

W E 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.

VOLUME III. No. 2

DULUTH, MINN. FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 1919

WHOLE NUMBER 82

WHY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS OF FINLAND HAVE FAILED

A Searching Analysis of the Causes That Led up to Their Defeat.

(Translated for Truth by O. V. Kuusinen.)

The following article, by O. V. Kuusinen first appeared in a revolutionary publication published in Petrograd, Russia. Since its first appearance it has attracted much attention. For many years O. V. Kuusinen A. M. has been recognized as an intelligent, and fearless representative of scientific socialism. Comrades call him the "Finnish Kautsky". For seven years he has been the Social-Democratic party leader in the Finnish Diet; he has also lectured at the Workers College organized labor movement knows in Helsinki. The European him because of his activity in the labor movement. When in the summer of 1918, the Bolsheviks established a Workers' Academy of Social Science in Moscow, they elected Kuusinen as a member of the faculty.

Comrade Kuusinen being directly connected with the Civil War in Finland, and being thoroughly acquainted with the course of action of the Russian Bolsheviks, has observed that a revolution cannot be brought on by political action i. e. by the tactics of parliamentarism. It is certain that the American radical and labor movement has much to learn from the experience of the proletariat of Finland, and the valuable advice given by Kuusinen.)

The proletarian revolutions are at all times self critical says Marx. Our partakers have, indeed, a reason to intelligently aid this selfcriticism without attempting to withdraw from activities of our early historical responsibility.

The Finnish Revolution had its beginning in January 1918, but its fundamental errors originated already in 1917.

In the same manner as the war surprised the majority of the socialist parties of the great European nations keeping them from performing their historic duty, so the Russian Revolution of 1917 surprised the Social Democrats of Finland. The freedom in the spring came to us like a flash from the sky, and our party was overcome by the stupor of the events in March.

The official stand of our party was the same "independent class struggle" stand as, for example the same as the German Social Democrats had taken before the war. During the period of reaction this stand was easily safeguarded; it did not then receive a severe test, nor could the intelligent conservative socialist then get wind into his sails. But in March our party met temptation and failure. In fact our social democrats became corrupted with the bourgeoisie of Finland and in the beginning with that of Russia (among the seducers were also the Russian Mensheviks). The Coalition Senate of Finland was the hot bed of this immoral affiliation. In March when this corruption occurred half of the members of the council opposed the unioning and only the conservative socialists were represented. But the front of the rest of us was so passive that it did not interfere in the least with our co-operation with those Socialists who were especially busying themselves with the Finnish and Russian lords. And it was very significant that not a delegate at our June convention—where by the way we joined the Zimmerwald alliance!—voted to secede from the Socialists of the Coalition government.

That which blinded us was primarily the mirage of a parliamentary democracy. If the one-housed representation, the relative election, methods, and the general ballot had not existed, and if our party had not received the majority at the polls in the summer of 1916, then probably it would have been a little easier for us to prepare ourselves for the spring torture. But now the way of parliamentary democracy seemed clear, smooth and open for the labor movement. The bourgeoisie of our country had no army, not even dependable police;

nor could it legally get this for in so doing it would need the approval of the Social Democrats in the parliament. The Social Democrats seemed to have every reason to obstruct parliamentary legality for in this position they would reap one benefit after another.

The vision of a parliamentary democracy, admired in all its glory, was not shadowed by anything but the temporary tottering hand of the Russian government. The bourgeoisie of Finland grasped it as a drowning man grasps a straw. The Social Democrats wished to cast this parliamentary form of government aside, or at least to fence it up within the secure boundary of legality so as not to permit it to interfere with the internal affairs of the country, that is to defend the advantages of the bourgeoisie of Finland. Thus our effort in behalf of Finland's independence, our patriotism, appeared most beautiful fundamentally; it, surely was a direct fight for democracy; it was the organic part of our proletarian class struggle.

The treachery of our parliamentary delusion was further augmented by the results of legislation during the summer. From the eight hour work day law we succeeded in advancing to such an extent that no parliament had previously reached. Measures were also passed for the democratizing of the municipal government which meant a change from the completely monopolized power of the capitalist to a general representation—a greater step than has been made anywhere thru legislation at one time. It was very evident that these accomplishments were not attained solely thru the action of the diet, but an outside gale forced them out from the hidden shoals of parliamentarism. This gale appeared in the form of a mass demonstration with unusually violent spirit primarily because of the participation of the Russian soldier-comrades. This was nothing new to us for we have frequently explained that the best results can be obtained from parliamentarism when the people on the outside begin to bring pressure to bear.

Adverse consequence of the result of parliamentary democracy was the fact that flourishing exploitation in the food stuff market could not be checked. This indicated that the greater parliamentary achievements were achievements only on paper. We were able to draw up a bill and make it a law; but here the checking of the exploitation ceased, the law was not enforced. The Coalition government generally did nothing. It was like a lazy bull, the socialist pulling from the horns and the bourgeoisie by the tail, thus rendering his immovable. The exploitation flourished peacefully.

Soon the hungry workers entirely lost their faith in the coalition government and in the leadership of the social democrats. In Helsinki the aggravated workers endeavored to search the butter warehouses and to distribute the butter; late in the summer a general strike broke out in the city, lasting for two days when it was ended by organized labor. The pressure became so great that it seemed to interfere with our parliamentarism. This was democracy in reality: bringing the class struggle to a climax. But we, the representatives of the social democrats, did not see democracy in reality, but simply its hazy mirage.

This visionary mirage received its first knock from the hand of Kerenski's temporary government. Regardless of the stiff opposition by the bourgeois minority, the Diet had adopted the Russian Workingmen and Soldiers Council methods for the procedure in the Nations highest tribunal. From Petrograd a semi official Menshevik delegation arrived to curb the accepting of this so called "law of force"; but they arrived too late. Then, during the latter part of July the Provisional government dissolved the diet and new election was held. Our social democrats twice tried to continue the sessions of the dispersed Diet, but the first time Kerenski's hussars stood at the door; the second time only the seal of the Kerenski party was there; the session held but only the social democrats took part.

