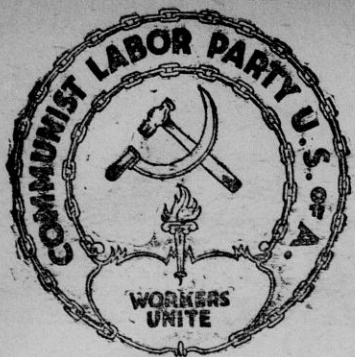




THE TRUTH

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1919

WHOLE No. 131

FIVE CENTS.

SAM GOMPERS' LATEST JOKE TO ALLIED SOLDIERS

"Are you for ever going to allow your lives to be rolled in mud and blood for the sake of your exploiters? Are you satisfied to resume the life of endless toil, of dull monotony, and a pauper's end? Do you wish to condemn your children to the same stunted, purposeless existence? Or does not the future hold out something better both for you and them?"

The following is the text of one of the propaganda leaflets dropped into British and American lines by Bolshevik aeroplanes:—

We are living to-day in one of the most interesting, most crucial periods in the world's history. We are standing on the threshold of a new age. We are entering into the period of the emancipation of Labour from the thralldom of wage slavery. It is the time of which poets have dreamed. The time for which in every country men and women have striven for long years, have gone to prison, have sacrificed their lives.

For over a century the working people have slaved in factory and mine, in poverty, misery, and dirt. Slaving that their masters may grow rich. Living in hovels, or teeming block tenements, while their masters lived in places. Feeding on cheap and coarse food, while their masters fed on the finest that nature and the art of men produced. Their clothes were of the sloop and shoddy kind, while their masters could command all the art and skill to clothe them. The lives of the workers were a narrow round of work-sleep, with not infrequent intervals of unemployment. Unemployment, that grim spectre that haunted the workers day in, day out; the constant fear of that dread order, "the sack." The while the masters were living lives of riotous luxury that outlived the debauchery of the ancient empires.

The more he toiled and moiled and added to the wealth of the world, the richer his masters became, the poorer and less secure became his own life and that of his wife and little ones.

Say! American and British soldiers, What are you? Are you not workmen? Does this not apply to you?

Four years ago the capitalists of the world plunged into this war for fresh territories to dominate, for new wage slaves to exploit. They deluded their peoples into believing they were fighting for freedom, for humanity. Millions have been crushed under the juggernaut of the war.

But the war proved to be the last mad act of the greedy, plundering class. Four years of intense agony has at last aroused the world's wage slaves. At last they realise their subjection, and, in doing, so realise their strength. Like Samson in the hall of the Philistines, Labour grasps the pillars of capitalist society and the whole structure is shaking its foundations. Thrones are tumbling like skittles. Revolution, like a cleansing, gale sweeps through Europe and stirs the workers into action. Russia led the way. The rule of Tsarism is ended for ever. Capitalism, too, has received its death blow. Hereafter in Russia the produce of labour will go to those who work.

Bulgaria has followed. Ferdinand has flown; the rank and file of the army have overthrown the authority of their officers, and maintain a revolutionary discipline through Soldiers' Councils.

The ruling of Turkey has collapsed.

The Austrian Empire has fallen to pieces like an old cask and the workers are gradually securing the mastery.

Finally in Germany the end of the Hohenzollerns and the Junker clique has come. The workers and soldiers of Germany have overthrown the Kaiser and are now preparing for the final struggle to completely overthrow the capitalist class and establish a Soviet Republic as in Russia.

East and Central Europe is aflame with the revolt. The exploiting class has in some countries fallen, and in others is on the point of falling. The dawn of the day of Labour's emancipation has come!

Say, American and British soldiers, what are you?

Do you not feel stirred by the throb of new life that is pulsing through the veins of your fellow workers? Are you just dull clods? Or are you living humans with hopes and desires for the future?

Are you for ever going to allow your lives to be rolled in mud and blood for the sake of your exploiters? Are you satisfied to resume the life of endless toil, of dull monotony, and a pauper's end? Do you wish to condemn your children to the same stunted, purposeless existence? Or does not the future hold out something better both for you and them?

Then what are you waiting for? Do you think some deliverer from on high will come to your relief? If so, you wait in vain. Those who would be free themselves must strike "the blow."

But we ask you a much more serious question. Are you going to act as the gunmen, the hired bullies for international capitalists in the criminal task of crushing the attempt of your own class to free itself? The capitalist class of the Allied countries see quite clearly that the tide of revolution threatens to overwhelm them, too. They are straining every nerve to stem it and they use you for the task. They feed you with lies to poison your minds against your fellow workers, so that you will be the more willing to drown the workers' revolution in a sea of blood.

You have started on this criminal job already. What do you think you are doing here in Russia? In spite of all the lies you have been told, you are being used for the purpose of crushing the Russian Revolution and restoring the land to the landlords, and the factories and mines to the capitalists. Your capitalists know that if they can crush the Russian Revolution, they will take the heart out of the revolutionary movement in other countries.

Just think, you, who consider yourselves the citizens of "free" countries, have come to put us back into wage slavery.

Comrades, refuse to do the shameful thing. Rid your minds of the poison instilled by the capitalists. Listen to the voice of freedom calling you. In your home countries, too, the spirit of the times is awakening. There

are strikes and demonstrations, the workers are demanding your recall. Their cry is Hands Off Russia." You must respond to the call of your folks at home. Take the matter in your own hands and pitch it. You take the lead and the people at home will soon follow and sweep the gang of capitalists and landlords out of power.

You have arms. You know how to use them. Will you like slaves use them in defence of your masters, or will you use them to help your class be free? If the former, then know that you will meet with the determined resistance of the united revolutionary people of East and Central Europe and history will be your judge. If the latter, then here's a hearty welcome into the ranks of international Labour.

Is it war, then? Would ye perish like drywood in the fire? Is it peace? Then be ye of us, let your hopes be our desire. Come and live, for life awaketh and the world shall never tire. For the host goes marching on. On we march then, we the workers, and the rumour that you hear is the sound of blended battle, and deliverance drawing near. For the hope of every creature is the banner that we bear. And the world goes marching on.

N. LENIN
President of the Council of People's Commissaries.

G. TCHICERINE.
People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

Two hundred million Russians will decide what they want to do without help from us. The sooner the people of this country instruct their official employees to mind the business of this country, the better it will be for the United States.—Washington Times.

YULENITCH HANGS MEN TO ENTERTAIN VISITORS, SAYS ENGLISH WRITER

Leader of Anti-Soviet Army Forces Prisoners to Kill Selves—11,738 Persons Die in Jails—Butchery Made Possible by the Aid of England.

The following striking dispatch was among the papers seized by the police when the special correspondent of the London Daily Herald, Francis Meynell, landed at Harwich recently. His papers were later returned to him intact by the authorities.

HELSINGFORS, Oct. 14.—I arrived here two weeks ago from the district in which Yudenitch is operating against Petrograd, and although I was not able to go up to his lines, I had learned enough of his white terror to make me share the astonishment of the London Times correspondent at his forbearance in hanging only 27 Bolshevik commissars of a batch of prisoners.

For the fact, openly boasted of, is that Communist prisoners are everywhere executed out of hand without any effort at justification, and without even the pretense of a trial.

I will tell a tale as it was told to me, with evident appreciation, by a Black Russian officer met casually on a journey. And another told by an American officer.

Yudenitch had captured prisoners and he summoned one before him. (I keep to the bare statement—I leave out, so to speak, the bestial adjectives.) "What do you think I am going to do to you?" asked the general.

Men Forced to Hang Selves.

Said the Communist, "Why, hang us." "No, you will have to do your own dirty work," said the general.

Then the prisoners were marched to the waiting gallows, themselves put the noose each to his own neck, and jumped from the platform into

mid-air, thankful to be their own masters to the end.

My American acquaintance was lunching with Colonel Balahovitch of the Yudenitch army. When he rose to go, the colonel urgently pressed him to stay till 4 o'clock. He had protested that he could not—he had an early appointment.

Hanging as Entertainment.

"Ah! but it's a hanging at 4 o'clock," said the colonel. "Though" (as an after-thought), "if you really cannot stay, we'll have it now." And they did. Four Communists were brought out and hanged.

The A. F. of L. Convention, consisting of two hundred delegates, from all parts of the country, was held this week in Washington, D. C.

When you realise the necessity for some action being taken, to counteract the high-cost of living and the vicious legislation now being enacted, you would expect the Conference to get down to serious business. The Conference dealt with the various strikes and threshed out the new political party issue. All in SEVEN HOURS. Delegates from all over the country, met in Washington and dealt with matters of vital importance to the labor movement, all in seven hours.

How long are the rank and file of the A. F. of L. going to allow themselves to be fooled by their leaders? How long. O Lord, how long?

After all, if a man cannot in these regions get a liqueur with his coffee he must find some stimulating substitute....

These two tales are symbolical of what Churchill's Russian policy involves. They are no worse than a multitude of others of which I had evidence. They represent the almost hourly occurrences in a thousand devastated places of the Russian war. And they are made possible by the never-ceasing assistance which England is giving to the Black Russian parties.

In Helsingfors I held in my hand a knout made of a piece of electric cable with which the Finnish Whites had flogged two men to death.

I spoke with a man—himself sentenced to a long term of imprisonment—who acted as a kind of chaplain to 70 men executed because they were Socialists. And I heard tales of the terror which are unrepeatable. I saw its effect visible still upon a thousand faces casually met in the streets.

Sugar for Horses: Human Starve.

I learned that when the troops of Von der Goltz, whose aid was invited by Mannerheim, had beaten the Finnish Reds, the sentries outside his hotel in Helsingfors had chocolate pressed upon them and their horses a surfeit of sugar, while Socialist men, women and children were dying of starvation.

I spoke also with Secretary Tainyo of the Social Democratic party—perhaps the only absolute pacifist in Finland—who was sentenced to many years of imprisonment.

"That was for my constant opposition to the revolution before it began and after it came," he said. "When I was amnestied I said I would never commit that crime again."

Woman Cries for Fortnight.

I saw the walls battered by the White artillery, and spoke with women wrung by its brutalities. "Yes see, I even cried for a fortnight...."

A year ago the white terror ended. It ended after six months of butchery calculator butchery. In January, 1917, there had been the Soviet revolution in Finland. Its government lasted precariously until the end of April.

Finnish Revolution Bloodless.

In Helsingfors, the capital, it was entirely orderly, entirely bloodless. I have, indeed, heard the criticism that it was a "pink" revolution rather than a "red".

In no part of the country had the Soviet authorities admitted the death sentence, even for the highest crimes against the revolution.

In actual fighting the Reds are computed to have lost 10,000 men, and the Whites an equal number. But the Reds murdered their enemies to the number of 600 and 1,200—the first the Socialist estimate, the second the present government's.

Mannerheim and his Whites called to their help Von der Goltz and his German forces, and with his help the Socialists were overthrown. Then came the white terror.

11,738 Persons Die in Jails. To delve into the past records of man's infamy, but because it has a present effect, and, as I have proved to myself in Estonia, a terrible lesson for the immediate future.

It would be easy for the coldest pen to write burning words about these things; but I will do something else; I will quote simply certain sentences from the official government defense of the terror, and certain statistics collected by a judicial committee set up by the present social democratic party (the mildest social democratic party in Europe), authenticated one by one in every village and town of the land.

First, then, for the government's statement:

"On May 1, 1918, there were in all 63 prison camps, containing a total of 74,000 prisoners, charged with high treason. By March 31, 1919, the total number of deaths had reached 11,738, of which 9,610 prisoners had died in the prison hospitals and 2,773 suddenly in the camps.

During that period 56,452 prisoners had been released and 200 escaped. Finally, the speaker emphasized the fact that only 551 had died of hunger, and 980 of general debility."

