

ORGANIZED GREED DO NOT LOVE DEMOCRACY BUT PROFIT

OWNED AND
CONTROLLED BY THE
WORKING CLASS.

TRUTH

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MOTHERS WORKED 10 HOURS AT NIGHT IN WAR INDUSTRIES

New York.—Mothers with children under school age are working 10 hours at night in packing houses putting up food for American soldiers and those of the allies, according to Mary E. McDowell, settlement worker, Chicago, writing in the December issue of the Survey. The main issue for the need of mothers of families wish need their rare, she says, is the insufficient earnings of the fathers. As a result of investigation started by the University of Chicago settlement four large packing companies have announced that hereafter they will not employ mothers with children under school age at night.

War Work Responsible.

Employment of women in factories was banished almost a century ago when 12 European countries signed an agreement at an international convention in Bern in 1906, says Miss McDowell.

The agreement was based at that time upon results of inquiries into the effects economical, physical and moral of night work on women. Stress of war has again revived the practice. Four of our states, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New York and Delaware, have shown their consciousness of the subject by enacting laws prohibiting night work for women.

Challenged by the knowledge that mothers of large families, many with small children as best they could alone or with older children to watch them, were working long hours at night and getting very little time to sleep during the day because of the family duties pressing them, an investigation into the cause and effect was started by Miss McDowell, head resident of the settlement. Forty-six cases of working mothers were investigated.

Little Sleep During Day.

The chief purposes of this study were to find out how many hours of sleep the women were able to get during the day after working all night; to find out whether they had children under school age; to discover, if possible, the effects such work had upon the women and upon the family as a whole; and to learn why the women worked.

Taking up the number of hours of work and rest, the report reads: "All of the women working at night worked 10 hours; from 6 p. m. until 5:30 a. m. With the exception of two, all lived within walking distance of their work. And even these walked two miles each way in order to save car fare."

It was out of the question to make any sort of an estimate as to the number of hours any woman got after her return to her family, says Miss McDowell. The call of the husband for his breakfast at 6:30 a. m., before he began his day of work was the first demand upon a woman's rest time. Time had to be taken out for the washing, ironing and baking that these women night workers had to do while at home and it was learned that in most cases they had to stay in bed

all day Sunday to catch up with sleep.

Effect on Nerve Bad.

"It was found that 42 out of the 46, or about 90 per cent of the women visited, had children under school age, and that 27 out of the 46 had children in school—children between the ages of 6 and 14 years.

Three-fourths of the women had been employed two months or over and about one-third six months or over. How so many of them can endure the length of time they do is beyond human comprehension.

"The results of their work are easily seen. The tired-looking faces and expressionless eyes can not escape the observer's notice. Their high strung nerves, their great irritability at the children's slightest annoyance, need not be explained further, for anyone who has experienced a sleepless night knows what happens to his moods and temper the following day.

"Taking up the reasons why the women work, the most direct or major causes are: First, the insufficient earnings of the husband to maintain the family in food, clothing and shelter; second, sickness of the husband, resulting in his unemployment; third, debts due to sickness in the family; and fourth, drinking by the husband. In the last case the women are forced to work either because the man spends most of his wages for drink or because his drinking results in unemployment.

Average Man's Wage \$18.

"Twelve to \$15 is the average wage of the working men, the women will tell you. In every case but one where women work on account of the husband's illness, the man as rheumatism, which, the wife claims, comes as a result of his former employment in damp and cold places.

"Four of the largest packing houses have declared their intention of not hiring any more women with children under school age. This, we feel, is a great and important step forward. For while the problems of these women, shown so clearly by this study, are by no means solved by refusing to let them work, yet if their rest is assured them, their health and strength will be better conserved to meet their many problems."

BOLSHEVIK OFFICERS ELECTED BY PRIVATES

Petrograd.—The Lenin government is enforcing its decree abolishing all military ranks, titles and decorations.

Officers in future will be elected by their men, and when not re-elected become privates, with a private's pay. Privates prefer to elect men from their own ranks, and in many cases former officers have been degraded.

APPEAL TO TEST ESPIONAGE ACT

New York.—Directing officials of the National Civil Liberties Bureau have decided to carry to the United States Supreme Court the appeal of William J. Head, prominent Socialist, convicted of violating the Espionage Act. His case will probably be the first to test the constitutionality of the Espionage Act.

Mr. Head, who is secretary of the Socialist Party of South Dakota, was arrested while circulating a petition to Congress asking for the repeal of the Espionage Act. He was charged with having said that in his opinion the act was unconstitutional and the war was due to economic causes. He was convicted of violating the section of the act which makes it a crime to "willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States," and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

NATIONAL DEBT OVER 5 BILLION

Washington.—The United States enters the new year with a national debt of \$5,615,000,000, more than five times greater than when it entered the war nine months ago, but only one-third of the debt which promises to develop by the first of next year. The debt per capita is about \$51, and the percentage of debt to estimated national wealth is 2½ per cent.

The actual outlay for the military establishment up to December 1 was \$1,311,000,000; the estimated outlay for the whole fiscal year is \$8,790,000,000. The navy spent \$426,000,000, and the estimate for the year is \$1,300,000,000. Shipping board expenditures were \$118,000,000 while the year's estimate is \$901,000,000. Each of these three principal departments has outstanding contracts for which big expenditures will have to be made within the remaining half of the fiscal year, however, and the aggregate of these is the uncertain element at this time precisely how many additional Liberty bonds must be issued between now and next June 30.

The debt of all of America's cobelligerents is about \$84,000,000,000 or 14 per cent of the estimated wealth of those nations, and the Teutonic allies' debt is about \$40,000,000,000, or 28 per cent of their estimated wealth.

MILWAUKEE LABOR AGAINST ALLIANCE

Milwaukee.—The Federal Trades Council of Milwaukee turned down a proposition to co-operate with Sammy Gompers' "Alliance for Labor and Democracy," financed by the secret sum of \$100,000,000 turned over to the president by the last Congress to be used without any accounting. The vote was 55 to 5, as decisive as a defeat registered all over the nation to this alliance which is really against labor and democracy. Protesting that labor in Milwaukee had not acted at any time against the government and that the Alliance was a dual organization, the delegates voted down the proposition overwhelmingly.

SEND SOCIALIST TO HOUSE OF COMMONS

A bit of news that the capitalist press did not give us is of extreme interest. At a by-election in a Lancashire, England, constituency made necessary by the death of the sitting member, the coalition candidate of the Unionist and Liberal parties was defeated by Ben Tillett. Ben Tillett is an out and out plebian and has several terms in jail as a consequence of his strike activities. The vote was 2,262 to 1,545. Tillett, the Laborite candidate is an avowed Socialist and his decisive victory over the combined Liberal and Unionist strength is suggestive of the political of England

Coal Shortage Being Felt

New York City has experienced a very cold spell and the suffering amongst the poor has consequently been great. According to New York Call of January 1st, the subway system ceased to run on that day at five minutes to nine and was unable to start again for an hour and a half on account of lack of fuel in the power houses. From all parts of the city reports are coming in telling about the suffering that the people have to go through. Many deaths have occurred and if the cold spell does not change soon the consequences will be very serious. All coal yards are heavily guarded to prevent people from gaining entrance. The parts of the city where most working people live, are suffering worst and the administrations specially appointed Coal Administrator Wiggins said that the situation was very bad but that he expected heavy shipments of coal to relieve the situation.

JUDGE UPHOLDS RIGHT TO ASK DRAFT LAW REPEAL

Philadelphia.—Charles Sehl, Jacob H. Root and William J. Higgins, all prominent Socialists here, were declared not guilty by the jury which has been trying them on the charge of having distributed circulars obstructing and defaming the draft.

Charles T. Schenk, secretary of the Socialist party, and Dr. Elizabeth Baer, of the party's executive board, were found guilty. In announcing the verdict, the foreman of the jury recommended that the two defendants be shown clemency by the court. An appeal was immediately asked by Henry John Nelson, attorney for the indicted Socialists.

SOCIALIST JUDGE MOUNTS BENCH

The citizens of New York were today, for the first time in the history of this city and state, introduced to a Socialist judge.

Jacob Panken, Socialist, elected by the workers of the East Side, the poorest of the poor, who daily crowd the municipal court, commonly called the "poor man's court," took office in the third municipal court district at West 54th street at 9 o'clock.

Judge Noonan introduced the new Socialist judge to those about to appear before the bar of public justice, and to many Socialists who came to greet Judge Jacob Panken. Judge Panken was affirmed in office Monday before Supreme Court Judge Gavegan in his chamber at 51 Chambers street.

