

WE stand in the presence of a revolution—not a bloody revolution; America is not given to the spilling of blood—but a silent revolution, whereby America will insist upon recovering in practice those ideals which she has always professed, upon securing a government devoted to the general interests and not the special interests.—Woodrow Wilson in the New Freedom.

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WHOLE No. 79

"PEACE ON EARTH; GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN" CAN ONLY COME THROUGH SOLIDARITY SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS ON TRIAL



A WORD FOR JACK CARNEY
By EUGENE V. DEBS.

There is not a truer spirit, a braver fighter, a more uncompromising soul in the labor movement, than Jack Carney. I know him and I love him. He never falters, never wearies, never turns his face from the enemy. He is true to the core of his great heart to the working-class, and for this he has been slandered, persecuted, imprisoned, exiled and made to pay in full all the cruel penalties that a brutal system inflicts upon the heroic few who dare to question its despotic sway.

Jack Carney has been in prison in Europe for the working-class; he has been maligned, threatened, blacklisted, and driven to the verge of starvation for the working-class; he has been for years the target of master-class hatred and malice because of his rigid and unflinching loyalty to the working-class.

But he has never weakened, never whimpered, and never for one moment dipped his colors to the enemy. He has stood like the warrior, he is, through the thickest of the battle, out there, he stands today.

That's Jack Carney! And that's why the pirating plutocracy hate him and why every proletarian with red blood in his veins loves him!

And now they're going to put Jack into a convict's cell! That's their way of harassing our heroes.

Jack will not say it for himself, and so I must say it for him. He has stood by and pleaded for every one of us—but himself. He has given his all to the cause and now he needs a hand himself. Soon his case is to be called—January 14th. He must have legal defense. Of course Jack has no money. How can he have!

To you workers he has given all but his life. To you I appeal to send your dollars to defend in court and save from prison as true a comrade and valiant a warrior as ever gave his life to his class and to humanity.

Jack Carney, whose voice never fails and whose pen never falters when the cause of liberty needs a friend, is in the dock on trial. He is charged with breaking the espionage law and faces a prison-cell.

Readers of TRUTH, members of the Socialist Party, Socialists, workers, lovers of liberty, whoever and wherever you are, if you would defend your own rights and your own liberties, you must defend him. All the protection that can be given by the most efficient and complete defense must be his. Go down in your pockets and contribute all you can to the fund for his defense.

When the new day dawns it will be men like Jack Carney who are honored. Let us stand by them now and defend them during the dark hour.

MARY O'REILLY.

Merry Christmas

Xmas Day-is the day we celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ. A world full of mansions and slums; overfed pompous parasites and starving workers; jewelled bedecked poodle dogs and half-naked poor children; well-dressed society butter flies and scarlet women and all the rest of the vivid contrasts made possible by an insane system. The vast majority will sing praises in commemoration of the birth of this historical agitator, whilst his twentieth century prototype—Eugene V. Debs—prepares himself for a prison cell.

The mockery and the blatant hypocrisy of it all! Celebrating the birth of the Prince of Peace, whilst the fields of Europe are wet with the blood of the workers and fertilized with their dead bodies!

"Suffer the little children to come unto Me," and over two million child-slaves rotting their lives away in the industrial hells and sweatshops of America.

Woe unto ye rich, for it is easier for a camel to walk through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven," and ten thousand more millionaires made possible out of the huge red war profits.

So masters of America, pardon our paganism, if we do not look forward to Christmas coming with the same joyful spirit as you do. Yours the day to celebrate your triumph. Ours the day to pause and prepare for our future triumph. Rejoice and be exceedingly glad, for tomorrow will find you dethroned and the world living at peace. Rejoice today and make merry, for on the morrow we shall not forget.

For a million years brute man has stood erect and today he is fast awakening and stands with the sunlight of a new day in his eyes. This same brute man has come down from the trees, out through the swamps and the caves and has triumphed over the wild life of the forest. He has built the villages and bound them together and gave us the nation. Out of it all a world-wide "civilization" has been built. Through the millions of years Labor has struggled on and for the freedom of the world it has bled and died. The marvels of science have been achieved, all by the mighty hand of Labor. By the power of Labor men have swept the skies with the telescope and measured the lightning's flash. By the mighty power of Labor, steamships have been sent thrashing and throbbing across the ocean and brought the whole world together. By the mighty power of Labor railroads have been laid across mighty chasms and driven through the rocky hearts of everlasting mountains and annihilated distances. By the mighty power of Labor, the air has been conquered, its secrets unravelled and wireless wonder workers sent through the air. ALL the great discoveries of Science have been made possible by the same mighty power of Labor.

Watchman, what of the night in which a handful of men say whether we shall live or die? What of the night in which these few hold in the hollow of their hands the control of America's industries and operate them for their own material gain and with scant regard for the well-being of those who gave up their lives upon the field of Europe? What of the millions who toil and slave from the morning of life till the 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 armies of men, women and children whose lives are needlessly sacrificed in 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 such a night? And the watchman whose name is Labor and whose voice is time's own thunder, replies: "Ring out ye bells! Send forth your sweetest sounds for the long, long night is over. Gather ye together, workers of the world, and sing your songs and let your voices heard in the dawn of a bright tomorrow. In the morning, comrades, we witness the birth of a new day." Already the "wings of dawn are beating at the gates." In Russia they are beating loudly and the refrain is caught up in Germany, 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 War. War with its far-flung battle lines that made of Europe one huge graveyard and the world one huge house of mourning. War that wrecked our homes, destroyed the lives of our men and boys and blighted the lives of our women folk! Out of the War has come the death-knell of capitalism. Ring out once more, ye merry bells. Let your chimes inspire in the heart of every man, woman and child a feeling of hope. Today we stand together and make merry. Tomorrow we lay the foundation of the Co-operative Commonwealth. So let the bells send forth their sweetest chimes and whilst the glasses clink and the people make merry, take courage and remember that soon every day will be a holiday. Watchman, the long, long night is soon passing away and the morning cometh, bringing its message of cheer and good hope. "Peace on Earth, Goodwill to men."

OUR CHRISTMAS PRAYER.

Open my eyes to visions girt
With beauty, and with wonder lit—
But let me always see the dirt,
And all that spawn and die in it.

From compromise and things half-done,
Keep me, with stern and stubborn pride,
And when at last, the fight is won,
God, keep me still unsatisfied.

Yours, for the New Era,
THE EDITOR.

Open my ears to music; let
Me thrill with Spring's first flutes and drums—
But never let me dare forget
The bitter ballad of the slums.

GERMAN AGENT TALE BAR- RED IN SOCIALIST'S TRIAL

Defence of 5 Party Officials Out-
lined—Stedman Explains So-
cialism to Jury.

By David Karsner,
Staff Correspondent, N. Y. Call.

Chicago, Dec. 20.—The prosecution started off its case against the five National Socialist Party officials this afternoon by putting on the witness stand a former office boy, and later circulation hustler, for the American Socialist, and the Chicago editor in an effort to prove that the Socialists, particularly William F. Kruse, national secretary of the Yipsels, and J. Louis Engdahl, editor of the American Socialist, are guilty of conspiring against the government in war time.

The witness, Arnold A. Schueler, is now in the army service, stationed at Camp Robinson, Ill. The youthful prosecutor, John B. Fleming, had started to drag into the case the whole whimsy about German agents and German gold. This caused laughter in the courtroom, many of the spectators having recently read the list published by the department of justice of German agents. The names of Berger, Hillquit, Gerner and Bill Haywood do not appear among the galaxy of kaiser lovers.

Judge Landis ordered the reference to German agents in connection with the Y. P. S. L. stricken from the record, and told the jury to forget. Several reporters at the press table conferred among themselves as to whether they could take a chance and print the German agent story, anyway.

A story about the Young People's Socialist League considering building an underground railroad between the United States and Mexico to transport conscientious objectors into Carranza land came up through the ex-Socialist office boy.

Tells of Convention.

He told of a convention of the Yipsels in the summer of 1917 in a town near Chicago. He said Kruse had outlined a plan to the delegates of claiming exemption from the draft. Then, he said, he typewrote a secret code which, he avers, was patterned after the latest German model, and which Kruse, a man named Herman Bosler, and himself, proposed should be used on the subrosa conscientious objectors limited to Mexico.

He told of buying Tucker's "The Price We Pay"; "Why You Should Fight," the St. Louis proclamation and similar party leaflets from Adolph Gerner.

Being an office boy, he saw J. Louis Engdahl often in his office. He said he heard Engdahl once

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4)



ARBETARE FORENEN EDER!



