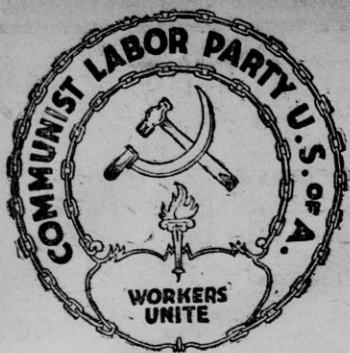




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SOVIET RUSSIA WELCOMES DEPORTEES

SOVIET RUSSIA ANXIOUS FOR BRITISH TRADE

Ready to Cease
Propaganda in Asia

DEVELOPING
INDUSTRY

Bullets Will Not
Bring Concessions

M. PHILIPS PRICE.

Berlin, November 27.—I have just received a letter direct from Moscow, from a friend who gives the following particulars of events there.

Yudenitch it appears, was never regarded as a serious danger by the military advisers of the Republic. On the other hand, Denikin, by mobile cavalry detachments, was able to break in behind the Reds southern front in several places. My correspondent writes:—

"Only when Moscow was for a short time in danger did we realise the strength of the Russian Revolution. In one day the membership of the Communist Party in Moscow increased by 15,000. Within one week 100,000 Communist workmen from the industrial centres of North and Central Russia volunteered for the front. As there are already 200,000 such workmen in the Red Army, it can be seen what immense revolutionary power stands behind the fighting arm of the Republic."

Wireless-equipped Cavalry.

The Central Soviet Executive, my friend continues, has decided to begin a big offensive against Denikin as soon as the time set for the Allies reply to the new peace proposals expires. The Red Army has now reorganised its cavalry force on the southern front. It is commanded by the well-known Communists Sokolnikof and Pyatakoff, and is equipped with wireless apparatus so that when raiding parties break behind Denikin's lines they can keep in touch with one another.

In the interior of Soviet Russia economic conditions are steadily improving, and were aided this year by a good harvest. On the other hand, the harvest in the Baltic States and Poland is not so good, and this probably has had much to do with the desire of the Governments of these States to make peace with the Soviet.

This inclination is all the stronger now that it has been demonstrated that the Allies cannot, on account of their own economic crises, send any food or raw material to these States, but can only send instruments of murder and poison gas, which feed nobody.

Anxious for Trade With Britain

As regards peace with the Baltic States, my correspondent writes that the Soviet Government has always recognised the right of these peoples to determine their own form of government, and only asks for a favourable economic agreement which will enable the population of Great Russia to secure trade communication with Western Europe, particularly with England, through the Baltic ports.



—Drawn for New Solidarity by Maurice Becker.

In the East, he says, a great reconstruction work has been begun in the Urals, following on the collapse of Kolchak's adventure. Three new railways are under construction — an Orenburg-Ufa line, a Troitsk-Orsk line, and a Uralsk-Iletsk line — each having the object of developing the resources of these fertile regions. It is suggested that if the iron and copper kings of London who are behind the British intervention want to liquidate their Ural mining shares for something tangible they can do so in future by an agreement with the Soviet instead of hiring cannon fodder to shoot down Russian workmen and peasants.

The Council of Public Economy in Moscow has recruited a large number of skilled workers to go to Central Asia for cotton development schemes and other public works.

Asiatic Revolutionary Movements

As regards revolutionary propaganda in Asia, my correspondent states that the Government has established a big Oriental department in Moscow with professors from all Asiatic peoples, and that it regards propaganda as a legitimate weapon of defence against intervention. If, however, the British Government sincerely wants peace, the Soviet, while still sympathising with the national independence movements of Asiatic peoples, will refrain from any direct or indirect support of them. This may or may not soothe Downing Street's alarm over Soviet designs on Afghanistan and India.

THE CONTINENTAL ELECTIONS

By W. H. RYDE.
"London Call"

The results of the Belgian, French, and Italian general elections are sufficiently to hand to permit a review of the general situation. The jubilation of the capitalist press over the 'red rout' in France was changed to stony silence as the magnificent victory of our Italian comrades became manifest.

The Belgian elections aroused little enthusiasm. Why should they? The "Socialist" ministers, with Vandervelde at the head, still defend the "sacred truce", and co-operation of Belgian "Socialists" with Liberals and Catholics. The victory of Vandervelde is to be viewed as a victory of Belgian capitalism, and of Allied Imperialism, whose faithful servant he remains. This social-patriot, who used the Tsar's diplomatic corps to urge the Russian Socialists to follow his traitorous lead, and thus sacrifice the workers' and peasants lives for the triumph of Allied Imperialism, now hankers to fill the role of a Noske. His possible premier-ship finds little disfavour in capitalist circles. Why should it? Is not his war record one of unbroken servility to bandit capitalism?

But while the Paris bandits have awarded themselves the world to plunder and rob, the masses at home and the native races abroad are in a rebellious mood. To plunder abroad the workers must be pacified at home. Here is a task for such a practised go-between as Vandervelde. Open class struggle is dangerous to capitalism: so he sings of social peace. To demand the undivided rule of the workers is revolutionary: so he chants the praises of coalition governments. Coalition governments are the lightning conductors of tottering capitalist nations. The social patriots may delay, they cannot avert the ultimate dictatorship of the proletariat.

The defence and explanation of the French Socialists of the electoral gains and losses, is not without irony. This particular 'western democracy'—for whose wonderfully democratic institutions they vote war credits and untold workers' lives, has been discovered to be the reverse of democratic. Thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of Socialist voters have been deprived of all representation. A most fitting termination of a capitalist war of "democracy"! We quite recognise, indeed emphasise, in

justice to the French Socialists, that the "democratic" machinery told heavily against them. But even making the fullest allowance for this, and recognising their increased vote, we are still of opinion that their sitting on the fence, their want of revolutionary courage, and clearness, their blowing hot and cold over the Bolshevik regime, and their demoralising acceptance of the "class truce," told more heavily against them at the polls. Theirs, too, is the responsibility—in a large measure—of the anti-parliamentarism of the French masses. The election has a clear moral for the French masses. The election has a clear moral for the French Socialists: the complete purging of the party of all social-patriot traitors, secession from the Second International, militant class struggle against French Imperialism and its counter revolutionary aims, vigorous defence and popularisation of the Russian Communist regime, and affiliation to the Third International.

And Italy? What of the "Red rout" capitalist flunkies? In Italy our comrades are reaping the fruits of their magnificent fidelity to the proletarian International. Communism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the complete overthrow of capitalism—this was the issue placed before the electorate by the Party.

Country Will Welcome First U. S. Political Refugees, He Asserts.—Denies Press Lies.

Workers' Republic Persecutes Nobody For Beliefs, Soviet Bureau Head Declares.

Denouncing representations in the press that he was responsible for a statement which declared that Emma Goldman and Ludwig Martens, head of the Russian Soviet bureau here, wrote a letter to the woman anarchist in which he said that "Soviet Russia persecutes nobody for beliefs or political or economic theories."

"I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States", the Russian representative wrote Miss Goldman, who is now awaiting deportation, with Alexander Berkman and other Russians, to Soviet Russia.

In his letter, Martens informed Miss Goldman that Russia was not engulfed in the general wave of hysteria against radical opinion, and expressed regret that he could not provide for the comfort of the deportees. He hoped that those who were being returned to Russia would aid in the work of reconstruction there.

Letter Made Public.

Martens' letter, copies of which were made public, follows:

"New York morning papers, Sunday, December 14, published an alleged interview with me regarding your enforced departure to Russia. I was maliciously represented as having said that you and other refugees will not be welcome in Soviet Russia and that you may be punished by death if you 'plot there as you plotted here.' While I have never had the pleasure of making your acquaintance, I feel confident that you understand that I have made no such statements, and I am writing this only to emphasize this fact.

"Far from sharing in the malicious hysteria, a product of which are the stories which I now want to correct and many other insults to which you your Comrades in exile, and thousands of other men and women of Russian birth have been subjected in the United States, I wish on behalf of my country to state that the Workers' Republic of Russia will be glad to offer an asylum to the first group of political refugees from the United States.

"Soviet Russia persecutes nobody for his beliefs or political or economic theories. Everybody, be he a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or a Communist, is in Free Russia at liberty to express

his opinions and to advocate his beliefs as long as he does not engage himself in active co-operation with the enemies of the Russian workers—especially at this crucial time, when Soviet Russia is fighting for her existence against an avalanche of enmity and conspiracy.

Confident of Welcome.

"Whether he be a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or an unfaithful Communist, he meets severe punishment in Russia if he is found actively violating the interests of the Russian workers.

"I have no reason whatsoever to believe that you and your comrades in exile will not find yourselves in Russia wholeheartedly working for the strengthening of the ideals of the Russian Soviet Republic. I am confident that you, therefore, will be as welcome there as any other workman or woman who is interested in the liberation of the working class.

"I regret very much that the anomalies of the present situation prevent me from personally arranging for your security and comfort during your journey to Russia.

"You are perhaps aware of the fact that I, on behalf of my government made an offer to the government of the United States to provide, at the cost of Soviet Russia, free transportation to my country of all Russians in America who want to return there, or whose presence in the United States is not desired by the authorities here.

