, the French official representatives have contributed more to the death by starvation of Russian people than any mismanagement that the Bolsheviks could possibly be guilty of.

Those who jeer at the Russian government for inability to keep all its factories working, should remember that no other nation was able to keep its industries in shape under the pressure of war. And Russia has now been at war longer than any other nation in Europe. She is fighting invaders on every side simultaneously.

The anti-Soviet propagandists claim that the Russian government is not the choice of the Russian people. Well, if that is our business, let us remember that the population of Samara

(Continued on page 5.)

SOVIETS ROUT KOLTCHAK

DENIKIN AND KOLTCHAK FLEE BEFORE ADVANCING SOVIET TROOPS

A Moscow wireless message states that in addition to the two regiments which deserted from Koltchak's army before, three more regiments have come over to the Red army, with rifles, machine-guns, and artillery complete.

Before surrendering the soldiers shot their officers.

The Red troops captured at Perm and the neighboring stations 1,600 tons of wheat flour, 32,000 tons of salt, and 145 tons of butter. Over 1,000 wagons and 20 locomotives fell into their hands.

Military Communique.

The Soviet Military Report says: Denikin's front: Our troops have abandoned Miloradovka and Istrovka. Our troops are advancing in the sector of Borisogleb. We have captured over 200 prisoners.

(Borisogleb is an important station on the Orel-Tsaritsin Railway and a corn centre).

On the Narva front our advance continues. On Koltchak's front we have advanced in the regions of Perm and Ufa.—Wireless Press.

The British War Office announces the capture of the village of Kape-

selga (18 miles S. W. of Medveya Gora).

Copenhagen, Tuesday.—According to the Estonian Press Agency, the Russian Volunteer Army, which has been retreating for the past few days, has now been obliged to evacuate the fortress of Krasnaia Gorka and several stations on the Petrograd-Narva Railway.

Helsingfors, July 6.—The Whites are still retiring on the shores of Lake Ononetz in a north-westerly direction towards the Finnish frontier.—Reuters.

What Koltchak Says

Omsk, June 29.—Engagements favourable to us have taken place in the Glazoff direction. Our troops defeated the Reds and pursued them westwards. In the Sarapul direction fighting continues. In the Bisk direction desperate fighting is taking place.

In the Yeniseisk province the Bolshevik hands have been exterminated.—Reuters.

(The date of the above communique should be noted. Glazoff is far west of Perm, and the other points mentioned are also on a front from which Koltchak has been driven.)

GENERAL EUROPEAN STRIKE

European Governments Bow to Labor

New York.—Of course the general strike planned by the workers of England, France and Italy for July 20 and 21 was a miserable "failure." The organs of plutocracy predicted that this would be the case; therefore they had to make good in their news stories following these two fateful days.

What they failed to point out was the following: First, that the workers of Italy did not go on general strike for the simple reason that their demand was granted by the government in anticipation of the strike. The government declared its willingness to keep hands off Russia—which was the principal demand of the Italian workers. As a pledge of its good faith, the government yielded to the demand of the workers of Naples that a ship arriving from London, on its way to Russia, and laden with ammunition for the anti-soviet forces, be refused clearance papers until the ammunition was unloaded.

As for France, the General Federation of Labor rescinded the strike order on July 19th, because it, too, considered that its demands had been practically met.

"In view of the vote in the Chamber of Deputies yesterday," their announcement said, "which showed that the chamber at length has heard the voice of the working classes and has condemned the government's economic policies and measures in regard to demobilization, the general strike for Monday will not be called. Amnesty has been decided upon by the government under the threat of the projected movement."

According to Paul Scott Mowrer, special correspondent of the New York "World."

"While the extremists are clamoring for a revolution, the older leaders believe such disorders will only hasten and complete the economic ruin which already hovers over France. They believe further that an outbreak of violence might even destroy the whole French labor movement. They have a feeling that the Clemenceau government, now that peace has been signed, is endeavoring to force the issue with labor. They believe the government, through provocative agents is trying to excite French labor to follow the extremists who will lead it to violence and defeat, for there is no likelihood that a communist revolution in victorious France could succeed at present, and certainly not without years of bitter strife."

The workers of England had from the beginning decided to content themselves with manifestations and not to strike unless these demonstrations prove ineffective for obtaining what the workers want. Mass meetings, it appears, were held throughout the kingdom on July 20 and 21. Meanwhile over 245,000 British workers are already on strike, not as a result of general strike orders, but because of strikes called by their individual organizations.

The most gigantic of these is the strike of the Yorkshire miners which, according to the New York "Globe," "is pervading business circles throughout England with gloom, and it is recognized that a serious crisis cannot be averted for land."

Another fact to which the capitalist press has given little space is that the workers in the Scandinavian countries voted to go on a general strike beginning July 21st, in protest against intervention in Russia by Allied forces.

CLEMENCEAU SURE TO FALL

Briand to Head Liberal Party

Paris, July 8.—The "blotter incident," which occurred a few days ago in the French Chamber of Deputies, has done more than anything in months to reassure that portion of the French people who hope for a more liberal regime after the downfall of the Clemenceau Ministry.

The fall of the present reactionary Ministry is, of course, a certainty within the near future.

Clemenceau's most probable successor is Briand. It was Briand who, when called upon to vote for a member of the Chamber Committee

to report on the Peace Treaty, scribbled the name of his candidate so hurriedly that he failed to notice the presence of Delahaye, the Royalist Deputy, immediately behind.

The Royalist failed to read the name Briand had written (although he admits he tried, in violation of all parliamentary courtesy), but he did preserve the pad upon which the writing had been blotted. Later he gave the blotter to the Press.

Briand's choice had fallen upon Jean Longuet (grandson of Karl Marx, leader of the Socialists, and editor of "Le Populaire"), and upon Mayeras, his fellow-Socialist.

The Speaker of the Season

CHAS. BAKER

(CLEVELAND, OHIO)

WILL SPEAK IN THE

WOODMAN HALL

SUNDAY EVENING AUGUST 3rd, 1919.

"Comrade Baker is one of the finest comrades in the movement. He is languishing in prison for his loyalty to his class."

Eugene V. Debs in his Canton Speech

Come and hear this eloquent speaker. A speaker that is true to his class. Actions speak louder than words. So come and hear Baker.

There will also be a good musical program and refreshments
Admission 35 cents and 15 cents. Come early to secure a seat.

Oyez!! Oyez!!

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, not walls, will soon arrive on these shores. In case he visits any meetings of the party we wish to inform such locals that the propawh way to address the deawh fellowh will be as follows:

"To His Royal Highness, Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester in the peerage of the United Kingdom; Duke of Cornwall in the peerage of England; Duke of Rothesay in the peerage of Scotland; Lord of the Isles and Great Steward of Scotland, K. G., G.M.M.G., M.C., etc.

"May it please Your Royal Highness," etc.

Addresses should end as follows:

"We have the honor to be, sir,

"Your Royal Highness' most obedient servants."

THE IRISH SOCIALIST

Inside and Outside Belfast Gaol

Inside, the prisoners John O'Hagan, Charles O'Meagher and Simon Greenspon, have hunger-struck since the day of their trial—Friday, June 27—as a protest against not being treated as political prisoners. Though frequent inquiries have been made at the gaol gate as to the condition of these men, no information has been forthcoming. A letter to the Governor pointing out the seriousness of the situation and his responsibility for the lives of these men while in his custody, elucidated no enlightenment beyond the information that the matter was being brought before the prison's board.

Since then—official silence! The Governor of this gaol must hold deafness as one of his qualifications of office, because if he does not he must be strangely bereft of serenity, for not even a gaol governor could maintain a conscience amidst the audible racket of the Sinn Feiners imprisoned there. After sunset, when the light falters and the traffic in the streets diminishes, towards midnight sounds of speech-making, punctuated with peals of applause and varied with a tin-can orchestra and voices swelling into rebel Irish songs, pour out of the narrow prison windows across the sentried space into the pre-occupied atmosphere of Belfast thought. People, in spite of themselves, are compelled to listen, compelled to think, compelled to realize that whether the cause for which these men suffer is the cause which will liberate Ireland, or whether it is not, transcendently above its limitations the spirit of the men imprisoned there, because of it, is the spirit which will liberate the wide world from its trammels. No prison can chain that spirit or extinguish it. The Socialists imprisoned there have the same spirit, and in due time will join that mighty chorus and link it into the propaganda of the International proletariat. For the present their hunger-strike has rendered them grimly silent—a silence which fills us with insurance because of the memory of the day of their trial, when, after their sentence, their defiant voices besieged the glazed, unwholesome cells of Chichester Street police barracks with the "Red Flag" and "International" and revolutionary speeches.

Outside Belfast the Big Drums of the 12th and all the insignia of Orangeism—which is but a barbaric survival of tribal ritual—commemorate the little insignificant incident of the Battle of the Boyne with a significance which has been made historic because the will and the power of the Ulster capitalist class decreed that it should be of weighty import in the minds of the Ulster working class.

Orangeism, however, has received its death-thrust—it received it when Sir Edward Carson betrayed his class interests during the recent strike. The thoughtful working class of Belfast is emerging from its fetters into a class-consciousness which beholds all party forces in their true colours. Once Ulster turns into the fight of the proletariat it will hold on with even more tenacious venom to the no surrender principles of its emancipation than it ever held to the political illusions with which its Northern capitalists have kept it subject and bound into the slavery of the present system. When Ulster rises there will be no end until the cause is won.

Sacrifice and Progress.

Judged by the ratio of man's minute reasoning the progress

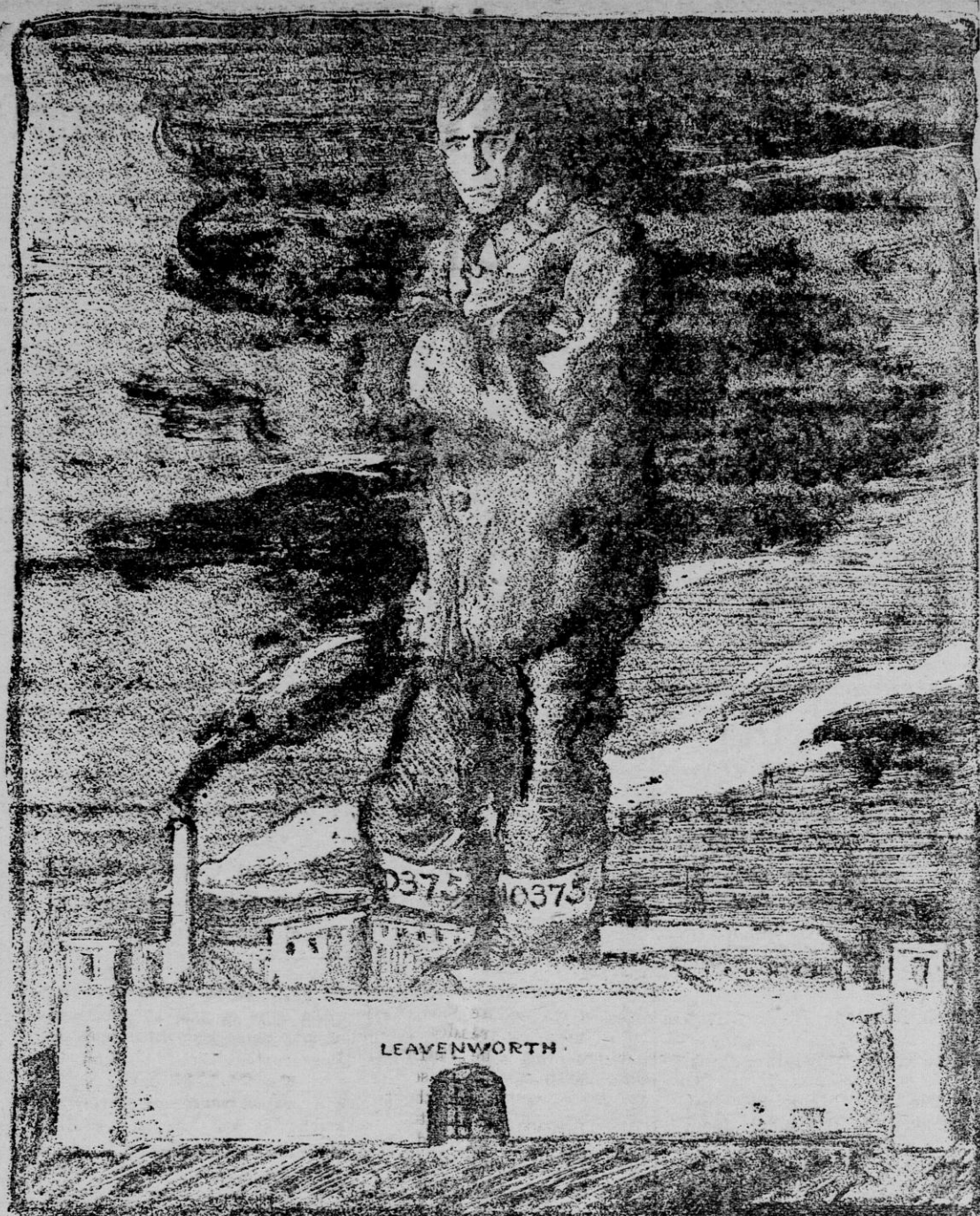
made in the process of change is infinitesimal and slow. It has taken centuries—ever since the Ludite riots bit into the vitals of the working class with the sharp teeth of machine-production—to pervade the social structure of the world with the immoral consequences of capitalism. It has taken centuries to pervade the masses, bred into acceptance of the capitalistic expression of human living with the revolt of redemption, centuries to establish their primal loyalty to the glory of the sunlight from which the mine of wages sought to exclude them.

