

THE PRESIDENT

Is informed by Italian Socialist Mayor that only the dictatorship of the proletariat will bring everlasting peace---Bolsheviki by their own power have compelled the allies to withdraw---Britain and Ireland in grip of a working class revolt---U. S. Soldier Salutes Debs.

Long Live the Red International

Italian Socialist Flint
Draws Fire From President

Uncompromising Attitude of Milan Workers
Brought About Wilson's Hands-Off
Russia Speech.

By Paul Wallace Hanna, N. Y. Call.

Milano, Italy, Jan. 5 (delayed.)—Woodrow Wilson, champion of a new world to be dominated by idealistic financiers and small business men of good morals, today entered a city that is under the political control of the working class and represented by a Mayor whose international ideal looks to a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Sixty thousand men and women packed the two big squares which flank the beautiful Milan Cathedral, tossed the military cordons aside with a laugh and shouted their encouragement to the quixotic Yankee who had come abroad to storm the Entente castle and rescue the languishing Lady of Lasting Peace.

In the gilt-gold rooms of the palace President Wilson exchanged speeches with spokesmen of the city's "best people" and then threw kisses to the heaving multitude in the squares below the palace balcony. This evening he drove to the City Hall and was received by the municipal authorities, headed by Mayor Emilio Caldara.

Mayor Caldara took early opportunity to ask if he might not outline in brief for the visiting President the working class conception of a world made safe for democracy. He then made acknowledgment of Mr. Wilson's sincerity as expressed in the famous fourteen points, and added:

Some Other Points.

"We, while aspiring to much more, appreciate all the practical importance and moral greatness which the triumph of the fourteen points would have.

"We feel above all that the principle of self-determination of peoples is the fundamental pivot of the new rights which you have outlined.

"And we insist that the end of all 'freedomism' constitutes the best guarantee of peace.

"Just national revindications reinforce the league of nations, and the workers of all the world can more effectively bind themselves together for the entire conquest of their rights.

"Thus, the principle of self-determination gives a new moral force to the classical international law which was called 'non-interference,' and guarantees to all peoples their independence.

"It is to this wise principle you have enunciated that we now appeal in behalf of the new republics of Russia and Germany.

"You have known how to hold yourself above the struggle even after it had become the principle actor in it—be still above all unjust discriminations in the supreme interest of humanity, which has suffered so much and hopes for so much."

It was the above straightforward appeal for hands off in Russia and Germany which evoked from President Wilson the surprising response in which he paid homage to the working class as the real basis of society and the most potential factor in the ultimate decisions of statesmen.

The Newspaper View.

American newspaper correspondents who heard the President's response, without knowing what Mayor Caldara had said, turned to each

"who has made a Bolshevik of the President?"

Significantly enough, the Milano Socialists were neither surprised nor especially moved by Wilson's reply. They are accustomed to political mastery in their town, and are impatient only to extend the dominion of the workers to the economic machinery.

One interesting comment was made by a veteran of the Italian labor movement.

"You say that is the most complimentary thing Wilson has said about labor during his European tour?" he asked. "Very well; it only proves the value of our uncompromising attitude. If the Socialists of France and England had been as frank in expressing themselves, Mr. Wilson would have known within a week after he landed that the workers of Europe are brothers, and determined to stand together in the fight for freedom."

ITALIAN PROTEST
SLIGHT TO WILSON

Forty Socialist Deputies Absent
Themselves in Protest Against
Armies in Russia and Treatment
of American Labor Leaders.

By Paul Wallace Hanna, N. Y. Call.

Rome, Jan. 4.—Forty empty seats greeted Woodrow Wilson when he faced the Italian Chamber of Deputies last night and heard himself acclaimed as the prophet of enduring peace and justice among peoples. They were the seats made vacant by delegates of the Socialist party in protest against the presence of American and Entente armies in Russia and against the prosecution of Socialist and labor leaders in the United States.