"This proposition so far, has led to no results. If realized, it would have saved you unnecessary humiliation and privation, and it would saved the authorities here unnecessary excitement.

"Please accept my best wishes and convey them to all the other refugees. Tell them that Russia, liberated from the oppression which drove them out of their native land, is welcoming them back, confident that they will find there an opportunity to work for the development of the Soviet Republic of Russia.

That action to cite Martens for contempt of the Lusk Committee would not be begun was an announcement made by the attorney general's office. It was said that the absence of Assemblyman Louis M. Martin from the city was the cause for the delay. Martin's signature on papers to begin the action against the Russian representative here is necessary.

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



DO NOT FAIL TO HEAR
"MIKE MURPHY, ORGANISER
BOSTON POLICE STRIKE.
"MIKE" WILL SPEAK AT
THE WOODMAN HALL SUN-
DAY EVENING DECEMBER
28TH 8 P. M. PROMPT.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

"EUROPE IS MINED"

"The revolution (in Germany) will come, not from idealistic motives, but from harsh economic pressure, from the bitterness of despair; and once it comes it will be impossible to control it." Professor Nicolai, German professor.

By Paul Wallace Hannu

"What is happening today is the outgrowth of war," cries Turati to the deputies of Rome. "War arouses all appetites and the more you attempt to gratify them the less you succeed in satisfying them!"

A young man sat writing a memorandum to President Wilson. I had climbed the winding staircase to the young man's sunny alcove in the State Department. A calendar on the wall showed that we were in the first week of October, 1918. I put the question that was in every mind in those days. The young man pointed to a pile of reports from diplomatic, naval, economic and consular agents scattered all over Europe.

"The race is on between Wilson and Lenin," he said; "between a negotiated peace and a general European revolution."

"Which will win?"

"The negotiated peace will come first. The Germans are all in. After that the war in Europe will be an evolution toward social democracy, on the one hand, and the effort to reach it by a single bound which is called Bolshevism, on the other. There is no other issue left in the world."

In Washington and Paris the same young man, William C. Bullitt, continued to digest facts and write memoranda for the President and the peace commissioners. Then he resigned because, as I gather, he had become convinced that the work of our own and other diplomats at Paris was tying the hands of the evolutionist and firing the torch of the revolutionist.

Bullitt is no longer in Washington, but good reporters continue to climb winding back stairs to the alcoves of officials who possess facts and know how to interpret them. And it is these who remind me in the most confident language that in Europe it is still a race between Lenin and Wilson.

"The crisis will come this winter or early next spring," said a man whose finger feels every tug at the financial resources of the United States. And that evening Herbert Hoover spoke in public at the other end of the country, saying:

"During the coming winter some

of the peoples of Europe will look with longing eyes to this rich, fat nation, with its surplus of every human necessity. We cannot fiddle while Rome burns. If we believe we can see our neighbors return to a thirty years' war, through the breakdown of this treaty, and we still maintain our progress, it is the egotism of insanity."

The artful advocate of a special interest frequently manacles the truth to a fallacy. Hoover is only guessing, at best, about the effect of a League of Nations. But he is not guessing about the suffering and terror which confronts Europe. On the latter point his statements tally exactly with information possessed by the Treasury Department, the Shipping Board and the Department of State.

And his redoubled interest in the League of Nations is a first class confession that all the expedients of boundless American charity have definitely failed to ward off the catastrophe which he now sees approaching.

Capitalism's the Only Hope

The alternative "Lenin or Wilson" no longer concerns the personality of either of those gentlemen. The first remains at the head of a great experiment which flourishes over Great Russia and beyond; the latter lies painfully ill of a nervous exhaustion which strikingly typifies the condition of that social order which he has labored to preserve substantially intact. Wilson may recover, as his countrymen sincerely hope; Lenin may fall, as his countrymen trust he will not; the forces they represent will remain at critical grips for a sure twelve months to come.

I must refer again to Bullitt. He asked me a year ago if I thought American Socialism could be relied upon to stand with moderates against the all-European drive for immediate communism which he anticipated. "Bolshevism is a hardy weed that requires no cultivation," he said,

"but moderate Socialism will perish and be swept away unless all the friends of orderly evolution unite to shelter it."

Then ensued a discussion which I heard repeated in England, France and Italy all last winter, and which attained bloody proportions throughout Central Europe. Would the old order yield to reform? Would the peace conference face the fact that industrial democracy was knocking at the door and must batter its way in if it were not peacefully introduced? Would the international or domestic capitalist groups sacrifice private profits to the general good sufficiently to restore production, care for unemployment and placate the masses during the post-war struggle between reconstruction and revolution?

One year has elapsed and what do we find? A high official of the Treasury Department gives me this summary: Every government in Europe is bankrupt, excepting a few that were neutral in the war. They have all defaulted in their interest on the \$10,000,000,000 this country loaned them. They all regard our loan as a contribution to the struggle and none intends to repay either interest or principal. Their industries are stagnant and their populations rebellious. They are not producing half enough to supply their needs. The credits advanced them by this government have dwindled to a few millions, and, excepting Belgium, none will be given fresh credits (gifts). Private credits are not worth considering because the American banker demands a cash customer. Finally, currency is so inflated and prices so prohibitive that conservative Europe is wavering between a capital levy (confiscation) and the abolition of the gold standard.

Every hope of the moderates has been dashed by bourgeois blindness. One example will suffice. Coal is basic in modern life. Without it there can be nothing but stagnation and misery in crowded Europe. The people of France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia will require a minimum of 150,000,000 tons of coal this

winter. They cannot possibly receive more than one-third that amount. By straining every nerve America may furnish as much as 20,000,000 tons.

The coming six months will impose a strain upon the flesh, blood and patience of Europe far more severe than anything known during the war. Yet the governments responsible are helpless to ward off the blow. Helpless, without having recourse to socializing methods almost as drastic and dangerous to the old economic order as those which the communists are advocating. And such methods they will not countenance.

Preying on the Wretched

On the contrary, the most flagrant vices of individualistic profiteering are noted throughout Europe on a scale which suggests the madness of those whom the Gods would destroy. In Greece and Scandinavia the fuel shortage is so critical that governments there have appealed to the United States Shipping Board for vessels to bring them coal. Yet Greece and Norwegian ships are busy carrying coal from the country to Italy! Ships follow profits, as of yore, and the private owners of those Greek and Norwegian vessels can make more money out of the Italian trade than by relieving the fuel famine in their own countries.

Denmark, Holland and Italy cry for American ships to bring them coal. That is, their governments do. But Danish, Dutch and Italian ships are piling up profits for their private owners by specializing in the richer business of supplying South America and the fuel bunkers at Gibraltar. Though misery and Bolshevism come in Italy, Denmark and Holland, naval supremacy must be maintained and profits piled up for Italian, Danish and Dutch ship owners. So flagrant and cynical is the rush for profits that the Shipping Board has been driven to an official protest and warning.

Governments might easily have commandeered all the means of strictly in the public service during these critical twelve months. Duskiness men, of whose wisdom and good will we still hear so much, might have checked their appetites

to prove that a social system need not be abolished to get rid of its various evils. Neither thing has been done.

"What is happening to-day is the outgrowth of the war," cries Turati to the deputies at Rome. "War arouses all appetites and the more you attempt to gratify them the less you succeed in satisfying them!"

Old Order Standing on its Guns

With only one eye do statesmen seem to see. It is an open secret that European governments are preparing to "cure" with machine guns the uprising that they cannot prevent. The peace treaty fixed the German army at 100,000 men, but Noske still commands some 500,000 picked troops to awe the masses with, and the supreme council at Paris makes no move to demobilize them. In France the soldier eats best of all the people while the nation sits dazed and motionless from the shocks of war. England is spending every day \$10,000,000, more than her income, but the fixed policy of the war office is a permanent army of 900,000 men.

Italy not only fears to demobilize but her army chiefs are striving to find in the Fiume incident a pretext for overthrowing the political regime and establishing a military dictatorship for the dangerous period ahead. Those Italian reactionaries know their peril better than America is permitted to see it for only a few newspapers reported the address of 29th:

Turati who declared on September 29: "Only the proletariat is capable of saving Italy from either militarism or Bolshevism. Yet we Socialists, even the mildest of us, if put to a choice between militarism and Bolshevism, will not hesitate to choose the latter."

Addressing the voters with respect to this month's general election, the Italian Socialist Party calls upon the masses to unite in what it regards as a final effort to provide a parliamentary outlet from an intolerable situation, for it says: "The next battle will not be a simple electoral contest but a high manifestation of force and will be by the Socialist proletariat to overthrow the bourgeois regime."

Germans Expect Revolution

"Only the proletariat is capable of saving Italy from either militarism or Bolshevism. Yet, we Socialists, even the mildest of us, if put to a choice between militarism and Bolshevism, will not hesitate to choose the latter."

A conservative reporter just out of Germany tells us that Daumig, Muller, Geyer, Ledebour, the Left Wing Independents and the Communists believe the impending revolution there may be bloodless if Noske's army shall be reduced to 100,000 men. "They are sure it is coming," Says Professor Nicolai. "The revolution will come, not from idealistic motives, but from harsh economic pressure, from the bitterness of despair; and once it comes it will be impossible to control it."