Our party did not refuse to take part in the new elections held the first of October. Because of the apparent increase in our votes, our party lost the majority place in the diet. The greatest assistance to the bourgeoisie was the ballot box stuffing. Immediately after the election newspaper commenced to report incidents where certain lo-

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DULUTH MOONEY DELEGATES



Remember when you take part in the deliberations at the Chicago Convention that:—

COURTS HAVE FAILED.

RESOLUTIONS HAVE FAILED.

MASS MEETINGS HAVE FAILED.

But:—

THE STRIKE WEAPON NEVER FAILS.

Masters of Bread--Beware



The masters stand at the head of things;
They are lords of work and pay;
And we must run till the set of sun,
Because the masters say;
For we, for we are the underlings,
And the lords of bread are they;
And we must eat though they screw and cheat,
And when they nod, obey.

Sometimes there is work for every one,
And sometimes, barred each gate;
And why it is so, the masters know,
We only wish and wait.
They know when the freights will begin to run
And the factory whistles blow,
And the fires burn and the spindles turn;
These things the masters know.

We work and work at things we must,
We don't so greatly care,
By the rushing flame, at the roaring loom,
In the coal mine's killing air.
We fashion gems for a dole of crust,
And silks, with a rag for pay;
And the things we make, the masters take,
To make their women gay.

There is wit and grace and courtesy,
When the masters meet and dine,
And the lives of men are ticked off tffen,
Over the nuts and wine;
For before them they somehow seem to see
All that the future brings;
Our minds are dull as we mull and mull
Over these puzzling things.

We shape the clothes that the masters wear
With such easy air of right;
We mine the coals that warm their souls,
As we shiver at home tonight
We build the yachts that the masters bear
With their graceful swallow wings:
For they are free but we, but we,
Are only the underlings.

Our minds are dull, we mull and mull,
But we're waking, masters; ay,
We're waking now, and, with knotted brow,
We're wondering dimly, why!
Only wondering, slow and vast and dull,
Brutal to do and dare;
But if ever we shake ourselves awake,
Masters of bread, beware!

WORKERS RED FLAG FLIES TO WELCOME WILSON IN FRANCE

Though French Government Sabotaged Greeting off Proletariat. Brest Blossomed Out in Socialist Hue.

Special Correspondence of The New York Call.

Paris.—The statesman who said with more force and clarity than any other that their blood was being shed to make the world safe for peace and democracy sleeps tonight

in the capital of France, whose soil has received the major sacrifice of those who died in the world war. Woodrow Wilson is here. Half of the 50 Parisian daily and weekly journals fly his photograph on their front pages, and all of them discuss

with frank or furtive zeal the crisis with which his presence confronts the diplomacy of England, France and Italy.

"Our government loved Wilson dearly, until the war was won," a

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TRUTH WILL PREVAIL

Bolsheviks Save Millions American Lives. — How They Conquered Germany!

By John Reed
(Reprinted from the Liberator)

Now that Imperial Germany is overthrown, we are told by the capitalist press of all countries that the Allied armies did it.

The pressure of superior Allied arms undoubtedly broke the power of the German offensive in the west, but that is all. Soviet Russia conquered Imperial Germany.

Two months ago our Government warned us that the war might last five years longer. At the very height of the German retreat, the Army and Navy Journal and the military experts of the New York Tribune and the London Times pointed out that the German armies were falling back in perfect order, according to well-worked-out strategic plans. When the Allied armies entered Lille they were not even in contact with the German rear-guard. Germany could have defended her frontiers almost indefinitely. . .

It was not the Allied armies which broke the morale of the Central Powers, but something else, something internal. It is generally admitted that Germany had plenty of men, plenty of arms, and even food. . . Why couldn't she answer Bulgaria's call for help? And Austria's? Because in Germany itself, in the heart of the greatest military machine in history, was a more powerful enemy than the Allies—the Rising of the Proletariat.

The German Imperial Government, the German bourgeoisie, preferred surrender to the bourgeois nations of the west, who respect private property, to the Social Revolution. . . Even now, as the Russian bourgeoisie before them, they are appealing to the Allies for help against their own Red working-class. . .

In July, 1917, after three months of inaction, the Russian armies were ordered to advance in Galicia. During those three months there had been almost continuous fraternization on the Eastern front. The German armies were becoming demoralized—whole regiments refused to fire on the Russian lines, were reorganized, and many soldiers executed. There was alarm throughout Germany. But the Galician offensive broke the spell. Nothing could have been more welcome to the German High Command.

In Stockholm, in August, I saw a letter written by Rosa Luxemburg to a friend:

"So, you Russians have broken the peace! The Russian Revolution was everything to us, too. Everything in Germany was tottering, falling. . . For months the soldiers of the two armies had fraternized, and our officers were powerless. . . Then suddenly, without a word of warning, the Russians fired on their German comrades! After that it was easy to convince the Germans that the Russian peace was a lie. Alas, my poor friends! Germany will destroy you now, and for us is black despair come again. . ."

It was because of this that the German advance on Riga was so

effective, although there had been no fighting in that sector since April. . . When the Army Committee of the Twelfth Army evacuated the city, however, soldiers went about under bombardment, posting on all walls and open space this proclamation:

"German Soldiers!
"The Russian soldiers of the Twelfth Army draw your attention to the fact that you are carrying on a war for autocracy against Revolution, freedom and justice. The victory of Wilhelm will be death to democracy and freedom. We withdraw from Riga, but we know that the forces of the Revolution will ultimately prove themselves more powerful than the force of cannons. We know that in the long run your conscience will overcome everything, and that the German soldiers, with the Russian Revolutionary Army, will march to the victory of freedom. You are at present stronger than we are, but yours is only the victory of brute force. The moral force is on our side. History will tell that the German proletarians went against their revolutionary brothers, and that they forgot duty. This crime you can expiate only by one means. You must understand your own and at the same time the universal interests, and strain all your immense power against imperialism, and go hand in hand with us—toward life and liberty!"