Against the President of the United States the Italian Socialists cherish no personal ill will. Within a few hours after the "absent" demonstration in the Chamber of Deputies I sat in the office of Avanti and talked with Constantino Lazzari, secretary of the Italian Socialist party and veteran chairman of the working class of the world.

"We have written an open letter to Mr. Wilson in which we explain in full the attitude of the Italian Socialist," said Lazzari, as he spread before me a copy of the revolutionary journal whose famous editor, Serrati, is now in prison. "See for yourself what the censor has done to our letter."

Three white patches, symbols of the truth which gave offense to officialdom, marked the columns in which the open letter to Wilson was printed. Lazzari gave me some slips of paper on which were reproduced the lines which the censor had stricken out, and I have passed them

(Continued on page 3)

SOLIDER SALUTES
EUGENE V. DEBS

"Lincoln Was Murdered,
I Got Ten Years,"
Says Debs.

By Thos. C. Devine.

An intense and dramatic movement was experienced by the audience that filled Memorial hall, Toledo, to the doors, Jan. 2, to hear Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader. Hours before the meeting opened the hall was filled and a second hall in the same building was secured and filled in a few moments with an eager and expectant crowd. Hundreds were turned away unable to get inside the building. Many police were present, but no disturbance occurred, the audience waiting patiently for Debs to make his appearance. Many returned soldiers in uniform were scattered throughout the hall and helped girl ushers in taking a collection.

As Comrade Debs stepped upon the platform a beautiful girl, carrying red carnations, accompanied by her sweetheart in uniform, walked to the platform. The soldier stood at attention while the flowers were presented to the beloved Debs.

A dramatic moment ensued. An intense silence seized the great audience as it gazed with tear-dimmed eyes upon the picture of the champion of the working class receiving this tender homage. One thought seemed to hold all minds—that the things which the capitalist class and its hireling press told of Debs' utterances and purposes were blackest lies. Tears dimmed the eyes of the audience while Debs' own eyes were noticed to weep with affection and love.

Taking the girl by the hand and with the other upon the shoulder of the soldier, Debs said: "I have stood upon this same platform many times. Here I met your Golden Rule Mayor and at other times many others—but nothing has ever touched me so deeply as this. I know what you boys have suffered, something of how your mothers have wept patiently and longed for a word from over there. This is a beautiful thing, to meet you here tonight, and of all the pleasant memories of my life this moment, I believe, will live the longest—and remain as fresh as these beautiful flowers, and not only will I live, but my death and after—yes, after—their fragrance will remain."

The applause was spontaneous and prolonged. The audience seemed to take relief in giving vent to its heartiest approval in cheer after cheer.

One of the Toledo daily papers reported the meeting as follows:

Lauds Lenin.

After acknowledging that he was a Bolshevik "from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet," Debs protested against Postmaster General Burleson's action in barring from the mails literature written by Nicholas Lenin, Bolshevik leader in Russia, whom Debs termed "the greatest of European statesmen."

"In the name of the Socialist Party as I stand here on parole I protest against the suppression of free speech, free assembly and free press," Debs shouted.

Scorns His Sentence.

Debs spoke with scorn of the ten-year sentence hanging over his head. "I hate and abhor the capitalistic system, but I don't hate its victims," Debs said. "I went to Cleveland the other day and took by the hand the man who sent me to jail, and I felt sorry for him. He didn't know; it was his misfortune."

"I got my ten years for telling them they would rather have the

kaizer than see the working class rule.

"I am liable to be accused of stirring up class hatred, and get ten years more for my words tonight. My little liberty—what does that matter? A sentence to the pen for ten years doesn't start me. I can go there and be perfectly serene, but I couldn't go if I couldn't look myself in the face for being too cowardly for inviting the sentence."

Love for Lincoln.

He likened himself to Lincoln, pointing out that both the martyred president and himself loved the common people.

"They murdered Lincoln," said Debs. "I got only ten years. I don't look up to king, politician, priest or preacher; I look up to the working class—that beautiful class in which I was born. A class with dirty faces but clean hearts, rough hands but tender souls—the class that has fed and sheltered the race through all the ages."