To that depth of discouragement have those men in Europe been reduced who had much faith a year ago that Europe could emerge peacefully from the debacle of war, guided by the good will of moderate men. I read a dispatch from Warsaw, dated October 3. "A crisis is impending in Poland. The present ministry is tottering. Industries are ruined and the country is without materials or credit. Profiteering between farmers and middlemen has reduced the poor population to misery. Unemployment is increasing. The Communist agitators are working hard for a revolution. The powerful Socialist party has practically made common cause with the extreme Communists."

Of Great Britain it may be said that there is less hope because there is less stagnation. While the Continent drifts toward disaster, the progressive forces in England have shaken off both paralysis and fear. "His Majesty's opposition" is Labor, within whose ranks are contained all the men and women who see that the issue is drawn between the old financial feudalism and the new social democracy. The general strike is a barbarous thing, but people who endured the late war do not quail before a touch of barbarity; disorder, even blood will not bar them from a coveted goal.

But labor is passing the peak of its negative philosophy. During last summer's food war in Italy it was the labor councils that assumed jurisdiction in serving the people with

necessities. Throughout Europe the masses have been trained in the co-operative distribution of food, and upon this system they have been relying more and more during the past year. And among all the organized workers there is the thought that they may shortly be called upon to replace, almost overnight, the shattered machinery of the old order. To illustrate, on September 29, immediately after the general strike on the British railways, W. L. George prepared and the Daily Herald printed the following suggestion:

That every trade union in the nation that day appoint delegates to a local committee to take over and control food, fuel, sanitation, police and charity; that each local committee appoint delegates to a similar country committee to meet the second day after; that each county committee appoint delegates to a central peoples' committee which should sit in Westminster on Friday to determine the distribution of the highest functions, to take over the national police such as defence, taxation, foreign affairs, and to lay down for the local committees general rules respecting food, fuel and transport.

A fantastic program! Is it more fantastic than the assumption by impotent statesmanship that Europe will freeze and starve in submissive obedience during the next nine months? Since argument has been reduced, on the one side, to machine gun battalions, and on the other to workmen's councils to distribute necessities, can Americans wonder any longer that the discouraged moderates are turning by thousands to the second course?

Perhaps the crisis will pass. Providence may intervene with a substitute for fuel and employment, or with a lotion to melt the hearts of the selfish. But if it does the Department of State, Shipping Board and Treasury officials will be greatly astonished. Europe is mined, and they expect to see it blow up. —"Reconstruction".

THE LOGIC OF LIFE

By R. M. FOX.
(Reprinted London Call.)

Surely Marx and Lenin cannot be called wage-earners, and does not this show that it is opinions and not class which matters, and that the whole conception of the class struggle is wrong?

Many sincere critics say something after the above style and think that they have demolished the class struggle conception, and that nothing remains to be said.

These people will admit that Marx and Lenin are intelligent, in fact they assert it. Their whole point is that these men are clever and sincere, and that they are not workers. Their view is, apparently, that if only this had occurred to Karl Marx we should never have heard of the class struggle. If one of them had been by the side of Marx and had said—"Excuse me, sir, but you are not a worker, so your class struggle theory falls"—it would have saved a lot of trouble. Or if a postcard could be dropped to Lenin, conveying this information, he would see his mistake at once.

Simple solution—simple people! To most of us though, this is not quite satisfactory. We want to know why intelligent men like Marx and Lenin persist in their class struggle idea, even though they are not workers themselves. Surely the point has occurred to them.

I suggest to the critics that it has, and that their point is of no significance at all.

It is perfectly true that Marx and Lenin cannot be classed economically as wage-workers, but it does not follow from this that the theory of the class struggle is wrong.

What is the class struggle theory? It is simply this. The workers—those who sell their energy to live—will develop a revolutionary outlook special to them, and will become a revolutionary force. The masters—those who live on the labours of others—will remain a reactionary and conservative force, and will cling to their privileged position as long as they can. What will make the workers revolutionary? The growing insecurity of their lives, the unity in the factory a sense of solidarity born of common suffering, a growing sense of slavery. In a word the chains of capitalism will gall the workers so much that they will think to how they can remove them.

Marx formulated this theory from the outside, as it were. He was not, at any rate at first, subject to economic pressure. He was able, because of his extremely powerful mind and exceptional opportunities for study to raise himself above the general mental outlook of his class. Workers had not the necessary leisure, breadth of view, education or power of surveying the whole field which he possessed. He saw the social forces operating, the workers were operated on without understanding those forces, but the view finally implanted on the worker by those forces

is substantially the same as that which he arrived at through his study of conditions. He formulated the idea of the class struggle as expressing a fact in Society. Not a vague airy theory but a fact. Is he justified? Let the critics and others return an honest answer to themselves. In the long run honest thinking must be done by the individual on these things. Events in Russia, America and even in England during the railway strike, when there was a distinct massing of the two forces on the lines of class, show how true Marx was.

No adherent of the class struggle denies that exceptional individuals on the other side may come over to the workers. They may intellectually desert their own side. Marx, Engels, Lenin, and a comparative handful have done this. When they do it, they are ostracised, persecuted, and hated by their own class. This is, in itself, a proof of the reality of the class struggle. Those who do really cross the rubicon are men of strong character and fine intellect. Point by point they break with their class prejudices, and because they have travelled the road, they know every inch of the way, and cannot be deceived into compromise and weakness.

But they are very few, as is recognized by the critics who at ways use the same names to illustrate their point. Generally the non-workers who boast of their labour sympathies have not broken through their class limitations, and are a continual source of

weakness to those who trust in them. They are the democrats who are repelled by the rough voice of democracy. We have gentlemen like Hyndman, who, in spite of all their revolutionary posing retain their bourgeois souls and qualify as members of what Marx termed the "mud-heated" bourgeois to the end. Many who figure as prominent Liberals and Tories, spent a frisky youth in the Fabian Society, but grew out of their youthful follies. The life surrounding them tended always to pull them towards reaction, though many of them were probably quite sincere. A man is not to blame for being weaker than the forces around him.

Class antagonisms sharpen everywhere, every day, and the window-dressing attempts which are made to show that they are softening or vanishing are too silly to merit discussion. Many workers still look at things from their masters' standpoint, and the Labour movement itself is weak in independent thought, but it is growing daily stronger and clearer.

Before the war, Bernstein and his followers used to talk largely about revolutions not being possible in modern times. Class War Socialists were alleged to live a chaotic life among the shadows of the Paris Commune or the subterranean atmosphere of the outbreaks of '48. Revolution was opposed to revolution, not because of any antagonism of ideas—obviously the latter is only the culmination of the form-

er—but because they could make a jingle of the two words which pleased others equally as superficial as themselves.

The class struggle theory, borne out by the facts of life, has shown that the conditions of any social class causes it to develop a social outlook of its own. When a slave class develops its own conception, realises its unity and its need for freedom then the struggle reaches an acute stage. Workers are not to be praised over much, because they are developing this outlook. It is only because of their position. The masters are not to be blamed much either. They are as conditions have made them. Passion cannot be kept out of the class struggle, because forces work through men. Yet the Marxists are above that foolish habit of blaming individuals and worrying about "good" or "bad" masters.

The workers are simply developing along those lines which Marx foretold they would do, because he correctly analysed the conditions. Just as the Bolsheviks gave articulate expression to the feelings of the Russian masses so Marx and his co-workers were the forerunners intellectually of the working-class movement. Conditions make the workers view things in their way without having been taught Marxist theory. The social forces operating make more and more workers wholeheartedly Marxists, the of forward, and with crisis ap-

Anderson, Petterson & Lundstrom
The Greatest Swedish Home Folks Play!
Will be given by the
Swedish Dramatic Company
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).



AXEL SUNDBORG
DIRECTOR
In Duluth at the
LYCEUM THEATRE
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 WILL FIND US

proaches, and the other side will redouble its efforts. Each will have, and is having a stiffening effect on the other. Faced with the situation, the critics of the class struggle can really derive little comfort from the fact that the man who showed that there would be these two opposing class standpoints, was not a member of the working-class, but one who, by raising himself above his own class outlook, saw that the working-class position was in line with truth and human progress, an so came over to it.

May the bells of 1920 sound the death-knell of Imperialism

To insure "peace of earth, good will to men," reverse the present order of things.

Let no man pray for another man.

Let no man make laws for another man.

Let no man fight for another man.

Let no man keep money for another man.

Let no man block the opportunities of another man.

Let no man appropriate that which is produced by another man.

Let every man put his hands to the bounteous treasures of the earth, and from his brains will spring forth marvellous machinery that will feed and clothe and house and educate the children of the world in "peace and good-will."

William D. Haywood.

1920 finds two thousand members of the working-class in prison, for standing by their fellow-men.

1920 finds over two million child-slaves in the factories of America.

1920 still finds 2 % of the population, possessed of over one hundred billion dollars of wealth and 65 % of the population with 5 % of the wealth of the country.

1920 still finds statesmen ranting about democracy, whilst at the same time they are instrumental in placing a blockade around the countries of Russia, Austria and German and condemning millions of little children to the most horrible of all deaths, death by the starvation.