For generations under enslaving Christendom children have been born wantonly into consciously and deliberately imposed ignorance. Their youth and maturity sapped with mockery upon the wheels of industry. And the working class, which represents the vast bulk of the whole place, accepted this as it accepted the mercy of God and its heritage of eternal punishment. Life lay for ever beyond the frontiers of the present existence, and every day of slavery was part of the probationhood of Death. Humanity forgot to live.

But, always in the slow accumulation of evolution crises arrive when the form changes convulsively; when the earth is blasted with the suddenness of a new expression of its purpose and sweeps the mind of man into a response as pregnant as the patient fields yield to the summer rain. In such a period man rises into the majesty of life and turns routine into exaltation. He lives, and because he lives he has no fear of death. That is why all sacrifice is primarily a redemption, and heroism the great, blessed sign of the pioneer. He who would question the individual worth of sacrifice, who would plead its uselessness, has bound his vision within the paltry kingdom of self, and forgotten that the magnificence of mankind is composed of the courage of its units. Those who give nothing from their personal comfort to the margin of Liberation will find their memories buried like meals in the digestion of the race. Though I would be the last to deny that the emancipation of man is wrought peculiarly into the needs of his stomach, still I contend that bread is not the only inspiration of our lives, and there are even some who will forswear sustenance in the consuming furnace of some high motive which obsesses them.

Sacrifice is only sacrifice by the laws of comparison—only because it is set against great heedlessness, only because it stands out in solitary unselfishness against callous selfishness. That is why some people call it worthless—because it is unheeded. But no human act goes unregistered in the trend of consequences, and, therefore, a deed done for others soars with its powers of consciousness above a weight of unconscious action, and fulfils its aim according to the hour of its need.

There may come a time—beyond our age—when there will be no need for sacrifice, because people will have evolved from malice, and mental science will have reached a stage when an injury to an individual will be an injury to society. In those days people will read the records of capitalist crime and punishment with as much horror as we read to-day of the tyrannies of Torquemada, and they will marvel, even as we marvel at the endurance of men and women who faced those tyrannies unflinchingly for the faith that lay



Drop him a line!

IRISH READERS ATTENTION!

In our next issue in response to numerous requests, we will commence a series of articles dealing with the life and work of Larkin and Connolly. These articles will be in the main, reprints from a new book on the Irish Labor Movement, by W. P. Ryan associate editor of the London Daily Herald.

We urge upon our Irish readers to send for a bundle order each week and distribute them amongst their Irish friends. The truth about Ireland needs to be told at this time, more than any other. The freedom of Ireland will come through the power of the organized workers of Ireland and not through the foolish appeals to the American sense of justice (?)

THEY WHO WOULD BE FREE—THEY THEMSELVES MUST STRIKE THE BLOW.

in them to redeem the world. It would seem as if every age will grow ripe with ready martyrs, and backs bent willingly to bear the burden of progress.

Irish Prisoners' Fund.

JOHN O'HAGAN, National Organizer, six months' hard labour.
CHARLES O'MEAGHER, business manager, six months for holding meetings in Belfast under the auspices of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Ireland.

A fund has been opened for the maintenance of dependents. All sympathizers and revolutionists are asked to rally to defence fund.

We trust that our Irish readers will send us a donation towards the above fund. Let us help the comrades at home and show by our financial support that we appreciate the fight that is being made. Deeds speak louder than words, so we trust the boys in Butte, the members of the Irish Progressive League and other Irish organizations will send in all the finance they can afford to — JACK CARNEY, Rex Hotel, Duluth, Minn.

ITALIAN WORKERS IN CONTROL

Rapid Spread of Revolutionary Movement

Rome.—The agitations arising from the high cost of living are rapidly extending from town to town, and province to province in Central Italy, thus becoming a general movement of popular initiative.

What is remarkable is that such agitations are proceeding everywhere in perfect order, and there are no instances of plundering or robberies. The revolting crowds, despite their just resentment, have in no locality attacked the jewellers or other fashionable shops, only indispensable goods, such as foodstuffs and clothing. Such goods are being duly requisitioned and stored in town halls and labour chambers, where specially detached groups of labourers receive them in their charge, and see to their distribution at fair prices, according to a fixed tariff.

Unarmed Civilians Killed
At Imola, however, three civilians were killed and five wounded during a collision provoked by the Carabinieri, who, in an attempt to protect the house of a profiteer, fired on an unarmed crowd. On the other hand, wherever the troops and police were withdrawn, nothing regrettable occurred.

The latest news shows that the movement has extended to Ancona, Ravenna, and Florence, where a general strike was proclaimed. An episode characterising the perfect orderliness of the movement occurred in the most popular quarter of Florence, San Frediano.

The Egg-seller and the Crowd
An egg-seller, while driving his cart into town, was accosted by the revolting crowd, which, instead of spoiling his eggs, compelled him to sell them at half price on the spot. Thus he realised 40 centimes each egg.

Only the "Giornale d'Italia," Sonnino's organ, publishes headlines, announcing that plundering has taken place, but that is absolutely false. The other papers generally comment on the perfect orderliness of the movement. In Polesine, where peasants' agitations are traditional during harvest time, the peasants went on strike, and all harvest labour has been interrupted. The troops already sent there are impotent to control the situation.

General strikes have also been proclaimed in the Veronese, Senigallia, and Civita Vecchia.

The Cabinet is meeting almost permanently to consider the difficult situation, and drastic measures are expected against the profiteers which will have the effect of regulating the economic market.

The Press, in warmly supporting the present Government, attacks vehemently the past Governments which are held responsible for their incapacity to secure the Allies' aid for the country's economical and financial needs during and after the reconstruction period of the war.

The Socialist Party's executive has been convoked by telegraph to meet at Rome.

The latest news reports bloodshed at Florence, where one person has been killed and several wounded. The cavalry refused to charge the rioters.

Vast Extent of Movement
Later.—From Perugia, Mantua, Voghera, Viterbo, Terni, Leghorn, Pistoia, Pisa Verona Bergamo and Jesi the latest reports are of general strikes. The Government is making great efforts to prevent the movement from gaining the biggest towns. With this object it has instructed the Prefects to reduce prices by 50 per cent, but such tardy measures appear inadequate to check the excitement.

Shopkeepers now solicit the Labour Committees to take charge of keys of their premises, accounting themselves fortunate to have their goods stored under the Labour Chambers' security.

Labour "Soviets" exist everywhere, and behave so well that the Government authorities generally countenance their acts.

Manifestos requesting calm are issued by all the Labour Committees.

The Committees have decided to send a large amount of the requisitioned goods to the localities which suffered most from the recent earthquake. The Socialist Section in Rome will meet tonight to consider the situation.

CZAR'S SERCET ARCHIVES

Important Revelations in Russia

Preparing For War

From a Special Correspondent

At last the pre-war archives of the Russian Foreign Office have begun to appear, and, to judge from the extracts given below, they promise to furnish as astounding revelations as the Secret Treaties themselves.

RACE PREJUDICE

"The working class, regardless of color, make up the Socialist party, and beneath its banner all have equal rights, equal duties and equal responsibilities. All are alike recognized as human beings, and it is the purpose of the party to establish an industrial and social system in which they shall have the rights and enjoy the freedom of human beings.

"The ruling class care not one whit whether the labor power they exploit is clothed in white skins or black skins; they draw no line in the skinning business, and it suits them quite well to have the 'white trash' and the 'niggers' making senseless war on one another to their common undoing, knowing quite well that as long as the slaves are full of ignorant prejudice and fight one another it will be all the easier to keep them in servitude.

"Socialism, which means the abolition of wage slavery, will make it possible for every human being, regardless of race, color or sex, to have work, to make a decent living, to enjoy the fruit of his labor, and to live an honorable and useful life."

Eugene V. Debs.

A dream of Peace

Surely in this quiet spot
One may dream a while of peace,
Where the war drum vexes not,
And the city's turmoils cease;
Surely here, if anywhere,
One may snatch respite from care.

Rest a little and forget
All the turned and the strife,
All the struggle and the fret,
All the weariness of life;
Leave them all aside and find
Rest for the too-troubled mind.

Where the fertile valley lies
Twixt hill and distant hill, serene,
Where autumn writes its harmonie
In brown and gold and sober green
Surely in this tranquil place
One may rest a little space.

Comes a figure bowed and bent,
Aged by years of toil and pain,
Years of toil and hunger, spent
Working for another's gain:
Straightway all the visions fly
And peace becomes a mockery.

While such things as this may be,
Peace is but a coward's quest;
We must war incessantly,
Though our hearts may long
for rest:

We dare not dally, who are men;
Come! Back to the old fight again.

W. N. EWER.

(Reprinted from The London Daily Herald by permission of the author.)

The documents have appeared in "Pravda" under the editorship of Pokrovsky, Soviet Commissary of Finance, and translations have been made in certain of the foreign Press. The following extracts are taken from the translation published in the "Svenska Dagblad" (Stockholm) of June 2.

The Winning of Italy.
Pokrovsky begins by describing the manner in which Italy was won over to the grand combination which Russia was building up in order to win Constantinople and the Straits. The Russian-Italian Convention of Racconigi was concluded on October 24, 1909, and the last clause of this runs: "Italy and Russia bind themselves to a mutually benevolent attitude, the former with regard to Russia's interests in the question of the Straits, the latter with regard to Italy's interests in Tripoli and Cyrenaica."

Two years later the Tripoli war broke out. As soon as it began, Isvolsky, the Russian Ambassador in Paris, wrote with regard to it: "I beg to remark that in any event we must make sure in one form or another of a declaration from Italy that, now that she is carrying into execution the claims on her side to Tripoli touched on in the agreement, she will equally in the future keep her word to us with regard to the question of the Straits."

