

DO NOT FORGET PARTY MEETING AT TARMO HALL SUNDAY 2 P. M.

OWNED AND
CONTROLLED BY THE
WORKING CLASS.

TRUTH

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HISTORICAL
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THE ONLY ROAD TO PEACE

FROM THE BILL OF RIGHTS.
Constitution of the State of Minnesota.

Object of Government. Section 1. Government is instituted for the security benefit, and protection of the people, in whom all political power is inherent, together with the right to alter, modify, or reform such government, whenever the public good may require it.

Section 3. The liberty of the press shall forever remain inviolate, and all persons may freely speak, write and publish their sentiments on all subjects being responsible for the abuse of such right.

We are in this war, and it looks that we are in a fair way to be victorious, owing to the refusal of Germany to accept the reasonable Peace demands of the Bolsheviks, then let us ask ourselves, what are we prepared to do in event of victory over Germany?

We hear a great deal talk of deposing the Kaiser and destroying the military power of Germany, also something about returning the lost provinces to France and the setting up of an independent Poland. We also hear the cry of the jingo press correspondent, who generally writes his sturdy stories in a Paris cafe or in a garret, somewhere near Greenwich Village, New York, urging us to sweep the whole German nation into the sea. Suppose that for one moment, Germany is finally vanquished and the Allies succeed in conquering her, what are we going to do next? England, with her mighty empire tried the same thing on Ireland. She was determined, more determined than we are to crush Germany, to crush Ireland and after seven hundred years, she finds herself compelled to call a convention, to try and conciliate the Irish race. The land of Ireland was given over to the English landlords. Ask them has it paid them to take over that land? The English could never at any time use the Irish people in her military adventures, the Irish have always preferred to fight for other nations, the French, the Spanish and latterly the Boers. Every form of coercion has been used against the Irish by the English and it has failed, can we not draw a lesson from England in regard to Germany? If we mean by crushing "Prussian Militarism" that she is to have no fleet, no army or any other kind of power, because we forbid it, there is no doubt at all, that the strongest anti-militarist in Germany would rebel against such a procedure and instead of crushing Prussian Militarism, we would only strengthen it.

In the first place if we desire to crush Germany, for the sake of crushing militarism, must we not have a larger militarism than Germany has? Germany under the rule of another nation would always be in a state of revolution for as long as there lived a German speaking man or woman, there would remain also a spark of rebellion, ever ready to become a raging fire and consequently we would have to further increase our military power. If you disarmed the German people, they would retaliate by means of strikes and wholesale sabotage. A net work of secret societies would spring up all over Germany, and we should be compelled to further increase our military power by the employment of detectives, stool pigeons, etc.

In the second place there is the financial side to be considered, when we talk of taking over Germany, which we must do, if we are to crush her, we cannot allow her to be alone, because she will most certainly nurse a spirit of revenge against us, and await further opportunity to strike another blow at us. If we take over Germany, we will also have to take over her national debt. We will have to keep the thousands of widows and orphans, because we would most certainly not allow them to starve. We would have to rebuild the towns and cities that would be destroyed on our march to Berlin, because the Ger-

mans most assuredly would sacrifice everything, in their endeavor to stop our onward march through their country. By the way, the National Debt of Germany in 1908 was \$3,600,000,000, so what must it be in 1918. The position, which on investigation becomes more and more involved is approximately this. The land and resources of Germany do not belong to the German Government, but to the bondholders of the national debt. There is no wealth but that which is produced by labor—that is to say money is only a pledge for corn, meat, cloth, machinery, etc. produced for human consumption by human labor. Unless there exists in a country perfect tranquility, its natural development cannot succeed for proof of this, look at Russia. The national debt of Germany has been subscribed by people, who have relied upon the reasonable supposition that the resources of Germany would be developed by German labor until the entire amount was repaid. If we annex Germany, we would have to honor the national debt, or destroy the very basis of our commercial system, for if the capitalist class start showing the workers the art of confiscation, where is it going to end?

Let us examine the argument that Germany wants to conquer the world. To better understand that argument, let us see what she would have before her.

1. She would have to subdue England and France.

2. She would have to subdue Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

3. She would have to subdue the whole of America.

Try and imagine if you can the vast undertaking of any power who attempted to carry out that program. They would have to have at least one billion soldiers and God only knows how many warships and submarines. Suppose that Germany tried to carry out that program, who in the meantime would look after Germany, while Germany was looking after us? So we ask at this time, is there no other way out? We ask in the name of an oppressed workingclass, which detests and despises Kaiserism, with as much feeling as it detests the rattlesnake. We ask in the name of the many widows and orphans, in the name of all that is sacred to humanity, how long must this go on?

We do not want to be misundestood, we are not Pro-German, we hate and despise militarism, but the ONLY cure for militarism, is the destruction of that system that breeds it, namely CAPITALISM. So long as nations produce a surplus of goods and send them to other nations, and nations so find themselves competing against each other, so long will we have war. Roger Babson, the well-known economist, was asked the following question, —

"Why is not English determination to destroy Prussian Militarism and to disarm Germany practical?" He answered as follows, —

"This reported aim of England is no different from that of every strong nation since the days of the Egyptians. As soon as one nation has been vanquished another has invariably taken its place. Greece, Rome, and Islam failed. Progress can come no more through the arbitrary destruction of armaments than through their developments. The reason for their existence must be eliminated before their influence can wane.

Roger Babson is employed by the Government and weighs carefully every word before he utters same. In his book, "The Future of the World Peace," Babson states the following, —

"The fundamental difference between autocracy and democracy is that with the latter the people are supreme, the rulers being their servants who follow rather than lead, while with the former the rulers and their personal appointees are supreme and the elective body follows in the trail."

TO THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS OF THE U. S.

The war frenzy which has gripped many nations, including our own, is waning. The Socialist Party, therefore, thru its National Executive Committee, deems it to be its duty to state its views as to the best methods of obtaining a speedy, general and democratic peace.

We endorse unreservedly the peace program of the Russian Socialist government based upon the demand for the evacuation of all territory occupied by hostile forces and its physical restoration from an international fund—the right of all nations and inhabitants of disputed territories to determine their own destinies—the unrestricted freedom of travel and transportation over land and sea—full equality of trade conditions among all nations—universal disarmament—open diplomacy—and an effective international organization to preserve peace, to protect the rights of the weaker peoples (including the natives in the colonies), and to insure the stability of international relations.

We are unalterably opposed to all annexationist and imperialistic designs, all plans of forced geographical and political readjustments, and all punitive measures included in the war aims of the contending ruling classes and their governments.

We emphatically deny that it is necessary for the people of the United States to spill their blood and waste their resources, in order to rearrange the map of Europe. If rearrangement is necessary, it can be more speedily and more effectively accomplished by the peace conference.

Are we not facing the danger if this war continues, of having an autocracy in this country? Has not Mr. Burleson and the Safety Commission of Minnesota proven that the belief in such a danger, is not without foundation?

So we ask the rulers of this country, we appeal to the President and ask if we cannot call a truce and devise some other way of settling this dispute?

We are seeing the finest pieces of architecture destroyed, wholesale destruction of fine masterpieces. We see children murdered in their beds and men drowned without a chance to be saved. We see men being taken to hospitals gassed and dying the most agonizing deaths. We ask in the name of the workingclass, how long must this continue? Every time we fire a gun and kill a German mother's son we only lay the foundation of a new believer in militarism. The same applies equally as well to this country. The sinking of the Tuscania raised a spirit of revenge in the minds of those who lost their offspring. So must it be, if we do not discover some way out. We of the Socialist Party do not consider ourselves infallible, but we ask you to consider our program for peace, and if you believe that our program is worthy of your support, we want you to join with us. We want your support, we want to see every mother in the land, happy and smiling. We want to see every son and daughter happy and smiling. We want the whole nation to be happy. War means sorrow, desolation and misery, Socialism, the only real lasting Peace, means human happiness, whom will you serve.

We want to draw your attention to the speech of our martyred comrade, Jean Jaures, the French Socialist, who was shot the day before war was declared in Europe. Speaking at the Anglo-French parliamentary dinner, in 1903, he astonished the assembly with his remarkable eloquence and flow of language, he said: —

"The majesty of suffering labor is no longer dumb; it speaks now with a million tongues, and it asks the nations not to increase the ills that crush down the workers by an added burden of mistrust and hate, by wars and the expectation of wars."

"Gentlemen, you may ask how and when and in what form this longing for international concord will express itself to some purpose. . . . I can only answer you by a parable which I gleaned by fragments, from the legends of Merlin, the magician, from the Arabian Nights, and from a book that is still unread.