1920 finds the Kaiser living in exile and Judge Gary about ready to pack his grip.

1920 finds President Wilson in the White House and 'Gene Debs in prison.

1920 finds the Bolsheviks of Russia still in power and more firmly rooted in the hearts of the Russian people.

Let us celebrate the New Year. We shall not engage in an emotional joy-ride, but will give expression to the real joy of our hearts. We welcome the coming year—1920—because we know that every year brings us nearer to the goal of our freedom. Every year finds

the workingclass gaining in strength and courage. The Steel Strike and the Miners' strike proves to us that at last, the workingclass are beginning to realise their power and are using it. Though thousands of our class are in prison, we hail the dawn of 1920. We shall work together and bring about the solidarity of the working-class. With the solidarity of the forces of Labor, we shall march on with renewed hope and courage, fully confident that the end of 1920 will find us far along the road that leads to the Soviet Republic of the World.

Tremble before your chattels.

Lords of the scheme of things!

Fighters of all earth's battles,

Ours is the might of kings!

Guided by seers and sages,

The world's heart-beat for a drum,

Snapping the chains of ages,

Out of the night we come.

Lend us no ear that pities!

Offer no almoner's hand!

Alms for the builders of cities!

When will you understand?

Down with your pride of birth

And your golden gods of trade!

A man is worth to his mother, Earth,

All that a man has made!

We are the workers and makers!

We are no longer dumb!

Tremble, O Shirkers and Takers!

Sweeping the earth-we-come!

Ranked in the world-wide dawn,

Marching into the day!

... The night is gone and the sword is drawn. ...

And the scabbard is thrown away!

John G. Neihardt.

"American workers, you must realise this and bear it firmly in mind. You must know that every American soldier sailing for Russia, goes there to shed the blood of Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world—those brigands of the international highways. You must bear in mind that every rifle, every cannon, every machine gun, which is being sent from the United States to Russia means DEATH for the many Russian workers and peasants who are sacrificing themselves in order that the workers of the world over may be liberated from the yoke of international capital.

WORKERS OF AMERICA—it is not sufficient to know and to bear this in mind. YOU MUST ACT ACCORDINGLY! Your slogan must be: NOT A SOLDIER FOR WAR AGAINST SOVIET RUSSIA, NOT A CENT, NOT A RIFLE TO HELP WAGE THIS WAR."

For publishing the above statement, every word of which is absolutely true, we are to be tried for discouraging enlistments in the United States Army. Our trial will take place on January 13th, in the city of Duluth. We shall be defended by the most eminent and well-versed legal counsel in the country.

We have no apology to make for publishing the above statement, we are proud to have been able to direct public attention to the Russian situation. Ships are returning from Russia, carrying the dead bodes of the flower of American manhood. Nobody seems to know why they should have been compelled to sacrifice their lives. Not even the district attorney of this State knows. Yet this criminal adventure is allowed to go on, without any protest being made or any reasons assigned for its furtherance. Millions of working people are being sacrificed and little children are dying, victims of the most terrible of all deaths—death by starvation. Yet when we seek to prevent this bloody affair from being carried on any longer, we are arrested. The man or woman who remains unmoved by the terrible atrocities that are being perpetrated upon the people, must be without human feeling. So long as we have the strength to protest and the power to write, we shall continue exposing the hideous designs of the imperialists of the world. We shall speak in behalf of those who are made the tools of the imperialists and who bear all the pain and sorrow whilst those that bid them go reap the harvest of profits gained by conquering foreign markets.

Our trial is going to be one of the most significant trials that have ever been conducted in this State. We intend to press the issue at our trial. We are going to see to it, even if it means imprisonment for us, that the people of this district, and the whole country, know something about the truth of present-day affairs. The workingclass fight the battles of



their masters. They offer up their lives for their masters and they also even offer up their children and sisters upon the altar of rapacious capitalism. They have built the world. They have cleared the swamps and built teeming cities upon them. They have cut down the forests and built magnificent highways. They have a right to know why they are fighting and what they are fighting for. The reason

why they have arrested us, is because they are afraid of letting the workingclass know WHY they are fighting, for fear that they might offer a stern objection to their being made the pawns of a plundering imperialist gang of blood-sucking pirates.

Comrades, the gauntlet has been thrown down and we have taken it up. We shall not shirk the issues placed before us, we shall meet them and fight them out. The fight is a big one and will mean much expense. **WE ARE NOW ASKING YOU TO HELP US OUT IN THE MATTER OF OUR DEFENSE.** We have received already from one comrade the following letter:—

Dear Comrade Jack:—

Last night, thru the "Truth", I learned of the honor that had been thrust upon you, by the government of the United States. No greater proof of your loyalty to labor and the effectiveness of your efforts to free it from bondage, need be offered than your arrest...

NO CALL HAS REACHED ME FOR FINANCIAL AID BUT I SENSE MY DUTY. ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND FIVE DOLLARS TO THE DEFENSE FUND AND ACCEPT IT WITH MY CONGRATULATIONS.

Yours to the End.

T. E. P.

Many workers have pledged themselves to give a day's wages to our defense fund. We trust that those of you who are able, will contribute as much as you can afford.

Send in your donations at once to "TRUTH" Duluth, Minnesota. As we are to be tried on January 13th, we trust that you will make an immediate response. The legal expenses of the trial will amount to close upon \$3,000. The reason for the large expense is due to the fact that the important issues involved in the trial necessitated the employment of the best legal counsel in the land. So send in your donation at once and rest assured that we shall not flinch, but will uphold the principles of our movement.

LETTER FROM TROTSKY

To comrades Loriot, Rosmer, Monatte and Pericat.
Dear friend.

I write to each one of you because I am united with each one of you by ties of personal friendship, and I write to you all together, because I am united with you all by the same idea, by the same banner. Notwithstanding the blockades, by which Messrs. Clemenceau, Lloyd George and others try to throw Europe back to medieval barbarity, we are attentively following your work from here and the growth of the ideas of revolutionary communism in France. And, personally, every time I hear with delight, that you, dear friends, are standing in the front line of the movement that will regenerate Europe and all mankind.

At the present moment our Soviet Republic is going through

a period when it is straining every nerve to the utmost limit in order to wind up the military conspiracies against the proletarian revolution. During the last two months we suffered some important defeats on the Southern front, especially in Ukraine. But let me tell you, dear friends, that actually the Soviet Republic is stronger than ever.

We have beaten Kolchak. The Russian and Non-Russian bourgeoisie amongst others, French, hoped to be able to overthrow Kolchak in the Kras, revealing the crown of the tsarists. His troops were approaching the Volga. The Armies of Kolchak are scattered.

From the beginning to-day (September 1st) troops on the East have advanced, fighting for a distance of

thousand kilometers. We have restored the Oural with its industry and its proletarian population, to the soviet republic. Thus, we have created a second basis for the cause of the communist revolution.

The defeat of Kolchak's armies gave us the possibility of concentrating our main forces and our reserves in the Southern front against general Denikin. During the last few days we have taken the offensive on the whole Southern front. This offensive has already given results. Some very important directions the enemy has been thrown back some hundred kilometers or more. Our forces are sufficient for giving such to the victory for eradicating the reaction in the

front, which on the map of our revolutionary strategy, for the moment, has only second-hand importance. The Polish nobility may win some temporary marching successes here and there. We regard the temporary advances of feeble Polish troops without any anxiety. When we are ready with Denikin, and that day is near, we shall throw our heavy reserves on this front.

According to the newspaper communications Churchill has boasted over having mobilized 14 states against Russia. But Kolchak would certainly prefer 14 strong army corps to these 14 allies. But, fortunately, neither Clemenceau, nor Lloyd George are able to effectuate such a thing any longer. And that is, without all doubt, your merit.

I remember the first period of the war, when Messrs. and Ren-

audell, Jouhaux and Co. prophesied that the victory of England and France would be the victory of democracy, the triumph of the principle of nationalities etc., etc. You and I contemptuously rejected those small bourgeois illusions, poisoned, bourgeois illusions, poisoned, quackery.

The group of Jean Longuet thought it possible to rectify the processes of universal history by making Renaudels policy but making it with margin notes, with provisos, with ambiguities. The repugnant lie in the social-jingoism of Renaudel and others long since appeared with all evidence. Imperialist France, in the present moment, is the lover of the world's counter-revolution. Traditions from the Great French Revolution fragments of democratic ideology and republican phraseology —

all that mixed up together with the intoxication with the victory is exploited in purpose of supporting and fortifying the position of the capital against the stormy waves of the social revolution.

France has become the bulwark of capitalist counter-revolution, Renaudels group now is a more reactionary force in France, even than French clericalism. But Renaudel is intangible without Longuet. Renaudel is too open, too frank, too cynical in his socialreactionism. Jean Longuet who in all principal questions is supporting the inviolability of the capitalist order of things, wastes the greatest part of his forces and his inventiveness on hiding this by a veil of ceremonies and liturgy of the socialist, yea of the international cult.

Merrheims passing over to

our enemies did not seem so surprising to me. During the first period of the war Merrheim did not go with us, but came limping after us. In such a period as the one we live in it is better to have open foes rather than dupious friends.