The Winning of France.
But Isvolsky's activities were not confined to making sure of Italy. He was also concerned to make sure of France, and here occurs a touching passage that should enlist the sympathy of every diplomat. On October 12, 1911, he writes:

"If we are really concerned to take up the question of the Straits, then it is of the highest importance to see to it that we have a good Press here. Unfortunately, I am, in this respect, deprived of a most important instrument, since all my assiduous entreaties to be provided with funds for the Press have produced no result. I shall, of course, do all that is in my power, but this is one of those questions where public opinion is, for traditional reasons, most easily against us. As an example of how useful it is to have money to offer the Press, the Tripoli affair may be quoted. I know how Tittoni (the Italian Ambassador in Paris) has worked up the leading French papers most thoroughly and with the most open hand. The result is now manifest to all.

At this time Caillaux, as Premier, was virtually in power in France, and Isvolsky found the outlook depressing from the point of view of his designs. But the position changed when Poincare became President.

On September 12, 1912, Isvolsky reports a conversation with Poincare, in which the latter assured him of France's loyalty to the Tzar in these terms.

"If a conflict with Austria should involve Germany's armed intervention, France will at once recognise it as a casus foederis, and will not lose a minute in fulfilling her pledges to Russia."

The Winning of England.
In September, 1912, during the first Balkan war, the Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, paid his famous visit to England to get the lie of the land. Sazonov's report to the Tzar is as follows:

"After I had confidentially informed Grey of the contents of our naval agreement with France, and referred to the fact that under this agreement the French fleet would take upon itself the protection of our interests in the southern theater of war by preventing the Austrian fleet from forcing a way into the Black Sea. I asked him if England on her side would do us the same service in the north by keeping the German fleet off our coasts on the Baltic. Without hesitation, Grey replied that if the situation in question occurred, England would do everything to inflict the heaviest blow on German power."

In the same interview, Grey assured Sazonov of the existence of an Anglo-French agreement by which England bound herself, in the case of a war with Germany, to support France, not only by sea, but even by landing troops on the Continent.

By the spring of 1914 things were getting warm. In a secret message from Livadia on April 11, 1914, the Tzar wrote: "To open the Straits, I am prepared to use force." That same month Sir Edward Grey and King George were in Paris, and Isvolsky reports conversations with a view to a general Anglo-French-Russian convention.

Grey said, according to his report, that there were elements in the British Government which were "suspicious of relations with Russia," and mentioned Asquith as belonging to these.

Isvolsky goes on: "According to Sir Edward Grey's account, there could only be a question of a naval convention between us and England and not a continental convention, because the disposition of England's land forces was already arranged, and they could not operate alongside the Russian land forces."

In July came the Sarajevo murders, and the even more terrible consequences that plunged the whole world into war. The bones of our brothers in two continents tell the rest of the tragic story.

THE LEFT-WING GROUP OF MINNESOTA

THIS PAGE DEVOTED TO LEFT-WING PROPAGANDA

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

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

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

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

Pursuant to the decision of the State Executive Board, a State Convention will be held on the 24th of August, 1919, to consider and act upon the present crisis in the Party and to instruct our delegates to the National Special Convention.

MAKE SURE THAT YOU ELECT DELEGATES WHO ARE LEFT-WINGERS.

The Right-Wingers may argue that it is unfair to make appeals for certain delegates, but remember that this convention is of great importance. Cast all sentiment on one side. Better to have a revolutionary party, even if we have to split, than to have a party full of discordant elements that prevent anything being done.

Attend your local meeting and insist that they elect a delegate. The expenses will be met by each delegate paying four dollars into a central fund.

Don't Split the Party.

The pitiful appeals of the members of the N. E. C. and the "distress signals" of Germer sent out to the party, asking them not to do anything that would destroy the party, remind us of the Irishman who murdered his father and mother and then begged for mercy on account of the fact he was an orphan.

Communist Manifesto.

The new manifesto of the Third International, which was published in TRUTH, is well worth reading. It is a masterpiece and should be in the hands of every worker. Send \$1.75 to the State Secretary, Chas. Dirba, 1217 Hennepin Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn., and receive one thousand of them.

THE WISDOM OF JOSEPH DIETZGEN

AN APPRECIATION.

It is commonly to be noticed that historians or exponents of Marxian theory begin by talking about Hegel. The reason for this is not very apparent. Chronologically, there is some connexion, it is true, as between alchemy and chemistry; genetically there is, however, probably no relation at all. Hegel—to use a flippant phrase—represents the dying gasp of those soi-disant philosophers whose method of acquiring knowledge is the antithesis of that mode of thought developed by the scientific discoveries of the century that followed. Marx, on the contrary, stands for the invasion of the field of sociology by that kind of analysis which the physical sciences had perfected.

The gap which separates them cannot be better appreciated than by applying, as Dietzgen did, the searchlight of the materialist interpretation of history to the development of philosophic theory in particular. It is much more difficult to trace the factors involved in the building up of a philosophic system than of a fashionable mode of art, because the philosophic is not so directly trammelled by public demand, and also because the philosophic of an epoch often does not crystallise out clearly till it is called into question, i. e., until the forces making for its disintegration are already manifest.

Nevertheless there are certain points which emerge fairly clearly, if it is borne in mind that many of the rival philosophers have not been saying opposite but merely different things, and the multiplicity of schools reflects rather the manifold scope of their inquiries than their disagreements. In fact, there have really been only two types of modern philosophy—the "rationalist" and the empiricist; and the philosophic significance of the first term is replete with social meaning also. Till the 19th century philosophy thought had been predominantly absolutist, or "rationalist"; it started from general principles alleged to reside in the human "reason" to build up a universe into which the facts of experience must fit as best they might; in consequence it discussed hypotheses as to the nature of reality or the apprehension of the "thing-in-itself" under the ambitious title of metaphysics. Two factors probably contributed in the main to the prevailing fashion: partly the animistic habits of thought belonging to religion when it was essential to the coherence of the existing chaos; and—more powerfully—the deification of reason accompanying the revolt of mer-

This new attitude necessitated a changed face in many ways. It meant that philosophy must

AUSTRALIAN O. B. U. AND THE I. W. W.

By W. Francis Ahern.

Sydney, Australia, June 20.—(By Mail).—It was alleged by craft unions in Australia, particularly the Australian Workers Union (which is the largest craft union body in Australia) that the one big union scheme was a reflex of the American I. W. W. movement. The One Big Union executive has just issued a statement denying this and other misrepresentations against it. It denies absolutely that the constitution of the one big union scheme is identical with the constitution of the I. W. W. as propounded by W. E. Trautmann and others. It also claims that its detractors are trying to lead the people to believe that the One Big Union does not stand for political action, but only direct industrial action. As a matter of fact the preamble of the One Big Union scheme does advocate political action, and is totally opposed to any policy which evades such action. It is also opposed to sabotage in any form.

Manifesto to Returned Soldiers.
The One Big Union movement has issued the following manifesto to returned Australian soldiers:

Comrades: In the name of organized labor the One Big Union greets you upon your return to Australia. In thus welcoming you back to the civil life of the community we assure you of our earnest desire to render assistance in securing the fulfillment of every legitimate promise made by the government and the people of Australia at the time of your departure. Organized labor possesses many facilities for obtaining employment for its members and for securing those rates and conditions which it has been our constant effort to maintain in your absence. These facilities we unhesitatingly place at your disposal in our common interest.

Two Conferences Held.

Two conferences are being held in Australia by the One Big Union movement. The first takes place in New South Wales, at Sydney, shortly, when plans will be completed for taking a ballot of all unions wishing to come under the scheme. Another conference will take place in Victoria, at Melbourne, when arrangements will be made for taking a ballot in that state.

Already ballots have been taken in two unions in New South Wales—these being the Rubber Workers Union and the Australian Telegraph Linemen's Union. In the first a 6 to 1 majority was cast in favor of the One Big Union, while in the latter the majority in favor of the scheme was 2 to 1.

It cannot be too clearly stated that the One Big Union move-

abandon many of its problems to science and admit that others were—to adopt Ostwald's happy phrase—"of the nature of a 'scheinproblem'—meaning less. This Dietzgen styles the Positive Outcome of Philosophy. Although Comte first excluded Metaphysics from polite conversation, it was Dietzgen who first stated clearly, more than a quarter of a century before the modern physicists Ostwald and Mach—the illusory nature of the thing in itself. We now accept this principle as part of the grammar of science. Scientific investigation has to deal with the relation of things to one: a philosophy claiming to be based on experience cannot therefore recognise any intrinsic reality in phenomena outside the sum of their reactions known. The quest of the metaphysician is meaningless when the significance of "reality" is analysed.

Thus, in much the same relation as Marx stands to the social study of his time does Dietzgen to contemporary philosophy. The one represents the invasion of sociology by scientific analysis, the other the rehabilitation of philosophy by the scientific method. Students of Dietzgen who claim for his teaching finality vitiate the whole meaning of his work: for the scientific temper is ever inimical to finality, and the empiricist above all recognises the existence of "more in heaven and earth than is dreamed of in his philosophy." In fact, Dietzgen's disclaimer of finality closely brings him into relations with the latest developments in empirical philosophy. The Radical Empiricism (sometimes called pragmatism and humanism) of our time asserts the relativity of all truths to human need, and though James has, with Jesuitical casuistry, devised out of this an ingenious defence of Presbyterianism, in the hands of a philosopher for the proletariat, Georges Sorel, it has become a heavy bludgeon against the exploiter. For Sorel is essentially a pragmatist. Ant in orientating his ethics of the proletariat round the material facts of existence, Dietzgen exhibits and anticipates the true pragmatic temper.

Lancelot Hogben.
Reprinted from "Pleb".

industrial organization. This our soldier and sailor comrades must realize if they hope to put a stop to their own exploitation. The One Big Union of Australia is the only form of organization which will enable us to resist the continuance of profiteering and insure for all a decent livelihood.

We, therefore, appeal to you to link up with the industrial organization without delay. Attempts are being made by the employing class, against which we most emphatically warn you, to divide the workers into antagonistic camps, with the view of reducing wages and still further plundering all sections of the community.

We live in critical times, when events are moving rapidly. We can, by unity and energetic effort, secure more complete economic and social freedom than we have ever before possessed. Should we neglect our present opportunities the shackles of industrial servitude will be riveted upon us and upon you, and the forces of reaction triumph.

Shall we, in Australia, lag behind the nations of Europe?

ENGLISH LOCAL

The English Local will meet on Thursday Evening August 7th at the office of Truth.

Business very important all are urged to attend.
Minnie Carney, Secretary.

BOTH OF THEM

By J. O. Bentall

I know two men—
Two great, great men—
Two brothers—comrades.
I call them great,
Because their services are great,
Because their hearts and loves are great,
Because their lives live to give life
And bring forth joy and freedom
For the race—
For beaten, cheated, crushed humanity
You know just one of them,
But I know both.
You know Eugene—
I know both Theodore and Gene.

THE LEFT WING NATIONAL ORGAN.

There is only ONE national paper of the Left Wing and that is the REVOLUTIONARY AGE. It is published at 43 West 29th Street, New York City and edited by L. C. Fraina and E. Macalpine, with Benj. Gitlow as business manager.

Any other paper that seeks to represent the Left Wing, nationally, is misrepresenting itself. Do not be fooled by the glowing appeals of the American Menshiks but stand solidly behind the Left Wing.

In the meantime see that your local orders a bundle order weekly of the Revolutionary Age.

When Capital controls the press, Capital controls the people. When Labor controls the press the people will control capital.

