

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

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

1c. Paid.
Duluth, Minn.
Permit No. 40.

VOL. III. No. 37.

14

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

WHOLE No. 118.

FIVE CENTS.

KOLCHAK'S ARMY SURRENDERS LOOK TO "HUNS" TO CRUSH RUSSIA

ALLIES, BEATEN, LOOK TO BERLIN TO CRUSH REDS Germany Eyes East; World Still at War

(The Allies are now compelled to admit that they CANNOT defeat the Russian Soviet Government. The "despised, despicable HUN" is being appealed to, to assist the Allies to conquer Russia. We wonder what the American people think of this? The Allies are in fear. They want to defeat the Bolsheviks and the only nation they can call on, is Germany. Yet if they call on Germany they must allow Germany to develop her resources, etc., in order that she might render the necessary assistance to her army and navy. Once Germany is allowed as allowed she must be, to develop her resources, the Allies stand in fear of what Germany might do, if she combines with Soviet Russia. Truly a perplexing situation, the Allies find themselves in! We reprint the following article from the Chicago Tribune, sent us by comrade Smith of Chicago, in order to let our readers know what is going on in the minds of the Allied diplomats. Ed. Truth).

By FLOYD GIBBONS.

Paris, Sept. 11. — Have the England's Hands Tied.

Has Germany been de Prussianized?

Is the world now at peace?
The composite answer is—
No.

Fifteen soviet Russian armies are in the field today as victors. German forces 200,000 strong are moving toward Moscow and Petrograd.

Twenty fighting fronts are ablaze across Europe and Asia from the White to the Black sea.

As the French say, "C'est la paix mais."

Shock for World.

Europe in on fire, and through flames of hate there come daily glimpses of a growing condition which will shock the peoples of the allied world when it is revealed by the developments of the next few weeks.

That shock will register when to is realized Germany, far from being stripped of her old ambitions, is preparing to realize them in their fullest meaning in the east.

That shock will register still hader when the realization comes that Germany is doing this with the knowledge of the allies, and that in practice there exists at present an understanding between Germany and the entente, which in effect amounts to counter-revolutionary alliance against the bolsheviks.

In other words, the boches are no longer enemies. They are allies, and the new enemy is Russia. Every evidence obtainable here indicates this starting turn of events.

Defeat by Reds.

The allies, without the assistance of Germany, have failed to thrust down bolshevism in Russia. This is a long suppressed admission. It is based on the fact that on every front the bolsheviks have been able not only to resist all efforts of the forces opposed to them, but in all recent instances they have been able to drive those forces back.

These defeats of the anti-bolshevik efforts of the entente may be itemized as follows: Beginning at the northern terminal of the front which now rings Russia it is apparent that the British on the Archangel and Murmansk fronts have been badly defeated by the Reds. England has been forced publicly to announce a plan of withdrawal of her forces on the White sea, but at the same time it is now known that the ice has set in, and the allied expeditionary forces under the Arctic circle must remain there until spring.

England is physically unable to reinforce them, not only on account of the ice which prevents transportation, but by reason of the fact that British soldiers destined for Russian service mutiny at Southampton when an effort is made to embark them on ships. At the same time British labor is demanding a complete withdrawal from the Russian mess.

South of Petrograd along the line approximately from Riga to Minsk the bolsheviks are opposed by three different allied forces on the Lithuanian and Lettish fronts.

Against the Lithuanians the Reds hurled heavy forces which two weeks ago drove them back further from the line at Pskoff. Thousands of the White army deserted to the Reds and the remainder retired demoralized. On the Estonian and Lettish fronts the Letts and Estonians, having been offered peace, and with no molestation by the Reds have practically reached the point of fraternization. These

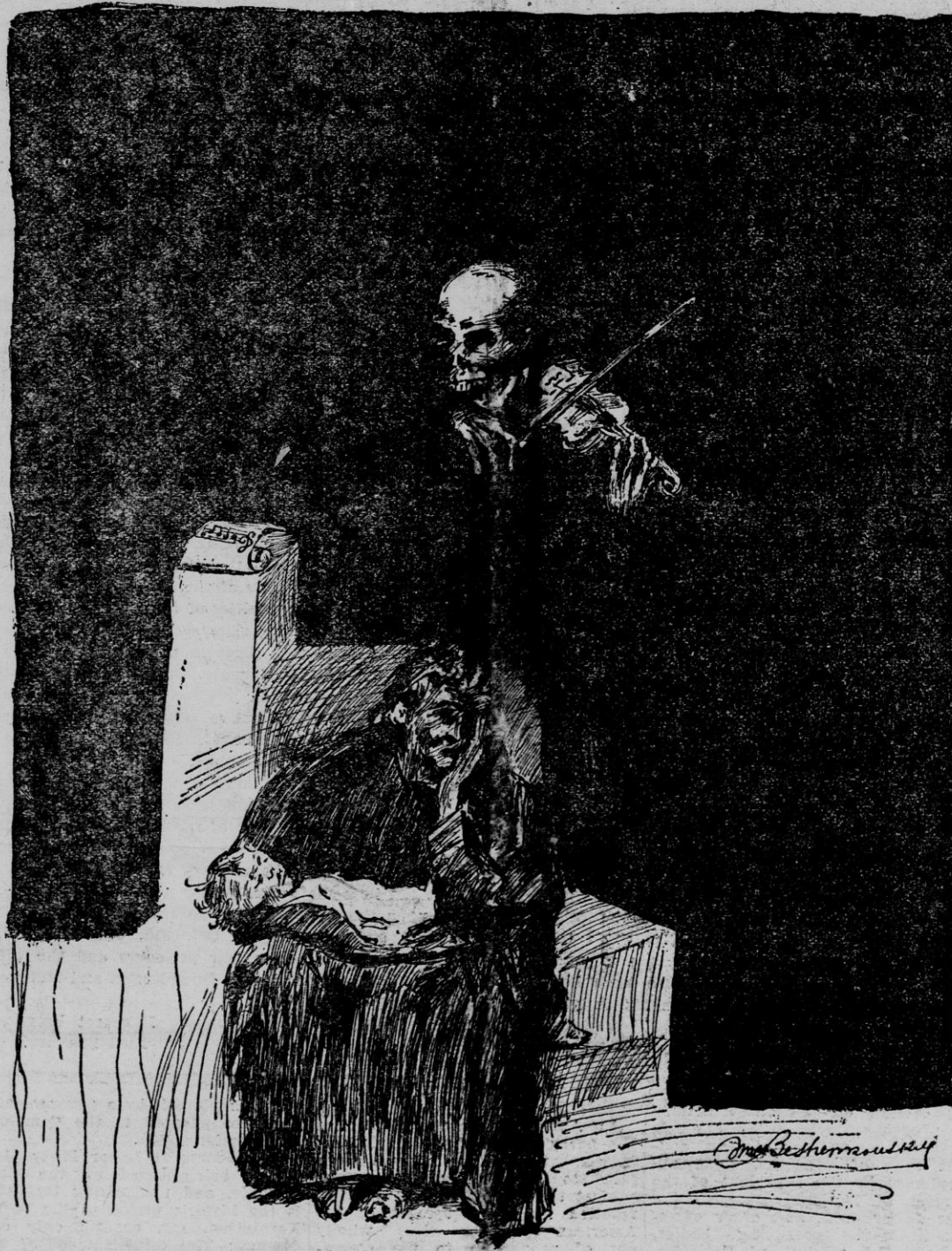
(Continued on Page 5)

VICTORY

DULUTH. Last Saturday after a struggle for six weeks the coal dock workers succeeded in wringing from the coal dock-owners an increase in wages, RECOGNITION OF THE UNION and the right to fire any foreman that did not act in accordance with the best interests of the workers.

This victory of the coal dockworkers is one that must cheer the hearts of all those who have closely followed this struggle from its commencement. Against the striking workers were the millions of the coal dock owners and the Steel Trust. The coal dock-owners spent million of dollars in order to defeat the union of the workers. Never in the history of the Duluth and Superior coal docks have the workers been able to defeat or obtain any concessions from their employers. Every time they struck they were met by the powers of the employers and the gunmen of the Steel Trust. Today all the powers of the employers were of no use to them. They were met by a solid body of workers, united in spirit and purpose. Against the solidarity of the workingclass all the forces of capitalism were powerless to make one single advance. So we are of the opinion that the strikers have gained more than an advance in wages, they have gained an increase in power.

All power to the working-class!!
Long live the solidarity of Labor!!



Drawn for the Truth

The Music of Wilson's Words

BULLITT GIVES SOVIET REPORT Said In Urging Peace That Lenin Had Russians' Confidence

Washington, Sept. 13.—William C. Bullitt, who, as an attache of the American Peace Commission at Paris, submitted a report to President Wilson upon conditions in Russia, which he studied during a brief trip there in company with the Lincoln Steffens, today made public the report. He informed the Foreign Relations Committee yesterday that the President had never acted upon his recommendations.

In his report Mr. Bullitt said that only a Socialist Government could "save Russia." The element of the communist party, headed by Lenin, he declared, was as "moderate as any Socialist Government that can govern that country." He advocated accepting the proposal of the Lenin Soviets to make peace.

Along with his report, Mr. Bullitt submitted to the President a proposal for peace between the Soviet Government and the allied and associated powers, he said, represented the minimum terms that Lenin and his followers would accept. He had no doubt, he said, that they could be used as the basis for a practicable peace.

Embraced in the proposed terms of peace were provisions that the existing de facto governments of the territories of Russia and Finland were to remain in control, and to hold those territories, excepting such as might otherwise be disposed of by the peace conferees. The Soviet Government would have control of all railroad lines, and all economic blockades would be

lifted. Amnesty would be granted to all political prisoners.

Mr. Bullitt pictured Lenin as having "gained" on the imagination of the Russian people, making his position almost that of a dictator. The Russians, he said, had confidence in him and a peace made with the Lenin element would be a tangible one. Dwelling on the advisability of making peace with this element, Mr. Bullitt, in summing up his conclusions, wrote:

"1. No government save a Socialist Government can be set up in Russia today, except by foreign bayonets and any Government so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenin wing of the Communist Party is today as moderate as any Socialist Government which can control Russia."

"2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet Government presents an opportunity to bear upon constructive work, the destructive phase of the revolution being over."

"3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself—the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the Communists in principle, but are supporting them at present, will be able to begin to fight against them."

"4. It is, therefore, respectfully recommended that a proposal fol-

lowing the general lines of the suggestions of the Soviet Government should be made at the earliest possible moment."

Going into general conditions of Russia in his report, Mr. Bullitt wrote that the country was in a state of "acute economic distress." The blockade by land and sea, he said, together with the lack of essentials for transportation, was the cause. As a result of the hindrance to transportation, it was possible to bring from the grain centres to Moscow only twenty-five carloads of food a day, instead of the 100 that were needed, while Petrograd was cut down from the customary fifty carloads to fifteen.

Because of insufficient food, he said, mortality was high throughout Russia. Industry, except the production of munitions of war, was largely at a standstill.

The energy of the Russian Government, he said, was being brought to bear upon constructive work, the destructive phase of the revolution being over.

"Good order has been established," he wrote. "The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased. There are few robberies. Prostitution has disappeared from sight."

"Family life has been unchanged by the revolution. The theatres, opera, and ballet are performing as in peace. Thousands of new schools have been opened in all parts of Russia. The Soviet Government seems to have done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than Czardom did in fifty years."

KOLTCHAK'S ARMY HAS SURRENDERED

LONDON, Sept. 13.—The remainder of Admiral Koltchak's southern army, consisting of 20,000 men, has surrendered to the Bolshevik forces, an official wireless from Moscow reported yesterday.

ARREST OF 300 BRITISH SOLDIERS REFUSE RUSSIAN SERVICE

London, Aug 24th — There was a dramatic end to the mutiny of troops who refused to embark at Southampton on Saturday.

A battalion of the Sussex Regiment was sent from Portsmouth, and, with fixed bayonets and machine-guns, placed the mutineers under arrest.

The War Office explains that the intended destination of the men was Turkey.

WHY THEY REFUSED TO EMBARK.

The mutiny of 300 troops at Southampton who believed they were about to be embarked for Russia ended in dramatic fashion on Saturday. Nearly all the 300 were Derby men.

They were surrounded by a battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment, brought from Portsmouth, and were placed under arrest.

The battalion was equipped with fixed bayonets and Lewis guns, and drew a cordon round the park.

Those believed to be the ring-leaders of the revolt were sorted out and driven away in motor-lorries. They numbered half the total, and the remainder were marched off under escort to a rest camp.

They were marched away six at a time.

Half an Hour to Decide

The men were given half an hour in which to decide whether they would give in. Their refusal resulted in the mass arrest, and the ship sailed without them, although they were assured there was no intention to send them to Russia.

The men refused to sail, they say, because they thought they would eventually be sent to Russia.

The military authorities, however, stated that there was no truth in the statement that the men (Gloucesters and Warwicks) were to be transferred to Russia. The official policy of sending none but volunteers to Russia was being faithfully adhered to. The men were going to Turkey and were home on draft leave from France preparatory to going there via France.

Derby men means those who volunteered for the duration of the war (Ed.)

From Our Own Correspondent.

Southampton, Sunday, Aug. 24. Southampton showed its disapproval of the tyranny of attempting to overawe the men with Lewis guns and fixed bayonets by cheering the men and hooting and cat-calling the officers who had the men loaded in lorries and removed as though they were mere felons.

The men of the Warwicks, who were mostly men who had enlisted under the Derby scheme and others under 20 years of age, had

been given a pledge they would be sent no further than the army of occupation on the Rhine. These men had been given lectures on Russia, and had been provided with maps of the country.

The party of Gloucester had been given definite instructions about proceeding to Egypt via their units in France. This, they hold, is a breach of the Army Order stating that they enlisted only for the duration of the war, and not for any of the new wars.

The whereabouts of the men is surrounded in mystery. Some of them, it is believed, were taken to Portsmouth for detention, while others, it is said, are being detained at Winchester.

Great secrecy is being maintained at the docks about the movements of transports, but it is stated not men have left since the occurrence.

It is stated by a man on leave that a detachment of the R. M. A., including men who have not volunteered and some due for demobilization, have been informed by their officers they are to proceed to Russia on Wednesday. They have given instructions to report at Portsmouth for draft to Russia.

POLES AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Berlin, August 23. — The crisis in Upper Silesia is the result of conflict on national and labour issues, which together combine to create a really acute situation. Under the Peace Treaty Germany is to evacuate Upper Silesia in fourteen days after ratification. The Polish Nationalists accuse the German Government of trying to take everything away from Upper Silesia, as was done in France and Belgium through fear that the plebiscite will go against Germany.

On the German side it is stated that, on the contrary, there is every reason to believe the population will vote for Germany, and that the Polish Nationalist rising is an attempt to make a plebiscite impossible.

The situation, however, is complicated by the class struggle which is raging in the coal fields and which is really at the bottom of the crisis, and is used by both the German and Polish Nationalists to exploit their claims.

The arrest and persecution of Socialists the imprisonment without trial or even accusation of persons considered trouble some by Noske, the continual state of siege and the suppression of freedom of speech and meeting, together with the refusal to recognise the miners' councils, or take any steps towards Socialisation of the mines, has driven the working-class population to resort to a general strike.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

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

THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

1c. Paid.
Duluth, Minn.
Permit No. 40.

VOL. III. No. 37.

14

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19.

WHOLE No. 118.

FIVE CENTS.

KOLCHAK'S ARMY SURRENDERS LOOK TO "HUNS" TO CRUSH RUSSIA

ALLIES, BEATEN, LOOK TO BERLIN TO CRUSH REDS Germany Eyes East; World Still at War

(The Allies are now compelled to admit that they CANNOT defeat the Russian Soviet Government. The "despised, despicable HUN" is being appealed to, to assist the Allies to conquer Russia. We wonder what the American people think of this? The Allies are in fear. They want to defeat the Bolsheviks and the only nation they can call on, is Germany. Yet if they call on Germany they must allow Germany to develop her resources, etc., in order that she might render the necessary assistance to her army and navy. Once Germany is allowed as allowed she must be, to develop her resources, the Allies stand in fear of what Germany might do, if she combines with Soviet Russia. Truly a perplexing situation, the Allies find themselves in! We reprint the following article from the Chicago Tribune, sent us by comrade Smith of Chicago, in order to let our readers know what is going on in the minds of the Allied diplomats. Ed. Truth).