In his brief introductory remarks, Judge Noonan said that the West welcome the Socialist Judge from the East and Judge Panken, in a short address, stated that as the sun rises in the east, so does the East begin all big things for the West to follow.

WATCH YOUR NUMBER.

Each subscriber will find a No. opposite his name on the paper. For instance, if No. 31 is opposite your name, it means your subscription will expire next week and you should renew at once. This is Number 30. Make all checks or money orders payable to the Truth and not to any private individuals.

LABOR REVOLTS THROUGHOUT SPAIN

Paris.—The recent municipal elections in Spain proved to be a sweeping triumph for the radical forces which attempted to overthrow the monarchy in the revolution of last August. Wherever a semblance of freedom in voting was permitted the ruling classes went down to defeat.

In Madrid, especially, the Socialist, Republican and Reformist candidates beat the Conservative and capitalist Liberal parties. Two reactionaries, both former mayors of Madrid, squeezed through. But they were at the bottom of the list, several hundred votes behind the people.

Elect Life Prisoners.

Most significant result of all, the four members of the general strike committee—Largo Caballero, Besteiro, Angulano and Sabarot—who are serving life terms in the penitentiary at Cartagena for their participation in the revolution, swept the polls with a record vote in their

These men, three of whom are Socialists, can not, of course, legally take office under the present regime. But the moral effect of their victory can not fail to be enormous. The government knows exactly the public opinion. It has seen its own tyrannous acts repudiated and the elections turned into an almost unanimous testimonial to the four prisoners of Cartagena.

Revolution is Rising

The Spanish Socialist, Fabra Ribas, now in Paris, made the other day the following comment:

"The revolutionary torrent, which threatens to submerge those who are seeking to stem it, is composed of all social classes. In the cities and in the country districts alike, amnesty for our victimized leaders is being commanded. Hundreds of students, professors and members of the working class show their sympathy by visiting the penitentiary every week. A prominent army officer, Gen. March, was also among the recent pilgrims to Cartagena.

Demand Strikers' Release.

"Besteiro and his comrades receive letters and telegrams literally by the thousands. Many of these communications are printed in the democratic press and serve to reveal the results of the working class uprising, which the authorities so vainly attempted to crush by means of their blood-and-iron methods.

"If the king and his advisors wish to save themselves they had better lose no time in making reparation.

"The release of the heroes of the revolution should, and must be conceded. Some of the cabinet members are willing to yield. Others are still inclined to resist. If the latter have things their way, Spain must face dark and bloody days in the immediate future."

LABOR EDITOR IS ARRESTED

Nome, Alaska.—Bruce Rogers of the Daily Nome Industrial Worker was taken into custody by the federal authorities on a charge of sedition, arising out of matter contained in the columns of the paper which is owned and published by the miners' union here.

Along with Rogers the five members of the newspaper committee directing the paper, were also taken into custody.

This paper has been very severe in its criticism of the action of the governor in suspending the application of the eight-hour law in the territory on the pretext of being a war measure.

HUNT ONCE AGAIN IS GOVERNOR OF ARIZONA

Supreme Court Unanimously Decides That Will of the People Was Ignored in Seating Campbell

IS BIG VICTORY FOR ORGANIZED LABOR

Corporation Governor Steps Down and Out on Christmas Day, Loses One Year's Salary Cost of Litigation

Justice has triumphed in Arizona! Honorable George W. P. Hunt, chosen by a majority vote of the people as governor of the state, but who had been denied the possession of the office through the decision of Judge Stanford, has, by the decree of the state supreme court, been restored to the office to which he was legally elected.

The highest court of the state was unanimous in the opinion that Judge Stanford had erred in his decision which placed Tom Campbell, the corporations' candidate, in the governor's chair.

Hunt Receives Year's Pay.

It was also the judgement of the higher court that Governor Hunt should receive all the emoluments and perquisites of the office from January, 1917. The contestee, Campbell, is to pay the expense of making the inspection of the ballots before the beginning of the contest in the superior court, and amounting to some five thousand dollars.

The decision of the supreme court was handed down December 22, and was received by all the workers of the state as "Our Christmas present." The court allowed Mr. Campbell fifteen days in which to ask for a rehearing, and the copper press of the state was quick to grasp the fifteen day phrase as a drowning man would a straw, leading their readers to believe that Campbell was to retain the office much longer.

Takes Office Christmas Day.

But, as usual, the papers erred, as Governor Hunt was entitled to the office as soon as the decision was made known. However, the de facto governor knew that the mandate of the court became effective at once, and arrangements were made to turn the office over to the governor at an early date. Later it was agreed between them that possession was to be given at 10 o'clock Christmas morning.

The transfer was without ceremony, only a few friends of Governor Hunt being present. In a few words, Mr. Campbell turned the office over to its rightful possessor, and Secretary Ladd issued him a receipt therefor. During the morning scores of friends called to pay their respects to the governor.

Will Re-appoint Old Officers.

It is believed that Governor Hunt will re-appoint most of the officers who resigned at the time that Campbell took office.

Probably one of the most prominent features of the decision of the supreme court is the fact that they base much of their argument

in restoring the forty-two Douglas votes to Hunt that the lower court gave Campbell on a decision rendered by Judge Sloan (Campbell's counsel) at the time he was chief justice of Arizona.

The Hunt-Campbell contest was one of the most widely known cases ever before the Arizona courts. Owing to the closeness of the election, it was some time after the polls were closed before it was known. As finally certified to the secretary of state, the returns showed a majority of 31 for Campbell, which the friends of Hunt refused to concede.

Petitions for Re-count.

It was in December, 1916, that Senator Ives, Hunt's chief counsel, filed a petition for a recount of the votes. This was ordered, and immediately begun, which occupied the time of the court for nearly six months.

Charges of fraud were offered by both sides, the Campbell attorneys presenting Douglas precinct No. 1, and Hunt's lawyers contending that there was much crooked work connected with Snowflake and Pinedale precincts. Much evidence was introduced by both sides.

Judge Gave Campbell Election.

In presenting the Douglas precinct, the contestee submitted 42 ballots that had been mutilated, his counsel asserting that they had been voted for Campbell and later changed to Hunt. The opposing lawyers met this assertion by intimating that the ballots were originally marked for Hunt and were made to appear that fraud had been committed after the ballots had left the hands of the election board. Although there was no conclusive evidence introduced to show that fraud had been committed in the precinct, Judge Stanford ruled that the whole precinct be thrown out. Later he vacated this order, and instead gave Campbell the 42 votes.

Trial Judge Erred.

In the decision of the supreme court that tribunal says that nothing was shown that fraud had been perpetrated, and ordered that the lower court erred in not giving the votes to Hunt.

The higher court also reversed Judge Stanford's decision that ballots marked in the prohibition square before Campbell's name should be counted for him. There were 23 ballots so marked. The supreme court also said that the lower court erred in counting for Campbell five ballots that had his name written thereon but were devoid of the customary cross in the square.

ENTERTAINMENT

Sunday, Jan. 13

1918, 8 P. M. at

Woodman Hall

21st Ave. West & 1st St.

A GOOD PROGRAM.

A 1 act play will be given by comrades from The Superior Scandinavian Local.

Admission 10 and 25c.

Come early to get a good seat.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

TEACHER QUILTS SCHOOL, SAYS CAPITAL-IST NEWSPAPERS DECEIVE PEOPLE

Irene Bjorklund Quits Seattle Schools for Conscientious Reason Tells About War Propaganda

I wish to resign because I feel that I can no longer honestly teach the pro-war propaganda that, as a teacher of elementary home economics, I am expected to teach.

Slowly, hesitatingly and unwillingly I have come to believe that this war is wrong. I believe that, whatever may have been the object of declaring war, the effect of the war is inimical to the common welfare because it makes the very rich richer at the expense of those already poor, thus increasing the great and sinister power of a few rich men who exercise their power for their own benefit, with the result that this country is virtually an autocracy in which the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assembly (to mention a few) are daily disregarded in every section of our country.

I believe that "Liberty" bonds instead of a "pay-as-you-enter" system are a part of an effort further to concentrate the wealth of the country, and that Red Cross work, however laudable theoretically, invites suspicion by the warm support it receives from men and from the wives of men who are notorious war-profiters. Moreover; I believe that, although the teaching of thrift in regard to food is undoubtedly desirable on general principles, it is not justifiable as a national measure until the meat and sugar trusts, for example, are put out of existence.