Scandinavian Local
Next
Tuesday evening
will be
Comrade Night.

All comrades are invited to attend. There will be good speeches—music and dancing

BOY! PAGE SCOTT NEARING

"We are in the war," said Lukacs. When I cried out against the shooting of six men from that first regiment which, "quite simply ran away at the first fire." "In war, fugitives and traitors must be shot. If not, all

right, then, let the Czechs in and the revolution will be lost."

I hope there is some pacifist revolutionary with an answer to that. I have none.

Crystal Eastman in the "Liberator."

THE INTELLECTUAL

By Alanson Sessions.

What is an "intellectual"? Most socialists conceive an intellectual as one whose devotion to the cause of socialism is that primarily of the student, incidentally that of the man of action. If this be true, then it can be said with some certainty that the "intellectual" is both a promise and a menace.

He is a promise in that his power of analysis and explanation aid in propagating the socialist idea. He is a menace in that his lack of touch with the practical problems of the workers unfits him for quick and decisive action in an acute crisis.

To bring the discussion from the abstract to the concrete, let us review the cases of John Spargo and Eugene Debs: John Spargo is a typical Socialist intellectual. Perhaps no exponent of socialism in America has been better read, more scholarly, than Spargo. Until the last few years Spargo was looked to as one of the learned leaders of the American Socialist movement. His works on socialism were everywhere recommended as authoritatively informative and analytical. Spargo preached internationalism and antimilitarism. He went so far as to state again and again that socialists could not consistently recognize the necessity of taking sides in a national war. He stressed the dictum of Charles Edward Russell, that the working class has but ONE ENEMY—CAPITALISM!

And yet when the first great crisis came, John Spargo deserted his international socialism and gladly embraced Allied Chauvinism.

On the other hand, Eugene Debs has never been recognized as an "intellectual". If a non-socialist had asked for the best statement extant of socialism, he would not have been referred to Debs, but

to Spargo, or Benson, or Hillquit. Debs came from the ranks of the working class. He is a son of Labor. It is true that for years he has not followed his trade. But he has always been in touch with the actual problems of the workers and has written of them with a poignant sympathy.

And yet when the war came—when the time for action arrived—Debs, the agitator, stood firmly by his convictions and defied the war-lords to do their worst. He supported the Majority Report, spoke his mind in contemptuous defiance of the infamous Espionage Act, and manfully refused to recant a word of his revolutionary utterances at his trial on the charge of sedition.

Herein, broadly speaking, lies the difference between the "intellectual" and the genuine spokesman of labor. The one too often dwells in an atmosphere of theory, abstraction and bookishness. The other is less gifted from a literary point of view, perhaps not so glib in quoting Marx, but living always close to the heart of the world of Labor. The "intellectuals" very often get their living from capitalist publishing houses—this in itself is in the nature of a compromise. The "intellectual" very frequently develops an academic socialism that is little more than hollow phraseology.

Rarely, indeed, do we find a man who combines the scholar and the doer in his make-up. Such a man is Lenin—such a man is Trotsky. They seem to be the exceptions that prove the rule.

A very little thought will convince one that the dissatisfaction prevailing in the ranks of the socialist movement with the so-called intellectual class is one having some just basis in fact.

A NEW KIND OF STRIKE

Reprinted from "Liberator"

(From a Correspondent.)
IT may throw some light on the present revolutionary disturbances in Italy if I tell you of a strike which happened in Bergamo last March. The employees of the automobile works of Franki and Gregorini, 2,000 strong, organized a soviet and presented their demands. These demands included a forty-four-hour week and a committee of workers to share in the management. Some of their minor demands were granted, but these major demands were refused, and so they went on strike.

But it was a new kind of strike—so far as I am aware, the first strike of the kind in the history of any capitalist country. They simply remained at work and put their demands into effect—working harder than ever!

I was able to secure a copy of the resolutions passed by the soviet, which I have translated as follows:
"We, the employees of the Franki & Gregorini Company, after hearing the report of our committee, hereby resolve to begin work for ourselves in order to show our real intentions, and also because we wish to act not only for our own interests, but for the greater interests of Italian industry and the masses of the Italian people.

"We ask the authorities to give thoughtful consideration to this decision, which is justifiable in view of the alternative offered by the employers—the closing of the works without just cause.

"We, the workmen, promise to remain at work, and to protect the machinery and whatever else may be taken into our charge, so as to prove our readiness to work and live honestly; but we disclaim any responsibility for

REDS MARCH INTO FINLAND

White Forces Broken Into Two, by the Advance.

Stockholm, July 2 (delayed).—The correspondent of the Folkets-Dagblad wires from Helsingfors that the Bolsheviks have landed 10,000 men at Viite. On the Olonetz frontier the connection between the White troops in Tuulos and Rautaus has been broken. A frontier stream has been crossed by the Red Army.

Relations between the Finns and the British are bad. Discussions are going on between Manroth and the Germans, and Admiral von Goltz has sent a courier to Helsingfors.

THE SPARTICIDE INSURRECTION

INNER HISTORY OF NANSSEN OFFER

By ROBERT MINOR

Reprinted from "Liberator"
Robert Minor was in Berlin during the Sparticide insurrection, and we believe his is the first sympathetic story of that event to reach America. Unfortunately he sent the story to us in two halves, and only one of them has arrived. It is the second half. It arrived about the time Minor was arrested by the British secret service on a charge which we understand was made by a provocateur who pretended to be distributing revolutionary literature in the American army. Many prominent people demanded justice for Robert Minor, and he has now been released. We shall probably get the other half of his story soon—with some interesting additions.—The Editors.

THE "Socialist government" had by this time largely succeeded in getting garrisoned by reactionary troops, with a heavy proportion of officers in enlisted men's uniforms. The original conscript army of the Kaiser, the kind of an army that is dangerous, spent the time of the crisis in faltering, trying unsuccessfully to make up its mind. The Volkmarine Division couldn't make up its mind. At the moment when the weight of one thousand well equipped troops could have turned the balance, captured Berlin and perhaps all Germany for the Revolution—the soldiers, the private soldiers, the soldiers that wanted a revolution, moped in the barracks unable to decide what to do. The officers knew what they wanted, and acted quickly. I saw many a "private" doing sentry duty those days whose face had a singularly aristocratic appearance.

Thousands of officer-troops swarmed about the last remaining proletarian fort, the Vorwaerts building. Small artillery was brought up and began to pick away the front wall of the sacred printing house.

At last, a charge upon the shattered building, past the paper-roll barricades, over the dust-covered dead meat of the men that yesterday had told me about their "Temple." And into the house, where the last dozen were captured. At the very end, a little blackhaired Jewess arose with a sigh from her machine-gun and stood back against the wall to be shot. She was nineteen years old. All the prisoners (except the girl, they claim) were taken down into the courtyard and killed.

Frau Five-foot came to my door this evening. "Herr Minor, the rich people have white bread." "Well?" I asked. "Nothing, only they've got white bread. That's all," and she walked out.

Coal strikers in Westphalia. Grumbling in Berlin factories. Those who couldn't make up their minds before began to make up their minds now, from the bottom up—from the belly up. After they had been mostly disarmed and the cities taken into the iron hand of their enemies, after their own friends of the vanguard had been killed.

After hope was gone, the Volkmarine Division made up its mind and began making a fort for itself in the working class district. Other soldiers joined them, and that strange hero, the empty-handed man in overalls, came out by many hundreds to patiently give up lives.

Again war flamed through Berlin. With all the machinery of modern armies, the working-class district back of Alexander Platz was reduced to broken brick and stone.

For four and a half years, patiently or impatiently, we had looked for the soul of Germany to express itself. Some of us—many of us—knew that there existed in the German man a spirit that would sooner or later somehow smash loose and free itself from the Hohenzollern-headed monster. Woodrow Wilson knew it and carefully couched his words to rouse in the German laborer a spirit of rebellion which he thought he could use for his own purposes. So obviously was the soul there that even the man called Northcliffe got a vague glimmering of it and fumbled crudely with the kind of propaganda that he had heard would appeal to souls.

Perhaps we in America forgot that we, too, had something to express, while we fascinated ourselves in urging the German proletarian to express his soul before the firing squad.

We had all been looking for barricades in German streets. I climbed over a barricade on Schloss Bruecke, near the Kaiser's place. Socialist barricade? Noske's barricade. I was allowed to pass because I showed a card signed by "comrade" Noske proving that I was a bourgeois journalist.

On the proletarian side of the barricade all was shot to pieces by artillery. Blown up houses. Tangled trolley wires around a dead horse. A wrecked auto truck. A smashed subway station reeking with shellfumes. A turned-over field gun. Two wounded men sitting on it. Two nurses. A man fixing a cafe window.

I went on past Alexander Platz, on deeper into the shabby rows of houses. I squeezed through several barricades. A crowd was in line showing passes to go through to their homes or business in the suspected and surrounded part of the city. Most of those who had passes were well dressed, and the women held their skirts to keep them from snagging on a strand of barbed wire that stuck out into the passageway like an unruly strand of hair that won't stay brushed.

On the other side was a man here and there, or a woman without a hat, looking hopelessly at the opening in the barricade. Some of the men's clothes were freshly torn and streaked with plaster-dust from cannonaded walls. Those mostly kept back around the corner. Their faces were strong, but pale. Their hands were conspicuous because they were empty. Some of them were boys, and these came out openly and looked at the guarded gap in the barricade. Baricade? Perhaps it was rather a pen. The barricades had come, in Berlin, and they were pens. The soldiers occasionally eyed the penned-in people and then turned to more immediate business.

On Frankfurter Allee, a sort of "Second Avenue," the crowds were hurrying along, keeping clear. A man broke past a soldier and walked quickly on. The soldier shouted and cocked his rifle. The people scattered. The man was brought back and arrested. A little red-faced soldier, whose lower lip hung down and was too wet, shouted at the crowd and rushed toward it firing his rifle and then quickly reloading. The street was being cleared for a search of the houses. This was the heart of the workingmen's district. I showed my papers to the red-faced boy-soldier. "Ach, so! Amerikanische Journalist. Bittschehen." I brushed quickly by; I thought he wanted to shake hands with me. Here the avenue was vacant on one side, except for a few soldiers, all nervously active. All of their mouths twitched and their lower lips were too wet.

There was a courtyard. An officer before it, pistol in hand. He turned around twice and walked in and out. Three or four soldiers, with rifles, stuck their heads out of the courtyard and then drew back. The officer frowned at me; with peculiar certainty I knew that he was wondering how he looked to me. He shut his eyes an instant and then stared at me again. I was startled; the man's eyes were begging for something. It was all over in a second. He shouted, the crowd left. "Pang! Pang! Pang! Pang! Pang!" Five shots. The officer had been tensely looking into the courtyard; now his face relaxed. Six soldiers came out, their rifles emitting the slight smoke that smokeless powder gives. "There were five members in that family," said a badly dressed fat woman at my side, and she quickly walked away.

Slow, regular shots were muffled inside the rooms of two apartments upstairs. I counted the members of the families. "CRASH!" A bomb landed in the street. The soldiers scattered. Above the coping showed the touselled head and the shoulders of a man, who ran across the roof. "Crack, crack, crack, crack!" the soldiers fired. "They missed him, Goddam it!" I shouted.

or else I only thought it, I don't know which. But at least I laughed aloud, for a soldier turned his gun toward me—

"CRASH! BANG! BOOM!" Three bombs fell in quick succession from a window. Nearly all the soldiers vanished from the street and began to appear on the roofs. An officer with a pistol ran across the housetop. He was soft-faced and high-collared like the "Prussian officer" we used to see in caricatures. There were no more shots.