By FLOYD GIBBONS.

Paris, Sept. 11. — Have the allies won the war?

Has Germany been de Prussianized?

Is the world now at peace?
The composite answer is—
No.

Fifteen soviet Russian armies are in the field today as victors. German forces 200,000 strong are moving toward Moscow and Petrograd.

Twenty fighting fronts are ablaze across Europe and Asia from the White to the Black sea.

Ast the French say, "C'est la paix mais."

Shock for World.

Europe in on fire, and through flames of hate there come daily glimpses of a growing condition which will shock the peoples of the allied world when it is revealed by the developments of the next few weeks.

That shock will register when to is realized Germany, far from being stripped of her old ambitions, is preparing to realize them in their fullest meaning in the east.

That shock will register still hader when the realization comes that Germany is doing this with the knowledge of the allies, and that in practice there exists at present an understanding between Germany and the entente, which in effect amounts to counter-revolutionary alliance against the bolsheviks.

In other words, the boches are no longer enemies. They are allies, and the new enemy is Russia. Every evidence obtainable here indicates this starting turn of events.

Defeat by Reds.

The allies, without the assistance of Germany, have failed to thrust down bolshevism in Russia. This is a long suppressed admission. It is based on the fact that on every front the bolsheviks have been able not only to resist all efforts of the forces opposed to them, but in all recent instances they have been able to drive those forces back.

These defeats of the anti-bolshevist efforts of the entente may be itemized as follows: Beginning at the northern terminal of the front which now rings Russia it is apparent that the British on the Archangel and Murmansk fronts have been badly defeated by the Reds. England has been forced publicly to announce a plan of withdrawal of her forces on the White sea, but at the same time it is now known that the ice has set in, and the allied expeditionary forces under the Arctic circle must remain there until spring.

England's Hands Tied.

England is physically unable to reinforce them, not only on account of the ice which prevents transportation, but by reason of the fact that British soldiers destined for Russian service mutiny at Southampton when an effort is made to embark them on ships. At the same time British labor is demanding a complete withdrawal from the Russian mess.

South of Petrograd along the line approximately from Riga to Minsk the bolsheviks are opposed by three different allied forces on the Lithuanian and Lettish fronts.

Against the Lithuanians the Reds hurled heavy forces which two weeks ago drove them back further from the line at Pskoff. Thousands of the White army deserted to the Reds and the remainder retired demoralized. On the Estonian and Lettish fronts the Letts and Estonians, having been offered peace, and with no molestation by the Reds have practically reached the point of fraternization. These

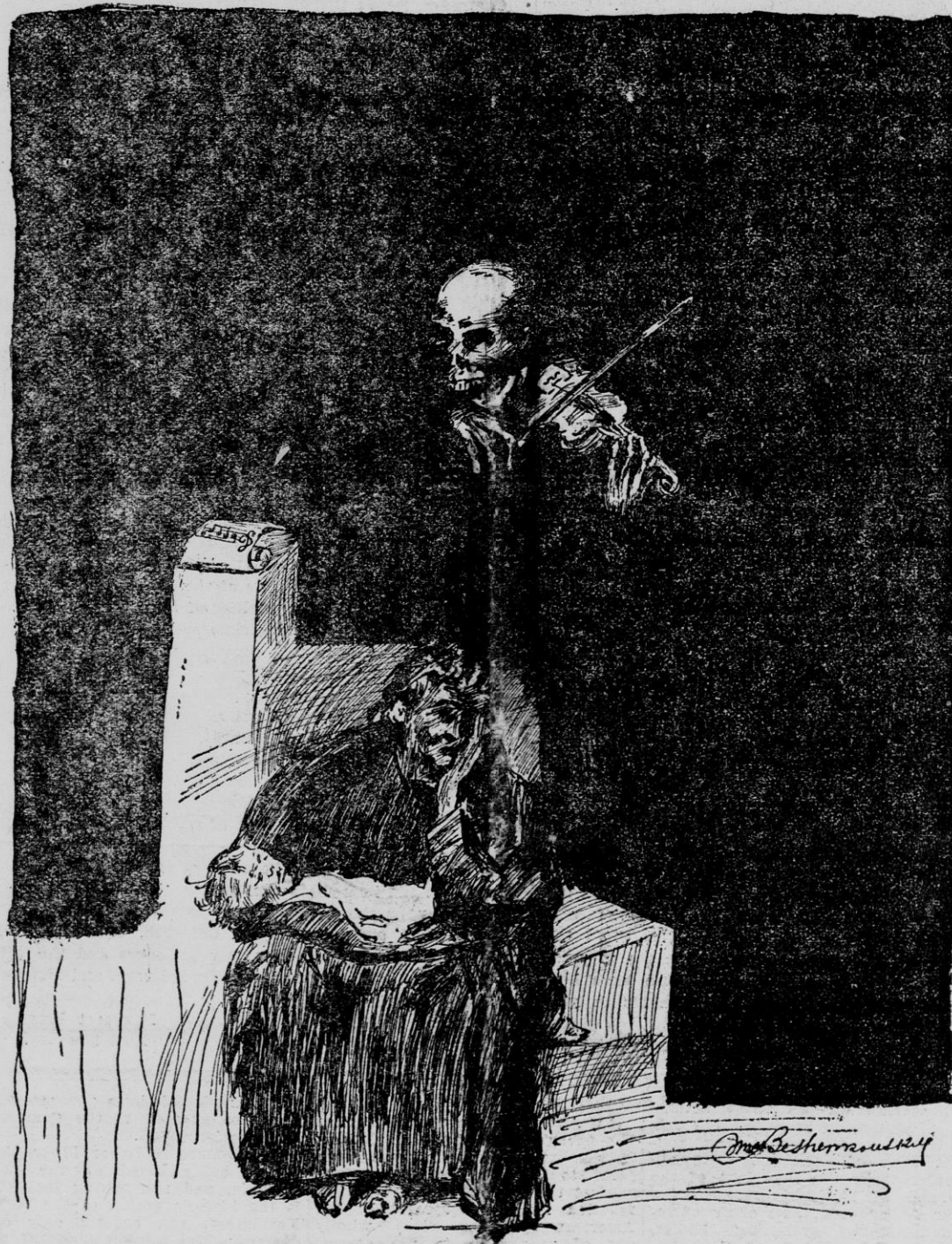
(Continued on Page 5)

VICTORY

DULUTH. Last Saturday after a struggle for six weeks the coal dock workers succeeded in wringing from the coal dock-owners an increase in wages, RECOGNITION OF THE UNION and the right to fire any foreman that did not act in accordance with the best interests of the workers.

This victory of the coal dock workers is one that must cheer the hearts of all those who have closely followed this struggle from its commencement. Against the striking workers were the millions of the coal dock owners and the Steel Trust. The coal dock-owners spent million of dollars in order to defeat the union of the workers. Never in the history of the Duluth and Superior coal docks have the workers been able to defeat or obtain any concessions from their employers. Every time they struck they were met by the powers of the employers and the gunmen of the Steel Trust. Today all the powers of the employers were of no use to them. They were met by a solid body of workers, united in spirit and purpose. Against the solidarity of the workingclass all the forces of capitalism were powerless to make one single advance. So we are of the opinion that the strikers have gained more than an advance in wages, they have gained an increase in power.

All power to the working class!!
Long live the solidarity of Labor!!



Drawn for the Truth

The Music of Wilson's Words

BULLITT GIVES SOVIET REPORT Said In Urging Peace That Lenin Had Russians' Confidence

Washington, Sept. 13.—William C. Bullitt, who, as an attaché of the American Peace Commission at Paris, submitted a report to President Wilson upon conditions in Russia, which he studied during a brief trip there in company with Lincoln Steffens, today made public the report. He informed the Foreign Relations Committee yesterday that the President had never acted upon his recommendations.

In his report Mr. Bullitt said that only a Socialist Government could "save Russia." The element of the communist party, headed by Lenin, he declared, was as "moderate as any Socialist Government that can govern that country." He advocated accepting the proposal of the Lenin Soviets to make peace.

Along with his report, Mr. Bullitt submitted to the President a proposal for peace between the Soviet Government and the allied and associated powers, he said, represented the minimum terms that Lenin and his followers would accept. He had no doubt, he said, that they could be used as the basis for a practicable peace.

Embarrassed in the proposed terms of peace were provisions that the existing de facto governments of the territories of Russia and Finland were to remain in control, and to hold those territories, excepting such as might otherwise be disposed of by the peace conference. The Soviet Government would have control of all railroad lines and all economic blockades would be

lifted. Amnesty would be granted to all political prisoners.

Mr. Bullitt pictured Lenin as having "gained" on the imagination of the Russian people, "making his position almost that of a dictator. The Russians, he said, had confidence in him and a peace made with the Lenin element would be a tangible one. Dwelling on the advisability of making peace with this element, Mr. Bullitt, in summing up his conclusions, wrote:

"1. No government save a Socialist Government can be set up in Russia today, except by foreign bayonets and any Government so set up will fall the moment such support is withdrawn. The Lenin wing of the Communist Party is today as moderate as any Socialist Government which can control Russia.

"2. No real peace can be established in Europe or the world until peace is made with the revolution. This proposal of the Soviet Government presents an opportunity to make peace with the revolution on a just and reasonable basis—perhaps a unique opportunity.

"3. If the blockade is lifted and supplies begin to be delivered regularly to Soviet Russia, a more powerful hold over the Russian people will be established than that given by the blockade itself—the hold given by fear that this delivery of supplies may be stopped. Furthermore, the parties which oppose the Communists in principle, but are supporting them at present, will be able to begin to fight against them.

"4. It is, therefore, respectfully recommended that a proposal fol-

lowing the general lines of the suggestions of the Soviet Government should be made at the earliest possible moment."

Going into general conditions of Russia in his report, Mr. Bullitt wrote that the country was in a state of "acute economic distress." The blockade by land and sea, he said, together with the lack of essentials for transportation, was the cause. As a result of the hindrance to transportation, it was possible to bring from the grain centres to Moscow only twenty-five carloads of food a day, instead of the 100 that were needed, while Petrograd was cut down from the customary fifty carloads to fifteen.

Because of insufficient food, he said, mortality was high throughout Russia. Industry, except the production of munitions of war, was largely at a standstill.

The energy of the Russian Government, he said, was being brought to bear upon constructive work, the destructive phase of the revolution being over.

"Good order has been established," he wrote. "The streets are safe. Shooting has ceased. There are few robberies. Prostitution has disappeared from sight.

"Family life has been unchained by the revolution. The theatres, opera, and ballet are performing as in peace. Thousands of new schools have been opened in all parts of Russia. The Soviet Government seems to have done more for the education of the Russian people in a year and a half than Czardom did in fifty years."

KOLTCHAK'S ARMY HAS SURRENDERED

LONDON, Sept. 13.—The remainder of Admiral Koltchak's southern army, consisting of 20,000 men, has surrendered to the Bolshevik forces, an official wireless from Moscow reported yesterday.

ARREST OF 300 BRITISH SOLDIERS REFUSE RUSSIAN SERVICE

London, Aug 24th — There was a dramatic end to the mutiny of troops who refused to embark at Southampton on Saturday.

A battalion of the Sussex Regiment was sent from Portsmouth, and, with fixed bayonets and machine-guns, placed the mutineers under arrest.

The War Office explains that the intended destination of the men was Turkey.

WHY THEY REFUSED TO EMBARK.

The mutiny of 300 troops at Southampton who believed they were about to be embarked for Russia ended in dramatic fashion on Saturday. Nearly all the 300 were Derby men.

They were surrounded by a battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment, brought from Portsmouth, and were placed under arrest.

The battalion was equipped with fixed bayonets and Lewis guns, and drew a cordon round the park.

Those believed to be the ring-leaders of the revolt were sorted out and driven away in motor-lorries. They numbered half the total, and the remainder were marched off under escort to a rest camp.

They were marched away six at a time.

Half an Hour to Decide

The men were given half an hour in which to decide whether they would give in. Their refusal resulted in the mass arrest, and the ship sailed without them, although they were assured there was no intention to send them to Russia.

The men refused to sail, they say, because they thought they would eventually be sent to Russia.

The military authorities, however, stated that there was no truth in the statement that the men (Gloucesters and Warwicks) were to be transferred to Russia. The official policy of sending none but volunteers to Russia was being faithfully adhered to. The men were going to Turkey and were home on draft leave from France preparatory to going there via France.

Derby men means those who volunteered for the duration of the war Ed.)

From Our Own Correspondent.

Southampton, Sunday, Aug. 24. Southampton showed its disapproval of the tyranny of attempting to overawe the men with Lewis guns and fixed bayonets by cheering the men and hooting and cat-calling the officers who had the men loaded in lorries and removed as though they were mere felons.

The men of the Warwicks, who were mostly men who had enlisted under the Derby scheme and others under 20 years of age, had

been given a pledge they would be sent no further than the army of occupation on the Rhine. These men had been given lectures on Russia, and had been provided with maps of the country.

The party of Gloucesters had been given definite instructions about proceeding to Egypt via their units in France. This, they hold, is a breach of the Army Order stating that they enlisted only for the duration of the war, and not for any of the new wars.

The whereabouts of the men is surrounded in mystery. Some of them, it is believed, were taken to Portsmouth for detention, while others, it is said, are being detained at Winchester.

Great secrecy is being maintained at the docks about the movements of transports, but it is stated not men have left since the occurrence.

It is stated by a man on leave that a detachment of the R. M. A., including men who have not volunteered and some due for demobilization, have been informed by their officers they are to proceed to Russia on Wednesday. They have given instructions to report at Portsmouth for draft to Russia.

POLES AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Berlin, August 23. — The crisis in Upper Silesia is the result of conflict on national and labour issues, which together combine to create a really acute situation. Under the Peace Treaty Germany is to evacuate Upper Silesia in fourteen days after ratification. The Polish Nationalists accuse the German Government of trying to take everything away from Upper Silesia, as was done in France and Belgium through fear that the plebiscite will go against Germany.

On the German side it is stated that, on the contrary, there is every reason to believe the population will vote for Germany, and that the Polish Nationalist rising is an attempt to make a plebiscite impossible.

The situation, however, is complicated by the class struggle which is raging in the coal fields and which is really at the bottom of the crisis, and is used by both the German and Polish Nationalists to exploit their claims.

The arrest and persecution of Socialists the imprisonment without trial or even accusation of persons considered trouble some by Noske, the continual state of siege and the suppression of freedom of speech and meeting, together with the refusal to recognise the miners' councils, or take any steps towards Socialisation of the mines, has driven the working-class population to resort to a general strike.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA

IF YOU AGREE WITH THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN "TRUTH"

then join the Communist Labor Party

For further particulars apply to the National Secretary, Alfred Wagenknecht, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

PLATFORM

- (1) The Communist Labor Party of the United States of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries and stands by the principles stated by the Third International formed at Moscow.
- (2) With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of Capitalist Imperialism with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.
- (3) With them it also fully recognizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of the capitalist or is taken by the working class.
- (4) The Communist Labor Party proposes the organization of the workers as a class for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organizing as the ruling class, shall, through their government make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, factories, mills, mines, transportation systems and financial institutions. All power to the workers!
- (5) The Communist Labor Party has as its ultimate aim: The overthrow of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of the product of their toil.
- (6) To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power to establish a government adopted to the communist transformation.

3207 Clark Ave. — Cleveland, Ohio.

TO ALL STATE SECRETARIES.

Comrades:—

Many inquiries have been received as to the matter of dues stamp purchases. Many state secretaries have decided not to purchase dues stamps until they are informed of the outcome of the Chicago conventions.

