

THE only way to oppose tyranny is to oppose the tyrants. You can't in this practical world separate the emotions and actions from people.

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.

As surely as the earth rolls round
As surely as the glorious sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

VOL. IV. — No. 22

14

FRIDAY, MAY 28, 1920

WHOLE No. 152

FIVE CENTS.

"Oh, comrades, if we must fight, let us fight for ourselves! If we must slaughter, let us slaughter our oppressors! If we must die, let it be under the clear sky, by the bright waters in noble, honorable battle."

— Spartacus to the
Gladiators of Capua.

THE RED PETROGRAD THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL NEWS FROM GERMANY

Stirring Article by former French R'yalist and Clerical Journalist.

Rene Marchand, a prince of French journalism, a former royalist and clerical correspondent of the "Figaro," in Petrograd for many years, a favourite at the Tsar's Court and personal friend of Poincaré, lived through the war and the two revolutions and became a Bolshevik. The present article was written for the second anniversary of the Soviet Republic.

—Ed. "LONDON CALL."

Never was Petrograd more beautiful, never more attractive; never did it make such an impression of night. I was told that it was now dead. Since when has the quiet of concentrated life, of labour, and of superhuman efforts acquired the name of death? As I was passing the Petrograd streets filled with the grandeur which I never saw before, I involuntarily thought of the noisy crowd of the last months of the Tzarist period, of the richly embroidered uniforms moving to and fro in that crowd. Their brilliancy only emphasised the misery which increasing every day owing to the influx of refugees from the territories captured by the enemy. I recollect also the inconceivable chaos of the Kerensky period, when, in an atmosphere of fatigue and demoralisation, the putrid boil

of the old regime burst. Suspicious-looking cafes, in which cocaine was doing its pernicious work, were filled with officers, soldiers, speculators, and loose women. The Nevski, turned into a fair, was simmering with all sorts of sellers and trades, with middlemen dealing in objects of art, stolen in bits from everywhere. The distant quarters of the city would at dusk become robbers' nests, and even the main thoroughfares were no longer safe in the evening.

How far away this all seems now, and how incredible!

No longer can one see the military cars in which merry couples dashed about. No longer can one hear the shouts of the drunken. Everywhere is quiet and order, which even at night is not disturbed by an accidental shot. Even the militia-women in their severe dark tunics, who stand at their posts with rifles on their shoulders, seem to be superfluous guardians of order.

A discipline unknown hitherto, a great power is dominating the city. Whence has it come? It is this power which is directing to a definite task every one of these citizens who can be seen walking with a busy air in all directions. It (Continued on page 3.)

Its Place in History. — By N. Lenin.

The Imperialists of the Entente countries are blockading Russia, and trying to isolate the Soviet republic, on the theory that it is a centre of infection for the capitalist world. These people, who vaunt the democracy of their institutions, are so blinded by their hatred of the Soviet republic that they fail to observe how ridiculous they make themselves. Just pause and think! Although armed to the teeth, and holding the whole earth in military subjugation, they fear the infection of an idea as if it were fire likely to spread from a ruined, starving, backward, and—to judge from their statements—a half-barbarous country, and consume them. Surely this contradiction alone is enough to open the eyes of the working people of every land, and to strip the mask from the hypocrisy of the great Imperialists—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Wilson, and their governments.

But both this blind hatred of the capitalists for the Soviets, and also the friction among themselves, which causes them to waste their energy in mutual hostility, are boons to us. Our enemies have sworn to a conspiracy of silence, because they fear more than anything else the spread of true reports concerning the Soviet republic. Above all, they fear our official documents. It was a very exceptional incident when the chief press organ of the French bourgeoisie, Le Temps, published a report of the organization of the Third Communist International in Moscow.

Since Le Temps credits its information to our wireless, the motives which inspire this representative of moneybags are evident. It desired to stick a needle into Wilson, and to call his attention to the kind

of people with whom he was ready to negotiate. The wise men who write at the dictation of moneybags fall to note that when they try to frighten Wilson with the Bolshevik spectre they are also advertising Bolshevism to the working people. So, I wish to say that we are very grateful to the press organ of the French millionaires.

The organization of the Third International is proceeding under conditions that make the prohibitions and the miserable, petty manoeuvres of Entente Imperialists, and of such lackeys of capitalism as the Scheidemanns in Germany and the Renners in Austria, futile measures for preventing the spread of news concerning this International, or for cooling the sympathy which working classes cherish for it throughout the world. These facts in our favor are due to the growing power of the proletarian revolution, which waxes stronger not only with every day but with every hour. This propitious condition is also assisted by the Soviet movement among the workers, which has already gained such strength as to make it in truth an international agitation.

The First International, which existed from 1864 to 1872, laid the foundation of an international organization of the workers which did the pioneer work of preparing for a revolutionary overthrow of capital.

The Second International lasted from 1889 to 1914, and represented the most revolutionary movement in the history of the world—the struggle of the proletariat to break the yoke of capitalism—rests on a new foundation, such as it never enjoyed before. That foundation is a group of Soviet republics which stand

actually started in 1918, when the long struggle with opportunism and social Chauvinism, which had reached their apogee during the war, caused Communist parties to be formed in several countries. But its formal origin dates from its first Congress, at Moscow, in March, 1919. The characteristic feature of the Third International, which is its mission to complete and to incorporate in action the ideals we inherit from Karl Marx, and to realize in practice the eternal aims of Socialism and the labor movement, made themselves at once manifest in the fact that this new Third International Union of the working class immediately began to fortify itself under the protection of Socialist Soviet republics.

The First International laid the foundation for the struggle of the proletariat of the world to realize Socialism.

The Second International spent its allotted years with far-spread propaganda among the workmen of many lands.

The Third International inherits the attainments of the Second, but clears away its overgrowth of opportunism, social chauvinism, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideas and policies, and begins actually to put into effect the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The international alliance of radical parties which now directs the most revolutionary movement in the history of the world—the struggle of the proletariat to break the yoke of capitalism—rests on a new foundation, such as it never enjoyed before. That foundation is a group of Soviet republics which stand

A German Worker's View of the Counter-Revolution.

(Extracts from an Esperanto letter dated March 23rd, 1920, by a German marchant living in Altona, near Hamburg, translated by Mark Starr.)

(Reprinted from "Workers' Dreadnought.")

The counter-revolution of March 13th did not surprise the revolutionary German workers. For a long time, step after step, the reactionaries under the protection of the Social Democratic Government prepared their movement. The former Imperial officers, to whom Noske had entrusted our young republic, influenced the soldiers against the Revolution and with bated breath against Bolshevism. Right well they had succeeded in frightening our bourgeoisie. One was able to read in the capitalist papers that the Revolution was the cause of our present misery and that the Independents had caused the defeat of the German armies. One read that the "German Bolsheviks" (the Independents and the Communists) imitating the Russian system, would increase the prevailing misery and terrorise the peaceful middle-class. By these means they prepared, or at least attempted to prepare, public opinion. The failure of the sham Socialist Government and the brutal

ity of Noske towards every progressive and his servility to the reactionary officers made the great portion of the working-class hate the Majority-Socialist-Capitalist Government.

This situation the reactionaries thought to use for the Counter-Revolution. By the help of Noske and others, the whole proletariat had been disarmed, for they feared revolution more than reaction. With good hopes the reactionaries started their plan. In the night of March 12th, 13th, the "loyal" troops from the camp of Doberitz marched on Berlin. The Berlin troops refused to fight, the Counter-revolutionary troops marched into Berlin without a battle, and the previous displeasure Government could do nothing but repeat the running away of Wilhelm II, leaving their posts to Kapp and Co. The "beloved" troops and the "trustworthy" officers, who had so faithfully guarded the Government of Bauer and Noske against the revolutionary workers, now had turned their weapons against their friends.

In the hour of danger these former Socialists remembered the working-class, an called for a general strike to save the Republic. (Continued on page 2)

MAY-DAY MESSAGE

Clara Zetkin Writes of May Day In Germany. (Reprinted From London Call.)