I will not admit the above statements to be unpatriotic. Patriotism means love of country. The country means all of the people in it. Love of country, therefore, means a desire for the welfare of the great majority of the people of the country. The government of a democratic country is the will of the majority of the people in the country expressed through their authorized representatives. Officials deserve respect only in so far as they carry out the will of the majority. Individuals elected to office are granted no "divine right" during their terms. The president of this country was elected partly by the slogan: "He kept us out of war." The people have had no opportunity to say that they favored entering the war, nor even have they had the opportunity (granted in Canada and Australia) of voting on conscription. Therefore criticism of the war or of any war policy cannot possibly be construed to be unpatriotic since this is not a war having the expressed approval of the people, unless, indeed, allegiance to the flag is interpreted to mean allegiance to the profiteers who hide behind it or to individuals who, however willing to serve the people, are unable to resist their power.

I believe that the present economic conditions would be impossible if the people were not systematically deceived by the press and magazines of this country, and that as long as the schools, under the guise of patriotism, permit themselves to be used as a free advertising bureau for pro-war propaganda of every kind they are helping to support the industrial autocracy, which menace this nation.

I realize that this protest is poorly expressed and cannot but be futile, but I am sure that the board will agree that a person holding such views cannot teach the political propaganda of Hooverism or encourage Red Cross work with the honesty and enthusiasm desirable in a teacher.

PREPARED.

A highland minister of the old school, who was rather pompous, came to a shepherd's house to baptize the son and heir.

"Are you prepared?" he asked the fond parent.

"Aye, munnister; I have got a ground ham for tea."

"I mean spiritually prepared," thundered the cleric.

"Af coorse, I am; I got a jar o' whusky from the inn," replied the imperturbable Scot.—Boston American.

SAME AS OUTSIDE.

A visitor was being shown over a lunatic asylum. "Do you ever have any bother with the patients?" he asked.

"Oh, yes; sometimes one of them will get troublesome."

"What would you do if the whole lot got troublesome at once—if they organized a revolt?"

The warden smiled. "We haven't any fear of that," he said. "Lunatics never organize."—Stockton Labor Review.

Doings of the Locals.

Comrade Lanto from Superior, spoke at the Woodman Hall last Sunday evening to a crowd of 150. Next Sunday night the Comrades of Superior Scandinavian Local will give a play at the Woodman Hall and everybody that understand the Scandinavian language are assured a good program.

At its business meeting last Tuesday night the Duluth Scandinavian Local elected the following comrades to represent them at the state convention in February: O. E. Thompson, Victor Nordin, John Eesen, O. P. Langdahl, Henry Johnson.

The City Central Committee meets next Wednesday night at the Tarmo Hall. Delegates from all locals are urged to be present. Last meeting it was decided to try to get Mayor Van Lear here some time in the future and secretary was instructed to write him to that effect. Several other minor questions were discussed and referred to respective locals for approval.

Installation of the 1918 officers for Branch No. 353 Workmens Circle took place last Sunday evening at the Camels Hall, 12 E. Superior St.: A. Y. Litman, Chairman; N. Schneider, Fin. Sec.; B. Goraevitch, Treas.; B. Slatove, Rec. Sec.; Sam Berman, Hospitalier. Executive committee Max Myers, Jack Myers, Max Lent, Sam Wold and H. London. Secretary reported that 45 new members had been admitted during the year. A total membership of 100 had been gained. Supper was served by the committee in charge. Short speeches were made by old and new officers and a musical program was enjoyed followed by a dance to the small hours of the morning. Members went home with the hope that at the next years installation of officers the membership would be 300. (Go to it comrades.)

DOLLAR VALUE REDUCED.

Washington.—The 1907 dollar is worth 50 cents today, according to a report of the federal bureau of labor statistics, which compiled statistics for local policemen to aid them in their higher-wage campaign.

In July, 1907, according to the figures, you could get 5.2 pounds of good sirloin steak for \$1, whereas in November, 1917, only 3.8 pounds your dollar.

The dollar is equally as weak when it comes to butter, the figures showing that 3.1 pounds was a dollar's worth in July, 1907, and 1.9 pounds in November 1917.

Corn meal has soared, too, from 47.6 pounds for a dollar in July, 1907, to 14.9 pounds in November, 1917.

Other foodstuffs have gone up by leaps and bounds.

ALBANY SOCIALIST FREED

AFTER MONTH IN JAIL

Albany.—After having been held in jail for over a month failing to get bail, after their conviction on November 17, four Albany Socialists, whose "crime" was the distribution of a pamphlet called "the Price We Pay," which has been pronounced harmless in other courts, were released on a writ of error.

LEON TROTSKY.

By FRANK HARRIS

Editor of Pearson's Magazine.

A week before he left New York for Petrograd Leon Trotsky called on me and we had a couple of hours' talk.

Trotsky impressed me more than any of the Russian refugees whom I have met. A man of about middle size, with a fine head and luminous, vivid, strong eyes—the eyes of a man of talent.

His first words convinced me that he would go far. He did not want merely political freedom, but a great movement towards social equality.

"The land of Russia must go to the peasant," he said, "and the public service of Russia must be owned and managed by the government."

An able man who had read Socialism to good purpose.

"Peace," he cried, "is the first necessity. Russia is strong enough to insist on an honorable peace and to get it."

No doubt in this man; no fear; no hesitation. What he sees to be right and feasible appears to him always probable. His one weakness I should say, the eternal error of talent, the belief that other men will see as clearly as he does; act as honorably as he acts.

TRAGEDY

By SCOTT NEARING

The New York business publication entitled "Commerce and Finance" has made a careful compilation of the most significant economic statistics for the year 1916. They have included national wealth, foreign trade, business development, railroad earnings, manufacturing output, manufacturing profits, farm output, prices and wages.

The year 1916 saw an increase of 12 billions in the wealth of the United States. This makes the wealth per person at the end of 1916 \$2,225; per family \$11,000.

The foreign trade of the United States increased enormously during 1916. In fact the exports were 54 per cent. greater in 1916 than in 1915. The total exports for 1916 were five and a half billions. The increase in exports was far proportionally than the increase of internal commerce.

The businesses of the United States were prosperous in 1916. Bank clearings increased 39 per cent. Commercial failures decreased 35 per cent over 1915. The total value of new incorporations in 1916 was three and a half billions, or 70 per cent more than the total value for 1915.

Railroad net earnings were greater in 1916 than in 1915 by 24 per cent. The railroads are a very dependable index to national prosperity.

The real astounding figures for business growth in 1916 are furnished by the manufacturing profits of 51 of the greatest industrial corporations. These profits were 141 per cent greater in 1916 than in 1915. This manufacturing prosperity is well illustrated in the case of the Iron and Steel industry which "came through 1916 with a record of the greatest tonnage output of iron and steel in history and with unfilled tonnage on the books of the steel companies greater than ever. There have been some signs recently that the placing of new orders had been checked temporarily but evidently it was only a momentary lull as the European nations have been buying more shells, contracting for railway locomotives and for rails and the domestic demand is unabated."

These figures, showing the growth of wealth and the enormous strides in business development would be immensely gratifying were it not that they were offset by two serious factors—the small increase in farm products and the enormous increase in prices.

The year 1916 has a bad record for farm output. The number of bushels of corn, wheat, oats, barley, rye, buckwheat and potatoes was less in 1916 than it was in 1915—in the case of wheat 36.7 per cent less. The output of hay, tobacco, cotton, rice and flaxseed increased. With the exception of the increase in rice products (46.4 per cent) the increases are negligible, the decreases serious.

The increase in the value of farm products is, however, enormous. While the production of corn decreased 15 per cent, the value of corn decreased 15 per cent, the value of the crop increased 3 per cent. While the production of potatoes decreased 21 per cent, the value of the crop increased 83 per cent. While the production of wheat decreased 37 per cent, the value of the crop increased 90 per cent. In other words, the decreased production has been more than offset by increased prices.

This fact is strikingly brought out by a comparison between food prices and wage increases,—the last two items published by "Commerce and Finance." According to the Annual Index Number, during 1916 average prices of 25 foods increased 38.2 per cent, while the average weekly wages of over five million factory workers increased 12.6 per cent.

THIS IS TRAGEDY!

The country is fairly swamped by business prosperity. Railroads manufacturing establishments, banks and merchandising establishments are pushed to capacity. Meanwhile the wage of the worker purchases less and less of the good things of life.