"One upon a time there was an enchanted forest. It had been stripped of all verdure, it was wild and forbidding. The trees, tossed by the bitter winter wind that never

ceased, struck one another with a sound as of breaking swords. When at last, after a long series of freezing nights and sunless days that seemed like nights, all living things trembled with the first call of spring, the trees became afraid of the sap that began to move within them. And the solitary and bitter spirit that had its dwelling within the hard bark of them said very low, with a shudder that came up from the deepest roots, 'Have a care! If thou art the first to risk yielding to the wooing of the new season, if thou art the first to turn thy lance-like buds into blossoms and leaves, their delicate raiment will be torn by the rough blows of the trees that have been slower to put forth leaves and flowers.'

"And the proud and melancholy spirit that was shut up within the great Druidical oak spoke to its tree with peculiar insistence. 'And wilt thou, too, seek to join the universal love-feast, thou whose noble branches have been broken by the storm.'"

Thus, in the enchanted forest, mutual distrust drove back the sap, and prolonged the death-like winter even after the call of spring.

What happened at last? By what mysterious influence was the grim charm broken? Did some tree find the courage to act alone, like those April poplars that break into a shower of verdure, and give from afar the signal for a renewal of life? Or did the warmer and more life-giving beam start the sap moving in all the trees at once? For lo! in a single day the whole forest burst forth into a magnificent flowering of joy and peace."

It is useless to dwell upon the horrors of warfare. The mothers of the workers are steeled to bear loss and suffering. They are resigned and accept it as their lot. Women and children suffer every day in times of peace the worst outrages of war. Every working woman that gives birth to a child, has to reckon with the possibility of losing her child through lack of nourishment, or of being left in the lurch and so forced to a life of prostitution. Large manufacturers, who employ women labor, have their businesses subsidised by the wages of prostitution, yet they are accepted as leading members of our community without a qualm. Landlords whose hovels are death-traps to their inhabitants are allowed to make fortunes from the renting of same. Mine owners, who by flagrant disregard of regulations, have cost the working people thousands of lives, directors and shareholders of railways and big corporations responsible, in the pursuit of dividends, for hundreds of deaths every year, manufacturers who are draining the life blood of young children, rich men, young and old, who buy white

The present situation demands more than the mere statement of war aims or peace terms. An agreement to enter into peace negotiations is now imperative.

To agree upon the details of peace is impossible until the representative of the belligerent nations meet one another in conference.

The statement of detailed conditions is futile. Such details are quite as likely to multiply the causes of disagreement, magnify the difficulties and delay peace, as they are to bring peace.

We earnestly urge you to recognize officially the present Russian government and accept immediately its invitation to take part in the peace conference of the Russians and the Central Powers. We also urge you to make every effort to secure the participation of the allies in the conference.

A decision by our country and the allies to join in the conference will electrify the peoples of the world. It will take the ground from under the crowned robbers of the Central Powers. It will deprive the autocrats of all arguments now used to deceive their people and maintain themselves in power.

This is the road to peace.

Signed: MORRIS HILLQUIT, VICTOR L. BERGER, ANNA A. MALEY, JOHN M. WORK, SEYMOUR STEDMAN, National Executive Committee, and ADOLPH GERMER, Secretary.

slaves—all these despoil and bleed the nation as no conqueror by fire or sword and war indemnity has ever done.

The white plague and the red plague, which want and immorality bring in their train, carry off more innocent victims than any wars. Worse than all suffering of the body, is the moral cramping and stunting of men and women. It is not that poverty and severe physical labor are in themselves so evil, if they were common humanity's lot. The wrong is in the fact that though Nature has released us all from heavy toil, yet the few monopolize the fruits of the earth and the product of human labor, storing up what they cannot enjoy, wasting by non-usage what others need. In one day's work one man produces more than 50 people can enjoy, yet himself goes without the common necessities of life.

Looking facts plainly in the face, and, if we are to build a new and better civilization, we must do this bravely, though it costs us all our illusions, to what conclusions must we come?

How do the masses of the people live, not only here in Duluth, but in New York, Chicago, Boston and the other big cities of America? The sweated worker in the slums of New York, the broken-down wrecks of our industrial system who haunt the saloons, with only one instinct left out of all their human qualities, the desire to forget life in drunken stupor; the women of our race, decked in cheap and gaudy finery, who nightly patrol the streets, and under the glare of the city lights, offer their bodies for sale, that they might live; the pale, thin children of our public schools; the daily cases of rape, that are so common and evidences of which can be seen in our city hospitals.

America is a lovely country, who has not been enchanted with magnificent splendor of Niagara Falls, the Yellowstone Park, and the Golden Gate of San Francisco, but our people live amongst squalid streets and the fetid atmosphere of slums. The voices of our children are sweet and give music to the ear, but are growing harsh with the shouting above the din of machinery. We have a great army of writers, musicians, philosophers and scientists. The masses of the people read Beatrice Fairfax and other maudlin sentimental writers, understand nothing but mere jingles, care nothing for the masterpieces of our art institutes, but gaze with rapture on cheap tawdry pictures. They know nothing of science and philosophy.

Our civilization is like an inverted pyramid—the little pinnacle on the bottom and the base or top, sooner or later it must be righted or down it will come with a crash.

The workers must make the foundation solid. To educate the whole

of the workers is our mission, for by doing so we shall make a new civilization which can never be destroyed from within or without. From a new and more highly developed civilization we can carry our message of Liberty to every corner of the known world.

It is from this standpoint we must look at this war.

Is there no remedy?

There is, but it is one that needs great courage.

We must free the land and control the means of life so that the workers enjoy what they produce, we must abolish all forms of child labor, and see that no girl is forced to lead a life of prostitution in order that she may live. We again say, that this will require great courage, but if within your breast there beats one spark of sympathy for the class to which you belong, you will be possessed of that courage and so join in with us and lend your assistance, in the rebuilding of a newer, better and higher civilization.

If we as members of this great Republic, are going to take our place in the world as equals, and not as inferiors, we must be able to say to other nations, "Our children are healthy and well fed, our women do not fear prostitution, our aged folk do not fear the coming of the years. In our land our people are educated and all institutions are free. In our land, our guiding motto is "Each for all and all for each." If we desire to be in a position to say that, we must organize and get together, and by the strength of our combined efforts, make this land better for having lived in it.

If you're game to fight, with no end in sight.

And never a band to play.

If your fit to toil with no hope of spoil,

And toiling itself for pay.

If you'll bear the irk of thankless work

Of making the dream come true.

If you'll march along through a hooting throng,

That bellows its oath at you.

If you'll learn to meet each new defeat,

With the gritty old grin of yore,

And lift your lance, in a new advance,

With hardly a chance to score.

Then you're just the breed, that we sorely need.

You're one of our kith and kin.

So get the swing of the song we sing,

And join in the march—FALL IN.

Do not forget Party meeting March 10th Tarmo Hall 2 P. M.

AN ENGLISH SON TO A GERMAN MOTHER

By MADELEINE DOTY.

A young English airman brought down a German airship, and finding on the dead body of the German airman a portrait of his mother, he placed it in a carefully-directed envelope with a letter to the mother, from himself. He then flew over the German lines, amid the cheers of the enemy, and, unmolested, dropped his package in the German lines. Twenty-four hours later the German mother read the Englishman's letter to her:—

"It's your son. I know you can't forgive me, for I killed him. But I want you to know he didn't suffer. The end came quickly. He was very brave. He must also have been very good. He had your picture in his pocket. I am sending it back, although I should like to keep it. I suppose I am his enemy, yet I do not feel so at all. I'd give my life to have him back. I didn't think of him or you when I shot at his machine. He was an enemy spying out our men. I couldn't let him get back to tell his news. It meant death to our men.

"His was a plucky deed. We were covered up with brush. He had to come quite low to see us, and he came bravely. He nearly escaped me. He handled his machine magnificently. I thought how I should like to fly with him. But he was the enemy, and had to be destroyed. I fired. It was over in a second. Just a blow on the head as the machine crashed to earth. His face shows no suffering, only excitement. His eyes were bright and fearless, I know you must have loved him.

"My mother died when I was quite a little boy. But I know what she would have felt had I been killed. War isn't fair to women. God! how I wish it were over. It is a nightmare. I feel if I just touched your boy he'd wake and we'd be friends. I know his body must be dear to you. I will take care of it and mark his grave with a little cross. After the war you may want to take him home.

"For the first time, I am almost glad my mother isn't living. She could not have borne what I have done. My own heart is heavy. I felt it was my duty. Yet now when I see your son lifeless before me and hold your picture in my hand, it all seems wrong. The world is dark. O mother, be my mother just a little too, and tell me what to do.