In other words, rather more than one in six of the total prisoners died—a state of affairs later justified in the debate from which I have quoted by an official spokesman on the precedent of the British treatment of interned Boers.

18,300 Executed Without Trial.

So much for prisons. And for "executions"? The inquiry of the social democratic party shows one by one, case by case, that 18,300 people were executed either without trial or by mock court-martial.

Here, too, the government spokesman, to be sure, has his justification; here, too, it is a British one. With the humility of a disciple he refers to the rebels, and those suspected of sympathizing with them, in the Indian mutiny.

In March, 1919, the elections to the Diet were held. The terror was over the country then, even more than it is now.

Some 30,000 Socialists had been murdered, in the field or in prison camps. Very many thousands had fled to Russia. Other thousands were in jail. A number, estimated variously at between 50,000 and 75,000 had been deprived of their voting powers by trial.

Another 100,000, perhaps—the figure is necessarily an estimate—were made voiceless because they had received parish relief during the famine. The very election address of the Social Democratic party was suppressed. (Remember in considering these figures that the total population of the country is three millions.)

The result, in spite of all? The Social Democrats were returned to the Diet 89 strong out of a total

(Continued on page 3.)

"Voice From Northern Russia"

An American soldier who has recently returned from

ARCHANGEL

will recite his experiences, on

Sunday, Dec. 21st -- Woodman Hall

The lecture will commence at 8 p. m. PROMPT. If you are there after eight o'clock, then do not blame anyone else but yourself. Come early and secure a seat.

"MIKE" MURPHY, The fighting Boston Policeman is coming! "Mike" was one of the organizers of the Boston Police Strike. He is a witty speaker and also knows the whole truth about the strike. "Are you winning Mike?" "Winning, see you. Its a walk-over for the boys." Mike speaks in the Woodman Hall, Sunday Dec. 28th, 8 p. m.

On Xmas Day there will be a festival in the afternoon and evening. All members and friends of the local should attend. There will be a good time for everybody, including the children. Everybody who is anybody will be there. WILL YOU? TIME. Afternoon and evening, Xmas Day. PLACE. Woodman Hall.

DO NOT FORGET SUNDAY EVENING LECTURE. THE EVENT OF THE SEASON. Louise Bryant, Ben Gitlow and Jim Larkin to follow. Also George Andreytchine.

DEFECTIVE PAGE



A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year to all customers and friends.

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Yulenitch Hangs Men To Entertain Visitors

(Continued from page 1.)

membership of 200. They were returned the strongest individual party in the state.

White Terror Rules in Finland.
But Finland is still living under a white terror. Still the 80 members, be they ever so right wing, are cowed. Still in the country places a man is afraid to rejoin his trade union. But the terror with its wellarmed and trained white guards, has not only the Socialists in its grip; it has the milk—(or, perhaps, food)—and water liberal cabinet in its power.

Mannerheim, twice routed at the polls, may attempt a coup d'etat when he wants one. He has been in London. He is a Whitehall pet. Does that say nothing? Socialist opinion here is conceived that if the diet had voted for peace with the Bolsheviks (the vote was in fact 83 against 107), Mannerheim, abetted and aided by the British

government, would have made such a coup.

Mannerheim Is Mere Tool.
He is reported to have arrived from England at the appropriate moment—having given the appropriate interview to the Times before his departure.

A weak man intellectually, a vain man, nothing of an organizer, but a man handsome, tall, fit to ride at the head of a procession, Mannerheim is the tool, if not the accomplice, of the financiers and Churchills of the anti-Bolshevik coalition. His own Sovietists of the Finnish revolution he could not defeat alone.

And this Finnish "Lord Kitchen-er," to give him the title ascribed to him by the Daily Express, this anti-German hero of the Times and of his own declarations, himself, as it is documentarily proved, was responsible for an S. O. S. message to Von der Goltz. "It's purport was: 'Come—or we are lost.'"

Why should the details of the terror he revived now when an amnesty has been granted to the reds (that amnesty, with a very pretty ingenuity, included also all whites who had

committed illegal acts in their terror)?

If most of the tales I have told are typical of the "whites," I have, too, a symbol of the spirit of the Finnish workman—slow, but infinitely certain in theory as in fact.

When Von der Goltz came to Mannerheim's rescue and captured Helsingfors from the Socialists, he was at pains to destroy the fine labor institute here. Its tower was the mark for his accurate guns.

It is now rebuilt, and they have made it, with a very conscious intention, 3 feet higher than it was before.

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NOTICE

To finish the year of 1919 successfully we decided to reduce the prices on all our goods, so our customers may have the opportunity to save from 15 to 25 per cent on their Christmas Gifts. Read a few items and the rest you will find at our store.

Mufflers, all colors and qualities from	50c to	\$3.50
Neckwear packed in nice Christmas Boxes	50c to	\$2.50
Suspenders, packed in Christmas Boxes from	50c to	\$1.50
Mens Wool & Silk Stockings from	50c to	\$1.50
Mens Bath Robes from	\$6.00 to	\$15.00
Mens Dress Shirts, beautiful patterns	\$1.50 and up	
Mens Dress Gloves from	76c to	\$5.00
28 Mens & Young Mens Overcoats Beautiful Colors and snappy Styles, regular \$35 and \$40.00 Special		\$25.00

15 per cent off on all Boys Suits.

Keep your children warm, buy them a Sweater or a Jersey from

15 per cent off on all Boys Suits.

Do your Christmas shopping at

A. Y. LITMAN

1820—31 W. Sup. Str.

The Store where the workers trade. A Christmas Gift is awaiting you.

LOOK!

Dont forget that The Scandinavian Local are going to give a great New-Year celebration, at Woodman Hall, Wednesday, Eve. Dec. 31st, 1919, commencing 'p. m. Good program and speakers. Full particulars will appear in next issue, so watch for it.

Useful Christmas Gifts

for every-one in the Family

Wishing you all a Merry Christmas and a prosperous New Year

INGER & OLSON
THE BIG WEST END FURNITURE HOUSE 10th Ave. and Superior
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CHRISTMAS DANCE

at Woodman Hall, 21st Ave. W. & 1st Str. Dec. 25th 1919 from 9 to 12 p. m. Music by Graystrom, Nordin, Wigren & Pearson.

Admission 75c for Gents. Ladies 25c.

Everybody welcome.

In the Liberator for December

Two remarkable photographs of Robert Smillie, the great British Labor Leader, and his message of greeting to the workers of America.



"The Cossack in America," by Art Young

"Pittsburg or Petrograd" by Floyd Dell. ("Will the A. F. of L. fight or surrender?")

An amazing personal narrative by Robert Minor of his recent mysterious arrest in Paris, revealing the existence of an International Police.

On the news stands 20c.

\$2 a year, \$1 for 6 months

Use this card.

Liberator, 34 Union Square, New York Enclosed find \$... Send the Liberator, beginning with the... number. Name... Address...

"Leftward Ho!" by Walter G. Fuller, a story of the British Trades Union Congress held in Glasgow last September, describing Smillie in action.

POLITICAL CURRENTS By LENIN

Speech delivered by Lenin to the Plenary Setting of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Soviets.

Comrades.—The subject of the present report I have already expounded in the article on the immediate tasks of the Soviet Power which appeared in the Press on Sunday. I therefore assume that the majority of those present are familiar with it. Consequently I need not repeat myself. The theme of the article on the immediate tasks of the Soviet Power is but an amplification of the resolution already adopted by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets in Moscow on March 16th. This resolution did not limit itself to the then paramount question of Peace, but also emphasised the chief task of the present moment; the task of organisation, self-discipline, and the struggle with disorganisation.

It seems to me that lately our political currents have flown in that direction; and I therefore think that in a polemical form it will be easiest to emphasise clearly what I endeavoured to outline in my article on immediate tasks.

Comrades, in order to estimate correctly, let us endeavour to survey all the political currents as a whole, for only thus can we guard against mistakes when forming our conclusion on each separate case. We can, of course find any number of precedents in support of no matter what situation, but only by examining all the currents in their entirety and their interdependence shall we be able to make an attempt to explain the connection between the future of the political currents in the country and the future of class interests, which are always an outcome of all serious and vast political movements.

As I survey the important political movements in Russia, I observe that they are clearly and indisputably divided into three large groups. In the first we have the whole bourgeoisie, having closely amalgamated, as one man, for a determined—nay, unreasoning—opposition to the Soviet Power. The word “opposition,” as applied in this instance, can, of course, only be used in inverted commas, for we have here a frenzied struggle, which at once attracted to the side of the bourgeoisie all those lower middle-class Parties which were in agreement with Kerenski through the whole period of the revolution. The Mensheviks, the Novzhisnentsy (Party of “The New Life”), and the social revolutionaries of the Right have surpassed even the bourgeoisie in the virulence of their attacks upon us. But the fierceness of the attacks and the loudness of the bark are often in converse proportion to the strength of the political party from which they converse. The whole bourgeoisie, with all its satellites and servants of the type of Tchernoff and Tseretelli, have united in their mad attacks on the Soviet Power. They are all hankering after the pleasant prospect of concluding, like their friends and fellow politicians in the Ukraine have, a peace which would enable them, with the help of German bayonets and the patriotic bourgeoisie, to destroy the influence of the Bolsheviks. This fact is too well known. A fine illustration of such friends we have in Iekhenkeli in the Caucasus.

This is only natural. It is clear that the proletariat could not expect anything else, once they had assumed power and had begun to put into force the dictatorship of the workers against the oppressors and exploiters. In this case we have but one plan—a single and united front. When we are offered the chimera of a single democratic front, I always ask myself—at least, when I have the pleasure of reading or even casually glancing through such papers as “Naart Viek,” “Diels Naroda,” etc.—“What else do you want for a single democratic front? You have here the complete unity.” And we cannot but rejoice at it, considering that this unity of front, from Milukoff to Martoff, would deserve to receive on the 1st of May a testimonial for its splendid Bolshevik propaganda.

Comrades, let us examine now another and an opposite camp; we shall find there none but our own army of Communist Bolsheviks. Owing to the trend of events, it has come to pass that during the greater part of the post-October period our allies, the social revolutionaries of the Left, have at present ceased to take an active part in the Government. Their recent Congress has brought to the surface more clearly than ever the waverings and indecisions of the party.

If, taking the period before the split of the Socialist Revolutionaries into a Right and Left wing, you were to analyse month by month, beginning with February, 1917, with whom this party was siding—the proletariat or the bourgeoisie—you would come to the sad conclusion that the Socialist Revolutionary Party was subject to the fluctuations in temperature of a fever patient.

Assuredly, hardly any other Party in the history of the revolution has vacillated to such an extent.

When we study these three fundamental currents, we see quite clearly, that this is not an accidental grouping, but that it fully bears out what already in 1915 we Bolsheviks pointed out from abroad, when we received the first news that the revolutionary movement in Russia was growing—that the revolution was inevitably, and when we had to explain the attitude of our Party in the event of it coming to power whilst the war was still going on. We said then: “It is possible for the revolution to be completely victorious if, at the decisive moment, the leading elements in the lower middle class should side with the proletariat.” This has actually happened. Such was and is the trend of the Russian Revolution. In these waverings of the lower middle class there is no reason for pessimism or despair. But it is inevitable that in the country which has been the first to rise against the imperialist war; in the country which, mainly owing to its backwardness, has been placed by events for a short period ahead of the other more advanced countries, the Revolution must in the near future live through most trying and painful times. It would be preposterous to expect that in such times it would have no waverers in its ranks. To expect, it would only prove that neither the class struggle nor the nature of parties and political groups had been taken into account.

