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FIVE CENTS.

HOLY ALLIANCE BREAKING UP GERMANS DECIDE FOR SOVIETS BRITISH GOLD BRIBES RUSSIANS

Italy Breaks With Supreme Council and Negotiates Truce With Soviet Russia.

POLAND SNUBS CLEMENCEAU.

Britannia Rules The Waves Securely and Controls Nine-Tenths of World's Harbors.

By Paul Wallace Hanna. . .
Washington.—The Holy Alliance is breaking up. Jealousy, intrigue and the inherent rivalry of the powers that made the peace of Paris have already undermined the specious harmony proclaimed by diplomats. Nationalism has reverted to type—every nation for itself, and the devil take the hindmost.

Clemenceau has been beaten by Lloyd George in the fight to make Poland a dependency of the Quai d'Orsay.

Italy has broken with the Supreme Council and is negotiating a truce with Soviet Russia and an alliance with Rumania. Japan plays a lone hand in backing Semenov to replace the Koltchak ruin and make Siberia safe for the Mikado.

Slovakia Petitions Senate.

"In view of sentiment here American forces in Siberia cannot be strengthened," the State Department informs the Japanese Embassy and the Associated Press.

Slovakia has petitioned the American Senate to free her from the union with the Czechs.

Britannia rules the waves and nine-tenths of the world's snug harbors.

These facts are confessed in the few and elaborated by diplomats when they sit down together. Between the Rhine and the Ukraine, Europe has been converted into a Balkans of starving, jealous peoples. The "sanitary cordon" drawn about Soviet Russia by the Supreme Council reeks with running sores for which the American people are asked to supply the bandages.

Repudiated by Britain.

"We (France and England) have decided that we will be the allies of all peoples attacked by Bolshevism," M. Clemenceau tells the French Chamber. He refers to the recent London conference, but the decision he mentions was reached last February. In all but the most nominal sense it has been repudiated by Great Britain as a blunder which carries in it the seed of bankruptcy for those who support it.

On the best of authority, I am able to say that Poland has rejected French interference in her affairs. The French policy has been to goad Poland on to war against Russia, while procuring for her own nationals a monopoly of Polish natural resources. The Poles were not deceived. They wished to recover the property of their own investors in White Russia and the Ukraine, but for this undertaking they demanded French money and supplies.

Clemenceau refused to finance Poland, urging the poverty of his country as an excuse. The Poles pointed to the vast crop of new French millionaires who, they said, could afford to absorb a Polish loan. The French still refused.

That gave the British the chance they wanted. Lloyd George is anxious for peace in all the Baltic States and Russia. France has been the obstacle for almost a year, and she dominated Poland. The British now capitalized French stinginess by advising Poland to free herself from Paris, to make peace with Moscow at the first good opportunity and prepare for a good trade with England.

England Beats France.

The fall of Paderewski and his backer, Demowsky, signalled the triumph of England over France in Poland. The new foreign minister at Warsaw is a progressive liberal who will conclude peace with Soviet Russia if permitted to have his way. It will be noticed that the tale about Trotsky recruiting a huge army of Chinese to descend on Poland in the spring originated in French sources. The Moscow wireless carries a fresh and formal offer of peace to Poland.

From the Soviet Government Poland can procure something which both the French and British have denied her, and which she very much wants. That is Eastern Galicia. It contains oil wells and a large non-Polish population. Moscow is said to be willing that time should dispose of them justly.

Since the rout of France and the fall of Paderewski in Poland, the pro-peace movement in the Baltic has been accelerated elsewhere. The cables report that Latvia has formally joined her neighbor, Esthonia, in the negotiations for a settlement with Soviet Russia.

Britain Ready for Peace.

Diplomats here interpret that to mean that Great Britain has thoroughly consolidated her strategic trade holdings in that region and is now ready for peace and prosperous business relations.

These events coincide with the official demise of the anti-Soviet Lusk committee in New York, which, under the partial direction of the British agent Nathan, helped keep the United States thoroughly isolated from Russia until the British could attain their control of the Baltic trade advantages.

Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who are about to investigate both Martens and Bakmetieff, have been informed somewhat of the way American foreign policy has furthered British trade ambitions. A majority of the five investigations are Republicans who will not be averse to lifting the lid from the State Department's dealings with Boris Bakmetieff and other mysterious emigres from the former czar's household.

—New York Call.

"Recognise Moscow".

REDS BEGIN BIG FIGHT

Rome, Dec. 12th.—A remarkable speech was delivered in the Italian Chamber yesterday by the Socialist Bentini.

Addressing the Government, he said: "You will never break our strength, which is the whole proletariat, prepared now for the conquest of power. We tell you the moment has come for you and your class to decide. We ask you if you are willing to meet our demands and give spontaneously all that we could take from you by force."

"We therefore suggest that you insert in the answer to the King's speech our demand for the recognition of the Soviet Government of Russia."

On the same subject of the recognition of the Soviet, the whole Socialist group has advanced a motion, the discussion of which is awaited with the utmost interest.

"The Old International Is Dead—Long Live the New International."

HISTORIC PROGRAMME AT LIEPZIG.

M. PHILIPS PRICE.
(By permission "London Daily Herald".)

Leipzig, December 5. — The great question of the International is about to come up at the conference of the Independent Socialist Party being held here.

It is already clear that the Party is on the eve of leaving the Second International. Unless something very unforeseen happens, British-Labour delegates, when they go to Geneva in February, will not meet delegates of the most popular Socialist Party in Germany, which all through the war stood undauntedly against Kaiserism.

This conference is as important an event for Germany as is the Trades Union Congress for England.

The first two days of the conference was taken up with the half-yearly report and a general discussion on political tactics. The steady increase in the Radical and Revolutionary element among the German working classes in seen in the fact that since the last party conference in March the membership of the Independent Party has increased from 300,000 to over 750,000. While the Majority Socialists are rapidly disappearing as a political factor in Germany, the parties of the two extremes are increasing, on one side the Monarchist Pan-Germans and on the other the Revolutionary Marxian groups of the Left.

Steady Movement to the Left.

The change in psychology of the working classes has also affected the tactics of the Independent Socialist Party. At the March conference the party was still under the influence of the reformist theories most prominently represented by Kautsky, who regards Parliamentary Democracy as a fetish and is for ever inveighing against the Soviet idea and against direct industrial action. On the first day of this conference, however, I was struck with the change that has come over the party since March.

The opening speech on the subject of tactics by Crispian

brought out the fact that even the members of the Central Executive, which was elected at the time when Kautsky's influence was strong, had come over to the view that there is no such thing as a political democracy so long as there is no industrial democracy. In a powerful passage Crispian declared that a period of working-class dictatorship is necessary in Germany in order to remove the sham middle class democracy and create an industrial Socialist democracy.

No Withdrawal from Parliament.

This speech was followed by a lively debate, in which it became clear that the bulk of the delegates reject Parliamentary action as a method for realising the socialisation of industry. At the same time, they do not intend to withdraw their members from the National Assembly, the tribune of which they intend to use as a platform for making revolutionary appeals to the masses and for discrediting bourgeois Parliamentarism.

The economist Hilferding made an interesting exposition of his views on socialisation, from which it appeared that he considers the present state of chaos in the Capitalist system favorable for laying the foundation of a Socialist society, but he seems to regard the present moment as in many respects less favorable than last winter when the German middle classes were crushed and cowed by military defeat.

In the course of the debate, the rumours which have been circulating in Germany of a possible union between the Majority Socialists and the Independent Socialists were emphatically denied by Oscar Cohen, a member of the National Assembly, who, however, admitted that he had a conversation with Scheidemann recently in Switzerland at which that topic arose.

The incident seemed merely to arouse amused contempt in the conference at the thought that the Majority Socialists, after coquetting with the Hohenzollern war lords, and after calling in military Junkerdom to crush So-

cialism in Germany, should now be threatened by the very power that they have for months been persecuting with the aid of Noske troops.