The desert-dreary look of a town that's been shot up! I am always reminded of a dry waste of Arizona when I see a city where guns have been at work to make a millennium come (though, by God! I believe in guns) or to make us safe for democracy. It's all there—the heartless dust, the tedium and thirstiness—everything except the cactus. But wait—there is the cactus, too, in the shape of the tangled, nasty barbed wire, dusty and heartless, just like the wred with its sticky barbs.

Past a broken-down armored truck came four soldiers leading one man and two women. The two women wore plainest calico and no hats, their forearms red and bare as though they had just washed dishes—regular working class house-fraus. The man was board-cheeked and big-jointed; he wore a cap and no collar.

The penned-in people lined the street, their faces vacant of hope and their hands empty. The soldiers eyed them suspiciously.

The three pairs of prisoners' eyes also searched the crowd. These eyes were seeking for somebody to say good-by to. The man's deep eyes looked into me. A woman near me began to cry. Some one else did, too. They disappeared behind the barricade.

The cafes of Unter den Linden were crowded with bourgeois, comfortably sipping coffee. I met a young fellow-countryman who was in the service of the American government in Berlin. He joined me after bidding good-by to a Reichardt Regiment officer. "That's Captain W.—I happened to overhear a conversation and so was able to give him information on which he arrested fifty Spartakist plotters. He's a fine fellow."

The special correspondents were sitting about the Adlon Hotel lobby, telling each other that "the government has the situation well in hand." Correspondents are like clothespins on a line; straddled high in false prominence, mock importance, all performing the same function, all their little heads turned in the same lathe, so that if there's a mistake in one, there's the same mistake in all. What's the use of remembering the different names of all the little clothespins that are just alike?

"LIEBKNECHT KILLED! ROSA LUXEMBURG DEAD!" shrieked the newspapers. How? "Liebknecht shot by guards while running away; Luxemburg woman torn to pieces by a mob, infuriated by her crimes. Officers do their best to protect the woman instigator of violence, but are overpowered by enraged citizens." The newspapers made it all clear; Liebknecht had, it is true, given an appearance of courage in the past, but at the last, facing the prospect of justice for his part in the criminal uprising against the Socialist government, he had developed a hysterical cowardice and had run away in fright, and the guards had been forced to the regrettable duty of shooting him, as the rules provide. The soldiers had done no more than their duty. The Luxemburg affair was a more distressing one, of course, but the officers had not realized how incensed the populace had become over the bloodshed caused by her. It was altogether a deplorable thing, such as should not be permitted to happen again.

The Majority Socialist and bourgeois papers handled the affair as the American bourgeois press handled the affair of Frank Little and that of Tom Mooney.

The worst thing to me was not that Liebknecht and Luxemburg were dead, but that I had

to quit believing in the German people. The mob—just a crowd of average Germans found by chance on the street—had dragged a sick old woman out of a cab, torn her body to pieces with their hands and thrown her flesh into a canal. Not soldiers—not brutality organized by authority—but plain Germans on the street the German papers said. In a vivid flash was recalled to me the distorted face of an orator whom I had heard, three years ago, shout that the Germans were not human beings, but beasts to be killed, man, woman and child. It was impossible that that hate-mad orator was right, but my head swam with agony, in moral chaos; all faiths and loves went out of me.

In passing the hotel of K—a morbid fascination drew me in to visit him. He had often said "they ought to kill Liebknecht." K—was huddled in a chair, his face pallid and drawn. He said he couldn't write anything, this had shattered his nerve. After sitting half an hour, he arose and wrote a cablegram to his paper. "There is a peculiar irony of justice in the killing of this woman by the mob that she had sought to inflame."

Knots of gentlemen and ladies stood on the street corners, talking in relaxed, cheerful voices. A small boy caught the spirit of it and ran, shouting, "Old Liebknecht is killed now, and they threw the Luxemburg hussy into the canal!"

I hurried home and dropped, face down, on the couch. A knock on the door. Little wrinkled Frau Five-foot came in. Her bent figure straightened, her eyes glistened. "Herr Minor, have you heard it?—LIEBKNECHT IS DEAD!" The tiny sister appeared in the gloom behind, her face and white hair glowing as with a halo. "He is dead," repeated the former; "they have killed him, dead. He can't eat any women's and children's throats any more. . . . We are safe. . . . What do you think, Herr Minor?" "Go away," I said. "I'm sick."

A half hour later they came back and peeped in the door. "Do you think we will be safe now, Herr Minor?"

Triumphantly the German bourgeois commenced its preparations for the Constituent Assembly, anxious to turn social attention into the sluice of politics.

A flaring red poster—of the "Socialist government"—announced ten thousand marks reward for the capture of Karl Radek. Someone earned the reward; there are men who do such things.

It hurts to think of Radek in prison. He is like what I imagine Debs was when he was young.

Slowly the truth was drawn out of the government's lies. Liebknecht and Luxemburg had not been killed by the mob—not by the mob that I had been thinking on Unter den Linden. No, it was a deliberate murder by a government machine. I could get my bearings again.

"Before the war we used to make Pfankuchen," said little Frau Five-foot to me one day. "Pfankuchen cooked with fat. Potatoes are good with fat," she mused, tinkering with the carpet. "We could have Bratkartoffeln with the fat of pork. . . . They cut off all the fat from the beef we get from the city. The rich people have bacon in their houses." I thought of the dinner I had eaten that day in the Bristol Hotel, the great, luxurious "Home of the Counter-Revolution," it is called—a dinner of huge, fat mutton chops, the incidental trimmings of which consisted of long strips of bacon.

A week later the sister came in from her workshop, late in the evening. "Herr Minor, the rich people have sugar in their houses, we have learned. Maybe they have have other things to eat that we don't ever have. They are big in the stomach, like there were lots of gentlemen before the war. Who can tell what they have in their houses? I guess it's the Jews. . . . But the rich gentiles look fat."

Another week passed and she asked me what the Spartakists cut throats for. "Do the Spartakists want to go into houses to find out what's in there?" Her

voice became low and hesitant, bits of color flitting over her face. Half of a shamed smile. She left hurriedly, as though she had been dallying with a lewd fancy.

A month later the two old women came into my room in such a way as to make me lose my sense of Herrschaft. They forgot to bow. "Herr Minor," began the bigger one, "there's going to be something happening. We, eh—the working people" (she had never called herself "working people" before). The smaller sister pushed ahead and said: "The rich people have things in their houses, bacon, and white flour and butter, even. They make cakes, and eat them." "We don't get things like they do, and we work and work and work and don't eat like they do." "Yes, and they have bacon," said the other.

"What is it all about?" I asked.

"There's going to be a general strike," said one, "and the working people are going to tear things up terribly, yes, schrecklich, and won't go back to work until everything is pulled out of the rich houses—the Jews' houses—and all the rich houses—and then they can't have anything unless they work like we do, and we work too hard, and we won't work too hard an we are going to have a revolution."

The smaller sister looked frightened and pulled the other's dress. The two quietly shuffled out of the room.

I'M SICK.
GO AWAY!

That was what Bob Minor said when he heard the news that Karl Liebknecht was shot and Rosa Luxemburg had been lynched. Minor was in Berlin, in the midst of the fighting and only a mile away when Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were murdered. Just imagine the wonderful story that Minor has written! To tell you of the events that happened in Germany. Not in the manner of the usual correspondent, but with the heart of a rebel. Minor is a rebel. He may not be firmly balanced, but then we have all have yet to be put to the test. But anyway this story that Minor tells is a wonderful story. We know because we have read it.

Then Crystal Eastman witnessed in Hungary six men being taken out, lined up against the wall and SHOT. Poor Crystal could not understand how six men could be shot by the workers. But they were. The revolution was on and the workers of Hungary meant business. They knew full well that if they allowed traitors or cowards to prosper within their ranks, that the revolution would be lost. So the men were shot. Crystal asks: "I hope that there is some pacifist revolutionary with an answer to that. I have none."

Crystal, old girl, you will have to wait for a long time, because there is none. Crystal was in Hungary during the revolution and her story also is wonderful. We sat up and read that story twice. We had only one copy between us and as yet, the divorce papers have not been filed.

Then there is Arthur Ransome. Ransome you will remember by his letter that appeared in the New Republic. He went to Russia as a correspondent for the London Daily News. You know how revolutionary the average correspondent of a capitalist paper is. If the revolution breaks out you will find them tearing down the manifestos and retreating to a sanatorium for a month. But Ransome went to Russia and the spirit of the Russian revolution was too intoxicating for him and soon he found himself working for the Bolsheviks. He left Russia a few weeks ago and before he left he asked of Lenin a few questions. The answers and the questions are interesting. They are well worth reading.

Then John Reed writes a story about the A. F. of L. convention. You know Reed all of you. In fact after you read one story by Reed, well you can picture Reed in

Soviet's Declaration of Wish to Negotiate Peace

Stockholm, July 4.—The Russian Soviet Government's news agency, "Rosta," has issued the following communication relative to Dr. Fritjof Nansen's proposal on the provisioning of Russia:

In the British House of Commons Mr. Harmsworth stated that the Soviet Government's reply to Dr. Nansen's proposal was intercepted by wireless on May 10. From Dr. Nansen's reply to Tchitcherin's wireless message, it is clear that Dr. Nansen immediately informed Paris of Tchitcherin's reply. It was therefore unnecessary to intercept the message.

A report from the Russian People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs asserts that the statements of the newspapers that Soviet Russia did not want provisions but wished to fight were not true.

Narrative of Events.
The report states that on April 3 Dr. Nansen proposed to the Council of Four a plan for provisioning Russia and supplying her with medicines.

On April 17 Signor Orlando, Mr. Lloyd George, President Wilson, and M. Clemenceau replied that their respective Governments would be pleased to co-operate in carrying out this plan on the lines proposed by Dr. Nansen—namely, the Allied Governments alone to procure provisions, and the Russian authorities to manage the financial and transport questions. This plan would involve the suspension of war operations in certain districts and the cessation of troop transports, and transports of war materials in Russia, and also from abroad to Russia.

The Russian Soviet Government received the Allied replies, with additions made by Dr. Nansen, only on May 4. Later it was proved by American wireless message that all the Governments had refused to despatch this message, but finally it was received from Berlin through the German Government at the request of the Norwegian Legation in Berlin.

Soviet's Reply to Nansen.
On May 7 the Russian Soviet Government sent a telegraphic reply

your own mind. If it was our last twenty cents and we were darn hungry and we knew of that story of John Reed's, well we would go hungry before we would miss it. Reed is the damndest and the most impudent reporter that America ever produced. He goes to an A. F. of L. convention and walks and talks with the delegates, then he roasts—out of them. Fancy a small human like Reed, daring to ridicule a man like Gompers that has shaken the hands of Kings and Presidents. The story will make you laugh, but when you are laughing you will think a little more. There is in that story sufficient to—well read Reed's story about the A. F. of L. convention yourself.

Floyd Dell is still reviewing books for the Liberator. Dell can review books better than any man I know of. I just want to register a kick against Dell, he can make you buy more books than any other reviewer and when a feller is—well Dell knows what we mean.

THE LIBERATOR for August is the best issue of a radical magazine that we have read for many years and we have read quite a few. To be transported into Hungary, Russia, Germany and best of all into the very room where the Peace Conference was being held, is a treat that is very rarely accorded many of us. Send twenty-two cents to Truth office and read the August number of the Liberator. Max Eastman has quite a lot to tell you and you know Max. We have got to quit writing now about the Liberator. But you must read the August number. Apart from the cover on the first page. (Say Max, when you next put out accounts of revolutions, please keep a woman of the front page, especially when she is asleep. Just give us a decent curtain-raiser).