A month later mutiny broke out on the German fleet at Kiel. The sailors of the Russian battleships in the Baltic, in convention assembled, sent this greeting:

"The revolutionary sailors of the Baltic Fleet. . . send their brotherhood greetings to their heroic German comrades who have taken part in the insurrection at Kiel.

"The Russian sailors are in complete possession of their battleships. The Sailors' Committees are the High Command. The yacht of the former Tsar, the 'Polar Star,' is now the headquarters of the Fleet Committee, which is composed of common sailors, one from each ship.

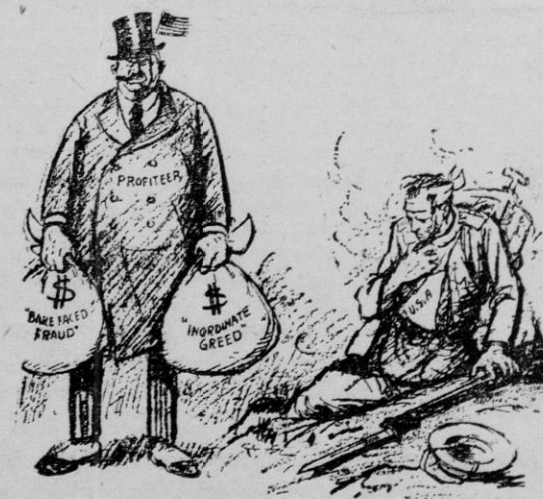
"Since the Revolution, the Russian Fleet is as busy as formerly, but the Russian sailors will not use the fleet to fight their brothers, but everywhere to fight under the Red Flag of the International for the freedom of the proletariat throughout the entire world."

The first act of the Bolshevik uprising in November was to order all company, regimental and army committees on the Russian front to begin fraternization with the Germans, and to conclude immediate temporary armistice treaties with the military units opposing them.

On the night of November 8th, in the Congress of Soviets, Lenin read the Decree on Peace, part of which said:

"Addressing this proposal for peace to the Governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Russia addresses itself also in particular

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He's Coming Back Masters.

So tighten your grip upon your profits. Because—?

AN OPEN LETTER TO W. McEWEEN EDITOR OF THE DULUTH LABOR WORLD

Dear Billy McEwan.

In your last issue of the Labor World you go out of your way to libel the Bolsheviks of Russia.

Your last issue came as a shock to the radical and progressive thinkers of Duluth. They were of the opinion that now that you are once more back in the labor movement, that you would don the armor of the past and gird yourself anew for the fight that is now coming. Remember Billy McEwan, that every storm does not herald its approach with boisterous winds. Some storms come before we are aware of their presence. Today there is very little said by the workers, but you know and I know that the storm is going to come. Upon the eve of such a storm, you Billy McEwan, member of the workingclass and a typical example of how capitalism treats a honest worker, take your stand upon the side of those who are fighting to restore Czarism in Russia.

With facts supplied by a renegade Socialist, you draw your own conclusions, without attempting to understand the bolshevik position. For your own guidance, I place before you the speeches of the various members of the Bolsheviks, as they stood beside the grave of one of their murdered comrades, murdered by the self-same gang that has forever held Labor by the throat and crushed it to earth. Read these speeches carefully and then take up the Labor World of last week and ask yourself a few personal questions.

Speeches at the funeral of the Longshoremen killed by the Czechoslovaks and Japanese while defending the Vladivostok Soviet.

Speech of the President.

"All my life has been one of toil and fear. Much pain and torture and killing without end we have known in the days of the Czar. Then the morning of the Revolution came and all these evils passed away. Workingmen and peasants were very happy and I was happy too. But suddenly in the midst of our rejoicing there came this blow. Once more everything is dark for us. We can not believe it; but here before our eyes, dead and cold, lie our brothers and comrades who fought for the Soviet. And in the north other comrades are falling before the guns. We listen and strain to hear the sound of the peasants and workers of other lands coming to the rescue. But it is in vain. All we can hear is the sound of the guns in the north."

Speech of the Woman.

"All through the past we women have seen our men led off to the wars while we wept at home. Those who ruled told us that is was right and for our glory. Those wars were far away and we did not understand. But our men here were killed before our eyes. This we can understand. And we understand that in it there was neither right nor glory. No, it was a cruel, heartless wrong and every child born of the mothers of the workingclass shall hear the story of this wrong."

Speech of the Student.

"We were students and artists. It seemed to us foolish for workmen to govern without the wisdom of the wise! But now we know that we were wrong and you were right. From now on we shall stand with you. What you do, we will do. We pledge our tongues and pens to tell the story of your wrongs through Russia and throughout the world."

Speech of Constantin Sookanov.

President of the Fallen Soviet.
"Here before the Red Staff Building where our comrades longshoremen were slain, we swear by these red coffins that hold them, by their wives and children that weep for them, by the red banner which floats over them, that the Soviet for which they died shall be the thing for which we live—or if need be—like them."

die. Henceforth, the return of the Soviet shall be the goal of all our sacrifice. To that end we shall fight with every means. The bayonets have been wrested from our hands but when the day comes and we have no guns we shall fight with sticks and clubs. When these are gone then with our bare fists and bodies. Now it is for us to fight only with our minds and spirits. Let us make them hard and strong and unyielding. The Soviet is dead. Long live the Soviet!"