Three conventions were held in Chicago during the last days of August and the first days of September. The convention of the Socialist Party, with the aid of the police of Chicago, opened its convention by driving out of the convention hall and literally throwing down the stairs, nearly 100 delegates, regularly elected by the membership in various states. The entire delegations from Washington, California, Oregon, Ohio, Nebraska, Minnesota, Colorado, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Delaware, and Florida and substantial parts of the delegations from New York, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Indiana, New Jersey and Michigan there-upon resolved to call to order the Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party in a down stairs hall, under the direction of the newly elected national executive committee.

This convention constituted itself the Communist Labor Party, organized permanently, elected its committees which then went earnestly and seriously to work to give the Left Wing and revolutionary membership in the former Socialist

Party expression. A program was adopted in-harmony with that adopted at the Third International, organized at Moscow. A constitution was framed, resolutions were passed, a national executive committee was elected and it elected the undersigned national executive secretary.

In the meantime the reactionary Socialist Party convention followed its moderate inclinations, refused to endorse the Third International, elected an executive committee composed of social patriots such as Brandt of St. Louis, Oneal of New York, Roemer of Massachusetts, and others and hopes to continue to function as the Socialist Party of this country. Gerner reported to the convention that the Socialist Party membership had fallen from 109,000 in January to 39,000. Since then, by denying seats upon the convention floor to the Left Wing delegates, this 39,000 will be reduced to 10,000 or less, which still stand by the old party.

The third convention was that of the Communist Party. This convention was dictatorially controlled by the Russian Federation. Repeated attempts were made by the delegates attending the convention of the Communist Labor Party for unity with the convention of the Communist Party. These attempts failed because the Russian Federation desired to reserve absolute control of the convention called by its direction.

The National Office of the Communist Labor Party will be located for the time in Cleveland, Ohio. Comrades long known in the Socialist movement of this country will lend their full support and many of them their full time, to help attend to preliminary organization work of the Communist Labor Party.

We now call upon the state secretaries to immediately place their orders for supplies. Send in your remittance for dues stamps AT ONCE. Dues cards, application cards, charter application, affiliation blanks, charters, buttons, and other needed supplies will be printed and issued as soon as possible. But your order for dues stamps should not be delayed. ORDER TODAY. Quit supporting reactionary Socialism as championed by the old Socialist Party. Align yourself at once with the Communist Labor Party, which is affiliating with the Third International and will be its true representative in the United States.

Yours in Comradeship,

A. Wagenknecht, Executive Secretary.

3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1919.

To the Delegates and members of the Communist Party, Comrades:—

The Communist Labor Party Convention by unanimous vote adopted the following resolution:

"Be it resolved, That the Communist Labor Party extends a standing invitation to the Communist Party to meet, on a basis of equality, in a Unity Conference, and

That we hereby instruct our national officials and committees to accept every such invitation from the Communist Party or any other revolutionary working class organization."

The Convention has now completed its work and has adjourned. Obedient to these instructions from the Convention the National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party addresses this letter to you.

Comrades, the organization of two Communist Parties is a crime. We have made every effort possible, short of turning traitor to the membership that sent us here, to avoid this deplorable situation. But our repeated attempts to unite all the revolutionary Communist hosts seem to have been thwarted for the time being by certain elements in your convention.

As far as we can discover, there is no fundamental dif-

ference of principle between us. The platform, program and resolutions that our convention has adopted are uncompromisingly revolutionary. They conform to the Left Wing program and are in strict accord with the principles laid down by the Communist International of Moscow. We are affiliating with the Third International.

We are confident that the great majority of your delegates and your membership agree with us in this. Why then should we remain apart?

We hereby announce that we are at any time to meet your representatives to consider the question of unity on a basis of equality.

If certain elements in your Party make this impossible, we invite all individuals or groups, who may agree with us in our desire to unite all the Communist elements of the United States into ONE Party of Communist Socialism, to join forces with us.

All who agree on the fundamentals of Communism, all who desire to affiliate with the Third International of Moscow, are welcome in the Communist Labor Party.

Comrades, let us UNITE against our common foe.

National Executive Committee,
Communist Labor Party.

Jack Carney

Edward Lindgren

Max Bedacht

Alexander Bilan

L. E. Katterfield.

A. Wagenknecht, Executive Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CLASS WAR PRISONERS

Much time, energy and money has been wasted on the part of the working class for the liberation of political and class war prisoners in a legitimate way. Numerous defense committees of different shades have been organized throughout the country, with very limited success. The fact that a great majority of wage earners do not yet realize their responsibility and duty to those behind prison bars who fought their cause, has doomed nearly every attempt at liberation.

We still emphasize the necessity of the local comrades doing ever thing in their power to render every possible assistance to such prisoners, visiting them while in prison providing literature, caring for their families and any other activities that may ameliorate their conditions and prevent extreme cruelty by the servants of the capitalist class.

These prisoners are the casualties of the class war, between the capitalist and the working classes ever growing in intensity. There is no hope that those in power will themselves liberate the victims of this struggle. Until such time as the workers of America realize their position as a class and utilize to the full extent their collective power, forcing the unconditional release of each and every member of their class, no genuine amnesty will be obtained.

We therefore recommend, that all our strength, and all our energy be put into the education and organization of the workers on the fundamentals of revolutionary Communist Socialism, to usher in the day when our comrades may step out free and take part in the work of emancipation.

And that the immediate part of our educational campaign be to call upon the working class to take part in the proposed general strike called for Oct. 8th, 1919. For the purpose of releasing all class war prisoners and the withdrawal of all the American troops from Russia and Hungary.

(Signed by)

Wm. B. Lloyd

Arne Swabeck.

Margaret Prevey,

Karl Sanburg.

PROGRAM

I. The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accord with the principles of Communism as laid down in the Manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow.

In essence, these principles are as follows:

1. The present is the period of the dissolution and collapse of the whole system of world capitalism. Unless capitalism is replaced by the rule of the working class, world civilization will collapse.

2. The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

3. This new working class government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth.

Communist society is not like the present fraudulent capitalist democracy—which, with all its pretensions to equality, is merely a disguise for the rule of the financial oligarchy—but it is a proletarian democracy, based on the control of industry and the state by the workers, who are thereby free to work out their own destiny. It does not mean capitalist institutions of government, which are controlled by the great financial and industrial interests, but organs of administration created and controlled by the masses themselves; such as, for example, the Soviets of Russia.

4. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat shall transfer private property in the means of production and distribution to the working class government, to be administered by the workers themselves. It shall nationalize the great trusts and financial institutions. It shall abolish capitalist agricultural production.

5. The present world situation demands that the revolutionary working class movements of all countries shall closely unite.

6. The most important means of capturing state power for the workers is the action of the masses, proceeding from the place where the workers are gathered together—the shops and factories. The

use of the political machinery of the capitalist state for this purpose is only secondary.

7. In those countries in which it is possible for the workers to use this machinery in the class struggle, they have in the past made effective use of it as a means of propaganda and of defense. In all countries where the conditions for a working class revolution are not ripe, these same process must go on.

8. We must rally all groups and proletarian organizations which have manifested and developed tendencies leading in the direction above indicated, and support and encourage the working class in every phase of its struggle against capitalism.

II.

The economic conditions in every country determine the form of organization and method of propaganda to be adopted. In order efficiently to organize our movement here, we must clearly understand the political and economic structure of the United States.

Although the United States is called a political democracy, there is no opportunity whatever for the working class through the regular political machinery efficiently to oppose the will of the capitalist class.

The years of Socialist activity on the political field have brought no increase of power to the workers. Even the million votes piled up by the Socialist Party in 1912, left the Party without any proportionate representation. The Supreme Court, which is the only body in any government in the world with the power to review legislation passed by the popular representative assembly, would be able to obstruct the will of the working class even if Congress registered it, which it does not. The Constitution, framed by a capitalist class for the benefit of the capitalist class, cannot be amended in the workers' interest, no matter how large a majority may desire it.

Although all the laws and institutions of Government are framed and administered by the capitalists in their own interests, the capitalists themselves refuse to be bound by these laws or submit to these institutions, whenever they conflict with these interests. The invasion of Russia, the raids into Mexico, the suppression of Governments in Central America and the Caribbean, the innumerable wars against working class revolutions now be-

ing carried on—all these actions have been undertaken by the Administration without asking consent even of Congress. The appointment by the President of the Council of National Defense, the War Labor Board, and other extra-constitutional governing bodies, without the consent of Congress, is a direct violation of the fundamental laws of republican government. The licensing by the Department of Justice of anti-Labor strike-breaking groups of employers—such as the National Security League, the American Defense Society, The Knights of Liberty, the American Protective League—whose express purpose was the crushing of Labor organization and all class activities of the workers, and who inaugurated in this country a reign of terror similar to that of the Black Hundreds in Russia—was entirely opposed to the principles of American government.

Moreover, the War and its aftermath have demonstrated that governing power does not reside in the regularly-elected, or even the appointed, officials and legislative bodies. In every State, county and city in the Union, the so-called "police power" is shown to be superior to every law. In Minnesota, Wisconsin and many other states, so-called Public Safety Commissions and similar organizations were constituted by authority of the Governors, made up of representatives of Chambers of Commerce and Employers' Associations, which usurped the powers of legislatures and municipal administrations.

Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot.

However, we do not ignore the value of voting of electing candidates to public office. Political campaigns, and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced extremely remote, and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

The political action of the working class means any action taken by the workers to impose their class will upon the capitalist State.

III. In America, the capitalist class has never had a feudal aristocracy to combat, but has always been free to concentrate its power against the working class. This has resulted in a development of the American capitalist class wholly out of proportion to the corresponding development in other countries. By their absolute control of the agencies of publicity and education, the capitalists have gained a control over the political machinery which is impossible to break by resorting to this machinery.

Moreover, in America there is a highly-developed Labor movement, and this makes it impossible to accomplish the overthrow of capitalism, except through an agency of the organized workers.

Furthermore, there is in America a centralized economic organization of the capitalist class which is a unit in its battle with the working class, and which can be opposed only by a centralized organization of the workers.

The economic conditions of society, as Marx foretold, are pushing the workers toward forms of organization which are, by the very nature of things, forced into activity on the industrial field with a political aim—the overthrow of capitalism.

Recommendations

We favor international alliance of the Communist Labor Party only with the Communist groups of other countries, those which have affiliated with the Communist International.

2. We are opposed to association with other groups not committed to the revolutionary class struggle.

3. We maintain that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle, that is, a struggle by the proletariat to conquer the capitalist state, whether its form be monarchial or democratic-republican,

and to replace it by a governmental structure adapted to the Communist transformation.

4. Communist Labor Party platforms, being based on the class struggle, and recognizing that this is the historic period of the Social Revolution, can contain only one demand: The establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

5. We favor organized Party activity in co-operation with class-conscious industrial unions, in order to unify industrial and political class conscious propaganda and action. Locals and Branches shall organize shop-branches, to conduct the Communist propaganda and organization in the shops and factories, and to encourage the workers to organize in One Big Union.

6. The Party shall propagate industrial unionism and industrial union organization, pointing out their revolutionary nature and possibilities.

7. The Party shall make the great industrial battles its major campaigns, to show the value of the strike as a political weapon.

8. The Party shall maintain strict control over all members elected to public office—not only the local organizations, but the National Executive Committee. All public officials who refuse to accept the decisions of the Party shall be immediately expelled.

9. In order that the Party shall be a centralized organization, capable of united action, no autonomous groups or federations independent of the will of the entire Party shall be permitted.

10. All Party papers and publications endorsed by the Party; and all educational and propaganda institutions endorsed by the Party, shall be owned and controlled by the regular Party organization.

11. Party platforms, propaganda, dues, and methods of organization shall be standardized.

Report on Labor Organization

I. The purpose of the Party is to create a unified revolutionary working class movement in America.

The European War has speeded up social and industrial evolution to such a degree that capitalism throughout the world can no longer contain within itself the vast forces it has created. The end of the capitalist is in sight. In Europe it is already tottering and

crashing down; and the proletarian revolutions there show that the workers are at the same time becoming conscious of their power. The capitalists themselves admit that the collapse of European capitalism and the rise of the revolutionary working class abroad cannot help but drag American capitalism into the all-embracing ruin.

In this crisis the American working class is faced with an alternative. Either the workers will be unprepared, in which case they will be reduced to abject slavery; or they will be sufficiently conscious and sufficiently organized to save society by reconstructing it in accord with the principles of Communism.

II.

By the term "revolutionary industrial unionism" is meant the organization of the workers into unions by industries, with a revolutionary aim and purpose; that is, to say a purpose, not merely to defend or strengthen the status of the workers as wage-earners, but to gain control of industry.

In any mention of revolutionary industrial unionism in this country, there must be recognized the immense effect upon the American Labor movement of the propaganda and example of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose long and valiant struggles and heroic sacrifices in the class-war have earned the respect and affection of all workers everywhere. We greet the revolutionary industrial proletariat of America, and pledge them our whole-hearted support and co-operation in their struggle against the capitalist class. Elsewhere, in the organized Labor movement, a new tendency has already manifested itself, as illustrated by the Seattle and Winnipeg strikes, the One Big Union and Shop Committee movements in Canada and the West, and the numerous strikes all over the country of the rank-and-file, which are proceeding without the authority of old reactionary Trade Union officials, and even against their orders. This tendency, an impulse of the workers toward unity for common action across the lines of craft-division, if carried to its logical conclusion will inevitably lead to workers' control of industry.

This revolt of the rank and file must not be allowed to end in the disorganization of the ranks of organized Labor. We must help to keep the workers together, and through rank-and-file control of the unions, assist the process of uniting all workers in One Big Union.

With this purpose in view, the Communist Labor Party welcomes and supports, in whatever labor organization found, any tendency toward revolutionary industrial unionism. We urge all our members to join industrial unions. Where the job-control of the reactionary craft-unions compels them to become members of these craft-unions, they shall also join an industrial organization, if one exists. In districts where there are no industrial unions, our members shall take steps to organize one.

III.

To Labor and Labor alone is industry responsible. Without the power of Labor, industry could not function. The need of the hour is that Labor recognizes the necessity of organization and education, cannot be achieved by attempting to influence the leaders of the Labor movement, as has been clearly shown by the actions of the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor. It can only be done by getting the workers on the job to come together and discuss the vital problems of industry.

Because of the industrial crisis created by the world war, together with the breakdown of industry following the cessation of hostilities, and the interruption of the processes of exchange and distribution, there is great dissatisfaction. But they can find no means of dealing with the situation. Their unions have fused to take steps to meet the grave problems to today; and, moreover, they obstruct all efforts of the rank-and-file to find a solution. It therefore becomes necessary to find some way by which the workers can act.

We suggest that some plan of labor organization be inaugurated along the lines of the Shop Steward and Shop Committee movements. These committees can serve as a spur upon the union officials, they will necessarily reflect the spirit and wishes of the rank-and-file, and will educate the workers on the job in preparation for the taking over of industry.

Recommendations

We recommend the following measures:

1. That all Locals and Branches shall elect Committees of Labor Organizations, composed so far as possible of members of Labor organization, whose functions shall be:

(a) To initiate, or support the creation of, Shop Committees in every industry in their district, the uniting of these Committees in Industrial Councils, District Councils, and the Central Council of all Industries.

(b) To propagandize and assist in the combining of Craft Unions, by industries, in One Big Union.

(c) To bring together in the centers of Party activity—Locals and Branches—delegates from factories and shops, to discuss tactics and policies of conducting the class struggle.

(d) To propagate directly among the workers on the job the principles of Communism, and educate them to a realization of their class position.

(e) To find a common basis for the uniting of all existing economic and political organizations based on the class struggle.

(f) To mobilize all members who can serve as organizers, to fill the demand for men and women who can organize bodies of workers along the lines indicated above.

(g) To direct the activities of local Party organizations in assisting the workers whole-heartedly in their industrial battles, and making use of these battles as opportunities for educating the workers.

2. That a National Committee on Labor Organization be elected by this Convention, which shall co-operate with the local committees above mentioned. In addition, the National Labor Committee shall be charged with the task of mobilizing national support for strikes of national importance, and shall endeavor to give these a political character.