HUGH."

And this was the German mother's reply:—

"Dear Lad,—There is nothing to forgive. I see you as you are—your troubled goodness. I feel you coming to me like a little boy astounded at having done ill when you meant well. You seem my son. I am glad your hands cared for my other boy. I had rather you than any other touched his earthly body. He was my youngest. I think you saw his fineness. I know the torture of your heart since you have slain him. To women brotherhood is a reality. For all men are our sons. That makes war a monster—that brother must slay brother.

"Yet perhaps women more than men have been to blame for this world-war. We did not think of the world's children—our children. The baby hands that clutched our breast were so sweet we forgot the hundred other baby hands stretched out to us. But the earth does not forget—she mothers all. And now my heart aches with repentance. I long to take you in my arms and lay your head upon my breast to make you feel through me your kinship with all the earth. Help me, my son: I need you. Be your vision my vision. Spread the dream of oneness and love throughout the land. When the war is over come to me. I am waiting for you—DEINE MUTTER.

COMRADE MALEY AND LEWIS WILL ADDRESS YOU

(Last week we invited Comrades, Maley and Lewis to send in a statement on the platforms, which are to be submitted to the membership. Below we print their statements. It is open to members of the party, to criticize either statements. Let your communications be brief and to the point, and please keep out personalities.)

Questions At Issue In the Recent State Convention.

The main question at issue in the recent Minnesota state socialist convention held in Minneapolis, February 23, 24 and 25, was the old question of whether the socialist party as such should endorse one form of trade union as against another.

All thinking socialists rejoice in the growth of the industrial principle. They recognize that the federation of employers in such bodies as the National Association of Manufacturers calls for a closer and more compact organization of workers on the industrial field.

But the question arises: Can the socialist party carry into its councils the fight concerning methods and tactics in the trade union field? As a party are we for the I. W. W. and against the American Federation of Labor, or vice versa?

The national socialist party holds that it must maintain itself as the political weapon of all workers, whether organized or unorganized or under whatever form organized. Daniel DeLeon in the late nineties, when he was leader of the Socialist Labor Party, organized the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, known as the S. T. & L. A. This was a socialist trade union which went out to combat the American Federation of Labor. This experiment proved, if proof were needed, that a political party cannot function in the trade union field. You will remember the two famous Kilkenny cats that fought so long and so hard that there was nothing left of either but the tail. When DeLeon's party got through with its trade union fight, there was nothing left of it but the head, although it did not succeed in eating up the other cat.

Our party is made up of men and women, wage workers, farmers, business and professional men—all who wish to support the socialist program for social control of the industries. A large percentage of our membership has had no training which would fit it to decide upon trade union policies and tactics. Why should the members of farm and village socialist locals hand out to workers in shop, mine and factory advice as to how the hand-to-hand conflict with masters should be waged from day to day?

The socialist party has members from both groups of unionists, the I. W. W. and the A. F. of L. The A. F. of L. sometimes says "No politics in the union," and the I. W. W. says "No unions in politics. We will have nothing to do with politics." The party calls upon both groups to get their unions into politics and to get politics into their unions, knowing that if the union is sharp enough to see the connection between labor and the law, it will go only into socialist politics.

In the committee's platform which was written for the most part by Comrade J. O. Bentall, there occurred the phrase "one big union." This is the name by which the I. W. W. loves to call his organization. To save contention and keep our forces working harmoniously for the political advantage of all workers, I and those with whom I stood in the convention believed that this phrase should be changed so that there would be no room for the partisans to claim that the convention had gone on record for the I. W. W. as against the A. F. of L. The I. W. W. leaders in the convention: fought against allowing the convention to discuss the platform containing the "one big union" phrase. Evidently they were afraid that this phrase would be stricken out. The other platform which was put forth by the Finnish comrades and which was in accord with the national socialist position, the I. W. W. supporters insisted must be discussed section by section before it should be submitted for referendum. Although the Finnish platform took a position for all labor, the I. W. W. leaders insisted upon adding a section endorsing their own particular brand of unionism.

The resolution on trades unions adopted by the St. Louis convention in April of 1917 reaffirmed the position steadily held by the national socialist party since its organization. I quote from this resolution the portions that affect the present discussion:

"Political organizations and economic organizations are alike necessary in the struggle of the working class

for emancipation. The most harmonious relations ought to exist between the two forces of the working class movement—the socialist party and the labor unions.

In the face of the tremendous powers of the American capitalists and their close industrial and political union, the workers of this country can win their battles only through a strong class-consciousness and closely united organization on the economic field, a powerful and militant party on the political field and by joint attack of both on the common enemy.

"It is the duty of the party to give moral and material support to the labor organizations in all their defensive or aggressive struggles against capitalist oppression and extension of the rights of the wage workers and the betterment of their material and social condition. It is also the duty of members of the socialist party who are eligible in the unions to join and be active in their respective labor organizations."

We who defended the position of the party on the trade union question as above outlined, heard no argument from our opponents on the floor of the convention. They had failed in the early hours of the convention to put through a straight out resolution endorsing the I. W. W. Thereafter they sought to get their endorsement into the platform and in fact into every document that came before the convention. All who opposed their attempts were freely called "politicians" by the I. W. W. supporters. If to desire that the party shall function for the workers at its highest power politically, if to work to the end that we shall have the greatest number of socialists in office and the greatest number of legal measures that are good for the working class, is to be a politician, then I am proud to be a politician.

Mayor Van Lear of this city recently vetoed the so-called sabotage ordinance which was aimed at the I. W. W. and at the right of free speech and free assemblage. If the city council overrode this veto, that is because we have too few socialist councilmen to support the mayor's position. It is because we have too little political action, and not because political action avails us nothing. We should have no superstitions about political action. It can do some things, and others, the most important things, the workers will have to do through the power of their economic organizations acting at the ballot box as well as in the shop.

The comrades will do well to notice that early in the session of the convention the I. W. W. supporters introduced a resolution condemning the Non Partisan League. This resolution was voted down and the convention went on record as favoring the attitude of the national party toward the League. The national convention refused to condemn the League, nor did it approve the League, but it calls upon the socialist party to go about its own work of building up its own organization.

When the constitution was under discussion, those who wished to condemn the League voted to add to the party pledge the words "or organization"; that is, no person can be a member of the party who is affiliated with any other political party or organization. If the party allows the phrase "or organization" to stand in the pledge as it will be sent out for referendum, the door will be open for Secretary Sugarman and others to begin a campaign of expelling all socialists who have any connection with the Non Partisan League. The membership should investigate as to whether the League furthers or hinders the growth of socialism before it consents to go in to an active fight against the League. In North Dakota the party went into active opposition to the League and there the party is virtually dead. In South Dakota the party and the League work in harmony and both are growing apace. It may be that the farmers need such relief as the League organization can give them at this time and that after they have exhausted the possibilities of the League, they will be the more ready to come into socialism. At least we should not act in this matter without careful consideration.

Fraternalty yours,
ANNA A. MALEY.

Dear Comrade Carney,

Yours to hand and contents noted. It should be understood, that a Socialist platform under all conditions ought to convey the spirit and intent of the workers. By declaring for the fundamental principles of the movement, in clear terms of No Compromise, No Political Trading, and sticking to same, ignoring immediate demands, which in the last analysis are only vote-catching devices, to attract reformers and elect some of our candidates. And if the past is any criterion the policy of inserting immediate demands in our platform, proves conclusively, a sad

disappointment. Because the majority of our elected officials, have and still excuse their inability to carry out their promises, thus placing the membership on the defense, consequently wasting valuable time, that should be devoted to educating the workingclass.

Therefore, we should teach the workers, the ONE BIG ISSUE, namely, that when they organize their economic power, they can control the political power, and compel elected officials to do their bidding. But at present, when campaign time comes around, we devote money and energy to electing men to office, and generally lose a grand opportunity for education in seeking votes, which it itself would not be out of place, providing where our candidates were elected, they had the backing of the workingclass.

To carry out the demands formulated, consequently, it seems we could draw up a platform that would explain our position straight, dealing with the capitalist system, without educating the reformers by immediate demands, which they will grasp when the opportunity arrives, to play up with promises of enactment. Thereby displacing us by taking over our weapons, and using same to perpetuate the system that we wish to abolish. Experience has taught us they will dally with reforms, but never with our revolutionary demands.

TOM J. LEWIS.

Socialist Study Class.

(This class meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., in the Stack Building, room 116, all those who are not members are asked to attend, va-Public speaking is also on the program, besides the studies.)

The Workingclass Movement.