The crowd caught up the closing words in a great cheer, mingled with the strains of the "International." "Arise ye prisoners of starvation, Arise ye wretched of the earth, For Justice thunders condemnation A better world's in birth—"

After you have read those speeches, can you not feel that you did a great wrong to those brave men and women who are fighting over there in Russia? Have not our own workers made similar speeches over the dead bodies of their murdered fellow-workers of Colorado, Calumet, Cripple Creek, Bayonne etc? Say Billy McEwan be a man and if the pressure is too strong and the memories of your job haunt you still, be a bigger man and please do not attempt to curry favor with those who despise you because you have been a man? Stand erect and say that you will forever stand on the side of those who are struggling to be free. Don't let it be said that you lent your pen to assist those that would ever see the Goddess of Liberty raped and her throat cut with the Sword of Justice.

You say the leaders of the Bolsheviks are a bunch of crooks. Let us find out who they are and then we will be best able to judge them. Of course it is not necessary to deal with all the leaders, we will deal with the two most responsible ones, Lenin and Trotsky. Lenin was the son of a Russian nobleman. At the age of seventeen he witnessed the hanging of his own brother. From that day on he vowed to work for the overthrow of Czarism. He left luxury behind and became an outcast, driven from Russian and hunted down like a wild beast. Today he leads the revolutionary workers of Russia. His salary is \$720.00 per year, yours Billy was \$4,000. Fancy crooks with their hands on million dollars only receiving sixty dollars per month!

When the rumor came to this country that Lenin was dead, murdered by the hand of an assassin, the following appeared in the New York Times.

"An American... who had rare opportunities of studying Lenin at close range, in the midst of the Russian turmoil, described him as 'the greatest living statesman in Europe.'"

"He endeavored to put into practice theories which he had been preaching for many years before the Russian Revolution came to pass. In those years he conceived and worked out in his mind a principle of social revolution which distinguished him from other Socialist thinkers by his uncompromising appeal to the spirit of class revolt."

Who is Leon Trotsky?

In 1900 Trotsky endeavored to organize the laborers into a union, just like you used to do. You know Billy McEwan, you see laborers working long hours for small wages and your social consciousness is aroused. Trotsky organized the laborers and was arrested and given a sentence of solitary confinement. He served his sentence and the first day he was free he went back and did the same thing all over again and this time he was exiled to Siberia. He escaped and travelled over 500 miles of the sold steppes of Russia. What a tramp! To appreciate the horrors of such a tramp, just walk to Two Harbors some night next week and you will realise the fortitude of

a Trotsky. Trotsky arrived in Austria was driven out to France. Exiled from France to Spain and then to Switzerland and then he managed to come to America. In America he heard of the revolution and he went back to Russia. Kerensky and the rest of the moderates of Russia feared him because Trotsky was too wise for them. Today after many struggles and privations he is at the head of the Soviet Government. Because he has a wife and two children he receives \$1080 yper year. Say Billy McEwan honestly down deep in your own heart do you now believe that these two big souls are crooks? Be frank and tell us that you have been deceived?

America has need to be proud of and grateful to the Bolsheviks of Russia. Military experts told us that a million lives would be lost when the great drive towards the Rhine took place. The Bolsheviks organized and propagated revolution in Germany and Austria. Today as a result of the revolutions that took place, those million boys are coming home to rest in peace at home. Instead of their dead bodies lying upon the banks of the Rhine, You Billy McEwan ought to be frank enough now and admit that you have made a mistake? When the truth is told and someday it will be told, I know and you know that thousands of American mothers, with tears of joy streaming down their cheeks will offer up their silent prayers of thanks and immortal gratitude for the glorious work that was done by the Bolsheviks of Russia. Someday Billy McEwan in the twilight of YOUR life, when the sand glass is running low and old Father Time says "Bill your time is up, you must now take the long long Rest," I know that in that hour you will regret with bitter tears streaming down your cheeks the blasphemous lies that you spread broadcast about the Bolsheviks. Why not stand up now and be a man and admit that the forces of reaction are too great and that in the greatest hour of the workers lives, you had not the courage to stand up for those who are bravely struggling towards the dawn of the New Era?

Col. Thompson of Wall Street; Col. Raymond Robins; head of the American Red Cross; Major Thatcher; Bessie Beatty of the San Francisco Bulletin; Louise Bryant of the Bell Syndicate; Madeline Doty of Harper's; Edgar Brown of the Chicago Daily News; Jerome Davis of the American Y. M. C. A. in Russia; and many others who have been with the Bolsheviks have seen them in action are proud of them and testify to the fine work they are doing in Russia. Yet Billy McEwan who has only gained his knowledge of them from renegade Socialists, has the audacity to call the Bolsheviks crooks.

In the midst of a country where Knights of Liberty pro I around and children die in slums, read what the Soviets of Russia have done.

What are some of the things which the Soviet Government has accomplished?

First—It nationalized all the natural resources, the forests, mines, waterways, etc.

Second—It gave all the land to the peasants. Each family was given as much land as it could work. This has made the peasants very happy and glad to support the Soviet.

Third—It organized a great Red Army.

Fourth—"It swept the Secret Treaties into the ash barrel of history."

Now in Preparation, First Complete American Edition of
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Fifth—It stirred up the great Revolution in Germany and pulled the Kaiser from his throne.

Sixth—It opened up thousands of schools, libraries, workmen's theatres, newspapers and postoffices.

Seventh—It gave the factories, shops and mines to the workers. Some of them were owned by the State; others came directly under workmen's control.

What has the Soviet done to give good houses to the people?

There were millions of people in Russia living in poor, dark rooms. On the other hand, there were thousands of palaces and fine homes well furnished and well lighted which were occupied by but a few people. The Soviets said this is all wrong; "You who build the great houses should live in them." So the people moved in. Now there are hundreds of thousands of poor people in Russia who, for the first time, have a decent place to live in.

Under the Soviet, then, is there great happiness in Russia? Is it the millennium on earth?