Figures are not always significant, but in this case they seem to show quite clearly that the boasted prosperity of 1916 of American wage earners.

"THE NEW APPEAL" FOR WAR, A REASON IN ALL THINGS

By MARVIN SANFORD

The change in name and policy of the Appeal to Reason seems to have hit some socialists pretty hard, while a few of our papers appear to be but little surprised.

Personally, the writer felt at the time the guiding hand of J. A. Wayland was removed from it, that the paper was near its end of service to the socialist movement.

Those who took hold of it, though they bore the family name, did not bear the ideals of their dear old daddy, and Walter Wayland looked upon the work of fifteen years of his father's life as a mere piece of business, to be made the most of in a business way. First came the new editor, Kopelin, who had edited in Washington, D. C. a paper which had none too good a reputation among revolutionary workers. Then a new policy was announced—the paper was to win all the farmers to socialism in short order. The "policy" fizzled out. Then came Charles Edward Russel, the messiah upon the scene to deliver the people from the bondage of the private ownership of railroads, with the Appeal's help. The Appeal admitted the error of its way in helping on the old impossible, orthodox socialism, but announced it would sin thusly no more. It had, reformed. But Russell got a job going to Russia with friend Root, so this policy fizzled out and the Appeal came out with less and less in it to excite curiosity, interest, or new business.

War came, and the paper played to the anti-militarist galleries. The paper was held up in the post office. Its editors began to think that maybe after all this was a war for democracy and the freedom of the world. So the Appeal now has a new name and its new appeal is to the workers to "play our part in the struggle"—to see how much there will be left of civilization after the war lords get through with it.

It promises to tell "what is going on in the way of government activity, and show the extent to which socialistic ideas are being applied."

Also in a call to "the old guard" it observes, "It will be no trouble to get up a club of subscribers." "Your friends and neighbors will be eager to see what this paper is like." Ah, perhaps we are getting at the meat of the thing. It will be easy to get subs now. Roll them in! "Here is your opportunity to spread the message of democracy and peace!"

TO OUR COMRADES AND FRIENDS

Stanley J. Clark of Texas, one of the bravest of our comrades, is a federal prisoner in a Chicago jail. He is innocent of crime except the crime of loyalty to the working class. He is not safe to be at large for the truth he speaks to the people and the justice he defends against the crushing despotism of the ruling class.

Clark, like every other honest agitator, is poor. Money is needed for his defense. If ever the persecuted leader of the righteous cause deserved the support of right-minded people it is Stanley J. Clark. He is in jail for you! His case is up to YOU!

We do not beg for funds but tell you plainly that it is your duty to contribute as your means allow to set your champion free. If you are loyal you will understand and will act at once. Send your dime or your dollar by the very first mail.

Yours for our imprisoned comrades.

EUGENE V. DEBS.
THEODORE DEBS.

The committee of defense appreciates the aid of these great men. We well know there are thousands of the working class who will consider a request from Eugene V. Debs as a sacred obligation, and will accept his voucher for the loyalty, integrity and innocence of any comrade, even if that comrade is unknown to them.

Therefore the committee is thankful for this timely plea, for never was a man more hopelessly at the mercy of his enemies than is Stanley J. Clark, with only the lean purse of the agitator to combat the barrells of blood-stained dollars that the Corporations are willing to spend to corrupt justice and bury honest men alive. All funds should be sent to William J. Loe, Secretary, of the Clark Defense Fund, care International Socialist Review, 341-349 E. Ohio, at Chicago, Illinois.

1918

Here is a few words that a few well known comrades had to say about the coming year.

SCOTT NEARING.—Light is breaking across the world. Time and place melt away. Men are seeing the faces of their fellows and becoming aware of the fact that their fellows are their brothers, economically, socially, spiritually.

The plain people of Russia have seen the light better than any of the others. They want the others to see also. Only the other day they appropriated 2,000,000 rubles to enlighten their brothers in other lands. They are grabbing with imperialism; they are reaching toward democracy, and they want the people of the world to join them in their endeavor.

The Russians believe in liberty, justice, fraternity. Those ideals, to them, are realities—realities that they want all of the people of the world to enjoy.

In union there is strength.

ALGERNON LEE.—I suppose that on no New Year's day in history has there been such widespread and intense misery in the world or such intense and widespread thought. The present is very black—blacker than it was a year, or two, or three years ago. But, step by step, with the increase of slaughter and starvation, with the ruin of old liberties and old forms of safety, are rapidly growing the forces that promise a securer peace and a more genuine freedom for the days to come.

Russia can never go back to the old regime of autocracy, whose existence was the strongest bulwark of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg rule in central Europe. The fact that the tentative peace proposals of Germany and Austro-Hungary are accompanied by the arrest of hundreds of so-called "minority" Socialists sufficiently shows that those proposals are prompted, not by fear of hostile armies on the west front, but by fear of an awakening people at home.

The year's elections in Sweden and Finland and Switzerland, and local or by-elections in Germany, England and Ireland, the emphatic defeat of conscription in Australia and the powerful opposition which has developed in Canada, that popular unrest in Italy and France, news of which slowly leaks through in spite of the strictest of all censorship—all these combine with the enormous recent growth of the Socialist movement in the United States to give promise that the year before us will be one of unexampled struggle and hard won triumph for the working class of the world.

If we need something more to confirm that hope, we have it in the blundering incapacity, the alterations between panic and reckless audacity, exhibited in the empire, vacillating, "for this day only" policies of all the governments of the world. When in the richest country of the world the country where capitalism has had the freest opportunity to demonstrate whatever powers of statesmanship it may possess, a country whose ruling class has had ten full years in which to prepare its plans and to learn by the mistakes of others, had it been capable of learning—when in such a country within nine months after the declaration of war we find masses of the people hungry and freezing, and even the new conscript soldiers paying with their lives for the uncontrollable greed of private business—what can we conclude but that capitalism has about run its course, that the world is actually entering upon the critical period of rapid and basic change that we have so long expected but that until lately, we have thought of as a thing of the more or less distant future?

META LILIENTHAL.—Women of all lands, across oceans and continents, over seas infested with submarines and mines, over bloodsoaked battle fields and trenches, I send you a message of hope, a greeting of universal sisterhood.

Never have women known darker days than the days in which we are living. By our common sorrow, a sorrow which knows no boundary of country and of nation, we are united, O my sisters of the world. But we are united also by a common hope. Deeper and deeper is the conviction growing in our souls that we must step forever out of the narrow confines of our individual homes into the wide realms of our human home, the world, in order to prevent a recurrence of this horrors; that we must take our rightful place in the affairs of the

Defense Body Places Orders With Itself, Witness Asserts

Chairman of Committee States He Knows Rule Against Practice But gives Adroit Method in Which It Was Evaded

Washington.—That millions of dollars' worth of government contracts have been placed with firms whose members are affiliated with the supply committee of the Council of National Defense was admitted late Wednesday by Charles Eisenman, vice chairman of the committee, testifying in the war department inquiry before the senate committee on military affairs.

Eisenman, declaring he was cognizant of the law prohibiting an agent of the government dealing with any firm in which he was interested, said that no individual member of the supply committee ever participated personally in placing contracts to his own firm. He insisted of the committee to act on contracts whenever the firm of another member was involved.

Do It Every Day.

"We let these contracts every day," said Eisenman. "It is not a question of these firms seeking the contracts. It's a question of the government needing the goods and forcing these firms to take contracts whether they wanted to or not."

"Are you interested in any firm that has supply contracts with the government, placed by your committee," Senator McKellar asked.

"I am a stockholder in the Cleveland Worsted Mills Co.," said Eisenman. "The company had some contracts for melton goods."

Placed for Him.

Q.—Did you negotiate the contracts? A.—I had nothing whatever to do with them.

Q.—Who placed the contracts with your firm? A.—Mr. F. R. Edgington, a member of the committee, did that.

Edgington testified the Cleveland Worsted Mills had two contracts aggregating \$570,000.

"Did you know of the law forbidding agents of the government participating in deals with firms in which they are interested?"

"Yes," Eisenman said, "I know

all about that, and I didn't participate."

"With full knowledge of the law, how did you get around it?"

"Simply by taking no part in it. We do that every day. I hoped that the supply committee could get along without dealing with that firm, but we had to deal with them. At one time the committee wanted the firm to take orders for half a million yards, but all it would take was 200,000 yards."

Had More Contracts.