Relations with the Communists.

On the other hand, there is no sign that the delegates are anxious as yet for union with the Communist Party. Ledebour, however, in a much-applauded speech, spoke of closer co-operation with the Communists and "an open door to the Left"; and it would appear that the Independents are really moving steadily towards the Communists.

The conference has so far shown that nothing stands in the way of a working agreement between these two Parties except the personal pride of some of the leaders.

Leipzig, December 6. — The immensely important question of whether to join the Third (Moscow) International or to remain in the Second, was discussed by the Independent Socialists in conference here yesterday.

Hilferding asked the delegates not to break away from the Labour movements of Western Europe. The driving force of the Labour movement in the West would, he thought, in the near future be in England. In France the rentier class, the peasant proprietors, and the aggressive bourgeoisie, victory-drunk after the world war, would make the task of the French proletariat hard and slow.

In Russia, Hilferding considered, the Soviet Government was being forced by the delay of the revolution in Western Europe to modify its Socialist programme and move more to the Right. Hungary was on the eye of a monarchist reaction. One observed, therefore, a slow evolution towards Socialism in the West and a tendency to reaction in the East.

To join the Moscow International would, therefore, mean joining a movement which was receding, and cut themselves off from a movement which was progressing.

Hilferding seemed to leave the
(Continued on page 2)

Alleged Financing Of Plot By British Diplomatic Agents.

FIGHTING SPIRIT OF RED ARMIES.

"Russian Giant Is Being Tormented Into Consciousness, and When Fully Awake He Will Alter The Course of History."

For "London Daily Herald".

GRIFFIN BARRY.
Helsingfors, December 13. — I have arrived here, after a fortnight spent in Moscow and Petrograd.

In the latter city I heard the announcement of the arrest by the Municipal Soviet of members of a counter-revolutionary plot during the week in which Yudenitch was approaching Petrograd.

According to the written confession of the wife of Professor Petrofsky, the plot was financed last summer by a British agent.

I understand that the death sentence will probably be reserved for the military members of the conspiracy, and no execution have yet taken place.

The Soviet chiefs have now completely abandoned hope of honest treatment from outside.

Counter-revolutionary money, imported by foreign agents for disaffected bourgeoisie within Soviet Russia, are evidently no longer serious, except as regards the army, and even in this field alone for many months. The system of lay Commissars appointed by the Soviet Executive to supervise military plans for each army staff actually works, and without it the employment of the military skill of the old Tsarist officers would have been impossible.

Tsarist Officers Converted.

The most striking evidence of the solidity of the new regime is the conversion of so many of these relics of the old army machine.

A Commissary attached to one important division on the Western Front told me that his work was now carried on without friction, and that the change in the mind of the officers was due to the difference in that spirit of the soldiers.

"Kerensky's army," he said, "melted away because it was fed on promises. It was no use talking about right or wrong; that was the fact, or the Bolsheviks would not have been in power now."

New Army's Spirit.

"This new army understands what it is fighting for, and is teaching the officers to understand also. Whether they like it or not, these men—all except the most stupid of them—have seen plainly during the last 18 months that Russia will fight for nothing but an entirely new system until Russia is cleared once and for all, of the debris of the past."

"When sabotage or treason occurs among the officers—and they do occur, although in a decreasing number of cases—full publicity is immediately given, with written proofs whenever possible. This evidence is reported to the Soviet in one of the large cities and thence to the newspapers. When foreign agents are implicated, as they so often were during the presence of Foreign Embassies in Russia, another brand is added to the fire of revolutionary hatred for foreigners."

"A new psychology is appearing—a passionate contempt for the foreign Governments who are keeping the war alive; and coupled with it goes a self-reliance entirely new to Russia."

"The blockade, with all its cruelty, is only the climax of a long series of adventures directed from abroad against the Soviet Government."

"The intrigues carried on by the Embassies so long as they remained, were shameful, and were made known not only by the Bolsheviks but by the officials of foreign corps who, disillusioned with their own Government, remained in Russia, notably a group of Frenchmen headed by M. Marchand, the 'Figaro' correspondent, and by Captain Jacques Sadoul."

A Giant's Awakening.

"All such have an immediate effect of speeding up the effect of the Revolution, and this of course is true of intervention as a whole."

"The Russians are willing to pay any price in blood and suffering that may be demanded by England or her Allies to prove they can invent and maintain their own system of Government."

"The Russian giant is being tormented into consciousness, and when fully awake he will alter the course of history."

RUSSIA'S TERMS OF BALTIC PEACE

Esthonia to Disarm Yudenitch's Force

SOVIET USE OF PORTS

Dorpat, December 7. — The Bolshevik peace terms to Esthonia, made public to-day, are as follows:—

1. Mutual recognition of the independence of the two States.
2. Suspension of the state of war, and withdrawal of troops within their own borders.
3. Declaration by the Esthonian Government of the non-existence of alliances with States warring with the Soviets.
4. A similar declaration with reference to the so-called Governments pretending to be Governments of the whole of Russia, or part of same or with any organisation or group in a state of war with Soviet Russia.
5. The above guarantee includes the interment and disarmament of Yudenitch's Army, and the immobilisation under seal of all war stores belonging to him.
6. An amnesty for all Esthonian citizens condemned for supporting Soviet Russia or taking part in the Third International.
7. The institution of diplomatic, consular, and postal and telegraph relations, and of railway communications.
8. The transit by railway from Esthonian ports of goods for Soviet Russia, including the establishment of dock facilities for Soviet Russia at Esthonian ports.

The Bolsheviks, it is announced, will discuss either peace or an armistice as the Esthonian wish. The question will be decided this week.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets passed a resolution on Saturday upholding the present peace policy, and rehearsing categorically 10 occasions from August, 1918, to the present, when peace offers were disregarded by Russia's enemies.

Peace is now offered on the same basis as before—no annexations and no indemnities.

CRYSTAL EASTMAN

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WED. EVE., JAN. 14th

Come and hear a wonderful story of Crystal Eastman's 6 mo. in Europe.

Miss Eastman will also speak on the English Labor movement.



GERMANS DECIDE FOR SOVIETS:

(Continued from page 1)

majority of the delegates under the personal quarrel between Lenin and Kautsky (whose disciple he is) was influencing him in his attitude towards the Moscow International.

League a Capitalist Organ.

Following Hilferding came Stocker, who spoke in favour of the Moscow International. Amid general applause he characterised the second International as opportunist and under the influence of the League of Nations, which was an organ of the capitalists. The third presented an uncompromising front against this tyranny. The attacks which the Bolsheviks had made on the Independent Socialists of Germany were the direct result of the latter's indecisive policy up to now. He denied that the Bolsheviks hated the Socialist and Labour Parties of Western Europe. They did, however, refuse to sit in an International which had dealings with capitalist Governments, and adopted the tactics of Parliamentary opportunism.

It was not true that to enter the Third International was to put themselves under the dictatorship of the Bolshevik party. Nor was it obligatory to adopt terrorist tactics, for according to resolutions passed by the Moscow Conference in March, each party could use its own independent in the methods of fighting counter-revolution.

Ledebour's Hurt Pride.

Ledebour declared that the Bolsheviks had liquidated the Zimmerwald organisation on which the new International should have been built. He laid much stress on the honour of the German Independents, which he said had been offended by the failure of the Bolsheviks to invite them to Moscow in March. Finally, he declared for joining the Third International on condition that the conference first called on all parties standing on the platform of the proletarian dictatorship.

Ledebour's proposal caused some confusion at the conference. The question now is how to enter the Moscow International and still satisfy the wounded pride of Ledebour and his followers. I hear that the Scandinavian Left Socialists, who are already in the Left International, have proposed a conference of all Left Socialist groups with a view to facilitating the entry of the German Independents into the Third International.