For a second time the German workingclass has behind them on the eve of the 1st May a revolutionary battle that seems lost, yet has led them some good steps forward, a revolutionary battle, from which they return beaten but not vanquished, not subdued.

Just on the 1st of May last year Noske's White Guards entered Munich and smothered the Soviet Republic in the blood of thousands of workers. The bourgeoisie was under the delusion that, together with the Munich workers, the whole German proletariat had been crushed; that massacring the Soviet Republic, prematurely erected in Munich, the future Soviet Republic of Germany, the proletarian revolution itself had been strangled. For the Munich battles between revolution and counter-revolution had been the climax of that struggle which had been waged from January, 1919, in a valiant and self-denying spirit by the revolutionary vanguard of the German working class. In strikes and armed revolts they had stood bravely against the restoration of capitalism and the bourgeois class dictatorship that was tried under the cloak of democracy, with the assistance of the treacherous social patriots. Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Jogiches, Eugen Levine, had been assassinated and

murdered in these fights. About 15,000 workers, men, and women, have paid with their lives, having fought for freedom. Thousands and thousands of revolutionary fighters filled the prisons, workhouses, fortresses, and internment camps. Certainly, the revolution was dead and buried.

Yet, wonder of wonders! Barely a year has passed and that immortal being rises again, her weapons rattling; she returns more formidable than before. The Kapp affair was her signal to the working class, not her moving cause or power. The militarist coup d'etat that is to prepare the restoration of monarchy has this effect. It transforms into will and action the feeling and the understanding of the proletariat that their duty is to chase to the devil not only the one Lyttwitz, but all the Lyttwitzes, the militarists, even though they call themselves Noske. No other terms: that the workers' historical duty is to exterminate the whole system of militarism, to smash with it the very sword of the bourgeois class domination, of exploiting capitalism, that is the main aim of the struggle. Disarmament of the bourgeoisie, armament of the working class, is the chief battle-cry, joined to it smaller political claims, such as immediate release of

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The Hope Of The World

An Open Letter to a Young Comrade.—By Tom Quelch. (Reprinted From London Call.)

Dear Comrade.—You write as though you were down-hearted. You thing the problem too big—the opposition to our case too strong. Just because, in the first flush of your enthusiasm, you can see no immediate result of your efforts, you are fain to turn to those ephemeral attractions and pleasures that drug the restless hours of youth: Theatres, dances, music halls, pictures; the phantasmagoria of town evening life during the week, and at week-ends rambles with your pals and such open-air sport as is offered to the young workers of the city.

In such a mood, under such conditions, you are quite prepared to leave the propaganda work, the organising of meetings and the selling of literature, to the old plodders, to those comrades who never tire.

Comrade, I appeal to you not to be so easily disheartened. The cause needs you badly. The

movement requires all that you can do and give: it requires your youthful enthusiasm, your boldness and courage, your freshness of outlook; it requires your generous self-sacrifice, your energy of mind and body. More, the movement requires many other things of you. It requires you to study, to develop your latent abilities, to learn to speak and write, to acquire the qualities of leadership. It requires you to give full expression to your needs and aspirations—for surely the bane of the workers is the lack of being able to find articulate expression. It requires you to set an example to your mates, to stimulate a spirit of enquiry amongst them, to generate every where amongst those with whom you come in daily contact active revolt against the degradation of their lives and the slavery of capitalism.

The world is sick and sad and miserable. It has been wounded

by a devastating war. We well remember how the capitalist press aroused a wonderful outburst of perfectly genuine emotion, at the beginning of the war, over the plight of Belgium. Now, there is need, not for such another outburst, but for a long and sustained exhibition of thought and feeling, not for little Belgium, but for the whole of Europe—and for starving Central Europe in particular. But who, if not you—and such as you—is to do it? The old order fades. Everywhere, in the economic life of the country no less than in the social and political, there is chaos, a blind and reckless plunging and gambling and turmoil. Capitalism is crumbling, dissolving. There is no hope, no idealism, no moral or intellectual purpose in the old order. All the vitality has gone from capitalism, and its last defences are the symbols of its decadence. There is nothing but

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ETHICS OF HATE

"To Hate the Wrong and Fight It, In the Persons of Those Who Stand For It, Is Essential To Human Progress."

(By R. M. Fox). In these days of rapid social change we have many who talk learnedly of the superiority of reason over force, who urge that what is needed is the radication of hate by uniting everybody in the bonds of love.

The root error of these people is that they start out from some principle of abstract morality instead of applying their principles in a flexible manner to existing situations and taking such action as is calculated to bring them nearest to their goal.

Lenin does not try to model his conduct upon abstract perfection because he knows that nothing could be more futile. Such a policy leads to sterility, self-deception or hypocrisy. Morality develops and progresses from age to age, and is conditioned by circumstances. The development of private property brought the moral conception of monogamy with it, with rights of inheritance and the right to the labour of wife and children.

Cannibalism gave place to the relatively higher conception of slavery when production had advanced far enough to make the slave more valuable alive than dead. The point to be noticed is that morality is the result and not the

cause of social change, though the abstract moralist persists in putting it the other way round.

Again, how many pacifists are prepared to do away with the police force, the law courts, and all the machinery of force for upholding the present order? Very few indeed. They are against the use of force to destroy Capitalism, but they acquiesce in the force that maintains it.

These people create philosophic abstractions which they term men. True, they give them two legs upon which to stand, but beyond that nothing at all human. Their creations are not swayed by passion and interest, but are supposed to be responsive to some vague idea of the well-being of all in society. The normal man does not feel like this. His ideas arise from—and are coloured by his interests and his environment, so that he tends to range himself in one or other of the two main social camps—the possessors or the workers. Many workers attach themselves to the possessors out of ignorance. This ignorance is carefully fostered by the rulers. As they get to know more they gather into the workers' camp. Hence the increasing clearness of the Class Struggle.

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DEFECTIVE PAGE

The Third International

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as an international expression of the dictatorship of the proletariat and mark an accomplished victory over the capitalist system.

From the standpoint of universal history, the importance of the Third Communist International consists in its having actually set about putting the great theory of Marx into practice. His answer to the social problem, based upon a study of centuries of development of Socialism and labor agitation, sums itself up in a dictatorship of a proletariat.

This inspired prophecy, this inspired theory, has become an actuality.

Those two Latin words 'dictatorship' and 'proletariat', are now familiar terms in every language of contemporary Europe, and indeed in every cultivated speech of the world. A new epoch has begun in universal history.

Mankind is casting aside the last form of slavery—capitalist or wage slavery.

In freeing itself from this slavery, humanity is emerging for the first time in its history into the light of true freedom.

How does it happen that the first country which has put a dictatorship of the proletariat into effect, and organized a Soviet republic, is one of the most backward lands of Europe? We shall not err widely if we say that precisely this contrast between the backwardness of Russia and its sudden leap to the highest form of democracy—clearing at a bound bourgeois democracy and landing in a Soviet or proletarian republic—that precisely that contrast, or contradiction was one of the reasons that made it difficult and slow for the Western countries to understand the role of the Soviets.

The working classes of all countries instinctively perceive the importance of the Soviets as a weapon of the proletariat, and as the machinery of a proletarian state. But those of their leaders who have been corrupted by opportunism continue to pay homage to bourgeois democracy, which they call 'democracy without qualification.'

Is it strange, then, that the attainment of a dictatorship of the proletariat should at first glance throw into emphasis the contrast between the backwardness of Russia and its passing at a bound over and beyond the bourgeois democratic era? It would be remarkable indeed if history had given us a radically new form of democratic government without accompanying it by many contradictions and contrasts.

Any disciple of Marx indeed any man familiar with contemporary Socialism—when faced by the question whether the transition of the various capitalist states into a dictatorship of the proletariat is likely to follow identical lines and to be harmonious and consistent in each different government, will doubtless answer in the negative. In the world as formed by capitalism there is nowhere equality or harmony or proportion. Such things cannot exist in that kind of a world. Every country has its peculiar relief—its individual social topography. It has developed in another aspect of capitalism and varying degrees of one aspect or another aspect of capitalism and labor organization. Each land varies from its neighbors in its degree of progress.