The modern workingclass movement is summed up in the struggle of the workingclass against the domination of the capitalists. This struggle has its source, not in the brain of the agitator, but in the social relations within which production is carried on, or more definitely stated, in the inevitable antagonism between Wage-Labor and Capital.

What Is the Workingclass?

Wage-Labor and Capital is the basis of the existing economic system, which, for short, we call Capitalism. This system has not always existed. It began about the close of the 16th century, in England, but only entered its general and more mature phase at the close of the 18th century. The modern workingclass is, therefore the product of this 19th century capitalism.

Of course there have been poor and workingclasses before the 19th century, but it is only with the advent of capitalism that the modern workingclass came into existence.

The modern wage-slave is marked off from the previous workers, eg. the ancient slave and the mediaeval serf, by the fact that he obtains his livelihood from the sale of his labor-power, and he is also thereby distinguished from those other members of society who get their livelihood from the profit of any capital. The whole existence of the workingclass depends upon the demand for its labor-power and, therefore, upon all the ups and downs of blind competition with all its alternate periods of "good and bad trade."

Surplus Value.

On the one side are the owners of capital, the capitalists, who are everywhere in possession of the life. On the other side are the wage-workers who, stripped of their means of production and therefore the means of subsistence, are forced to sell their labor-power to the owners of capital in order to obtain a livelihood. Wages are the price of labor-power, and present just sufficient subsistence to the keep the laborer returning to the labor market as a wage-worker. The worker is not paid according to the quantity of labor he expends, but according to the quantity of labor expended upon the food, clothing and shelter necessary to keeping him in working order for the master. The difference between the value created by labor in one day and the wages which he receives for that day, represents the surplus is, therefore, nothing but so much UNPAID LABOR.

More Profit, Less Wages.

The modern worker this figures in a double role, (1) as a seller of his labor-power, and (2) as buyer back to the product of his labor-power. The driving-force of the whole capitalist system is PROFIT. To increase the profit, the capitalist must increase the productive power of labor. The driving-force for

the raising this productive power, as well as for speeding up laborers, is machinery. The consequence is that the same number of laborers, or even a smaller number, turn out a greater quantity of products in a given time, than before.

On the other hand, the capitalist only employs the worker if he can make a profit of his labor, and the profit can only be increased by decreasing real wages, at least relatively.

Exploitation and its Result.

There is therefore, this contradictory result brought about by capitalism.—On the one side, labor turns out an increasing mass of products, on the other, the laborers' purchasing power, declining relatively to this increasing mass, becomes more and more inadequate for buying back the bulk of their own products.

On the basis of things increasing exploitation, there grows also and inevitably the increasing resistance of the exploited. That the antagonism and militancy as the years nism grows as these things grow in succeed one another.

Industrial Unions.

Already in the 18th century, the first industrial organizations arose in the form of local trade unions. In the 19th century these passed into what is known as national trade unions. In the 19th century these passed into what is known as national trade unions, and then into international unions, and still more into the various federations, such as the A. F. of L., the C. G. T. of France and the General Federation of Trade Unions in Britain. However the more intense struggles of the 20th century, the greater pressure of the big capitalists upon the workers has increasingly manifested the need for a superior form of combination to that of the craft. We see the trade unions compelled to revise their old form of organization, and to come together in industry more than before. In Duluth and Superior, the various craft unions in the shipbuilding industry find it necessary to meet together and decide upon a more concerted action, if they ever hope to enforce their demands. (To be continued)

YOUNG FOLKS ROUND TABLE

By BALKIS

(Editor of The Little Comrade, Chicago.)

Dear Young Friends:

This time, I am writing to you about "Eling in Jail." I hope none of you will ever have to go, still there are worse things.

Next week, we shall have a letter that was written by a young man who has been in jail for almost a year. He will soon be out in the free again, and you may imagine he will be glad to see the sunshine and hear the birds sing. He is not in jail for doing any thing wrong, but for trying to help the workers to get better working conditions, which does not please the men who make profit off labor. You will enjoy reading his letter, which was written behind bars.

There will also be letters from readers of TRUTH who want to come to our Round Table Talks and take part in the Questions and Answers. Let us hear from YOU.

BEING IN JAIL.

Being in jail is hard luck, but is no longer a disgrace. Time was when only criminals were put in jail in our country. That was bad enough, Goodness knows, for one of the poorest ways to make a man be good is to be mean to him. Time will surely come when criminals will not be sent to jail but to the doctor. Maybe time will come when there will not be any criminals at all. Things are so up-side-down in these promiscuous times that criminals grow like worms in rotten fruit.

When we kids are grown up we're going to make it so easy and pleasant to earn a living and to be lovely that no one will try to steal or kill or tell lies for a living. But while we are waiting for that time to come we must to the best we can for the criminals we have. And we must not forget that there are many men and women in jail at this time who are not criminals at all.

We are now living in a time when men and women are being sent to jail for writing and speaking what they believe to be the truth. It used to be that only in Russia and other despotic countries men were put in prison for saying what they thought. But that has changed. We are getting as fine a collection of political prisoners as a tyrannical monarchy where one man sits on a throne and

makes rules for all the people.

Did you ever have any one tell you to "Shut up" when you wanted very much to talk and ask questions? You didn't like it did you? That is just the way we feel on being told that we must not write or say a thing that the men we elected to office do not want us to write or say.

The wise father lets his boy talk, even if he doesn't always speak wisely or well.

And our wise fore fathers had it written in our constitution that no one should stop us from speaking our thoughts. So, we go on thinking for ourselves and saying all we dare and some times we are sent to jail—but there is one thing worse than that.

Worse than going to jail is having one's head in jail and feet out. When a man is in jail he may not come and go as he likes but he can send his thoughts to the ends of the earth. But if he can let his thought out it is like having his head in jail.

Different folks have different ways. Some had rather be in jail and let their thoughts out, while others are willing to bottle up their thoughts and keep their mouths shut in order to keep their feet out of jail. Some think more of their heads, others, of their feet. Then, too, some don't have any thoughts. They just believe like their fat friends, do, without bothering to think.

Some are afraid to say what they think. They are afraid we will find out they are wrong. They put their thoughts in prison, lock them up securely and throw away the key. They think the same old musty thoughts over and over because they are afraid to let any of them go or let any new thoughts in.

We can't very well make up thoughts out of our own heads. The way to keep our thoughts new and fresh is to learn new facts go new places, see new people, read new books, try new stunts. If we are afraid to do this, our heads are in jail, even if our feet are free.

Let us remember this when we find boys and girls who are afraid to think or to say what they think. Maybe we can help them to get their thoughts to think and speak for themselves maybe they can help us to make America safe for Democracy.

GAME.

Draw a large donkey. Cut the tail off and make several of them. Blindfold each player, one at a time, and let him start toward the donkey on the wall and pin the tail on as nearly right as he can. It is lot of fun for the rest, and a prize may be given the one most nearly right. Another funny game is to let each player try to draw the picture of a pig without looking at the paper. Don't forget to put in an eye or two.

Did you ever notice a heavy fog settle softly over the earth hiding everything and then as mysteriously rise and disappear? Here is a word picture of a fog, in the new kind of poetry, by Carl Sandburg.

FOG.

The fog comes
on little cat feet.

It sits looking
over harbor and city
on silent haunches
and then moves on.

PROLETARIAN VIEWS.

"Killed in Action"—Fifteen miners drowned in a Michigan mine on February 21.

Street car men in St. Paul fail to get their old jobs back at their old pay, under old conditions as recommended by the mediation board. We regard this attitude of the street railway company as pro-German, disloyal, traitorous, atrocious and inimical to the best interests of the country.

"Killed in action"—Railway flagman at Brainerd run down and killed by freight cars.

Commercial Club plans send off for drafted men—"Bood-bye boys, God bless you." Hot air patriotism.

"Killed in action"—Miner at Feigh mine at Ironton falls to bottom of mine shaft—loose beam.

Commercial movement is interested in Boy Scout movement. Socialists should take the hint and get interested in the proletarian boy movement.

"Killed in action"—Two men killed in boiler explosion at the Republic Iron and Steel Plant at East Chicago.

Armour, et al aid and support the government; they would never consider for a moment cheating the government. But, they swindle their wage slaves and hornswoggle the people.

Why Socialist Leave Home

Scandinavian Local.

The Scandinavian Local meets every Tuesday in the Woodman Hall, for their usual business meeting. Every Sunday eve, they hold their weekly entertainment. On Thursday and Wednesday they also run a dance in the Woodman Hall.

The Scandinavian Womens' Section of the Local hold their business and get-together meeting, on the first Thursday in every month. All women members of the local are urged to attend, mental and physical needs attended to.