Leipzig, December 7. — The Independent Socialist Conference has now taken two decisions likely to be of historical importance. The first decision is embodied in the new party programme passed unanimously on Thursday evening. The kernel of this programme is found in the following passage:—

"The Independent Socialist Party stands for the Soviet system, and aims at the building up of councils of hand and brain workers as organs for realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The new programme also contains passages on trade unions, which are regarded as part of the fighting organization of the Soviet system.

Parliamentary action is permitted only with a view to destroying the capitalist system, of which Parliaments are a part.

Thus, since the November Revolution of last year, the German Independents have undergone a process of mental evolution which brings them, in all but a few details, to the same general position as that of the Russian Bolsheviks and the German Communists. And this change, let it be remembered, has taken place in the strongest Labour Party in Germany, numbering three-quarters of a million hand and brain workers.

The second decision of the party, which is the natural corollary of the first, was taken yesterday. It was decided by an overwhelming majority to leave the second International and to declare that the party stands wholeheartedly for the Third International in Moscow. After long discussion, however, it was decided not to enter the Third International unconditionally. Ledebour's view, which maintained that it was necessary to summon a conference of all Revolutionary Socialist parties standing on the platform of the dictatorship of the proletariat through Soviets as a preliminary to entering the Moscow International, prevailed.

It was objected that this might lead to the founding of a Fourth International, but Ledebour's supporters replied that the inclusion of words in the resolution, committing the party to enter the Moscow International alone if no other parties in Western Europe enter it, would prevent complications of that kind.

The position, therefore, now facing the Labour and Socialist parties in Great Britain and France is as follows:—

At Geneva in February they will find nobody there from Germany but Kaiser Socialists and agents of the Noske regime. They can then, if they will, shake hands with murder. If, however, they declare themselves ready to follow the lead of the German Independents, they should get in touch with the latter with a view to common action in the approaching Moscow International. I believe that in this matter the Scandinavian Left Socialists will act as intermediaries.

It must, however, be pointed out that this change in the programme and tactics of the German Independents, which every one in touch with the movement here has foreseen for some time past, means the complete defeat of old Socialist leaders like Kautsky and Bernstein, and the abandonment of the policy of Parliamentary opposition and agreement with capitalist parties. The Independents are now definitely committed by their programme to Revolutionary Socialism and all its consequences.

It stands to reason that the other parties in Western Europe, if they want an efficient international Labour organisation will sooner or later have to follow suit. For the watchword of the German Independent Socialists now is:—

"THE OLD INTERNATIONAL IS DEAD — LONG LIVE THE NEW INTERNATIONAL."

CANADIAN, BACK FROM POLAND, TELLS OF BRUTAL RULE OF SOVIETS' FOES

Rich Get First Consideration, Poor Left to Starve, Where All Were Fed Under Labor Regime—Red Guard Wins Respect, Says Cantin.

"All Russia cries out to the world to lift the deadly blockade. Russian mothers actually rejoice when their children, ill in bed, do not cry for food. In every home there are children lying with blown-up stomachs and thin necks, hands and legs as a result of continually drinking water instead of eating bread."

So declares A. Cantin, a Canadian citizen, who has arrived here with his wife from Europe, where both observed life in Soviet and non-Soviet Russia from opposite sides of the firing line. Cantin passed through Poland in his search for his wife and three children, while his wife, Mary, brought back a detailed account of conditions under the Soviet regime. Only three weeks they were at Babrowsk, Poland, and Paritchy, Soviet, respectively, where the fighting was on when they left.

Conditions are horrible new in both towns, which are only a short distance from Minsk, but the fact that Paritchy is a fighting center was given by Mrs. Cantin last night as the reason for the misery of those living there under the Soviet government. Before the Polish army came near the town conditions were most favorable, she said.

Speaking, as he said, not as a believer in any of the theories now advanced in Russia, but as a man independent from any of the political parties in his own country, Cantin declared last night: "I can truthfully say that the great majority of the people of Russia believe that if the Bolsheviks were given an opportunity to organize their Soviets everywhere without the need to carry on warfare against the conditions are horrible now they would be a pleasure."

Mrs. Cantin interjected at this point to corroborate the remarks. A description of conditions in the places they came from contrasts the administration of the Soviets and the government by the military heads of the Polish army.

Population Classified.

In her town, Mrs. Cantin said, the Soviet comprised of representatives from the workers there classified the population into three classes. All families were given food cards; those known to be without funds get theirs free; those able to purchase foodstuffs pay the set price; while the rich, the third class, are charged a higher price.

The Soviet declared that he who does not work should not eat; but, although everything, including the banks, was nationalized, the rich succeeded in retaining a good deal of money, with which many of them now obtain food from nearby farmers, although they have not joined the "co-operatives" producing and distributing the necessities of life.

Schools are open and the children are given lunches free. There are free theater performances and concerts under the direction of the local Soviet. Newspapers arrive from Moscow in which the Soviet government tells the truth about the changing conditions in the country, giving all losses and gains of the "Red Guard."

Profiteering Eliminated.

Streets are open and free to any one at any time of the day or night as long as the person has an identification card from the department of the local Soviet. There is little transportation, first, because the railroads are not available, and second, because the Soviet, at present, discourages trade from one large center to another to eliminate the evil of profiteering. Only in the cities far away from the farms is it difficult to obtain food, and there the Soviet attends to the transportation of it. In the smaller towns goods are exchanged with the farmers for their product.

There is no leather at all, the people wearing woven shoes from all sorts of materials and most of them dressing in clothes made out of rags, a great quantity of which were available to the Soviets of the small towns about a year ago.

The Bolsheviks recognize all kinds of money in circulation

since the revolution, including the former Czar's the Kerenski government's and that issued by the Constitutionalists.

Red Guard Wins Respect.

When there is enough food it is available to everybody on the conditions mentioned. The Soviet army is, of course, taken into consideration all along the fighting line. When it becomes scarce it is equally divided, with no discrimination against any class or individuals.

The Red Guard is the most respected body of the community everywhere, the farmers and factory workers coming in for their share of praise, naturally. There is no conscription, those who wish to volunteering for the army of the Soviets. Most of those fit for service joined and considerable numbers are being added to the fighters.

Cantin lived in Babrowsk with his sister for three weeks. With the entry of the Polish army into the town, he said, the rich changed their activities from a state of submissiveness to that of a ruling class. The only money recognized by the military officials is their own Polish mark and the old Russian ruble, which, although twice the value in silver of the mark, is accepted as the equivalent of the Polish mark. The rich, who kept the Czar's money, obtain food while the poor are left to starve. What little food there is going to the army.

Military Rule Rigid.

Rules and regulations laid down by the militia keep almost everybody indoors at all times. Any one caught on the street is conscripted to wash for the army's needs. No one is permitted to be out of his home after 6 p. m. Only children of those who can afford to pay attend school, and amusements can only be had for the money, the poor having none.

"With the capture of a town by the Polish army, the Commissars of the local Soviet are instantly murdered," said Cantin. "Wounded soldiers who are pointed out or admit being Communists meet immediate death. All others are interned."

"Polish soldiers know little of recent changes in the life of Russia and less of Bolshevism. All they say is that the Bolsheviks must die. One can not help but be surprised at the bravery and self-sacrifice of the 'Red Guard' members, however. These are fighting for a principle and in very exceptional cases would those who believe in Communism deny it—although they are aware of the death penalty for telling the truth."

Soviet Troops Choose Death.

"The Soviet troops are an intelligent set of men, fighting for a cause. Soviet soldiers, or for that matter, anyone in Soviet territory, found under the influence of liquor faces death. There is no liquor now in Soviet Russia, everybody of it, evidently, having been transported somewhere into Poland."