Lenine Sees World Against Bolsheviki

But Hopes That Revolution in Other Countries Will
Save Russia for His Ideas

Addressing a joint meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Moscow Soviet and of other labor organizations held in Moscow on Oct. 22, about two weeks before the breaking out of the revolt in Germany which forced the abdication of the Kaiser and hastened the practical surrender of the German armies on Nov. 11, Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik Premier, as reported in the Berlin Tagwacht of Nov. 7, spoke as follows:

"Comrades, I believe our present situation, despite all the contradictions it contains, can be characterized by two theses: First, that we never before stood so near to the international proletarian revolution as at present; second, that we on the other hand never found ourselves in a more dangerous position than now."

"And the most serious part of our situation consists in the fact that the broad masses of the people are hardly aware of the danger that menaces us. Therefore, it must be one of the principal tasks of the Soviet representatives to make the present situation clear to the broad masses—no matter how difficult this task may sometimes be. The weightiest objection that was raised against the Soviet Government, not only by the bourgeoisie, but also from the ranks of the lower middle class that had lost faith in socialism, was that we allegedly had begun the socialist revolution in Russia in a reckless manner, as the revolution in Western Europe was not yet due."

Boasts of Bolshevik Work.

"Comrades, now in the fifth year of the world war the general collapse of imperialism is an evident fact; now it is clear that the revolution in all the belligerent countries is unavoidable. We, however, whose existence at the beginning was counted by days or weeks, at the most, have done more in this year of the revolution than ever has been done by any other proletarian party in the world. The bourgeoisie no longer denies that Bolshevism is now an international phenomenon. Of course, you know that the revolution has broken out in Bulgaria and that the Bulgarian soldiers are organizing councils, or Soviets, after the Russian model. Now comes the news that similar Soviets are in the process of being organized also in Serbia. The national bourgeoisie of the various small states of Austria will not be able to hold out. In Austria, too, the revolution of the workers and peasants is knocking at the door everywhere."

"In Germany the press already talks openly of the abdication of the Kaiser and the Independent Social Democratic Party now dares to speak of the German Republic. This certainly means something! The German revolution is already a fact. The military party talks about it openly. In East Prussia revolutionary committees have been formed; revolutionary slogans are being uttered. The Schiedemann gang will not remain at the helm very long; it does not represent the broad masses of the people, and the proletarian revolution in

Germany is inevitable."

So far as Italy is concerned, the revolutionary sentiment of the proletariat of that country is evident to us. When Gompers, the social patriot who has handed himself over to the bourgeoisie, visited the cities of Italy and preached patriotism to the workers, he was hissed out everywhere. During the war the Italian Socialist Party has taken a big step toward the Left."

"In France at the beginning of the war the number of patriots among the workers was only too great, for it was declared that the soil of France and Paris were menaced. But there, too, the attitude of the proletariat is changing. When a letter was read to the last convention telling what mischief the Entente was up to in Russia there were shouts of 'Long live the Russian Socialist Republic!' and 'Long live the Soviets!' Yesterday we got word that at a meeting held in Paris 2,000 metal workers greeted the Soviet Republic."

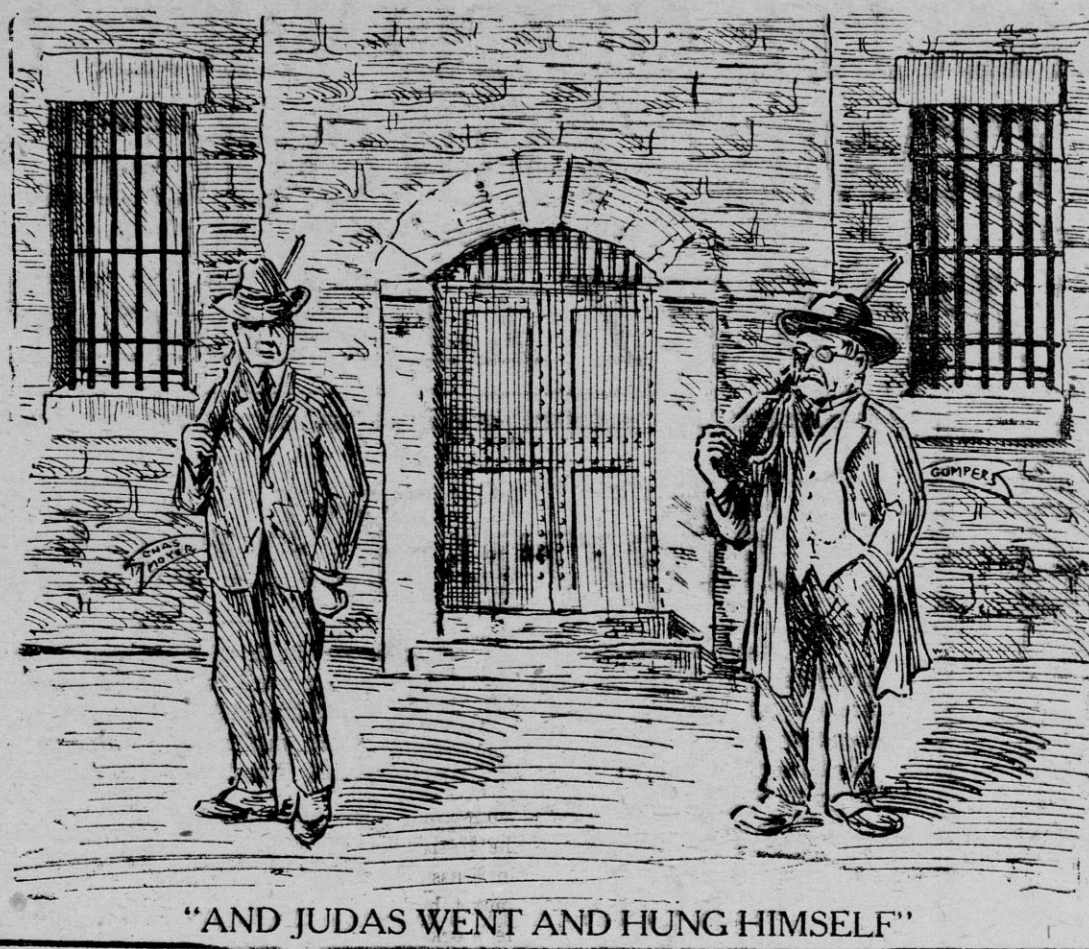
Sees Sympathy in England.

"And in England it is true that the so-called Independent Socialist (Labor?) Party has not openly entered into an alliance with the Bolsheviki, but its sympathies for us are constantly on the increase. The Socialist Labor Parties of Scotland have even come out openly for the Bolsheviki."

"This fact looms up before us entirely on its own initiative: Bolshevism has become a world theory and the tactics of the international proletariat. And the workingmen of all countries, who formerly read only the lying and calumnious articles and news reports of the bourgeois press, are now beginning to take stock of what is happening in Russia. And when last Wednesday a demonstration took place in Berlin, and the workers—in order to show their ill-will toward the Kaiser—wanted to march in front of his palace, they then went to the Russian Embassy in order thus to announce their solidarity with the acts of the Russian labor Government."

"So, Europe has got this far in the fifth year of the war. Therefore, we also declare that we never were so near to the worldwide revolution as we are today. Our allies are millions and millions of proletarians in all the countries of the world. But for all that, I repeat that our situation never before was so precarious as it is at present, because in Europe, as well as in America, Bolshevism is being reckoned with as a world power and a world danger."

"Immediately following the conclusion of the peace of violence (Brest-Litovsk) we began the positive work of building up the republic. As soon as we gave an opportunity to the peasants actually to get along without the land owners, and a change to the industrial workers to arrange their own life without the capitalists, as soon as the people understood that it could manage the State itself, without slavery and exploitation, then it became clear to everyone, and also manifested itself in practice, that no power and no counter-revolution in the world would be



"AND JUDAS WENT AND HUNG HIMSELF"

able to overthrow the Soviet power, i. e., the government of the workers and peasants. It required many months for us to come to this conviction in Russia."

"In the cities the revolution began to consolidate itself already in November, 1917, but in the country it did not do so until the Summer of 1918. In the Ukraine, on the Don and in various other places, the peasants have had occasion to feel the power of the Constituents and the Czech-slovaks in their own affairs. This required many, many months, but our agricultural population comes out of the struggle hardened. The farmers finally became aware of the danger menacing them from the side of the capitalists and the land owners, but were not frightened, and merely said to themselves: 'We have learned much in a single year, but we shall learn still more.'"

Talks of Sacred Bourgeoisie.

"The West European bourgeoisie, that up to now has not taken the Bolsheviki seriously, is now becoming aware that in Russia a power has arisen and stands there alone which is able to arouse true heroism and a genuine spirit of self-sacrifice in the masses. When this proletarian power began to infect Europe the bourgeoisie of the world noted that it, too must reckon with this enemy. And so the bourgeoisie began to unite more closely in proportion as we drew nearer to the proletarian world revolution which flared up, now here, now

"Now the situation for us, for the Russia of the Soviets, has changed and events are following their course at a quickened pace. Before, we had to deal with two groups of imperialistic robber States, that were striving to destroy each other. But now they have noticed, especially by the example of German imperialism, that their principal enemy is the revolutionary proletariat. By reason of this fact a new danger for us has now arisen, a danger that as yet has not quite unfolded itself, and is not yet fully visible—the danger that the Anglo-French imperialists are quietly preparing for us. We must keep this danger clearly before our eyes so that we, with the aid of the leaders of the masses, with the help of the representatives of the workers and peasants, may make the broad

masses of the people aware of this danger."