There is much cold and hunger in Russia now and many babies have died for lack of milk, in Moscow and Petrograd. The railroads are broken down, and while the rest of Europe has peace the workmen and peasants of Russia by the hundreds of thousands must go out to fight and to die. But they do not blame this upon the Soviets but upon the Allies who have cut off the food supply of Siberia.

How did the Soviet show its interest in the American working class?

It held thousands of meetings to protest against the murder of Mooney. The workmen of Petrograd went to the American Ambassador and told him Mooney was their brother and that he must be freed.

Did the Soviet pass any laws for the benefit of the American working class?

A great many. For example; the Soviet desired to import harvesters and other machinery from America. They declared they would receive no machinery from America which was not made under a living wage in an eight-hour day, with no night work for women, etc. No machinery, they said, would be allowed in Russia which did not bear the O. K. of committees of the workmen where the articles were made.

In closing allow me to remind you of the words of a brave American. One who spoke the truth, no matter at what cost. I refer to the famous speech of Patrick Henry,—

Besides, Sir, we shall not fight our battles alone.

The battle, Sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, Sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat, but in submission and in slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable—let it come! I repeat it, Sir, let it come!

It is in vain, Sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may give peace, peace—but there is no peace! The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I don't know what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

Billy McEwan the night is dark here in Duluth. Oppression has got us all by the throat, but some of us

O. F. WENNERLUND'S EYE TALKS

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The Book Lover.

SAVAGE SURVIVALS.

Reviewed by H. E. H.

SAVAGE SURVIVALS, by Professor J. Howard Moore. C. Kerr & Co. Chicago \$1.00.

Messrs. C. Kerr & Co. have issued a good edition of Professor J. Howard Moore's "Savage Survivals." The book, which is liberally illustrated, contains a series of lectures originally delivered as part of a course on the subject of Ethnics. The Professor deals with savage survivals in the dog, which is a civilized wolf; the cat, probably the descendant of the wild cat of northern Africa; the horse, which now walks on the nail of its big finger; the donkey, which is first cousin to the horse; the mule; the ox, whose ancestor is generally believed to be the European bison (aurochs); the sheep and the goat, both of them mountaineers with an Asiatic ancestry; and other animals. He also pays attention to the bees and other domesticated insects.

"The earth is a battlefield," he says, "and life is one mighty tragedy." In the struggle for life most animals perish. Only the few—the fittest—survive. The survival of the fittest which has gone on for millions of years has resulted in the production of species with natures and bodies exceedingly well fitted to the world in which they live. In the process of the struggle for life species displace each other, organs essential to one environment become useless under another set of surroundings and are either discarded or transformed—for "it is impossible to make over an organ which one does not need into one that it does need, somewhat as our mothers used to transform a coat which we did not need into a waistcoat or pair of trousers which we did need."

In this way the wings of birds were formed out of the legs of lizards. The disappearance of the snake's legs is an instance of the way in which useless organs are discarded. Snakes, like birds, have come from lizards, and originally walked on four legs. The whale's legs are another instance. The vermiform appendix in

are resisting it and soon we shall be free. Though the day has been hard and the darkness of the night seems to make us feel full of despair and become pessimistic, we are not lying down. Soon the roseate dawn will appear in all its glory. Soon the sun will shine and send forth its brightest rays.

Until then, I am yours for the rule of worker as opposed to the rule of the shirker.

Jack Carney.

man is an instance of vestigial organs—remnants of organs which have gone out of use and are in the act of passing away. The horse has lost all its toes but one, the cow all but two. The "glass-snake" is really not a snake; it is a lizard in the process of becoming a snake.

Similarly as useless organs survive in the bodies of men and animals, and for the same reasons, exactly as useless organs survive in the minds of men. The bristles and war-whoops of hogs are the war-paint and war-whoops of men.

The animal has been reared in a gory cradle, and this is especially true of man, who has fought his way to a supremacy in the world more bloody and complete than that hitherto achieved by any other species. The natural condition of early man was that of war—war with other men and with other animals. Peace was the exception. Every being outside of the savage was an enemy and a legitimate object of plunder. There were alliances and counteralliances. Men sought ever to be on the winning side. Hence the feebleness of human ties to-day among the higher peoples of the earth, and the insecurity of peace among the peoples of the world. The ally of to-day becomes the enemy of tomorrow, and the friend of the past becomes the foe of the present. This great facility we have for reversing our natures is an inheritance. The fighting instinct survives in all the higher peoples of the earth. It shows itself in the frequent brawls and fistfights of boys, and in the wars of men—

In fighting, the wolf uses its teeth, the buffalo its horns, the horse its feet, and the lion its paw. Man is like the lion. He strikes with his paw. The war instinct lies pretty close to the surface in the natures of even the highest peoples, for it is a very easy matter to stir it to action even in times of profound peace. Let the newspapers print a few big black headlines, and let somebody being to blow the bugle and beat the drum, and we are ready to leap at the throat of another people and find real satisfaction and much "glory" in the fact. The sword is the symbol of savagery, but it is still an attractive object to the most nearly civilized people so far produced on earth.

The final condition of mankind will be one of unbroken peace. War will ultimately be unthought of—except as men read of it in history. As time passes, the fighting instinct will grow weaker and more disreputable, and the humane and sympathetic instincts will grow correspondingly stronger, and men will come at last to settle their differences in courts of reason and justice. We live to-day in an intermediate stage of development. Peace is the prevailing state, but the

fighting instinct still survives, and continues to break out in frequent duels between individuals and nations. It will be with the nations as it has been with the individuals. Individual men used to fight out their differences. There were no courts of justice among the earliest men. It is now unlawful for men to settle their differences by fighting. And only those who are beyond the times use the fighting method. All higher men prefer reason and arbitration in courts of justice. In the course of time, the same thing will be true of nations. International differences will be settled, not by battleships and armed men, but by courts of justice and arbitration established by the nations.