When we consider all the political currents in Russia from the point of view of the immediate tasks of organization, discipline, finance, and control, we perceive a very definite grouping; and we see that the group which constitutes the single democratic front Milukoff to Martoff, does not make the least attempt to appreciate the opportunity to accomplish this task. There exists in this group a malicious desire, the more malicious the

more complimentary to us, to find even some vestige of a possibility of overthrowing the Soviet Power.

Unfortunately, it is just those representatives of the Social Revolutionaries of the Left who had shown the greatest energy, initiative, and devotion to the revolution who were the first to waver on this question of the immediate tasks of the present moment; the tasks of proletarian discipline, finance, organization, and control; those tasks which became essential to Socialists as soon as the workers and peasants had assumed power, and had repulsed the military attacks of the Kerenskis, Krassnoffs, Korniloffs, Gueguetoris, and Alexieffs. Now, when we have reached the very core of the Revolution, the question is: Will proletarian discipline and organization gain the upper hand, or will the power be seized by lower middle-class capitalists, who are particularly strong in Russia?

Our lower middle-class opponents will wage their chief battle against us on the field of home politics and economic reconstruction; their weapon is sabotage in connection with everything which the proletariat ordains and endeavours to bring about for the establishment of an organized Socialist Commonwealth. On this field the element of bourgeois capitalism and boundless selfishness reveals itself as the determined enemy of the proletariat. And in the attitude which the lower bourgeoisie took up towards all the events of the revolution we see their complete disagreement with us; it is only natural that, precisely in this camp, we find the chief opposition to the accomplishment of the immediate tasks of the moment; here we have the opposition of people who agree with us on the question of principle, who support us on questions which are more vital than those which they criticise—it is and opposition combined with support.

When we see such a political phenomena as the agreement of the “Znamia Truda” with certain phases of Bolshevism and with some formulas of the Mensheviks—whose policy was a coalition with Kerenski—then we must look for something that will throw light on the real meaning of these attacks. It behoves us to take account of the attacks, because by arguing with these opponents we shall be able to put the true value on the principal tasks of the Soviet Power. The argument is interesting, because it exemplifies the Marxist theory.

In saying that it is interesting to argue with these opponents I do not, of course, mean that arguing is interesting for its own sake, but that the subject of the dispute concerns the most essential, fundamental questions of the present time. It is not a mere accident that the disputes are conducted on these lines. On these lines runs at present the fundamental task, the task of the revolutionary proletarian struggle, which is dictated by the real conditions of Russia, and which must be fully carried out in face of innumerable and divergent bourgeois currents. It is quite clear that the proletariat, in spite of all the surrounding difficulties, must realise that on this point it cannot make any concession that the Socialist Revolution, which began by depriving the bourgeoisie of its power, and continued by breaking the latter's resistance, makes it a matter of vital importance, that all questions of proletarian discipline, the organisation of the workers, businesslike methods, and the knowledge of great industrial interests, should be considered. These questions the proletariat must solve in a practical way; otherwise it will suffer defeat. In the spheres of these tasks we find the chief present difficulty of the Socialist Revolution. That is why it is so interesting, so important, in the historical and political use of the word to argue with the representatives of the group of Communists of the Left, although in examining their position, theory, we see absolutely nothing—I reiterate, and am going to prove it—but mere bourgeois waverings. Our comrades of the group of Communists of the Left, no matter by what name they go, are striking at their own doctrines. I assume that this is known to the majority of those present, because since March, even in Bolshevik circles, their doctrines have been discussed; even those who have not studied their political propaganda literature could not help knowing of the doctrines from the debates at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In their doctrines, as in those of the Social Revolutionaries of the Left, we see precisely what we see in the camp of the Right: the camp of the bourgeoisie, from Milukoff down to Martoff, who find the present “misfortunes” of Russia extremely hard to bear, from the point of view of the loss of her autocratic power, of her transformation from a nation and Power of oppressors into a country of oppressed. When it becomes necessary to decide the question (not only on paper but by action) whether the hard path which leads to Socialism and the initial hardships of the Socialist Revolution are worth even the heaviest defeats as far as the country's sovereignty and national independence are concerned, our disagreement is strongest. It is clear to us that, while the imperialists are waging a mad struggle for the partition of the world, it is impossible for many nations which were formerly dominant to escape heavy defeat. Conscious Socialists must and will accept such trials, no matter how heavy they may weigh upon humanity. On this point the Social Revolutionaries of the Left, as well as the Communists of the Left, have shown the greatest indecision.

They pay the greatest attention to the question of the peace. They endeavour to prove that this peace was the manifestation of the psychology of worn-out and demoralised masses. They continually remind us that at the voting on the question of peace 18 votes were against and 28 for the conclusion of peace. But should not one, in recalling the voting six weeks ago, examine the figures a little more closely? If we were to give any political significance to this voting, then should not we take cognisance of the voting of the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets? Before stating that the healthy South was against, and the exhausted, demoralised, industrially weakened North was for peace, should not one recall the voting of the majority of sections of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which less than a tenth of the votes were against peace? If we are to quote figures, and give them a political significance, we must take political ballots as a whole, and then we shall see that the parties which had learned certain watchwords, and had made a fetish of them, voted on the side of the lower middle classes, and that the labour-

ing and exploited masses, the workers, soldiers, and peasants, did not reject peace. As to the demoralised elements, it is precisely the demoralised “intelligentsia” who were against peace, but the masses of toilers were all on our side on that question. Certainly the peace we have concluded is extremely unstable, and there is no doubt whatever that the respite which has been given us can be interrupted any day from the West, as well as from the East. Our international position is so critical that we must strain every nerve in order to remain in power as long as possible, so as to give time for the development of the Western Revolution, which is growing much more slowly than we expected and wished, but nevertheless is growing; undoubtedly it is imbibing and gathering more and more inflammable material.

If we were the first to come to the front as a separate division of the world's proletariat, it is not because this division is better organised. No, it is inferior, weaker, less organised than others; but it would be absurd and pedantic to argue, as many do: “Yes, if the start were made by the most organised division, followed first by the less organised, and then by the third best-organised, then we would all willingly become the advocates of the Socialist Revolution. But since things have happened not according to rule and the vanguard was not supported by the other divisions, the Revolution is doomed to failure.” We reply: No, our task is to reform the whole organisation; and further, in view of our isolation, to maintain the Revolution, to preserve in it some form of Socialism, no matter how weak and limited, while the Revolution is maturing in the other countries, while the other divisions are getting ready. To expect from history that it will put in motion the Socialist divisions of the different countries in a strict graduation and according to plan is either to show complete ignorance of the revolution or to refuse to support the Socialist Revolution for no other reason than one's own stupidity. At this moment, when we occupy a firm position in Russia, and have not strength for the fight against international imperialism, we have only one task and one policy: it can be termed the policy of tacking, waiting, and retreating. I know very well that these words cannot claim popularity, that they lend themselves to a double interpretation and to the linking together with the word “coalition.” Thus they can lead to no end of piquant deductions, and to all sorts of recriminations and rallery. But if our opponents—the bourgeois of the Right, our recent friends, the Social Revolutionaries of the Left, and our friends of yesterday, to-day and to-morrow, the Communists of the Left—were to use all their batteries of wit against us, and to give us any number of proofs of the virtue of their indecisions (which they cannot deny), these would have no effect upon us whatever, for events have proved us right. We have had a respite, because the imperialist war slaughter is still going on, and in the Far East the rivalry is growing. These facts alone can explain the continued existence of the Soviet Republic.

We shall neither be protected by any scrap of paper, by any peace treaty, nor because we do not desire to fight with Japan. If Japan should find it necessary, she will rob us, in spite of all treaties and obligations. We shall be protected, not by a scrap of paper, not by “the state of peace,” but by the continuation in the West of the struggle between the two giants of imperialism and by our own steadfastness. We have not forgotten the fundamental Marxist teaching, which has been fully confirmed by the Russian Revolution; one must calculate one's strength in tens of millions; smaller numbers do not count in politics, and are rejected as a negligible quantity.

The International Revolution, viewed in this light, makes the situation perfectly clear; a backward country can revolt quicker, because its opponent is rotten to the core, its middle class is not organised; but, in order to continue the revolution, a backward country will require immediately more circumspection, prudence, and endurance. In Western Europe it will be quite different; there it is much more difficult to begin, but it will be much easier to go on. This cannot be otherwise, because there the proletariat is better organised and more closely united.

In the meantime, we stand alone, and in calculating our strength we must realise that as long as the European Revolution, which would solve all our difficulties, has not broken out, our only chance of existence is the continuation of the struggle between the international giants of imperialism. In concluding peace we took full account of this chance. The peace can be broken to-morrow, but while it continues we must in our external policy continue the tactics adopted in March, and expressed in the words: “To tack, to retreat, and to wait.” When we hear from the lips of the Communists of the Left the words, “Active external policy”; when the expression, “The defence of the Socialist Fatherland,” appears in inverted commas, as intended to be ironical, then I say to myself: These people have not in the least understood the position of the Western proletariat. They are reverting to the point of view of the vacillating lower bourgeoisie, which sees in the Revolution the guarantee of a particular order.

International interdependence says quite clearly: Only a madman can imagine that the task of dethroning international imperialism can be fulfilled by Russian alone. While in the West the Revolution is maturing, and is making appreciable progress, the task before us is as follows: We, who in spite of our weakness are in the forefront, must do all in our power to retain the occupied positions.

All other considerations must be subordinated to the one endeavour: to make full use of the chance which enables us to exist, in order to be able at the moment when the international imperialism unites against us to ward off the blow for a few weeks. If we act thus we shall tread the path approved by every class-conscious worker in the European countries, who knows that France and England have been learning for centuries what we began to learn only since 1905. Every class-conscious European worker knows that the revolution grows but slowly amongst the free institutions of a united bourgeoisie, and that we shall only be able to fight against such forces when we are able to do so in conjunction with the revolutionary proletariat of Germany, France,

and England. Till then, sad contrary to revolutionary traditions as it may be, our only possible tactics are to wait, to tack, and to retreat. When people say that we have no foreign international policy, I say: “All other policy tends, consciously, or unconsciously, towards making Russia the weapon of an alliance with imperialists of the type of Iekhenkeli and Semenov.” We say that it is best to live through and to suffer great national humiliations and hardships, in order to maintain our post as a Socialist division, forced by the trend of events to await in solitude until the Socialist Revolution in other countries comes to its help. And the revolution in other countries is coming to our help, slowly but surely. The war now taking its course in the West is revolutionising the masses; the time of revolt is approaching. I have dwelt on foreign policy longer than I intended, because it seems to me that it is just in this domain that the two principal lines of conduct are most clearly shown—on the one hand, the proletarian policy, which considers the Socialist Revolution the best and objective, and takes account of the revolutionary movement in the Western countries; and on the other, the bourgeois policy, which has for its highest ideal, imperial power and national independence.

On internal questions we are met with identical arguments from the Communists of the Left and the bourgeoisie. For instance, the chief argument of the Communists of the Left against us is that in our policy there are signs of a tendency towards the Bolshevism of the Right, which, they say, will lead to State Capitalism. It is this evolution towards State Capitalism—this evil, this enemy, which we are anxious to fight against. When I read this kind of stuff in the Press of the Communist of the Left, I cannot help wondering what has made these people forsake reality for formulas. Reality says that State Capitalism would be a step forward for us; if we were able to bring about in Russia in a short time State Capitalism it would be a victory for us. How could they be so blind as not to see that our enemy is the small capitalist, the small owner? How could they see the chief enemy in State Capitalism? In the transition period from Capitalism to Socialism our chief enemy is the small bourgeoisie, with its economic customs, habits, and position. The small owner, more than anyone else, is afraid of State Capitalism, for his one idea is to grab for himself as much as possible, to ruin, to exterminate, the big owners and exploiters. That is why the small owner readily supports us so far. On this point he is more revolutionary than the workers, because he is more vindictive. Therefore he willingly co-operates in the fight against the upper classes—not as a Socialist, in order to build up after the defeat of the big owner a Socialist Commonwealth, on the basis of firm proletarian discipline, organization, and control; but in order to reap the fruits of the victory in his own interest, and regardless of the common interests of the toilers as a whole.