"You working people haven't lived; you know not love, sunshine, song, laughter. Your life is work, the shop bell, black faces, a boss."

Easy for Master.

"Your wages go up, then they go down, then you are out of a job. Your master is away; he owns the tools that you work with, but he is not at work."

"You build a mansion for him, but you cannot enter; you fashion a limousine for him, but you cannot ride in it. He has nothing but contempt for you."

Rich Are Poorest.

"The poorest man I know is Rockefeller, and the second poorest is Andrew Carnegie, who has lost his mind jingling the chains you made for him, and fearing that they would be taken away from him, and he would die a pauper."

"Can you imagine how poor Rockefeller feels without one comrade—not one? That is poverty."

"We know so little about existence. So little about life. We are so used to struggle, treachery, dishonesty. It is bred by the system under which we now live. You, I, all of us, are pitted against each other in a remorseless struggle for existence. We are strangers to our neighbors."

"Have you ever paused in a crowded thoroughfare, where humanity was speeding toward you? Have you peered into the faces of the young—old before they were born? Have you seen the tragedy of ages written upon the human countenance? Have you ever felt yourself impeached for being decently dressed? Have you ever felt ashamed for having had your breakfast when so many children are starving?"

A Contrast.

"I recently picked up a paper and read two items.

"The first told of an impoverished mother, who had borne seven children, who choked her last-born to death so that it would not starve."

"The second told of a capitalist who had just bought a \$75,000 sable coat for his wife, a former actress."

"I am not telling you this to appeal to your emotions; rather would I reach your intelligence."

Meeting Record Breaker.

More than 3,000 people attended the Toledo Debs' meeting. Between 600 and 1,000 were turned away, unable to find standing room. Police were kept busy clearing the aisles in conformity with fire regulations. An unusually large collection was taken and much literature sold.

BAN ON NEGRO CONGRESS.

Passports Refused to Delegates on

Plea of French Government.

Washington, Feb. 1.—Passports for negroes desiring to attend Pan African Congress at Paris have been refused by the State Department, which announced today that the French Government did not consider the present a favorable time to hold such a conference.

ALLIES AGAIN FALL
BACK BEFORE REDS

Outflanked, Americans,
British and Russians
Retire 40 Miles.

Archangel, Feb. 1.—(Associated Press.)—Another violent attack by the Bolsheviks on the American, Russian and British positions at Taresevo compelled the hard-pressed and outnumbered Allied column in this sector to withdraw approximately forty miles. Its new position is at the village of Srdmakrenga.

It has been learned that early in January, in connection with the general plan to make the Bolshevik army a formidable force by early spring, gas schools were opened at Moscow.

The Bolsheviks, whose active forces in the field from the River Dvina to the Volodga railroad are now estimated to number 15,000, brought up still more artillery yesterday and are heavily shelling the new American position on the Vaga River and also the position on the Dvina, at Tulgas. The other sectors are comparatively quiet.

The American evacuation of Taresevo came only after a week of fighting in this sector, in which the Bolsheviks kept persistently on the offensive after suffering considerable loss in their first attack, which was repulsed. Although attacked at Taresevo from three sides and greatly outgunned, the defenders held on there until yesterday, when a flank column of the enemy, with guns, proceeded northward over a winter road and began an attack on the village of Gora, which is on the line of communications northward between Taresevo and Srdmakrenga.

The detachment of British at Gora held out until the American Taresevo force completed its evacuation. The two forces then joined, retreating northward.

The official statement of the operations on the Northern Russian front, says:

Wednesday and Thursday the Bolsheviks strongly attacked the positions at Taresevo, compelling the Allies to retire northward, and they are now holding positions twenty miles north of Taresevo.

Washington, Feb. 1.—The situation in the Archangel district is regarded by military officers in Northern Russia as extremely critical.