We are the only people in this city that can supply you with the Liberator. The rest are afraid of the business element. It is our one supreme joy to shock and arouse this element and we do. But what would we give to present every member of the Commercial Club with a copy of a Liberator and watch them read it? Say, buy the Liberator and then subscribe through the Truth, \$2.00 per year. J. C.

ply to Dr. Nansen, in which it stated that the Soviet Government was quite willing to enter into communication with him in order to carry out his humane plan, but that others had mixed up his non-political scheme with questions concerning the suspension of war operations, thereby using Dr. Nansen's humane intentions for other purposes.

The Soviet Government, moreover, was now willing to enter into negotiations for the purpose of arriving at the suspension of bloodshed. The suspension of war operations, however, was a question of extraordinary political importance.

The Soviet Government was willing to begin negotiations on this question, but only with the real belligerent parties, namely, the Allied Governments, or with those duly authorized by them.

Allies' Interpretation.
The Soviet Government, being willing to negotiate with the Allies, warmly welcomed the humane proposition originally made by Dr. Nansen, and asked him to fix the time and place for meeting in order to discuss the questions involved. When the Soviet Government made a distinction between the provisioning question and general political questions, the Allied Powers interpreted it as a refusal of Dr. Nansen's proposal. The Russian Soviet Government in no way refused to suspend bloodshed.—Reuter.

Wants the Dardanelles

Our Ally Koltchak Makes an Amazing Demand to the Peace Conference.

Paris, Thursday.—A memorandum has been handed to the President of the Peace Conference by M. Maklakoff, on behalf of the Russian political conference, representing the Government of Admiral Koltchak.

In this memorandum the Russians ask to have a mandate for the control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. They also ask to have their share in the International mandate for Constantinople.

The conclusion leaves it to be understood that Russia would willingly renounce the Protectorate over Armenia.—Exchange.

Golden Chains

Here is a rather pleasant story from Budapest. The Soviet Government, in order to stabilise the currency, has been calling upon all citizens to give up any gold in their possession. One bourgeois gentleman came to the receiving office, drew off his ring, handed it in, took out his watch and chain, removed the watch, gave that in, and then, with a smile, remarked: "Now I am a good proletarian; I have nothing to lose but my chain."

'Cannot Fight the Soviet'

Militarist Hopes of Attacking Hungary Destroyed: The Unwanted Czech

Paris, Thursday.—The reply of the Allied military agents in Vienna to the Peace Conference demand as to whether the Czechoslovaks, Jugo-Slavs, and Rumanians surrounding Hungary can be trusted to put sufficient forces in the field to defeat the Soviet Army has been prompt and disappointing.

The telegram received yesterday states that at least 200,000 are necessary, and that the anti-Soviet troops who can be relied on to fight and to whom full equipment can be rushed in time fall considerably below that figure.

Czechoslovaks Give Trouble.
Another embarrassment for the Allied statesmen appeared yesterday in an urgent demand from military observers with Koltchak as to what disposition can be made of the thirty thousand Czechoslovak troops who must be got out of Siberia. These are the same Czechoslovaks who one year ago were being used as a wedge against the Bolsheviks.

Later a considerable portion of the Czechs became infected with Bolshevism. A still larger part refused to obey any orders except those of providing themselves with food and clothing by force wherever they happened to be, and their commanders were forced to retire them behind Koltchak's lines of Japanese and Chinese mercenaries and some few American, British and French detachments loyal to Koltchak's orders.

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GERMAN WORKERS REVOLT

(Continued from page 1)

two-sided movement; the majority socialist party machine moving to the right, and the masses that used to me behind it deserting it and moving to the left.

The radicalization of the masses—here is the one outstanding problem of Germany.

Indeed, the events of the last few days preceding to-day's strike sufficiently demonstrate that the masses are far more radical than even the radical leaders themselves, and that it is the masses and not the leaders that have been the motive force. These events are highly instructive, and it is worth while to recapitulate them briefly. On July 16 the independent socialist party published a manifesto to the workers to join the English, French and Italian demonstrations on the 21st. There was not a single word in

the manifesto about a strike. The majority socialists and Vorwaerts poured ridicule upon the independents. "What sense is there," it asked, "is German workers demonstrating on the 21st? So far as the French and English workers are concerned it is a demonstration against the imperialism of the victors. Where do German workers come in in such demonstration?"

Idea of Reconciliation Popular.

These question were, perhaps, logical enough, but they had no relation to the mood of the people. The masses leaped at the idea of demonstrating their hopes for reconciliation with the international proletariat. German workers are deeply conscious of their moral responsibility before the judgement bar of the international organization for their defection during the war. Consequently the independents touched a responsive chord in popular psychology. So intense and real was the welcome given to the idea that the people accepted the extreme demonstration of a general strike. It was the representative body of the workers themselves—the assembly of factory councils—that led the way and decided on a strike.

But that was not all. The most significant surprise was to follow. The assembly of factory councils ordered the workers in the electric power stations, the water and gas works to continue at work, but the order was ignored and, with the exception of those in the water works, the electricians and gas workers insisted upon the demonstration. On the very same day when the central organ of the party was ridiculing the idea of German workers joining in demonstrations of the international proletariat the majority socialist party was compelled to issue a manifesto to the German proletariat inviting it to do the very thing Vorwaerts was ridiculing.

Workers "Dangerously Restless."

Not only did the workers compel the majority socialist to change their attitude, but they even compelled the independents to come out also.

Such are the facts that they must be faced. They show that the masses of workers are dangerously restless and excited in mood. The whole press to-day—

nonsocialist and majority socialist alike—is angrily denouncing this strike fever in Germany, and rightly. Strikes are in fact the worst and most dangerous symptom of the situation. Only under one condition can Germany, nay, Europe, be saved now, and that is by work—hard and steady work, work without limit, without rest and without interruption. Not only Germany's finances and Germany's economies, but the whole German mentality depends entirely and solely upon the answer to the question whether Germany will be able to settle down and start steadily at work again.

Some remedy against strikes and tieups must be found immediately if collapse and chaos are to be avoided. I join unconditionally in condemnation of wild and perpetual strikes.

Yet to-day's strikes and demonstration of international solidarity had such a special moral value that it deserves to be understood and condoned. When I saw Berlin workmen to-day making their way through lines of threatening soldiers, marching in the face of machine guns with red flags flying, singing the "Marseillaise," and crying "Long live the International!" I knew that all this was a demonstration of the fact that within their simple souls there was a hope and a yearning for the restoration of brotherhood and friendship among the working masses of mankind, and that it was deep and burning enough to defy all risks and temptations.

Can one condemn that hope and that yearning? Unfortunately, these first great demonstrations of the international solidarity of the working class degenerated all too quickly into a brotherhood strike among the German workers themselves.

(Farbman is a capitalist reporter.)

Welter of Lies Hides Plan of Entente to Kill Soviet Russia

(Continued from page 1)

drove the Czechoslovaks out and welcomed the red army, and that while under hostile military occupation Vladivostok re-elected the Soviet representatives who were then in jail. Only in the last few days, a popular uprising in favor of the Soviets occurred in Siberia, which is entirely shut off from the Moscow government's influence.

The truth of the matter is that the Russian Soviet forces are defending "their" country in a truer sense than any people ever defended "its country" in all modern history.

The forces supported by the American and Entente governments are the most reactionary forces in all of Europe or Asia. Kolchak came into power by a brutal seizure and murder of Constituent Assembly members, and the little incident that precipitated the quarrel indicates its character. Kolchak's officers forcing musicians to play "God Save the Czar" at the point of revolvers at a dinner to celebrate the arrival of French troops at Omsk last November started the quarrel that ended in the swash-buckling adventurer, Kolchak, naming himself dictator.

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SOVIETS AND RESEARCH

Paris.—The "Temps" publishes the following summary of a report read before the French Academy of Sciences concerning scientific activity in Bolshevik Russia. It is based on information brought from Petrograd and Moscow by Professor Victor Henri of the Sorbonne, who was in Russia on a mission for the French government.

"Despite the difficult conditions of intellectual life, vocations of all sorts, and arbitrary condemnations Russian scientists are working under satisfactory conditions. New institutions, museums and collections have been created. In the intellectual centre of new Russia is the Academy of Sciences in Petrograd, which has taken the former museums and laboratories under its protection. A great commission for the study of Russia's riches and resources has been constituted. It is composed of thirty-three sections, of which twenty-two are in Petrograd and eleven in Moscow."

Professor Henri cites among the newly created institutions, the chemical institute and the platinum institute, in which Russian scientists have discovered a secret process for separating platinum from iridium, hitherto known only to the Germans; the institute for the betterment of sheep, and another for the study of soil and fertilizer. Institutes of radium, X-rays, theoretical and applied optics, crystallography, hydrology and "labor" have also been in operation for several months. The Petrograd Academy of Sciences has begun a series of geodetic studies, and begun to draw a magnificent map of Russia. New laboratories have been added to the institute of weights and measures.

The heart and soul of the forces supported by the French and British and American governments is monarchist.

By frequent conversations in Moscow with supporters of Kolchak, I positively know that it is their desire and their plan to incite a wholesale slaughter of Jews throughout Russia as a means of winning power. Not that they are particularly concerned with Jews, but they frankly say that this would be a good way of getting rid of a government which in the popular imagination is largely composed of Jews.

Strangling Behind Censorship.

By careful observation since the signing of the armistice, I have observed that the Entente and American governments are systematically appeasing the discontent of their people by vague hints and promises to withdraw troops, but behind the promises they are quietly proceeding to strangle the Russian people with military operations of either their own troops of reactionary troops financed by them—which amounts to exactly the same thing. In short, while the censorship keeps you in the dark and makes you victims of all lies the reactionaries care to tell, the resources of your country and mine are being used to start the most brutally criminal and mercenary war that the world ever knew. The invasion of the Belgian kingdom was a crime. The invasion of the Russian republic is a fouler crime. Those who march against Russia, or tolerate others doing so, are doing worse than the first German soldiers who marched across the frontiers of Belgium.

More Than German Junkers.

The rulers who are directing this monstrous assault upon the Russian republic, that is suing for peace, are writing their names in eternal shame beside the name of William Hohenzollern, and, whatever the German working people should have done to prevent the advance into Belgium the French working people ought to do now to prevent the advance into Russia.

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THE LAST KICK

By J. O. BENTALL

When we run out of meat out on the farm we sometimes catch a rooster and chop his head off.

The poor animal kicks and flops all he can for a while. Then he quiets down and is apparently gone. But presently he begins to shiver and flops his wings again. A stretch. A kick. He is dead.

We pick his feathers, clean him up, throw away the useless parts. Then we roast him and eat him.

Well, the world is running out of meat and we are going to get the old meat and we are going to get the old rooster that has grown so fat during the last hundred years. That Old Rooster is Capitalism. It has eaten and scratched and crowded around and bossed the whole yard long enough. In fact it is getting to be a general nuisance. It is too fat to scratch for its own feed and too mean to let the rest of us scratch for ours so we better relieve it of its burden and be done.

For some time now labor has arched its neck and begun to walk around with considerable pluck in demanding its rights. It has intimated to the old rooster that the yard is not all his and that he must not arrogate to himself the whole hen house altogether.

Labor has organized and planned to get its own. No question about that.

Of course that has made capitalism strut about with much importance and added dignity.

And it appears that just now labor is destined to get a severe jolt. The old rooster has been boss so long that all the rest of the birds feel worried and submit to all kinds of lordly insults.

May be Capitalism has run far. It has monopolized the mines and all the steel industries. It has copped the coal fields and all the fuel supply. It has swiped the foodstuff and all the eatables—the clothing and all the housing material. It has taken every known element of the people's substance and robbed the world of its last kennel of livelihood.