In the deciding moment persons of this type nearly all were on the other side of the barricade. They veiled their treason against the cause of the working class by phrases of "democracy". We have made it clear to ourselves and to other that during the period of the social revolution the forms and ceremonies of bourgeois democracy are quite such a lie as international law during the period of imperialist war. When two irreconcilable classes have entered upon a deciding fight there is no judge of arbiters for their case. Having remov-

DEFECTIVE PAGE

have made room for administrative conventionalism of democratic parliamentarism we have created the real democracy of the working-class in their society. In the building of the new life Soviet Russia has made millions of workers and peasants cooperate. Notwithstanding unheard of difficulties the working masses of Russia have created their Red Army. On all battlefields its leaders are the proletarians of Petrograd and Moscow. The peasants from our land, in Siberia, in the Don territory and Ukraine are greeting his army as their liberator. The commissaries of our battalions and regiments are, at the same time, the bearers of communist culture, the builders of new life in the liberated places.

We have not yet conquered the economical and food crisis, not only because the principal forces and means of the country are swallowed by the war that English and French capital atrociously forces us to wage. We hope being able during the next few months to finish with our enemies; all forces and all means of the country, all the enthusiasm and clean of the proletarian vanguard will be directed upon the social and economical rebuilding.

We shall master the economical ruin and the lack of food as we are mastering Denikin. Our victorious battalions in the steppes of Siberia and on the ways to Turkestan are forth calling an eruption of revolutionary enthusiasm amongst the oppressed nations of Asia, And, at the same time, we never for a single instant doubted that the hour of resolute help out of the West is near, that the social revolution in all countries of Europe is near.

The ruder triumph of militarism, of vandalism, of socialist treason is in bourgeois France, the more severe will be the insurrection of the proletariat, the more resolute its action the fuller its victory.

In our temporary defeats and our deciding successes we never for a single instant forget our dear friends. We know, that the cause of communism in France, is placed in honest and firm hands.

Long live the international social revolution.

Long live the revolutionary proletarian France.

Petrograd, Sept. 1st, 1919.
LEO TROTSKY.

P. S. The above letter arrived as we went to press consequently we have not had the time to rewrite it.—Ed.)

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FACING THE FUTURE

(Continued From Page 6.)

the colleges and delegations, whose attention will be engaged in the best means of production and distribution, in ascertaining the volume of supplies needed, in introducing and applying effective improvements in art, in architecture, in intercourse, in the process of production, etc. These are all practical matters, visible and tangible, towards which everyone stands objectively, there being no personal interests hostile to society to affect their judgment. None has any interest other than the collectivity, and that interest consists in instituting and providing everything in the best, most effective, and most profitable manner."

How Does the Reorganization of the Trade Unions come to Acquire a New Significance for the Reorganization of Society?

We cannot, of course, figure out all the detailed moulds in which the society of the future will cast its organization. We can only outline the general principles. We can say that industrial administration will be carried out by and through industrial organization. Society as a whole would be represented by a central administration, whose function it would be to regulate the mutual labours and needs of its constituents. Each branch of the social division of labour or industry would be represented by an industry administration.

The latter would be entrusted with the management of its particular industry. Every such organization would be made up of local branches. The local branches of the different industry administrations, in a given locality, would unite to form a local administration. The functions of this last aggregation would have reference to the local needs. The Trades Union Congress, the Trades Union and Trades Council, and not the national and local political assemblies, represent, in embryo, the administrative framework of future social organization. The transformation of the "trades" into industry aggregations will mark a still closer approximation to the administrative organizations of social democracy.

The division of labour in the new society will not be identical with that which prevails to-day. It will diverge in degrees, the details of which we cannot now foresee. Those developments however, to which we have already referred as sub-dividing and simplifying the labour-process, and the bringing within an industry of processes formerly carried on outside of it, developments which in the immediate present are precisely such as compel reorganization of the unions on the basis of industry, are progressive developments viewed from the standpoint of greater efficiency and economy. These will be retained and developed within the socially controlled economy of the future. Organization by industry is, therefore, not only adapted for the struggle within the old society, but approximates to the administrative of the new society to which the old gives birth.

Why Must the Working Class Conquer Political Power?

Although the new society will be an industrial democracy in which the necessity for political government will have disappeared, because classes and class-antagonisms will no longer exist, that does not dispose of the fact that, as an essential condition for delivering the new society from the womb of the old the working class must conquer political power and make itself master of the government. Industrial democracy can only be matured in and through political democracy.

Economic power and political power must not be conceived as independent of each other. Political organization is the organization of the economic power of a class. While the economy of the future cannot result in economically unequal classes and, therefore, offer no foundation for political organization, nevertheless the task of consciously establishing the new economy falls to a class—the working class. It must become a ruling class before it can abolish class rule. It must constitute a political organization in order to clear away the political and juridical obstacles to the organization of

its economic power. It must democratise political society in order that it may find room for the free development of the democratic organs of the future industrial society. For the working class its political action is to its industrial organization what the scaffolding is to the building of a house. Only after the house is built does the scaffolding become superfluous.

We have seen how the capitalist class was driven by its economic needs to conquer for itself the political rulership, and how its needs, on the one hand, and the political rule which it had to dislodge on the other, were of such a character as to compel it to fight for political liberty and equality, for a democratic State. It never was able to fully complete its task in this direction because of the antagonistic effects of its own economy upon the working class and because a thorough-going democracy would enable the working class to establish a working class economy. Time and again, the capitalist class halted in its democratizing work. As long, however, as capitalism was in its vigour and prime, and had a future still before it, the work of further democratizing the State was from time to time taken up. Every achievement of this character favoured the growth of the working-class movement. Not that the capitalists were interested in developing the power of the workers, but the radical section of the capitalist class required the support of the workers.

The working class has not become weaker in organization with the extension of political democracy. Yet that is what we should expect to find if the advocates of "anti-Parliamentarianism" were right in their judgments. Our Imperialists do not make that mistake. Not only do they begin to call for a halt to the extension of political democracy they desire to retrace their steps and reinstate counter-democratic institutions. That is a greater reason why the working class which, since Imperialism has set in, is the only class that has an abiding interest in the preservation and development of democratic institutions, should the more direct its energies to the conquest of political power. It not only has to continue the work which the capitalist class has left undone, but to preserve the achievements which that same class would now like to undo.

"Industrial Unionism," Syndicalism, and National Guildism, although they differ radically on the political side, significantly agree in this: That industrial organizations, that they have a decisive part to play in the transformation of society, and an essential function to fulfil in the transformed society. They are necessary, both for the day of battle and for the victorious morrow. Here is a new conception of Socialism, of a Socialism objective and tangible, which sees in the whole evolution of industrial organization the rising of a new world, the world of the organized producers of social wealth. It is a conception which, from its very nature, must evoke an ever-increasing response from those whose historical mission it is to make "the word flesh."

In the degree that this conception gains in depth and breadth, and becomes generally applied to the immediate task of industrial reorganization, a more correct appreciation of the political situation will follow and find its inevitable sequel in political reorganization. Industrial organization will tend to become more political and political organization more industrial. When they have become one, then there will no longer be need for two, because the "hands" of production will have become the masters of production.

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CAPTAIN SADOUL

In November, 1790, Edmund Burke published his famous work, "Reflections on the Revolution in France," which became almost at once the literary classic of the European reaction against the French Revolution. The same month Thomas Paine took up his pen to write his magnificent reply, which he gave to the world under the significant title: "The Rights of Man." In his preface to the book, filled with just indignation at Burke's treachery, Paine wrote: "When I saw the flagrant misrepresentation which Mr. Burke's pamphlet contains; and that while it is an outrageous abuse of the French Revolution and the principles of liberty, it is also an imposition on the rest of the world."

To-day the intellectual lackeys of a united landlord and capitalist class are flagrantly misrepresenting the nature and work of the glorious Russian Revolution. All the elements of reaction, militarism and capitalism in Europe are grouped together in a common fear and hatred of the first working-class republic, the pioneer nation of a new social order that is struggling into being. In place of the literary force and personality of such as Edmund Burke, capitalist society has come to depend upon a prostitute Press for its intellectual support, and each hour of the day all over the civilised world it is turning out columns of myths, fables and falsehoods in the service of these new masters by the world. One's imagination is staggered by the power of the lie, as it finds organised expression through the capitalist Press. Not only is the truth suppressed, but the reputations of those who seek to spread the light of truth are ruthlessly attacked.

A case in point has just been brought dramatically before French public opinion in the person of Captain Jacques Sadoul, who has been sentenced to military degradation and death for having defended by his work, his pen, the new regime in Russia. The whole affair has been a travesty of justice. When the war broke out Sadoul was mobilised as an infantry officer, but owing to an accident in his youth that had resulted in an injury to his knee, he was unable to undertake active service, and was in consequence given legal work with a court martial at Troyes. He found that work far from agreeable, as it involved sometimes inflicting further suffering upon the soldiers, and he was known to be anxious to spare men the humiliation of military punishment and prison. Sadoul was too generous and humane to seek his own advancement at the expense of the misery of others.