Advices to the War Department today made no reference to an appeal for reinforcements, but it was said here that, inasmuch as this was a matter for determination by the Supreme War Council in Paris, a more detailed report had been sent to that body, possibly with a request for additional support.

Available figures obtained by War Department officials show that the British force in the region of the north is approximately 6,000, the American 4,500, the French 1,500, loyal Russians under British officers 1,200, with 1,000 other soldiers of one of the smaller allied countries. The exact disposition of these forces is not known officially in Washington, no report on this subject having been made in some weeks.

Army officials said that the body of troops now retreating before the well armed and reinforced Bolsheviks was little more than an advance post. Reports of a forty-mile retirement, however, led experts to believe that a larger body was engaged than had been supposed heretofore. General March, chief of staff, expressed the opinion a week ago that the number of troops in the advance south from Archangel was sufficiently large to keep the situation in hand.

Great Britain and Ireland
Are Held In Strike Grip

Labor Seems To Be Taking Action As a
Reconstruction Measure—Belfast
Is Completely Tied Up.

London, Jan. 30.—The strikes which have broken out in Great Britain and Ireland are the beginning of a fight in the interests of demobilized soldiers, labor officials declared today.

The strike situation, which resulted in paralyzation of shipbuilding and seriously affected other industries, was unchanged early today, though it was believed that the trouble would be extended later through sympathetic walkouts. Nearly 200,000 men were on strike in various parts of the country.

"The strikes are the beginning of British labor's battle to force capital to provide for demobilized soldiers by shortening the working week," Fred Bramley, assistant secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, said.

"Demobilized soldiers will flood the country with idle men. Consequently, great numbers of jobs must be created. Signing of the armistice abrogated the truce between labor and the government. Labor is now free to use force to back up its demands."

200,000 Are Idle.

It is estimated that nearly 200,000 men and women are idle in the United Kingdom and Ireland because of strikes in various trades, creating one of the most serious industrial situations the country has had to face in many years. Half of the strikers are in Belfast, where the strike movement continues to spread.

The city of Belfast by night is now in virtually total darkness, hospitals being the only places where lights can be shown without danger of attacks by strikers. Everywhere else the display of a light has caused either the stoning or the storming of the premises.

In cases where such drastic action was not taken the people were forced by threats to screen their lights. Even in private houses it is not considered wise to use more than one candle, and the supply of candles is rapidly diminishing.

Men in various of the smaller industrial plants who had remained at work came out for safety's sake, the picketing having spread. One of the morning newspapers was forced to suspend publication. The shipyard workers are opposed to the strike and are endeavoring to arrange a meeting for Wednesday.

There is no change in the situation on the Clyde, where 20,000 shipyard workers are out, or in London, where 15,000 ship repairers are striking, and have refused an offer to refer the question of wages to a committee.

To these must be added 24,000 Fifehire miners, 6,000 South Wales miners, 5,000 Edinburgh shipwrights, 4,000 Manchester dockers, 4,000

South Wales shipyard men and a number of Glasgow municipal workers.

Except in London, where the question is one of wages, all these strikes are due to a demand for shorter hours with the same privileges and wages as prevailed when longer hours were worked.

100,000 Out in Belfast.

There are 100,000 persons involved in the strike at Belfast, and 26 trades are affected, writes the Belfast correspondent of the Mail.

"The strike is the most serious ever experienced in this city of strikes," the correspondent says. "Belfast is like a dead city. Its entire social life is paralyzed, theaters and saloons are closed, tram cars are not running, bakeries and laundries are closing, and there were no afternoon papers. Only two small editions of morning newspapers appeared."

All by Candle Light.

"Telegraphic and telephonic communication with outside districts is seriously handicapped. After sunset restaurants are closed and evening services cannot be held by the churches."

"Railway stations are lighted by naphtha lamps, but in their homes the people depend upon candles. Should the candle supply fail, there will be a plague of darkness."

"The main cause of the trouble lies in the fact that the workers in electric and gas plants have joined the shipyard workers in demanding a 44-hour week. Things are in such a state of chaos that a change must come soon. Grave diggers joined the strike on Monday."