More than a century ago, when France experienced its great bourgeois revolution, and awakened practically the whole European continent to a new life, England headed the counter-revolutionary group, although from the capitalist standpoint it was more highly developed than France. The English Labor Movement of that period anticipated many of the teachings of Marx.

When England presented to the world the first real popular movement of the masses, that proletarian revolutionary demand for extensive political rights called Chartism, mild bourgeois revolutions followed in several continental countries. But the first real civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie occurred in France. The capitalist classes always defeated these isolated proletarian uprisings, employing a different strategy in different countries.

England is a typical example of a land where, as Engels says, the bourgeoisie has allied itself with an aristocracy of labor drawn the higher ranks of the proletariat. This most highly evolved capitalist country is consequently several decades behind some of its neighbors in the proletarian revolution. France crushed for the time being the vigor of proletarian revolt dur-

ing the two heroic revolutions which the working classes unsuccessfully attempted in 1848 and 1871. None the less, these revolutions were important milestones in history. During the late 70's, Germany, while far behind England and France in economic development nevertheless assumed the leadership of the international labor movement. When that country overtook its commercial and industrial rivals, shortly before the World War, its splendidly organized labor party had fallen under the control of a little group of arch-soundrels, the most despicable traitors of history, who had themselves to capitalism. Scheidemann, Noske, David, Legien, and their followers will go down to history as the most hateful persecutors of the labor classes that have ever done service to monarchy and reaction.

Social evolution proceeds unceasingly and irresistibly toward a dictatorship of the proletariat, but not always at a uniform rate, nor by the straightest path.

When Karl Kautsky was still a disciple of Marx, and before he became a renegade to the faith and a champion of Scheidemann and of bourgeois democracy against the Soviets and the proletariat, he wrote some twenty years ago an article entitled, 'Slaves of the Revolution.' In this article he analyzed the historical conditions that would render possible transferring the control of the international revolutionary movement to 'the slaves.'

That has now occurred. Temporarily—and, of course, very briefly indeed—the leadership of the revolutionary proletarian international has fallen to the Russians, just as it rested for short periods in the previous century in the hands of the English, then of the French, and later of the Germans.

I have already repeated on many occasions that it has been easier for the Russians than for the people of more advanced countries to start a proletarian revolution; but that it will be more difficult for them to carry it through to a complete reorganization of society along purely Socialist lines.

It was easier for them to start the ball rolling in Russia, because the political backwardness of the Tsar's despotic government placed it out of harmony with twentieth-century Europe, and aroused universal protest and revolt among the people. In the second place, the backwardness of Russia caused the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie to be combined with a peasant revolution against the land holders. It was with the latter movement that we started out in October, 1917, and we might not have won so easily had we taken a different path. As early as 1856 Karl Marx, in speaking of Prussia, mentioned the possibility of combining a proletarian and a peasant insurrection in that kingdom; and since early in 1905 the Russian Bolsheviks had advocated a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletarians and the peasants. In the third place, Russia was a favorable starting point because the revolution of 1905 had been a remarkably effective political school for our common laborers and peasants. At the same time, it made their leaders familiar with the latest developments of Western Socialism, and expert in revolutionary tactics among the masses. If it had not been for the experience gained in these grand general manoeuvres of 1905, both the bourgeois February revolution of 1917, and the proletarian October revolution of the same year, might have failed.

Still a fourth reason helps to explain why the present movement has its home in Russia. That country's geographical position enables it to defend itself easier and for a longer period than any other country against the military invasions and economic aggressions of more highly developed capitalist governments. In the fifth place, the peculiarly close relationship of the proletariat with the peasantry in Russia made it easy to convert a bourgeois revolution into a Socialist revolution, by assisting the urban proletariat to get into direct touch with the half-proletarian poorer classes in the country. In the sixth place, and last of all, long practice in labor agitation abroad and experience derived from propaganda among the working classes in Western Europe, made it possible when the sudden crisis actually arose in Russia, to bring into being at a stroke that perfect instrument of revolutionary organization—the Soviet.

Naturally, this analysis is not exhaustive, but it is sufficient for our present purposes.

So Soviet or proletarian democracy has its birthplace in Russia. It represents another stage in evolution, following upon the Paris Commune. The Proletarian Peasant Soviet Republic has proved to be the first Socialist government in

the world's history capable of maintaining itself. It is a new type of state destined not to disappear.

In order to complete the work of Socialist reconstruction, much remains to be done. Soviet republics is countries with a higher civilization, where the true proletariat is more numerous and influential than in Russia, have every prospect of speedily overtaking the latter country when they have once started on the road toward proletarian dictatorship.

The insolvent Second International is already dead. So far as its spectre still stalks abroad, it is as a handmaid of the international bourgeoisie. It is a yellow international. Its more important intellectual leaders, like Kautsky, glorify bourgeois democracy, which they call 'real' democracy, or still more stupidly, 'pure' democracy.

Bourgeois democracy has had its day, just as the Second International has had its day, having performed a necessary historical service and served as an intermediate stage in the preparation of the laboring classes for their ultimate victory.

Even the most democratic bourgeois republics from their very nature never have been, and never can be in the future, anything else than machines for oppressing the workers through capitalism—political instruments of capital—dictatorships of the middle classes. Democratic bourgeois republics proclaim the authority of majorities; but they are impotent to give majorities real power, so long as private property and private ownership of the means of production continue.

The liberty of the bourgeois democratic republics was, in fact, the liberty of the rich. The proletariat and the laboring peasantry were enabled and compelled under its regime to rally their forces for the overthrow of capital, to supplant bourgeois democracy, and to assure themselves that real democracy which labor never can enjoy under the rule of capital.

For the first time in the history of the world, a Soviet or proletarian democracy has created a democracy of the masses of the working people, of the laborers and the small peasantry.

Never before in history has there been a government truly representing the majority of the people, and rendering effective the actual power of this majority, except the Soviet.

Nothing indicates more clearly the intellectual bankruptcy of the leaders of the Second International, of men like Helfferding and Kautsky, than their inability to comprehend the true significance of Soviet or proletarian democracy, its relation to the Paris Commune, its place in history, and its necessity as the form which a dictatorship of the proletariat must inevitably assume.

In a recent issue of Die Freiheit, the organ of the Independent Socialists of Germany, an address is published 'To the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany.' It is signed by the party executive, and by all the members of its delegation in the National Assembly. It charges Scheidemann and his crew with trying to abolish the Soviets or Workers' Councils, and proposes—joking aside!—to amalgamate the German Soviets with the National Assembly, and to give them certain political functions—a certain status in the Constitution.

To reconcile a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with a dictatorship of the proletariat! What a naive idea! What a stroke of Philistine genius! We have already suffered from the fact that during Kerensky's regime the coalition of Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries—who were really a group of petty-bourgeois democrats imagining themselves Socialists—tried that every experiment. Any reader of Marx who fails to understand that so long as capitalist society exists every serious conflict between the classes will eventuate either in an exclusive dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or an exclusive dictatorship of the proletariat, shows his incapacity to understand either the economic or the political reasoning of our great leader.

May-Day Message

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imprisoned revolutionists, etc. And that is a very important token to show how much revolution has advanced. The battle-cry is not only followed by the revolutionary vanguard, but also by very large proletarian masses who hitherto had been captivated by Scheidemann and Ebert, by bourgeois democrats and clericals.