The tribal instinct is the instinct to stand by one's group and to ex- aggregate the importance of the others place of living. It is the instinct of partiality—the instinct which prompts one to say: "My country! May she ever be right. But right or wrong, my country!" "Patriotism," as it is usually understood, is an expression of the tribal instinct. The true patriot does not believe that his country is the only country in the world, nor necessarily the best country; but he wants it to be a better country than it is, and he works to make it so.

"The world is my country," said Thomas Paine. Such words come from men whose sympathies are too big to be limited to any particular group of human beings. Anyone who is completely recovered from the tribal instinct does not stop even at the bounds of his species, but is a brother to all that feel.

Even our decimal system is a savage survival. A system of tens is not the best system; it was adopted by mankind far back in the early stages of human development, before there was any science of mathematics, when men counted on their fingers.

If man had four fingers on each hand instead of five, he would probably to-day have a system of eights. And a system of eights would have been just as good as a system of tens, or perhaps a little better. And, if man had six fingers on each hand instead of five, there is no doubt but that we would to-day have a system of twelves, a duodecimal system, which would have been a considerably better system than the one we have. A system of twelves would be a much more flexible system than a system of tens. Ten is divisible by two and five only, while twelve is divisible by two, three, four, and six. Counting in a decimal system must be either by ones, twos, fives of tens; or by some other multiple of ten; but in a duodecimal system we could count by ones, twos, threes, fours, sixes, twelves, or multiples of twelve. When we speak of "three score and ten," we are counting by the old vestigial finger-method, each score standing for twenty, or, as a Carib Indian would put it, for "one man"—that is, for the number of fingers and toes that one man has.



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WHY THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS OF FINLAND FAILED

(Continued from page 1)

calities had more votes cast there than there were voters in that district. Here and there in the possession of the chairmen of the election boards could be found ballots cast in favor of the social democrats. By mutual alliance the bourgeoisie also won a few seats in the diet. But besides this must also be kept in mind that the discouragement of the proletariat with the results of parliamentarism also had effect on the election returns. The powerlessness of the diet, the indifference, delay and the weakening of the result of our work in the diet, and also the depreciation of the political activity of the social democrats in the wake of the Coalition government surely lessened the enthusiasm for the election rather than increased it as was expected in such a high state of political intensity. Our beautiful, parliamentary democratic illusion (thus received another blow, not only from a stimulus originating on the outside but also from its inner nervousness and defectiveness.

Now the current of history flowed toward the first whirlpool. As might be well guessed the bourgeoisie, at once, used the advantage got in the election to usurp the dictatorial power and to subject the diet under this dictatorship.

The working class again had lost all its hope for aid from the diet and has consciously or unconsciously tending towards a revolution. The Coalition government had already broken up before the elections. Nothing could prevent the class struggle from becoming furious.

The atmosphere in Finland indicated that Russia was progressing towards a new and more profound revolution, the outbreak of which was a question of but a very short time. The Kerenski provisional government tottered like a twig in the storm. The Bolshevik strength grew like a thunder cloud.

Our social democrats, who should have used their strength in preparing for a revolution, waited peacefully for a session of the Diet. In November was introduced a provision by which the Nation's highest power would be entrusted into the hands of a three-man committee, but they did not dare pass this provision. At the same time they were negotiating an agreement with Russian Provisional government for an equal distribution of power, and Kerenski governor general, Nekrasov, departed for Petrograd for a signature to the compromise.

He did not return to Helsinki. Under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, the Russian proletariat overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and their tools and took the leadership into their own hands. The goddess of revolution just then passed over our own nation. We did not step into her chariot but bowed down and allowed her to fly past us. Then we joined in a commemoration for laying down our arms.

Could a revolution at this time lead to any victory in Finland? This is a different question from that. Could the proletarian revolution then have been a victory directly as in Russia? The former question, to me, appears possible, the latter, impossible now as then.

The general advantages of a revolution, surely, were not hopeless. The enthusiasm and desire for flight of the proletariat was at that time high pitched. The bourgeoisie were comparatively little prepared; it was in great need of weapons, having commenced to procure them from Germany. Truly, the proletariat lacked arms. We were able to borrow few hundred rifles from the Russian soldiers stationed at Helsinki; these are only the weapons worth mentioning. We would have

however been able in great need to have got some more rifles from the Russian soldiers who had given the revolution greater support than during the winter when the break in the Russian army and navy was the greatest. It must be granted that there were some among the Russian soldiers who would not have supported the revolution.

Before these signs of the times, we, social democrats who stood for class, swayed from one stand to another, now supporting the revolution, now refraining. The conservative socialists, numbering about a half of our party, divided, half favoring the revolution, a half opposing it. Majority of the social democrats in the diet opposed the revolutionary efforts in such a manner that it might be said they supported the bourgeoisie rather than the workers. The conservative socialist leaders of the trades organizations, on the other hand, desired to carry on some sort of revolutionary strike, the chief purpose was to get the majority of seats in the government and the senate. With them our committee formed a "revolutionary central council" which, especially when there were added to it social democrats who took the stand of opposition, could talk the stand of opposition, could talk the stand of opposition. This committee in the beginning decided to support the declaration of a general strike. At the trades organization convention, a general strike was declared. Did this mean revolution or simply a demonstration to emphasize the demands of the general strike? Everyone could draw his own conclusion as to this, for it was left undecided because there was disagreement as to it.

The general strike spreading, the question arose about its carrying on. We vainly called Marxians, opposed it furthermore. Without us the trades organization, the then revolutionists—would not start out. Because the Middle Soc. Dem. failed to take part in this revolution, we remained in the same position we had been for years. We were Soc. Dem. and not Marxians. Our Social democrats stand was first, the peaceful, gradual and not the revolutionary stand in the class struggle, but at the same time a stand independent of the bourgeoisie alliance. Both of these together determined our procedure.