They Did It Themselves.

London, Jan. 31.—Alex. Thompson, editor of the Clarion, a Socialist paper, in reviewing the industrial unrest for the Mail, writes:

"The new Labor Minister, Sir Robert Stevenson Horne, whose sincere sympathy with labor's desire for improved conditions of life has very favorably impressed leader of the trade unions, confesses his utter helplessness in dealing with the grave problems assailing him on his entrance to office."

"None of the present strikes have been authorized by the executives of the unions involved, and all are contrary to official advice. Therefore it is obviously impossible for Sir Robert to interfere."

"It is his policy, as Labor Minister, to support trade union executives, as any other action would only weaken their authority and strengthen the hands of those who have disobeyed instructions."

SUPERIOR I. W. W.

At the Open Forum meeting, in response to an appeal by Mrs. Carney, a collection of \$8.05 was taken for the "Leavenworth Book Fund."

Open Forum meetings every Wednesday. J. Polin will speak next Wednesday. If you intellectuals want to know how little you know, attend the Open Forum.

W^h 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.

VOL. III. No. 6.

FEBRUARY 7, 1919.

WHOLE NUMBER 86.

FIVE CENTS

THE PRESIDENT

Is informed by Italian Socialist Mayor that only the dictatorship of the proletariat will bring everlasting peace---Bolsheviks by their own power have compelled the allies to withdraw---Britain and Ireland in grip of a working class revolt---U. S. Soldier Salutes Debs.

Long Live the Red International

Italian Socialist Flint Draws Fire From President

Uncompromising Attitude of Milan Workers
Brought About Wilson's Hands-Off
Russia Speech.

By Paul Wallace Hanna, N. Y. Call.
Milano, Italy, Jan. 5 (delayed.)

Woodrow Wilson, champion of a new world to be dominated by idealistic financiers and small business men of good morals, today entered a city that is under the political control of the working class and represented by a Mayor whose international ideal looks to a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Sixty thousand men and women packed the two big squares which flank the beautiful Milan Cathedral, tossed the military cordons aside with a laugh and shouted their encouragement to the quixotic Yankee who had come abroad to storm the Entente castle and rescue the languishing Lady of Lasting Peace.

In the gilt-gold rooms of the palace President Wilson exchanged speeches with spokesmen of the city's "best people" and then threw kisses to the heaving multitude in the squares below the palace balcony. This evening he drove to the City Hall and was received by the municipal authorities, headed by Mayor Emilio Caldara.

Mayor Caldara took early opportunity to ask if he might not outline in brief for the visiting President the working class conception of a world made safe for democracy. He then made acknowledgment of Mr. Wilson's sincerity as expressed in the famous fourteen points, and added:

Some Other Points.
"We, while aspiring to much more, appreciate all the practical importance and moral greatness which the triumph of the fourteen points would have."

"We feel above all that the principle of self-determination of peoples is the fundamental pivot of the new rights which you have outlined."

"And we insist that the end of all 'irredentism' constitutes the best guarantee of peace."

"Just national revindications reinforce the league of nations, and the workers of all the world can more effectively bind the struggle together for the entire conquest of their rights."

"Thus, the principle of self-determination gives a new moral force to the classical international law which was called 'non-intervention,' and guarantees to all peoples their independence."

"It is to this wise principle you have enunciated that we now appeal in behalf of the new republics of Russia and Germany."

"You have known how to hold yourself above the struggle even after you had become the principle actor in it—he still above all unjust discriminations in the supreme interest of humanity, which has suffered so much and hopes for so much."

It was the above straightforward appeal for hands off in Russia and Germany which evoked from President Wilson the surprising response in which he paid homage to the working class as the real basis of society and the most potential factor in the ultimate decisions of statesmen.

The Newspaper View.

American newspaper correspondents who heard the President's response, without knowing what Mayor Caldara had said, turned to each

"who has made a Bolshevik of the President?"