Capitalism has gone into the big and quite serious game of killing.

In its madness to subdue labor and get the yard all to itself again it stops at nothing.

It does not realize that already the ax is put to its proud neck and that a gaping head is falling off the block.

The wings flop—it kicks—its last kick. Only another shivering death kick and capitalism will be gone—dead—dead forever.

And labor will have the world to itself to use and enjoy.

Labor will sow the grain and reap the harvests.

Labor will plant the gardens and gather the fruit.

Labor will dig the iron ore and smelt it and mold it into blessed usefulness.

Labor will lead the flocks and store the meats—will spin the wool and make fluffy garments of comfort—will tell the trees and build houses to dwell in.

Labor will produce the comforts and enjoy them. It will bring forth the luxuries and live in them.

Labor will plant the gardens and breathe the sweet perfumes of the flowerbeds.

Labor will shoo away all poverty, all crime, all distress, all hardship, all worry, all wrong, all injustice, all tyranny, all slavery, all superstition, all ignorance, all oppression, all fear—all the horrors of a living death.

Labor will not fill the sea with untold treasure as capitalism does. Labor will not strew the earth with corpses as capitalism does. Labor will not destroy life and squander property as capitalism does.

Labor will live and sing and love.

And the world will be a good place to live in—when the old rooster is dead.

O. T. ROSAAS

PHOTOGRAPHER.

Lincoln 599-X Melrose 2219

2030 West Superior Street.

Dear Comrades:

The order to start out may be served on Comrade A. E. Georgian any day now, and everything must be kept in readiness for it.

As you were informed by this committee before, the case has already been decided, and the verdict was—Georgian must be deported. He was let out on bonds until the Ellis Island Office should arrange for his transportation with the least possible expense. ONLY HIS transportation; the U. S. Government does not care about what becomes with his wife and two children, about BREAKING UP HIS FAMILY.

To prevent this outrage WE MUST RAISE SUFFICIENT MONEY to pay the transportation and expenses of Mrs. Georgian and the two children. And we must raise it AT ONCE.

What has your local done for it?

Send in your contributions NOW.

If you received a subscription blank from this committee, and have not sent it back yet, be sure to do it RIGHT AWAY.

Remember, Comrade Georgian may have to start out on the long journey tomorrow, or the day after. (there is no assurance that he will be given any time for getting ready), and you want to be sure to get in your money in time, for it is the only assistance you can give him now.

Send all money to the treasurer, Chas. Dirba, 1217 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.

Yours for Immediate Action,

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Race Riots

Press reports from Chicago inform us of more race riots. As in all race riots, the negroes always come out on the bottom. The lynching of a negro does not excite us, because they are so numerous. We have become quite used to them. The only thing that does excite us is the fact that at times things appear to be quiet down South.

When the negro went forth to war, there were many who said that things would be different when he came back. But as soon as the armistice was signed, a blackguardly campaign was commenced against the negro. Travelling West we talked with a "white" Southerner and when we questioned him regarding the returning negro soldier, all that he could reply was, that the negro soldier was never put in the first line of trenches, he was too "darn yeller."

Persecuted in the South, his women folk outraged day after day, the negro is only too glad to escape from it all, even though it means escape from one set of masters to another. To get away from those parts where color counts against man means more to the negro than words can portray. Then when he arrives among the white people, he is exploited by the white employers, and the black, and an ignorant working class attacks the poor negro, not realizing that they are both victims of a sordid, profit seeking capitalist class. Race riots are a godsend for our masters. They draw the attention of the worker away from the real causes of his poverty. Fool the worker that it is the black worker that is responsible for his bad social conditions and the boss escapes attention!

The unfortunate thing of it all is, that the Labor movement is responsible for a great deal of the dirty work that is going on today. They argue that the negro cannot be organized. That the overcoming of deep-seated prejudice of the white folks against the black is a superhuman task. Same old story. We heard trade union leaders tell Larkin the same story in the city of Belfast. They told Larkin, Irishmen at that, that it was impossible to bring Catholics and Protestants together. Yet Larkin, and many of us, lived to see the day, when on July 12th, the day the Orangemen celebrate their supposed victory over the Catholics, the Catholics and Protestants marching together behind the banner of Labor. Larkin showed conclusively that if men would but realize their task and put their whole heart and soul into the fight, nothing was impossible. The same thing applies also to South Africa. The same arguments were again used, but today we find the colored races and the white races in the same union, fighting the same enemy and no one hears of race riots anymore.

The white races are possessed of the idea that they are superior to the black races. Superior in what? The art of being skinned! That is the real truth of the whole position. Americans were once superior to the Spaniards! Englishmen were once superior to the Dutch, French, Boers and many other races. But Capital the leveller of all, knocks that feeling of superiority out of the heads of us all. The "superior" Englishmen and Americans have lived to see the day when they have had to fight with those people that were "inferior" to them and glad to have their support. Capitalism uses us all, in order that it might exist, but fools that we are, we do not see it that the more we fight amongst ourselves the less time we have to fight the boss and furthermore we disunite ourselves every time we engage in race riots.

Some white people say that the negro is ignorant. Why is it? Not because of the intense desire on part of the white workers to educate themselves. Simply because in the countries or states where the white people live, capitalism is more developed, than it is where the colored people live. The Japanese at one time were very ignorant, but today we call them cunning and foxy. Because we know that they are being "educated" by the industrial development that is taking place in Japan. It is the extent of capitalism that determines how far you are civilized. If you live in the backwoods, ignorant of the great human achievements of the age you will be ignorant. But if you live amidst the humdrum of life and the whirl of machinery you will be educated. Educated by the great machine that you must obey as you toil. We gain our so-called education from the machine and where the machine has not entered, there they are not educated.

Sometimes we sigh for the cotton-fields, to hear the tuneful melodies of the negro folks. To listen to those melodies that seem to keep time with the workers as they pick the cotton. It is a relief and a decided contrast to the mad rushing of the white workers in the factory. Their rushing at work is typified by the rag-time music that seems to intoxicate their very souls. Slowly pick the cotton and as you pick, sing "Way down on the Swannee River." But work in a factory and attempt to work and sing the same song. You will hear the foreman tell you to speed up. The song that best keeps time with the work of the factory is "Everybody's doing it, doing it." The rush of the song harmonizes with the speeding up.

All racial questions are economic questions. The vices of one race are not the virtues of another. Neither are the virtues of one the vices of another. Imperialism creates the workers' enemies. Imperialism that makes American hate the Mexican, so that American Imperialists might intervene in Mexico. Imperialism that makes us hate the Russians and the Germans, in order that the aims of Imperialism might be furthered. Comrades, the time has come to you all, when you should refuse to allow yourselves to be made the dupes of a mad Imperialism drunk with power. Let us say to all races, you are the victims of the same gang of blood-sucking pirates that we are. Let us clasp hands to-

gether and sweep them from the face of the earth. Then you can live your life as you desire and we will live ours. Let us at all times appeal to the colored races and endeavor to educate and organize them. Then with an international organization of the workers we will be a good match for the present international gang of cradle-robbing and bloodsucking pirates. The task set before us is no light one, so above all things let us be united before the enemy. "ALL FOR EACH AND EACH FOR ALL."

Minnesota State Federation of Labor Convention.

We will leave the task to students of psychology to make an extended study of the delegates assembled at the New Ulm convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor. The task is too great for us.

The delegates inspired the radicals by their indorsement of the Soviet Government of Russia. Shure, tomorrow they would indorse the One Big Union, because the One Big Union is the basis of the Soviet Government. Then they would repudiate the League of Nations and then they would absolutely pooh-pooh the idea of lining up with the Non-Partisan League. Oh, yes, we had it all figured out. We knew those delegates. We knew that they were radical, especially the Duluth delegates. Of course old Bill Murnian is a dear old soul. Bill is honest, but conservative, there are others who are —?— and still conservative. So we knew where Bill stood. That was how we had the map laid out. Then—oh, then—the delegates,—well you know the story. We will endeavor to criticize the convention and its work. If there are any things left undone and others done that should have been left undone, well bring out your students on psychology, because we do not pretend to have the ability to understand the delegates at that convention.

League of Nations Repudiated.

The resolution asking for the indorsement of the League of Nations was defeated. Of course Mike Boylan, ex-Mayor of Virginia thought that Article X was most unfair to Ireland and Mike was right and as the Irish have Home Rule IN AMERICA, even the President comes from Ulster stock, the resolution was thrown out. Of course old political Bill McEwen was on the job. He thought that the convention should support the League of Nations, because it was a human document. By way of an intermission, so that we can say a word or two to the Duluth Labor movement, we invite the delegates to read the following extracts, from representative ENGLISH papers, ENGLISH, mark you William!

AUSTRIA

"... The crowd was melting away. Cordons were being drawn across all the approaches. One little group still remained in the ring, gathered round something on the ground. A police horse had been shot in the last charge. ... One man carried off a steak and another a leg. In a few minutes the skeleton and the saddle remained."—(An eye-witness of the Vienna riots of April 17. Manchester Guardian, May 28, 1919).

IN RUSSIAN ARMENIA.

"Some 25 bodies are brought in from the streets daily, and in some cases portions of the corpses have been cut off for food by refugees. I have myself seen in the cemetery the remains of bodies dug up at night and partially consumed by starving people."

"... The distress prevailing at Igdir beggars description. The streets are lined with men, women and children wretchedly clad, literally dying of starvation. All the orphanages and shelters available are crowded, and the supply of food is insufficient to keep more than a fraction of the population alive. Many families are feeding on grass and clover, and will die soon unless proper food is obtained for them."—Times, May 6.

IN POLAND

"He saw women and children fighting like wild beasts for food. They stood frequently in the food queues for 12 hours, and sometimes got nothing in the end. In private houses he found men, women and children lying generally stark naked on a bed, too weak to move, dying or dead of hunger. If he asked them their names or put questions to them he seldom got any reply but 'bread, bread.'"—Manchester Guardian, May 21.

IN GERMANY

"It does not seem to be generally known that the Germans in the occupied area on the left bank of the Rhine have a 20 per cent. higher food ration than the rest of the country because the occupying troops insist on it."—Daily News, May 29, 1919.

"The scarcity of necessities for children is so great in Germany that in very many cases the little ones have to be kept at home on account of the lack of clothes and shoes, while children in homes, hospitals and other institutions often have to be wrapped in paper in default of bedclothes. This is especially felt in the case of delicate children, since the paper adheres to their bodies, which are lacerated by disease and privation."—Appeal from Swedish Red Cross.

"Prof. Gadellum, the Swedish representative of the medical commission appointed to examine into conditions in Germany reports that he had seen terrible things, one of the most distressing being the ravages of tuberculosis among children in the hospitals. The only antidote is milk, which is unavailable. The disease is assuming almost unprecedented aspects. The whole body is attacked simultaneously, and the illness in this form is practically incurable."—Report of Neutral Commission of Doctors.

"I made earnest inquiries concerning childbirth among women of the poorer classes of Berlin, and I verified the statements I obtained. Seventy per cent of expectant mothers are horribly undernourished, and then they are in a starving condition. Because of their situation they are unable to stand in food lines in order to obtain the small food rations allowed them."

"These women steal all the food they can, and I have seen them rummaging through dust bins to find potato peelings. They have no clothes for their new born children; one finds them wrapped in pieces of sackings. Thirty per cent. of German women die in confinement."

"I have encountered dozens of children two years of age, who have never tasted milk."—Daily Express, May 5.