"In German Government circles we may now observe two lines of thought, two plans for salvation, as it were, if there can be any talk at all of salvation. One group says: 'We want to gain time and hold out until Spring; perhaps we may succeed in winning by arms!' The other says that it is of the greatest importance to arrive at an agreement with England and France at the expense of the Bolsheviki. In this connection one might believe that between the English and French on the one side and Germany on the other a tacit agreement something like this exists: 'Don't you Germans leave the Ukraine so long as we have not arrived there. See to it that the Bolsheviki don't get in, then everything else will be adjusted.' And the Germans take great pains to do so, for they know that for proved service they too, will get some of the loot."

"That is the judgment of the Anglo-French imperialists, for they very well understand that the bourgeoisie of the occupied districts—Finland, the Ukraine, or Poland—will not be able to hold its ground a single day after the withdrawal of the German garrisons. And the bourgeoisie of these countries, who only yesterday sold their territory to the Germans, are today offering their fatherland to the English and the French. This conspiracy of the bourgeoisie of all countries against the revolutionary workers and the Bolsheviki is constantly becoming more clearly outlined and becomes cynically apparent. So it is our direct duty to point out this danger to the workers and peasants of all the belligerent countries."

Expects Aid From Germany.

"But for us, comrades, the German revolution is favorable. Considering the power and the degree of organization of the German proletariat, we may believe that the German revolution will develop such power and will be so well organized that it will solve a hundred international problems. Only we must know how to march in line with the German revolution, not to run ahead of it and injure it, but to help it. And our comrades, the communists of the Ukraine, must bear this in mind. Our principal work must be carrying on propa-

ganda, but a daring, persistent propaganda."

"We must not forget that Germany forms the most important link in the revolutionary chain. The success of the world revolution depends to the greatest degree upon Germany. We must not fail to consider the changes and exercises accompanying every revolution. In every country the revolution follows its particular ways and these ways are so different and tortuous that in many countries the revolution can be delayed one or two years. Every country must pass through definite political stages in order to arrive at the very same point the inevitable proletarian revolution. And although the international proletariat is now awakening and making important progress, we must confess that our position is particularly difficult because our enemies direct their attacks against us as their principal enemy. Now they are preparing to fight, not against hostile armies, but against international Bolshevism."

"We must direct our entire attention at present to our southern front, where the fate, not only of Russia, but also of the international revolution, is to be decided. We have many prospects of victory. But what favors us most of all is the fact that a change has taken place in the popular feeling. The people has grasped the fact that in defending Soviet Russia it is not defending the interests of the capitalists, but its own interests, its own country and desires, its factories and shops, its life and liberty. The discipline of the Red Army is gaining, but it is not a discipline of the club, but the discipline of socialism, the discipline of a society of equals."

"The army is turning out thousands of officers who have gone through the course of study in the new proletarian military schools, and other thousands who have only gone through the hard school of war itself. Our southern front is the front against the whole Anglo-French imperialism, against the most important opponent we have in the world. But we do not fear this opportunity, for we know that it will soon face the struggle with its 'internal enemy.' Three months ago it was said that only the half-crazy Bolsheviki could believe in the German revolution; but today we see how in the

WONDERERS AND DOERS

By ANNA STRUNSKY AND JACK LONDON

"You accept results; I search for causes. You stop at the gate of the mystery, worshipful and content. I go on and through, flinging the gate wide and formulating the law of the mystery which is a mystery no longer. It is our way. You worship the idea; I believe in the fact. If the stone fall, the wind blow, the grass and green things sprout; if the inorganic be vitalized, and take on sensibility, and perform functions, and die; if there be passions and pains, dreams and ambitions, flickerings of infinity and glimmerings of Godhead—it is for you to be smitten with the wonder of it and to memorialize it in pretty song, while for me to remain to classify it as so much related phenomena, so much play and interplay of force and matter in obedience to ascertainable law."

"There are two kinds of men: the wonderers and the doers; the feelers and the thinkers; the emotionals and the intellectuals. You take an emotional delight in living; I an intellectual delight. You feel a thing to be beautiful and joyful; I seek to know why it is beautiful and joyful. You are content that is, no matter how it came to be; I, when I have learned why, strive that we may have more beautiful and joyful things. 'The bloom, the charm, the smile of life' is all too wonderful for you to know; to me it is chiefly wonderful because I may know."

"Oh, well, it is an ancient quarrel which neither you nor I shall outlive. I am rational, you are romantic—that is all there is to it. You are more beautiful; I am more useful; and though you will not see it and will never be able to see it, you and your beauty rest on me. I came into the world before you, and I made the way for you. I was a hunter of beasts and a fighter of men. I discovered my nakedness with the skins of animals. I builded cunning traps, and wove branch-

course of a few months Germany has changed from a mighty empire to a rotten tree trunk. The force that has overthrown Germany is also working in England. It is only weak today, but with every step that the English and French advance in Russia this force will steadily rise to power and will even become more terrible than the Spanish influenza."

"The seriousness of the situation must be apparent to every worker who knows what he is aiming at and he must make the masses see it, too. The people of workers and peasants is mature enough to be allowed to know the whole truth. The danger is great, but we must, and shall, overcome it, and for this purpose we must develop and solidify the Red Army without halting. We must make it ten times as strong and large as it is. Our forces must grow with every day, and this constant growth will give us the guarantee, as before, that international socialism will be the victor."

The Swiss Socialist newspaper reported that Lenin's speech was greeted with great enthusiasm and that the assembly passed a resolution embodying his recommendations.

es and long grasses and brushes and reeds into the thatch and roof-tree. I fashioned arrows and spears of bone and flint. I drew iron from the earth, and broke the first ground, and planted the first seed. I gave law and order to the tribe and taught it to fight with craft and wisdom. I enabled the young men to grow strong and lusty, and the women to find favour with them; and I gave safety to the women when their progeny came forth, and safety to the progeny while it gathered strength and years."

"I did many things. Out of my blood and sweat and toil I made it possible that all men need not all the time hunt and fish and fight. The muscle and brain of every man were no longer called to satisfy the belly need. And then, when of my blood and sweat and toil I had made room, you came, high priest of mystery and things unknowable, singer of songs and seer of visions."

"And I did you honour, and gave you place by feast and fire. And you sang of the souls of dead men and of immortality, of the hidden things, and of the wonder; you sang of voices whispering down the wind, of the secrets of light and darkness, and the ripple of running fountains. You told of the powers that pulsed the tides, swept the sun across the firmament, and held the stars in their courses. Ay, and you sealed the sky and created for me the hierarchy of heaven."

"These things you did, but it was I who made you, and fed you, and protected you. While you dreamed and sang, I laboured sore. And when danger came, and there was a cry in the night, and women and children budding in fear, and strong men broken, and blare of trumpets and cry of battle at the outer gate—you fled to your altars and called vainly on your phantoms of earth and sea and sky. And I? I girded my loins, and strapped my harness on, and smote in the fighting line; and died, perchance, that you and the women and children might live."

"And in times of peace you throve and waxed fat. But only by our brain and blood did we men of the fighting line make possible those times of peace. And when you throve, you looked about you and saw the beauty of the world and fancied yet greater beauty. And because of me your fancy became a fact, and marvels arose in stone and bronze and costly wood."

"And while your brows were bright, and you visioned things of the spirit, and rose above time and space to probe eternity, I concerned myself with the work of head and hand. I employed myself with the mastery of matter. I studied the times and seasons and the crops and made the earth fruitful. I builded roads and bridges and moles, and won the secrets of metals and virtues of the elements. Bit by bit, and with great travail, I conquered and enslaved the blind forces. I builded ships and ventured the sea, and beyond the baths of sunset found new lands. I conquered peoples,

(Continued on Page 4)



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CHRISTMAS FESTIVAL at Woodman Hall

CHRISTMAS DAY, 3 P. M.

Scandinavian Socialist Band will play. There will also be songs and recitations by the Sunday School Children.

Supper will be served and the Christmas tree will be decorated for the children, to dance around and enjoy themselves.

JACK CARNEY will Speak.

Members only are invited owing to the expense involved we regret that we cannot extend the invitation to those outside of the local. We trust that you will be as happy this Christmas as we desire you to be.

Scandinavian Local Committee.

SHOULD THE WORKERS GIVE UP POLITIS?