The Scandinavian Local also runs a Childrens' Study Class, every Sunday morning, from ten to eleven, this class has for its teacher the Editor. All children are welcome and comrades themselves are urged to come along with their children. Lessons are given, so that any child can understand them. Note the address, 116 Stack Building.

Jewish Local

The Jewish Local meets every second Thursday, their next meeting will take place on March 21st 8 p. m.

The Ladies Auxiliary, composed of members of the Party and the Workmens' Circle, meets every second Monday, their next meeting will be on March 18th. All women comrades are urged to attend these meetings, as many well-known local speakers will address them.

The Headquarters of these two societies is 22 East First Street.

English Locals.

The West End Local meets every second Tuesday in room 116 Stack Building, their next meeting will be held on March 19th.

The City Branch meets every second Wednesday in the Tarmo Hall. Their next meeting will be held on March 12th.

Jewish Radicals Open Their New Headquarters.

The Workmens' Circle, Jewish Socialists and the Ladies Auxiliary met last Sunday, from two until midnight, and opened up their new headquarters at 22 East First Street.

Many comrades were present including, Comrade Booth, representing the Superior Branch of the Workmens' Circle, Max Meyers (not forgetting his Yipsel) sister Besie, representing the Jewish Local and Comrade Litman representing the Duluth branch of the Workmens' Circle. Comrade Buckman spoke and urged the members to establish a good library, so that we could educate the workers. Comrade Wakefield, strayed into the assembly and spoke to the comrades present, congratulated them upon their fine turn-out and urged for more organization amongst the workers. Say, you young comrades get busy, Comrade Wakefield is putting some of you to shame.

Of course we forgot to mention the fact that Comrade Singer spoke, what would a Jewish meeting be without Singer?

Close upon \$250 was realized for the benefit of the Labor Lyceum, and over thirty dollars worth of refreshments was sold. If we had an English local as active as the Jewish local, there would be something doing.

Do not forget the Party meeting at Tarmo Hall Sunday 2 P. M. Sharp. The Scandinavian Local held their

usual weekly entertainment last Sunday and gave a comedy playlet entitled "Three Policemen in Love." Although we were not able to understand what the players were saying, we enjoyed the acting. We do not blame the policemen for falling in love, Comrade Erickson, with her winsome manners, would make anyone fall in love, never mind three policemen. You should have seen Comrade Berg swallowing the soup, God help Simpson if he has to keep those three policemen any length of time. He will have to fire his housekeeper Eugania, or those three policemen will eat him out of house and home. We want to congratulate the Scandinavian comrades on their fine performance, they were a credit to the local. A packed house gave them round after round of applause. Sure, the editor also spoke.

HOW TO BEAT THE HIGH COST OF DRESSING.



The above is a photo of Anna Johnson, in her masquerade ball dress. It was made from three copies of the TRUTH. Surely no one would object to paying fifteen cents for dressing material. Anna, remember what we told you at the Woodman Hall last Sunday.

City Central Committee.

They hold their meetings every other Wednesday, their next meeting will take place in the Tarmo Hall, March 26th.

Social Study Class has been arranged and takes place every Sunday afternoon and is held in the Stack Building, room 116. All are asked to attend, women and men comrades, good discussions and budding speakers are the order of the afternoon. The Editor will speak on "Party Propaganda" on March 17th.

Do not forget the general Party meeting on March 10th. At this meeting the report of the delegates who attended the state convention will be discussed. Questions such as the Non-Partisan League and the Party, also should we endorse the I. W. W., will be discussed and as there is difference in the Party on these two questions a good discussion is expected. Do not fail to attend.

DO NOT FORGET THE GENERAL PARTY MEETING ON SUNDAY 19TH, TARMO HALL, 2 P. M.

500 PAIR OF UNION MADE DRESS & WORK SHOES, Carried over from last year will sell at last years prices.

Comrade A. Y. LITMANS Clothing Store
1831 W. Superior Street. Remember the place.

"Killed in action"—Car repaired at Cloquet struck by a jack lever. Packer Morris did not arrive at a decision on the wage demands of his slaves—he decided to arbitrate—right'o it's cheaper.

"Killed in action"—Craner on steam shovel at Taconite struck on head by a chain.

Minnesota Tax conference in Minneapolis—proletarians take note.

"Killed in action"—Miner at Crosby crushed by a cave-in.

Commercial Club will select candidates for the state legislature—proletarians ineligible.

American Institute of Mining Engineers discuss safety and welfare work for "employees"—than you.

Do not forget the general Party meeting in Tarmo Hall Sunday 2 P. M.

W. E. TOWNE.

QUICK SHOE REPAIR SHOP

SAM BERMAN, Prop.
WE REPAIR ALL KINDS OF SHOES AT REASONABLE PRICES
24 N. First Ave. East, DULUTH, MINN.

Scandinavian Socialist Local meets every Tuesday night 8 o'clock at the Woodman Hall 21st ave. W. 1st st. Axel Westholm, Sec. 4010 W. 7th st. Open meetings. Every body welcome.

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WILL ALL COMRADES

of Lakeside Scandinavian Club members of The Central Committee meet on Friday Evening, Mar. 15th. Business—Tom Lewis Meetings Tarmo Hall.

With Easter close to hand You can not do any better than place Your order for that Easter Suit at

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Superior Scandinavian Local

Local No. 55
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EVERYBODY WELCOME.

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Each Tuesday and Friday Evening.
Beginning at 9 P. M. Admission:
Ladies 10c Gentlemen 25c. Good
Music and Pleasant Company. Come
and Bring Your Friends with You.
Keep Good Time and Enjoy Yourself
while You are Young.

B. M. HANSEN

Meat Market.
Headquarters for all imported
fish.
1909 West Superior St.

SUPERIOR NEWS

Branch No. 1 of the Socialist Party of Superior is giving its First Annual Ball in Tower Hall on Monday evening, March 11th. Music for the occasion will be furnished by Archambaults Orchestra. Tickets are 75 cents and one extra lady free.

The socialistic study club, recently organized by Branch No. 1 of Superior, has not been attended by the members as well as it should have been attended, but Com. Polin hopes to see more comrades attend the meetings hereafter. The study club meets in Room No. 106 in the Työmieks Building, on the first, second and third Wednesday evenings of each month. The meetings are free and open to every comrade wishing to study and discuss socialism with his fellow comrades.

DEMOCRACY IS "UNCONSTITUTIONAL"

Unless it is ordered by the courts there will be no election to determine the question of changing Superior's form of government from the present commission form to one embracing a mayor and 10 commissioners, one from each ward. This decision was announced by Mayor J. S. Konkki, following the receipt of an opinion on the constitutionality of the so-called Bradley act, given by H. V. Gard, corporation counsel. The Bradley act gave authority for the proposed change in the form of government and in accordance with its provisions, two separate petitions, asking for the election, have been circulated and filed with the city clerk. The first petition was rejected on grounds of its insufficiency and action on the second has been delayed pending the decision which has no been denounced by the city attorney.

That the Bradley act is special legislation, intended to effect the amendment of a special charter granted to the city of Superior, and as such, is in violation of an amendment to the state constitution passed in 1862, is the ground given by the city attorney for advising that an election be not held.

The city attorney, H. V. Gard, in his opinion touches upon the fact that it would be easier from a political standpoint for the commission to call an election but says, "But it is needless for us to say that the political aspect does not justify a breach of official duty and burdening the taxpayers with the expense of a special election, to say nothing of taking chances of having the city government thrown into endless confusion."

"In the face of so strong an opinion as this, we cannot call an election," Mayor Konkki declared. "We will be glad to have the matter taken up in the courts where it will doubtless be settled."

R. H. Bradley, father of the law which bears his name and others who have been interested in circulating the petitions calling for a special election have already signified their intention of taking the matter into the courts.

The Trades and Labor assembly of Superior was very much interested in circulating the petitions for a vote on the Commission form of government. It has appointed a committee to engage legal talent to fight the case in the courts.

If labor in Superior had sense enough to elect real democrats—candidates endorsed by the socialist

party—into city offices, it would not be necessary to resort to capitalistic courts of capitalistic law to bring into action one of the fundamental principles of democracy—the referendum.

Labor still has the opportunity to vote out the unscrupulous bunch in the city hall who declare the referendum "unconstitutional."

City Central Committee.

The Committee met at Työmieks Editorial Room, there were present Comrades, Nelson, Cleveland, Lilla, Viita, Tenhunen, Carney, Ronn, Booth and Harris.

Twenty-six applications were considered and passed upon.