Significantly enough the Milano Socialists were neither surprised nor especially moved by Wilson's reply. They are accustomed to political mastery in their town, and are impatient only to extend the dominion of the workers to the economic machinery.

One interesting comment was made by a veteran of the Italian labor movement.
"You say that is the most complimentary thing Wilson has said about labor during his European tour?" he asked. "Very well; it only proves the value of our uncompromising attitude. If the Socialists of France and England had been as frank in expressing themselves, Mr. Wilson would have known within a week after he landed that the workers of Europe are brothers, and determined to stand together in the fight for freedom."

ITALIAN PROTEST SLIGHT TO WILSON

Forty Socialist Deputies Absent
Themselves in Protest Against
Armies in Russia and Treatment of American Labor Leaders.

By Paul Wallace Hanna, N. Y. Call.

Rome, Jan. 4.—Forty empty seats greeted Woodrow Wilson when he faced the Italian Chamber of Deputies last night and heard himself acclaimed as the prophet of enduring peace and justice among peoples. They were the seats made vacant by delegates of the Socialist party in protest against the presence of American and Entente armies in Russia and against the prosecution of Socialist and labor leaders in the United States.

Against the President of the United States the Italian Socialists cherish no personal ill will. Within a few hours after the "absent" demonstration in the Chamber of Deputies I sat in the office of Avanti and talked with Constantino Lazzari, secretary of the Italian Socialist party and veteran chairman of the working class of the world.

"We have written an open letter to Mr. Wilson in which we explain in full the attitude of the Italian Socialist," said Lazzari, as he spread before me a copy of the revolutionary journal whose famous editor, Serrati, is now in prison. "See for yourself what the censor has done to our letter."

Three white patches, symbols of the truth which gave offense to officialdom, marked the columns in which the open letter to Wilson was printed. Lazzari gave me some slips of paper on which were reproduced the lines which the censor had stricken out, and I have passed them

(Continued on page 3)

SOLIDER SALUTES EUGENE V. DEBS

"Lincoln Was Murdered,
I Got Ten Years,"
Says Debs.

By Thos. C. Devine.

An intense and dramatic movement was experienced by the audience that filled Memorial hall, Toledo, to the doors, Jan. 2, to hear Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist leader. Hours before the meeting opened the hall was filled and a second hall in the same building was secured and filled in a few moments with an eager and expectant crowd. Hundreds were turned away unable to get inside the building. Many police were present, but no disturbance occurred, the audience waiting patiently for Debs to make his appearance. Many returned soldiers in uniform were scattered throughout the hall and helped girl ushers in taking a collection.

As Comrade Debs stepped upon the platform a beautiful girl, carrying red carnations, accompanied by her sweetheart in uniform, walked to the platform. The soldier stood at attention while the flowers were presented to the beloved Debs.

A dramatic moment ensued. An intense silence seized the great audience as it gazed with tear-dimmed eyes upon the picture of the champion of the working class receiving this tender homage. One thought seemed to hold all minds—that the things which the capitalist class and its hireling press told of Debs' utterances and purposes were blackest lies. Tears dimmed the eyes of the audience while Debs' own eyes were noticed to weep with affection and love.

Taking the girl by the hand and with the other upon the shoulder of the soldier, Debs said: "I have stood upon this same platform many times. Here I met your Golden Rule Mayor and at other times many others—but nothing has ever touched me so deeply as this. I know what you boys have suffered. Something of how your mothers have wept patiently and longed for a word from over there. This is a beautiful thing, to meet you here tonight, and of all the pleasant memories of my life this moment, I believe, will live the longest—and remain as fresh as these beautiful flowers, and not only while I live, but at my death and after—yes, after their fragrance will remain."

The applause was spontaneous and prolonged. The audience seemed to take relief in giving vent to its heartfelt approval in cheer after cheer.