Senator McKellar then went down the list of members of the supply committee and found the great majority were members of firms which are supplying the government. Eisenman testified that his committee had made over 2,400 contracts involving over \$800,000,000. He was unable to tell what percentage of this amount went to firms who had representatives on the committee.

"Do you think it is good policy for the government to have men on this committee who are interested in the firms supplying the materials for the war?" Senator Chamberlain asked.

"Yes, I think it is the best policy," Eisenman said. "We want men on this committee who have proved successful in their line and who will be useful. This is a big job and it takes big men to do it."

"Foisted" Orders on Them.

"We foisted contracts on these companies and no member of the committee ever had anything personally to do with a contract awarded to his firm. We have control over the total loom capacity of the United States in all cotton ducks, for instance, and we allotted orders to firms whether they wanted the contracts or not. It isn't what the firms wanted to do. It is what the government demands of them."

Eisenman declared the quartermaster's department erred glaringly in routing goods to the cantonments, and cited instances where 8 or 9 blankets per man were sent to some camps, whereas others were without any.

FUSION OF ALL PARTIES DEFEATS SOCIALIST IN MILWAUKEE BY ONLY 237 VOTES

Edward T. Melms Makes Strong Run For State Senator

nations to protect the children of tomorrow, our children, the human race, from another relapse into darkest savagery.

In the near future when mankind awakens from this unspeakable nightmare, ours will be the opportunity, not only to rebuild civilization, but also to insure its continued existence, by banishing war forever from the earth. For the woman's hour has struck at last. In the darkest days of worldwide misery, the women of all lands are coming into their own.

The revolutionary change in woman's position, that began a century ago with the coming of capitalism and the development of modern industry, is being completed by the world war. More and more the warring nations are depending upon women for all the world's creative work, mental as well as manual. Everywhere woman power is replacing man power in the orderly pursuits of civilized existence. With the consciousness of woman's importance, there also has come a universal recognition of woman's rights. Sex discrimination and sex oppression are fast disappearing. The most advanced nations are rapidly admitting their women to full political equality with men, and even the backward nations are making concessions and introducing reforms that would have appeared impossible a few years ago.

Let us use the power that is being placed into our hands, not for the benefit of our sex simply, but for the benefit of all humanity.

Throughout all the ages of human evolution, man has continued to kill and destroy, and woman has continued to produce, create and conserve. The creation of life, the protection of life, is woman's special and eternal sphere. Now that she will be permitted to use her creative and protective powers in public life, we hope for a world of peace and good will, a world in which man's destructive instinct shall be curbed at last, and cooperation shall take the place of competition.

By means of a fusion of Republicans, Democrats, Prohibitionists, the capitalist interests of Milwaukee won back the eighth senatorial district last Tuesday when Edward T. Melms, Socialist, was defeated by Louis A. Fons, fusion candidate by the narrow margin of 237 votes. Fons polled 4,169 votes; Melms, 3,932.

The election occurred as the result of the expulsion from the senate last spring of Frank Raguse, Socialist, because of his anti-war stand.

Edward T. Melms, who was defeated by such a small majority, against a combination of all other parties was elected to the city council in 1904 on the Socialist ticket and was re-elected by his ward in every succeeding year until 1912 when he was candidate for alderman at large. In 1914 he was elected sheriff of Milwaukee county.

Let us hasten the coming of this joint world of men and women, this truly human world, to be inhabited by a happier race. Let us join hands around the earth, my sisters, and let us solemnly declare that there shall be no more slaughter, no more bloodshed, that this war shall be the last.

OUR EXCHANGES

Some of the exchanges that come to this office are very valuable. We receive a Canadian union paper that is full of red hot stuff and if we should happen to reprint some of it we would be behind the bars so darn quick that you could not have time to say "boo." Take notice it is a Canadian paper and it is one sure thing. They haven't a Burleson in Canada. At least it does not look that way.

NEWS FROM THE WORLD SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

ITALIAN SOCIALISTS SPURN CABINET LURE

In anticipation of the probable fall of the present cabinet in Italy, which contingency has been reflected in political circles since the Teutonic invasion, ex-Minister Nitti has approached the Socialists with a proposition that they consent to having representatives sit in a coalition cabinet.

The proposal is not meeting with favor. The Socialists declare that they cannot endanger the solidarity of their movement by compromising with the other parties that uphold the present monarchial form of government, which they insist, is partly responsible for the great war and must stand or fall upon its own policies. The Socialists state that after the war they will have their inning to reconstruct the country and place it in a position where no more wars will have to be fought.—Cleveland Citizen.

BAN ON SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

Paris.—Paris newspapers generally approved Premier Clemenceau's refusal of passports to Socialist leaders for a proposed meeting at Petrograd, said to be to considered a democratic peace. Clemenceau's declaration that such a mission would be misinterpreted was supported.

WHAT TO EX- PECT OF RUSSIA

To even the casual reader of the works of Marx many things become clear. It is not just because Marx said so and so that it is to be taken as positive fact, but because the fact is a positive one before he stated it.

In his address on the Paris Commune, and speaking of the class character of the European governments, he makes this statement: "Class rule is no longer able to disguise itself in a national uniform; the national governments are as one against the proletariat."

Looking upon the apparent chaos in Russia today one ought to be able to draw a lesson from the happenings in Paris in the year of 1871.

Let us have a few as given by Engels.

A republic was proclaimed in France in Sept. 1870.

Paris was besieged by the Prussian army and was defended by the Parisian National Guard, composed chiefly of working class people. The armies of the late empire were either prisoners in Germany or shut up in Metz.

Antagonism between the National Guard and the bourgeois government developed.

On January 28th in 1871, Paris, capitulated.

The fortifications and were surrendered along with the weapons and men of the regular army.

The National Guard retained its weapons and cannon and entered into a truce with the Prussians, who occupied only a small portion of the city.

These armed Parisian workmen commanded much respect from the Prussian army and were the cause of much anxiety to the Bourgeois French government sitting at Versailles.

This government attempted to disarm the guard.

Civil war resulted and the Commune was declared on March 28th 1871. It was a distinctly proletarian character and proceeded to put into effect many reforms in the interest of the working class.

Immediately the Versailles government got busy, bombarded Paris, attacked the National Guard, and secured from the Prussians the release of many thousand French prisoners of war who were members of the regular army of the late empire.

The Communards outnumbered and outgeneraled succumbed to their enemies and a butchery commenced that only ended after 30,000 men, women and children of the working class had been sacrificed to the fury of the bourgeois who resented this attempt of the working class to secure the political power in their own interests.

The Commune of the Parisian workers failed because it was premature. The balance of the work-

ANTI-WAR SOCIAL- ISTS IN CONTROL

Paris.—The minority Socialists in France, who are opposed to permitting members to serve in the National Cabinet with other parties and who favor discussing with German Socialists ways and means to force an early and honorable peace, have doubtless become the majority in the party organization. In the election for officials in the Department of the Seine (Paris) the minority won—104,250 to 102,312 votes. The Department of the Rhone membership has also swung over to the minority and passed a resolution demanding that the Stockholm conferences continue and that the French party send representatives.

Socialist Delegates to Next International

Chicago.—The general office of the Socialist party announces the following result in the election by members of the Socialist party of delegates to go to the next conference of the international Socialist movement to be convened during the discussion of peace terms.

Morris Hillquit, of New York; George R. Kirkpatrick of New Jersey, and Scott Nearing of Ohio as the three delegates.

ers of the nation were not with them. The workers of other countries were not yet organized into the world wide union of workers. A small group of workmen, under a peculiar set of conditions laid hold of the power of the state with disastrous results to themselves.

Quoting Marx again—"But the working class cannot lay hold of the ready made state machinery and will it for its own purposes."

And so, today we have another instance, a particular set of conditions in a vast country with 200,000,000 of people has given the working class of that country a chance to secure the political power. What will come of it. Will they be able to retain that power and thus nurture and develop a set of conditions that will ultimately bring forth the industrial republic of labor?

With our meager information of the conditions that obtain and of the state of the economic organization of the workers in that distant land it is hard to pass judgment. Whispers are already in the air that inter vention by the great capitalist governments of the world to protect the interests of capitalistic forces they represent will come about.

And another thing, all channels of news are controlled by interests that are antagonistic to the proletariat and at this stage of the working class know that the Russian workers were succeeding in their endeavor to oust class rule.

Many interests are clashing in that country. The ousted aristocracy, the top-capitalist class, the middle class, the rural population, the wage earner, the military and politicians. Therefore any news that will reflect discredit on the working class regime or working class efforts is the news that will be amplified in the capitalist controlled press of the world; while any news that would reflect credit will be suppressed.