What is State Capitalism in the hands of the Soviet Power? To bring about State Capitalism at the present time means to establish that control and order formerly achieved by the propertied classes. We have in Germany an example of State Capitalism, and we know that she proved our superior. If you would only give a little thought to what the security of such State Socialism would mean in Russia, a Soviet Russia, you would recognise that only madmen whose heads are full of formulas and doctrines can deny that State Socialism is our salvation. If we possessed it in Russia the transition to complete Socialism would be easy, because State Socialism is centralisation, control, socialisation—in fact, everything that we lack. The greatest menace to us is the opportunism of the small bourgeoisie, which, owing to the history and the economics of Russia, is the best organised class, and which prevents us from taking this step, on which depends the success of Socialism.

I wish to remind you that I wrote about State Socialism a few days before the upheaval, when a Revolutionary-Democratic Government of Kerenski Tchernoff, Tseretelli, Kishin, and others of that ilk was contemplated: a Government which rested, and could only rest, on a bourgeois basis. I said then that State Capitalism is a step towards State Socialism; I wrote that on October 20th, 1917, and again in April, 1918, after the proletariat had assumed power in October. Many factories and workshops are confiscated, financial concerns and banks are nationalized, the resistance of the militant bourgeoisie and of those indulging in sabotage is broken. And now, after all this, to frighten us with capitalism! This is such a ludicrous and preposterous absurdity and invention that one cannot help wondering how it was possible to conceive it. They have left out of consideration of mere trifle, namely, that in Russia we have a numerous small bourgeoisie which is in favour of the extermination of the upper bourgeoisie in all countries, but is not in favour of socialisation and control at home; and in this consists the great danger for the Revolution. The small bourgeoisie permeates the social atmosphere with mean “possessive” tendencies and aims, which can be summed up in the phrase: “Well, I have taken from the wealthy, and the others are no concern of mine.” It is precisely this attitude which constitutes the great danger. The domination of the small bourgeoisie by the other classes and by State Capitalism should be welcomed by every class-conscious worker, because State Capitalism under Kerenski's democratic regime would mean a step towards Socialism, and under the Soviet Government almost complete socialism.

My statement that in order to properly understood one's task one should learn Socialism from the promoters of Trusts aroused the indignation of the Communists of the Left. Yes, we do not want to teach the Trusts; on the contrary, we want to learn from them. But the economists of the Left want to teach the Trusts. What is it you want to teach them? Perhaps it is Socialism. Do you mean to say that you are going to inculcate Socialism into merchants and business men? Well, if you feel inclined to undertake that job, do so, by all means; but we are not going to join you in this impossible task. We have nothing to import to these engineers (this word is used in Russian in a more restricted sense than in English; a Russian engineer is a man with a higher education equivalent to a four or five years University course), business men, and merchants. If we had a bourgeois revolution they could not teach us anything unless it might be how and where to grab; that is all we could have learned from them.

The landowners and bourgeoisie must be overthrown. History will fully justify all the acts of the Bolsheviks—their entire struggle, the coercion and expropriation of the landowners and capitalists, and the repression of their opposition. This was only the first step towards a stupendous historic task. In this task we shall learn from the Trusts, because our knowledge is limited.

We know all about Socialism, but we do not know how to organize on a large scale, how to manage distribution, and so on. The old Bolshevik leaders have not taught us these things, and this is not to the credit of our Party. We have yet to go through this course, and we say: Even if a man is a scoundrel of the deepest dye, if he is a merchant, experienced in organizing production and distribution on a large scale, we must learn from him; if we do not learn from these people, we shall never achieve Socialism, and the revolution will not get beyond its present stage. Socialism can only be reached by the development of State Capitalism, the careful organization of finance, control, and discipline amongst the workers. Without this there is no Socialism.

It is not our business to undertake the ridiculous task of teaching the promoters of Trusts; they have nothing to learn. They must be expropriated. This can be done, and we have shown that the task does not present any great difficulties. To every deputation of workers which has come to me complaining that a factory was stopping work, I have said:

"If you desire the confiscation of your factory, the decree forms are ready, and I can sign a decree at once. But tell me: Can you take over the management of the concern? Have you calculated what you can produce? Do you know the relations of your works with Russian and foreign markets?"

Then it has appeared that they are inexperienced in these matters; that there is nothing about them in the Bolshevik literature, nor in the Menshevik either.

The workers who base their activities on the principles of State Socialism, are the most successful. It is so in the tanning, textile, and sugar industries, where the workers, knowing their industry, and wishing to preserve and to develop it, recognise with proletarian common sense that they are unable, at present, to cope with such a task, and therefore allot one-third of the places to the capitalists, in order to learn from them. When I read in the Press of the Communists of the Left the ironical words, "Who knows who will make use of the other," I cannot help wondering at their shortsightedness. If, after assuming power in October, and after a victorious campaign against the whole bourgeoisie from October to April, we can have any doubts as to who will make use of the other—the workers, or the promoters of Trusts, or vice versa—then let us strike our tents at once and let us retire, making room for the Milukoffs and the Martoffs! But there is no doubt in this matter. The class-conscious would not believe you if you expressed such a ridiculous fear until the dictatorship is in the hands of such opponents.

Naturally, the difficulties of organizations are enormous, but I do not see the least reason for despair and desponding in the fact that the Russian Revolution, having first solved the easier task—the overthrow of the landowners and the bourgeoisie—is now faced with the more difficult socialist task or organizing national finance and control, a task which is the initial stage of Socialism, and is inevitable, as is fully understood by the majority of class-conscious workers.

Yes, the majority of the better-organized workers, educated in the school of trade unionism, are wholly on our side. Long before the Soviet assumed power, these trade unionists had worked out a system of management and discipline. These people have shown that they understand the condition of labour in factories, and they have grasped the essence of Socialism better than those who were full of revolutionary talk, but who in reality were stooping, consciously or unconsciously, to the low level of the small bourgeoisie, whose attitude was: "We are ready to strike a blow at the rich, but we do not believe in control and discipline for ourselves." The small capitalists find this superfluous; they do not want it; and yet self-discipline and organization are the only guarantees for the stability of our Revolution.

Comrades, I will not go into any more details, but will say briefly: It is time to move on to when some people have worked themselves up to a state in which they consider the introduction of discipline into the ranks of the workers as a step backwards. I confess that I see in this attitude such a sign of reaction, such a menace to the Revolution, that I should consider the Revolution as lost if it were not for the knowledge that those who reason thus belong to a small and uninfluential group, and that no assembly of class-conscious workers would endorse such opinions.

The Communists of the Left write as follows: "The introduction of labour discipline, except in connection with the re-establishment of capitalism, cannot increase the productivity of labour; on the contrary, it will lessen labour's self-reliance and organizing activities; it threatens to enslave labour, and to arouse the dissatisfaction of the most backward classes."

This is false. If it were true then our Revolution, with its socialist ideals and tasks, would be on the eve of collapse. But this is not true. The "intelligentsia" of the small bourgeoisie, which has lost its status, does not understand that to secure labour discipline constitutes Socialism's greatest difficulty. Long ago, in the distant past, Socialists were writing on this question, making it the subject of the most careful analysis, for they understood that this would be the beginning of the real difficulties of the Socialist Revolution.

There have already been revolutions which discarded the bourgeoisie mercilessly, and quite as energetically as we have done, but we have gone further in creating a Soviet Government. Thus we have shown that we are stepping from economic independence to labour self-discipline—that our power must be the power of labour. The dictatorship of the proletariat does not consist in the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the landowners merely—this has been done in all revolutions—our dictatorship of the proletariat has for its object the establishment of order, discipline, the productivity of labour, sound finance, and control of the proletarian Soviet Power, which is more stable, more firm than that which preceded it. It is essential to make all the class-conscious workers and peasants concentrate all their energies on this. Yes, by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the landowners we have only cleared the way; we have not erected the structure of Socialism. On the soil which has been cleared from one bourgeois generation, new bourgeois generation always rise (and history proves this), for as long as the soil is capable of producing, it produces bourgeois in plenty. The small owners who say of victory over the capitalists.

"They have grabbed, and now our turn has come," will each one in turn become a source of a new generation of bourgeois. When we are told that the introduction of labour discipline, in connection with the re-establishment of controlled capitalism, is a menace to the Revolution, I say: "These people have not grasped the socialist character of our Revolution; they are using arguments identical with those of the small bourgeoisie, which fears discipline, organization, and financial control as the devil fears salvation. The bourgeois professional people possess knowledge which we lack. A class-conscious worker is not afraid of such guidance, as he is aware that the Soviet Government is his Government, which will protect him, and he recognises that in accepting the guidance of the capitalists he is learning how to organize successfully."

Under the Czar we organized ourselves in hundreds; under Kerenski in hundreds of thousands. But this was only a trifling effort, and in politics does not count. This was preliminary work, so to speak, a preparatory class. Until the workers have learned how to organize on a large scale, they are not Socialist, not builders of a socialist structure of society, and will not acquire the necessary knowledge for the establishment of a new world order. The path of organization is a long one, and the tasks of socialist constructive work require strenuous and continuous effort, with a corresponding knowledge, which we do not sufficiently possess. It is hardly to be expected that the even more developed following generation will accomplish a complete transition into Socialism. Call to mind what has been written by former Socialists of the future Socialist Revolution. They recognise how difficult it would be to achieve Socialism without learning from the promoters of Trusts, who have organized production on a large scale and have much experience. Our business, is, not to instruct them in Socialism, but to expropriate them, to break down their sabotage—and these two tasks we have fulfilled. We must force them to submit to the control of the workers. If our critics among the Communists of the Left have accused us of adopting tactics which lead us backwards instead of to Communism, I say that their accusation are ludicrous; they are forgetting that we are backward in organization and financial control because it was very difficult to break down the resistance of the capitalists and to obtain the service of the bourgeois technical and other experts. We stand in need of their knowledge, their experience, and their labour; without them it is impossible to maintain the culture created by the former social conditions, which must serve as the material basis of Socialism. The Communists of the Left have not realised this, solely because they do not understand the realities of life, but evolve their theories and watchwords by contrasting State Capitalism with ideal Socialism. We must say to the workers: Yes, this may be a step backwards, but we must endeavour to find the way, and the only way is to organize to the last man, to organize and control production and consumption, and to ensure that, out of the hundreds of millions of money sent out by the Mint, not even a single 100-rouble note should be misappropriated, and that every note should be accounted for. This cannot be accomplished by any revolutionary act or the extermination of the bourgeoisie. It can only be accomplished by the organization of workers' and peasants' labour, by management and control. These we do not yet possess, that is why we have had to pay you higher wages than the capitalists; that is why we must learn all these things. The only road to Socialism is to teach the workers how to manage colossal undertakings, and how to organize production and distribution on a large scale.

Comrades, I know very well how easy it is to jeer at a man occupying a social position when he speaks of management, control, discipline, and self-discipline. It is easy to say to him: "When your Party was not in office it was promising the land of milk and honey to the workers, but as soon as these people assumed power a great change came over them; you are beginning to talk of management, discipline, self-discipline, control." I know very well what splendid material this is for journalists of the type of Milukoff and Martoff, who use it in order to develop their own theories, which nevertheless do not arouse much sympathy among class-conscious workers.