We venture to say that McEwen never read the League of Nations Covenant. It was too long and tiresome a task for an overworked mind like McEwen's, to give the time to such a wordy document. The reception that McEwen received at the convention was just what McEwen wanted. Do not fool yourselves, members of the Duluth labor movement, that McEwen is seeking the applause of the radicals. That would ruin his prestige with the business element and that is the last thing that McEwen desires. Cannot you see the sordid game that this man, supposedly a representative of labor, is playing? Do you not see that he is simply acting as a disrupter in the ranks of organized labor? What does McEwen care for organized labor? It is McEwen first and McEwen last, and if there is anything left, then it is McEwen some more. Papers do not make their profits out of their circulation, they make them out of their advertising and McEwen does not publish the Labor World for the purpose of serving the labor movement. He uses the Labor Movement of Duluth for the purpose of serving the ends of the Labor World, i. e., W. McEwen. The sooner the labor move-

ment of Duluth wakes up to the fact and relegates McEwen to his proper place, which is not in the labor movement, the better it will be for all concerned. We have no personal quarrel with McEwen, our time is too short for that. But we do want to see the workers of Duluth rise to the position that they should occupy and so long as men like McEwen are prepared to prostitute the noble spirit and the courage of the workers, then we fight McEwen.

New Political Party.

The convention went on record, allying itself with the Non-Partisan League. It was a foolish mistake to make and one that will eventually be undone, but not before many bitter mistakes have been made. Labor must recognize that it cannot hope to gain its freedom by the advocating and obtaining of a few reforms. At the present moment the Labor movements of the world are demanding, and soon their demands will be granted by power of Labor's strong right arm, full control of industry. In Australia they have realized the futility of playing with reforms. Labor is no more content to accept the crumbs that fall from the tables of the rich, they are getting ready to set their feet under the table and to exclude all those that do not work. Therefore it is to be regretted that the convention should at this time go on record in favor of an alliance with the Non-Partisan League. The worker and the farmer have not, at present, the same interests in common. Compare the psychological effects their respective conditions of life are bound to have on the factory worker and the farmer working on his own bit of land. The farmer leads an isolated life; he has little means of intercourse with his fellow-humans; his ideas are likely to be narrow; he knows little of the great world and is careless. He is mastered by the forces of nature, depends upon them and lives in awe of them. He gets his living by his own exertions on his own bit of land; the idea of association with his fellow-worker in the town scarcely enters his mind, except insofar that he may profitably dispose of his produce or seek political strength. Compare the socialist movements in industrial and agricultural states and you realize the truth of the foregoing.

Now take the factory worker. He has no private property; his attachment to it is therefore, comparatively slight. Of course he believes in it and stands in awe of it, and wants some, and so on, but his attachment to it is not personal. The idea of a society without private property cannot appal him to the same extent that it does others. He has none to lose himself, and he will therefore be more disposed to accept the possibility of a form of society where no one shall possess any. He is in daily intercourse with his fellow-workers; his ideas have broadened. He is associated with his fellow-workers in the production of things; the idea of producing things collectively seems a natural thing to him; the idea of owning these things collectively is but a step. The employers associate for their common good, why should not the workers associate for their common good—and they DO. In the factory and the town, he is constantly brought face to face with the wonderful human achievements and sees how men have mastered the forces of nature. The inventions that are introduced into the factory also make him realize more and more that he is just a cog in a huge machine; that he is a slave to that machine; the machine moulding and re-moulding him as it will. There is no comparison between the worker in the town and the farmer on the land. The idea that these two sets of workers can be united politically is preposterous and will only serve to discourage the worker of the town and city. Politicians may find it useful to bring about this alliance, but Labor will find it disastrous and before many clouds have rolled away.

The labor movement must realize that the day has long since gone by, when we could afford to dicker with capitalism. The task now set before us is the complete control of industry. This will not come through legislatures, but through the actions of the men on the job. The workers must organize and capture the political State and with its destruction the future success of Labor is assured. With the soviets in the shop and the revolutionary army of the working class abolishing the State, that way lies SUCCESS. Political alliances with farmers and the engaging of the workers in parliamentarism, that road leads to sure FAILURE.

MEN AND WOMEN OF THE MINNESOTA LABOR MOVEMENT WHERE DO YOU STAND AND WHICH ROAD ARE YOU GOING TO TAKE?

Turns Down Mooney Strike.

The Convention supported the Mooney strike. The officials realizing that the responsibility for calling the strike was thrust upon their shoulders, immediately got together and on a vote to reconsider, the strike proposition was killed. After the SUPREME COURT OF AMERICA has declared that every legal measure to secure justice for Mooney and Billings has been exhausted, the workers still have faith in legal machinery. We trust the radical delegates will not rest content with the set-back they received at the State convention, but will go ahead with their propaganda and demand a strike in behalf of ALL class-war prisoners.

Indorses Bolsheviki.

The convention is to be congratulated on its indorsement of the Soviet government of Russia and we trust that the members of the labor unions of Minnesota will endeavor to analyse the Soviet form of government, with a view to bringing it into being in this country. The Soviet form of government is the highest expression of real democracy. It means control of industry by the workers, through the shop. Under a Soviet form of government only those that work can vote. So if a fellow does not work he does not vote and if he does not vote he has to obey the laws of those that make the laws and the first law the Soviets of Russia put into force, was the law that has stricken terror into the hearts of the capitalists everywhere, "Unless a man works he shall not eat." Imagine if you can, the effect of such a law in the East End of Duluth. The working class must realize that the day of parliaments will soon be over. The working class in Europe realizes that the form of government under a working class control is far different to that of a government under capitalist control. A working class government is for the sole purpose of administering things, governments in the hands of capitalists are for the sole purpose of keeping the workers in subjection, so that they (the capitalists) might retain their hold upon industry. The workers in Russia had to capture the powers of the State, because they found it being used against them and so made it impossible for them to erect their soviets. But immediately the workers had taken hold of the State, they were able to abolish it and in its place erect the Soviet Republic. So do not think for one moment, that the change in the government of Russia is like a change in this country, from Republican to Democratic. The Soviet form of government is not a purely Russian creation, it is the logical step in the march of the working class towards the goal of human freedom. Every country in the world will sooner or later be compelled to adopt the soviet form of government. The workers must control industry or be prepared to enter a period of slavery, blacker than the blackest days of Rome or Russia. It is because we realize the true nature of the Soviet form of government, that we cannot understand the action of the convention in indorsing the Soviet government of Russia and turning down the idea of the One Big Union.

One Big Union Turned Down.

The One Big Union prepares the workers for the taking over of industry. While capitalism has been changing its form and character, and capital has become more firmly fixed, the organizations of the workers have remained the same in structure and outlook. Originally formed for the purpose of protecting the interests of crafts, they have grown in size, but they still have the craft mark stamped on them. The skilled workers have organized separately, and with few bright exceptions, notably Seattle and Butte, they have sunk so low as to betray the unskilled. With the introduction of machinery, the position of the skilled man has been made more precarious each day and as a result of the ignorance and crass stupidity of the skilled worker, aided and abetted by his shortsighted and parasitical leaders, the position of the working class has been made worse. Instead of the skilled worker combining with the unskilled worker and bringing the unskilled worker up to the level of the skilled worker, the exact reverse has taken place. The skilled worker has fought the unskilled worker and the master class has benefited accordingly. At a time when the master class has been summoning all its forces together in order to crush the workers we have witnessed silly demarcation disputes, etc. If the working class is to secure the fruits of its labors, it is imperative that within its ranks there shall be unity of purpose and action. This can be brought about by unions indorsing and carrying out the idea of the One Big Union. A more scientific form of industrial organization is essential having as its unit neither the craft, nor the section, as with the railroad, but the industry in which those concerned are engaged; and the whole must be linked up in a great class organization whose function and purpose must be to work out the emancipation of the working class.

In the building up of the great Industrial Unions, signs of which we see in the Seattle and Butte movements, together with the Vancouver movement, care must be taken to prevent the organization being controlled from the top, like we see in the international unions of today. The real power of the unions must be in the hands of the rank and file, and since industry, because of its structure, must be departmentalized, full representation on all governing bodies connected with the organization must be accorded to all the departments of the industry concerned, not with a view to advancing the claims of one special set, but rather with the object of procuring united action. Only those who work on the job, and know how the job is run, only they know best how to carry on the organization. The workshop is the centre from which all life and activity radiates. It is for that reason we desire to call to the attention of the delegates of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, the Labor program of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. The Left Wing is endeavoring to establish in every shop, mine and factory a shop stewards' committee. We propose to make the workshop take the place of the union hall. Whereas activity in the union hall has been confined to a few regular attenders, the meetings on the job through the shop stewards' committee would mean the attendance of every worker. By this method the unions will become more than mutual admiration societies, they will become efficient fighting machines. By this method we shall bring the rank and file together and in case of a strike we will get that bond of sympathy, which is so sadly lacking in the ranks of the workers. New circumstances demand new methods shall be adopted to meet them; new times, indeed, demand new methods and new men.

Whilst we advocate the One Big Union, let us not be misunderstood. It does not matter what form of organization the workers may be organized in, they cannot be of any service to the workers unless the workers know the mission and the purpose of the working class. The working class must be prepared to wage a fight for the control of industry. The employing class will furnish it with all the concessions it may desire, in order to make the working class "safe." The purpose of the workers must be definite and be the guiding inspiration of the workers. The demand of the workers must be nothing more nor less than the complete determination of the workers to order and control their own destinies. The accomplishment of this purpose cannot be the work of benevolent philosophical professors engaged in analysing society, or of social quacks with a distorted vision. All progress comes from the bottom up. The working class has been brought into being as a class, and has become recognisable as a separate social entity by the development of the productive forces. Capitalism has produced it and capitalism will be destroyed by it. No agreements with the master class can serve the best interests of labor. The capitalist class have shown during the late war that they will enter into a truce with the workers, but when the truce ceases to fulfill its purpose, then the capitalists will break it without warning.

The Spirit That Will Prevail.

The spirit that led the Seattle workers, the workers in Butte, and later the workers in Winnipeg, to challenge capitalist law and order, is the spirit that will carry the workers through to their final goal. This spirit should not be wasted in trifling gains. It must be conserved and disciplined in order that when called upon to be used it may be found ready and prepared. All forms of working class activity need to be co-ordinated. We have seen how the State, capitalism in its most highly developed form, has taken part in recent prosecutions of the I. W. W., Socialist Party and in the use of armed force in industrial disputes and because of this the struggles of the future will bring the workers into conflict with capitalism at its very nerve centre—the State. The proposals laid down by the Labor committee of the Left Wing are more comprehensive than any proposals yet taken up by organized Labor. But behind them there must be the driving force of Labor in revolt against modern conditions and Labor determined to work out its own salvation.

Parting of the Ways.

Trade Unionism, as evidenced in the convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, stands at the parting of the ways. It has to choose between a waiting policy of defence or an aggressive policy of purposeful and determined attack. It has to choose between an alliance with Capital for the maintenance of capitalist supremacy and a condition of things in which Labor must play second fiddle in the orchestra of the Imperialists; and the asserting of itself in the struggle for freedom as an integral part of the armory of a fighting working class. United, resolute, determined, rejecting all specious pleas of reformers and parasitical labor leaders, the working class can consolidate its forces, close its ranks, and prepare, for the clearing of the ground of encumbrances of autocracy—the State, etc., and secondly the building of new society by the labor of its own hands. A glorious future awaits the forces of labor. It awaits and calls us on. Are you ready delegates of the Minnesota Federation of Labor? Go back to your rank and file and educate and organize them for the sun is rising and the hill-tops are tinged with its golden rays.

"All previous historical movements were movements of minorities or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is (or must become) the self-conscious independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up without the whole super-incumbent strata of official society being blown into the air . . ."