In 1916, Albert Thomas, who was then Minister of Munitions, secured the services of Sadoul as an attaché at the Ministry of Armaments. He is reputed to have done useful administrative work while in the service of that department. On the return of Albert Thomas from Russia in 1917, Sadoul went out there to join the French Military Mission work. He arrived in Petrograd on October 1st; Kerensky was still in power; things were drifting from bad to worse, as he explained at length in a letter to Albert Thomas a few weeks after his arrival.

He worked hard to bring about some form of contact between the leaders of the new government Lenin and Trotsky, and the representatives of the Allies. Though not acting as an official spokesman of the Military Mission, he was allowed to pay almost daily visits to the Smolny Institute, the centre of Bolshevik activity in Petrograd, where he discussed with Trotsky the many problems that concerned both Russia and the Allies. Sadoul at that time quite honestly says of himself: "I am not a Bolshevik"; and yet one feels that he is already responding to the admirable force of idealism and progress generated by the revolutionary life around him.

Sadoul was bitterly disappointed by the refusal of the Allied Governments to enter into relations with the only group of men capable of exerting any influence upon the Russian people; while at the same time they were plotting to aid with men, money, and materials the reactionary forces working for a counter-revolution. Throughout those critical weeks the Allied representatives were blind to the real forces at work in Russia; and finally their class prejudices led them to forsake the Russian people in the hour of their great struggle against German militarism at Brest-Litovsk. Sadoul redoubled his efforts to influence public opinion in France, letters to Albert Thomas, Romain Rolland, Jean Longuet, and other Socialist leaders, so that they might

influence public opinion by a fuller knowledge of men and events in Soviet Russia. These letters cover the period from October, 1917, to January, 1919; the censor forbade their publication during the war and they had to be circulated in secret, or communicated to the public by the Socialists in the Chamber of Deputies. They have now been published in book form under the title, "Notes sur La Revolution Bolchevique," and they give one a powerful and vivid impression of Russian affairs during that supremely important period. The letters show that as the weeks went by he entered more fully into the work of the Revolution, and at last threw in his lot wholeheartedly with Lenin and Trotsky to help build up the new social order in Russia. During this time the men whose work in Russia he had exposed in his letters had returned to France, and they started an active campaign against him in Paris. His motives were called into question; his character blackened; and finally he was accused of desertion and "intelligence" with the enemy—this, though constitutionally speaking, France was not at war with Russia!

The Socialist Party replied to this miserable campaign by placing Sadoul's name at the head of their list of candidates in the third electoral district of Paris. But as the brilliant young Socialist deputy, Vaillant Courturier, said at a recent demonstration in Paris, the Party has fought for Sadoul's life and honour at every election meeting in France, as a symbol of their solidarity with the masses of Soviet Russia. Sadoul's nomination as a Socialist candidate was the signal that alarmed the French authorities; that was really too much! M. Clemenceau denounced this act in his speech at Strasbourg, and said that it had committed the Socialist Party to the approval of a crime. In the meantime court martial proceedings were going forward in Paris. The verdict was a foregone conclusion. Sadoul was found guilty of desertion and communication with the enemy, and was sentenced to military degradation and death.

It was generally assumed that this decision would render him ineligible as a candidate, and that his name would have to be withdrawn. But that is not so. As the French law stands at present, a candidate under such circumstances may be presented for election, and it is quite legal to vote for him, but in the event of his election Parliament would have to decide if he should be allowed to take his seat. Sadoul's name actually went forward, and at the poll he received 41,633 votes, but just failed to secure election. The case of Jacques Sadoul is important not only because a grave injustice has

FATE OF GERMAN REVOLUTION

By W. A. M. M.

Germany is the blackest spot in Europe to-day. A year ago a magnificent revolutionary movement swept away in a gush the score or so crowns and crownlets which had been the shame and the curse of Germany for two generations. All the world was on the tiptoe of expectation. Had we not always been telling ourselves and others that in the modern world there was no longer any room for purely political revolutions, that in particular, Germany, when once she set out to do away with any survivals of feudalism, would make a clean sweep of capitalist society as well? Was not her capitalism the ripest? Was not her working-class the best educated and the best organised of all? Most of us fully expected that revolutionary Germany would immediately join Socialist Russia, and thereby infect even the victorious and Imperialism-drunk West. Alas, our expectations have proved false. Scarcely a few weeks had passed after the fall of Kaiserdom, when we, of "The Call," were already aware that the German revolution was a miscarriage. The German working-class, eaten by the moth of opportunism during the long years of comparative prosperity under an ever-expanding capitalism, proved incapable of realising that the war, against which it had, in the first instance revolted, had been the work not only of the military caste, headed by the feudal monarchy, but also of the capitalist classes in whose interests, in fact, the war had been primarily waged, and that the parties guilty of the great crime were not merely the Kaiser, but also the bourgeois parties from the extreme right to the extreme left, including the Scheidemann Socialist themselves, who had been voting the war credits with enthusiasm, and had been carrying on a "patriotic" propaganda even in the trenches. The results of this failure to understand the situation—a failure deeply rooted in opportunism and fostered by the writings of such authoritative exponents of Socialism as Kautsky, who refused to see in the war an Imperialist

been committed against this man, but because in defending him the French Socialists have also defended the Russian Revolution. The French Socialist Party has recovered some of its revolutionary élan, and ranged its forces on the side of the Russian Socialist Republic in the struggle for universal Socialism.

Richard Clements.

"Workers' Dreadnaught"

contest between two rival capitalist trusts, and persistently interpreted it as a contest between autocracy and democracy, thereby eliminating in advance all social issues from the future reckoning—was that all efforts to invest the revolution with a social meaning, with class contests, were unsuccessful, the reins of power were appropriated by the renegade Socialists of the Scheidemann-Noske school, and the parties which stood for a deepening of the revolution were crushed mercilessly and with complete impunity.

It must be admitted that these other parties (with the exception of certain individuals whose glory will shine through ages) have historically deserved their fate. The "Independents," even of the left wing, have proved a set of revolutionary phrasemongers, with not a drop of revolutionary blood in their veins, delighted to play the "opposition," always ready to sit on, but invariably destined to fall between two chairs. At first opposed to the Soviet system, they afterwards, under the pressure of facts accepted it, but in the true style of procurers, coupled it with parliamentarism. In a similar way they at first rejected the idea of dictatorship of the proletariat as a horribly undemocratic, but ultimately adopted it in their programme with the proviso that it did not mean terrorism! And so they are now also opposing the Second International but equally repudiate the Third International as a movement of the Bolshevik "sect" (sic) and advocate a "truly revolutionary"—Fourth International (Ledebour). Could these gentlemen have advanced the revolution, as the Russian Bolsheviks had done before them? Of course, not. Rather was (and still is) their action calculated to discredit the idea of a Socialist revolution in the eyes of the masses, who, whatever else they may want, cannot certainly be won over by pompous phrases and impotent deeds.

Unfortunately, the other Left party, the Communists, have also failed to offer the masses a substantial alternative to the Socialism of Treachery, installed in power. With a blindness which only shows how superficial Socialist education had been in Germany, the majority of them, acting against the advice and entreaties of their best leaders, and miscalculating the distance which separated their country from the situation in which the Russian Bolsheviks had found themselves twelve months earlier, rejected the weapon of parliamentary agitation and education, and thereby ruled themselves off the political stage, and condemned themselves to an irresponsible and scattered existence in obscurity. Their repeated attempts at insurrection found no echo among the still unenlightened masses, and so far from succeeding in becoming a political and social force, have now hopelessly split into several fractions.

Thus everything in Germany has combined in preventing the development of the revolution from a political into a social one, but thereby the very soul has been crushed out of the revolution which, like every revolution, must go forward, or die. For the

amputation of its social, of its proletarian, tendencies could only have been achieved with the help of the classes who had all along been socially opposed to them, and now that the operation had been performed, the classes whose help had been employed, who for that very object had been resuscitated, re-organised, and even re-armed, stand out as the real masters of the situation, who alone possess the necessary material force to impose their will upon the revolution. The so-called Noske Guards, who were originally called to life in order to crush the dangerous social tendencies, have now in reality become the White Guards of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and Junkerdom, who aim at strangling even the political revolution. And as there is nothing, absolutely nothing to oppose them, except the hypocritical screams of a Scheidemann and the revolutionary verbal protests of the Independents, the fate of the German revolution is hanging by a mere thread which can be cut at any moment. It would seem that whereas in Russia the mere spectre of a counter-revolution during the Korniloff rebellion was sufficient to arouse the masses for a Socialist revolution, in Germany nothing short of an actual restoration would effectively do it. ("London Call")

JOKE ON GOMPER

Samuel Gompers has been presented with a sword by the Japanese labor delegation; it will be remembered that the head of this delegation was so popular with the Japanese workers that he was chased to his boat by an angry mob.

It seems to us that in sending out the following news story concerning this momentous event the press agents sort of slipped a cog. The Chester M. Wright version of the incident follows:

The sword was presented by a Japanese labor delegation, in Washington for the international labor conference. The sword is 1,000 years old. It is of the type used in olden days in Japan by men who were forced by tradition to take their lives because of having dishonored themselves. The delegation told Mr. Gompers that this sword had been used three times by dishonored men.

The Japanese workers, the delegation said, have adopted the sword as their emblem, as standing for determination, righteousness and honor, and it was as such an emblem that they presented it to the president of the American Federation of Labor.