(Comrade Lenin here read several quotations from his book, "The State and the Revolution," which deals with the ideas which the Soviet Government is endeavouring now to put into practice. In connection with the review of this book by Comrade Bukharin, Lenin said:)

In the journal called "The Communist of the Left," I found a sympathetic review by a no less distinguished journalist than Bukharin, but all that was valuable in it lost its value for me when I had read the whole review. I realised that Bukharin missed what was essential, because he wrote his review in April, but quoted from material which was already stale in April, and appeared to be out of date—I mean the quotation, "One must destroy the old State." That we have done—that was yesterday's task—and we must now go forward; we must look to the future, and must create a Communist State. He wrote on what is already incorporated in the Soviet Organization, but remained silent on the question of management, control and discipline. How identical are the trend of thought and the psychology of such people with those of the small bourgeoisie is exemplified in their watchword: "Down with the rich but no control." That which divides from the class-conscious proletariat even the most revolutionary elements of the small bourgeoisie is the watchword of the proletariat: "Let us organize and discipline ourselves." In this the class-conscious proletariat and the Revolution differ from the small bourgeoisie. We have shown our strength in the suppression of the landowners and the bourgeoisie, and now we must show it in connection with self-discipline and organization. This is clear to us from experience a thousand years old, and we must make it clear to the people. Yes, organization and discipline are the only strength of our Soviet Power, of the labour dictatorship, and of our proletarian authority; but the small bourgeoisie are shielding themselves from this truth by revolutionary phraseology. Yes, the small bosses and properties are ready to help us proletarians to overthrow the landowners and capitalists, but after that our roads part. They do not like organization and discipline, but after that our roads part. They do not like organization and discipline; they are their enemies. That is why we must carry on a relentless struggle with these bosses and proprietors, for in the sphere of organization lies the beginning of our Socialist building. In answering those who insist that they are Socialist, and will grant the workers what they want and as much as they want, I say that Communism does not presuppose the existing productivity of labour. Our task is a

matter of fact, is too small. A heritage left to us by capitalism, especially in a backward country, is the habit of considering all State and exchequer property as material for misuse and corruption. The psychology of the masses of the small bourgeoisie is making itself felt at every step, and in this sphere the struggle is a very difficult one. Only an organized proletariat can cope with all this. That is why I wrote: "Until the higher phase of Communism is reached, Socialism requires the strictest control on the part of society and of the State." This I wrote before the October revolution, and I insist on it now.

The time has arrived when, having suppressed the bourgeoisie and broken its sabotage, we can begin this work. Before this was done the heroes of the day and of the revolution were the Red Guards, who were fulfilling their great historic task. They were taking up arms without the consent of the propertied classes; they were doing this great historic work in order to overthrow the exploiters, and to turn their rifles into instruments to protect the workers, in order to regulate labour protection and consumption. As yet we lack organization, which is the basis of Socialism, and the pivot on which it revolves. Those who find such work monotonous and uninteresting are generally found among the idle classes of the small bourgeoisie. I say it again—it was impossible to take up this work until the Korniloffs, Alexieffs, and Kerenskis were disposed of. At present the armed resistance of the bourgeoisie has been suppressed. Our task is to allot work under our control to all those who have indulged in sabotage, to create administrative institutions for the strict supervision and control of all works. The country is going under for lack of the most elementary conditions of a normal existence after the war. The enemies who are attacking us are a real menace only in so far as we have failed to establish order and control. When one hears hundreds of thousands of just complaints about famine, and one knows that the cereals are there but cannot be shifted for lack of transport, and at the same time one hears jeers and protests on the part of the communists of the Left against, for instance, such measures as the railway decrees, one feels inclined to ask them: "Why do you not present your own draft of a decree? You are not irresponsible critics like the small bourgeois, the paltry merchants, who indulged in sabotage, and only criticise in order to pour out the vials of their wrath. I say it again you are the guides of the Soviet organizations. Then why not produce your own decree?" But they cannot and never will produce it, because our railway decree is quite in order, and the dictatorship which it establishes meets with the approval of all the responsible railway workers. It is only opposed by those paltry administrators who grab and accept bribes. It is only the waverers between Soviet Power and its enemies who cannot make up their minds about the decree, which is approved by the proletariat who learned discipline from the big business concerns, and know that Socialism is impossible until production is organized on a large scale, and until a still stricter discipline is introduced. This proletariat backs us up in our railway policy; it will fight the small bourgeois element, and will demonstrate that the Russian Revolution will learn how to overcome its own lack of organization, as it has overcome all the other obstacles. From the point of view of our immediate tasks, our foremost May Day watchword should be: "We have conquered capitalism, we shall also conquer our own unpreparedness." Only then Socialism will have achieved a complete victory.

(Translated from the Official Version in the "Is-vestia," May 30th, 1918.)

A SLACKER'S CONFESSION

By Henry W. Youmans. (From Nov. 1919 Roycroft)

I am called a slacker. The charge is so true and my remorse is so acute that I feel impelled to make this open confession:—

In future years when the rising generation asks: "What did you do for democracy during the great war?" I will be compelled to admit that I was a Slacker. When the Belgians mowed down the Germans at Liege in August, 1914, I was delighted. When in September the French drove the Germans back sixty miles from the Marne and saved Paris, my joy was as great as that of any son of France.

The brutal German atrocities in Belgium and France filled me with indignation and I was glad when at last America entered the war. But soon there arose in this country a series of outrages that have not been equalled in America since the persecution of the Abolitionists in 1840 to 1860.

Rose Pastor Stokes was sentenced to ten years in prison for saying: "The Government is for the profiteers and I am for the people."—

Woodrow Wilson in "The New Freedom," said: "We have come to be one of the worst ruled, one of the most completely controlled and dominated governments in the civilized world."...

"The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States," and he got eight years in the White House. If capitalists were our masters then, are they any less so now with their multiplied war profits?

And here is where my confession begins. I have been silent as a clam through it all.

Loyal farmer's meetings have been broken up by mobs, their speakers arrested and imprisoned. Tar and feather parties and deportations were common in several states because the farmers of the Non-Partisan League were disloyal to the old party bosses. Strikers have been accused of disloyalty and pro-Germanism and jailed, because they demanded a decent living wage.—

Anyone not blinded by hate, prejudice, or stupidity, knows that the men and women accused of treason and given the longest prison terms are the very ones most famed for their extreme hostility to Kaiserism and all that it stands for the world over; that they are the most faithful defenders of all human rights that our flag stands for.

The real traitors are those who, to hide their own crimes, pay the prostitute press to cry treason and Bolshevism against the trust friends of Liberty and Labor.

THREE STARS FOR LOUISIANA

By CLEMENT WOOD

"There have been two rival factions here (Bogalusa, La., where the three union men were killed)—the Loyalty League, comprising representatives of the principal business interests with the Great Southern Lumber Company, the builders of Bogalusa, on one hand, and union labor."—New York Sun, November 23, 1919.

Three stars for Louisiana—three stars dripping with red! The Loyalty League has done its work, and left three workmen dead! The Loyalty League has cleansed the place—what more is to be said?

The Loyalty Leaguers searched a train—no "undesirables" there; They turned to find a Negro, whose offense was a devil's prayer: He dared to tell his colored race justice should be their share!

The dastard Negro walked the streets, a white man at each hand: Two labor union members, "red scourges of the land"— "Give us the nigger, or we'll shoot!" spit out the League's command.

The white men kept their brother—The loyal guns spoke out, Uttering there for Loyalty a liberty-loving shout, Till thirty injured, and three men dead, bloodied the road about.

Three stars for Louisiana, raised by its red disgraces Beside that spot that strangles Debs from the day's living faces, Beside the holes where all the rest hallow unholy places!

Thus Loyalty Leagues and Legions serve "democracy's bright plan: Down with the workman! Down with the 'red'! Down with the black or tan— In loyalty to the dollar, and treachery to Man!

You tried the rest Now eat the best

MAMA BREAD

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Duluth, BJORLIN'S BAKERY

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MORRIS GARDEN, Prop.

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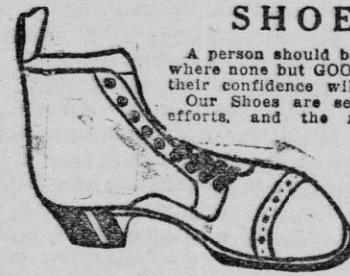
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SHOES FOR ALL

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 we shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you trade. We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer.—We are Union men selling and repairing Shoes.



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"If Ostrov Cannot Repair Your Watch, Then Throw it Away."

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The Greatest Swedish Home Folks Play!

Will be given by the

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of Minneapolis in

AUDITORIUM

Eleventh Street and Nicollet Ave.

Wednesday, Dec. 31st,

NEW YEAR EVE

at 8:15 P. M.

Madame Wilma Sundborg from New York will make her second appearance in Minneapolis with the company.

Tickets for sale at \$1.50 \$1.00 75c 50c at Cable Piano Co. and Scandia Imp Co., 1421 Washington Ave. S. (Seven Corners).



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DIRECTOR

In Duluth at the

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Sunday, January 11th, 1920.

Matinee 2:15 and in the Evening 8:15 P. M.

Tickets for sale at:

Lyceum Theatre, N. J. Setterlund, Tailor 2007 W. Superior St., Stones Books Store, 221 W. Superior St., Spencer Pharmacy 402 Central Ave. West Duluth; Herman Olson, 1822 W. Superior Street; Holmberg's Drug Store, Tower Ave., Superior, Wis.

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A WORKER LOOKS AT HISTORY By MARK STARR

The geologist told us of the struggle between the elements in the earth's formation. The biologist showed how individual animals and species struggled with each other. And we passed on to sociology and witnessed a struggle still proceeding. In this struggle the new class and the old class were engaged, and out of it came the evolution of society. We followed "the chain of change" from mark to manor, from tribal communism to slavery, from slavery to feudalism, and then onwards to manufacture and machinery. The evolution of the warrior, the merchant, the guildsman, and of the industrial capitalist, with his inevitable companion the wage-worker, has engaged our attention.

The growth of trade, the division of labour, the rise and fall of handicraft, the division between town and country, the development of the local, the national and (with the discovery of new continents) the world market, the dawn of the new day of science after mediaeval night—these and many other things figure upon our Syllabus. The attempts of each rising class to gain political power, the different phases passed through by Capitalism, the beginning of permanent organizations by our own class, with the success and failure which attended its attempts, all formed subjects for later lessons. We have watched new orders and relation arising out of the old; and have seen that the triumph of each class, as well as its birth, always coincides with the development and progress of material conditions. Every system in its maturity also contained the germs of its own decay. From being a helper the particular system becomes a hinderer. Instead of being revolutionary and a useful aid to production, it becomes reactionary and a useless fetter upon production. Then comes into play the new class which the old has begotten and carries forward the banner of progress. Therefore, using history as a touchstone, and recognising that new ideas, new codes of morality, new laws, etc., have their origin in changing economic conditions, we are now in a position clearly to examine the economic factors at present at work, to act in accordance with their evolution, and take up our stand with the new class in its forward march.

The Logic of the Machine.

This is a term often used to describe the economic factors which are inherent in capitalist production, and which, as we have seen, especially since the Industrial Revolution, have been compelling the working-class to take up arms in its own defence.