Committee on Million Dollar Fund requested to report complete at the next meeting of the Committee.

Matter of supporting Truth was discussed and referred to the branches, urging them to act upon same.

Motion was passed, that all branches in Superior send in a list of their members to the Secretary. The same list to contain all vital facts relative to the members, such as citizenship, trade, etc.

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.

Amendments to the platform were considered and passed upon, as follows,—while endorsing candidates for election the Socialist party wishes to impress the fact that it is the principle of the party, as set forth in the foregoing, that should be considered. The virtues that determine the qualifications of such candidates are the virtues of working-class loyalty. Other parties had "good men" and formulate platforms purely as vote-catching propositions. Their platforms are made for "good men" to run on before the election and run away from after the election.

Considering the industrial development of capitalism into great trusts and combines and the modern method of a unity of capitalists to oppress the working class in its struggles for better living conditions, the times demand an organization of labor, adequate to meet these newer conditions, if the workingclass is to progress rather than retrograde. We, therefore urge upon the workers the necessity of adopting the industrial form of organization, in which every craft, tradesman and laborer cooperate both on the industrial and political field.

This does not mean that Socialist Party indorses any particular labor union, but that we do approve of the industrial form of organization, in which every industry shall be organized to include every worker employed in such industry.

It was decided to bring Tom Lewis to speak at the Tower Hall on March 17th. Special Committee was appointed to arrange for the distribution Special Edition of Truth.

Also decided to arrange for meeting on March 10th Tower Hall, Comrades Harris and Carney (Editor Truth) to address the meeting. Committee appointed to arrange meetings in all parts of the City.

Thousand copies of the Eye-opener were ordered, the Special Capture-your-city edition.

Report on the candidates who were filed was read and accepted. Nominations for Mayor, Six Supervisors and Constable were filed.

Do not forget to come and hear Tom Lewis March 17th Tower Hall. 8 P. M.

Tom Lewis speaks Tower Hall Sunday Evening 17th.

ENGLAND FEELING HIGH COST OF FOOD

Letter From Devonshire Woman Reveals Distressing Conditions.

A woman in West Devonshire, England, writes an interesting account of conditions in that country in a letter to her son, who is employed in the United States. Her letter, dated Dec. 30, 1917, says:

"Dear Son: In answer to your kind letter I am thankful to hear you are well. After these very hard times it does not matter if we have the money. No tea, butter or margarine, lard or bacon, only in very small lots.

"We are going to get sugar cards New Year's day. We are to get a half pound each person a week. Everything is at a terrible price. Eggs are 4 shillings 6 pence a dozen. Butter, 2 shillings 6 pence a pound. No meat under 2 shillings a pound.

"I bought a small pig in the summer by the leavings of the garden

and a little meal, I managed to get it to 190 pounds, so I salt it down. It had to be done very quietly, for the government would be after it.

"I can tell you it is terrible in London and all large towns. Nearly all shops are closed. Sometimes there are 200 or 300 gathered around the shops for food. If this war doesn't soon end there will be war among ourselves. In Wales it's just as bad. The bread is simply rotten and doesn't suit people that are not young any more. I don't know what people will do. The villages around here are full of young widows."

FRENCH SOCIALISTS SEE

EARLY COMING OF PEACE

Paris.—L'Humanite, official organ of the French Socialists, is hopeful of an early termination of the war, saying: "This is the hour when Socialists see approaching the solutions of their problems both at home and abroad. It is the hour when the war comes to an end and peace is to be settled, and the Socialists, by their union, serve at the same time the interests of the republic, of France, and of humanity."

HENDERSON RAPS GOMPERS' STAND ON CONFERENCE

British Labor Head Scores American Refusal to Attend Allied Convention.

London—Arthur Henderson, secretary of the British Labor party, indignantly scored American and other labor leaders who, he was told, are saying that the British labor movement does not want an international Socialist and labor conference.

These misrepresentations, not corrected by English labor men who are now in the United States, sent by the British government and not representing the British Trade Union congress or the British Labor party, also aroused Henderson. He said that if the labor men now in the United States were criticizing him, "it was a waste of government money."

It will be remembered that Henderson was thrown out of the cabinet because he was in favor of the Stockholm conference and hearty aid to the revolutionary Russian government, which would have prevented the present situation in Russia.

Scores Gompers' Attitude.

He scores the vacillation of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, for first inviting the belligerents to an international conference and then refusing to join one, when the United States became a belligerent.

A mission representing the entire Socialist international group of the allied nations is to start for the United States. It is believed that because the entire delegation, one each from Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and possibly one from Russia, is Socialist, that Gompers refuses to recognize it.

Labor must meet during the war, says Henderson, and if Gompers is afraid to send delegates to Europe the Inter-Allied Socialist and Labor conference is sent one to the United States to meet with the Socialist party and that part of the American Federation of Labor which is willing to discuss democratic terms of peace.

Emile Vandervelde of Belgium was amazed when told of the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the conference.

Henderson Explains Purpose.

Henderson explained the purpose of the mission to the United States by saying:

"We want to find out what is back of this decision of Gompers and the American Federation. We can quite understand there may be difficulties of travel, but if they won't come to us we will go to them.

"It is necessary, if we expect to hold a conference when the peace conference meets, that we should be organizer in time. To that end we must hold the first conference during the period of hostilities. It may not be mandatory, but simply conversational."

Gompers fears that the Socialist party will capture the entire delegation when it gets here, and with the aid of government agents, who work with him, he is doing his best to prevent this, it is believed.

3,000,000 IN ARMENIA, TURKEY, PERSIA, SYRIA NOW FACE STARVATION

New York—Information that 3,000,000 persons in Turkey, Armenia, Persia and Syria now face death by starvation has been received here by the Presbyterian board of foreign missions. In addition a cablegram from United States Minister John L. Caldwell at Teheran, transmitted today to the board by the state department, says:

"Beggars multiply and hundreds swarm the streets piteously crying for food and at times in their desperation assaulting those beseeched. Similar conditions are reported from all provinces and cities of Persia."

According to Charles E. Vickery, secretary of the Armenian relief committee here, conditions are expected to grow worse before the harvest which is not due for four or five months.

"There are 350,000 Armenian refugees in the Russian Caucasus," centered about Erivan near Mount Ararat. The famine is so distressing that even the once warlike Kurds have been driven by starvation to seek succor of the people they have been accustomed to pillage and rob. Thousands of persons congregate daily outside of all the relief stations begging food."

SPEECH DELIVERED IN BRITISH PARLIAMENT BY P. SNOWDEN SOCIALIST REPRESENTATIVE

Mr. Snowden: I rise at once to respond to the request of the right hon. gentleman, the Leader of the Opposition. He wants to know what we mean by using the phrase, "No indemnities and no annexations." I have no hesitation in responding to the appeal of the right hon. gentleman to repeat what we understand is the meaning of these phrases. "No indemnities and no annexations." The right hon. gentleman put the question of "no indemnities" in some such form as this: that we meant to use that phrase as implying that no compensation and no reparation was to be given to devastated Belgium and the northern parts of France. The right hon. gentleman assumed—and I think correctly—that he might expect a straightforward answer to that question. I will give him a straightforward answer.

The Rights of Belgium.

We believe that compensation ought to be given to Belgium. We believe that Belgium should be fully restored. In regard to the general question of compensation outside Belgium, I think the proposal which has been made by the Russians, and which has been given as an interpretation of the phrase, is perhaps the best way of dealing with the matter. That is, that a general fund to which all the belligerents shall contribute, should be created, and that this should be distributed by some International Commission, and that each of the belligerent nations should contribute out of this general fund in proportion to its ascertained responsibility for the damage. The Leader of the House also asked me to reply in regard to the use of the phrase "no annexations."

And of Alsace-Lorraine.

What, he asked, would we do in the case of Alsace-Lorraine? That is, indeed, a very easy question to answer. The other part of the formula, "that the people should have the right to decide their form of government."

The British Government in the Way of Peace.

Mr. Snowden: The time has come for plain speaking upon this question, and I do not hesitate to say, after the speech of the Leader of the House this afternoon, that it is the British Government more than any other of the belligerents now at war which is standing in the way of an early settlement.

The Rising of Popular Discontent.

The right hon. gentleman may go on talking the ordinary platitudes about this being a war for peace and freedom, but every day fewer people in the country are being pulled by talk like that. The right hon. gentleman said that we represent a small and negligible opinion in this country. He began his speech by saying that we do not live in a world of realities. It is the Government who do not live in a world of realities. They do not know what is going on in the country. They do not know of the change that is rapidly coming over the minds of the minds of the people of this country. They know nothing of the scores of great demonstrations held in all parts of the country every week, attended by thousands of people, at which resolutions are unanimously passed denouncing the war and demanding that the Government shall at once enter into negotiations for peace.