3. It shall collect information concerning the revolutionary movement from the different sections of the country, and from other countries, and through a Press Service of Labor and Socialist papers, shall spread this information to all parts of the country.

(b) It shall mobilize on a national scale all members who can serve as propagandists and organizers, who can not only teach, but actually help to put into practice, the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and Communism.

International Relations

The Communist Labor Party of America declares its purpose of organizing the workers for the conquest of the state for their class, can only be accomplished in unity with such national parts of the international Labor Movement as have never lost sight of, or ever betrayed, the great historic struggle for Communism against Capitalism.

It further declares that such unity must be one of principle and action, rather than one of organization only.

The great war of the Capitalist Powers for Imperialism has thrown the nations of the earth into the final struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. The revolutionary workers' organizations the world over have, of a sudden, been driven out of a period of revolutionary action. The success of such action, though agreed upon to fit national conditions, and though applied by the workers of each Nation nationally, depends upon the united action of all the workers of all the countries, fused into one great revolutionary force by the all-uniting spirit of international class solidarity.

We hereby declare ourselves one in principle and action with all the parties and organizations already affiliated with the Third International formed at Moscow, and send them our heartfelt greetings.

We pledge ourselves to work upon the lines and according to the program determined upon by the first Congress of the Third International, and hereby instruct our National Executive Committee immediately to take steps for the affiliation of the Communist Labor Party of America with the Third International.

International Situation

A short time ago, the Workers' Government of Hungary was driven out by the armed mercenaries of the Entente masquerading as Rumanian soldiers. For more than a year British, French, American Japanese and Italian soldiers have been fighting in different parts of Russia for the sole purpose of overthrowing the Workers' and Peasants government of Russia. In the Baltic provinces the "enemy" German armies are kept and paid for by the Allied and Associated powers in order to prevent "small Nations" from using their right of self-determination in establishing Communist governments.

The hunger blockade which also was partly responsible for the downfall of the Hungarian Soviets, is still used with the utmost brutality against the hundreds of millions of men, women and children in Russia. And while the Supreme Council in Paris holds its protecting arm over the robbing and plundering Rumanians in Hungary, it decrees that Korea and China, that India and Ireland, that Egypt and Persia, must submit for all time to come to the dictatorship of Allied Imperialism.

And in the meantime the United States, not to be outdone by its associates, prepares by its provocative actions a war of imperialistic conquest in Mexico, and soon will call upon the proletarian youth of this country to shed their blood to make Mexico safe for Democracy.

All this has been done, or at least sanctioned by, the three men League of Nations, which, so we are told, was to be created to prevent further wars. In reality its purpose is to abolish class-wars, and to bind the Capitalist Government of another, as soon as the working-class rebels. The Capitalist Governments assembled in Paris could, therefore, very well decide that Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey could become members of the League in the near future. But

Americanism versus Bolshevism

What is this Americanism that we hear so much talk about? What is this Bolshevism that we hear attacked by President Wilson? These are questions that are of vital importance to the working class of Duluth. The critical times we live in demand clear thinking on the part of the working class. We must be able to see through the smoke clouds of the capitalist press. Come to the

Woodman Hall, Sun., Sept. 21, 8 p.m.
and hear the

EDITOR of TRUTH

tell you the truth about Americanism and Bolshevism.

Admission 15 and 35 cents.

Everybody Welcome!

Watch for future announcements of the Robert Minor Meetings!!

they never would or could consent to accept Soviet Russia or Hungary as members of their League. This proves the class character of this Conference more convincingly than all the oily speeches of hypocrites and phrasemakers.

The Communist Labor Party of America knows itself one with the Third International in repudiating the force that has been carried on now for nearly one year. It declares that those Peace Treaties which either have been or will be concluded, and the so-called Covenant of the League of Nations, are steps taken against the interests of the International Proletariat.

Against the Alliance of Imperialism, this International of reaction, here is only one thing for the workers to do: To build up the WORKERS' INTERNATIONAL, and encourage the effective use of proletarian action, by which the workers will reduce the decrees of this unholy alliance of Capitalism and Reaction to scraps of paper.

The birth of the League of Nations gives notice to the workers that the titanic struggle between the Working class and the Capitalist class cannot any longer be fought out on national lines. To line up with Communism in America, means to take a stand against the League of Nations everywhere. There is only one alternative: The League of Nations or the Communist International.

Workers of America, you must choose!

Resolution

With reference to the planned Intervention of the United States in Mexico.

Once more the capitalist class in the United States is planning intervention in Mexico, in the name of restoring "law and order", but in reality with the intention of subjecting Mexican workers to the most brutal form of exploitation—exploitation under colonial administration, or under the hypocrisy of the dummy government controlled by capitalist interests in this country.

For the third time in the last five years the capitalist press and all capitalist agencies of publicity and education are concentrating their efforts upon the propaganda of intervention. As formerly, the occasional murders of American citizens in the remote regions of Mexico are being played up in the newspapers with a wealth of exaggerated detail, and all the explanations and denials of the Mexican Government are either minimized while at the same time, the mistreatment and even murder, of countless American workers in this country by the gunmen of the capitalist class, is not reported.

But with the intensification of the class struggle during and succeeding the war, the interventionists no longer conceal their real motives. The present attempt to bully the American workers into war against Mexico is based chiefly on the fact that the Mexican Government is attempting to control the disposition of the natural resources of that country, and through taxation is trying to retain in the National Treasury some portion of the national wealth of which that country has been consistently looted by foreign capitalists in the past.

The Government of the United States has, so far, supported the demands of the American capitalists that Mexico change her constitution and abrogate her laws concerning her own internal administration, and this for the sole purpose of permitting foreigners to exploit the Mexican working class.

The Communist Labor Party, representing the American working class, demands that the Government of the United States withdraw its support from American capitalist interests in their attempt to force an imperialist war against Mexico.

Failing this, the Communist Labor Party of America appeals to workers of the United States to oppose this war by all means within their power.

We urge all workers to refuse to fight in this war, which in reality is a war against the Mexican working class. And we reaffirm that the only struggle which which can justify the workers in taking up arms, is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression.

To our Comrades of all countries, affiliated with the Communist International, we appeal for defense of the Mexican working class by every possible demonstration of solidarity.

The Convention adopted the above Resolution and ordered it sent to all branches and locals, and to all Socialist and Labor papers, and that copies be immediately cabled to all organizations affiliated with the Communist International abroad.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The State Secretary has taken exception to our statement of last week, "The majority of the English-speaking membership it had, (The Communist party) is withdrawing from it." He is of the opinion that "common decency and honesty demands that you retract this misstatement."

Comrade Dirba writing to a local comrade, whose letter we have before us, stated, "The Michigan manifesto and platform was entirely rejected by a vote of 73 to 37."

Now place both statements alongside of each other and allow calm judgment to decide as to whether our statement needs to be retracted. Can you imagine for one moment, a group of comrades who have carried on a certain line of propaganda, remaining within a party that repudiates that line of propaganda? Especially the Michigan comrades!

Comrades do not let us fool ourselves. If you want to judge the membership of any party, just judge them by their actions, not their TALK. There has been more work done in the city of Duluth, than in both of the Twin Cities. We have sold more literature than the State Office, which has the whole membership to serve. The Scandinavian Local has practically kept the State Office above water. This has been made possible, because within the Socialist Party of Duluth there has been unity of purpose and unity of action. We have not engaged in talk so much as action. True it is that we have not used many revolutionary phrases, but we have gone to the place where the worker was reached and that was on the job. Against the most formidable opposition the Socialist Party of Duluth has made headway and will continue to do so. We shall work with that party that can function in the field of propaganda and action. We shall not prate about our revolutionary fervor, but we shall act and convince the powers that be that we are in earnest in our endeavors to bring about the freedom of the working class. If you decide to go with the Communist Party we have nothing to say against you, better by far to be inside of the Communist Party, than to be outside of them all. One thing we wish to say to you, that in this State there will be at least one thousand comrades who will go with the Communist Labor Party. There will be two Communist Parties. If you are in earnest comrades and if through the present clouds of oppression you can see the sun attempting to burst through, you will work for unity. There is no Communist Party that has a right to say that WE are the only party. The times call for more tolerance and they call for the exercising of our common sense in these matters. We must come together. If you are prepared to stay in your own little party, then you are lost to all sense of a conscious realization of the task that is set before you.

We have nothing to retract, "common decency and honesty demands" that we tell the comrades of Minnesota the facts. We have done this. Childish letters and hysterical ravings of "responsible" comrades will not be allowed to stampede us. We are prepared to allow all comrades who know us, to judge us by what we have DONE and not by what we say we are GOING TO DO.

In the meantime read over the following statement of facts and then elect your delegate to the State Convention, fully instructed as to what you desire him or her to do.

1. The reactionary officialdom of the Socialist Party, sensing that the party membership had turned revolutionary and that the party referendum had ousted them from office, declared the referendum illegal and fraudulent and ousted from the party seven language federations and the Socialist Party of Michigan.

2. A conference between representatives of the ousted federations, Michigan and others in sympathy with them, was immediately held in Chicago, and it was there agreed to carry on the fight WITHIN the Socialist Party for Left Wing control of the Socialist Party.

3. Shortly thereafter a National Left Wing Conference was held in New York, attended by delegates from all parts of the United States. At this conference it was again decided to carry on the fight WITHIN the Socialist Party for revolutionary or Left Wing control of the Party, up to the called National Emergency Convention of the party. At this conference the Russian Federation and Michigan delegates withdrew because the conference would not agree to the immediate organization of a new party.

4. The Russian Federation and Michigan groups then issued a call for the organization of a new party, setting September 1st as the date for the national convention for this purpose, and Chicago the place.

5. A meeting of the newly elected National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was subsequently called to meet in Chicago on July 26th. At this meeting it was again decided to carry on the fight WITHIN the Socialist Party for Left Wing control of the party up to the called National Emergency Convention of the party.

6. Shortly after the meeting of the newly elected and revolutionary National Executive Committee, the National Left Wing Council, a body elected by and responsible to the National Left Wing Conference and the entire Left Wing membership in the Socialist Party, violated the edicts of the preliminary conference in Chicago of ousted Federation representatives, the National Left Wing Conference held in New York, and the newly elected National Executive Committee, which edicts demanded the carrying on of the fight WITHIN the party for the control of the party by the revolutionary membership. This National Left Wing Council surrendered to the Russian Federation—Michigan group and joined this group in calling for the organization of a new party, at Chicago, Sept. 1st.

7. Many members of the Left Wing faction in the party resented this manipulation, this unauthorized change of position, remained true to the edicts of the National Left Wing Conference and the new National Executive Committee, and decided to carry on the fight WITHIN the party and go to the Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party to make a last earnest attempt to win the party for its revolutionary membership.

8. The Emergency Convention met in Chicago, August 30th. Left Wing delegates were thrown out of the convention hall by the Chicago police, under the direction of Adolph Germer and the outlawed National Executive Committee composed of moderate Socialists. These Left Wing delegates then organized the legal Emergency

(To the Workers of the World From the Communist International)

Those governments who five years ago began the plundering war, are now attempting to end it by plundering peace. The English, French and American bourgeoisie in Versailles have handed the so-called peace terms to the representatives of the German bourgeoisie. Versailles is transformed into a new Brest. Every item of the Versailles peace is a noose for strangling this or that nation.

There is no limit to the spite and vindictiveness of the victorious coalition of the imperialist bourgeoisie. By forming the "League of Nations," the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie mock at the will of all the nations of Europe. The bourgeoisie of the Entente is striving to cripple Germany. It is annexing a large part of German territory, it wishes to deprive Germany of her coal, bread, and her mercantile fleet; it wants to force Germany to pay an indemnity which is staggering. The bourgeoisie of the Entente, who were supposed to have been fighting against annexation of foreign territory, are themselves now annexing in the most cynical and harsh manner. The colonies that once belonged to Germany are being bartered like cattle. The imperialists of the Entente have armed themselves with a large knife and are vivisectioning Germany.

But the plundering peace terms which are being dictated to Germany from Versailles are only part of the policy of violence practised by the imperialists of the Entente. Together with their attempt to cripple and strangle Germany, they are leading the murderous campaign against the Soviet Republic of Hungary.

It is these same French and English bourgeoisie who are the chief instigators of the Roumanian Boyars, now leading their White Guard forces against our brothers, the Hungarian workers. It is these representatives of the enlightened French and English "democracy" who are inspiring the pogrom-makers to send their savage gangs against red Budapest.

It is they who inspire the Russian black-hundred—Koltchak, Denikin, Krassnov—in their bloody fight against the Russian working class and peasantry. It is these same Anglo-French bourgeoisie who incited the German White Guards, led by Noske, Ebert and Scheidemann to crush the Bavarian Soviet Republic. The imperialists of the Entente directly imposed the condition to Scheidemann's government to crush the Soviet power in Munich first of all.

It is these same Anglo-French bankers and generals who are now disarming revolutionary forces in Bulgaria. They it is who are throttling the revolutionary movement mass in Serbia and Slavonia.

International gendarmes—that is what the Anglo-French and American imperialists are, who pose as representatives of the world "democracy."

All illusions are scattered. All masks are taken off. Those who did not learn from the endless, terrible, imperialistic war, must now do so from the imperialist peace at Versailles. For the course of four and a half years those same governments, who are now revealed like hangmen and slave-owners, knowing no mercy, have been lying to their people that the war was being fought for "self-government of nations," "independence of small nations," "democracy."

The League of Nations is fading without having had time to blossom. After the Versailles peace terms, very few workers will be deluded by it. The League of Nations, at the head of which is the butcher Clemenceau, is revealed to the world as a league of robbers, which has crucified millions of the working masses of Europe.

Worst of all will the working class of Germany feel the peace of Versailles. If it were realised, it would mean that the working class of Germany would be forced to bear the double yoke of their bourgeoisie and the foreign slave-owners. The Communist International and all honest workers will regard the Versailles peace terms as a blow to the International Proletariat, as an attack which can be warded off only by the united efforts of the proletariat of all countries.

The present German government, which verbally protests against the Versailles peace, is in reality aiding the imperialists of the Entente to realise their devilish plot against the German working class. The hangman Clemenceau could not have servants more devoted than Scheidemann and Ebert. From the first moment of the German revolution, Scheidemann and Ebert's parties have been obediently dancing to the pipe of the Entente imperialists. Under the instigation of Clemenceau, Scheidemann and Ebert sent and sending White Guard forces against Soviet Russia. In order to please the Entente imperialists, the Social-democrats, led by Scheidemann and Ebert, murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, and with fire and sword suppressed the mighty movement of the German workmen for the Soviet authority. In executing the instructions of the London and Paris Stock Exchanges, Scheidemann's government has exterminated not a few worker-communists of Germany. Every time that the wave of the Labor movement reached a height which threatened to sweep away the government of the treacherous Social-democrats, Scheidemann and Ebert scared the hungry workmen by saying that if the Soviet power were established in Germany, the Entente would refuse to deliver bread to the German people.

The central committee of the Scheidemann Social-democratic party issued an appeal, in which they declared that the lesson taught by the Versailles peace "is the best proof of the soundness of the German Social-democratic policy with regard to the defence of the Fatherland."

"Socialists of all countries, do you understand now why we acted so during the war?" thus cries Scheidemann in his appeal.

Hypocrites! Cynics—

In 1914 two robbers went out to steal the same booty. One

National Convention of the Socialist Party in another hall in the same building, under the auspices of the newly elected National Executive Committee.

9. This legal convention accepted and concurred in the report of the new National Executive Committee, reinstating in the party the ousted federations and the expelled states, Michigan and Massachusetts. The very next act was to elect a committee of five to confer with the convention for a new party organized by the Russian Federation—Michigan group, to secure a basis for uniting the two conventions.

10. The Russian Federation delegates who controlled the convention for the organization of a new party, refused to elect a committee on unity to confer with the committee elected by the Left Wing delegate convention. About forty delegates withdrew from the Russian Federation controlled convention as a result, and only then returned when the Russian Federation delegates agreed to elect such a committee.