Right at the beginning of this book it was shown that man only differed from the animal in his power of toolmaking, which of course predicated a corresponding development of the thinking faculty, and this again would be closely connected with a vocal language; toolmaking, thinking, and talking being inseparable and correlative in their growth. Man has in common with the animal "the will to live," but he has something else, viz., "the will to live better." Now the economic needs of man for food, clothing and shelter are satisfied by contact with Nature, i. e., the soil, fruit, trees, and all the earth's contents and inhabitants. Moreover, these bodily needs must be satisfied before he can indulge in art or any other spiritual needs which in later development may be his. Naturally, man tries to satisfy those former needs with the least possible exertion. But he can only continue "to live better" by constantly developing and improving his tools. For here, with the making of the first tool, begins the great gulf between man and the animal. The animal acts directly upon Nature; but man interposes between himself and Nature a tool—an action mighty in its consequences, as we shall see. For example, a dog and a rabbit scratch and burrow the ground with their paws; but man makes a sharpened stick, a spade, and in time a steam plough, and successfully, by means of his tools, honeycombs even the rocks of the earth in

search of minerals. The fox jumps for the grapes; but man, as a result of his improved technique, thinks of a ladder. When even the eagle's eye fails to pierce the distance, man's telescope is more successful. Man's power over his natural environment results from this interposition. A fish out of water has become proverbial as an instance of a unsuitability to environment which spells death. Likewise, a bird cannot live under water. But man, with his technique, becomes a fish in his submarine and a bird in his aeroplane. The dense forests are cleared; the jungle inhabited; the ocean spanned; the deserts irrigated; the microbe-infested fever swamps made healthy, and the mountains bored, because man increases his science, harnesses natural forces to do his bidding, and is ever perfecting his tools and machinery.

There is another aspect of the important results of the tool, and that is the consequences arising from its ownership by particular persons. Jack London, in *bee, the man worker bee*, or the *Strong*, tells in a simple, picturesque fashion the story of these results. To cut a long story short, it can be said:—The class of persons owning the tools or the means of production is the ruling class. In the realm of biology there is a very obvious division of labour based upon physiological grounds, e. g., that of sex. It is impossible for the queen bee, the worker bee, or the drone to do each other's work. But in sociology with the coming of tools, a new division of labour, based upon economic grounds arises. It has already been shown that man, unlike the animal, is not physically changed by his environment, but that he is able, by changing and improving his tools, to overcome it. First came a difference between man and man, based upon tool-using; in modern life the difference between a miner and an engineer, a painter and a plumber, is in the different tools they use. Physically, a capitalist and a wage-worker, a queen and a washerwoman, are alike. Neither has an arm, an eye, or a leg more than the other. The difference is one of economic position which is based in this case upon tools ownership. Technique has developed to the extent that a leisured class is possible i. e., a class which appropriates the surplus labour of another.

The breakup of the tribal community of pauperism, the rise of private property and the State the division of society into classes, and the use of slaves, have been noted by us previously. Out of slavery came Feudalism. Then, the land was the chief means of production, and as the fighters became its owners, they were the ruling class. Gradually we saw trade and the merchant class increase. From handicraft evolved manufacture. New means of production dwarfed the importance of the land. The old relations were broken down, and a new class rose to power. We witnessed how it asserted its strength upon the economic field first, and then later, in a political revolution, but how the industrial capitalist was never all-powerful until he possessed the machine. The following is a bare enumeration of some of the effects of the operation of its logic. In dealing with the results of the Industrial Revolution we have had occasion to notice them before:—

1) The machine breaks down all barriers of age, sex, and race. The use of machinery destroyed much of the laborious, heavy work, and thus made possible its performance by women and children. The merciless exploitation of the child slaves of the factory has not yet faded from our memory; and, though restricted, it has not even now disappeared. The "breaking up of the home"—that anti-socialist bogey—has already been in many instances accomplished. While women's entrance into industry may—especially if the male workers do not tackle the problem intelligently—at first have disastrous results, still, if she finally gains economic independence and becomes the true equal and comrade of man, undreamt of beneficial results will accrue.

Again, the possibility of sharing the Imperialist's ideas of there being "superior" and "inferior" peoples is clearly revealed if we recognise that the difference between lesser and more developed peoples, just as between man and the animal, is one of more or less developed technique. One need not be very well versed in world politics to notice demonstrations of how the capital and commodities of the more advanced countries, by investment and export, beget their like in all the ends of the earth; and of how the so-called backward countries are reproducing the industrial systems of the forward ones, and following practically the same lines of developments.

(2) In the wake of the machinery comes the crisis, the growth of large production, and the increasing of the rate of exploitation of the worker. There is no need to elaborate these points, as they have already been dealt with. They occur as the inevitable outcome of the inherent laws of the capitalist system and are the fundamental cause of the Industrial Unrest.

(3) Born before the machine, yet made doubly necessary by its coming, trade unions commenced striving to retain by collective effort the imperilled status and livelihood of their members. Individual bargaining having failed, workmen formed local trade clubs. From these grew national clubs or unions of each separate trade. These again formed into federations and congresses to gain strength. Some attempts were made to form international union between like trades, and national delegates were appointed at some of the congresses to express the international unity of Labour, which was being already realised.

Our recent lessons have indicated how the logic of the machine has destroyed the craft basis of the older unions by destroying handicraft and introducing unskilled labour—the machine minders and "hands" of modern production. Changing circumstances thus caused the basis, aim and policy of the unions to be revised. The members of an industry union now aim at controlling industry through their organizations. Having understood the logic of the machine, they seek to master it. To do this, they have first to shape their own union, control its policy and representatives, and convert their organization into a fighting machine capable of efficiently waging war on the industrial and political fields.

Before our lesson finishes an endeavour will be made to direct attention to the theoretical weapons already at hand, which will give the worker a clear understanding of his proper aim, and stimulate him to practical work and to solve the question of ways and means to attain that desired end.

The Rise of Scientific Socialism.

Since we have been discussing the machine and the effects of its private ownership, it is only proper that we should turn to a proposed alternative economic system, the founders of which for the first time in history, laid bare the forces making for the dissolution of the capitalist system. It has been well said that thought the machine has no voice, its victims has one, and that this victim is forced to cry out in protest and cherish ideas of revolt. Another writer has well described Capitalism as being to the worker a chair with spikes in it, which will not allow him to sit content until they are removed. And thus, in spite of conservative forces and the power of tradition, the worker will be forced to face "things as they are" and alter them. "Labour, the Atlas of the capitalist system, is destined to become its Nemesis."

Socialism is a word which came into general use in the third decade of the 19th century, and it has always been understood to signify a new state of affairs in opposition to Capitalism. The adjective "scientific" is used to distinguish this Socialism from the schemes of those Utopians and Idealist Socialists who based their plans for a new state of affairs upon abstract principles,

rather than upon the logic of the machine and the historical growth of society resulting from the friction between rival classes.*

Many great thinkers in the past, dissatisfied with the conditions of their times, had drafted out plans for a re-modelling of affairs. Some of them put their plans into practice and experimented with communal colonies. Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, Cabet's Icaria, St. Simon's Industrial System, Fourier's Phalanstery, and Robert Owen's New Moral World are the best known examples.

Scientific Socialism can only be understood by knowing the conditions of its birth and the experience of its founders. At the close of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, society in the two most advanced countries, France and England, was passing through a change. And the Socialism fathered by that change was based, not upon ideals, wishes, or a subjective change in men's heads, but upon the objective processes of society. None of the Utopians saw Socialism as an historic necessity, or recognised the class struggle in which the workers were the true bearers of progress. The real test of Scientific Socialism is that it explains itself; for its theories clearly came out of the material conditions of the times. The French Revolution, "promising the reign of reason, had brought the despotism of the factory."

The French section of the capitalist class triumphed, and the feudal nobility were sent packing. But the proletarian element in the Revolution remained unsatisfied. A new, distinct class could be clearly seen for the first time, for whom the Revolution did not go far enough, and who, in the 19th century, made many revolts against the bourgeoisie. In England, too, a revolution of another sort was taking place. The rapid introduction of machinery revolutionised the old methods of production and caused immense misery among the working class, making it feel and express its antagonism to the capitalists here also. To explain these new social facts, new theories were required, and these theories were expressed most clearly by Marx and Engels, the acknowledged founders of Scientific Socialism. A these men happened to be born in Germany, their theories are sometimes dismissed as being "foreign" by people (e. g., the Fabians) who claim to have distinctly British (!) economic theories. As if there was anything national about a scientific theory or as if Socialism was determined by geography! The foolishness of the objection becomes more apparent when it is realised that the forty years of research embodied in Capital were spent in England, the classic land of Capitalism. Owing to Germany's then backward state, the conclusion could never have been arrived at there.

Marx was born in 1818 at Treves. He studied law, history, and philosophy at the Bonn and Berlin universities. His Radical opinions spoiled his chance of appointments as lecturer on philosophy at the former, and he became editor of the *Rhenish Gazette* in 1842. This being suppressed, he went to Paris in 1843. Here he met Proudhon and Heine, and began his famous collaboration with Frederick Engels. Being expelled from France, he resided in Brussels. With Engels he produced, in 1848, the famous Communist Manifesto. After the failure of the uprising in the same year, he finally settled in London in 1849, and died there in 1883.

Engels (1820-95) was the son of a wealthy cotton spinner and was destined for a commercial career. But he too became interested in philosophy, and contributed to the *Rhenish Gazette*. In 1842 he came to Manchester and became connected with the Owenite and Chartist movements. After 1844, he and Marx were in constant touch with each other, and their work became inseparable. Engels, with becoming humility, always gave Marx the chief credit, as the following passage written by him at the

* "The Utopian is one who, starting from an abstract principle seeks for a perfect social organization."—Pechanoff.

death of Marx shows:—"I cannot grasp the thought that this genius should have ceased to fertilize with his powerful thoughts the proletarian movement of both worlds. Whatever we all are, we are through him; and whatever the movement of today is, it is through his theoretical and practical work; without him we should still be stuck in the mire of confusion." Alone, either of these men would have made a mark. Combined, they left behind them works whose true insight and value have not yet been fully appreciated.

The poverty and sorrows of Marx, of his family, and of his fellow-exiles, his activities in the information of the first International—for neither Marx nor Engels were closed philosophers—his herculean theoretic labours, his disdain of popularity, his hatred of phrasemongery, and his many other distinguishing traits may be read of in the biographies which exist. As Wilhelm Liebknecht put it:—

To-day Marx's Capital dominates social and political science like Darwin's works in the science of natural history. And there is no thinking proletarian in all the countries of the globe who does not know that Capital is an armoury filled with "mental weapons" that, wielded by the proletariat, will ensure its emancipation.

The same writer, in the same book, Karl Marx: Biographical Memoirs, wrote:—

On Capital he was at work forty years—and how he did work! Only a Marx can work so. And I am not exaggerating when I say: The worst paid day-labourer in Germany has received more wages in forty years than Marx did for a salary, as an honorary fee for one of the two greatest scientific creations of the century. The other one is represented by Darwin's works.

"Science" is not a market value. And can we except that human society would pay a decent price for the execution of its own death warrant? Liebknecht for twelve years shared Marx's exile in London, and the following is a glimpse of how they spent their time:—

About this time the magnificent, reading-room of the British Museum, with its inexhaustible treasures of books, had been built—and thither, where he passed a certain time every day, Marx drove us. To learn! To learn! This was the categorical imperative he frequently enough loudly shouted to us, but it also was expressed by his example, yea, by the sole aspect of this forever strenuously working mind.

Here he mentions the wild plans and hopes of other fugitives, and in contrast to this he says:—

We...were sitting in the British Museum and trying to educate ourselves and to prepare arms and ammunition for the battles of the future. Sometimes we would not have had a bite, but that would not prevent our going to the Museum—there were at least comfortable chairs to sit down on, and in winter a cheering warmth—which were missing at home, if one had any "house" or "home" at all.

The Marxian Theories.

From the men to their message, he Marxian Theories can be well compared to a triangle, with the Labour Theory of Value, the Theory of Surplus Labour, and the Materialist Conception of History as its three sides. In our lessons, we have had chiefly to do with the latter, though the two former are bound up with it, and would also repay investigation and test. The M.C.H. was first formulated in the Communist Manifesto:—"The history of all hitherto existing society (i. e., all written history) is the history of class struggles." And in later works the theory was enlarged and applied to the history of different nations. The historic of the working class, the true nature of the State, and the real, underlying factor beneath all changes in ideas were roughly perceived even when the Manifesto was penned in 1848. "History for the first time," wrote

Engels, "was placed on its real foundation; the obvious fact, hitherto totally neglected, that first of all men must eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, and therefore must work before they can struggle for supremacy and devote themselves to politics, religion, philosophy, etc.—this obvious fact at last found historical recognition."