First, we lacked faith in a revolution; we did not depend on it, nor did we strive for it. This usually is the common characteristic of the Social Democrats.

Social democracy, chiefly, is just that kind of labor movement which organizes and develops the workers in the lines of bourgeois (parliamentary) class war. Its program, truly, has the same aim as socialism, which to a certain degree determines the true or the so-called "nearest" direction of the program of the Social democrats. But in the main this is there as Utopian embellishment, for the reason that socialism can never exist in a bourgeois state into whose borders the useful activity of the social democrats is limited. That means which is historically inevitable, of getting from a bourgeois to a socialist society, the relevant revolutionary and dictatorial means of the proletariat, that means is entirely outside of the consciousness and practicability of the social democrats; that begins where the action of the social democrats ends. Consistent reality of the social democrats to the revolution is, at most, just as passive as the conforming of a forbearing historian to the past revolutionists.

"A revolution is born not made" is the favorite phrase of the social democrats, for nothing to advance the revolution concerns it. According to its nature, it would sooner hinder than aid a revolution (the same as a general strike and other semi-revolutionary mass action). This is very clear if we look at the practicability of social democracy: revolutionary action disturbs this purpose and threatens to end it. As it is impossible to determine the outcome of the revolution in advance, whether it will be a success at the first attempt and not a failure, it always appears possible that the organization activity and political achievements, the organization, buildings, libraries, newspapers, reforms, Democratic institutions, rights, etc. of the social democrats are threatened. Upon these is based the entire activity of the social democrats, in the life of social democracy these have developed; in the line of self interests, they are the chief basis for the continuation and the development of bourgeois

legal action. It is for this reason that social democracy wishes to protect and guard them even against the revolutionary dangers.

It is true that in the teachings of social democracy references are made to Marx, explanations are also given of results of organization with the apparent purpose of increasing and preserving it, and also expressly the necessity and success of the proletarian revolution is kept in view. And without doubt they will rise as a benefit in this revolution. This, most assuredly, will not occur because of the efforts of the social democrats, but regardless of them. (The bourgeois army, without doubt, will prove a great benefit to the proletarian revolution, but contrary to the purpose of this army organization.) If the social democrats could direct the action of the workers according to their wishes, it is very doubtful if the labor organization ever would venture such an undertaking as a revolution, or any such aim as socialism; at least in so far that the bourgeoisie do not provoke revolution with weapons in their hands. In this one incident you see the social democrat rise—out it is not certain that this is a rise—to revolt for the defence and continuation of his bourgeois class struggle. This resembles our rising the latter part of January.

In November we were about to withdraw from the revolution, partly to protect our democratic achievements from dangers, partly because we hoped, thru our parliamentary plans to turn the whole historical cycle, and partly also fatalistically thinking if the revolution is to come now or later, it would come regardless of our opposition and thus it would prove itself really powerful.

What is the outcome of this historical error? Did we prevent armed combats? No. It was only postponed to such a time when the bourgeoisie were armed to the teeth, as in November. The bourgeoisie can bring about an armed combat with the workers at any time it wishes. The only danger to the Workers in the fact that the bourgeoisie can specify the time of the beginning of this class war. When the proletariat begins it, the bourgeoisie in all localities are not sufficiently prepared for the revolution and to a greater or less degree are surprised by it; especially where the conservative ruling power have made itself extensively hated, here the revolution started by the workers can sweep along the dissatisfied layers of society, or at least can scatter and weaken the opposing lines. Where such conditions exist as exist in the warring countries, where even the proletariat until further have weapons in hand, it is extremely important that a class war should begin; the revolutionary power, within a very brief period, could unarm large numbers, capture a great deal of supplies necessary for the revolution, suitably arrange the most dependable troops for the defensive and offensive against the "internal enemy", also to arrange all its strength into passive or active counter-revolutionary action. It is certain that the government at the beginning of a class war, has attempted to arrange the outside political conditions in a way more beneficial to itself, to arrange for foreign help when in greatest need, or at least to protect itself from the external enemy. In November it would have been more difficult for the bourgeoisie in Finland to get assistance from Germany than after a large number of her troops were liberated on the eastern front. We could not have imagined this fact in November. (To be continued)

TRUTH MUST PREVAIL.

(Continued from page 1)

to the conscious workmen of the three most advanced nations of humanity and the greatest of the powers participating in the present war—England, France and Germany. The workers of these countries have rendered great service to the cause of progress and Socialism; the Chartist movement in England, the series of Revolutions carried out by the French proletariat, and lastly, the heroic struggle against the Laws of Exemption in Germany, and the long, stubborn, disciplinary work of creating proletarian organizations in Germany, which ought to serve as a model for the whole world—all these models of proletarian heroism and historical creation are guarantees that the workers of the above-named countries will understand their duty, which is to deliver humanity from the horrors and results of war. These same workers, by their decisive and energetic action, will help us bring to a successful conclusion the fight for peace, and at the same time the liberation of all the working-classes from slavery and exploitation.

At the same time a proclamation to the German soldiers was drawn up, printed in millions of copies and not only spread across the front but dropped from aeroplanes

inside Germany. It begins:

"To the German Soldiers!
"SOLDIERS, BROTHERS!

"On October 25th (old style), the workmen and soldiers of St. Petersburg overthrew the imperialistic Government of Kerensky and placed the whole power in the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. The new Government, under the name of the Council of People's Commissars, was confirmed by the All-Russian Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. Our program, to the execution of which the Government has immediately proceeded, consists in a proposal of an immediate democratic peace, which has already been communicated to the belligerent nations and their Governments, in the transfer without compensation of all the land to the peasants for their use, and in the realization of Workers' Control over production and industry.

"We have taken all measures and will in the future leave none untried, in order that all the belligerent Governments and peoples shall be informed of the full content of our peace negotiations. In addition to the above-mentioned peace proposal, we consider it our duty to address ourselves particularly to you, as representatives of a nation which is at the head of the coalition engaged in war against Russia on an extensive front.