"Many of the Soviet soldiers throw off their uniforms when the foot is captured by the enemy, but a large majority would rather die than renounce their belief."

A fine example of the attitude of the soldiers making up the two armies now face to face in the struggle for life was given by Mrs. Cantin when she told of her crossing the fighting line to meet her husband, awaiting her on the other side.

Three hundred families live in a section surrounded by swamps which neither side cares to get near to. This territory is near to both towns between which the fighting line was then formed. The Polish individual soldiers would steal everything, while the Soviet troops would enter and say "Give us bread."

BOLSHEVISM AND DEMOCRACY

By Anton Pannkoek.

The question of Democracy appears to be a great and debatable one. By the word "Democracy" is understood a people's governing power; the people should be governed by themselves. No one should have the right to govern them. They ought to have a free will to decide their fate.

If the above principles are taken as a basis and applied to present-day society, then in reality they cannot be translated into practice. There is no people in the world to-day (except the Russian people) which has the right to decide its fate, because humanity is divided into classes. The exploiters and the workers are ranged against each other in a bitter struggle. These two classes have no common interests, or if they have, they are secondary ones. Therefore they cannot have a common will. If, abiding by the principles of the old democracy, they have representatives in Parliament according to their numbers, will it be possible for them to govern the country in co-operation?

When we speak of the people we have in mind the poor, the masses of the people, as distinct from the rich, the minority. And those people, the workers—the proletarians—ought to govern themselves. Proletarians everywhere appear in a majority. Therefore proletarian interests should be decisive. The proletarians only should rule society. The interests of the bourgeoisie should be ignored. Reformers tell us that in bourgeois society the interest of the workers are partly considered. But we, having before us two opposing objects, can pursue only one of them. I have criticised before, as I do now, the principle of universal suffrage. A man who does not work, but lives from his capital, is a parasite on the community. He should not have equal voice with the worker, whose work supports the community. This is a perfectly ethical consideration. But it may be said further, our aim being to establish society on a Socialistic basis, is so much against the interests of the bourgeoisie that they will obstruct in every possible way the building of the new society. And, building a house, may we accept as assistant people whose object is not to help forward, but to impede, the work? If the masses of the people once clearly understand that to establish society on a Socialistic basis they must exploit their political power they

will put aside any idea of co-operation with the bourgeoisie. There will then be no question of the interests of capital. This, practically speaking, is not a formal "democracy," but in reality it is the highest, the best democracy—the workers' democracy—defending the every day interests of the great masses. This is the order which was named by Marx "Proletarian Dictatorship," which formerly was called Communism, and is now called Bolshevism. The beginning of this order was the Paris Commune of 1871. What is happening now in Russia reminds us of the Paris Commune in a more developed form. The Workers' Delegates Councils (the Soviets) in the towns, and the Peasants' Councils in the villages, are the elements from which is created the Soviet Government.

City Councils are elected by the town Workers' Councils. Factory Workers' Councils of one branch of industry elect Boards of Administration for their branch of production. Congresses of all Councils from time to time decide the general policy. Special congresses meet to consider question of production, education, food, transport, health protection. To these the local Councils send their specialist members in order to derive mutual benefit from the experience of others and consult as to the best plan of future action.

The Russian people have built this moving apparatus to aid them in successfully building the new order of society. This apparatus is the organ of the proletarian dictatorship: the bourgeoisie have no hand in it. They are automatically thrown out of the country's governing organs.

No; for the bourgeoisie, there is no place in this organisation. The reason lies in the fact that the governing apparatus is at the same time the Government, which relies not only on the people, but on their work as well. He who does no work takes away the right to have any influence in the nation's fate. A director or manager of a factory, who agrees to continue his work as technical instructor (under the control of the Workers' Council) may have on equal share with any other worker in running the factory. All members of such Councils are bound to the working masses, who periodically elect, exchange, and replace them by others, and in this way prevent the creation of a new bureaucracy. This can be fully realised, thanks to great determination to learn and to teach others. Knowledge thus ceases to be the monopoly of few individuals.

Examining this, it is possible to see clearly a real people's Government, and to realise how even the most democratic Parliament can not give expression to the people's governing power. Such a Parliament can establish nothing but Parliamentary government. Parliamentarians, once in four years, or let us even say once a year, have to gain the confidence of the people. With beautiful speeches, promises and programmes, they set a majority of votes on their side, and then—they are masters. Not being directly under the influence of the people, they influence only one another. During their Parliamentary period they make long speeches and enact laws. They look all-powerful, but only from the top; in reality the governmental power lies in the hands of the "chinovniks" (office-bearers) and bureaucrats. The latter, and not the Government, govern the people. In the most democratic republics, distribution of administrative power is nothing but camouflage to conceal the real state of affairs from the people. The masses are told that they govern themselves, but in reality the Government is one of capital.

In the French, American, and Swiss democracies the people are under the reign of capital and are under the reign of capital and are exploited by it. Notwithstanding the right to vote, the masses remain powerless and unable to better their conditions. They are oppressed by machinery consisting of Parliamentary Government and "chinovniks."

Only from time to time during an election, may the people make their influence felt. And even then they are deceived by clever speeches and programmes which can only partly be realised. And even if the Parliamentarians are anxious to give attention to the will of the people, they very soon sing into the

Advertisement

GERMAN POLITICAL PARTIES

The following particulars of political parties in Germany, mostly culled from a table in the "Political Review" of 19th ult., will be found useful:—

(1) Kommunisten (Communists). Extreme Left. Object—Communism. Leading newspaper, "Die Rote Fanne" ("The Red Flag.") Well known representative: Clara Zetkin.

(2) Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany). Number of seats in Assembly, 24. Leading newspaper, "Freiheit" ("Freedom"). Well-known representatives: Oskar Cohn, Karl Kautsky, Ledebour.

(3) Sozialdemokratische Partei (Social Democratic Party). Programme: A Republic, Unity of whole Commonwealth, with local powers of separate States. Socialisation of industry where feasible. Workers' Councils Bill. Members in Assembly, 164. Newspapers, "Vorwaerts," "Munchener Post." Well-known members: Ebert, Bauer, Scheidemann.

These three parties were formed as the result of a split in the ranks of the pre-war Social Democratic Party.

(4) Centrum (or Christliche Volkspartei). Programme: Democracy based on the ideals of the Catholic Church. Willing to support the Republic. Number of seats in Assembly, 88. Leading newspapers, "Germania," "Kölnische Volkszeitung." Well-known members: Erzberger, Dr. Spahn.

5. Deutsche Demokratische Partei (German Democratic Party). Left wing of the old German Liberals. Willing to support republicanism only because they hold that monarchy would lead to civil war. Desire unity of a restored German commonwealth on democratic lines. Seats in Assembly, 77. Leading newspapers, "Berliner Tageblatt," "Frankfurter Zeitung," "Vossische Zeitung." Well known members: Koch, Schiffer.

6. Deutsche Volkspartei (German People's Party). Opposed to Socialisation and to republicanism. Lay stress on the national idea as embodied in monarchy. Seats in Assembly, 23. Leading newspapers, "Tagliche Rundschau." Well known member, Stresemann.

7. Deutsche Nationale Volkspartei (Nationalists). Pre-war name, The Conservatives. Want restoration of the old monarchical regime, rebuilding of fleet and army. Motto: "With God for King and Fatherland." Anti-Semitic, anti-Socialist. Seats in Assembly, 34. Leading newspapers: "Deutsche Tageszeitung," "Die Post." Well known members: Heydemann, Von Graefe; Herget.

Deutsche Demokratische Partei was formerly known as the Progressive People's Party. Together with 3 and 4 it forms the Coalition Government Block. The Right is made up of 6 and 7.

The Communists are now attached to the Moscow (or Third) International. The Independent Socialists are with the second International.

EXILED

(A Christmas poem, dedicated to the deportees.)