We sat with a young comrade in the Minneapolis Council Chamber for three hours and were made weary by the senselessness of the whole proceedings. Our young comrade was disgusted also and was of the opinion that we should give up politics.

Politics is a good thing. The actions of those who hold political positions should not make us pessimistic. We should pause for awhile and consider the whole political position. The politician who goes wrong, does so because there is no organization behind him. If our Socialist mayors had the backing of the movement behind them, they would be compelled to act straight and furthermore they would act straight, because they would know that any action they undertook, would be backed up by the workers. You cannot place a man in office and expect him of his own sweet will to bring about the revolution. The trouble in Minneapolis is not due to any one man, it is a product of the movement. So long as you have factions in your movement, how can you ever hope to have your elected officials going straight.

That is one reason why we advocate industrial unionism. It will put our political operations on a firm basis by rendering them contingent to industrial efficiency. It is by our economic power that we will win the day and NOT by the ballot. It will be the action of the man on the job that will reflect itself on the political field that will hasten the successful conclusion of the Social Revolution.

Then we can hope for permanent and genuine advantages from our political victories. In the past our gains have been more apparent than real. Mockery and delusion characterized them. We have become slaves to figures and statistics. Comrades, look at the political results and sit down and figure out the per centage of increase and by that they measure our success, forgetting that emotions are like chaff before the wind. The future will not dupe us in that way if we but learn that economic power precedes political power.

Let us by all means accomplish the task of organizing the workers as industrial unionists and all else will be ours. It is on the job we shall have to depend for success, not in some back attic writing manifestos of protest.

The Socialist politician has been asked to do that which we knew that he could never do. We have elected men to office and instead of recognizing their limitations, we have been so foolish as to even lean on them knowing that they were not strong enough to bear the burden.

Then, when he failed us, we raved and passed resolutions and got out referendums and raved again some more. We struck out fiercely, treating as a bad servant the man we had idolized and made master.

Because we gave our political office holders too much authority in the first place, we created in the movement an epidemic of treachery, and it is from that disease we have been suffering.

Our political activities in the future must proceed from the industrial activities of the workers. We must see to it that those we elect to office are controlled by those who are in a position to enforce their demands by the use of their economic power. This may mean re-construction without hep arty. If so, let it be soon. Better by far to re-construct, than to dilly-dally as we are doing. Let the basis of membership be same as that of the vote in Russia—you must be a wage-worker. Our politics must be an offshoot of the industrial organization of the workers, drawing all its vitality from it, and bearing direct relationship with it.

When that is the political situation of the Party, we shall indeed make rapid progress; our political achievements, national and local, will no longer be of a deceptive nature, but measures of a real and abiding benefit, deeply affecting social conditions.

We have been too trusting. We have sent one man to Congress and we expected big things. We sent Meyer London there, one lone man, isolated. If his words in Congress fell on deaf ears, what redress had comrade

London? None whatsoever. There was no organized bodies of the workers to back up Meyer London, and so Meyer London's failure is OUR failure also. We have thought that there was something inherent in politics which would produce the magical transformations in the social system; as though by legal enactments alone it was possible to abolish exploitation and secure the workers the fruits of industry.

And of course nothing of the sort resulted. The workers today are more exploited and mercilessly robbed than they ever were before. The horrors of the day outshine the horrors of the Inquisition. More openly and brutally, than ever before in our history; victimization is going on in every direction. The struggle for existence has lost none of its ancient bitterness.

Politics of themselves cannot save us from these evils, but industrial strength, using political action as its weapon, is able to do so.

Industrial unionism is the way out. Let us eliminate the disintegrating factor of craft unionism. Bind all the unions together, if it is so possible, or otherwise scrap them all and weld the workers into one organization.

It would be a mistaken policy to discard politics. It is also a mistaken policy to go on as we are going today.

Political action must be the natural consequence of industrial efficiency. The better our organization and the more class-conscious our workers are, the better our politicians will act. The strength of our industrial organization will reflect itself upon the political field. Political action must derive its force from an industrial unionist organization, and be governed by its necessities.

There are great times ahead of us. There are mighty battles to be fought and won, but if we are wise to our own well-being, the sword will play no part in them and our banner, though deepest red, will bear no stain of the workers' blood.

A MERRY CHRISTMAS.

In order that we may be able to understand the future we must first have a thorough knowledge of the past, whose product the future is.

Christmas Gifts

Commonsense Xmas Gifts will be more appreciated in these days of Hooverising. Visit the

PEOPLE'S

DRUG STORE

2015 W. Superior St.

WEST END SHOE WORKS

Fred Johnson, Prop.

First Class Shoe repairing

218 28th Avenue West.

Lincoln 35-D.

DULUTH, MINN.

WM. J. BIRD

BARBER

1922 W. Superior St.

JAMES BRAWN

Formerly at 20th Ave. W.

NOW AT

Progressive Shoe

Works

27 N. 5th Ave. West.

WE SHOULD DEVISE A plan of co-operation. "Modern Machinery and other advantages should be used to reduce the hours of labor and cost of living." Send for a sample copy of the National Co-operator. Subscription price 50c a year.

L. A. CALDWELL

215 West 23rd St.

NEW YORK CITY

Zenith Phone, Lin. 91
Bell Phone, Mel. 2349
B. M. HANSEN
Meat Market.
Headquarters for all imported Fish
1999 West Superior St.

JENS NILSEN

1914 West 10th St.

Lincoln 479-D.

Can supply you with Pure Milk if you live between 25th Ave. W. and Piedmont.

BATHS AND SHOWER BATHS

Hotel Rex Barber Shop

R. P. JENTOFF, Prop.
10-CHAIR SHOP—10
2001 W. Superior St., Basement
DULUTH, MINN.

Olson & Hoppenyan

Phone, Lin. 10 Phone, Mel. 7620
FURNITURE
2014 West Superior Street

LARSON BROS.

Fresh and Salt Meats, Oysters, Fish and Poultry
Zenith phone Lincoln 163
Duluth phone Melrose 332
2735 West 3rd Street,
DULUTH, MINN.

Zenith Phone Lincoln 117-A.

FOR A GOOD PAIR OF SHOES GO TO

Bargain Shoe Store

MEN'S, LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S SHOES.
12 21st Avenue West, Duluth, Minn.
MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

There are two scientific conceptions of society. These are the Metaphysical and the Dialectical. The former is nothing but the reactionary, unscientific i.e. bourgeois conception, and the latter—the progressive, scientific proletarian conception. The Metaphysicians on the one hand believe that everything is stationary—that what now is always existed and always will exist. In contradistinction to this idea, the Dialecticians believe

that everything is in a continuous flow or development—that one system or stage in the development of society is but the product or child of the fore-

going period. Man's inventions and discoveries of methods and tools of production lay the foundation of our cultural development.

GARBER BROS.

CLEANERS AND DYERS

WE CALL FOR AND DELIVER YOUR WORK

1925 West Superior St.

Duluth, Minn.

Zenith Phone, Lincoln 3.

Bell Phone, Melrose 412.

SHOES FOR ALL

A person should buy their shoes these days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused. Our Shoes are selected from the best makers' best efforts, and the man who shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you trade. We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer. — We are Union men selling and repairing Shoes.

The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address. 1623 W. Sup. St.





WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE



WONDERERS

By ANNA STRUNSKY AND JACK LONDON
(Continued from Page 2)

and organized nations and knit empires, and gave periods of peace to vast territories.

"And the arts of peace flourished, and you multiplied yourself in divers ways. You were priest and singer and dancer and musician. You expressed your fancies in colours and metals and marbles. You wrote epics and lyrics—ay, as you today write lyrics. And I multiplied myself. I kept hunger afar off, and fire and sword from your habitation, and the bondsmen in obedience under you. I solved methods of government and invented systems of jurisprudence. Out of my toil sprang forms and institutions. You sang of them and were the slave of them, but I was the maker of them and the changer of them.

"You worshipped at the shrine of the idea. I sought the fact and the law behind the fact. I was the worker and maker and liberator. You were conventional. Tradition bound you. You were full belied and content,

and you sang of the things that were. You were mastered by dogma. Did the Mediaeval Church say the earth was flat, you sang of an earth that was flat, and danced and made your little shows on an earth that was flat. And you helped to bind me with chains and burn me with fire when my facts and the laws behind my facts shook your dogmas. Dante's highest audacity could not transcend a material inferno. Milton could not shake off Lucifer and hell.

"You were more beautiful. But not only was I more useful, but I made the way for you that there might be greater beauty. You did not reek of that. To you the heart was the seat of the emotions. I formulated the circulation of the blood. You gave charms and indulgences to the world; I gave it medicine and surgery. To you, famine and pestilence were acts of providence and punishment of sin; I made the world a granary and drained its cities. To you the

KINDERGARTEN METHODS IN REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY.

Being an Inquiry Into the Problem of How to Fight Millions With Pennies.