11. In the long wait that ensued because of the dictatorial methods of the Russian Federation delegates, the convention of the Left Wing delegates, the Legal Emergency National Convention of the Socialist Party, continued its labors at convention duties and among other things, adopted the name Communist Labor Party as the name for the revolutionary workers' party in this country.

12. The committee on unity from the Russian Federation—Michigan called convention, known as the Communist Party convention, eventual sent a document to the convention of the Communist Labor Party, agreeing to seat some of the Communist Labor Party delegates, to recognize others as "fraternal" delegates and others as "special guests."

13. To this the Communist Labor Party convention replied that unity in all fairness, should be arrived at upon a basis of equality, and suggested that the two unity committees act as the joint credentials committee to pass upon the credentials from both bodies.

of them proved to be more successful than the other. This robber not only seized the whole of the booty that the other had desired, but he picked the very pockets of his rival. Then the latter robber, making a virtue of necessity, pretends to be perfectly innocent and now appeals to all honest people with the cry of: You see the behaviour of my rival finally proves that I acted right; can't you really understand now that we are purer than the Alpine snow?

The Versailles peace terms have proved something quite different to all honest workers. Enlightened workers of the whole world perfectly realise that if the German imperialists had been victorious they would have treated the vanquished as mercilessly as they are being treated now. In that case, no doubt, Henderson and Renaudel would have used the same cringing phrases as we hear now from Scheidemann and Noske.

The Versailles peace terms prove that while imperialism exists, if it be only in one country, violence and plunder will still prevail. The Versailles peace terms prove that imperialism of any coalition is equally bloodthirsty. It does not matter in which "democratic" colours it strives to paint itself, imperialism will remain the incarnation of barbarity and bloodthirstiness.

The Versailles peace terms prove that Social-patriots of all countries have finally become the lackeys of the bourgeoisie. They prove how wretched are the dreams of the adherents to the Berne "yellow international" (particularly Kautsky and his friends) of "disarming," while still preserving capitalism, of a benign League of Nations under Wilson's guidance. The bourgeoisie itself proves by these peace terms that there is only one way out for the workers of all countries—that is over the corpse of capitalism by world revolution.

Workers of France! Workers of England! Workers of America! Workers of Italy. The Communist International appeals to you. The fate of tens of millions workers of Germany and Austria now lies in your hands. You must act now. You must snatch the knife from the bloody hands of your governments, which they are waving above the heads of the German and Austrian working class. You must show that the lessons of the five years' war have not been in vain. You must not forget for one moment that the victory of the Entente imperialists over the German and Austrian working classes means victory over you, means a victory over the workmen of all countries, over Socialism. The fate of International Socialism now lies in your hands. The hope of the workmen of the whole world rests with you. And we are sure you will do your duty, in spite of the advice of the French Scheidemanns.

Workers of Germany! Workers of Austria! Now you see that you have no other choice except immediately to overthrow those traitors governing you who call themselves Social-democrats, but who in reality are infamous agents of the bourgeoisie. You see now to what the policy of Scheidemann and Noske has brought you. You see now that your only hope lies in the world proletarian revolution. But the Scheidemanns and Eberts are doing all in their power to hinder this proletarian revolution. When Scheidemann and Noske appeal to international proletariat in your name, they meet with nothing but contempt.

Those who say not one word in protest against the throttling of Soviet Hungary, those who are fighting with the German Barons at Libau against the Lettish workmen, such people cannot expect support from the international proletariat. Neither Count Brockdorf-von-Rantbau, nor the traitor Landsberg, nor the executioners Noske and Scheidemann must speak in your name. As long as the present government is in power, the quarrel between Berlin and Paris will be only a lawsuit between the bourgeoisie of both coalitions, in your country, all the power must be transferred to the Soviets. Workmen-communists must speak in your name.

Then and only then will you be able to save your country, and look for full support from the proletariats of all countries.

The time for indecision has passed. Now it is clear to everyone of you that things cannot be worse than they are now, that the government of social-traitors has brought you to the brink of ruin.

Workmen of Germany and Austria! Know that proletarians of other lands will not trust the German State Social-democracy that found not one word of protest when the government of Wilhelm forced the Brest peace on Soviet Russia.

Workmen of Germany and Austria! Know that if the Brest peace, forced on Russia in 1918, was liquidated so soon, it was because the Russian workmen and peasants overthrew their government of the bourgeoisie and Social-traitors and took the power into their own hands. Only in this way did the Russian workmen win the trust and sympathy of the proletarians of all countries. Only in this way was it possible for them in a short time to loosen the Brest noose from about their throats.

The world proletarian revolution—that is the only hope of salvation for the oppressed classes of all the world.

The dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of the Soviet authority—that is the only way out for the world proletariat.

As long as capitalism exists, a lasting peace is out of the question. A lasting peace can only be built up on the ruins of the capitalist system of society.

Long live the revolt of the workmen against their oppressors! Down with the peace of Versailles, down with the new Brest! Down with the government of the social-traitors.

Long live the Soviet authority in all the world!

G. ZINOVIEV,
Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

May 13, 1919.

(The Brest referred to is Brest-Litovsk. Ed. Truth.)

14. This offer was ignored by the Russian Federation controlled Communist Party convention. Subsequently another committee was elected by the Communist Labor Party convention which appeared before the Communist Party convention inviting the latter to a joint meeting of the two conventions to attempt to arrive at a basis for unity thru a joint discussion. This offer was also refused by the Communist Party convention.

15. The Communist Labor Party convention then passed a resolution to the effect that a standing invitation for unity be sent to the Communist Party convention and its national officials, and that the national officials of the Communist Labor Party be instructed to accept every offer of unity upon a basis of equality.

16. The National Executive Committee of the Communist Labor Party held a meeting immediately at the close of the convention of that party and sent a communication to the Communist Party, then still in session, offering to meet its national officials to arrive at an agreement for a basis for unity. This communication has not yet been answered.

17. The claim is made by prejudiced leaders of the Communist Party that the Communist Labor Party represents no membership and that the Communist Party has 55,000 members. The average membership of the federation which were ousted from the Socialist Party and which form the backbone of the Communist Party is: Russian Federation, 6500; Ukrainian Federation, 3500; South Slavic Federation, 3000; Lithuanian Federation, 6000; Lettish Federation, 1500; Hungarian Federation, 2400; Polish Federation, 2000—Total 24,900. Add to this figure two or three thousand English speaking members and you have the total strength of the Communist Party.

18. Upon the second last day of the Communist Party convention, controlled by the Russian Federation, 22 delegates, mostly from English speaking organizations, refused to take further part in the convention, refused committee duty and official positions in the

(Continued on page 5.)

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THROUGH DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY

BOLSHEVIST ORGAN DENOUNCES LEAGUE

By Klara Zetkin.

In a recent article entitled "Democracy versus Dictatorship," Comrade Kautsky opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry as it has been established in Russia by the bolshevik overthrow of the state authority. He expressed his dissent from the views of those socialists who have contended that in existing circumstances this dictatorship is historically justified. Substantially Kautsky's opinions are identical with those recently published by Martoff, a bolshevik comrade, in his writing "Marx and the Problem of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." My answer to Kautsky's criticism of the bolsheviks runs as follows:—

BOLSHEVISM AND THE STRONG HAND.

The use of the strong hand is the essential characteristic of bolshevik activity. This is not ideal, but unavoidable. It may be contrary to the prescriptions of democracy, and yet it subverts the interests of democracy. If, for all who live in Russia, democracy is to become an energy-diffusing socialistic reality, the bolsheviks cannot escape the necessity of sacrificing, as a transient measure, the rights of certain individuals and of certain social groups. That this should happen is an inevitable feature of historic evolution. Democracy is of a twofold nature, being simultaneously means, and end of historic evolution. As end or goal of historic evolution it may come into conflict with itself as means of historic evolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry in Russia bears the insignia of this contradiction. Plaintive voices from Russia, the criticisms uttered by the adversaries of "bolshevism" in other lands, assure us that since the bolsheviks attained to power they have everywhere infringed and sacrificed democratic principles. Democracy, we are told, has repeatedly been given the go-by. In the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly; in the deprivations of civil rights announced in the soviet constitution; and in the declaration of the mass terror. Doubtless! But without such infringements could the revolution have been saved, could it have been carried a stage further, could the revolutionists have continued to work for socialism, which alone guarantees democracy for all? This is the crucial question, and for me the answer is self-evident, considering the circumstances attendant upon the Russian revolution.

DISSOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

I hold that the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, far from involving a sacrifice of democracy, made democracy more effective. No doubt that assembly had been elected upon the basis of a democratic suffrage, but the elections had taken place before the bourgeois watchwords and the bourgeois-socialist programme of compromise had lost their allurements for the broad masses of the workers. They had taken place before the decisive historic moment in which the November revolution and the acceptance of the soviet government by the organized workers, peasants, and soldiers, had effectively condemned as "partial and inadequate" the programmes of the two opening phases of the revolution and of the parties that had put these programmes forward. It should be added that, during the opening periods, the economic and social power of the possessing classes was still sufficient to exercise considerable influence upon the electoral results. The Constituent Assembly could not possibly be regarded as an unfeigned expression of the opinions and the will of the workers. In so far as in Russia we can speak of a popular will, that will was indubitably incorporated in the decisions of the soviets. Was the provisional soviet government to abdicate its real power in favour of the will-o'-the-wisp democracy of the Constituent Assembly? Was the soviet government to entrust the work of revolution to bourgeois hands, to hands that were itching to fetter, nay to strangle, this unruly intruder? Or was power to be handed over to the social revolutionaries, who had proved too weak to protect the revolution? To take such a step would have been no less foolish than criminal.

REVOLUTIONARY WINE AND PARLIAMENTARY BOTTLES

There is another point to consider. The revolution had not arrested its progress at the goal of a bourgeois revolution. Transcending any such aim, it had revealed the titanic figure of a proletarian revolution, of one aiming at socialistic reorganization. Had they accepted parliamentarism, the bolsheviks would have accepted an institution which, however important, is of very limited value; an institution which even in times of peaceful evolution has proved obviously inadequate to the needs of the proletarian struggle for emancipation; an institution which, adapted to the requirements of the capitalist order, must necessarily fail to meet the necessities of those whose purpose it is to subvert that order. It is undeniable that the proletariat must derive all the advantage that can be derived from parliamentary institutions. But parliament is one of those state institutions which a victorious proletariat cannot simply take over and use for its own purposes. The new revolutionary wine must not be poured into old bottles. From this outlook, "bolshevism" was assuredly justified in replacing the Constituent Assembly by the soviets, in replacing the activity of a determinative and legislative assembly, by the activity of organisations upon the broadest possible democratic basis, and simultaneously legislative, administrative, and executive.

PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP PROVISIONAL

It is undeniable that the democracy created by the soviet constitution is incontestable that thereby large groups of persons are excluded from the suffrage. But the critics seem to forget that these disqualifications are merely provisional, that they will be enforced solely for the period during which the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry persists and must persist. The constitution leaves no doubt upon this matter. The dissolution of Old Russia, the coming of New Russia, are not yet so far advanced as to enable the soviet government with one stroke of the pen or with a single mighty blow to abolish private ownership of the means of production. In Russia, the knell of private property has not yet sounded, the hour for the expropriation of all expropriators has not yet struck. Minorities still possess economic power and social power, can still use and misuse these powers against the overwhelming majority of the workers. Is political power to be superadded, to enable them to pursue their egoistic aims in defiance of the interests of the community at large? Let us clear our minds of phrases, let us cut loose from formalities; let us cease to reiterate the shibboleth that "the masses have the right and the power" to counteract the anti-social machinations of the possessing minorities. Is it not obvious that, in reality, things will be very different until economic freedom and economic equality shall have endowed the entire nation with spiritual freedom and maturity? Who would not laugh at a military commander so unwise as to send artillery and shells as a gift to the hostile army? Yet the bolsheviks are supposed to have committed a deadly sin in that they refused to arm and equip the reactionary minorities for the struggle against the revolution. This too at the very moment when revolution and counter-revolution were at life-and-death grips: when the counter-revolution was, not merely supported by all the reactionary energies of Russia, but was being furnished by the Allied governments with troops, money, and moral support.

MEASURES OF MILITARY NECESSITY.

The dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the use of forcible measures against opponents, the declaration of the mass terror—these are bitter fruits of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. They must be regarded as measures of military necessity. "A la guerre comme a la guerre." (When you are making war, make war.) The bolshevik leaders of revolutionary Russia are engaged in a war of unparalleled significance. Here the moral and political standards of everyday life fall away. On this colossal stage, individual measures and individual phenomena are dwarfed into insignificance. The drama is one of overwhelming historic import, and it must be accepted or rejected as a whole. Who wills the end, must not shrink from the means. A proletarian revolution aiming at socialism cannot be effected without dictatorship. Above all is this true under existing conditions in Russia.

THE APPEAL TO MARX.

The ungracious critics of our Russian friends do not, indeed, absolutely reject dictatorship on principle. What they take amiss is the character of the dictatorship in Russia. Karl Kautsky endeavours to prove that dictatorship and democracy must go hand in hand. The dictatorship must not sacrifice democratic principles but must realise them. The dictatorship must be an effluence of democracy. It must subvert the will of the majority and the interests of the majority. According to the critics, neither of these requirements is fulfilled in Russia. The small bolshevik minority, we are told, employing brutal and forcible measures, constrains the overwhelming majority of Russians to accept bolshevik policy. This policy, far from safeguarding the revolution, endangers the revolution; far from advancing socialism, compromises socialism. This is the kernel of the critical onslaughts, which are directed at a mark beyond "bolshevism" which aim at clarifying, at revising, the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are given chains of logical inferences, attempts at a new outline of the concept of dictatorship, as contrasted with the old theory, which is rejected as "blatant" or "jacobin". The arguments are, of course, peppered with appeals to Marx and Engels, and with quotations from these authors. I have carefully read the expositions, but my general outlook upon the question, upon the application of the doctrine to the special case of the Russian revolution, and upon the part played by the bolsheviks in that revolution, remains unchanged. As concerns the contentious questions of our own day, what does it matter whether the historic phenomena which Marx witnessed during his lifetime led him to modify his conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat; what does it matter if, having at first been inclined to a "jacobin" outlook, he subsequently came rather to adopt an "evolutionist and parliamentarist" view. With all due deference to Comrade Martoff's wide knowledge of Marxist theory, and to the indisputable acumen with which he applies that theory, we may none the less feel inclined to challenge his deductions, and the way in which he contrasts his interpretation of Marx with the dictatorship exercised by the bolsheviks. But even if we believe Martoff to be right concerning Marx's opinions and concerning the applicability of those opinions to the Russian situation, there is one simple fact still to be remembered, and it is that historical evolution was not arrested when the pen fell from Marx's hand.

THE NEW CAPITALISM.

Since that day, the capitalist economy has not merely grown, but has exhibited entirely new phenomena, phenomena of notable importance. To enumerate a few of these, we have: formation of rings, trusts, and syndicates. The assumption of the premier place in industry by iron and steel products in place of textiles; the revolutionary transformation effected by improvements in electrical technology; the interlacings of industrial capital, commercial capital, and banking capital to constitute financial capital, and the worldwide dominion of the latter, etc. In the home policy and the foreign policy of all the more highly evolved states can be traced the influence of a further developed and maturer capitalism. Although on the surface the amenities of life may seem to have improved, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has in reality been intensified. Among the struggling classes we see a medley and a confusion of impulses towards far-reaching settlements and dread of such settlements, of great schemes and little deeds. The dominant classes are increasingly inclined to cling to the fugitive political past. We note the decay of bourgeois parliamentarism, and its more and more obvious incapacity to assist the proletarian struggle for freedom towards decisive issues. Above all we are impressed by the mighty expansion of imperialism, with its insatiable thirst for world dominion,

with its overgrown armaments, its colonial undertakings and its wars, its extremist policy of exploitation and oppression alike at home and abroad.

MARXISM A PROGRESSIVE DOCTRINE.