The delegation also invited Mr. Gompers to visit Japan. They told him he could "settle all their troubles."

Is it possible that, after all,

the oriental humor is more subtle than the Yankee brand and that Sam has been the victim of a cruel hoax? The presentation to Sam of a sword with which three men who had dishonored themselves and committed harikari suggests many interesting possibilities and raises the question as to whether the Japanese are not more familiar with the American labor movement than most of us are willing to believe.

We still maintain that the press agents were "not at home" mentally when this item was sent out.

—Butte Daily Bulletin.



RUSS ON KOLTCHAK

As I am a Russian officer who has seen long service in the Russian Army, and who served in the British Volunteer against Germany, my interest in the military loss of aris to country needs no explanation. In addition to the natural interests of a soldier and citizen, however, I have a special interest as a journalist in seeking the truth concerning the several factions which are at present contending for the control of Russia. (I was military critic and expert in connection with Russian affairs for the London Daily Express during the war.)

With great difficulty I have recently been able to obtain a number of Russian newspapers from Siberia. These papers include the following: Nashe Belo; of Irkutsk; Golos Primoria; of Vladivostok; Vladivostokskoe Obozrenie; of Vladivostok; Echo; of Vladivostok; Ussuriyski Wrai; of Nikolsk; Kazatchip Vestnik; and several officers. These copies which I have bear dates which run from March, 1919, up to the latest issues which have reached America. All these newspapers are known as the "Kolchak Press."

After having studied carefully this extensive evidence, I have come to the following conclusion: No propaganda in the world can turn the opinion of any sound-minded man in favour of the Kolchak and Denikin crowd, after having read the self-accommodations of their own Press. It is extraordinary that in spite of the rigorous censorship imposed upon the Press in the regions occupied by the Russian reactionaries, these papers should contain so many facts that discredit the administration and expose the conditions of tyranny and disorder in those regions. The papers are filled with the reports of hundreds of cases, before the local courts, of desertion, corruption, theft and other crimes which could only be committed in such excessive numbers in a society without discipline or organization. The many

eral, Baron Ungern-Shternberg. He even complained to the All-Cossack Union, saying that in spite of the general complaint of all the cossack regions to the Omsk Government, the accused officers not only escape all punishment, but on the contrary, are promoted in rank and encouraged by their authorities to continue their "useful" work of crushing Bolshevism. One of these Kolchak satellites, Karmandonoff, flogged and shot a number of peasants, and all efforts to arrest him were in vain — Omsk, refused to interfere. As a result of his protests, Colonel Zelinsky was dismissed from his post (Order of the Day No. 145—Echo, June 19th, 1919). I have known Colonel Zelinsky personally for many years, and I can state with authority that he is an officer singularly devoted to Kolchak and Denikin. In general the Cossack Atamans (chiefs) are constantly quarrelling with the central military command. The general insubordination of these chiefs is plainly shown in the drastic measures which the military authorities have had to apply, and often in vain, as is the case with General Rozanoff who has not apologised to the Americans for having flogged an American soldier, arrested an American officer and shot an American boy; Kolchak was unable to force his General to do that.

These papers, to my great surprise, are only moderately critical of the Soviet Government of Central Russia. They do not fail, in some cases, to pay tribute to the honesty and organising ability of Lenin.

The following extract is taken from the Echo of June 6th, 1919.

Vladivostok:—

Press Review. "The Japanese Press on the Recognition of the Omsk Government."

"The fact that Japan has been the first country to recognise the Omsk Government and has compelled the United States to join in this proposition, is not only a diplomatic success. We think it will be no exaggeration if we say that this step which Japan has taken is of world importance."—Osaka Mainichi.

"There are at present the following Governments in Russia: The Archangel Government, Denikin, Tseretelli, and many other Governments which have officially proclaimed their existence. The most influential Governments are those of Lenin and Kolchak."

"Lenin's Governments cannot expect any sympathy, since it is pursuing principles which are hateful to the world, though personally Lenin is a man meriting all respects for his firmness and sincerity."

"The Bolshevik Government is absolutely stronger than the Omsk government. Facts do not permit us to indulge in unwarranted under-estimation of the significance of the Bolshevik Government."—Dzhi-Dzhi.

After having read all this material, which in no case can be considered as Bolshevik propaganda, one can only conclude that Siberia is at present under rule which is practically the same as that of the Czar, with one notable difference; namely, that under the Czar there was a despotic organization whereas here there is despotism without any organisation. The picture presented by these papers is one of sheer anarchy."

Lt. Col. B. Roustan Bek. "Workers' Dreadnaught"

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



TH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

THE RED FLAG

En every, State of the Union a law has been passed rendering illegal the exhibiting of the RED FLAG. If the lawmakers of the various legislative assemblies would take the time to study the history of the RED FLAG they would not fritter away so much time in passing laws against it.

World, in "Ancient Lowly" states, "The red means the stripes; not the revengeful, bloody red with the present meaning trumped up against it in some wilfully ignorant minds, covering with obloquy which present society, unable to disabuse itself of the ancient grudge and contempt of labor, still uses against the red flag, but the exact reverse—the stripes represent the blows which labor in her great conflict to free herself from enslavement, poverty and oppression, has received upon her back from the lash of aristocracy and brutal force. . . the United States adopted these stripes as a component part of its beautiful and suggestive banner; and his act was a strictly scientific one; for it exactly conforms with the ancient symbol red, enormously used by Roman and Greek organizations expressive and significant of scourge, the stripes and the lines of blood which streaked the naked backs of the poor and lowly of ancient labor."

According to the American Encyclopedia, the flag displayed by Putnam after the Battle of Bunker Hill was a RED FLAG. In concluding the 22nd chapter of "Ancient Lowly", Vol. 1., Ward writes:—

"We have constantly found the red banner to have predominated only in the paths of peace; and never outside that domain except when peculiar and well-known attachment to the lowly of it, was taken advantage of, do we find it in war. So it was used and so it careered in the early colonies of the United States. The early flag, true to the traditions of the past, was the blazing red color in Massachusetts, in New York, and probably in every one of the thirteen original states. It was the flag used by General Washington at the onset. When the war of the revolution broke out it was a beautiful red. . . and men of peace suddenly found themselves compelled, in the absence of a war-flag, to float the red ensign amid the clank and din of cruel strife. It was the flag of Lexington, of Bunker Hill, of Ticonderoga; and in its center shone the patriotic motto "Liberty and Union". A glance at the newspapers of those days best reveals these date. But those men were struggling for the right of free labor like the men of old. These facts rather stultify the prevailing notions against the old red banner.

SAULS AND PAULS

"... In times of intense excitement men learn rapidly, and learn rapidly, and the Saul of one day, becomes the Paul of the next. And that is where we come in. It is our business to let the light in on the Souls..."

Levin in the Scottish "Socialist."

The two local papers contained, in their issues of last Friday, deliberate incitements to mob law. The News-Tribune claims that their appeal came in the form of a letter from a returned soldier. We venture to say that letter was written, not one thousand miles from the editor's sanctum. The Duluth Herald published a "squeal" by that sobbist of all sobbists, Walt Mason, who seems to have lost his "reason" since he was compelled to forego worshipping at the shrine of Bacchus.

The question that confronts us now, what are we going to do? Are we going to allow a group of men to intimidate us or are we going to organize ourselves and shew to the outside world, that the threats, that are being made, are futile? We must not allow the threats of any person or group of persons to deter us. We must stand up and assert our rights. We must do more than that, we must, as the Scottish comrade states, convert the Sauls into Pauls. Saul, went down to Damascus to "get" the Christians, so we are told. On his way down he saw the light and was converted. There are a few Sauls in this community. Some of them are more Judas-like than Saul-like and of them we need not waste any time. But the men of the rank and file, who are being urged to do the dirty work, we must convert them. If the "pay-triots" of the East End would do their

own dirty work there would be nothing to fear. But it is the common worker that will do the dirty work, at their behest, and we must see to it that the man on the job, is not allowed to be used as a tool by the "pay-triots" of the East End. We must open his eyes to their nefarious designs. We must clearly point out to him, the close relationship between the East End parasites and the alleged Citizens' Alliance.

If we allow the cowardly gang that infests this city to take an inch, they will take a mile. We must stop them, right here and now. The best way to stop them, is to expose them. They can stand the light of truth, like a snowball can stand the heat of hell. Let us unmask this bunch. They have sweated and exploited the workingclass for years. Now they want a steel plant and the only way they can do it, is by proving to "Mis-judge" Hell-bert Gary that Duluth contains 100 % Henry Dubb workers. Out of the meekness and docility of labor they want to make more profits. Can you beat it?

Through the TRUTH we will carry on a vigorous propaganda. Let us clear the decks for action. To those of you who are somewhat afraid, possibly there are none of you who are afraid, but if by chance there is ONE amongst you, then while there is yet time, we beg of you to gracefully retire, for in the times that are coming, we will have little use and less respect for cowards.

Let us suppose that we have made mistakes and we believe that we have made some. Will that alter the fact one iota, that the time has arrived, when the most important concern of all is the need for solidarity. Can we honestly afford to merely assume the attitude of carping critics? Is it not our bounden and solemn duty to play our part carefully, thoughtfully and bravely?