One of the big newspapers in this country recently stated that the fight in Russia was not one between forces that wanted to continue war with Germany and those that did not, but was between those that wanted to abolish private property in the land other necessary resources and utilities and those who did not.

There we have it—the class struggle.

Will the workers of Russia succeed or will they fail? It is difficult to tell. But, the economic resources have been depleted and exhausted by the war, the capitalist method of production has not reached a ripe and full development, the factory system is not what it in other countries, railroads and communication facilities are few and far between, and it is doubtful if the workers have a strong economic organization or industrial union.

And right there is the crux of the matter—underdevelopment on the

one hand and lack of the organization to administer the economic affairs of the people.

The whole world is watching and waiting for the outcome and wondering what it will be.

The socialist is sure of one thing, that is, after it is all over that things will be vastly different than they are now. It may be that the Russian workers will be the ones to lead the world into the co-operative commonwealth. It is extremely doubtful if the capitalist class of today could get away with the same stunt that the French bourgeoisie did in 1871.

But taking our lessons from the history of the past, one thing we are sure of, and that is that the victory of the working class in the final conflict in any country anywhere must come about only through education and a clear understanding of the struggle of the classes arising out of an organization of society that makes the labor of the worker a commodity and subjects him to a thing of exploitation for the benefit of a class that owns the means of production and of life.

It is not through the seizure of the political power alone that the workers on any nation will achieve their emancipation but through an economic organization that has the power and intelligence to direct the forces of industry in the production of the basic necessities of life and divert the incomes therefrom into the hands of the workers themselves.

By this way only can anarchy and civil war be avoided and the Republic of Labor be safely started in the next epoch of the human race.

After all, when we sum it up and consider the influences and forces that will be brought to bear on the people of Russia; about the best we can hope for is that they will be able to establish a system of government that will enable of the rapid and proper development of Working class party with a clear vision of the class struggle and how to meet it, and an industrial organization having for its aim the final emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

If this come about then the martyrs of the Paris Commune of 1871 will not have died in vain.

W. E. T.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

(Karl Kautsky one of the most brilliant searching thinkers of this generation, is very unpopular with the Prussian autocracy, as well as with those who are willing to compromise the great truths of Socialism in this stormy era. His refusal to violate his intellectual integrity led to his leaving the editorship of the Neue Zeit on October 1. "The Class Struggle" for November-December contains, among other illuminating articles, one from the pen of Kautsky on "The Russian Revolution." After reading the vast amount of misinformation on this subject published in both the newspapers and magazines of this country, the words of Kautsky come as the clean north wind to dissipate the poisonous mists arising from the swamps of ignorance and prejudice.—Editor.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

The fight for peace, the question of questions in these times, is intimately associated with the problems of the Russian revolution and the revival of the International. And these two, again, are closely allied with each other. Stockholm was to have been the visible realization of the triumph of both these forces. But the glad hopes that greeted the revolution and the Stockholm meeting have ebbed as the months have gone by. And yet we must not despair. The revolution of Russia is but undergoing the various stages through which every revolution must go. The glorious, most hopeful, most exalted stage is the first, when the power that has threatened to crush and choke every thing is swept aside. The people draw the first deep breath of freedom and look forward upon the open road that leads to progress and happiness. Never, in all the revolutions of the past, has this first stage been the work of a single class; always these upheavals have been the product of the revolt of different classes, all suffering under the same oppression, all strait-jacketed by the same insufferable conditions, all with the same hope, the overthrow of the power that is oppressing them.

This cooperation of classes may be kept up, yes, may even increase during the second period of the

revolution, in which the new regime first takes the place of the old.

They are held together by a common fear, the dread that the power just overthrown may again raise its head. It becomes the most important task of the new regime to clean away the refuse that the old has left behind it. Furthermore, the exploiting class hesitates, largely because it fears the strength demonstrated by the laboring masses in the struggle against the rulers whom they have overthrown. They are trembling with fear, and dare not step into the foreground. They still hope to pacify the masses by small concessions and sacrifices.

It was this fear of the masses that led the representatives of the French nobility on that famous 4th of August, 1789, to voluntarily sacrifice their feudal.

In this stage, coalition governments, with representatives of the working class, may be of value to their interests. But it must be born in mind that this can be only a short transition period. On the other hand, it would be senseless to attempt to curtail this stage artificially or by force. The class struggle cannot, of course, be set aside for any length of time, so long as class rule exists. The greater the demands of the working classes become, the sharper will grow the resistance of their exploiters.

And so, of necessity, the third stage of the revolution must come; the revival, yes the intensifying of the struggle between the classes which united in overthrowing the old government. Through this stage, too, the Russian revolution must inevitably go. No cleverness of tactics, no terroristic recklessness can prevent it. It will be the deciding stage of the Russian revolution, albeit not its most joyous one. It lacks the glad joyousness, the unbounded hopes, of the first stages. But it is the most important period, that period which will determine its historic character, in which the significance that coming generations will ascribe to it, will be decided.

In this period not only the two classes will fight each other, but tactical differences between the various groups of the same class will appear as well. These tactical questions may make themselves felt under certain circumstances even before the class differences themselves become apparent. The class interests are a deciding factor in politics, but not the only factor.

In war the plan of action of an army is determined not only by the whereabouts of the enemy, but by a fairly definite knowledge of his strength and the strength of one's own forces as well. In an army there may be a variety of opinions. But it stands under the direction of a single commander, and he decides upon a single plan of action for the whole army. The political army of democracy knows no commander-in-chief. In spite of uniform class interests, yes, in spite of absolute agreement in political theory, it may be split up by a difference in the estimation of strength of the movement itself and of the power of its enemies.

This is particularly true of a movement that is evolving under conditions such as exist in Russia at the present time. Czarism, the war have made it practically impossible to determine, even approximately, the strength of the various parties and tendencies. It becomes the more important for the consolidation of the revolution, therefore, to find a definite basis upon which this knowledge may be more or less adequately established. The election of constitutional assembly is an absolute necessity. Not because it will wipe out the differences between the classes and parties, but because it will permit a fairly accurate calculation of their relative strength, giving to their struggles a more rational basis. But even more important for the future of the Russian revolution than a constitutional assembly is peace.

It has become customary to compare the present Russian movement with that of France in 1793. But they are widely different in character. When war broke out between France and reactionary Europe the revolution in France had practically accomplished its work. The agrarian population had already gone over to the new regime won by the confiscation of church lands and the lands of the feudal lords who had rebelled against the revolution. The war was in the main a war to defend the revolution from the threatening attacks of European monarchies. It was a sort of international class struggle. And in this struggle the revolution gave

CAPITALIST NATIONALISM AND PROLETARIAN NATIONALISM

By MARVIN SANFORD.

The Millennium has begun.

The dream of reformers and political opportunists is becoming a reality.

The government of the United States, in "taking over the railroads" has accomplished this feat. Have we not been told over and over what wonderful advantages would accrue to the wage workers and the "public as a whole" from "nationalizing" railroads, and extending the process over other industries?

Certain it is, that the remarkable strides of state capitalism in Europe are to be duplicated in this country. That this should be hailed with delight by so many professed radicals is evidence enough that there are yet people who fail to realize that such moves are but a part of the RULING CLASS POLICY of a ruling class government, in winning a war and winning it without loss of power over the proletariat, but rather increased and strengthened control over the class that threatens capitalist supremacy.

Mind you, the railroads have not been confiscated. "They have merely been 'taken over,' borrowed, for the time being—perhaps permanently, in the interests of war efficiency. Now it will be treason to strike because it would be a "blow at the government." So troops MUST be moved. War materials and equipment of any and every kind must TAKE THE RIGHT OF WAY.

The government itself has become the chief exploiter, instead of having a host of smaller exploiters doing the job. A few \$50,000 salaries may be reduced to \$10,000 or so, the wage slaves will get a few cents extra, so they may all the more voluntarily give up their last "right"; and the hordes of parasites will continue to draw their loot with the bother of running the business in other hands.

That is the significance of state capitalism. That such procedure should be termed "state socialism" or a "step in the right direc-

to its defenders a new war measure of epoch-making importance, placing a mass army raised by popular conscription in the field against the small professional armies of the monarchies. To this it owed its victory, and thus the war brought to France, after this first loss, not the misery of invasion, but rich gain.