Who dares maintain that in face of the developments of the last decades, Marx, an out-and-out revolutionary thinker, would not have modified his conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat in accordance with the teaching to towering facts? If we assume Comrade Martoff to be right as to the theory Marx held more than forty years ago, can we not rest assured that Marx would have revised that theory had he been alive to-day? To Marx, theory was something greater than a means of elucidating the world; it was a means for transforming the world. But, for this very reason, he never regarded his theories as eternal and immutable truths to which reality must conform; for him, reality always remained the object of research, the thing to be conscientiously investigated, the thing from which his theories were acquired, and in accordance with which his theories must in case of need be modified. I am confident that at this juncture Marx's conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat would display remarkably little similarity with the meek and lowly ideal, the ideal of those who aim only at harmony and at the co-operation of all persons of "good will", the ideal which bashfully simper at us from the expositions of the adversaries of bolshevism. Marx's revolutionary intelligence was as keen as a sword; his heart glowed with revolutionary fire; his revolutionary will was hard as steel. Marx was ever a revolutionary fighter, a man of action, and I cannot believe that he would be found to-day among the critics of bolshevism.

On paper "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and "the ideal of complete democracy" may be linked with the simple copula. In the world of reality, it is otherwise. The historic essence of dictatorship is dominion—stark, coercive dominion. Without infringing the rights and interests of minorities, it is as impossible as the quadrature of the circle. The historic justification of the dictatorship of the proletariat lies in this, that the dictatorship is exercised in the interests of the enormous majority of the population, and that it is no more than a means of transition, for it aims at suspending itself, at rendering itself impossible, at realising the ideal of democracy—a free people, in a free land, living by free labour.

PERDURABILITY OF BOLSHEVISM.

Our anti-bolsheviks deny that the extant dictatorship in Russia possesses these justifications. They declare that the bolshevik dictatorship is the work of an inconsiderable minority of dogmatists and fanatics who, in the interests of narrowminded partisan conceptions and a narrow partisan policy, desire by the brutal exercise of force to constrain the enormous majority of the Russian people to swallow the bolshevik prescriptions now and for the future. Whence do those who hold such views derive the certainty that the bolshevik policy is that of an inconsiderable minority of Russian workers and peasants? In my opinion, the number, the loudness, and the passion of the attacks on the coercive rule of the bolsheviks should not make us over-estimate the extent or the importance of serious hostility to the policy of the soviet government. It is an old experience, and one readily explicable, that, in the struggles of faction minorities which are greatly out numbered are apt to display peculiar violence. It is for them a natural need to convince the world that in spite of defeat they have power and are in the right.

Who will deny that many of the workers, numbers of the peasants, and above all most of the intelligentsia, neither share the views nor endorse the policy of the bolsheviks? None the less, a very large proportion, if not the majority, of those proletarians and peasants who take an active interest in political matters, support the bolsheviks, and the same is true of the social revolutionaries of the left. This opinion is confirmed by the fact that those who are, it is alleged, in an infinitesimal minority, though reproached with errors, deeds of violence, breaches of principle, and so on, have retained power a considerably longer period than that for which the provisional governments of the two opening phases of the revolution held sway. Moreover, this has taken place under conditions of almost unprecedented difficulty, throughout the terrible ordeal of the peace of Brest-Litovsk, and in face of the ever-present menace of famine. The anti-bolsheviks may say what they please, but the mere use of force cannot account for the perdurability of the soviet government—which has lasted far longer than is usual in time of revolution. No minority whose power rested only upon force could continue in such circumstances and for so long a time to sit on bayonets.

THROUGH DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY.

The persistence of soviet rule, which, the confident prophets assured us, could not possibly last more than a few weeks, enables us to infer with certainty that this government is supported by the broad masses of the Russian people. The bolsheviks, and the left social revolutionaries who co-operate with them, constitute the stalwart framework of the Russian revolutionary army. Through their readiness for action, through their capacity, they inspire confidence in the masses and rally the masses to their support. The need for dictatorship shows us, indeed, that the number and importance of the opponents of the soviet government must by no means be underestimated. Power must be used to repress power. Our hope is that the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry will maintain itself long enough to abolish itself when it has fulfilled its function and reached its goal. For whereas during the two opening periods of the revolution the path of the governments led from the fine ideal of democracy to the harsh and cruel reality of dictatorship, the path of the soviet dominion will lead from the harsh and cruel reality of dictatorship to the beautiful and realised dream of democracy.

Pravda Assures the Reds It Is Only a Capitalistic Scheme to Beat Proletariat Rule.

(Reprinted from New York Times)

The official organ of the Bolsheviks, the Pravda of Moscow, through its editor, N. Bukharin, states the position of the Soviet republic on the League of Nations. The position is naturally one of violent opposition.

A translation of the Bolshevik article into German is given in a recent number of the Berliner Tagwacht and is here translated from the German:

"The old capitalistic world, the whole system of world capitalism, is now going through the very greatest shaking up. The fate of the golden calf, the fate of sainted private property, of the exchanges, the banks, the syndicates, the fate of dividends and interest is at stake. The unbelievable decomposition of the capitalistic apparatus, called forth by the disorganization of world economies which has led to the destructive war, the social catastrophe which already has had a beginning, the uprising of the proletariat—all this puts a question mark after the existence of capitalism."

"And it is fully clear that the capitalistic world must make its last effort to save itself from complete downfall. This effort will be made in two directions: First, in the direction of the organization of world capitalism and the removal of the colossal friction between the different parts of the capitalistic system ('the compromise among the great powers'); second, in the direction of restraining the proletariat, the general strangling of the communistic revolution."

"This last effort of the unholy capitalistic world order, its last stake, is the Wilsonian League of Nations."

"The States of the present time are organizations of finance-capital in its highest form, in the form of State capitalism. Therefore every great power which now represents not only the political but also the economic organization of capitalism may be regarded as a 'State-capitalistic trust.' The world economic order is composed of such State-capitalistic trusts, ('great powers'), upon which are dependent a number of lands exploited by them. The business rivalry between these State-capitalistic trusts found its expression in the world war."

"It is known to all that usually trusts which are in competition, at a certain stage of their development and under certain conditions come to an agreement. These agreements may have a very superficial and temporary character and have as their aim the exploiting of certain given conjuncture, (of this kind, for example, are the corners and rings). Or they may be lasting, (syndicates). They may mean the complete welding of the entrepreneurs in a trust."

Considered a Great Trust. "The question in regard to the agreements among the great powers one can also state in the following terms: They are under the present conditions the necessary proposals for the creation of a corner, syndicate, or trust of the great State-capitalistic trusts."

"This question must first of all be answered."

"Thus far we have not had anything like a corner or syndicate of all the great powers, but only of parts of them. That was the two coalitions. According to their problem, namely, the temporary exploitation of a conjuncture, they were similar to a corner. In their organizations (unity of commands, general economic (unity of commands, general economic conferences common political plan, &c.) they were like the syndicates. One of the two coalitions has now been defeated in the competitive struggle. International competition has thus changed beyond recognition. New conflicts such as the English-American, the French-Italian, &c., come to light. How must the organized grouping be arranged now?"

"Compromise among competitors have usually been made through a balance of their strength. If one of the struggling units had a superiority it has not the slightest reason to conclude a compromise arrangement. For it can then, without sharing its surplus with anybody, throw all its competitors out of the saddle. From this point of view one might say that there existed no grounds for a compromise agreement. For there is no doubt of the colossal superiority of the United States, which is greatly strengthened

not only in finance economic, but also military. But the present conjuncture creates a considerable check on this superiority. For the Allies and the United States the pressing question is the liquidation of the war and the immediate division of the spoils fallen to them. In the lap of this problem of division lie the great possibilities of conflict. May it not immediately give rise to a second world war?"

"Let us for the moment pass over the social impossibility of a new war. Let us consider the economic and military proposals. It is clear that a supremacy of America would create a block of all nations, including Japan, against America. All European powers are for the moment, especially in economic relations, dependent upon America. The exhaustion of Europe is so great that European industry and agriculture without American imports (grain, raw stuffs, machinery, chemical products, &c.) would meet the very greatest difficulty. On the other hand, with the supremacy of America the old European powers must enter into a league among themselves and Japan. That is a strength not to be scorned, one which would be in a position to defend itself, and all the more so since the American Army in France finds itself in a rather dangerous position. By generally acting in agreement with Japan, America might perhaps win. But even with Japan she stands everywhere in sharp contact. Moreover, the growing war industry of America, which was the world's purveyor of arms, threatens to undermine America economically from within, and signs of exhaustion even in the land of millionaires may be seen. But the world war has shown that its outlay is enormous. For healing and reparation world capitalism now needs a breathing spell, otherwise it will go under. That even the hard-boiled American scoundrels understand, (die ausgesottenen amerikanischen Spitzbuben.)

Says Colonies Will Pay the Bill.

"Nevertheless, the division of the booty must be carried out at any cost, for the restoration of the capitalistic world, of the 'great powers,' is only possible on the condition of an immediate and intensive exploitation of the booty. The colonies and the half colonies must work at full steam under the lash of the great powers; that is the most important 'economic proposal' for the economic rebirth of the State capitalistic trust."

"In these circumstances an understanding among the great robbers is offered. It is security against their own downfall. Whether it goes through or not is another question. But without it the capitalistic world much sooner goes to the ground."

"What kind of understanding will it be?"

"It will be something between the corner and the syndicate. Although an understanding arising from the necessity of exploiting the present conjuncture, it must make its problem the orderly division of markets, regulation of exploitation and the leveling of the profits of the parts which fall to the different ones of the state-capitalistic trust."

"In the organization of this syndicate America will play the first fiddle. The small nations will be gladly 'taken in' by the 'league' just as a big company 'takes in' a small one which it swindles. With so-called self-determination France remains in the League of Nations, but isolated (hence the French line was in favor of the balance of power and not for the League) while the United States entirely in 'peace' will reap the fruits of the victory."

"The attempt to ward off the danger of an immediate new outbreak of war which, under the circumstances would give the final blow to the capitalistic world order, is, at the same time, an attempt at the organization of world capitalism."

"The need of an understanding is still more intensified by the already begun social collapse of the capitalistic system. This collapse is shown by an everywhere noticeable revolutionary ferment in the armies, in the working classes, and finally—from the fact that there are already 'foreign bodies' in the capitalistic system, an organized movement hostile to it—the soviet republic of the Russian proletariat."

"On the other hand, the system of the capitalistic great powers is often threatened by the nationalistic movements in the colonies, which

Workers of Duluth!

My service is for workmen.

Workmen's Clothing and a big line of underwear. Workmen's Sunday Shoes.

Workmen's Working Shoes of all kinds.

The place where the workman feels at home.

A. KYHKYNNEN,

(Park Hotel Building 6th Avenue W.) DULUTH, MINN.
10-6th Avenue West.

We Don't Make Excuses

WE ARE MAKING THE BEST BREAD, PIES, CAKES AND DOUGHNUTS IN THE CITY AND WILL APPRECIATE YOUR PATRONAGE.

ONCE A CUSTOMER, ALWAYS A CUSTOMER.

West End Home Bakery

2023 West Superior St.

Duluth, Minn.

NEVER JUDGE

A store by its size.

Our store is small, but we sell the best of literature.

Ask the editor of Truth!

B. C. HARRIS.

509½ W. Superior St.

Melrose 1293.

will take on a sharper form the more successfully the continental movement of the working classes goes forward. For England, Ireland, India, and Egypt constitute almost as great a danger as the German Communist movement or the demonstrations of her own revolutionary soldiers, who are rebelling against the Government. Thus, the holy alliance against the proletariat and the quickest 'solution' of the colonial problem are the inevitable problem of international capital.

"One should not forget that the League of Nations is really no league of peoples, but a 'league of great capitalist States, a syndicate of State capitalist trusts. Against this organization are ranged the working classes and the exploited colonies, who are the objects of care of the robbers of great capitalism."

"It can be thoroughly seen that the international organization of great capitalist States proposes as one of its very first problems the organization of a so-called international police, that is an international White Guard which shall be sent against the proletariat and those colonies which do not show enough submission to bear the sanctified exploitation of the arch-hypocrite of imperial robbery, President Wilson.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat. "Every State power is a machine for enslavement, for social war. In the present moment, a time of civil war, one can only speak of a sharpened form of this function of the State power, hence only a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is possible. In the League of Nations we see a sharp attempt for the founding of an interstate organized dictatorship of finance-capital. Those military forces which are set free through this understanding will be thrown on the front of the world civil war and into the struggle with

the colonies by the bourgeoisie States.

"The final downfall of the world capitalist order is threatened through the victory of the proletariat. It has its source in the class struggle. Hence one can understand how strong is the force for union in the capitalistic world in our stormy, agitated time. If the economic situation forces capital to unite, the threat on the side of the working classes makes their union all the more necessary. The League of Nations, this incorporated concern for the plundering of the world, takes on the character of a holy alliance against the proletariat. To the working classes it brings not peace but a sword.

"In the moment of an unexampled stirring up of the masses it is impossible to hold them in with the bayonet alone. They must be systematically deceived or else it is all over with the rule of capital. "Hence the creators of this League of Nations bused themselves from the first instant with the dirty business of preparing a pleasing 'sauce' for it. The very name League of Nations is a deception. Similar deceptions are everywhere sounding names of this League, Peace League, World League, &c.

"It ought especially be brought out that Wilson, Lloyd George & Co. these men guilty of the war, are openly exploiting the desire for peace. 'The League of Nations,' they say, 'has general peace as its aim.' Everything will be settled in a peaceable way through the 'nation.' Whoever does not obey is an enemy of peace and must be brought to 'reason' through the international police.

"Mr. Taft once declared that the League must also provide security against aggression. Consequently, whoever raises his hand against capital is a disturber of the peace of nations, an enemy of peace, and must be smashed.

"That is the sauce in which they would stifle world Bolshevism. The same thought was contained in the declaration of the Allies in regard to Prinkipo. 'Stop your offensive or else we will put the international police on your neck.'

"In connection with this there is another point on the 'program.' That is the cry about Bolshevik imperialism. The President of the All-Imperialist States, the Prime Minister of the English King, all the scoundrels of imperialism wish to become suddenly the grimmest enemies of imperialism. The victory of socialism they call Bolshevistic imperialism.

"Finally in the net of deceit a certain compromise is woven in. For example, President Wilson declared that the time was past when the rich classes alone should govern. This was said by the President of a republic which is run by two banks. Herein one can gather that where it is necessary the compromiser with the Communists will be supported and thus not only an open but also a hidden war against the proletariat revolution.

"That is the last stake of capitalism. The creation of an understanding among the capitalists is very apparent. One is not deceived. The greatest battles lie before us. Every drawing together of our enemies, under whatever noble mask it may take place, is a direct danger to the working classes.

LOOK TO "HUNS" TO CRUSH RUSSIA

(Continued from page 1)

little people are prevented from accepting the Red offer publicly by reason of a desire to gain recognition and support of their independence by the allies.

The Camouflaged Germans.

Interspersed with the Lithuanians, Estonians and Letts are bodies of so-called Russian soldiers of alleged anti-bolshevik persuasion. Now more than suspicion has been aroused that more than half their numbers are in reality former German soldiers who have enlisted. When enlisting in Germany for this service they took out Russian citizenship papers under the well known Prussian law that this act not only doesn't weaken their German citizenship, but, on the contrary, strengthens it.

South from Minsk to a point northwest of Kiev the Reds are opposed by the Polish army which has been fighting without allied support and which is now tired. Then come the Galician and Ukrainian fronts, the latter commanded by Petlura, whose constancy to the allied cause is questionable inasmuch as he refuses to recognize either Kolehak or Denikine and maintains himself as an independent raiding chief.

Roumanians on Rear.

From the Ukraine south the bolsheviks are opposed by Roumanians and some Greeks, both of whom are now disaffected with the cause of the allies. First, the Roumanians resent the allied ultimatum that they withdraw from Budapest.

The allies have stopped shipment of munitions to Roumania. The Greeks are far from happy over the allied refusal of the Greek demands in Thrace.