LOUISE BRYANT.

Do not weep for those so cruelly driven
Out past the gates of America;
But say a prayer for those who stay,
Smiling cold smiles,
Pity a land where forgiveness is dead;
Weep for America on this day of Christ.

Two thousand years—still—
The eternal crucifixion!
America, O dear mother,
It is because I love you
That my eyes are dim.

discipline, side-scene rummaging, intrigues and chattering. Parliamentary government, consisting of Party leaders, establish itself independently of the people's will. But so far as the power of the Government is concerned it is powerless against the strong organization of the State bureaucracy, against administrative power which regards the people as foreigners in a conquered country. The continued existence of Parliament is the professional politicians' watchword, and in their speeches they always insist on the necessity of that institution. They fear Bolshevism, for its coming threatens their reign. When it comes it will be necessary for them to do some kind of useful work instead of making long speeches. Hence their opposition to Bolshevism.

Translator from "Pravda," by

Important Debate

will be held in the

SHRINE AUDITORIUM

Monday, January 12th, 8 p. m.

"RESOLVED, THAT BOLHEVISM IS A MENACE TO CIVILISATION"

Affirmative—JOHN W. BRYANT
Editor North Western Warriors' Magazine

Negative—JACK CARNEY,
Editor of "Truth"

Admission Free. Everybody Welcome!

IDEALISM AND ECONOMICS

(Reprinted from "Socialist" Glasgow).

Marxian Socialists are continually reproached by Reformists for the emphasis that they lay upon the class struggle as regards both the present and the future of all efforts to inaugurate a better and more just social system.

We are told that we are wrong to base our hopes on the workers first becoming conscious of their position and material interests as a class, and then taking political and industrial action to advance those interests by abolishing altogether the wages system. Our point of view is said to be "materialistic" and our methods "undemocratic". How much better, say the idealists and the punctilious democrats, to go slowly, and to appeal to the reason and goodwill of the whole community, so that in the fullness of time a majority may be converted to our ways of thinking, and a Parliament elected, pledged to transform the shambles of capitalism into a Socialist Eden by peaceful legislation. In those days, we are given to understand, the plutocratic lion will not only lie down with the proletarian lamb, but will hasten to divide his skin with the whole flock of sheep; while, as for his claws and teeth, he will not dream of using them, except for scratching his head, cracking nuts and such like idyllic pursuits.

I think it will be generally agreed that, considered in the abstract, an appeal to altruism is a finer thing than an appeal to class interests; and that, if it were possible to convert the whole community, or a majority of it, as our idealist friends imagine, the achievement would be well worth the effort involved. It must not, of course, be supposed that Marxians neglect altogether the appeal to goodwill—far from it—but for reasons which I propose briefly to set forth, they recognise that its results must always be limited, as only a few will or indeed can respond to it.

Dominance of Social Conditions.

It is a commonplace that, until a man's urgent material needs are satisfied, his intellectual side does not begin to function. If hungry, his whole energies will be devoted to the search for food; if cold, for clothes and shelter; only when he has obtained the wherewithal to appease these primal wants, will he begin to think of art, literature or politics? And even though he may have sufficient of the so-called necessities of life for his immediate purposes, if the future supply is in doubt, his first preoccupation will be with it to the exclusion in whole or part of all else.

In our present social order, there are comparatively few persons whose economic position, both present and future, is quite secure; and they are precisely the most selfish members of the community, and the least likely to be influenced by altruistic motives; for they comprise those whose cunning and hardness of heart ensure their being always

able to reap the reward of other men's labour. The great majority of mankind, however, either experience the immediate pressure of want or live in the shadow of its future possibility; and the far greater part of their work and energy is used up in the economic struggle for existence. This is the dominant motive in their lives, and every other plays but a secondary and subordinate part. There is an enormous range of difference between individuals in this respect: in the lives of some the economic almost entirely excludes all else; while in others (the exception) it plays a much smaller part. But the proposition that the economic is the ruling motive is true of the vast majority of men and women, and must remain true as long as they have either present or future want to fear. The few whose theories and actions are largely unbiassed by their economic interests, are people of exceptional psychological and intellectual character who have the rare faculty of being able to look at things from a detached and abstract standpoint.

Evil and Ready-made Opinions.

How seldom do we find that opinions are based on observation or reason. Usually they are taken ready-made from parents, schools, neighbours, or, most important of all, newspapers. Such opinions, springing as they do from mental inertia, can inspire to no constructive enterprise; they rather lead to a dogged resistance to all changed and to all activity that might involve thought and effort. The type of persons that hold them can be moved to be up and doing only when galloped by the economic spur.

The majority of men and women, however kindly and well-disposed, are quite incapable of regarding anything in the abstract, but only from the point of view of their personal, family or class interest. Outside the narrow circle of those whom they regard as their own people, they cannot conceive of humanity at all. The conception is as far beyond the range of their mental powers as the binomial theorem would be beyond those of a Bushman. Kindly and gentle in their own circles, they can contemplate without a thrill the slaughter of a million "foreigners" in battle, the burying alive of Bolshevik prisoners, or the deliberate starving of the children of half a continent. To such Socialism is simply a proposal to despoil the only people they conceive of as human for the sake of those whom they look upon as something lower than horses, but a little higher than cattle, in the scale of values. They can never understand it, much less will they support it; and talking to them about it is a sheer waste of time. So much for the bourgeois. Among the workers, too, there are comparatively few who are capable of being influenced by idealistic and altruistic motives. The economic environment presses down on them much more heavily than on the middle class, and the dread of want, either in the actual present, or in the immediate future, must al-

ways be the leading motive in the lives of most of them.

If, therefore, the future of Socialism had to depend on its altruistic appeal, it would never get beyond being the dream of the more intelligent workers, and the fad of a few middle-class idealists.

Roots of Socialism.

But luckily that is not all. The essence of Socialism is that it involves the end of the exploitation of the labour of some men for the benefit and enrichment of others. It seeks to substitute for the unstable existing system of competition and individualism a stable system of co-operation and communism. It comes, therefore, as saviour and liberator to all who suffer at the present time from exploitation, from poverty, and from economic insecurity of life. In other words, it lies in the line of the economic interest of the great majority. Once the matter is made clear to them, the force of their efforts for self and class-interest will be harnessed to the car of Socialism, and will drag it to triumph.

This is a point of the first importance, for until men understand in which direction their interests really lie, they are likely to go chasing will-o'-the-wisps down all sorts of side tracks. Before the child has learned that gold is of more value than copper, it will prefer a new penny to a sovereign. So it is that the ill-informed worker will grasp at any specious scheme that reformists may offer as a remedy for social ills, simply because he has not sufficient insight into the workings of the social machine to enable him to see through its futility. The Marxian propaganda, therefore, by means of lectures, classes and the Socialist Press aims at giving the workers the mental equipment necessary for a clear understanding of their class interests in the overthrow of capitalism, with the certain assurance that understanding will be followed by action.

Idealism and Economics Reconciled.

But what of idealism? Is it then to be lost to the world, swamped by the incoming flood of class action? The very reverse—for when Socialism is established and life made secure, all men and women, and not a few only will be released from anxiety about food, clothes and shelter. Then, and then only, will the economic cease to be the dominant motive in human affairs; and men and women will be able freely to develop those intellectual or artistic tendencies that now must in most cases perish through disuse. The glorious conception "humanity" no longer a mere abstraction, will then be realised as a concrete actuality; and it will be apparent to the minds of even the least cultured that it is not to be limited to their own little clique, sect, class or nation, but that it includes the whole of mankind. Idealism and economics will be reconciled. — R. M.

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Our new location
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103 E. Superior St. Duluth, Minn.
Twenty years experience in High-Grade Watch Repairing and Jewelry Manufacturing. Full line of High-Grade Watches and Jewelry. We are also authorized agents for Empire Talking Machines.