The possessing classes and their servants soon forget their little domestic quarrel, whether militarism was to have the supreme con-

mand only to the benefit of the bourgeois order itself. Democracy and militarism embraced each other and united for the common struggle against the Left, against Bolshevism, that means against the workers who long for liberty. Democracy gave to these poor devils futile and hollow negotiations and conceptions, whilst militarism poured into them the bullets and balls of its machine guns and minenwerfers. The revolutionary part of the workers had enough clearness of aim as to the way of historical revolution, to understand well the necessity and the object of the struggle, but they had not yet grown enough in number and unity to be able to win victory. Thanks to militarism, democracy remained triumphant over revolution. In those places where the workers had been able to vanquish militarism by seizing arms, there rages now the white terror. After Thuringia, Leipzig, Halle, etc., the Rhine provinces and Westphalia are the victims of Noske's guards. The "modest police action" to restore "order and peace," to which the Government of Ebert and Moller were bound by oath, has proved to be the most ferocious, unscrupulous dictatorship of sabres, guns, shells and martial law. The slaughtered bodies of workers tell another tale; the heroic courage and self-denying devotion with which they ventured to dream of freedom and the highest human development for their class.

And yet, in spite of the enormous bloody sacrifices, in spite of the apparent defeat, the German working class does not return from this battle in a humiliated and depressed spirit. They are embittered, exasperated, but not discouraged at all. They are quite aware that they are not yet powerful enough to subdue their mortal foe, but they are equally conscious that they have advanced on the way to its final defeat. The last struggles have shown how far the German proletariat has advanced in one year towards understanding the aim and the way of their endeavours for emancipation from the point of view of insight and unity. The most precious fruit of their struggles is a developed consciousness of the proletarian power, that means more confidence in their own forces and a consolidation of the still young tradition of revolutionary fighting. In the period, where the French proletariat as the revolutionary vanguard of the disinherited of all countries fought their glorious battles against the bourgeois order, there were years and decades between their proud uprising. In 1830 took place the revolt of the Lyons weavers and the revolution of July; 1848 the revolution of February and the immortal battle of June; in 1871 the Paris Commune. In our days the German working class, after a most bloody defeat, within one year rose against their masters and tormentors a second time in revolutionary fight. In the school of hard experience and revolutionary struggle the processes of self-consciousness and the rallying of the German Proletariat goes on with gigantic steps. This fact confirms once more the conception that we live in a revolutionary period of human history, and that now the tempo of development differs from that of an era of peaceable evolution as the rapidity of a motor car differs from the snail's pace of the old stage coach.

Thus in 1919 and 1920 revolutionary struggles in Germany underline strongly what in November 1917 the heroic, glorious revolution of the Russian proletariat has taught. The world-revolution is following the world-war as the last judgment on capitalism. World-revolution is marching. The revolution of workers and poor peasants in Russia has victoriously maintained its ground against a world of enemies. Allied to the counter-revolutionists within the country, the imperialists and capitalists of all states lay at the frontiers to strangle Socialist Soviet Russia. Let by the Communist Party, the workers are not vanquished by military power; they stand firmly against hunger and the economic disorganization, the terrible legacies of Tsarism and capitalism, and the fearful crime of the counter-revolution; they fight to protect and maintain revolution, they work to build up a new social world, a better, happier social world. An example of historical greatness such as mankind has never seen before. Germany is shaken by revolutionary convulsions. It would be futile to prophesy the date of the next great uprising of the German workers. For the moment it is sufficient to know that in the near future the Germany of capitalism must succumb inevitably to the storming of the labouring and exploited masses. For the other

possibility is impossible, unthinkable, namely, that the masses themselves abandon the revolutionary struggle and become willing to succumb to the barbarism of increased capitalist exploitation and servitude.

Over Italy roar the thunders of the coming storm; in France there is sheet-lightning; storms rage through the proud empire of Great Britain. In England and Scotland growing masses of workers unite round the Socialist, the Communist, flag. Ireland, Egypt, and India are in revolt. The wage slaves in the United States muster for the class struggle; their strikes become greater and greater in extent, more important, and take on a revolutionary character. The international situation, in consequence of the diplomatic squabbling among the Allied powers for the booty of the world-war, becomes more and more complicated rich in conflicts, pregnant with future wars. Here, too, the economic basis of capitalist order, class antagonisms and class struggles, grow in intensity and bitterness. From beneath the volcanic depths of society rises Socialism, Communism.

Amidst the storms and flames of this historical development the 1st of May has gained a new higher significance and importance. It was a symbol which the Second International had left us. It must become an action of the Third International. A May-demonstration, in the form of a one day's strike, was the only attempt made by the Second International to unite the Workers of all countries in common action. The aim of this demonstration was to obtain reforms in the capitalist order, reforms meant to increase the fighting force of the workers in their struggle against capitalism. The Second International abandoned the policy of common international action, thus solemnly resolved upon, and contented itself with propaganda alone. In consequence the Second International had to renounce the reforms themselves. Now the battle between workers and bourgeois is no longer one for reforms in the capitalist order, its aim is to overthrow, to subdue this order. Capitalism or Socialism and Communism is the battlecry. No resolutions on paper must be the aim, but the living, powerful action of the working masses. The 1st of May must show that in all countries the proletariat, conscious of its international solidarity, is firmly decided to apply its entire power and energy to immediate aims, viz., conquest of political power, dictatorship of the working class and Soviet Republics in order to overcome capitalism and prepare the way for Communism. No humble bowing before capitalism on the 1st May! Hands free, hearts high and proud! Forward, rallied to the red banner of the Third International!

FROM GERMANY IN REVOLUTION COMMUNISTS SEND ON THE 1ST OF MAY THIS BROTHERLY MESSAGE.

Ethics of Hate

(Continued from page 1)

In this struggle the qualities of love and hate are exercised. Both are valuable human qualities—necessary for the development of the complete human being. Those who want to eliminate hate are, fortunately for human progress, attempting the impossible. They would mutilate humanity to save it. Graham Wallis in the "Great Society," p. 162, says: "In its evolutionary origin hatred helped man to survive because it was a means of securing that the useful acts of acquisition, patriotism, sex-leadership and the rest should take place."

It would be a poor day for Freedom if man could not hate. To hate the wrong and to fight it, in the persons of those who stand for it, is essential to human progress. Emerson writes truly of the healthy influence of hate when love piles and whines.

The argument of the other side, assumes, without any proof, that hatred is always a bad thing, and then after pointing out that Bolshevism, as a live force includes hatred, claims that, therefore, nothing good can come of it. They have first to prove that to hate the wrong is bad.

They proceed to say that Bolshevism builds on hate instead of love, and excludes love altogether. By opposing love to hate they try and split man in half. They cannot conceive man as a unity, possessing both qualities and using both as the occasion demands. They are wrong in this. It is the love of humanity which causes the Bolsheviks to hate that which is injurious to humanity. Loving the right, they must hate the wrong, that is if their love is something true and genuine, and not a feeble make-believe. The critics

themselves talk of hating wrong—they cannot keep it out—but they try to separate the wrong from those who do it.

The only way to oppose tyranny is to oppose the tyrants. You can't in this practical world separate emotions and actions from people.

Here we get the great contradiction of the sentimentalists. He tells us, first:—

That men are not made by systems. That brotherly love must commence right now. That a man can rise superior to his environment.

All this implies, of course, that man is to blame for not living up to a given standard and realizing this, the sentimentalists rushes off at a tangent and says, second:—

That a capitalist is the victim of circumstances. We should all do the same in his place. Therefore we should attack the system not the man.

It is quiet clear that the two positions above are irreconcilable, but usually the sentimentalists contrives to hold them both. The truth is that although one realises the extent to which the capitalist is made what he is by conditions; yet we cannot love a defender of exploitation, we rather hate him for the misery he perpetrates.

If the aim is to create a world of mutilated people who cannot hate anything. Socialism will not help to do this. The complete human being will always possess love and hate, and the measure of the strength of one quality will often be the measure of the other.

Abstract humanity constructed on an "all love" plan can never be—it would be a one-sided monstrosity. All that is necessary, to a well-developed manhood and womanhood, is retained in Socialism. A finer morality will inevitably rise out of finer conditions, which allow for human development on unperverted lines.