From Odessa westward Denikine has encountered failure time and again on both his west and east fronts, and this in spite of the fact that British warships assisted in driving the Reds back from Odessa and have been landing millions of francs' worth of supplies and equipment on the Black sea coast.

Continuing the iron circle, Kolehak's Caspian sea to the Urals, has suffered repeated defeats at the hands of the 1st, 4th, 13th, and 14th soviet armies, while farther north still anti-bolshevik forces in the Urals and on the Siberian front have been able to save themselves only by repeated withdrawals in face of the enemy. This front is mainly held by Siberian snows. These anti-bolshevik forces have suffered severely from the inadequacies of supplies over the disrupted Trans-Siberian railroad.

Thus credited, first, with a refusal to recognize the soviets, and, second, with failure to suppress by military the spread of red rule through Russia, the directing forces among the allies find themselves today facing an offer from a power that claims the ability to restore Russia to reason and at the same time protect allied financial interests invested there under the reign of the czar.

The offer is "made in Germany." Von der Goltz with boasted Prussian efficiency is willing to guarantee suppression of bolshe-

WM. J. BIRD
BARBER
1922 W. Superior St.

SAVE MONEY
JEWELRY AND WATCHES
SOLD AND REPAIRED
by
M. GOLD & COMPANY,
1619 North 5th Street. WIS.
SUPERIOR
OGDEN 542-Y.

BATHS AND SHOWER BATHS
Hotel Rex Barber Shop
R. P. JENTOFF, Prop.
10-CHAIR SHOP-10
2061 W. Superior St., Basement
DULUTH, MINN.

LARSON BROS.
Fresh and Salt Meats, Oysters,
Fish and Poultry.
Zenith phone Lincoln 152
Duluth phone Melrose 352
2725 West 2nd Street,
DULUTH, MINN.

vism in Russia. The German commander with forces approximating 200,000 men is now on the outskirts of Riga.

Nominally at the head of these forces is the former Russian Prince Liewin, but every report from the Baltic brings the bald statement that Von der Goltz is the directing genius and that the exiled Russian nobleman is only a figurehead being used by the Germans.

Germans Agents Spur Reds.

German agents are also operating within the Russian lines fomenting the reds to further attacks along the Baltic fronts that the situation will be brought to a head sooner, Germany's armed forces now under approximately 800,000 men.

For some strange reason the peace treaty edict of immediate demobilization has been stopped. For some strange reason at this particular moment the allies have begun repatriating thousands of German soldiers imprisoned in England and France. For some strange reason the allies permit continued recruiting of German soldiers, officers, and generals for the so-called Russian army.

The British on the Archangel and Murmansk fronts are in a tight place for the coming winter, when the red forces threaten to annihilate them. There is great anxiety to relieve them. Invasion from the west, reaching Petrograd before Christmas, would accomplish this result. Such an invasion by an anti-bolshevik force from the Baltic would then open up a way for land communication between Archangel and Petrograd and thereby offer a way out for the trapped British forces in Archangel.

The Secret Understanding.

Every strictly allied front to accomplish this result has failed and now the Germans step into the breach with an offer to turn the trick. Every development in the news indicates their offer has been accepted or at least an understanding has been reached by which their continual preparations for the Petrograd push are not seriously opposed. As the London papers themselves now are saying: "Either the allies have no policy with regard to Russia, or they have entered a counter revolutionary alliance with our former enemies."

But once having reached Petrograd, will the Germans then retire? Is the suppression of bolshevism the object of the Russian drive or is it an extension of German influence and frontiers into the east?

There are those who are believing not without reason today that Germany, thwarted in the west, now turns her face to the eastward carrying the flag of Attila into holy Russia—southward toward the rekindling of old hopes on the shores of the Black sea and in the direction of Bagdad—eastward—far eastward through Siberia to be met halfway by westward encroachments of the rising sun.

By this new turn of affairs the peace seeking world may now look forward to a gratification of its cravings in Russia's future — soviet or German!

ALVEN & SOHLEN
TRANSFER CO.
GENERAL DRAYING
PIANO AND
FURNITURE MOVING
Phone: Calumet 311
4031 W. Superior St.
Duluth, Minn.

THAT'S ALL WE DO
EXAMINE EYES and FIT GLASSES
BUT WE DO IT RIGHT
Drs. Larson & Larson
Specialists
BEMIDJI MINNESOTA

SPECIAL FOR THIS WEEK
Union Made Overalls
\$2.25
10 per cent off on all rain coats
Johnson Clothing Store
2908 W. Third Street.

EXHAUSTION OF GERMANY

Industries Ceasing in Dying Country.

COMING CRASH.

Hanover, August 22.—When one tries to write a general report on the situation in Germany one is of late more and more at a loss to know where to begin and what to include, as since the signing of the Peace Treaty no single theme any longer dominates the dreary discord of political and economic life.

Popular attention centres largely on two points, namely, the steady fall in the exchange value of the mark and the coal problem. The collapse of the whole life of the country through the coal shortage is threatened by the Silesian strikes.

One factory in Berlin, which employs some 12,000 workmen, has announced that it will have to close down unless it can get more coal within a week. An engineer in one of the biggest Berlin works told me yesterday that he is reckoning already on only half-time work during the winter months because of the coal scarcity. In Central Germany the train service is so limited that passengers at the various termini fight for places quite an hour and a half before the departure of the few through trains that are still running. Some industries have completely stopped.

Agriculture is also reported to be in sad need of coal for threshing and other purposes, and the demoralization of the labourers is adding to the general difficulty of the situation.

Living on Remnants

With the continued fall in the purchasing power of money, thrift and the formation of new capital — the secret of Germany's rapid developments — have ceased to have any attraction. The people say that in a few weeks the mark will be worth nothing. They spend their money as they get it for their immediate needs, but more especially for extra food, which is still only procurable at high prices, and for distracting pleasures.

In the big cities this produces a certain illusion of luxurious living on the part of the rich, which only tends to deepen class hatred. In other things the people are still living on the remains of their former prosperity, but the general shabbiness is no longer to be concealed.

After several months in the country I can no longer wonder that Germans see everything in distorted perspective from the standpoint of their own troubles, especially as they have for five years been cut off from the rest of the world. Through her geographical situation and her economic development, however, Germany is still the key to the whole European problem. — Reuter.

John Hainy's
PHOTO STUDIO
26 N. 6th Ave. N.
Duluth, Minn.

COOK'S RESTAURANT
It's Better!
More of it!
Costs Less!
We Hooverize on prices
—not on quality.
Soder & Sagenson,
Proprietors.
Phones: Grand 112-Y
and Melrose 397.

ANDY LARSON
Union Barber Shop
At the rear of Cook's
Restaurant.
First Class Services.
Sanitary Conditions
We buy Liberty Bonds
and cash Time Checks

THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Continued from page 3)

Communist Party because of the dictatorship methods of the Russian Federation.

19. The Communist Labor Party convention was made up of representatives—regularly elected delegates—from 23 states. All of them were elected by the rank and file of the Left Wing membership in the Socialist Party. The entire delegations from California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Nebraska, Oregon, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Washington, Virginia and West Virginia; 12 of the 21 Illinois delegates; 3 of the 6 Indiana delegates; 2 of the 3 Kansas delegates; 1 Michigan delegate; 2 Missouri delegates; 3 out of 7 New Jersey delegates; 10 New York delegates; 14 of the 16 Ohio delegates;—all these regularly elected delegates took part in the convention of the Communist Labor Party, and fraternal delegates were present from the German Federation, Scandinavian Federation and an executive committeeman from the Italian Federation. Total membership represented—30,800.

20. National Headquarters of the Communist Labor Party is at 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. A. Wagenknecht, is national secretary. Members of the National Executive Committee are—Max Bedacht, Alexander Bilan, Jack Carney, Edward Lindgren, L. E. Katterfeld.

Our DEMAND for UNITY will continue determined and sincere. We do not maintain a "holier than thou" attitude toward the Communist Party. We stand for a consolidation of all Left Wing forces into one strong party. We call upon all locals and branches affiliated with the Communist Party to demand that their national officials enter into negotiations for unity with the Communist Labor Party. In the meantime all locals, branches and members should affiliate with the Communist Labor Party. Address—

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY,
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Buy Where the Buying Is Good

We carry a large assortment of union made goods, traveling bags, suit cases, etc.

We offer these at a reasonable price—as low—if not lower than you would pay for equal quality elsewhere.

We number hundreds of workmen and their families among our regular patrons. Give us a trial. Call and see our stock. Get acquainted with our methods of doing business.

A man cannot stay in business or retain his trade if he does not deliver the right kind of goods.

We have been in business for 21 years. Use your own judgment.

A. WINER

513 West Superior Street.

Duluth, Minn.

OUR FALL STYLES

Are You Ready for Your Choosing

While the general clothing situation at present warrants higher prices, we've shaved profits closer than ever to keep the cost down to our customers during this period of high prices.

We are showing a most elegant assortment of all wool suits, cut in the prevailing single and double-breasted models, many exquisitely silk lined and without question the greatest values.

Fitwell Clothing Co.

112 W. Superior St.

Duluth, Minn.

Olson & Hoppenyan
Phone, Lin. 16 Phone, Mel. 7620
UNDERTAKERS
2014 West Superior Street

D. OSTROV

"If Ostrov cannot repair your watch, then throw it away."

Watchmaker and Jeweller

514 West Superior Street.

GARDEN'S CASH MARKET
MORRIS GARDEN, Prop.
FRESH AND SALTED MEATS
Phone—Zenith, Lincoln 304-Y. Union Shop.
12 North Twentieth Avenue West,
DULUTH, — — — — — MINN.

SHOES FOR ALL
A person should buy their shoes these days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused.
Our shoes are selected from the best makers best efforts, and the man who shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you.
We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer. — We are Union men selling and repairing shoes.
The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address, 1021 W. Sup. St.

SUPERIOR SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL

meets at 8 o'clock
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
TERMINAL HALL
Corner Winter and Ogden

O. T. ROSAAS
PHOTOGRAPHER.
Lincoln 599-X Melrose 9229
2030 West Superior Street.

Frank's Shop
Successor to Brown
FANCY SHOE WORKS
21 N. 20th Avenue W.
Lin. 808-X. Duluth.

WAR IS OVER
BUT PRICES ARE UP
EXCEPT AT
ERICKSON'S
HARDWARE
WE ARE NOW AT
2005 W. Superior St.

FRED W. ERICKSON
Established 1893
GROCERIES AT WHOLE-
SALE & RETAIL
2029—31 W. 3rd St.
LIN. 3567 MEL. 421.

Scandinavian Local's MEETS
EVERY
TUESDAY EVENING
— at —
Woodman Hall
21st Ave. W. & 1st St.

WEST END SHOE WORKS
Fred Johnson, Prop.
First Class Shoe repairing
218 28th Avenue West.
Lincoln 35-D.
DULUTH, MINN.

PURE MILK
OUR MILK CONTAINS
THE CREAM AND IS
GUARANTEED
JENS NILSEN,
We serve from 25th Ave.
W. to Piedmont.
1914 W. 10th St.
Lin. 479-D

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

Address all communications and make out all checks to
TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.
Business hours 2 to 4 p. m.
Editor responsible for all unsigned articles.

EDITORIALS

SONG OF A COMMUNIST

Out of chaos, out of murk
I arose and did my work;
While the ages changed and sped,
I was toiling for my bread.
Underneath my sturdy blows
Forests fell and cities rose,
And the hard, reluctant soil
Blossomed richly from my toil.
Palaces and temples grand
Wrought I with my cunning hand.
Rich indeed was my reward—
Stunted soul and body scarred
With the marks of scourge and rod.
I, the tiller of the sod,
From the cradle to the grave
Shambled through the world—a slave
Crush and trampled, beaten cursed,
Serving best, but served the worst,
Starved and cheated, gouged and spoiled
Still I builded, still I toiled,
Undernourished, underpaid,
In the world myself had made.
Up from slavery I rise,
Dreams and wonder in my eyes.
After brutal ages past
Coming to my own at last,
I was blind—but I am free!
I was blind—but I can see!
I, the builder, I, the maker,
I, the calm tradition-breaker,
Slave and serf and clod no longer,
Know my strength—and who is stronger?
I am done with ancient frauds,
Ancient lies and ancient gods—
All that sham is overthrown,
I shall take and keep my own.
Unimpassioned, unafraid,
Master of the world I've made.

Berton Braley.

CONSTITUTION DAY—SEPTEMBER 17TH

When we think of the vicious manner in which the I. W. W. have been persecuted and have been denied their Constitutional rights, when we think of 'Gene Debs and thousands of other good comrades lying in prison for exercising their CONSTITUTIONAL rights; when we think of Tom Mooney lying in prison, when the very judge that tried him and sentenced him to death believes that Mooney did not receive a square deal, when we think of all these things, it is a mockery for us to even mention CONSTITUTION DAY, much less celebrate it. But despite the tearing up of the "scrap of paper" that we call the Constitution, it would be as well if we examined the forming of this sacred (?) Constitution, in order that we might gain some idea of how the ruling class of that time carried on their affairs.

A. M. Simons, the social patriot, whose articles adorn the columns of the Duluth Herald and other members of the "kept press," states in his "Social Forces in American History":

"The framing of the Constitution under these conditions took on much of the character of a secret conspiratorial coup d'etat, such as most historians congratulate America on having escaped. The little group of individuals who best represented the ruling class, and who had dominated throughout the Revolution, were, to a large extent, losing their control. They now set, about recapturing it through a secret counter-revolution."

The ruling class called a convention, which met in Philadelphia behind CLOSED DOORS. According to John Fiske, one of America's reliable historians, "The doors were locked, and juncture of strict secrecy was put upon every one. . . . Just what was done in this secret conclave was not revealed until fifty years had passed, and the aged James Madison, the last survivor of those who sat there, had been gathered to his fathers. He kept a journal of the proceedings, which was published after his death." So you can readily see that the people at that time, the great mass of the people, whose toll made possible the carrying on the nation's affairs, were entirely in the dark as to the nature and purpose of the Constitution. George Washington, in his opening speech to this secret Federal Convention, made these following remarks: "If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work?" Plainly showing that the Constitution was not formed with any regard to the rights and welfare of the people. When the Constitution was formed, and a writer of that time was moved to state: "There is no doubt that the new Constitution was framed primarily in the interest of the industrial and commercial classes, and was finally ratified largely as a result of their active and intelligent work in its behalf," (bold type ours). After the constitution had been formed, the next step was to have it ratified by the people. Out of a population of 3,000,000 not more than 120,000 were entitled to vote for those who were to constitute the state conventions that were to consider the constitution. Due to the fact that property qualifications shut out the working class of the cities and the debtors of the back country. The constitution was finally adopted, after a Bill of Rights had been incorporated into it, granting to the American people FREEDOM OF SPEECH, FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLAGE and FREEDOM OF PRESS. We wonder what those people, who fought so hard for this Bill of Rights, would think if they could review the history of America during the late war?

To sum up the whole position, we are compelled to arrive at the following conclusions:

1. The CONSTITUTION was formulated in a SECRET session by a body called into existence as the result of a trick.
2. It was forced upon the people of this Republic, by another trick, namely that of granting the vote to those who possessed property and allowing only those who had property to vote for its ratification or rejection.
3. The CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC was framed expressly by the ruling class, for the sake of being used as an instrument to conserve and advance their claims.