In Russia, was preceded the revolution, and brought to the latter only unspeakable suffering, complete disintegration. It does not preserve for the working class what the revolution has accomplished; on the contrary, it makes it impossible for them to take advantage of their victory. Nor has the revolution given to Russia any war measure that would place it at an advantage over its opponents.

And there is still another difference. The significance of the French revolution was tremendous. It was the signal for the overthrow of the whole feudal system. The Russian revolution of today can have no such effects. A bourgeois revolution is no longer necessary even in Russia; the capitalist class and even a considerable portion of the agrarian population had secured practically every judicial and economic right they needed, even before the revolution broke out. But the proletariat in Russia is still too weak and too undeveloped to rule the nations, to accomplish a revolution in the Socialist sense of that term.

The significance of the present Russian revolution is above all political. Its aim lies chiefly in the winning of democracy as a foundation upon which the proletariat may most successfully carry on its class struggle, may develop and organize its forces for the conquest of political power.

But war and democracy are two forces that cannot easily be brought into harmony. A state of war brings even in highly democratized nations, for the period of its duration, a certain curtailment of democratic rights.

That was also true in democratic France. The reign of terror, generally regarded as a product of the revolution, was, as a matter of fact, the product of the war. And this explains, too, the fact that the climax of the rule of democratic forces in France coincided with the climax of political persecution and political death sentences. This war threatens the very ex-

istence" is merely more evidence that there are people abroad in the land who need a little more time to study socialism and the real program of the revolutionary movement; to be able to distinguish between nationalism that leads to the further degradation and servility of labor, and proletarian nationalism that leads to the control of industry by the industrially organized working class.

"Nationalism" that leaves control of industry out of the hands of the industrial workers, "nationalism" that leaves profits and dividends undisturbed, is a snare and a delusion, nothing more and nothing less.

To be of value to the working class, "nationalism" of railroads or any of the industrial equipment of society, must mean the elimination of profit from the operation of such industry; it must mean the lowering of the hours and the increase of the money reward until there is nothing left for coupon clippers and bond holders; it means that the administration of the industry must be in the hands of the Nation of workers for the sole purpose of service to the nation as a whole, satisfying the requirements of all, leaving out of consideration no one and managed and directed democratically by its operatives.

This sort of nationalism will not be advocated or adopted by governments or rulers. It will be fought to the last ditch by the privileged of all types. But if the workers are ever to be freed from want and fear and poverty they MUST organize industrially in class conscious industrial unions and politically in on uncompromising and stalwart party of labor to make this program an accomplished fact.

Then the parasite will have to go to work.

Then the bacil of war—profits—will be dead and its effects feared no more.

Then will the chains fall of, the shackles be unbound, and men and women be happy and free in the Industrial Republic.

sense of the Russian revolution, its democracy. Furthermore, it robs the revolution of the opportunity to counteract its political sacrifices by economic gain.

An early peace is therefore indispensable for the success of the Russian revolution. But it, too, will endanger the revolution, if it is a peace at any price, a peace other than that formulated and demanded by its leaders, a peace without annexation and indemnities, a peace preserving the right of small nations to decide their own destinies in every direction. If the war should end with the rape of nations, weakening instead of strengthening this outcome, then revolution, not its aim, but its method, would be discredited for years to come, not only among the Russian people, but among all other nations as well.

Thus they stand between Scylla and Charybdis. The continuation of war threatens economic and political, separate peace, moral bankruptcy.

A revolution that is an outgrowth of existing conditions possesses a gigantic vitality and momentary reverses are by no means cause for despair. But they should bring to us the grave warning, not to leave our Russian comrades alone to their fate. Their cause is the cause of the international proletariat. The collapse of revolutionary Russia would halt the process of democratization in Central Europe that has already begun.

Revolutionary Russia alone is not in a position to enforce a peace upon the terms it has proclaimed. It is time for the International to do its duty, as last, toward itself as well as toward the Russian revolution. —Buffalo New Age.

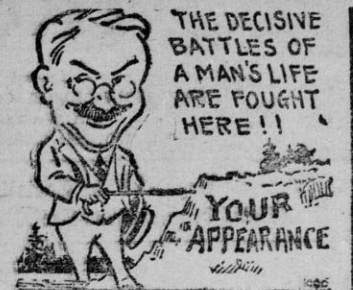
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TRUTH

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EDITORIAL



DEMOCRACY, WHEN

When shall we have democracy, the rule of the people, by the people for the people and of which they have dreamed hoped and worked for all through the centuries?

The answer is: Not until the things on which the lives of the people depend are owned and democratically controlled in a co-operative commonwealth.

How futile for the great majority to think of having any such freedom of action as democracy implies while the minority possess the very means of existence for the masses, make the laws and hold all the powers of government to withhold the very necessities of life—yes, to even destroy them, when it seems to their interests to do so.

The great majority of the people are of the working class; the brain and brawn of the nation; the creators of all value; the builders; the artists; the engineers of great works; the inventors; the men and women that are the makers of things to satisfy all human desires. While those in minority are the takers; they that live and lust off the earnings of their fellows and not by any efforts than a use of wits to take advantage of a system that gives them the opportunity to erect institutions of greater profits than our forefathers ever dreamed of. While with the power of the colossal fortunes acquired through these and the political government which they have also taken advantage of they go on and on to still greater financial triumphs in reinvestments of capital for the still further concentration of wealth and industry, on to the spoilation of all competitors, until we hear the swan songs of a dying middle class on every side and watch its fruitless struggles to save itself in every conceivable way from the devouring maw of big business that includes little business in its exploitation of the masses.

It is not our purpose however, to condemn capitalists, but capitalism; and that only now when it seems to have not only reached its full development but is rotten ripe to fall.

To talk of democracy under the present state of affairs, or to hope for it under a system that can only continue to live by further conquests of competitors and further requirements of markets for its ever growing surplus products is idle and thoughtless.

We shall have democracy as soon as the majority of our people realize that they can do for themselves what is now done by the private owners of industry. When they learn that their miseries are the direct result of their dependence on a ruling class. When they rid themselves of the delusions that only a Hill or Gould has brains enough to run a railroad, or Rockefeller intelligence to manage the oil industry. The truth of the matter is that the real management is in the hands of their subordinates who rightly belong in the working class; and when a parasite passes to the other side of life and no longer feeds on the workers we miss him not at all.

Every institution necessary for the needs of the people must be owned and democratically controlled by them; and used by them for the general welfare. Not for the profit of a few; not for foreign markets, only in so far as there may be an equitable exchange of commodities not produced at home.

The welfare and happiness of all the people must be the object of production and to the whole people must go their product, not for hoarding but for consumption.

It is coming! It is coming because of the concentration of wealth, the necessity for its reinvestment in further accumulations to the few; the sure ruin of all competitors of big business; the ever improving and increasing machine production; the reduction of the skilled to the common worker or into the army of the unemployed, whose direct necessities and growing threat of revolution we have yet to experience; and on the whole through the suffering of the people, whose needs are causing them to listen to the agitators of truth and whose awakening will, if slow be sure and mark the downfall of capitalism, for the building of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.

At the present session of Congress a bill for universal military training will be introduced, which will have the support of the Commercial Clubs in all the large cities of the United States and other bodies of men bonded together for the purpose of destroying those liberties for which our forefathers fought and to have a standing army to keep in subjection the class conscious workers who may demand a greater portion of the wealth which they produce. Universal military service is abnoxious to a free people, we in the country have witnessed the wholesale immigration from countries which have had universal military service, and at the present time we are conscripting and drilling millions of men to send to the battlefields of Europe that this hated thing may be wiped of the face of the earth. Now with this steady campaign going on all over the country upheld by the capitalist press, there is grave danger that the bill before Congress, or about to be introduced, will pass, unless the workingclass of this country awake to the danger of such a bill, and send petitions, letters, and telegrams to their respective congressmen, asking them to vote against it. Let us have action on this measure. Once it fastens its slimy tentacles upon the manhood of this country we will witness the rise to greater power of the capitalist class and the lowering of the standard of living of the working class. Let us not allow the fight against that which we call Prussianism abroad, to be bred at home while our men, the flower of our manhood gives their lives to blot out just such a system as brought on the war now raging in Europe.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

The end of this war is not in sight. Even the beginning of the end is not yet.

Before this war ends, the public mind must turn its back upon the accumulation of fortunes and must move firmly for the uplift of humanity.

Ambition to make money has led to this world disaster. Economic power in the hands of a few makes military power inevitable.

It matters not whether this power is in the hands of an aristocracy or a dynasty, the results must finally be the same.