We are told that previous revolutions have failed; that conditions are still bad in spite of them. The Puritan Rebellion left the people poor and enslaved, so revolutions must always be futile. This shows a lack of historical sense. Cromwell and the movement he stood for were bound by the limitations of their age. From the standpoint of the abstract moralist, of course, Cromwell might have achieved perfection, but from the Socialist standpoint this is not so. We can only explain Cromwell in the light of his age. The conditions were that Feudalism and personal monarchy, with restrictive powers, were crumbling, and Capitalism with its rampant individualism was coming in. Puritanism with its individualism in religion and its economic virtues—frugality, industry, etc., expressed one side of the new thought. Cromwell represented this growing force. Most probably he was not very conscious of this. Yet the Levellers who expressed the weak communistic tradition lingering from past society found no support in him.

So later with Robespierre, great Bogy of Revolution, the man who is always used to scare people from revolt. He represented admirably the rising Capitalists who have since repaid him with abuse. He even expressed their meanness of character too. His solemn and priggish re-instatement of the "Supreme Being" as an object of worship, expressed all the later Capitalist timidity of intellectual liberty. In his passion for a perfect constitution he resembled many "advanced" bourgeois reforms of to-day. The French Revolution broke Feudalism and established Capitalism—re-cording the inalienable right of every man to life, liberty and property—all being qualified by the last.

Both revolutions were successful. They did their work. They cleared out Feudal conceptions and hastened Capitalism, thus advancing human society another stage onward. They altered the moral code to suit Capitalist Society: Naturally they did not, and could not deal with modern problems.

We are faced with an altogether different situation now. The working class has developed. It is demanding freedom not to exploit others or to possess private property as the Capitalists did. It demands freedom for all. It is strong and is imbued with communistic ideal. This is because of conditions not because of original virtue. The conditions and inspiration of the modern working class movement are different altogether from the conditions and inspiration of the Capitalist Revolutions.

Lenin and Trotsky are the prominent peaks of this world movement, and the ideas common to it find expression through them. This movement brings its own morality with it and does not worry about abstract morality. Its morality will be noble; it will be the flower of

freedom. All the conditions for the development of this higher morality are present in Socialism.

The use of force is not to the discredit of the Bolsheviks. Cromwell was more right than George Fox when he did the work which had to be done. Abraham Lincoln was right from the national standpoint when he told the pacifists in America, during the Civil War, that to stand aside would not solve anything. It would have been an easy piece of moral attitude to say that was all. The Bolsheviks would be less moral and not more moral if they flinched from the struggle on some 'moral' cause. There is a higher morality, a morality of life and of the necessity for breaking down slavery; the noble morality of the advancing working-class.

News From Germany

(Continued from page 1)

The workers were waiting for that hour. They had known that it would come and require their strength. The general strike was everywhere a great success. Kapp and Lüttwitz were wholly unable to oppose that movement. All the railways, trams, mines, factories, generating stations, everything rested. The working-class showed to the world its great power. Even the capitalist press confessed it and demanded negotiations with the strikers. The dictatorship of the proletariat was felt by Kapp and his helpers. The barely-saved Noske-Bauer Government which several days before, had proclaimed a general strike and the arming of the workers, already began to fear this dictatorship. It feared to lose the ministerial posts. Immediately it directed the disarming of the reactionary officers. But the workers did not willingly put away their weapons. With enthusiasm they everywhere fought and yet are fighting for their ideal, the realization of Socialism, which alone is able to save the international working-class from bondage.

In many towns they elected Workers' Councils, which would neither recognise the Government of Noske-Bauer or Kapp-Lüttwitz. But alas! the traitors in several places had done their work. In Leipzig, Dresden, Halle, the neighbourhood of Berlin, and in other places, the Majority-Socialists (to-day more truly the Minority) conspired with the officers to save "democracy" (which means to them well-paid offices) and regrettably the workers were beaten. But joyfully I am able to inform you that in the coal district of Ruhr the mineworkers defeated the reactionary troops, dispersing and capturing them. The whole of the weapons, cannon, etc., are in their hands. Government rests with the Workers' Councils (Soviets) and they wait for other districts to do likewise. Many troops have driven away into the so-called "occupied zone" of the English, who have captured them. The capitalists warmly desire the English army to occupy the Ruhr district to "liberate" it from Bolshevism. And truly this is what the German working-class fears: the invasion by French, English and Belgian troops of the about-to-be-founded German Soviet Republic.

(Then follows an enumeration of the German workers' demands, including the disarming of reactionaries and the arming of organised workers, punishment of recent Kapp-Lüttwitz rebels, socialisation of the key industries, the land and the forests, improvements in food and work conditions, and friendly relations between all peoples.)

The discussion concerning the conditions of the forming of a new government still continue in Berlin. They cannot solve the problem without the agreement of the working-class. But we must expect sharp blows. The reactionaries will agree to none of our demands. The again collected regiments menace us. They will answer to the call—

We must demand from the working-classes of the Entente that they will not stab us in the back. The German reactionaries we know how to conquer, but we fear the foreign ones. What is the English working-class going to do? Will it stop in the background apathetic and indifferent? These grave questions and possibilities frighten us not a little, but they give to the capitalist the hope that they may crush the German Communists as they did those of Hungary.

(What has happened since the above was written is an all too terrible confirmation of those fears. Allied capitalism has once more conquered, for the time being, the German Workers Revolution.)

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The Red Petrograd

(Continued from page 1)

Is this power which has swept away the idlers who used to congest the thoroughfares without enlivening them. It is this power which forces the timid inhabitant to go down to the door of his house to act as a watchman. It is this power which supports us, all of us, who are breathing the air of this city. In spite of privations of all kinds, in spite of insufficient food, it increases our energy every moment, tenfold, impelling us to work more and better. This power is vigilant; never for one moment does it slacken; and in the hour of danger it turns everyone into a soldier who knows where to go and what to fight for.

This organized force has turned Petrograd, besieged as it is by a whole world of enemies armed to the teeth, and gripped by a savage blockade which is so cruelly strangling the female and child population of the city, into a gigantic dreadnought! There is not a single man on board the ship who does not stand at his post. This force, this power, is—Labour!

Labour! Thou hast proudly proclaimed in Red Petrograd the freedom-bringing law of labour in face of an immoral and decomposing world which was drowning in filth and wanted to forget itself, in a colossal debauch, from the sanguinary nightmare of the imperialist slaughter. Labour has rejuvenated thee, Red Petrograd! It at one stroke raised thee up to a pinnacle, above the whole world, from which thou shovest to all who have still preserved in their hearts some human ideals the road to salvation and redemption. But after the first moment of amazement that world has united against thee. Parasites, drones, and profiteers have united in a gigantic mob in order to regain their easy and pleasant life, and to condemn the worker to destructive labour in unhealthy surroundings, the woman to expose her body to shame, and the poor child to tears and cold, to a life bereft of caresses and joy. This mob has moved against thee, against the workers, peasants, thy sailors and soldiers, its own slaves and hirelings, and the entire mass of refined barbarity called "bourgeois culture!"

But thou hast met the storm with firmness. Methodically and almost automatically thy working population, oh, Red Petrograd, at once bent its utmost energy, and we felt a powerful wind passing over hundreds of miles around thee, scattering the blockade storm-clouds to all the four quarters of the globe. Never yet, Red Petrograd, didst thou represent so well the capital, the brain, and the heart of the Proletarian Revolution. A few hours spent in thy militant atmosphere of strenuous struggle, are sufficient to re-invigorate the tired nerves.

I understand now how it was that at the time when the enemy was at thy gates, and the world's press, in the pay of the bankers and bandits of the League of Nations, was already triumphantly announcing thy fall, thy internal life, like some precise clock movement, did not even retard its course. Now I understand how it was that even the lack of bread did not impair thy efforts, and that thy Red Soldiers are still holding out a few miles from here steadfastly and victoriously, in the dampness and filth of their trenches. It is because a creative revolutionary energy is stimulating them. In no other place has it asserted itself so clearly, so irresistibly as here; and I also understand now why it is precisely them that the old world would have liked to strangle! It is not because thou art nearest

The Hope of the World

(Continued from page 1)

an open and shameless robbery, which our masters justify by a blighting cynicism—a cynicism as barren and desolate as a desert. To accept the present condition of things as the end, the ultimate, of human endeavour is to abandon faith in humanity.