WAR IS OVER
BUT PRICES ARE UP EXCEPT AT
ERICKSON'S HARDWARE
WE ARE NOW AT
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ALWAYS
A reasonable price on Stoves, Heaters, Furniture, Kitchen utensils and Gen. Line of Dishes at the
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Frank's Shop
Successor to Brawn
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SPECIAL FOR THIS WEEK
Suits & Overcoats from \$15.00 to \$45.00
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SUPERIOR SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL
meets at 8 o'clock
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
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SAVE MONEY
JEWELRY and WATCHES
SOLD AND REPAIRED
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M. GOLD & COMPANY,
1619 North 5th Street,
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FRESH AND SALTED MEATS
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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
The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address. 1021 W. Sup. St.

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"If Ostrov Cannot Repair Your Watch, Then Throw it Away."
WATCHMAKER and JEWELLER
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DULUTH WORKERS

Our Service Is For Workingmen

Workingmens' Clothing and a Big Line of Underwear.
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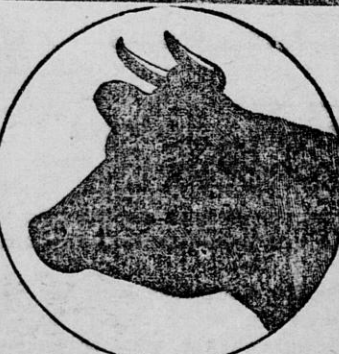
The Place where the Workers feel at Home

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PURE MILK
OUR MILK CONTAINS THE CREAM AND IS GUARANTEED
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We serve from 25th Ave. W. to Piedmont.
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The Greatest Swedish Home Folks Play!



Swedish Dramatic Company
... perform at the

LYCEUM THEATRE

Tickets for sale at
\$1.50 \$1.00 75c 50c

Next 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, 1823 W. Superior
Street; Holmberg's Drug Store, Tower Ave., Superior, Wis.

AXEL SUNDBORG, Director.

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

WILL YOU DO THE SAME?

Many comrades are donating a day's pay to the Defense Fund. We realise the wages of the workers are not so high as to warrant them giving a day's wages away, but the spirit of sacrifice has ever prompted the workingclass to rally to the side of those that stand for THEIR interests. In one case, a man with six children and a wife has donated a day's pay. With such a spirit of devotion there is no power on earth that can stay the march of the workingclass. There are numerous other cases of such acts of devotion that make one feel a lump in the throat. Comrades we fully appreciate all that you are doing. Our pen cannot write the words that can convey to you what the heart really feels. We are sorry that so much money has to be spent, but the issues of the trial are not those of the personality of the Editor of Truth, they are issues which mean so much to us all.

Russia has been the one ray of hope that has guided us through the most trying times of our movement. When the night has been dark and all hope seemed to have fled, was the glorious spirit of those brave 180,000,000 people that kept us to our task. We also stand by the American workingclass. We are not content to allow the imperialists to use the flower of American manhood as international debt-collectors. If foreign markets are good enough to secure, then those who secure them should defend them. The workingclass has never benefited by ANY war and yet they are asked to shed their blood in Russia when there is no cause for war. The Russian people want to be left alone to work out their own destiny. They are not in any way interfering with the rights of the American people. Yet American boys are being sent to support any and every political adventurer that sees in a Russia a glorious chance to reap huge profits from the exploitation of the Russian people.

Comrades we are calling on you to donate a day's pay. Every cent will be honestly expended. Outside of our legal and necessary expenses, not one cent will go to any comrade for his work. Let us show by our support of the case that we are solidly united and that all attacks on one person will be effectively combated by a united workingclass movement.

DO NOT SEND ANY DONATIONS TO THIS OFFICE BUT SENT THEM TO Victor Nordin 1825 Piedmont Avenue, Duluth, Minnesota, secretary-treasurer, CARNEY DEFENSE FUND.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

WORKERS DO NOT BE MISLED

The following advertisement appeared in the Duluth News-Tribune, December 28th, 1919:—

WORKERS!

OF DULUTH

There are conditions in this country that must be changed. We admit that. We have orderly and legal means of changing these conditions.

DON'T BE MISLED

There are numberless agitators in this community claiming to represent you and saying that they strive only for the betterment of you and your brother workmen's conditions.

One of these professional "Red" agitators was interviewed by a member of our committee Christmas night. That man stated in the presence of a number of witnesses that he would debate any subject with us—that he would defend Bolshevism in a public debate. Says that he will stand up for that treacherous and bloody monster that, at this moment, is crushing Russia. That man is Jack Carney.

We believe in the workmen of our country; we will fight to the last ditch for the loyal American workman, but any man claiming to be a friend of the workingman, who will defend Bolshevism, as against the Republican form of Government, is a menace to our community, and we shall not cease our work until he is placed aboard a ship "homeward bound" Loyal American Laborers of the Northwest, we are with you to the finish in fighting for every sound and reasonable request and we want your help in purging the country of such of the "Reds" as will advocate Bolshevism.

NORTHWEST WARRIORS' COMMITTEE

ON AMERICANIZATION

501 Providence Building Robert J. Burns, Vice-Chairman.

WE WILL GO BEFORE ANY WORKINGCLASS ORGANIZATION AND PLACE OUR RECORD ALONGSIDE THAT OF THE ORGANIZATION (?) THAT PAID FOR THE ABOVE ADVERTISEMENT.

Who Support the Bolsheviks?

Cast our eyes around the world and discover for yourselves—fellowworkers—who are the people supporting the Bolsheviks. In England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, it is the workingclass. In France, the workingclass. Even in poor unhappy Belgium, the workingclass. In despised Germany, the workingclass. In Norway and Sweden, the workingclass. In the Orient, the Japanese and Chinese workers. Go to any part of the "civilised" world and you will find the workingclass wholeheartedly in favor of the Bolsheviks of Russia. In the U. S. A. you will find in every hamlet, village, town or city, workers who are for the Bolsheviks and they are not All aliens.

Who Opposes the Bolsheviks?

Clemenceau, known to fame as the "Tiger" of France, Lloyd George, the greatest political demagogue of the 20th century, Orlando of Italy and every representative of the ruling class. Gary, Morgan and their ilk. Every blood sucking piratical profiteer in the world, is wholeheartedly opposed to the Bolsheviks. Because we know who are For and Against the Bolsheviks, that is why we have taken our stand with them. The Bolsheviks are a clean set of people and they are above board, that is more than you can say for their oppressors. OF COURSE WE WILL DEFEND THE BOLSHEVIKS!

What is Bolshevism?

Naturally enough you will want to know what is Bolshevism. Bolshevism, stripped of all the lies and foul abuse of the capitalist class, is nothing nor less than Socialism with its shirt-sleeves stripped up and down to business. There are two kinds of socialists, re-volutionists and re-solutionists. The Bolsheviks have no time for words any longer, they are doing things. As one As Maxim Gorky said:—

"Yes, the old revolutionists used to make a noise with bombs, but this is the noise of the revolutionists hammering out the new social order."

As Mexim Gorky said:—

"Come and go with us toward the new life, whose creation we work for without sparing ourselves and without sparing anybody or anything. Erring and suffering in the great joy of labor and in the burning hope of

progress, we leave to the honest judgement of history all of our deeds. Come with us to the battle against the ancient order to work for a new form of life. Forth to life's freedom and beauty."

Read the above statements and contract them with the words of the above advertisement, Bolshevism... that treacherous and bloody monster that is crushing Russia." The poor misguided mortals, that paid for that advertisement, may fool the business elements of this city, but they can never fool those that go down in the muck and mire and create the wealth of the nation.