As we have already dealt with the logic of the machine, and seen how social relations are based upon tool-ownership and that the class which owns the tools is very different from the other class that is forced to use those tools in order to get a living—besides having consistently used this theory right through-out our lessons—there is no need to dwell upon it further. Though the expectations and prophecies of the historic Manifesto were not fulfilled, yet the theory explains in a scientific manner its own mistakes, and, as a method of looking upon society and explaining its evolution, it is unparalleled.

There is one other matter that should be mentioned before our conclusion. When giving particulars concerning the lives of Marx and Engels, we found that both took up the study of philosophy, in which branch of learning at that time Hegel was the leading figure. It is sometimes alleged that the work of Marx is vitiated by this Hegelian influence, and that he lacked the insight into society which Darwinism later brought. Apart from this mixing up, in an "organic" view of society, of biology and sociology, this misconception of Hegelianism (for it taught evolution in general before Darwin gave it individual specific proof in biology) and this false assumption that Marx did not know and appreciate Darwin's work, there is also a sad neglect of the vital difference between the philosophy of Hegel and Historical Materialism.

There is room here only for a brief reference to that difference. Hegel, living in revolutionary times, with his "dialectic method" saw movement through inherent struggle. But he was misled by the ideological form which the contest took. To him it was "the Absolute Idea" coming to recognition in the minds of men. For example, Feudalism broke down because feudal ideas became obsolete in the face of new; Socialism from the Hegelian viewpoint will come because old ideas are displaced by new. In later reactionary times Hegel's tame political conclusions and his glorification of the State made him popular with the ruling powers. Bernstein, in his *Ferdinand Lassalle as Social Reformer* shows how the works of Lassalle—"the man who forged the sword of Social Democracy in Germany"—were vitiated by his adherence to the Hegelian "idea" as a cause of progress.

The mysticism of Hegel and his "Absolute Idea" were attacked by the left wing of his school, which accepted his method but rejected his conclusions. With Hegel the world stood on its head, i. e., on the idea. Marx stood it on its feet, and showed that ideas were generated in material conditions. "With me," wrote he (p. 30, Capital), "the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and transformed into forms of thought." The relations between ideas and the conditions which generate them are more fully explained in the Preface of *The Critique* (1859).

The Future.

What of it? Will our lessons help us to face it? If they do not, they have failed. The sole object of our studies is to get a knowledge of past events and of theories which truly explain the facts of our working life, and which will guide us in future practice. As W. W. Craik finely puts it: "The good they did was not interred with the bones of Marx at Highgate, nor lost in the sea into which the dust of Engels was thrown, but lives on and fertilises in the conquering army of an intellectual Labour Movement, by the side of whose cradle Marx and Engels stood at the dawn of a new day."

Vain are the hopes of an industrial peace. Like snow upon

the mountain side they will vanish before the sun of economic heat. In every country Capitalism begets its gravediggers. In its endeavour to increase its profits it will force the workers to take up a militant attitude upon the industrial, political and educational fields, and progress will be accelerated until the workers of the world will unite and their emancipation be accomplished. To the Day!

JEWS TORTURED IN SOUTH RUSSIA

Denikin the "Liberator" in His True Colours

NAMELESS HORRORS

The following terrible report of pogroms organised by Denikin's Anti-Bolshevik Army is based upon authentic information collected by the United Jewish Communities in South Russia, and has come into our possession through reliable channels.—

In nearly all the places where the Volunteer Army penetrated systematic destruction of Jewish property has taken place and is still going on.

The anti-Jewish excesses show an extremely violent character in the town of Ekaterinoslav, where all Jewish houses in four streets were ransacked, hundreds of Jewish women ravished and numerous Jews killed.

Jews Dragged from Trains
Jewish travellers are attacked in the trains; they are plundered, mishandled and killed.

At the Simeonov Station, openly, soldiers and officers drag all Jews from the trains to torture and kill them; this is known to the authorities. On July 15 fifteen Jews were buried, who had all been killed by the soldiers.

At the beginning of July some Sossack regiments arrived in Lozova. The Jewish inhabitants of this town offered 50,000 roubles, which the commandant at first refused, but afterwards accepted; this did not prevent the soldiers from plundering and from acts of violence against the Jewish population.

At Mikhailovka (Government of Tauride), where the "Volunteers" arrived on June 15, they burst into practically all the Jewish houses and carried everything away, while the commander imposed a contribution of 250,000 roubles on the Jewish population.

Before leaving, the commander of the garrison demanded of the president of the Jewish community a certificate to the effect "that the Jewish population could do no otherwise than praise the attitude of the Volunteers, who saw to the security of the Jewish people."

A Culminating Horror
The horrors which took place in the above-named towns are nothing when compared with what took place in Kremenchoug, where destruction began as soon as the Volunteers entered the town, and all houses without exception were ransacked.

Three hundred and fifty cases of rape have already been listed. Even young children 12 and old women of 60 were not spared.

Certain of the atrocities described by the report are unprintable.

AUSTRALIA

Callous Treatment to Deported Russians

As an instance of the callous and inhuman treatment meted out to deported Russians by the Australian Government, the case of the Suzenko family is cited. Suzenko was arrested in Brisbane in connection with the red flag demonstration there and interned in Sydney. In due course he was deported, his wife being informed that she could accompany him. However, he was deported alone. Then his wife was told she could meet him on the way to Russia, and was sent away on a transport a week or two later. But instead of allowing them to join one another, Suzenko was put ashore at Bombay (India) and re-interned; while his wife was thrown ashore from the transport at Alexandria (Egypt), and put into jail there, without friends, money, or means of any kind. To make matters worse, Mrs. Suzenko was in a delicate condition being an expectant mother.

DEFECTIVE PAGE



Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year

1919 1920

Carl J. Nordmark	Carl Haglund	Hans Anderson	John D. & Charlotta Nelson	S. J. Langin & Family
Victor Nordin	J. A. Swanson	Erik Soder & wife	Rudolf Ronge	Axel Johnson & Family
Martin G. Lundin	Axel Westholm & wife	John Nordin	Oscar Newland	Magnus Johnson & wife
Martin Haglund	Arvid Ledin & Family	Henry Anderson	Chas Backstrom	Fred Starcevich
Fred Nelson	Albin Johnson	Gust Anderson	Gust Kindgren & wife	John Shraml
John Larson and Family	Martin & Ester Landin	Wm. & Gerda Larson	John Wickstrom & Family	Christ Bjerkhol
Iver Anderson	Chas Erikson & Family	Edwin Nelson	Andrew Durell	Gust Pearson Superior, Wis.
Fred Fagerstrom	Carl Riklund	John Jacobson	Robert Johnson	Chris. Westerlund Anthony Andersen
Olof Boadsvik	Georg Olson	Ludvig Anderson	Otto Johnson	John Nordling & Family
Louis Fossen	R. Olson	Peter Fossen	Gust Sjoquist & Family	Hans P. Malmroos & Family

Merry Christmas

We wish you all a Merry Christmas. Your loyalty and support during 1919 and the preceding years, has been wonderful.

Comrades, in the prisons of America there are many brave men and women of the workingclass. DO NOT FORGET THEM. Celebrate Christmas and enjoy yourselves, soon the bells are going to ring out "Peace on Earth Goodwill to all Mankind". In the days to come, when we have swept capitalism out of existence, we will make every day a Christmas Day.

With Yuletide Greetings.

Your for the Revolution

JACK CARNEY, Editor.

The New York State Legislature appointed a committee, which afterwards came to be known as the Lusk Committee, to investigate radicalism. The Committee has finally made its report. The report states that all the strikes etc. of today are not due to economic causes, they are entirely due to radical agitation. So remove the agitator and you have settled all the disputes that are now raging.

Go to the miners and tell them that they can go back to work, under good conditions etc., because the agitators have been suppressed. Do the same with the Steel strikers and all the other strikers. How simple! To think that so many men have struck and the Lusk Committee was only formed this year. Why were they not formed before the war and who knows but what the Lusk Committee might have been able to stop the war? What would Abraham Lincoln have given, to have had a Lusk Committee, so that he might have averted the Civil War? What would the governments of the world give for a Lusk Committee, that can so easily find a cure for the social evils of today? Seriously, what a tremendous indictment of the intelligence of the American people, when a committee can sit for several months and bring in such a silly report and receive the universal applause of the press!

The Lusk Committee may fool many workers with its silly report, but they cannot fool the financiers, who now are laughing up their sleeves. The financier knows that the cause for the high cost of living, which in turn causes men to strike, is not the result of agitation. It is the result of causes that go far deeper, than the Lusk Committee has the intelligence to explore. Today we stand at the parting of the ways. Capitalism, the giver of great power and wealth to some men, now totters to its grave. For positive proof of this, turn your eyes European countries. Look at Europe and then read the report of the Lusk Committee and ask yourselves, American workmen and women, "Is it true that radicalism is the cause of the present industrial unrest?"

There is a great deal of talk about "getting back to the gold standard," and Republican papers complain about the Treasury "inflating the currency." The average man does not take the time, or perhaps he has not got the time, to study the currency question. The workers feel that the finance question is one for bankers, etc. Yet if they only knew how vitally important it is for them to understand the currency question, they might save themselves a lot of ill-displayed energy and they would also be able to better understand how to improve their social conditions. In dealing with the currency question, we will be asked many questions. Someone might ask, "What is Money?" and another might ask, "What is value?" and so on. So in order to go into details, it will be necessary to explain certain economic laws, without a knowledge of same, the subject of currency will appear to us like a lesson on Egyptian literature, dry and without understanding.

Karl Marx, the world's greatest economist, and when you read the articles of present-day bourgeois economists, you feel all the more surer of your ground when you claim that Marx was the greatest economist, states in the first paragraph, of the monumental work, "Capital," that:—

"The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities," its unit being a single commodity. Our investigation must therefore begin with the analysis of a commodity."

Of course you will ask, "What is a commodity?" A commodity is a thing that must present at the same time two phenomena; that of being of use-value and that of being of exchange value. Every commodity that is produced is of some use. If people could not use them, they would not buy them. Further these commodities are bought and sold upon the market, hence they have a value, which is called their exchange value. There is no need to argue as to what use-value is. Use-values are qualitatively different hence you cannot bring them into a relation one with the other. You cannot determine how useful a suit of clothes is, in comparison to the usefulness of an automobile. Therefore the value we have to consider, is exchange value.

What Is Exchange Value?

Exchange value comes into being, when it is proposed to exchange two commodities. We meant to say, two commodities that are different. You would not for instance, exchange two pairs of shoes, one with the other, neither would you exchange two loaves of bread. Two commodities being dissimilar, hence it follows that their component parts are dissimilar. By that we mean, the same raw materials that are used to make a loaf of bread, would not be used to make a pair of shoes. But how are you going to compare the value of a loaf of bread, with a pair of shoes? You cannot weigh shoes, like you weigh flour and whoever heard of anyone selling loaves by the pair? Now there must be something

IT IS ALL SETTLED

in common with both commodities, bread and shoes, or you take any other two dissimilar commodities? What is that something? The shape? No. The size? No. There must be something? What must you have before you can sow the grain, till the soil, mill the flour or bake the bread? You must have labor. Before you can manufacture any commodity, you must have the labor. Before you can even obtain the raw materials, that you make your commodities out of, you must have labor. And the only thing common to all commodities is that labor we speak of. Because labor is common to all commodities, labor forms the basis upon which we discover the exchange-value of commodities.