And for you, who belong to the workingclass, who are a slave under the present system, who are a purchasable commodity of preying employers, who can witness around you the broken hopes and broken lives of the victims of capitalism, who can, indeed, see your own folk denied necessities, robbed of joy and comfort, every day—for you to step aside from the struggle, for you to abandon the fight on behalf of your class and your people; for you to tacitly accept your slave position—is it not being false to your real self, a crime against your better nature?

You feel, perhaps, that in doing the rather prosaic propaganda you are not getting the most out of life. But really, if you try, you will find ample scope in our great movement for free play for all your desires and activities. You are mentally alert, quick and imaginative. You dream dreams, weave inexhaustible arabesques on the coarse web of life. In you there is a depth of feeling, and if you see children hungry, or girls or women in distress, your natural kindly impulse is to go to their assistance. But every day this cursed capitalism starves and maims, crushes and destroys, acts as the midwife and the flame upon the whole of our class. It grinds down the creative genius of our people just as it throws our worn-out fathers on the scrapheap or thrusts our sisters on to the streets.

Will you, too fail? Will you allow the many spurious amenities—the sporadic provided by the master class—to induce you to betray the cause?

Can you not realize your young men of the Socialist movement, your young Communists that you are hope of the world.

Upon you the future depends. If you abandon the struggle it means a continuation of capitalism and wage-slavery—for, by hook or by crook, our masters will try their utmost to disentangle themselves. But if you throw yourself into the struggle with courage and determination—as a Paladin of the New Order, as a Knight of Communism—now, victory is ours. You—and such as you—are the makers or breakers of life. The world is yours for the taking. For if we can keep the talons of capitalist-imperialism off the Russian Socialist Republic and enable our Russian

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BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY DECLARATION

The B. S. P., in a message to the workers of Ireland, declares: "You demand self-determination even to the point of independence. You wish to set up an Irish Republic. So be it. The workers of Britain have no real quarrel with your demand. Only the British ruling caste, drunk with Imperialism, and sodden with prosperity, denies your claim—as it denies the similar claims of the peoples of Egypt and India."

comrades to conserve their strength, develop their powers and consolidate their position, if we can render aid to the social-revolutionary forces in Europe, if we can induce the workers of this country effectively to maintain their place in the fight, the doom of capitalism is sealed.

Comrade, raise again the old Red Flag. Make up your mind that, come weal or woe, you will do your bit to end such hideous wars as the world has recently experienced. Make up your mind to do all that lies in your power to remove humanity from the rack, to lift the burden of care from off the shoulders of the weak, to drive unemployment and want and slavery from that robs you and yours of all the fine and gracious things of life, than denies you the right to decency and comfort, that steals away your manhood and shackles you as a slave. Play your part as the thinkers and fighters of our cause have played theirs. Think of the men of '48, think of the Communards, think of the Chicago martyrs, think of Marx, of Bebel, of Jaures, of Wilhelm Liebknecht, of William Morris, of Jim Connolly, of Debs, of Lenin, of Karl Liebknecht, of Rosa Luxemburg, of Bela Kun,—think of all who have given so much for the solidarity and happiness of the human race—and work and strive and, if needs be, fight in the service of the World Socialist Republic.

Give Steamer to Soviet

Copenhagen, May 7.—The German steamer Senator Schroeder has arrived at Archangel with sixty delegates of the German Independent Socialists who were smuggled aboard when the steamer left Cuxhaven April 10 for Iceland, according to a message to the Politburo from Archangel. En route the crew is reported to have overpowered the officers, placed them in irons and made for Mernansk. The steamer has been placed at the disposal of Soviet Russia.

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BRITISH GENERAL HITS OUT

British Statesman's "optimism"

LONDON.—British policy in Russia has gained us the contempt of both sides, General Sir Hubert Gough declared at the National Liberal Club last night. That policy had led to loss and failure, mainly owing to Mr. Churchill's extraordinary capacity for optimism.

As for atrocities, much that had been done in the name of the Bolshevik Government was really the work of bandits. In his opinion the Russian people as a whole felt that the Tsarists real aim was to get back their own personal wealth and position, and let Russia run as it ran before.

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FACTS FOR PARLIAMENTARIANS

It seems to be with Marx as with Christ: many profess to worship him the better to betray his principles.—Domela Nieuwenhuis.

Engels has commented so severely upon the practical policy of parliamentarians that we are at a loss to understand how he has come to approve the tactics of the German Social Democratic party. Here is the opinion he used to hold: "A kind of shopkeeper socialism has its advocates in the Social Democratic party, even among its parliamentary representatives, and these advocates while endorsing in a vague way some socialist principles, and granting grudgingly that the future belongs to collectivism, think that future is very far distant, not within measurable distance. They aim at patching up the present social system, and in default of doing anything better, they fling themselves with enthusiasm into the efforts of the reactionaries to promote the so-called 'raising of the working classes'."—Ibid.

Where Marx and Engels in error when they taught "that the state is the organization of the possessing classes to effect the complete subjection of the nonpossessing classes?" Was Marx mistaken when he said "that the state in order to abolish pauperism must abolish itself for the kernel of the evil lies in the very existence of the state?"—Ibid.

Parliamentarianism as a general rule shows nothing which can be viewed with sympathy by a Democrat, especially by a thorough Democrat, that is a Social Democrat. For him, on the contrary, it is antidemocratic because it means the supremacy of a class, mostly the middle class.
 —Zuricher Sozialdemokrat, 1883.

In 1875, when the then two Socialist wings of Germany—the Marxists and the Lassalleans—were about to unite, Marx issued a circular letter, intended especially for some of the leaders of the Marxist wing. In this letter Marx analyses and condemns the programme, under which the fusion was to be perfected, as "bourgeois," "objectionable," "demoralising," a "dickering in principles," a proof that "Socialist ideas were only skin-deep with the party"; and he warned that "everybody knows how pleased working men are with the fact of a union, but you are mistaken if you believe that this momentary success is not bought too dearly." And Bebel, then in prison for his revolutionary attitude, issued from his confinement a letter of protest declaring: "he could not join in the fusion, and when his nine months were out, he would raise the banner of revolt against it." The warning was disregarded: the bourgeois-labelled programme was adopted: the fusion was perfected: the threatened revolt never set in.

—Daniel De Leon, Jan. 3, 1904.

Every attempt at action in Parliament, every effort to help in the work of legislation, necessitates some abandonment of our principles, deposits us upon the slopes of compromise and of political give-and-take, till at last we find ourselves in the treacherous bog of parliamentarianism, which by its foulness kills everything that is healthy.

—W. Liebknecht in 1874.

At the Cologne Congress of 1893 the question of going into the Prussian Landtag elections was raised and thunderingly voted down. Bebel led. "A compromise with the hostile parties," he declared, "cannot choose but lead to the demoralisation of the party." The proposed step was pronounced "a compromise in the worst sense of the word," and it was laid down, as a matter of duty, that the party was to abstain from the suffrage at the Landtag elections. At the Mainz Congress of 1900, Bebel himself ceased to see any objection to the "cattle-trade"; he declared he had changed his views; he regretted the strong expressions used at Cologne; and he announced a new principle: "Compromise is an agreement with another for mutual support, to the end of reaching that which cannot be reached with unaided effort. Why raise such a howl against that!" The Cologne decision was, accordingly, formally reversed, and the new principle was pursued.—Daniel De Leon in 1904.

The political movement of the working class has for its natural and ultimate aim the conquest of political power and this requires, of course, that a previous organization of the working class, arising out of this economic struggle, should have reached a certain degree of maturity. On the other hand, every movement, in which the working class meets the ruling classes as a class and seeks to overcome them by pressure from without, is a political movement. For instance, the attempt to force from individual capitalists a reduction of labour time, in some individual factory or in some line of occupation, is a purely economic movement; but a movement trying to obtain an eight-hour law, or something similar, is a political movement. And in this way a political movement grows everywhere out of the various economic movements of the working class, that is, a movement of the class to enforce its demands in some general form, in some form, which shall have a general social power.—Karl Marx, Nov. 23, 1871.