Yes, we are with the Soviets. By God we are! We want to see every child taken out of every factory of America. We want to see them ENJOY life, not sweat themselves to the grave. We want to see every brothel closed up and the last key turned in the last lock of the last brothel. Above all we want to see that servile look eliminated from the face of every worker, and watch the worker stand up like a man and live like a man, calling NO man master. To bring about the abolition of every social evil of today and to erect a new social order is BOLSHEVISM. Can you not hear the owner of the North Caroline mills objecting to those little children being taken away from the reach of his dirty paws? You bet you can. They are the men who fight Bolshevism and the authors of that advertisement are the tools these men use. No, they cannot fool us on that score.

Read what an AMERICAN has to say, who was with the Bolsheviks when they overthrew the compromising and corrupt Kerensky government:—

"When I saw these people rise and take the government into their own hands, and at the same time the murderers, torturers, and betrayers, in their grasp, I thought there would be the dreaded bloody-bath. But then I saw these peasants and workers turn on these men who had lashed them, jailed them, and brow-beaten them, not with revenge, but with forgiveness, and as the first act of the new Peasants 'and workmen's Government on November 7th, 1917, decreed the abolition of capital punishment. The Soviet, thought it had a giant's strenght, did not use it as a giant."

Many years ago, in the arenas, of Rome they threw Christians to feed the lions. Christianity rose up and sent a thrill through the whole human race. Men and women, with a devotion, that has been called fanatical by some, smiled through the flames of the burning faggots. Men tied to the rack, refused to deny their principles. The burning faggots and the rack are no more. Instead we have the penitentiary and the Cossack. We also have the same courage and devotion. Millions thrill when they hear that slogan, "Workers of the World Unite!" What a story could be told of the heroic sacrifices of the men and women who go to make up the world-wide movement of the international revolutionary workingclass! Think and twice, friends of the other side! Where is there an organization outside of the workingclass that rallies to the sides of its members, like the workingclass organizations? In this city members of the workingclass, without any protest, but with a spirit of comradeship that makes one feel that life is worth living, have undertaken our defense. Then we tell you that our defense will cost thousands of dollars, you can realise the devotion and courage of those that will furnish that sum. Do you think that you can crush that movement by printing silly advertisements against their leaders. You may give that impression to business men, but you can never fool the workingclass with such advertisements.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

ADVENTURES IN BOLSHEVISM

Miss Clara Savage, AN AMERICAN, visited Hungary, and in the last issue of the "Atlantic Monthly", she writes of her experiences.

Leaving Austria, she entered Hungary with fearful forebodings. The Austrian officials, like the American press, had told her wired stories of what the Hungarian Bolsheviks would do to her. Her fears were increased when she met a young Hungarian business man on the train to Hungary. He was deploring the fact that the Government had taken his business away and he was now compelled to work for low wages. He never stopped to think of how "orful" it was for his workers to live on low wages. Miss Savage eventually arrived in Hungary and judge to her surprise, the Red Guards gave her coffee and helped her all they possibly could. Naturally enough Miss Savage wanted to know why they were so kind to her. The Red officials replied, "Because you are AN AMERICAN". Eventually arriving at her destination she tells of her experiences and remarks that one of the unwritten laws of the Bolsheviks is, "unerring politeness to the strangers within their gates." We commend this unwritten law to the American Legion and the press of Duluth.

Miss Savage tried hotel after hotel, but regretted to find that they were all full up. There was no place to go, save one, and that was the Government headquarters, something akin to the White House. Fancy a stranger going up to the White House and asking for room and board! That is practically what Miss Savage did. She was given the best rooms in the place and at THREE IN THE MORNING Miss Savage slept peacefully and undisturbed, receiving all the attention that was humanly possible.

Read for yourselves, what Miss Savage has to say about her first experience in Hungary:—

Unless you were unalterably convinced that the particular form of government, of social life, of industry, to which you were accustomed was the right one for all times and places, you found it absorbingly interesting to watch this experiment along totally different lines. At times one would feel irritated, at times enthusiastic, at times homesick, because one wasn't used to this new state of affairs, and found it difficult to adapt one's self to it.

At times, I went up to my room to laugh, for Bolshevism certainly has its humorous aspects. At other times, I felt strongly the sincerity, the groping after truth which actuate the real Communist, and was stirred, as any human being must be stirred, to see men struggling after an ideal. And all the time I found myself more awake mentally, more keenly concerned with fundamental questions affecting society, than ever before. You may not sympathize with this attempt at a communistic state in Hungary, you may eventually condemn it, but you've got to think about it. Russia lighted the red fire of Bolshevism, and the flames are spreading. Sings of unrest and Bolshevik tendencies are expressing themselves in strikes and labor demonstrations all over the world. You can't really be alive to-day unless you realize the seriousness of this fact and try to understand it.

The fundamental idea in the communistic state of Hungary was that every adult person, man or woman, should earn

his own living. Imagine living in a place where they take that story about Jesus Christ declaring that it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to get into heaven, literally, and begin to take away his riches from the poor rich man! Imagine a place where no one can earn more than forty to fifty dollars a week, and no one less than fifteen!

That was the kind of a place communistic Budapest was trying to be. To understand it you have to understand the scheme of things—the plan of government. Briefly, it is like this.

The governing body of the state was the National Soviet or Workingman's Council (Munkastanacs they call it in Hungarian), which is composed of representatives elected from the local Soviets of the various cities, towns, and counties. The local Soviets are made up of workers representing the various trades or professions, and are elected by their fellow workers. You would find artists, ditch-diggers, bank presidents, dressmakers, and other widely varying professions represented in the Soviet. The National Soviet elects the heads of the government departments, called commissars. There were twenty-six commissars acting as heads of the twelve departments. There were, for instance, the commissary of education, of hygiene, of production, of transportation and railroads, of justice, and so on, corresponding to the administrative departments of our government.

The following extract from the article will interest our readers and throw the lie back in the teeth of those that have characterized Bolshevism as the rule of murderers. The first portion of this extract proves why it is the rich oppose Bolshevism and why the workingclass should support it:—

We had another glimpse of this side of things in Hungary, when we dined with a family which had formerly been wealthy. Now they had no more money, no more food than anyone else; their retinue of servants had been reduced to one maid, and on the next day their large apartment was to be divided so that another family would occupy a part of it. They were utterly rebellious. After a simple, but very good dinner, for which the mother apologized profusely, we went to the reception-room for coffee and were joined by a girl cousin, who was a perfect specimen of this type of family, delicately bred, sensitive, with a fragile blonde loveliness. She had been used to having everything she wanted. She was an artist, had studied in Italy.

'I want to go back to Italy,' she said, 'but I can't leave this abominable country. All our money is confiscated. They have taken away several rooms of our apartment, though I managed to keep an extra one by calling it my studio. And they have seized our summer home on the Danube, and filled it full of dirty little proletarian children.'

I asked her what work was under the new government. 'Oh, they classify me as a "young artist!" I'm allotted 2500 kronen (\$100.00) a month, because my work has won some recognition. It's about enough to pay for one of my hats!'

By way of contrast, I visited one of the former slum districts of Budapest. Many of the families had moved to better quarters, but we found one family of thirteen living in two rooms. The father was taken earning 2000 kronen a month as a skilled workman, and they were about to move to a better house.

'We're getting our chance,' said the father of the family. 'We're going to live like decent folks and take care of the children and have some comfort.'

There you have the two sides of the picture—the rebellious bourgeoisie, resentful at having their big houses, their servants, their limousines, their bankaccounts taken from them, forced to live simply and to work, and the proletariat, who believed they were getting a chance they had never had to live comfortably and bring up their children decently.

III.

But, to get right down to it, how does communism affect the welfare of children? About the most important question you can ask of any government is what it is doing for the next generation. I had come to Hungary from Austria, where children were starving to death by the hundreds. Four years of food-blockade is having its effect. I saw hospitals filled with children slowly dying from hunger—'Angel Factories,' they call them. You couldn't see this in communistic Hungary. When the Bolshevik government tackled the food-problem, it decreed, first of all, that children should have milk, that they should be well fed. The children in Hungary are plump and well.