Soldiers Disillusioned.

But surely if the Government are ignorant of that they ought to know something of the discontent in the Army. They ought to know something of the change that has come over the opinions of soldiers on this question. The hon. member for Mayo (Mr. Dillon) speaking in this House two days ago, spoke of what one might almost call a mutiny amongst the troops at Salonika. Hundreds and thousands of soldiers are in prison through indiscipline. Every day I get letters from soldiers at the front, and they are all in the same tone. Letters recently have differed in one respect from letters I formerly got. Formerly they said, "For Heaven's sake, don't mention my name," but now they say, "You can publish this letter. You can print my name and address. I do not care who knows." Now that is the state of feeling, that is the disillusionment in the British Army today, and it is a great deal worse in France.

Danger of Revolution in France.

If the Government know anything at all about the state of the French Army, they know that the soldiers have practically taken control of the Army, that they are refusing to obey orders, and any penetrating intelligence in France will tell you that if the war goes on very much longer we shall have in France what we have had in Russia. We shall have a revolution, for the French soldiers are already saying what the Russian soldiers declared, "We will not go into the trenches for what we think is a war having Imperialistic aims and aggressions." The Leader of the House says we are living in a world of unrealities. It is the Government who are living in a world of unrealities, and they will be rudely awakened before long.

The Military Situation.

The right hon. gentleman this afternoon subscribed to the policy of attrition. What is the prospect before us, then? Speaking in this House eighteen months ago upon a peace motion, I put this question to the Government, after having dealt with the hopelessness of a military victory. I said, "If at the end of 12 or 18 months the military system is no more hopeful than it is today, what are you going to say to us; are you still going on?" I repeat that question today.

As a matter of fact, from the military point of view, this war came to an end in October, 1917. There has practically been no change since then. We were told by Sir Douglas Haig at the beginning of the spring that he was going to break through the German lines, and three days after the Commander-in-Chief had published that foolish declaration to the world the War Office issued to the leading newspapers of this country a memorandum, a copy of which I have seen, telling the newspapers that there was no hope of a military triumph this summer, and that the policy of the newspapers should be to prepare the people for a war of attrition.

The Casualties of "Attrition."

What does a war of attrition mean? During the last 12 months we have had nearly a million casualties. Are the Government ready to tell us how many men we have lost in this war? But this we do know according to the daily figures published by the War Office, that from July 1 last year, when that push began, up to the end of June this year, the British had suffered 830,000 casualties. By this time it must be approaching a million, and for what military result?

So far as the hope of a military victory in this war is concerned, all those lives have been absolutely thrown away; and if you go on there is no more hope that at the end of another 12 months the military situation will be more hopeful than it is today. As a matter of fact it will not, but you will have sacrificed a million more men and added two or three thousand millions to the National Debt.

Towards National Bankruptcy!

The right hon. gentleman, the Leader of the House, told us not long ago that this country, rich as it is, could not indefinitely bear the strain of this enormous expenditure on the war. We are going to have a National Debt of 6,000,000,000 pounds at the close of this financial year, and we are told this afternoon that we must go on and on and on until our enemy is exhausted, Palmerston once used the expression that it would be the man who could hold out ten minutes longest who would be successful, but at the end of that ten minutes that man, too, would be dead. And if this nation is going to accept the policy put forward by the Leader of the House this afternoon then it means absolute ruin financially, and it means that we are going to continue the drain on the lives of the manhood of the nation for no practical purpose whatever. With all the strength at my disposal, Mr. Speaker, I protest against such a policy as that. In the name of our common humanity I say it is criminal, I say it is scandalous, and I will raise my voice against it. I say in the name of humanity we must stop this war now.

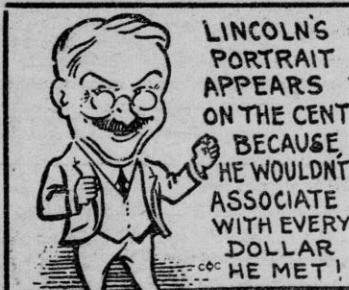
AUSTRIAN SOCIALISTS DEMAND DIPLOMATS CONSIDER U. S. AIMS.

Washington—When Count Czernin again answers President Wilson's peace proposals in the Austrian parliament he will have a new force to consider. This is the belief here Thursday following publication of a dispatch from the Hague telling of a Socialist demand for consideration in Austria of the American president's proposals.

Weariness of the war, together with a growing dissatisfaction with proposals that Austria join a new drive on Russia, is believed to be responsible for the demands.



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Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Superior, Wis.

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JACK CARNEY, EDITOR



Editorial



All unsigned articles are by the editor.
All correspondents are requested to send their names not for publication, but as an evidence of good faith.
All news and meeting reports to be in by Tuesday morning.
Advertisements accepted up to Wednesday evening.

DEAR READER,

We want two hundred dollars (\$200) at once. Will you do your bit and send us at least one dollar. The need is very urgent, if we can tide over the next two months our success is assured. Act quickly and help us to firmly establish Truth in Minnesota.

Faternally Yours,

THE EDITOR.

WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, whose name is Labor and whose voice is Time's own thunder, what of this midnight of universal madness? What of this night when all the winds of all the ways of the world are sobbing "like captive souls chained in dark caverns of fear," and the mother heart of Humanity quails before a dread whose birthplace is the graveyard of Hope?

Watchman, what of the night? What of the battle-fields of Europe? What of the millions of men who come from every land to dig their trenches and launch Death and Hell and Damnation? What of the carnage that rolls like a flood of hatred along every battlefield? What of the submarines that lurk in supreme cowardice beneath the surfaces of the deep, write into the records of the world madness the success of their diabolical sabotage, sink millions of irrecoverable wealth to the ocean's depths and fill the world with lamentations for lives ruthlessly destroyed.

Watchman, whose name is Labor, what of such a night? Was it for this a million years ago and more the brute-man stood erect with the sunlight of a new day in his eyes? Was it for this the race came down from the trees, marched from the swamps and the caves, and triumphed over the wild life of the forests? Was it for this the villages were built, the towns developed, the teeming cities established? Was it for this the world's mighty civilisation arose? Was it for this Labor through thousands of slave-cursed years struggled and endured and bled and died? Was it for this the marvels of science were achieved—the telescope swept the heavens, and men analysed the stars and measured the speed of the lightning's flash? Was it for this the great steamships were sent thrashing and throbbing across all the oceans to link up the uttermost ends of the earth, and the railroads laid across river chasms and driven through the rocky hearts of the everlasting mountains for the annihilation of the land distances? Was it for this men conquered the air, unravelled its secrets, and sent wireless wordwonders flying through space? Watchman, what of the night in which all the great discoveries of Science that might have been applied for the benefit of the race are used for destruction both of life and wealth?

Watchman, what of the night in which a handful of men control the world's politics and its destinies, and saw whether and when there shall be war or peace? What of the night in which these few hold in the hollow of their hands the control of all the world's industries and operate them for their own material gain and with scant regard for the well-being of the race? What of the millions who toil and slave from the morning of life till night of darkness and death for a pittance—for just so much of the abundance they produce as will enable them to keep body and soul together? What of the huge army of men, women, and children whose lives are needlessly sacrificed on the fields of industry in order that production might be cheapened and profits increased? What of the immense fortunes accumulated by the drones and parasites of society, who toil not neither do they spin, and whose lives are wasted in rounds of luxury, frivolity and often in debauchery?

Watchman, what of the night? What of such a night? And the Watchman whose name is Labor and whose voice

is Time's own thunder, replies: "THE MORNING COMETH." Already "the wings of dawn are beating at the gates of day." In Russia they are beating very loudly, and soon the Eastern gates shall swing on sunlit hinges. What of the Night? Capitalism is the Night. Out of Capitalism and along with it came wage-slavery and the oppression of the Many by the Few. Out of the accumulated values stolen by the Few from the Many came the need for world markets. Out of the need for world markets came the struggle for territorial expansion; and out of that struggle came national hatreds and armaments firms and secret diplomacy; and out of the aggregation of these came War, with dripping fangs and bleary eyes—War, with its far-flung battle-lines, which has made of Europe one vast graveyard, and of the world a house of mourning. Capitalism is doomed. The night will pass; the morning cometh when the Many will no longer slave for the Few. In that new day Each will labor for All. "Then all mine and thine shall be ours." And wars will never again come to curse mankind with their madness; for when Labor has ended the rule of Capitalism it will have translated into national and international practice the great principle of PEACE ON EARTH—GOOD WILL TO MEN.—THE MORNING COMETH.