Suppose a clothing merchant should buy one suit of clothes and wait until he sold that before he ordered another.

Suppose a grocer put in a stock of one dozen eggs and put in another dozen only when the first was gone.

Suppose a corporation planned its business only one day ahead.

Suppose a college napped out its course of study for only one day at a time.

Wouldn't you think these people rather foolish? Wouldn't you say they were rather unsystematic?

Wouldn't you predict that THEY WOULD FAIL?

You would!

Then how do you expect the state office to act wisely, to work systematically, to succeed? You are forcing it to work on a hand-to-mouth basis. You are forcing it to act on the one-suit-at-a-time principle. You are paying dues twenty-five cents, or one month, at a time. You make effective propaganda very, very difficult.

Stationery in small quantities is high; in large quantities, the price is much reduced. A thousand handbills cost two dollars; ten thousand come to only ten. Literature in small quantities is expensive; in large quantities great reductions can be obtained. By paying dues a month at a time you make these savings impossible; YOU ARE LETTING THE SOCIALIST PARTY THROW ITS MEAGRE FUNDS AWAY.

With a days funds on hand, a season's propaganda cannot be planned; if the state office had the available cash that your payment of dues a year in advance would give it, work could be planned months in advance.

A year's dues paid in advance will relieve you of the bother of seeing the financial secretary each month; it will keep you in good standing. A faulty memory, absence, carelessness, will not remove you from good standing in the world's greatest organization.

MAKE THE PARTY A CHRISTMAS GIFT OF A YEAR'S DUES IN ADVANCE. Celebrate the European victories by stamping up the old red card with a year of stamps!

Do this at the next meeting of the local; members at large—do it by mail—NOW!

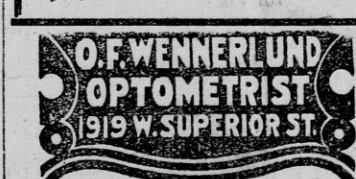
MERRY CHRISTMAS AND DON'T FORGET TOM MOONEY

mass of the people were poor lost wretches who would be rewarded in paradise or baked in hell. You could offer them no earthly happiness or decency. Forsooth, beggars as well as kings were of divine right. But I shattered the royal prerogatives and overturned the thrones of the one and lifted the other somewhat out of the dirt.

"Nor is my work done. With my inventions and discoveries and rational enterprise, I draw the world together and make it kin. The uplift is but begun. And in the great world I am making I shall be as of old to you I, who have made you and freed you, shall give you space and greater freedom. And, as of old, we shall quarrel as when first you came to me and found me at my rude earthwork. You shall be the sower of matter, and I the master of matter. You may laugh at me and my work, but you shall not be absent from the feast nor shall your voice be silent. For, when I have conquered the globe, and enthralled the elements, and harnessed the stars, you shall sing the epic of man, and as of old it shall be of the deeds I have done."



WE never miss the water till the well runs dry. We never appreciate the value of good eyesight until it begins to fail. When age creeps into the muscles of your eyes and your crystalline lenses will no longer accommodate the range of your vision, you should visit our optometrists and be fitted with glasses that will bring youth back to your eyes.



SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS ON TRIAL

(Continued from page 1)

and also a leaflet entitled "The Price We Pay," by Irwin St. John Tucker, one of the defendants.

As regards the Tucker leaflet,

Stedman said it was written before the passage of the espionage act, June 15, 1917. He said Tucker had been told by one judge the matter contained in it was not seditious, while another judge disagreed. After the second advice, Tucker did not circulate the leaflet, said Stedman.

War Position Told.

"The evidence will show that Socialists in all countries opposed the war even after they had been invaded."

He also pointed out the sentiment in France, Italy, England and the minority groups of Germany and Austria.

Referring to the charge that Socialists had aided in the encouragement of resistance to the draft act, Stedman asserted it was possibly true that some Socialists had evaded that act, but no more so in proportion than Democrats and Republicans had sought to keep their bodies intact during the war.

"Won't Distort Principles."

"Irrespective of the consequences, these five men who sit before you, accused of serious crimes, will not twist or distort their principles in this trying hour. The position which they took has been the position of the Socialist movement for 50 years. We will produce evidence to show you that Socialists are not less

patriotic or less national because they are internationalists."

Henry Cochems of Milwaukee, one of the leaders of the Bull Moose party in 1912 and Berger's opponent in the congressional fight in 1910, when Berger was first elected to Congress, gave a vivid picture of Berger's early life and the big struggle he underwent to reach his present position as a national political figure and an internationalist from the Socialist view point.

Paper Aided Bond Sale.

He declared the Milwaukee

Leader has tried to keep within the law during the war. He pointed out Berger has contributed liberally to the war savings stamp fund, the Red Cross and other auxiliary movements launched by the government.

All day long throngs of persons gathered in the corridors to the courtroom, eagerly waiting till some person gave up his seat. Spectators may also carry packages into the courtroom, as was not the case in the I. W. W. trial last summer.

Entertainment

AT
WOODMAN HALL
SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 22

at 8 o'clock.

Speaker: **CAROLINE LOWE**

Of Independence, Mo.

Miss Caroline Lowe was one of the Lawyers who defended the I. W. W. in their recent trial at Chicago.

Subject: **"LABOR IN POLITICS"**

This is a question of interest to all men and women of the working class.

A good program is assured consisting of songs by Miss Pennel, recitations by Mrs. Erickson, violin solo by Mr. Mark and others.

Admission—35c for Gents. 15c for Ladies.
EVERYBODY WELCOME!

A Merry Christmas

ERICKSON'S Hardware Store

Extends to each and every one their most cordial wishes for a Merry Xmas.

As Xmas approaches, let us make up our minds to set aside next Wednesday as a day, when we can throw off every burden, when we can forget there is such a thing as work or that life is one struggle for existence from the cradle to the grave.

Let us wear the smile that won't come off and make the most of this day and give vent to its is within us.

Life is too short and Christmas comes but once a year. Therefore each and every one of us should make the most of this day and give vent to its pleasures in full.

MARTIN ERICKSON'S Hardware

2021 W. Superior St.

Duluth, Minn.

A Merry Christmas



THE spirit of the season prompts us to express to you our appreciation of our pleasant business relations during the past year and to most heartily wish you health and prosperity this coming Yuletide and for all times to come.

THE DULUTH STATE BANK,

Duluth, Minnesota.

Melrose 433.

ENGLISH LOCAL

— will meet —

Woodman Hall

21st Ave. W. & 1st St.

SUNDAY, 2:30 P.M.

D. M. CROCKER

will open discussion on

"NEW TACTICS"

Do Your Xmas Shopping Here

Men's Ties	50c to \$1.50
Men's Mufflers	\$1.00 to \$3.00
Men's Shirts	\$1.25 to \$5.50
Men's Hats	\$2.00 to \$4.50
Men's Shoes	\$3.50 to \$9.50
Mackinaws	\$9.00 to \$16.00

Arthur B. Anchel

2011 West Superior Street, Duluth, Minn.

Special New Year Edition

Personal messages to our readers from—

EUGENE V. DEBS.

J. RAMSAY MacDONALD, M. P., Chairman of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain.

dent Labor Party of Great Britain.

Also report of the trial of Party Leaders.

Articles by—

L. C. FRANA.

DAVID KARSNER.

KARL LIEBKENT.

JOHN REED.

— and articles on Russia by an Irish author and others.

This number will be well worth reading. See that your local sends for a bundle order 20 copies 75 cents.

No single copies sold.

Subscription price \$1.50 per year.

TRUTH,

101 Stack Building, Duluth, Minn.

Scandinaviskt Party

— MED —
DANS
— ANORDNAS —

December 21, Foresters Hall

Music by Graftsoms Orchestra.

— KAFFE SERVERAS FRITT. —

Alla Skandinaviska Inbjudas att hafva en treffig afton.

Inträde—Herrar \$1.00. Damer Fritt.

KOMMITERADE.

A Merry Christmas

To all the readers of Truth, their wives, sweethearts and families.

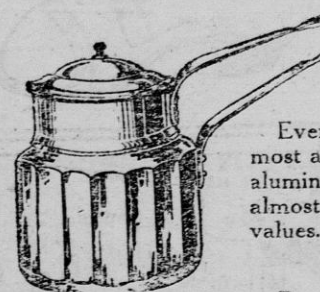
A. Y. LITMAN

UNIVERSAL CLOTHING PROVIDER

1831 West Superior Street

Duluth, Minn.

Monster Christmas Sale of Aluminumware!



Owing to lack of space we can show only two cuts of the five different aluminum bargains we have for this Christmas.

Every one of these five big specials is worth almost again as much as we ask. Just thing of a pure aluminum percolator at these times for \$1.69—it's almost a joke! The other pieces are equally good values.