In the olden days a man would reckon up the time spent in procuring the raw materials and also the time spent in converting them into the finished product. By the amount of labor contained in the products he would determine their value. For instance if it took a man a week to tan the leather and make a pair of shoes and it took another man just a week to make two pairs of trousers, then the two pairs of trousers would exchange for one pair of shoes. Because there was just as much labor embodied in one pair of shoes, as there was in two pair of trousers. The exchange value of a commodity in those days was equal to the amount of labor embodied in the commodity. But then you say, suppose a man was old and it took him two weeks to make a pair of shoes, would his shoes be worth more? No. Because if people can buy the same shoes and only have to pay the value of one week's labor, they are not going to pay the value of two week's labor. Therefore the exchange value of a commodity is determined by the actual necessary amount of labor embodied in the commodity. So much for the good old days.

Since those good old days, when we used to sit around the village cobblers' shop and hear those wonderful stories, times have advanced somewhat. We now live in what is known as the machine-age. No more the old hand-made shoes etc. The machine has come into being and men just pull levers here and levers there and the commodities are turned out in the hundreds. In the pair of shoes today there is embodied the work of seventy people or more. The labor that is embodied in any commodity, is not the labor of a single individual, but the labor of many individuals. So now we find that the exchange value of a commodity is determined by the socially necessary labor embodied therein.

But here comes the wise guy. "That may sound alright for ignorant workers. But you cannot fool me. I know a thing or two. I have passed through a university (passed is a good word) and I know that the value of a commodity is determined by the law of supply and demand." Let us examine the theory of the wise guy. If the supply of coal is low, then coal will be high in price. If the supply of coal is high, then the price of coal is low. That is what the wise guy contends. "Are we agreed? Shure." Now the coal owner sells his coal and buys other commodities, wheat for instance. Now let us suppose that the supply of coal is higher than the supply of wheat. Therefore the price of coal will be lower than the price of wheat. What will happen? The man with capital to invest, will invest it in the best fields of industry. Therefore he will invest it in wheat, because there is a higher price for wheat. In other words the supply of wheat will be increased and consequently the price of wheat will be lowered. "Is that not so, wise guy? No answer he is getting flabbergasted." Remember that the capitalist class are not in business for their health, they are out for business. The capitalist does not have his own way in the business world. He wants the highest price for his commodities and the consumer wants to pay the lowest price. It is these two forces working against each other that bring about the balance in prices. Now the capitalist wants to make high profits as we stated before. Therefore he must sell his commodities for a higher price than those of his competitor. So the capitalist finds that he has to compete with his fellow-capitalists. He must compete. There can be no tacit understandings in business. The capitalist is a creature of circumstances. Forever staring him in the face is the prospect of bankruptcy, if he fails to keep pace with the demands of the markets. So he adopts new inventions, installs labor-saving machines etc. and so reduces the cost of production. How he smiles and rubs his hands with glee, when he finds that his factory has all the modern inventions and labor-saving appliances! He can sell goods cheaper than his competitors. For a time he is cock of the walk. For a time we said. Along comes another capitalist and notices how with the aid of new inventions etc. his fellow-capitalist is reaping a harvest and he too installs new inventions etc. The rival in thousands of cases adopts far superior inventions and so the struggle goes on. If the prices of one commodity are high, then other capitalists invest their capital in the production of that commodity and so the price of the commodity is lowered. If the prices of commodities are low, then capital seeks other fields and with a decrease in the supply the prices rise. "Thus is the law of average profit brought about; thus does the law of value force of commodities to conform to the quantity of socially necessary labor required to produce them within the limitations of capitalism."

Now we come to the question of money. How do we exchange, say a ton of coal for a suit of clothes? There are times when we have not got the storage for coal and there comes, oftener than not, a time when we cannot afford to buy more than one suit. There must

be some commodity that can act as a means of exchange. Without going into details as to selection of the material to the position of world-money, we know that gold is the circulating medium. "Gold is the crystallised form of the exchange value of concrete commodities of which the abstraction is expressed by the word "wealth." Every commodity satisfies only one particular want, but satisfies every want." Gold is the chosen commodity to act as a circulating medium. Say a pair of shoes is worth ten dollars, then there is the same amount of labor-power contained in a pair of shoes, as there is in a ten dollar gold piece. In a study of gold we find a cause for the high prices that have a tendency to worry us. We said before that with the aid of new inventions, labor-saving machinery etc., the capitalists had been able to lower the cost of production. The same is true of the gold industry. Therefore there is not as much labor-power embodied in an ounce of gold, as there formerly was, hence being as there is less labor-power in an ounce of gold, it is not worth as much as it formerly was. Therefore you cannot buy as much for it. That is "high cost of living". But that is by the way.

You will have noticed that gold has been withdrawn from circulation. The production of gold has failed to keep pace with the rapid development of industry due to the war. While the war was on we had customers in galore and we did not ask them for cash. We simply had to "beat" the Germans. So the factories worked night and day. No thought about the tomorrow, we must deliver the goods. And we did. We built warships, made shells, clothes etc. Gold could not function, because there was not sufficient gold to circulate. So we resorted to paper money. We inflated 'our' currency. Noah Ablett, is the author of a book, "An Easy Outline on Economics," and by the way we advise you to order a copy. It will cost you one dollar and you also receive a one year's subscription to one of the best radical monthlies published in Europe. In this book, the author deals with the money question, especially this part referring to the use of paper money. We take pleasure in quoting what he has to say:—

If gold, as at present, is cleared from circulation and paper takes its place to an excessive extent, then this curious change takes place—the prices of commodities are now determined by the quantity of paper in circulation. We have pointed out that only a limited quantity of gold money can circulate for the distribution of commodities. And if tokens and paper are only partly introduced, so that the sum of money required is not exceeded, no change in this rule takes place. Even if the whole of the currency is paper and their issue does not exceed the sum of money required, then no change takes place. But from the moment this limit is exceeded (and that is always the case with a paper currency) then every note above the limit depreciates the whole of the notes; so that if twice the amount of notes required were issued each note would only represent half its value and twice as much paper would be used as if a gold currency obtained.

Only a given quantity of gold can circulate to distribute commodities, but an unlimited quantity of paper money can circulate. Consequently, when the quantity of money required in circulation is exceeded by the introduction of paper money there is no change in values. If the quantity of money required in circulation is one million sovereigns, and two million pound notes are introduced, then a commodity valued at £1 will require two pound notes in exchange for it; if another million notes are introduced then the £1 commodity requires three pound notes in exchange, and so on. There has been here no change in value: no change in the social labour required to produce commodities: what has occurred is that the laws of currency have been violated and that prices have been forced to adapt themselves to value. In a paper currency of this description (such as we have all over the world at present) all the laws relating to the circulation of money appear to be quite reversed. Thus, "while gold circulates because it has value, paper has value because it circulates," and while in gold circulation the quantity of money required is determined by the sum of the prices of commodities, in paper circulation of the kind we are describing, it is quite the contrary and the prices of commodities appear to be determined by the quantity of excessive notes in circulation. Governments may easily inflate the currency by printing pieces of paper, but they cannot alter the laws of value, and once the paper is introduced into circulation, the limit of the tower of Governments is reached, and the circulation process takes its revenge. If the social labour required to produce a £1 treasury note equalled the social labour required to produce a golden sovereign, then the note would have equal value with the sovereign, but in the case we should never have the spectacle of the inflation of currency by paper. The basis of commodity circulation is gold. The demands of gold under private ownership are inexorable. Capitalism is trying to evade this demand by a paper currency and a credit system whose basis is ever increasingly paper. While it is producing paper, it is producing bankruptcy; the approaching doom of commodity circulation: the

overthrow of private ownership; and the end of the reign of gold.

P. S. £1 is equal to \$4.87. (Ed.)

The more paper money the Government introduces, due to the lack of gold, the cheaper the paper money becomes. Hence the high cost of living. The only way you can lower the high cost of living is by reducing the amount of your paper money. How can you do that? What have you to offer in its place? Does the Lusk Committee know? Does the Duluth Herald know? Of course not. The world is in a chaotic condition. Capitalists stand confronted with a black future. They are so absorbed in their business affairs that they cannot detach their minds for a moment and endeavor to arrive at some "sane" conclusion, whereby they can avert the impending social catastrophe.

Capitalism in its present chaotic condition is responsible for the industrial unrest, that manifests itself in the numerous strikes of today. Fools are they that claim that strikes are the results of radical agitation. We only wished it were true that men struck because of their understanding of social conditions. Men strike because they feel a pain in the stomach and the back. They reason through their stomachs. Feed the workers and give them good conditions and there is not one radical who can bring them out on strike. Does any person really believe that the conservative leaders of the United Mine Workers Union were "crazy" to have a strike? No sane person believes that. Like a boil is the result of a bad human system similarly strikes are the result of a bad social system. You are going to have strikes so long as you have capitalism, and governments, whether by injunctions or laws, are powerless to prevent men from striking.

THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

Leading financiers are bemoaning the fact that there is no prospect in view, of the European countries paying for their loans. When these European countries do commence to pay off their loans, they will pay for same in goods. The European workers to the tune of "increased production" will work night and day to produce them. These goods will be exported to America to pay off the loans. "The imports of American manufacturers will be considerably higher than their exports." That is how the Wall Street Journal phrases it. That means fellow-worker, that you will have very little work to do, because the goods that "we" require will come from Europe. You know what "very little work" means. It means unemployment and unemployment means what? Why ask? In the trying days ahead, your masters will tell you that you are suffering because of the agitation of the "aliens". Some of you will believe it. But you will be out of work because you "won" a war. The countries that "lose" in war must work the heads of their workers off in order to pay their war debts and those that "won" the war must give their workers a "rest", because the workers of the countries that "lost" the war will be working to reimburse the masters of the countries that "won" the war. It is a great life—for SOME people!

WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

In the days to come, even if the gold standard is abolished, the capitalists will find some way out. The capitalist system will NOT collapse of its own forces. The capitalists are too wise a crowd for that. They will devise some way of keeping going. Besides so long as you are a Henry Dubb, how can you expect to free yourself? Freeing yourselves is not a thing that you learn at night schools. You learn it on the job by acting. Acting like a man. Standing up for your rights. But hell, we are an alien. We have no right to criticise conditions in America. But just between you and us, why not start reading something? Why not inquire about the I. W. W. or the Communist Labor Party? Ask some of the Americans to tell you a few things that you do not know. Read and think Henry, but whilst you are making up your mind as to what to read, organize with your fellow-worker on the job. There is a great task ahead for you. It calls for strong men and women. Will you be one of them? Or will you be one of the durn fools that thinks the Herald or the News Tribune is the organ of righteousness? There are plenty of people today who cannot think. They have lost their reasoning powers. They live in Fergus Falls, in a State asylum. They are crazy. But they are wellfed, well-clothed and they do NOT work. But if you have not lost your reason you must work hard and long hours and it takes you along time to save up for a new suit. Say Henry, honest to goodness, who is it that is crazy?

Henry, my boy, we do not mock you. We ask you to gaze at the achievements of your class. Look at yonder magnificent mansions. You built them. Gaze at that wonderful bridge, see it carries over it a wonderful railroad. See that magnificent engine and coaches. What would you not give to sit back on the cushions and go from out of the fetid atmosphere of the slums and take your kith and kin out into the glorious sunshine and be able to enjoy life? There is a world of beauty awaiting you, that you have made. It calls and beckons to you and you stand asleep on your feet. Arise from your slumbers and assert your manhood. Stand up like a man and let your red blood flow. The capitalist class have failed. The years have passed, when they were of some use. Today the times call for men, men of the workingclass. They call for you and all your fellow-workers. Will you answer the call? Or will you still sleep and hand to your children a blacker and more tyrannous heritage, than that handed to you by your fathers?