"Soldiers, Brothers! We ask you to stand by Socialism with all your might in the struggle for immediate peace, as that is the only means to secure an equitable and permanent peace for the working-classes of all countries, and to heal the wounds which the present most criminal of all wars has inflicted on humanity."

This was followed by the "Appeal to the Toiling and Exploited Peoples of All Lands," and the texts of the Decree on Peace and the Decree on Land.

WORKERS RED FLAG WELCOMES WILSON.

(Continued from page 1)

French woman said to me last night, "But our common people love and rely upon him more today than they ever did; he is the only ruling statesman in whom they still hold hope for an enduring peace."

Writing in La Verite, R. De Marmand, declares that all the living forces of France gather today about the American President. But he adds:

"Mr. President, do not forget those invisible souls who also smile upon you. Heroes of peace, dreamers and searchers—poets, savants, historians and prophets, they, too, are present; obscure artisans, conspicuous celebrities, they are here today, actually present, all those who unto death have carried forward the pacific ideal which we have come among us to convert into reality. Yesterday it was Pressense, and Jean Jaures—and all the intrepid host of the French proletariat.

"The clock has struck, your hour is at hand, Mr. President. You, in accord with the world of thought and labor, must make the prophecies come true!"

But this profound faith of the French masses in Wilson's power to put an end to the perpetual wars of pathetic in spite of the constant reservations with which they fill their eulogies—represents merely the mass and majority of Parisian thought.

On the very day before Wilson reached Paris, Le Temps, the New York Times of French journalism, in a quiet Bourgeois laughter

at Wilson's expense, declaring that it is now time to cast among the other "Utopian rubbish" all thought of a league of nations which would include Russia, Germany and Austria. Le Temps insists, however,

upon creating a league of nations against the revolutionary peoples of middle and eastern Europe. This it describes as a necessity.

Workers' Welcome Sabotaged.

The French government was able by a simple diplomatic device to prevent the great demonstration by which the working class planned to annex the President and his 14 points when Wilson arrived in Paris today, and thus clear the atmosphere for the diplomatic battle soon to begin at the Trianon. The government said the Socialist party and the trade unions must first telegraph to Wilson and procure the latter's specific consent to the proletarian demonstration. The workers replied that such a request would be an insult to the President since it would put him in the position of asking for an ovation, and they declined to send the request. The demonstration may be held during the coming week.

The workers got wind of the ruse in time to stage their welcome to "the apostle of peace" at Brest, when Wilson came ashore on Friday. Brest is a strong Socialist city and the ovation given the President there, excepting the cut-and-dried naval phase, was distinctly proletarian. Jean Longuet headed the delegation from Paris, and in a telegram to Le Populaire which appeared on the streets as the American chief passed down the Champs Elysee, Longuet explains "Why the Proletariat Acclaim Wilson."

"To justify our faith in him, it is only necessary for us to refer to the messages which he has addressed to the American people during the past two years. And certainly we understand the disgust and witness the rage which this situation provokes in the souls of the bourgeois imperialists and reactionaries."

Longuet then quotes eight passages in which Wilson protested his friendship for the German people, as distinct from the ex-kaiser's government, emphasizing especially the January 8 address, in which, Longuet says, Wilson identified his policy with the war program of the Socialist parties of the world adopted at Stockholm.

After quoting the President with cumulative effect, Longuet concludes:

Red Flag Flies for Wilson.
"This then, is why the ardent Socialist city, the great revolutionary port of Brest, gave Woodrow Wilson the memorable reception of which we have just been the amazed witnesses; this is why the red flag of the party and of the unions—even one black flag of the communist-anarchists—floated arrogantly above the cheering crowd while the thousands of children of toil greeted him as the apostle of peace. This is why the proletariat of Paris, the proletariat of France, the proletariat of all Europe, today pays its respects to the great democrat, worthy successor of Washington and Lincoln."

In this applause by the French proletariat there is a wealth of acute labor politics, but there is no self-deception. "Wilson is a great bourgeois," declares Frossard, general secretary of the Socialist party, "yet, in a world dominated by capitalist antagonisms, he has the noble ambition to substitute the force of the idea for the force of force."

L'Humanite reprints a letter written by Romain Rolland to Jean Longuet on December 4, in which the great French exile states plainly: "I am not a Wilsonian; I perceive that he aims merely at extending the conception of bourgeois republicanism, as typified by France and America. And that ideal no longer satisfies me. But in spite of our personal preferences and our reservations for the future, I believe our best policy for the present is to support the policies of President Wilson, because the great bourgeois typifies the purest, most disinterested and humane conscience of his class."

The same edition of Humanite displays a big type on the front page a striking article by Anatole France, who thus concludes:

"We indorse with all the force of our hearts and souls the Wilsonian principle that every people must be free to determine for itself the form of government under which it wishes to live. We cannot tolerate, in violation of this principle, the sight of soldiers from a free country used to stifle liberty beyond their frontiers. Finally, to the voice of Wilson, in favor of a League of Nations, we unite our voice for such a league, of which the first bonds, still weak, have been woven at such great cost by the forces of international Socialism."

The workers of France and their leaders are well aware of these facts and are preparing to put up one of the most momentous lights in their history. On the other hand the bourgeois-reactionary groups are seeing the danger ahead of them, and whether Royalist, Bonapartist, Conservative, Republican, Bourgeois-Radical, or Bourgeois-Radical-Socialist, they instinctively drew closer together and are going to form the bulk of the forces on the other side of the barricades.

The results of this clear lining up will be felt in the very near future. If any international labor and Socialist gathering is to be held, it will partly be due to this magnificent united stand to our French Comrades, and as to the projected French intervention, it may be the match so much needed to kindle the home-fires.

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