BOLSHEVISM AT WORK.

W. T. GOODE, correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, who has recently returned from Russia, has written a story of Russia and her industries, sanitary laws, etc.

This is one of the best books that has published. It can be had from the office of this paper for the sum of ONE DOLLAR. We have only a limited number of copies, so send in your order AT ONCE.

As the Clock Ticks!

In capitalist society, the boss thinks more of your job than he does of you. The job consist of machinery and machinery costs thousands of dollars. Workers cost anything from 40c to dollar per hour. What do you think of it all?

The wages of the worker is not a salary. No! They are not profits! No! They are just the oil that the boss buys in order to keep his human machinery in order.

THE "RED" MENACE.

"There is a voice more thrilling and more compelling than any of the moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. Their soul is not subservient; they will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right; of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind."

—President Wilson.

President Wilson never uttered a truer statement in all of his political career. The avowed opponents of Soviet Russia are compelled to admit that what they termed the "Red" menace is to them a grim reality, more real than they care to admit. It is as well that it is so!

When the war broke out, the rulers of the earth promised the working-class that if they would shoulder the gun and march out to the shambles of Europe, they would return to find a new social order erected and the days of war would be numbered. After the millions who have rendered the supreme sacrifice; the many millions who have been left crippled and mutilated, so that they must now be dependent upon public charity; the many children who have been left orphans and the thousands of wives who have been left widows, we find that there are no end of wars in sight. The same ghastly spectacle is witnessed in Mexico. It is the same old story:—

"We plough and sow, we're so very, very low,
 That we delve in the dirty clay;
 Till we bless the plain with the golden grain,
 And the vale with the fragrant hay.
 We're low, we're low—mere rabble, we know—
 We're only the rank and file;
 We're not too low to kill the foe
 But too low to share the spoil."

The masterpieces of man's genius, craftsmanship, energy, the gorgeous temples, mighty bridges, endless railways towering monuments, palatial mansions, artistic furnishings, mean nothing to the million of slaves who produced and created them. At no period in the history of mankind has the average worker's existence been so insecure, and his happiness at so low an ebb, than it is to-day. Although the working-class has succeeded in forcing increases in wages from the master-class, yet they find that these increases cannot keep pace with the rising cost of living. The whole world is in grip of economic forces, that only the "reds" understand. The capitalist class are too much concerned with making profits. That is why civilization today is tottering, even as former world civilization—founded on the same gross inequalities, different only in name and degree, but alike in evil principle have been swept away and disappeared in the dust of ages.

P-R-O-F-I-T! Profit is the god, the only god, that the ruling class know. To concentrate and focus the whole savage reactionary principles of capitalist civilization into one word, into the short damning indictment, it is only necessary to write that of P-R-O-F-I-T. From the pale faced department store girl, poisoning her very system by the fetid atmosphere of the slum dwelling, that she calls "home", to the snobbish slave of the white collar brigade the acid and inhuman test of profit is applied before it is even granted the right to exist. It does not matter that you have the goodness of the ages in your soul, unless you sell yourself to a master you cannot live. All the wonderful inventions of modern civilization, the god-like brains of the genius, the cunning craft of the craftsman, the mighty brawn of the foundry worker, the glorious voice of the singer, the beauty of the artist's brush, all are remorselessly seized and poured into the inhuman mill of P-R-O-F-I-T. Nothing is too noble—nothing too human to escape the inexorable clutch of the profit-monger. The productive enterprise of the world, the inexhaustible store of nature's granaries, the toil of the mine, the wealth of the ocean, the golden harvests of the plains—all must yield their treasures to the most sordid and rapacious class of all history, the capitalist class, even though innocent children die for the want of bread and the bare necessities of life.

"Men may die," says one writer, "but the capitalist class makes no sacrifice. It exercises political power under every form of government. It makes the world one wide dominion over which its black flag flies unchallenged." Exploitation of nature and man alike—the stupendous exploitation of the toiling millions, production for profit and nothing else—this is the ethical creed that capitalism in the future as in the past offers to suffering, bleeding humanity where—with to rebuild a shattered and tortured world.

The statesmen who prattle pious platitudes and talk of a new social order arising out of the chaos and misery of the world, they lie and THEY KNOW THEY LIE. You can never build a new social order with bricks made of the blood and tears of the workers. Never can the future yield anything of less misery, degradation, and destruction than is seen to-day, so long as the capitalist system reigns supreme. Any system founded upon the exploitation of the many by the few must produce social inequalities and injustices.

The picture looks a gloomy one. It looks as if there was no hope left in the world. That is if we accept the statements of the capitalist press. But the truth is, that there is hope in the world. IN YOUR TIME COMRADES, THE CHANGES THAT YOU DREAMED OF WILL COME TO PASS. OPPOSING THE BLACK EMPIRE OF CAPITALISM STANDS THE RED EMPIRE OF COMMUNISM.

Of course we do not state that the Red Empire has been built up solely by the Communists, far from it. It has been built up out of the blind stupidity and brutality of world-imperialism. Take the case of Germany. Germany is not receiving any food or raw materials. Her mark, the medium of exchange, has so declined in value as to be of no value at all, that is, as far as international trading is concerned. What are the Allies doing towards rebuilding Germany? You would naturally expect that the capitalist class of the Allied nations would assist Germany, so that they could keep her from going Bolshevik. That is what any sane-minded person would expect. But no, they are forcing Germany to pay a large loan. How can Germany pay it? Only by further exploiting and degrading her working-class. But if the working-class is to work and only receive a starvation diet and wages that cannot buy any thing worth while, how long can they be expected to continue at their task? Take down your map of the world and color that portion known as Germany, R-E-D. It is only a matter of time. Russia has the main commodity that Germany needs and that is B-R-E-A-D. Germany has one thing that Russia needs and that is industrial organizing talent. What would you do, if you were in the position of the German workers? Work and starve or work and be fed?

RESOURCES OF "COMMUNIST COUNTRIES" COMPARED.

Based, except as indicated, on statistics of 1913, the year before the war.

	United States	Europe* Outside Communist Countries	Communist Countries (Germany, Russia, Turkey)
Area, square miles.....	3,026,788	1,547,310	9,566,661
Population.....	100,000,000	102,400,000	257,000,000
Cultivated land, acres.....	300,000,000	267,000,000	350,000,000
Forests, acres.....	550,000,000	233,000,000	a839,000,000
Production, bushels—			
Wheat.....	763,380,000	1,139,798,000	1,176,680,000
Corn.....	2,446,988,000	568,000,000	75,000,000
Oats.....	1,121,768,000	1,132,517,000	1,894,563,000
Barley.....	178,189,000	457,041,000	2,255,520,000
Rye.....	41,381,000	352,808,000	1,482,077,000
Potatoes.....	331,525,000	1,915,579,000	3,317,577,000
Total bushels.....	4,883,231,000	5,565,743,000	10,201,417,000
Beet sugar, tons.....	624,064	3,352,000	4,739,943
Cotton, bales.....	13,703,421		b1,134,000
Wool, pounds.....	296,175,000	c530,000,000	c556,000,000
Flax, bushels.....	28,000	215,000	1,703,000
Live stock—			
Cattle.....	56,592,000	64,000,000	81,000,000
Horses.....	20,962,000	16,000,000	40,000,000
Sheep.....	49,719,000	125,000,000	152,000,000
Swine.....	58,933,000	40,000,000	37,000,000
Total.....	186,206,000	245,000,000	310,000,900
Mineral production—			
Coal, short tons.....	570,048,000	d458,738,000	316,912,000
Iron, long tons.....	e30,966,000	ef15,355,000	eg18,359,000
Steel, long tons.....	31,301,000	f12,266,000	g17,421,000
Copper, pounds.....	1,224,484,000	h48,942,000	131,614,000
Petroleum, barrels.....	248,446,000	i13,634,000	j60,935,000
Books printed.....	12,230	g22,028	134,800
Estimated national wealth.....	\$187,000,000,000	m230,000,000,000	\$150,000,000,000

(a) For Siberia, including only forests under supervision. (b) Asiatic Russia. (c) Estimated from statistics for 1904 and 1918. (d) Some of the European coal statistics are for years earlier than 1913. (e) Statistics for 1912. (f) United Kingdom and France only. (g) Germany only. (h) Not including 120,591,000 pounds from Spain and Portugal. (i) Rumania only. (j) The Caucasus only. (k) Books (not American) in the English and French languages. (l) Books in the German language only. (m) Wealth of Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Serbia, Rumania.