Percolators, Rice Boilers, Covered Kettles, Extra Special . . . \$1.69

Covered Sauce Pans, Open Pre-serve Kettles, Extra Special \$1.19

Aluminum Stock in Basement Salesroom.

Calendars Free!

Thermometers Free!

21st Avenue W

Duluth, Minn.

ANDERSON FURNITURE COMPANY



MINNESOTA SOCIALIST PARTY BULLETIN

State Secretary CHARLES DIRBA, Room 9,
424 Second Ave. South, Minneapolis, Minn.



In Memoriam



ANNA E. MALEY

DIED NOVEMBER 23rd, 1918.

Member of the
National Executive Committee
of the
Socialist Party of America.

"She had heard the shouts of the toiling slaves;
"She had caught the gleam of the sun-kissed dawn
"And the vision grew as she struggled on—
"Past the wrecks of lives, and the mute, sad graves
"And dyed with the blood of the martyrs' slain.
"She grasped the standard of flaming red
"And bore it aloft o'er the ranks of the dead
"Till she sank baptized with the scarlet stain.

CASH STATEMENT FOR NOVEMBER, 1918.

Receipts:	
Balance from October	\$ 3.01
Contributions	162.85
Dues: For Stamps	\$92.37
Federations	73.35
H. C. C. C.	10.40
Lit. & Supplies	62.66
For Camp Literature	31.29
For Excursion tickets	0.50
For Rus. Gov. Recog. League	0.65
A. L. Sugarman on acct.	5.00
St. Paul Jewish Local Pledge	2.00
Loan from the secretary	50.00
	\$494.08
Less Mpls. 12th Ward dues on advance acct incl. above	27.50

Expenditures:	
100 Due Stamps from National Office	\$ 10.00
Office Expense:	
Misc.	2.09
Supplies	12.68
Postage	18.16
Telephone and Telegraph	9.75
Rent	19.35
Secretaries Salary	100.00
	162.03
Campaign Expenses:	
Printing	\$66.50
Rubber Stamps	4.81
	71.31
Lit. & Sup.	48.17
On old accounts Pay.	67.36
H. C. C. C. Dues for Oct.	11.68
Bulletin:	
Printing, Oct. Balance	\$25.00
Printing, Nov.	35.00
Postage	8.20
	68.20
Cash Paid	\$438.75

Statement of Dues Received in November, 1918.

	Due:	Dual:	Exmt:	Amt:
For Stamps	408	68		\$92.37
For H. C. C. C.				10.40
Federations (not incl. H.C.C.C.):				
Finnish	227	217		31.08
Scandinavian	279	100	40	26.53
Hungarian	40			2.00
Jewish	195	31	70	13.74
Total	1149	419	110	\$176.12

MINUTES OF EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING, Nov. 23, 1918.

Meeting called to order by the secretary at 8:30 P. M.

Comrade Adams elected chairman.

Present: Adams, Hoffman, Gisslen and Carligen.

Minutes of previous meeting, Nov. 9, approved as read.

Bills: Bulletin \$35.00, Stationery & Supplies \$8.60, Telephone & Telegraph \$10.46, Postage \$13.66, Literature & Supplies \$40.00, Dues \$10.00, Camp Exp. \$4.18, Old Accts. \$9.65. Allowed.

Communications: From United Liberal-Labor League, inviting to convention on January 29, 1919, supported by quotations from the Bible. Filed. From L. C. Fraina, John Keracher and National Office regarding steps taken in connection with the end of war and the revolution in Europe. Filed.

Report of Secretary. Mass demonstration and open air meeting arranged jointly with H. C. C. C. for Sunday afternoon, Nov. 24, with Wm. Bross, Lloyd and J. O. Bentall as speakers, and the following demands advertised on the handbills: 1) Absolute refusal of U. S. military forces for counter revolutionary purposes; 2) Immediate release of all political prisoners and cessation of political prosecutions; 3) Immediate restoration of Constitutional rights, Freedom of Speech, Press and Assembly. Sheriff Langum issued an unlawful order not permitting this demonstration and mass meeting, which the committee from the H. C. C. C. together with the State Secretary decided to defy, and a handbill notifying the public of this had been issued. Report accepted.

The secretary further reported that the lecture course for St. Paul, Minneapolis and Duluth will begin Nov. 30—Dec. 1 with John Keracher as the first speaker on the subject "History of Imperialism". Other speakers definitely arranged for are: Tom Clifford, C. L. Katerfeld, Caroline A. Lowe, L. C. Fraina, Wm. Thurston Brown, Marguerite Prevey, and C. E. Ruthenberg.

Lengthy discussion followed regarding the general good and welfare of the Party, and the State Office affairs in particular. Special attention was given to the proposition that Comrade I. G. Scott, alderman elect from the 10th Ward, if elected State Secretary, could serve the Party without remuneration, to which he has consented, and thereby assure the existence of the State Office in case the referendum to raise dues does not carry. The State Board was unanimous, however, that it would be much better, if the State Organization could keep on paying for a State Secretary to devote all his time to the office. The present secretary, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the only thing for the State Office to do, if the income could not be raised, was to cut down expenses, and that he, personally, could not keep on working in the office under the present conditions.

The meeting adjourned at 10 P. M.

Next meeting in two weeks, December 7.

Chas. Dirba, Sec'y.

The next meeting was postponed from Dec. 7 to Dec. 12 on account State Office entertain-

ment. On December 12 only three members of the Board were present: Adams, Gisslen and Hoffman. No quorum.
Chas. Dirba, Sec'y.

Membership, as per Monthly Reports.

	Oct.	Nov.
Brainerd, Finnish	8	
Cottonwood	5	
Duluth, English	47	
Gilbert, Finnish	40	40
Granada	5	5
Hibbing, English	5	
Hibbing, Finnish	43	
Mpls., 1st Ward	14	14
Mpls., 6th Ward	25	28
Mpls., 10th Ward	34	
Mpls., Crystal	14	14
Mpls., Finnish	151	157
Mpls., German	15	
Mpls., Lettish	50	
Mpls., Russian	14	
Mpls., Scand. No. 93	66	
Palisade, Finnish	17	
Pouporé, Finnish	5	
Pipestone	31	
Royal	36	
St. Cloud	17	
St. Paul, English	95	
St. Paul, Jewish	29	30
St. Paul, Scand.	60	
St. Paul, West End	10	
Sandstone	14	
Sauk Rapids, English	5	
Two Harbors, Finnish	46	
Virginia, English	19	
Virginia, Finnish No. 2	104	104

What is the matter with the other locals? Why don't their secretaries report? The provision of the constitution depriving of good standing all locals not reported for the last two months was not made for fun, but for very good reasons. Every member should look over the list above carefully, and if his local does not appear in it, urge the secretary to report at once.

REFERENDUM BALLOTS.

Secretaries are strongly urged to see that despite the fact that a member of the local is not present at the local meeting, he should most certainly receive a copy of any referendum ballot that is sent out. If you cannot deliver it yourself, send it by mail and ask the comrade to return it to you by mail. The Constitution of the Socialist Party provides for this.

If a comrade is not in good standing, send him a ballot with a slip attached stating, — PAY YOUR DUES AND VOTE.

If secretaries will see that the above is carried out, we will be able to obtain a more complete expression of what the party members think. That is the essence of true democracy.

BOOKS, MAGAZINES, ETC.

If you buy any books, magazines, etc., why not buy them through the State Office. Instead of filling the profits of booksellers, who are in the main opposed to the party, why not buy them through the party and enrich the party coffers. Co-operation is the need of the hour. No matter what book or magazine you desire, we can get it.

SUBSCRIBE FOR TRUTH.

The directors of Truth—a party-owned paper—have decided to give to the State Office 20 per cent commission on all subscriptions we secure. If you do not read Truth, we advise you to do so and send your subscription through the State Office. Remember the Truth is an English Socialist weekly

owned and published by the Duluth Scandinavian Local.

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE.

The Revolutionary Age is published twice a week at 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass. The subscription price is one dollar for three months.

The Revolutionary Age is now publishing a diary, written by Leon Trotzky in the months preceding the war and during the war. It contains the reasons for the framing of the Anti-Jewish and Pro-war Socialist resolutions that were passed in Europe. As an analysis of events that have taken place in Europe during the war, this diary is one that will prove to be one of the most momentous works of the war. Furthermore the Revolutionary Age is running articles by Liebknecht. Articles written during the war—not old stuff of ten years ago. John Reed is also giving "inside" information about what is going on in Russia.

In these days when capitalist papers are out-Ananiasing Ananias, ask yourself whether you can afford to be without the Revolutionary Age? If a friend of yours points out to you some Russian story in the capitalist press, how can you answer him if you are not conversant with the real facts of the situation?

Get your local to send for a bundle order and by all means send THAT dollar. It is needed.

SEND THE STATE SECRETARY A NEW YEAR'S GIFT.