Forms of government are interesting enough, but the thing that came nearest to making me a Bolshevik was a visit to the big baths in Budapest where all the school-children are bathed once a week. Just before the Bolsheviks came into control, a magnificent new hotel had been built on the shore of the Danube, with all the elaborate perfection necessary to satisfy the most exacting, sophisticated taste. Then along came the Bolsheviks. They took it over and decreed that its famous mud baths and sulphur baths should be open to everyone for a nominal sum. Certain days a week are reserved for the children.

If you could have seen them! Five hundred small boys, with straight, supple little bodies, standing in line to march in front of the doctor and be examined before being allowed in the bath. Children with weak hearts, any form of skin-disease, or contagion, must be bathed separately. Once pronounced fit, off they scampered to scrub themselves earnestly with soap and water in the showers, and then rush out and into the big pool. The bathing-rooms were of white marble, the great pools lined with turquoise-blue tiles and filled with crystal-clear water. Into them splashed the small boys. You can't imagine a happier sight, unless it was the five hundred little girls in the next room bathing in another great turquoise-blue pool, their softly curved, beautiful little bodies flushed pink from splashing and swimming. Such perfect joy as that one hour a week was to those children! And then to see them coming away, hand in hand, with damp curls or pigtails and shining, scrubbed little faces. You had to stop and think for a moment to know whether you had stepped into the Kingdom of Heaven or into a Bolshevik state.

'But,' says someone, 'public baths for children are perfectly possible without Bolshevism.'

Yes, it seems as if they ought to be. I do not claim that the world should go Bolshevik so that children may have a weekly bath; but I would like to point out that any form of government that puts food for babies and the health of its children first is a form of government worth consideration.

The housing problem was one which was creating a good deal of difficulty in Budapest. The Communist government had decreed that no family should be entitled to more than three rooms, in addition to the kitchen, bathroom, and rooms set apart for definite work. Stories have been current that in Hungary millionaires and street-sweepers had been forced to share the same apartment; but although some curious combinations resulted as a rule, families with similar tastes and professions were encouraged to live together.

Miss Savage goes on to describe a trial, conducted by the Bolsheviks:—

One morning we were admitted to the Military Tribunal, which is the court of justice in a communist state. As a rule, it was not open to the public, and it was with some difficulty that we were admitted. A man who had been the trustee of a great munitions factory before the days of communism was being tried on the charge that he had kept his

workingmen from organizing in trade-unions and has in other ways interfered with what they believed to be the rights of the workers. The accused was a tall, iron-gray man, with a lantern jaw and sharp eyes. He stood stiffly erect in his military uniform and faced his three judges with an arrogant dignity. There was no jury. The man stated his case. Without understanding Hungarian, one could see that he was making a straight-to-the-point, dignified statement. When translated, we found he had said that, as his factory was a munitions plant, it was operated under military law; that he was, first of all, a soldier, and had simply obeyed the commands of those above him.

His statement finished, four witnesses appeared, three for one against him. They were workmen from his own factory. Three of them declared that he was right; he had been the tool of powerful military authorities; that he meant no harm, but had not been strong enough to withstand pressure brought to bear by those higher up. I watched the face of the prisoner. It must have been hard for him to listen to these workmen over whom he had formerly tyrannized declare that he meant well, but was weak! The fourth witness attacked him bitterly, but his questioning brought out the fact that he had an irrelevant personal grievance.

The entire trial was conducted with the utmost calm, dignity, and fairness. There was no bullying by the judges, no attempt at tricky cross-questioning, no sharp practices. We heard, the next day, that the man was acquitted.

This trial seems to me fairly representative and important. Here was a man of the hated bourgeois class, who had been ruthless in attempting to curtail the rights of the workingmen. He was brought to trial by the workmen, before workmen judges, and they said he was not to blame, that he was merely the tool of an old system, and acquitted him. After all the tales of bloodshed and public execution for offenses, which have been attributed to Bolshevism, I was glad to see an actual trial by the Military Tribunal.

Miss Savage concludes her article, with a description of Bela Kun, who was made premier of Hungary, after the old system had been overthrown. Coming from the pen of one who has the good fortune to witness Bela Kun in action, it is a direct refutation of the lies that have been woven about his career:—

And Bela Kun? Bela Kun was an absolute dictator. He could not very well help being, because there wasn't another man among the Bolshevik group in Hungary who could compare with him from the point of view of personality, intellect, and executive ability. When I first shook hands with him, I saw a dark, squat, thick-set man, with great rolling lips and a thick nose in a broad face. An ugly little man, more muscular than intellectual in appearance. Then I sat near him on a platform, while he addressed an immense audience of men and women. He put one foot up on the edge of his chair and leaned toward them, the perspiration pouring from his forehead, his right arm driving his words home with hammer-strokes in rhythm with his short sentences. Then you saw his real self—the self of a man who is absolutely sincere, pledged to what he believes is a great ideal, fired with a great faith, and willing to sacrifice anything for the sake of his cause. Ask even his enemies, and they will tell you that Bela Kun is all that I have said.

The Allied Governments stepped in and prevented the Hungarian Communists from carrying out the wonderful program that they had laid down. The poor children will not be able to swim and bathe in those wonderful Hungarian baths, not until the Communists again obtain control. The people will not know what it is to sleep in large airy rooms, they will be driven back to the slums, from whence they came. ALL THIS WILL BE DONE IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY! The Allies will be able to place Hungarian capitalism back on the throne, but when the workers of the world unite, all the governments of the world will be powerless to prevent the Communists from carrying out their ideas. The world is demanding a newer and better life and the workers of the world are going to establish it.

J. C.

HAVE YOU DONATED THAT DAY'S PAY TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

GENERAL J. J. PER(i)shing

General Pershing the other day addressed members of the American Legion. The following remarks were made by him:—

"It is up to you to realize that you are guardians of our future. It is up to you to oppose radical doctrine—not passively, but actively; morally if possible, but if necessary NOT TO HESITATE TO EMPLOY PHYSICAL FORCE."

Yes boys, when the workingclass, of which you are a part, object to slaving for the pals of "Jack" Pershing, you just knock them down. "Jack" Pershing will sure appreciate you driving your fellow-workers back to work. Your physical force methods will keep down wages, your wages as well. Great stuff being a general! You can throw the bull and have it presented to the public as intellectual wisdom.

We have no objection to "Jack" Per(i)shing advising the use of physical force, if he would come out in the open against a tough miner and endeavor to carry out his advice. But no, men like Pershing, even though they are generals, have not got the manhood to come out and do their own dirty work. They play upon the sympathies of the rank and file and innocently, but thoughtlessly, the rank and file really believe they are doing a noble work. We have a few "Jack" Per(i)shing in this community. They live in the East End. You should hear them at a banquet, but meet them in the street. As the song says, "You'd be surprised."

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?

THE WORKERS AND THE STOCKBROKER

In Duluth we have at least one firm of stockbrokers and if you will go to the Board and Trade you will find many cheap editions.

Have you ever contrasted the stockbroker with the shipyard-worker?

The shipyard works all through the summer and the winter and builds ships. These ships render service to society and help to transport the manufactured goods and in return transport back the raw materials. WE CANNOT DO WITHOUT THE SHIPYARD WORKER.

The stockbroker is a parasite, even upon business men. He creates nothing and supplies no want of society. When the stockbroker wins he takes money for which he does not render any service and when he loses some other stockbroker takes from him what he got for nothing. WE CAN DO WITHOUT THE STOCKBROKER.

Yet there are more stockbrokers retiring when old age creeps on, than there are shipyard workers.

WILL YOU GIVE A DAY'S WAGES TO THE DEFENSE FUND?