The question answers itself. So make up your minds, masters of America, that GERMANY IS GOING RED.

The Allies immediately the war was over, commenced to divide up Turkey. They took control of 85 per cent of the territory of the Turkish people. Leaving the Turkish the other 15 per cent to live upon. Therefore the Allies cannot count upon the Turkish people being their friends. The Turks have allied themselves with their neighbours, the Turanians. The Turanians are of the same, in and faith as the Turks. An alliance with the Turanians means an alliance with a race of people who have ALREADY ALLIED THEMSELVES WITH SOVIET RUSSIA. So take down your map again and mark Turkey as being red.

Now we have an alliance of RUSSIA-TURKEY and GERMANY. Russia has a vast amount of natural resources that have not yet been touched. Turkey has vast fields that can be utilised for the growing of wheat. Germany has the scientific industrial efficiency. Add them together, natural resources, wonderful fields and industrial efficiency. With such a combination, the RED EMPIRE is assured of unlimited wealth in the shape of food, etc. The economic position of the RED EMPIRE is more secured than the rest of the world. Because the heart of the peoples of the RED EMPIRE will be in their work, knowing that they are working for themselves and not for a gang of blood-sucking parasites. Let it be understood that the RED EMPIRE has 1,300,000,000 acres of forests, or twice that of the rest of Europe and the United States combined. In agricultural produce, the territory of the RED EMPIRE in 1913 led the product of the entire world in every kind of staple product, with the exception of corn. It led the rest of Europe and the United States in the production of wheat and of oats. In the production of barley, rye and potatoes it led the United States and the rest of Europe together. Taking all kinds of crops it led the rest of Europe and the United States combined. As regards cotton, it is acknowledged that the United States maintains the lead in this direction; but it must be recognised that in Central Asia, part of the RED EMPIRE, has a growing cotton product and is INDEPENDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. In its wool clip, in beet sugar production and, most of all, in flax, the territory of the RED EMPIRE races ahead of the rest of Europe and the United States.

When we come to the question of livestock, we find that exactly the same situation exists. In cattle, in horse and in sheep the territory of the RED EMPIRE in 1913, was richer than either the rest of Europe or the United States. It therefore amounts to this, THAT IN CASE OF ANOTHER WAR THE PEOPLES OF THE RED EMPIRE WOULD BE LIVING ON THE FAT OF THE LAND, whilst the rest of the peoples of the world would be starving. Then the Allies, with their "keen" sense of humor, talk of an economic boycott!!

Take the case of minerals. No one really knows how much natural wealth there is in the RED EMPIRE. But the UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE in his report, issued on May 5th, THIS YEAR, states, "It is fair to assume that Eastern Siberia will become the centre of the mining industry of our planet." Even in 1913, it was admitted on all sides that Russia and Germany alone, in all minerals except coal, had a larger product than all the rest of Europe, if one leaves out of consideration, in the case of copper, the large product which comes from Spain and Portugal. In iron and steel Germany and Russia are far ahead of Great Britain and France. If the rest of Europe leads in coal, it is only due to the fact, that the coal fields of Russia are not yet developed. The Donetz coal basin of the Southern part of Russia is the largest coal basin in Europe and has been estimated to contain 2,500,000,000 tons of anthracite coal.

We could continue to deal with other basic commodities of life and demonstrate to you how independent of the Allies is the RED EMPIRE. On this page, we are publishing a table showing the relative strength of the rest of Europe, United States and the RED EMPIRE. It is well worth studying and it must awaken new hopes in the minds of every revolutionary worker. We have felt that the position was somewhat hopeless, but the facts that we have been able to present you, must convince you of the assured triumph of Communism. It is not enough for us to read this facts and become positive about the future. Our future is in our own hands. We can help to bring about worldwide Communism, if we do our part. That means to go into the workshop and develop the powers of the working-class. Organize the working-class so that they will utilise their economic power and help bring about the new social order. In a word we must teach them the principles of Communism. ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!

EXTREMISTS.

The "conservative" labor leaders are endeavoring to explain(?) the recent strikes by attributing them to the work and agitation of the extremist. America is one country in the world where phrasemongering abounds more than any where else. It is even found amongst the ranks of the extremists. Let any person agitate for the elimination of capitalism and put forward ideas that will be of practical value, ideas that cannot be questioned, and some brain-fool person or cunning politician will come along invent a phrase and hang goes the whole business. How many movements have been killed or their work retarded by the use of a clever phraser? So with the labor movement, the master-class have invented the phrase, "he is an extremist", and many of the workers really believe that the extremist is some person who has made it his life's purpose to destroy all progressive movements.

The reactionary politician looks upon the extremist as an irreconcilable person, whose object is to continually bring to our attention all manner of things, solely with a view to causing trouble. This explanation is partly true. The "respectable labor leader" looks upon the extremist as a person who is out to destroy the labor movement. With a combination of such forces, the reactionary politician and the equally reactionary labor leader, the extremist is forced to paddle his own canoe and to have it constantly overturned. But still the extremist lives through it all!

Wherever you find the extremist in a labor movement, there you will find something doing. The extremist refuses to die down and lick the shoes of the boss. He cannot understand why a man who never works should receive all and the man who does ALL the work receives nothing. The extremists are the idealists of the labor movement, with mind alert and their vision clear, they march on, pushing their less fortunate brothers along. They stand up and call a spade a spade, when the time is not "opportune". They are as a result, failed, but the time is coming when the social conditions will compel all members of the working-class to accept the point of view of the extremist. In the meantime the extremist goes to it, unafraid and more hopeful of the future, as each day comes to a close.

The extremist goes amongst his fellow-workers and gives them a new spirit. Without the influence of the extremist the hopeless worker becomes a hobo, unable to stand the test. He is thrown out of the work, all because he did not have the guts to stand up and demand job control. But when the workers respond to the influence of the extremist, they acquire a new hope in life. Every skirmish with the boss gives them a new feeling.

The extremist does not whine! He understand the fight that he is engaging in, but what he does expect is that those who cannot see-eye-to-eye with him, will, at least, be possessed of sufficient moral courage and integrity as to give him credit for ever being in the forefront of labor's battle. The extremist is satisfied to be forever blinding the trail, that the conservatives will sooner or later have to tread in the meantime, WHAT ARE YOU DOING?

Does This Mean YOU?

The workman into goes down to his grave, without uttering one word of protest against the system that has enslaved and degraded him, without doing something to eliminate from the earth, that which has degraded him, capitalism is simply a human being that Nature made in a hurry and forgot to give him soul.

The capitalist class is interested in Russian intervention, because they have interests there. That is solidarity. When are you going to express your class solidarity with the people of Russia, because your interests are exactly the same as those of the Russian people?

General Wood has spent over two million dollars to get the presidential nomination on the Republican ticket. What did we hear you say? That this is a democratic country, where the poor man's son can become president? Say, who said the country was dry?

If you go on the witness stand in a divorce case and lie, you will be sent to prison for forgery. But if you are a newspaper editor and lie about Mexico and embroil this nation into war. Well?

WHEN WERE YOU LAST AT A BRICKLAYERS' HALL MEETING? COME NEXT SUNDAY.