We want you to send on a New Year's gift for the State Secretary. This may sound a trifle audacious, but nevertheless we want that gift. Jack Carney, editor of Truth, has agreed to pay up his dues for the next twelve months, and mind you, Jack expects to go to prison. How many of you will do the same thing? Remember, if fifty per cent of the membership pay up their dues for the next twelve months, look what a fine start it would be. Think of the work we could do. Just think of this and when the clock strikes twelve and the Old Year dies, let the mail train carry that money order for one year's dues.

AGAIN!

AGAIN! and

AGAIN!

Every comrade should realize the absolute necessity, of his doing something for the State Office, for the State organization.

Send in the Subscription Lists. Get your local to pledge a certain sum every month. At least about three cents for each member.

Look at the figures for the last three months!! Just take the regular income from dues, and the regular payments of dues, office expense and Bulletin. You will find an average shortage of \$30.00 per month, from which there is no getting away except by raising the income or by cutting the expense. But the expense is cut to the very lowest already, so we MUST raise the income. The State Office at first expected some revenue from the lecture course and entertainments, but — the lecture course is proving a liability rather than an asset, and the entertainment pulled off Nov. 30 gave only \$30 net, this not so much on account of good attendance, as the hall rent was donated by the Finnish Local,

RETURNS ON REFERENDUM I, 1918.

Election of Canvassing Board.

	G. P. Darth	E. M. Gordon	J. Graudin	I. G. Scott	D. Shier	W. A. Stafford
Local						
7th Ward	8	5	6	8	7	7
10th Ward	9	2	8	6	8	10
12th Ward	20	25	16	17	23	21
Crystal	8	1	8	6	7	8
Finnish	21	21	17	13	24	23
German	9	9	9	9	1	8
Jewish	3	12	10	13	13	10
Scandinavian No. 93	30	32	25	35	20	27
Totals	108	107	99	107	103	114
Elected	*	*	*	*	*	*

"QUESTIONNAIRE."

Has your local done all it could for the State Office?

Have you circulated the subscription lists and the appeals for funds, which showed that the State Office was running short about \$40.00 every month?

Have you sent in anything on them?

Have you remitted for the State Platforms and Stickers? (That is, if you received and used any of them.)

Has your local sent in the monthly report card for October? How many of the red flag buttons do you want at 5 e. each, 50 e. for fifteen, and \$1.00 for forty?

How many copies of DEBS' ADDRESS TO THE JURY do you want, at the same rate as the buttons? (Remit a dime in coin or stamps for sample.)

CHAS. DIRBA, Secretary,
Socialist Party of Minnesota.

424 2nd Ave. S., Rm. 9, Minneapolis, Minn.

POISON: Lies, forgeries and slanders about the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic fed to the American public every day by the capitalist press.

ANTIDOTE: Immediate distribution of the following three books: SOVIETS AT WORK, by Nikolai Lenin, the Bolshevik Premier, 10c.; ON BEHALF OF RUSSIA, by Arthur Ransome, Correspondent in Russia for the London Daily News, 5c.; AN OPEN LETTER TO AMERICAN LIBERALS, by Santeri Nuorteva, Representative of the Finnish Workers' Republic, 5c.

RECIPE FOR MAKING SOCIALISTS.

Take the average American workingman, and have him read the following socialist classics in the order given:

REVOLUTION, by Jack London	10
INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM, by Haywood and Bohm	10
VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT, by Karl Marx	15
WAGE LABOR AND CAPITAL, by Karl Marx	10
SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, by Fr. Engels	15
COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, by Marx and Engels	10
CLASS STRUGGLE, by Karl Kautsky	25
EVOLUTION AND REVOLUTION, by Mark Fisher	10
MERRIE ENGLAND, by Blatchford	15
SHOP TALK ON ECONOMICS, by Mary E. Marey	10
MARXISM AND DARWINISM, by Anton Pannokeek	10
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10 per cent off in quantities of 10; 25 per cent off in quantities of 50.	

and the admission was rather high.

Of course, sooner or later (next spring and summer, when we can send out an organizer) great increase in membership will put our finances in good condition; but, to increase the membership, to send out organizers, we shall have to have some money to start with.

Nothing better could happen for the organization than the passing of the referendum to increase dues, but it is rather problematical that it will pass.

Just now every comrade must AGAIN, AGAIN and AGAIN exert himself to send some contributions to the State Office. Send in individual contributions, circulate the subscription lists and send them in at once, contribute from your Local treasury, get the Local to pledge a monthly contribution, to arrange an entertainment for the benefit of the State Office.

What have you done?—What are you doing?—What will you do?—To help maintain the State Office.

CHIPS FROM A SOCIALIST CLASS-ROOM.

By HELEN KERGER.

Life is a continual adjustment

of inner to outer relations. These outer relations are the driving force or determining factor in the evolution of society, and with a knowledge of these we can explain and substantiate the cause and origin of all social phenomena—of all social life.

The fundamental aim in life is to attain a certain maximum of happiness.

Happiness is that which brings satisfaction or contentment to a human being. It has millions of manifestations and in the same proportion that man differs from one another his ideas and conceptions of happiness are variable.

Man's endeavor to attain this maximum of happiness results in or brings about a social phenomenon which we call the evolution of mankind.

That which separates man from the animal lies in the fact that he possesses the faculty of creating tools of production for his use in providing for a living, while an animal does not.

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

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A MERRY CHRISTMAS.

The present system of society is admitted by those in command to be the best. They claim that our civilization and culture is everything to be desired. Yet many of us feel inclined to treat civilization as one huge disease inflicted upon humanity, by the breaking up of that social unity that prevailed amongst the primitive tribes.

The destruction of the ancient system based upon "The Gens," that is, a society of equals founded upon blood-relationship, introduced a society founded on material possessions, the beginning of civilization.

This disease of civilization has developed many symptoms and disorders of a very degrading nature to the mass of the people. It destroyed the mother right and inheritance through the female line. It enslaved woman and made her the property of man. It brought with it private ownership of land, thereby creating a class of landless aliens, entailing a system of rent, mortgages and interest. Other symptoms of this disease were the introduction of slavery, serfdom and the worst of all, wage-slavery, the most degrading of all forms of labor (obscured as it is by so-called freedom of the people); and to rivet these chains and make the common people more subservient to a soulless and sordid master class, the State and the usual servants of the State were introduced. AND THERE IS NO BETTER EVIDENCE OF THE SOCIAL DEGRADATION CAUSED BY THIS DISEASE THAN THE CRAWLING, SERVILE, SPYING, INHUMAN MONSTERS THAT INFEST THIS CITY OF DULUTH—THE STOOL-PIGEONS AND GUNMEN.

The disease of civilization, arising out of the private ownership of property has tended to corrupt the individual and break the unity of his nature. It has broken the social unity that was the basis of primitive life. It has developed individual selfishness and brought him into conflict with his neighbor, whom he looks upon as an enemy who may be competing against him for individual profit.

The temptation of power, possession of wealth, and individual greed engendered by private property wrenches the individual from the primitive instincts of human unity. "Each man for himself" becomes the guiding motto. The hand of every worker is raised against his fellow-worker. War in which brother fights brother, strikes in which brother seizes on brother. These are the product of our boasted civilization. The rich fatten upon the vitals of the poor, the strong murder the weak, each trying to grab the utmost he can. Competition and corruption break out in tyrannies and plutocracies, society writhing with the maggots of greed, outrage, and fraud to obtain wealth. Force is used to maintain possession, law barriers created to preserve property rights, with the soldier's bayonet and the policeman's baton to maintain law and order against the dispossessed, the robbed and the exploited.

Such are a few of the festering sores and the symptoms of the eruption known as "civilization". Many nations have contracted this disease and succumbed. Some have contracted new phases and symptoms of the disease and the disease has been modified for the time being by being over-run from without by semi-barbarians. Many are still in the agony of it.

It is held by many that our modern civilization, having reversed the procedure of former phases of society—that is, having carried the disease to all parts of the globe, and imposed civilization on all races and nations—must ultimately perish, or at least become stagnant owing to the want of stimulating force from without. According to these pessimists there is no hope for the workers. But we socialists believe otherwise. The Xmas bells are chiming. They send out their chimes through the frosty air and they tell us of a happy day they want to herald in. They sound the glad note of peace on earth, goodwill to men. We listen to the bells. We like to hear the bells and the merry voices of children laughing and singing on this Christmas Morn. It is good to hear the merry sounds of children's voices and pleasant to gaze upon their smiling faces. Yes, we want a Christmas Day every day. So we Socialists work and work, so that the bells will send out merry sounds, that will not sound like the hypocritical laugh of some harlot. We recognize forces in society today that never existed in any former phase of civilization, forces that MUST destroy civilization. We dimly have glimpses of the future society, free from the degrading influences of poverty, due to the well-known disease of civilization, free from antagonisms and conflicts of individual against individual, brother against brother and father against son. We see a return to a form of society, wherein we can truly say, "Peace on Earth—Goodwill to Men."