(Dedicated to our Ex-Comrades English Local)

JOIN IN THE MARCH

By BERTON BRALEY

If you're game to fight, with no end in sight,
And never a band to play;
If you're fit to toil with no hope of spoil,
And the toiling itself for pay;
If you'll bear the irk of the thankless work,
Of the making the dream come true;
If you'll march along through a hooting throng,
That bellows its oath at you;
If you'll learn to meet each new defeat,
In the gritty old grin of yore,
And lift your lance, in a new advance,
With hardly a chance to score.
Then you're just the breed that we sorely need.
You're one of our kith and kin.
So get the swing of the song WE sing,
And join in the march—FALL IN.

We promise no loot to the young recruit,
No glory, no praise, no fame;
No gold you gain, in this long campaign,
But plenty of jeers and blame.
The quarters are mean and the rations lean,
The service is harsh and grim;
The war is on, from dusk till dawn,
From the dawn till the twilight dim;
But there's ever the cheer of a comrade near,
And the touch of his sturdy arm.
And his help in call, if you faint or fall,
Where the harrowing foeman swarm.
If you scorn reward, for the fight that's hard,
If you'd rather be right than win,
Then get the swing of the song WE sing,
And join in the march—FALL IN.

If comradeship of heart, not lip,
Is more to your taste than cash;
If ancient frauds and tinsel gods,
Are idols you long to smash;
If your patience breaks at the honored fakes,
That the puffy priests have decked;
If you're not content, till the veil is rent,
And the temple of lies is wrecked;
Then your place is made in our stern brigade,
That never can halt or pause,
Till the war is done and the fight is won,
The fight for the human cause,
So take your place, get our step and pace,
In spite of the old world's din,
And get the swing of the song WE sing,
And join in the march—FALL IN.

THE NEWS TRIBUNE G-G-G-G-GROWS AGAIN!

The News Tribune comes out with another attack upon the Socialist Party, and charges us with being disloyal and all manner of things. The News Tribune knows better than its readers know, that the Socialist Party is more loyal to the ideals of the Republic, than any other political party in the city of Duluth. But it is the business of the News Tribune to lie and vomit forth its abuse each day, if it did not do this, it would go out of business tomorrow. John Swinton, who was one of America's most beloved journalists, was once tendered a banquet by his fellow-editors and surprised his hosts by the following words,—

"There is no such thing in America as an independent press, you know and I know it. There is not one of you who dares to write his honest opinions, and if you did you know beforehand that it would never appear in print.

"The business of the Journalist is to deliver the truth to lie outright, to pervert, to villify, to fawn at the feet of Mammon, and to sell his race and his country for his daily bread.

"You know this and I know it, and what folly is this to be toasting an 'Independent Press.'

"We are tools and vassals of rich men behind the scenes. We are the jumping jacks; they pull the strings and we dance. Our talents, our possibilities and our lives are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes."

So you Mr. News Tribune Editor remain loyal to the traditions of your set, and so those of us, who know you and your set, we are not one bit surprised at your attack upon the Socialist Party.

You who represent the opinion of the capitalist class, take it upon yourself to question the loyalty of the ONLY workingclass political party in the city of Duluth. You dare not come out from out of that of editorial sanctum of yours, you hide behind your paper to throw out your abuse and in so doing you prove what a craven coward you are. At any time, we of the Socialist Party are prepared to defend our position in this war, we are not afraid of public discussion, it is only you and your set that create Safety (?) Commissions to stifle discussions, that are afraid. The editor of this paper is prepared to debate with you, before a public audience, on the question raised by your editorial, namely, "Is the Socialist Party LOYAL?"

Let us examine your bunch of supporters, the Republicans and the Democrats, how loyal have they been in this war? What have they done in the interests of the great mass of people, who go to make up these United States? It can be said without fear of contradiction, that not one single member of the Socialist Party of Duluth, has made one dollar profit out of the present war, can the same be said of the Republican and Democratic parties? We make this accusation, that the American business interests used this terrible world tragedy for their own greedy ends and furthermore they have coined the blood of the nations into dollars. The political reflex of these interests, Mr. News Tribune Editor, is the Republican and Democratic parties whom you serve, and it is you, that has the unblushing effrontery to accuse the Socialist Party, the political reflex of the workingclass, of being "disloyal." You speak about Patriotism and Loyalty, have you any idea what these words mean? Patriotism and Loyalty do not find their true expression in flag-waving, they find it in the devotion and the uttermost self-sacrifice of the people, to serve the interests of the great mass of people, who make up these United States. What does war mean to you and to those whom you represent, it means but one thing, and that is huge, red war profits. To the Socialist Party and the thousands of workers that it represents, it means broken bodies, weeping women, wailing children, hungry men and women, desolate villages, disease, desolation and death. We make no bones about it, we are for peace, we believe what Benjamin Franklin said many years ago, "There was never a good war or a bad peace."

Go where you will, there you will find the mark of capitalist greed, placing its dirty paw upon everything that it comes in contact with. Before the soldier is drafted, his food at home, the house he lives in, all bear this dirty mark. When he is drafted, the bed he sleeps on, the uniform the shoes he wears, and all necessary things that a soldier needs, all these carry that same miserable and dirty mark. When the soldier gets into the trenches, he still has that mark with him, it follows him no matter where he goes, if by chance he should have the misfortune to be stricken down on the field of battle, as the blood trickles through this bandage, it will share company with the mark of American capitalism, namely greed. And if the hand of death rests its hand upon his brow and he has got to be buried in foreign soil, there he will seek repose in a coffin made from lumber, that bears the mark of the greed of the American Lumber Trust. The spades that dig the soil, to make the hole to place the coffin in, they too will bear the mark of capitalist greed, that of the Steel Trust. The only party that dares to come out and tell the American people, the truth of all this, is the Socialist Party, and so we are branded "disloyal."

The Socialist Party of Minnesota in Convention assembled, affirmed its loyalty to the cause of Peace. But they are not for the peace that comes with the stoppage of this war, we are for the Peace that will stop all wars. We shall go on with our fight. Even though you bring your gunmen and shoot us down, the cause of the Socialist Party will still go on. We are too strong now, we have secured too firm a foothold for any party to kill our movement. From all over the world there comes the thousands of men, women and children who stand by us, unto death itself. You cannot silence us by poverty or sickness, not by hatred or obloquy, by threats or ridicule—not by prison or persecution—not by any power that is upon earth or above the earth that was, or ever can be created. The cause of Socialism is the cause of the disinherited and the oppressed. We speak for the millions, who are so downtrodden that they cannot give expression to what they feel and know to be true. With the voice of the children in our community, half-starved and denied a fair chance in life, with voice of the young girl walking the streets, beaten and starving, making her choice between the brothel and the river. With the voice of the old men and women beaten down in the struggle for existence. With the voice of all these, we are the most potent force for good in America. There is no power in America can stop our onward march, so Mr. News Tribune Editor vomit forth your abuse and "make hay while the sun shines," for as sure as the night follows the day, so sure will our cause be won.

Do not forget Party meeting Sunday Tarmo Hall 2 o'clock P. M.



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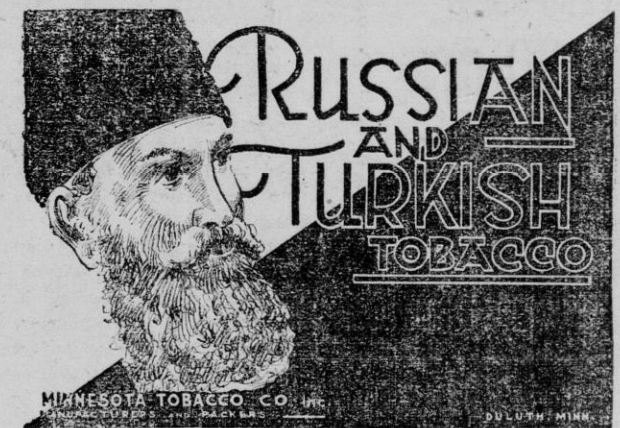
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Dow, St. Paul, for printing; \$4,193 to the Pinkerton Detective agency; \$333 to the Sweeney Detective agency, St. Paul, and \$30 to the Burns Detective agency.

Ambrose Tighe, special counsel for the commission, has collected \$240.78 as expenses. Payments for expenses of other members of the commission who serve without salary are: \$802 to John Lin; \$1,266 to J. F. McGee; \$1,251 to C. W. Ames; \$983 to C. J. March; \$418 to A. C. Weiss.

H. W. Libby, secretary of the commission, gets \$250 a month as salary.