Of course it was necessary for this Republic to have a Constitution, in the same manner as it was for the Russian people to have a Constitution. A unified government is necessary in all countries so that the industrial and social life of the country can function. But the mere fact that the Constitution was necessary, should not make us feel

that it is a thing that must last forever. We should feel that when the time comes that the Constitution fails to serve the needs of the people, it should be scrapped. That time has arrived. The Constitution no more serves the interests of the American people, than the ten commandments serve the interests of the business men of today. It is entirely out of harmony with the events of today. Political democracy, as we know it, is not a democracy, paradoxical as this may seem. We have got to organize the American people into a union of producers and change this Republic form a republic of citizens to a republic of producers. We must compel all people, who are physically fit, to work for the benefit of society as a whole. We must not allow one class to reap fortunes and live in idle luxury and the other class reap poverty and live in misery. Today we witness here in Duluth and Superior, the spectacle of men striking for a mere pittance, whilst those that do NOT work loll back in their automobiles and spend millions of dollars to enable them to drive these men back to slavery once more. We have lately witnessed man dying and leaving behind \$50,000,000 and during his lifetime giving away \$350,000,000 whilst on the other hand those that created this wealth that the man gave away have been allowed to crawl to their miserable hovels and die for the want of the mere necessities of life. The working class can expect no change in this state of affairs, if they are content to wait for Congress or men like President Wilson, who are but "dope" peddlers, to make the change for them. Congress, stitution, only functions when it serves the interests of the Constitution of this country a sham and a myth. The Constitution only functions when it serves the interests of the master class and when it fails to serve their interests it is either discarded or overridden. A study of the Court records of this State of Minnesota will prove to the most skeptical of people that laws, Constitution, etc., are never allowed to stand in the way of the interests of the master class. The working class must take a lesson from their masters. They must organize into one huge federation of the working class, on the basis of industrial unionist principles. By organizing their economic power in that way they will be able to meet the master class with POWER. POWER that will eventually pave the way to freedom. So on this day of days, CONSTITUTION DAY, when our attention was drawn to the anniversary of formulating of the Constitution let us pause for a moment and think over things. Let us pledge ourselves to work unceasingly until we have taken the powers of the State out of the hands of our masters and upon the ruins of capitalism erect the Soviet Republic of America.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE BOLSHEVIKI

President Wilson during his swing around the country, went out of his way to attack Lenin and Trotzky. It is as well that the opposition to the League of Nations has become so strong, that it compels such a political hypocrite as Woodrow Wilson to lay bare what is next to his heart. For many years he has woven some wonderful fine democratic phrases into speeches and as a result millions of people have been deceived by him. Today the "statesman of the new social order" stands exposed as he really is, the Spokesman of the Imperialists of America and NOT the representative of the American people.

Wilson represents today, the dying social order known as CAPITALISM. Lenin and Trotzky represent the new social order that is now being born—BOLSHEVISM. When Woodrow Wilson opposes the rule of Lenin and Trotzky, he does so, not because he believes in democracy, simply because he represents imperialism and imperialism is threatened by what Lenin and Trotzky stand for. If Lenin and Trotzky were to suddenly take on the mantle of Koltchak, Wilson would be as loud in his praises of them, as he is in his denunciations. The crime, the grievous crime we might say, that Lenin and Trotzky have committed, is that of standing by the working class. There is no crime on the statute books of capitalist courts that causes so much havoc as that of class loyalty. For example witness the treatment meted out to Bill Haywood, Eugene V. Debs and Samuel Gompers. The former are being persecuted, whilst the latter is feted and received at the courts of Kings and Queens. So when men like Wilson denounce leaders of the revolutionary proletariat, we take their denunciations as proof positive that the men they attack are playing a real part in the revolutionary movement.

WHY WILSON OPPOSES LENIN AND TROTZKY?

It is only since 1890 that the industries of Russia have become of appreciable importance and only during the present century has capitalism obtained a foothold in that country. Of course we are referring to Czarist Russia. Her economic conditions, as well as her political system compelled Russia to negotiate many foreign loans, so that she might keep up her army and navy; which also means the building up of a transport system to transport her troops. These loans were obtained from the bankers outside of Russia. Prior to the war, the Russian Government had obtained loans from Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, London and New York, amounting to \$2,000,000,000, according to the Stock Exchange Year Book, 1919. According to the estimates furnished by Mr. Arthur Raffalovich, President of the Russian Chamber of Commerce in Paris, and formerly the Financial Attaché to the Russian Embassy in that city, in "Russia, Its Trade and Commerce," Russia's war credits on foreign money markets, i. e., her borrowings abroad, from October, 1914, to October, 1916 amounted to \$4,700,000,000.00. Thus making the liabilities of Russia something like \$8,000,000,000. All these billions of dollars had been used by the ruling class, who controlled Russia during the reign of the late Czar. Let us bear in mind, when we discuss the payment of these debts, that part of this finance was specifically used to keep down the rising proletariat and peasantry of Russia. We also know that part of these billions were squandered on Broadway. The Ohio State Journal carried a story of the nights of reckless squandering in the cafes and cabarets of Broadway, carried on by the Russian officers. The same story was reprinted in the Duluth Herald. Whilst the soldiers of Russia were being shot down by the German soldiers, owing to their lack of ammunition, Russian officers were paying ten thousand dollars for the privilege of sleeping with American actresses. Bear these facts in mind and remember that our authority is the Ohio State Journal and the Duluth Herald.

The bankers who lent this money to the Russian Czarist Government are NOT the only people who desire to see the Russian Soviet Government overthrown. There are others. If it was a matter of simply paying the debts of the late Czar, the Soviet Government of Russia would have long since been recognised. The bankers are being reinforced by others who have fastened their greedy eyes on Russia. This latter element sees in Russia a vast field for exploitation. The Japan Salesman, November, 1918, carried the following announcement.

"Russia, with her 180,000,000 people, with her fertile soil stretching from Central Europe Asia to the shores of the Pacific and from the Arctic down to the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea... market possibilities

as such as even the most optimistic dared not dream of... Russia, potentially and actually—the granary, the fishery, the lumber-yard, the coal, gold, silver and platinum mine of the world."

In that press item you have the reason for the attack of President Wilson on the Soviet Government of Russia. The is continually in the mind of the Imperialists of America. For that \$ they will sacrifice men by the millions, women and children also. What does it matter that the people of Russia want a Soviet form of Government? How dare they form such a government and stand in the way of the Imperialists of the world. You can discuss the morality of the Imperialists, but touch their sources of profit and they will never forgive you. In a night you will be transformed into a murderer, rapist of women, destroyer of civilization etc., just because you dared to stop the run of profits.

The dominant set in society are the industrial magnates. They have climbed to the top and there they rule as kings in the world of business. They have only one object in life and that is to make more profits. These profits they make from the disposal of the surplus wealth they have robbed the workers of. The more profits they make, the more they are compelled to re-invest them as fresh capital. They must find newer fields for the purpose of investing their profits. When they increase their capital they have got to sell more products and the earning of still more profits so that the rate of profits may not be diminished. So the pursuit for profit compels the capitalist class to keep on chasing round in a vicious circle, which sooner or later brings with it the collapse of the capitalist system and their consequent loss of power. Knowing that their end is near they see in Russia a chance to postpone their end. If they can only obtain control of Russia, they can dispose of their surplus wealth by developing the resources of that country.

Speaking as early as March, this year, one of the directors of the Guaranty Trust Company, of New York states:—

"We should be awake to the fact that we have outgrown our home markets, so that foreign trade on a large scale is absolutely essential for the continuance of our prosperity." (Exporters Review, March, 1919.)

Place that statement alongside of the statement that we have quoted from the Japan Salesman and then you understand why Woodrow Wilson, "the statesman of the new social order," attacks the Russian Soviet Government.

There is no doubt about it, that Russia is an El Dorado for capitalists. Russia needs to develop her transport system, that means engines, railroad accessories etc. Given these Russia can develop the natural resources of her country and also advance agriculture. With the creting of a fine transport system, the road is made clear for developing the land, that means agricultural implements such tractors, etc. Russia needs cold-storage plants, wood-mills, sawmills, electric plants and many other things that the capitalists of the world are eager to supply providing they can control Russia and make all the profit.

So it is easy to see that what the Allied imperialists want is not the payment of their loans and a chance to trade with Lenin and Trotzky, but a chance to control Russia and exploit the 180,000,000 people of that country. They want to drive the Russian people back to a state of society worse than that endured under the Czar. Oh! because they want more \$\$.

In view of these facts it is any wonder that the capitalist press of this country and the spokesmen of American capitalism; President Wilson, should foam and froth at the mouth at the very names of Lenin and Trotzky? The timber merchants and the lumber barons of America, must feel a itching in the palms of their hands when they read the following extract from No. 1. Vol. 1 of "Russian Outlook":—

"Russia is fortunate in possessing the largest reserves of timber in the world; the forest areas of the Russian Empire, exclusive of Finland, amount to over 1,377,000,000 acres, as compared with Canada with 800,000,000 acres and the United States with 600,000,000 acres. The Russian forests... include such important timber supplies as Baltic pine, white spruce, fir, Siberian pine, Eastern spruce and Nordmann fir, as well as such hard woods as oak, ash, birch, etc. The organization of the timber industry in Russia, the development of lumber production and of the pulp industry will be three of the basic factors in Russia's economic reconstruction."

or, again, that

"The possibility of obtaining a sufficiently large quantity of wood pulp and cellulose for the making of paper etc. has an equally great importance for foreign manufactures." (Russia: Its Trade and Commerce.)

What vision these two extracts must conjure up in the minds of the American lumber barons! With the American troops policing Russia, there would be no organizations such as the I. W. W. to interfere with the flow of profits. No wonder they savagely attack Lenin and Trotzky! We know you now Woodrow!

How the dollars must float before their eyes and what dreams, the Imperialist gang dream, when they read the following:—

"It has been estimated that the black-earth of the West-Siberian Plains and the foothills of the Altai further East could, if properly cultivated, support five times the present population of European Russia." Russia: Its Trade and Commerce.

Wonderful! If we can only defeat the Russian Soviet government, think of the millions of bushels of grain that we could store into our granaries and think of the wonderful profits! How we hate those Bolsheviks that want to feed the people, without making a dollar profit. They shall pay for this.

How must John D. Rockefeller and his jealous competitors feel, when they read the following:—

"In oil Baku is uncomparable," says a well-known British oil expert, "and I know of no oil city that will compare with its subterranean wealth... Baku is greater than any other oil city in the world. If oil is king, Baku is its throne." (The Near East, May 25th, 1919.)

We could go on making quotations from the speeches and articles that have appeared in the financial journals of the plutocrats. But we feel sure that we quoted sufficient to demonstrate to our readers the basis for the attack made by President Wilson upon the Bolsheviks. President Wilson, like these he represents, has but a few more years to rule. The attack made upon the Russian Soviet government has been the means of welding together the revolutionary forces of the world proletariat.

The revolutionary proletariat has discovered and is proclaiming to the world its moral unity with the workers of Russia. It is not the mechanical unity of former days, when we used to march in procession unconscious of the underlying motives that prompted us to march. Today, the masses are moved by the same thoughts and the same motions, but they are now engaged in the task of making the international a living reality, as a living entity, almost an organism with a common sensitiveness and common consciousness. The dream, the expectation, the scientific prognosis of the great founders of modern Socialism, so long delayed, but all the while imperceptibly maturing in the womb of Time, has, with startling suddenness, on the morrow of an unparalleled period of mutual massacre and hate, become a vivid and vivifying reality. There is an international workingclass,

President Wilson, there is a proletariat, that has grown tired of your words and speeches. That proletariat is the grave-digger of the past and the builder of the future.

President Wilson, in conclusion may we congratulate you on your outspoken attack upon the Soviet Government of Russia. One by one, the rulers of the world are compelled to state frankly where they stand on the question of Russia. All what you may say, all that you may do will not prevent the successful building up of the Russian Soviet Republic. The Bolsheviks of Russia, under the successful leadership of Lenin and Trotzky have established themselves in such a manner that all the forces of the world are powerless to oust them from their position. "It seems", writes a British comrade, "as if Time had long been pregnant with the new ideas, (Bolshevism), and had only been waiting for the bold Caesarian stroke of the revolutionary lance to give birth to them." Every day brings further proof that the soviet form of government is the next form of government that will be applied in ALL countries. Every day we find the rule of the Bolsheviks of Russia becoming stronger inside and outside, all efforts of the enemy notwithstanding. The artificial famine that was created in Russia by the Allies and their Czaristic clients by their blockade and occupation and devastation of cornbearing and mining districts, the constant supply of tanks, guns, ammunition etc. to all the counter-revolutionaries of Russia, financed partly by the private fund of President Wilson, the lies that have been spread about the women of Russia, all these things have been the means of consolidating the masses of the Russian people. So today the speeches of President Wilson do not disturb us. We know that soon capitalism must take its long rest, buried by the revolutionary proletariat and upon its grave we lay the foundation of a new society that will give to the worker all that he has dreamed of and worked for—industrial freedom.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT!
VICTORY TO COMMUNISM!
FREEDOM TO ALL CLASS WAR PRISONERS!

Recent investigations by government officials brought forth the statement that meat had been inside the cold storage places for several months. We should worry about the high price of leather, with small steaks at 45 cents!

Nobody has suggested, as yet, that the I. W. W. are responsible for the cussedness of the United States in refusing to support the League of Nations.. We offer this suggestion, gratis, to the local press.

Consternation in Heaven. Carnegie not arrived yet.

THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CONVENTION

Chicago, Ill.

Dear Comrades:—To all of you I send greetings from this Siberia of the western world; and from this prison camp I urge you to remember the great word "Solidarity". Not that that word or any other phrase, however so pleasing counts for ought. But with solidarity accomplished, all is accomplished. I am and those who are here imprisoned with me, shall judge you by the direction of your efforts and their results from this viewpoint. You may be assured that speaking for myself I shall not hesitate to join and work for the organization which best represents the ideas of the Manifesto of 1848, and the program of the Third International, when again I am a man instead of a number.

To many of us here, and in particular to myself, the expulsion of the bulk of the membership by Berger, Germer and Co. has meant simply that, as a last desperate bargain, they are selling the virtue of the party to keep their freedom—to avoid Leavenworth. To any one with a shred of revolutionary honor, such appearance of compromise for personal ends can but be despicable. Not that we want them here! no, for this place is only for the worthy and those who laugh rather than weep at prison sentences.

We wish for no Scheidemann and Noske in "our jail" or in "our country".

I would say more, a good deal more, but space and place forbid, and I think you all know your duty anyhow without any instructions from this jail bird. Yet your duty is great, for the honor of founding the Communist Labor Party is great, yet the duty of carrying it to success is tremendous, and the responsibility is incalculable. May your capabilities and your responsibility to the proletariat keep you to the high mark that your own name sets for you. And may no clash of factions, individuals' over questionable issues mar the march of the "iron battalions" toward emancipations.

Let us all have done with compromise with liberalism, with reformism and with capitalism. As I've said elsewhere, any fool of a workman at all worth "saving" knows already that he is exploited, that he is a wage slave. The main duty and effort is to show him that freedom is possible, that it is within his reach. He will take it fast enough once he is shown it can be taken and held.

There has been nothing of news or of information in this letter aside from the fact of my adhesion to your cause as I see it. What ever that is worth you are at liberty to use as you see fit. That said, I remain

Yours for Industrial Freedom,
HARRISON GEORGE,
Convict No. 13158, Leavenworth, Kas.

SWISS SOCIALISTS JOIN THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

We wonder how the Socialist Party leaders feel, after they turned down the proposal to join the Third Internationale. Over the wires comes the news that at special convention of the Swiss comrades, it was decided by a vote of 318 to 147 to enter the Third Internationale formed by Lenin at Moscow.

One of the speakers, Comrade Welti, stated that it was simply a question of choosing between social reform and social revolution. The Third Internationale proposed to unite all revolutionary elements in order to hasten the victory of the revolutionary proletariat of the world. Comrade Welti declared himself absolutely in-favor of a proletarian Soviet Republic.

No party that calls itself Socialist can quibble over the matter of joining the Third Internationale. There is only one reason for keeping out of the Third Internationale and that is cowardice. By no stretch of imagination can the Second Internationale be supported. Therefore those that talk about creating another international, do so because they are afraid to make a decision. Let us join the Third Internationale and by hard work we will justify our allegiance to that organization. The time has long past, when we could discuss the capturing the offices of a capitalist government, our task and ONLY task is the capture of the State, so that we can proceed to erect the proletarian republic of the world.

LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL!
VICTORY TO COMMUNISM!
FREEDOM TO ALL CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!!