The pen is weak, it will not bring forth words of sufficient power, but, comrades and fellow-workers, we beseech you, you who believe in the better day, you who really are in earnest, who desire freedom as much as you desire life organize for the day is fast arriving when you will have to take a stand. Be you socialists, communists, industrial unionists or any other of the ists, remember first of all you stand for a better and brighter system of society. Drop all differences and let us devise some ways and means of coming together. We must assert the rights of free press, free speech and free assemblage and along with those rights is bound up the right of organization. Once the master-class takes away the above "rights" they go further ahead and they smash down every right of the workingclass.

It will be argued by some that all we need to do is to organize on the industrial field, that the old Socialist Party has proved that political action is a failure. Such comrades are entirely ignorant of the formation of what we know as the STATE. We strongly advise them to read the work of Engels on "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State." Unless you have carefully read and STUDIED this work and are able to refute the work of Engels, then you are scabbing on your own intellect. As Engels points out, the state arose when the introduction of private property superseded the system of primitive communism. As soon as the development appeared class-antagonisms arose, and property owners became, due to the class-antagonisms, the enemies of those who were without property and consequently, those with property became the enemies of those with property. Those that possessed private property formed what is known as the ruling class, oppressed the masses and transformed the state into a weapon of oppression in the manner that the forms of production developed there naturally was reflected in the state a change, because as Marx points out:—

"The economic structure of society at any time prevalent constitutes the real basis and explains in the last instance the whole superstructure of juridic and political institutions, as also the religious, philosophic and all other ideas of each historic period, accordingly the prime causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be traced, not to the ideas of men, not to their increasing perception of eternal truth and justice, but to the changes in the manner of production and exchange; they are to be traced not to the philosophy, but to the economics of the respective epochs."

Then arose the antagonism between the feudal nobility and the cities, during which times the absolute state developed. This released the modern bourgeoisie, who by the great revolutions that overturned Europe, overthrew its united opponents. In passing, it is as well to notice that the very class that denounces and rants

about revolution, was the same class that precipitated revolution, in order that matters from the standpoint of historical events that have taken place, it is only logical to assume that before any class can obtain its freedom it must obtain control of the political state. Here in Minnesota, the capitalist class uses the Department of Justice to prevent an impending strike of the Industrial Workers of the World. You may argue about the government representing everybody, yet we are struck with this fact, that whilst the conditions in the lumber camps warrant a strike, at the behest of the lumber barons, the Government uses its forces to prevent the workers from striking. The actions of the Government furnish two examples that we must not allow to pass without studying them. First, as in the miners' strike, the government acts as a means of oppression in the hands of the capitalist class and secondly, that the idea of the government being a government of the people, for the people and by the people is exploded and the government stands out in its true nature. The same applies to all governments. With one exception, in Russia, the government is used by the workingclass to suppress the bourgeoisie. The workingclass must obtain control of the State. Without control of the State, the workingclass will find itself thwarted at every turn of the road. It is not a question of scoring in debate, that we raise this issue, but rather with a view to bringing round to our point of view, the anarcho-syndicalists, that insist upon organizing upon the economic field and leaving the political field severely alone.

* * *

There are many Sauls that must be converted, some are organized and many are un-organized. To educate all Sauls is our task, so therefore to those of you who believe that education, as well as organization, is most essential, we appeal to you to help to circulate TRUTH. For every dollar that you send, together with six names and addresses of men on the job, we will send out the TRUTH to them for one month. Fill in the following and send us one dollar and we will do the rest:—

Name
Address
Name
Address
Name
Address
Name
Address
Name
Address
Name
Address

One Stroke of Thy Strong Arm, O Labor!

"We are in Russia. The Neva is frozen. Heavy carriages roll upon its surface. They improvise a city. They lay out streets. They build houses. They buy. They sell. They laugh. They dance. They permit themselves anything. They even light fires on this water become granite. There is winter, there is ice and they shall last forever. A gleam pale and wan spreads over the sky and one would say that the sun is dead. But no, thou art not dead, of Liberty! At an hour when they have most profoundly forgotten thee; at a moment when they least expect thee, thou shalt arise, oh, dazzling sight! Thou shalt shoot thy bright and burning rays; thy heat, thy life, on all this mass of ice become hideous and dead. Do you hear that dull thud, that crackling, deep and dread! 'Tis the Neva tearing loose. You said it was granite. See it splits like glass. 'Tis the breaking of the ice, I tell you. 'Tis the water alive, joyous and terrible. Progress recommences. 'Tis humanity again beginning its march. 'Tis the river which retakes its course, uproots, mangles, strikes together, crushes and drowns in its waves not only the empire of upstart Czar Nicholas, but all of the relics of ancient and modern despotism. That trestle work floating away? It is the throne. That other trestle? It is the scaffold. That old book, half sunk? It is the old code of capitalist laws and morals. That old rookery just sinking? It is a tenement house in which wage slaves lived. See these all pass by; passing by never more to return; and for this immense engulfing, for this supreme victory of life over death, what has been the power necessary? One of thy looks, of, sun! One stroke of thy strong arm, oh, labor!"

Facing the future By W. W. Craik

The technical forces which capitalism has reared up have now grown too gigantic to be confined within the narrow form of private ownership and control. Imperialism is the political, although involuntary, acknowledgment of this economic

to continue capitalist production, the old laissez faire policy must be discarded and the State assume a paternal role in the carrying on of the national industries.

capitalism means concentration, and this concentration means a power far more formidable than that possessed by the private employer. The working class must,

the more does is determine its own territorial foundations. The state of industry breaks up the political State.

As a consequence of capitalist development, the industrial organization of the workers acquires significance in re-organization of industry. Trade unions, the

pel it to take issue with the system itself. Its future can no longer lie in the past or remain in the present. It can only find even immediate relief by going forward beyond the limits of the capitalist control of production; but for this task, i. e., the democratic control of industry, industrial organization is indispensable. Moreover, such a task demands the reorganization of the unions is thus a constituent step in the

Does the Social control of In-Involve?

democratic control involves the disappearance of a society divided into economically unequal classes. It supposes that the work or in-

longer be "persons to be governed but things to be administered"—an industrial administration. The question engaging such an administration will, mainly, be those which concern the number and nature of the available forces of production, their productive capacity, the social needs for means of consumption and means of further production, and how far the existing supplies meet the existing wants. The overwhelming proportion of the questions and functions with which Government concerns itself to-day will not agitate the industrial administration of the future. As Bebel wrote in his "Women Under Socialism": "Along with the State die out its representatives—Cabinet Ministers, Parliaments, standing armies, police and constables, courts, district attorneys, prison officials, tariff and tax collectors; in short, the whole political apparatus, Barracks, and such other military structures, places of law and of administration, prisons—all will now await better use. Ten thousand laws, decrees, and regulations become so much rubbish; they have only historic value. The great and yet so petty Parliamentary struggles with which the men of tongue imagine they rule and guide the world are no more; they will

(Continued on page 4.)

Happy New Year!!

We are going to ring in the New Year with all the joy and pleasure of the occasion. So come to the

Woodman Hall
DECEMBER 31st 9 P. M

There will be a first class program. The following are a few of the brilliant items appearing on the program:—

WEST END BAND 27 pieces
Welcome Greetings Jack Carney
Violin Solo by Wm. Kohn
Piano Solo by Miss Lucille Thompson
Song by Aug. Berg
Recitations by John D. Nelson
Song by Mrs. John D. Nelson

SWEDISH COMEDY

"Min Hustrus Affärer"

One of the most humorous of Swedish comedies.

Good program all the way through. As the clock strikes we will dance the New Year in. Music by the best accordion players.

There will also be a New Year's Tableau.

DANCE AT THE WOODMAN HALL NEW YEARS DAY. MUSIC BY GRAVSTROM & CO.

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ICA BOSTON

shocked by a

STRIKE OF THE POLICE

come to the

WOODMAN HALL SUN. EVE. DEC. 28th.

and hear

"Mike" Murphy

organizer of the strike tell you the truth.

Do you know that there are still 1400 policemen out on strike in Boston? Do you know that not one man has gone back to work? Do you know that it is costing Boston \$60,000 per day to beat the police? Come and hear "Mike". You will sit for a night and hear "Mike" because he combines serious talk with genuine Irish wit.

There will also be a good musical program.

Look out or George Andreytchine Jan. 4th.

Crystal Eastman and Jim Larkin to follow.

dustry of society is evenly divided among all the able-bodied members of society—the generalisation of labour.

The social control of industry, therefore, makes the State or political Government superfluous. As we have seen, political power is class power, and derives the conditions and reasons for its existence only in a society divided into classes. Where society ceases to be so divided there is no longer any need for political power. "There is no longer any social class to be held in subjection ... nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary."

The division of labour will not, however, cease with the disappearance of classes. It will be more perfectly developed and freed from many of the existing restrictions. Useless things will cease to be produced and useful things be produced in greater abundance. The conception of what is productive for society will be widened, and much of what is considered productive today will be eliminated. All the progressive achievements of capitalist development will be retained and extended. All that hinders and hampers the production of the means of life will be discarded.

In such a society there will no

DEFECTIVE PAGE