When militarism rises, it of necessity takes the same form in every land. The most efficient military power becomes the standard and the pattern for all other countries. Superior efficiency compels all others to act likewise or be crushed. There is the choice. The world is patterning after the German methods. These and other superior methods will remain as long as capitalism lasts.

Men may cry peace, peace, but as long as there are conflicting interests there will be hostile forces struggling to dominate.

We are told that the war will last yet ten years and that men now living may not see the end.

If this is true, may the people not well ask if the present forms of government are capitalistic in their nature. The surplus power arising out of all industries and commercial transactions is held by the few and used to determine governmental policies. And governmental policies of the world have led to a world catastrophe. The abolition of conflicting interests in domestic, national and international affairs, and the establishment in their stead of a community of interest, is the only salvation for the race.

War after war, will follow in the wake of capitalism.

One thing is sure. This war is hastening the end of the present outworn political and industrial order. Out of this world upheaval is emerging the new and better order of political, industrial and social democracy.

FREEDOM OF PRESS A MEMORY.

The invisible power that has decided that now is the time to crush the socialist and radical press of the country, is working the game through the Post Office Department.

For years there has been a tendency to abuse the power of the Department by refusing mailing privileges to alleged objectionable matter. Time and again this power has been exercised with brutal disregard of the rights of Publishers and the public. Arrogant bigots have sought to suppress the dissemination of information and to prevent the expression of opinions from which they dissented.

But never in the history of the Department has the executive order been used so ruthlessly as at the present time. Issue after issue of socialist and radical publications has been held up by local postmasters because in the opinion of department attorney Lamar it contained something "contrary to the spirit and tone" of the law of June 15th.

If publishers are to be punished for "constructive" treason then freedom of the press in the United States is a memory. To deny publications of a general circulation admission to the mails means financial ruin to the publisher. This confiscation of property—without due process of law—is comparatively, of small moment, the matter of supreme importance is the arbitrary abridgment of the freedom of the press, the direct violation of the rights guaranteed under the constitution.

We better stop now. Somebody, somewhere in New York was sentenced to six months prison for quoting the constitution. Safety first.

WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN.

The Duluth Herald in its Editorials of last Monday come out and said that the Bolsheviks may not be such fools as they looked. What do you know about that?

SOCIALISTS THREATENED WITH ILLEGAL MOB ACTION

Monroe, Wash., Jan. 1918.

"Mr. James Farmer,
"Monroe, Wash.
"Dear Sir,

"This being the beginning of a new year there is certain things that we as U. S. Citizens, True to the flag of our country and true to our own conscientiousness of right should discontinue. The one thing in particular that we want to call your attention to is the support, housing and hiding of the I. W. W. organization and its members. In the first place this is an Outlaw organization, working teeth and toenail against the best interest of the U. S. The second place seventy per cent of its members are foreign born and the remaining twenty-five per cent are either damned fools or badly misinformed. They are working entirely for the interest of the enemies of our government. These are the reasons why we are taking these measures to do away with this evil in our neighborhood. You have in the past hid these agitators when the government officials were looking for them. You have called for and helped distribute their literature. Stuff that could not circulate in the mails. We give you fair warning and there is no limit to the punishment of these crimes.

"The Vigilantes."

This loathsome thing speaks in all its horrible viciousness for itself. It explains the recent stories of the reign of terror in Monroe, it points unerringly to the cowardly mask of assumed patriotism which the profiteers determined to crush out the effort of the workers to better their conditions are now placing on their lawlessness. Its hateful cowardice, its manifest viciousness and its desperate, yet unhindered, lawlessness is so obvious that they need not be dwelt upon. This is the real thing—this is the illegality in words which has because of its being permitted and encouraged in communities, by the authorities, materialized in the lawlessness of action that has held the nation shocked and even a president protest this horror and loathing of the evil thing. It passed through the mails, directly to the addressee, manifest for all law, for all national rights and for all real and abiding love of country, a patriotism that these foul scoundrels befoul in so dastardly a manner.

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ARE YOU WITH US?

BY GEORGE R. KIRKPATRICK.
President Woodrow Wilson has written in one of his scholarly historical works, "Division and Reunion," page 13:

"There can be a moneyed aristocracy but there cannot be a money democracy."

In the evolution of the American republic we have reached the stage of "moneyed aristocracy." We already have one billionaire, several semi-billionaires, hundreds of multi-millionaires, thousands of millionaires, and tens of thousands of semi-millionaires, and other wealthy people. They control the republic and its industrial life. They constitute a "moneyed aristocracy."

The revolution from this moneyed aristocracy, from this industrial despotism, to an industrial democracy must come. And the Socialist movement is the organized effort peacefully legally to overthrow this industrial-moneyed despotism and secure industrial democracy.

Are you with us?

To join the Socialist movement, as an inside, systematic, organized party member, you sign an application for membership card containing the pledge below, and you agree to pay monthly a small sum, a very small fee, called "dues." This fee is less than a cent a day. This fund is used by the organization to keep the educational and organizing work going all the year around. And there is no other way to finance and promote and protect a movement of the working class. The pledge follows:

"I, the undersigned, recognizing the class struggle between the capitalist class and the working class, and the necessity of the working class constituting themselves into a political party, distinct from and opposed to all parties formed by the capitalist class, hereby declare that I have severed my relations with all other political parties, that I endorse the platform and constitution of the Socialist party, including political action, and hereby apply for admission to membership in said party."—New Age.

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OKLAHOMA SOCIALISTS IN LIVELY CONVENTION

The Socialist State Convention held at Oklahoma City last week was not so large as some of our conventions, about 100 delegates and that many visitors being present.

There was not so much for the convention to do as the war conditions were proving all our former declarations to be true.

The matter of raising the dues fund to enter the campaign, was the most important thing before the meeting. It was unanimously voted that the dues be raised to \$6.00 a year, divided as follows: \$1 local dues, \$3 for state and national and \$2 for county.

The Non Partisan League came in for full discussion and after it was understood that in joining the league you were pledged to vote the candidates endorsed by them, it was decided that no one could carry a red card and also be a member of the league, as it would be contrary to our party constitution.

Comrade Ameringer made the report of the Oklahoma Leader, showing \$70,000 in cash on hand, and it was decided to start the paper as soon as \$100,000 in cash was on hand. After seeing the need of the daily, every socialist there promised to make a special effort to raise the other \$30,000 in the next 30 days.

Comrade Redfield, the business manager of the Milwaukee Leader went over the work of making the Leader, and to the satisfaction of all he reported the paper in fine shape from all standpoints and while the government ruling had lost them subscriptions outside the city, 30,000 had been added to the city list.

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I SAW YOUR AD IN THE TRUTH

It is a well known fact among newspapermen that no paper can continue publication without advertising, but the general public seems to lose sight of this fact. The prevalent idea is that when you have paid two cents for a paper or sent in your dollar for a years subscription, that the only thing that remains for us is to get out the paper as a result. Do you know that your two cents or \$1.00 pays only one-half of our bills, and naturally we have to find other means of support?

Advertising is the other source of revenue we have, and it depends on you how valuable a source that is. Dozens of our advertisers say that the TRUTH is their most valuable advertising medium, and many of them run ads in other papers.

Why? Because the readers of TRUTH are of the type that believe in supporting their paper, a paper which is their in a sense that no other Duluth weekly can be. It represents their views, their ideals, and their hopes. That is why Truth advertising is valuable.

But you can make it much easier for the advertising manager and what is more, you can make possible a larger and better paper in the near future if you will tell our advertisers when you buy of them that you saw their ad in the Truth. And when you buy of merchants who do not advertise in TRUTH, tell them that if they want your continued support, they should do so.

Remember, if you want the only workers' paper in the Northwest to grow and become a better and bigger paper, you will support TRUTH advertisers and urge those who do not advertise to do so. "I saw it in TRUTH."

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

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The Sign of good CLOTHES



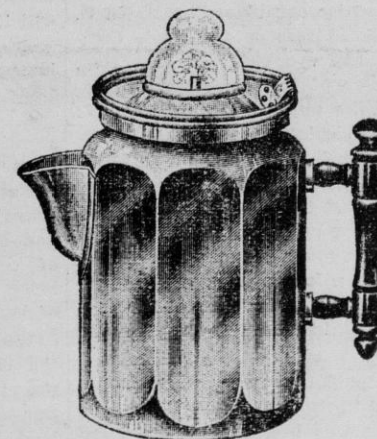
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