Thoreau truly says: "The morning wind ever blows, the power of creation is uninterrupted—but few are the ears that hear it." Yet how can those who are caught up in the whirlpool of private gain, and engaged in the operation of exploiting men and women, understand the need for services for service? How can they conceive the glory of the re-creation of society, of a society that will enable the individual to give complete expression to all the highest attributes of humanity, attributes of which today we have only a very dim perception?

Comrades all—a Merry Christmas. We will smile and still keep smiling. Christmas 1918 means so much to us all. Ring out your bells. Send out your message o'er land and sea. Ring out and fill the air with glad



By Courtesy of Liberator. THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN LABOR

sounds, for this we know that soon the world will be free and we will then rise up and with hands stretched across the oceans, in the bonds of a real International, say PEACE ON EARTH, GOODWILL TO ALL MANKIND.

HEARD ON A MINNEAPOLIS STREET CAR.

We heard two workers arguing on a Minneapolis street car. One was of the opinion, that is if we judge his opinion by what he said, that a certain well-known American statesman was responsible for all what we possessed today—liberty, freedom, etc., and all the rest of our eternal joys. The other worker was of the opinion that masses are responsible for these things and NOT individual men.

Theirs was purely a peace ful argument, for at the turn of the street-car they reversed their arguments and commenced again. But nevertheless men have argued about Big Men and Big Men movements for many years, and still they continue to argue.

These arguments probably worried the Egyptian slaves who were building the vast pyramids, that an individual king or rich man might be remembered for ever. They certainly caused annoyance to the many brilliant Athenians, who saw great men like Sophocles and Euripides raised to a place among the gods, while they passed in the shadow.

The ancient people, both of Rome and Greece, believed in giving the talented individual every chance, while the mass got on best it could; and one genius meant more to the Greeks than a million merely brilliant men.

Poor old genius! Poor old Man tempting to make himself god!

We dare say that if Minneapolis was destroyed tomorrow by fire or flood—people, documents, literature all lost—a few bricks, a steel frame, or a part of a factory wall would be unearthed somewhere to tell the wondering peoples a thousand years ahead what the work of the two workers was.

Their work would survive, even as the work of the Egyptian slaves, while the individual's efforts passed away.

We never think of the departed glory of Rome, all the fire and thought and dreams and energy of her great individual men, but we see those vast Roman roads, built by her workmen, standing all over Europe, in defiance of Time itself, to assert the ultimate triumph of the mass of the people over the individual man.

DO NOT FAIL TO HEAR CAROLINA LOWE, THE WOMAN LAWYER WHO DEFENDED THE I. W. W. IN THEIR RECENT TRIAL.

FROM MINNEAPOLIS TO DULUTH.

As we sat in the train and gazed at the various advertisement boardings that despoil the horizon, we were constantly faced with the picture of Governor Burnquist. The leer, the sneer, the boast, the bombast, the unreliability, the egotism, the vindictiveness, the callousness, the double-dealing all these things and a variety of others look out from the face of Burnquist, that despoil the boardings that spoil the scenery of Minnesota.

This picture of Burnquist ought to remain upon these boardings, a monument to the stupidity of those who voted for his remaining in office. They lack the company of that of Judge McGee.

MINNEAPOLIS CITY COUNCIL PREPARES RED FLAG ORDINANCE.

The Minneapolis City Council, following the example set by other municipal bodies, is preparing an ordinance to prohibit the use of Red Flag. Of course no one would be so rash as to accuse the City Council of Minneapolis of being original, hence their waiting for some one else to show them the way.

To hear some of our worthy aldermanic friends talk one would think that if the Germans passed an ordinance prohibiting the display of the Stars and Stripes, that the United States soldiers would have all been rendered useless and the Germans would have been victorious. It is a tribute to the Socialist movement, when aldermen are so much afraid of the movement that they fear its symbol. The Red Flag stands for the ideals of millions of men and women. They who would render the Red Flag ineffective must crush the spirit of these millions of brave men and women. That is what they cannot do.

We did not place much faith in flags, preferring to judge men by their deeds, rather than by their phrases and speeches. I have seen the workers of England shot down in cold blood by men who carried the Union Jack. I have seen the French workers shot down beneath the Tri-colors of France. I have read and know it to be true that the workers of Russia, Germany, Sweden and all nations have been shot down beneath the flag of their country. Back in 1913, in Colorado, gunmen pierced through and through the Stars and stripes that was used to protect little children. So we say that after all it is not the flag that counts, it is the actions of those behind the flag.

Somehow—perhaps wrongly—we have the idea or the prejudice that flag-flying and flag-flapping are more emblematic of emotion than reason, and that, too often, the flag-flyer and flapper, like his flag, is the unthinking victim of every vagrant wind that blows—no

matter from what direction it flows.

In short, we prefer—and muchly and most emphatically—the thinking mind to the flapping flag, and also to the people who flap it.

Nevertheless, if we must have emblems, symbols or what you may like to call them, give us the Red Flag.

For the Red Flag flies over the whole world for Humanity, for all castes, creeds, races and colors. It can fly over all the flags and truly represent them all, insofar as those flags stand for humanity.

So aldermen and the rest of those silly, childish and ignorant officials, stop and think of what you are doing. You are compelling our comrades to rid their movements of the spectacular demonstrations. BUT you are also compelling them to get down to business and so go on with your ordinances, the more the merrier, but remember when we strike at this system, your ordinances will be like falling leaves before the autumn winds. The Red Flag is OUR flag and proudly we have waved it. You may bury it beneath ten miles of the sod. But you can never bury the spirit of those who stood behind the flag and still stand. We shall go on organizing, and some day the whole bunch of reactionaries will salute that flag. We will not let you kiss it, we think too much of it. So go on in your arrogance, born of your greed, but remember we have sown the seed. Tomorrow we shall pluck the fruits and also remember we shall burn the weeds. HOW DO YOU LIKE IT?

HOW LABOR IS ROBBED.

Many comrades are under the impression that we are robbed as consumers and not as producers.

The workingclass is exploited as producers and not as consumers. Labor is robbed at the point of production, the shop, the mill, the mine, etc.

Manual and intellectual labor creates ALL wealth; therefore a labor organization that seeks to raise the wages of its members, is not a reform organization, but ensconced or unconsciously speeds the day, when capitalism will be dethroned. THE MORE YOU OBTAIN FROM THE BOSS, THE LESS PROFIT HE MAKES.

Labor is in the same category as ham, eggs, butter, doughnuts, etc. It is a commodity. All that the worker has to sell is his labor-power and that is wrapped up in his hide. Despite what Gompers may say and the Clayton law may decree, the fact remains that labor is a commodity. The object of the workers should be to take labor out of the commodity state and they can best do that by abolishing capitalism.

Whilst Labor is a commodity like eggs, butter, whiskey, etc., yet it is different. Labor is the ONLY commodity that creates more than its value. Say for instance, in a modern industry the wages of labor are three dollars per day. In one day each worker creates at the least ten dollars worth of wealth. If the worker works ten hours per day, he creates sufficient wealth to pay for his labor, in the first three hours. The labor performed in the next seven hours creates seven more dollars, and this goes to the boss.

If an employer employs a thousand workers, he makes seven thousand dollars per day. That is what the boss receives for his risk, intelligence, ability (?), etc. With the surplus wealth that comes from the labor of the workers, the boss invests it and it goes abroad, etc.

Labor has no interest whatsoever in the disposal of that surplus wealth by the boss. What Labor must do is to stop the surplus wealth going to the boss. So do not worry your heads about foreign markets, free trade, tariffs, etc., but organize at the point of production and there place your hands upon the machine and call a halt to the robbery that goes on each day.

Now that we have made the world safe for democracy, let us make industry safe for democracy, and the only way you can do that is to introduce democracy into industry.

The Socialist Movement is a universal movement that brings a message of good cheer each day, each year. Misery, distress, present social injustices are bearable only if there is hope to better things. Exclude that hope and life itself is plunged into darkness. The Socialist Movement is that in which wage-earners put their faith, and the achievements of the Socialist Movement justify that faith.

There should be only ONE CLASS—a class of all the people giving service to society and in return receiving service. When there is only one class, there will be no class war. Because it takes two to make a fight.

We got rid of Kaiser Bill—what about Kaiser McGee?

Phrases like freedom for small nations, justice for all, etc., are as soothing to an empty stomach as a whiskey label is to a man who has just awoke out of a drunken sleep.

Lincoln, Webster, Clay, Sumner, John Brown—what a galaxy of American names! They all believed that at all times it was the PATRIOTIC duty of all Americans to discuss and discuss still more the public questions of today. We wonder what they would think of America in 1918 with its Espionage Law?

Better to be a Socialist in prison than a renegade in a mansion.