One of the Toledo daily papers reported the meeting as follows:

Lauds Lenin.
After acknowledging that he was a Bolshevik "from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet," Debs protested against Postmaster General Burleson's action in barring from the mails literature written by Nicholas Lenin, Bolshevik leader in Russia, whom Debs termed "the greatest of European statesmen."

"In the name of the Socialist Party as I stand here on parole I protest against the suppression of free speech, free assembly and free press," Debs shouted.

Scorns His Sentence.
Debs spoke with scorn of the ten-year sentence hanging over his head. "I hate and abhor the capitalist system, but I don't hate its victims," Debs said. "I want to Cleveland the other day and took by the hand the man who sent me to jail, and I felt sorry for him. He didn't know; it was his misfortune."

"I got my ten years for telling them they would rather have the

kaiser than see the working class rule."

"I am liable to be accused of stirring up class hatred, and get ten years more for my words tonight. My little liberty—what does that matter? A sentence to the pen for ten years doesn't hurt me. I can go there and be perfectly serene, but I couldn't go if I couldn't look myself in the face for being too cowardly for inviting the sentence."

Love for Lincoln.
He likened himself to Lincoln, pointing out that both the martyred president and himself loved the common people.

"They murdered Lincoln," said Debs. "I got only ten years. I don't look up to king, politician, priest or preacher; I look up to the working class—that beautiful class in which I was born. A class with dirty faces but clean hearts, rough hands but tender souls—the class that has fed and sheltered the race through all the ages."

"You working people haven't lived; you know not love, sunshine, song, laughter. Your life is work, the shop bell, black faces, a boss."

Easy for Master.
"Your wages go up, then they go down, then you are out of a job. Your master is away; he owns the tools that you work with, but he is not at work."

"You build a mansion for him, but you cannot enter; you fashion a limousine for him, but you cannot ride in it. He has nothing but contempt for you."

Rich Are Poorest.

"The poorest man I know is Rockefeller, and the second poorest is Andrew Carnegie, who has lost his mind jingling the coins you made for him, and fearing that they would be taken away from him, and he would die a pauper."

Can you imagine how poor Rockefeller feels without one comrade—not one? That is poverty.
"We know so little about existence. So little about life. We are so used to struggle, treachery, dishonesty. It is bred by the system under which we now live. You, I, all of us, are pitted against each other in a remorseless struggle for existence. We are strangers to our neighbors."

"Have you ever paused in a crowded thoroughfare, where humanity was speeding toward you? Have you peered into the faces of the young—old before they were born? Have you seen the tragedy of ages written upon the human countenance? Have you ever felt yourself impeached for being decently dressed? Have you ever felt ashamed for having had your breakfast when so many children are starving?"

A Contrast.

"I recently picked up a paper and read two items.
"The first told of an impoverished mother, who had borne seven children, who choked her last-born to death so that it would not starve."

"The second told of a capitalist who had just bought a \$75,000 sable coat for his wife, a former actress."

"I am not telling you this to appeal to your emotions; rather would I reach your intelligence."

Meeting Record Breaker.
More than 2,000 people attended the Toledo Debs' meeting. Between 600 and 1,000 were turned away, unable to find standing room. Police were kept busy clearing the aisles in conformity with fire regulations. An unusually large collection was taken and much literature sold.

BAN ON NEGRO CONGRESS.

Passports Refused to Delegates on Plea of French Government.

Washington, Feb. 1.—Passports for negroes desiring to attend Pan African Congress at Paris have been refused by the State Department, which announced today that the French Government did not consider the present a favorable time to hold such a conference.

ALLIES AGAIN FALL BACK BEFORE REDS

Outflanked, Americans,
British and Russians
Retire 40 Miles.

Archangel, Feb. 1.—(Associated Press.)—Another violent attack by the Bolsheviks on the American, Russian and British positions at Taresevo compelled the hard-pressed and outnumbered Allied column in this sector to withdraw approximately forty miles. Its new position is at the village of Srdmakrenga.

It has been learned that early in January, in connection with the general plan to make the Bolshevik army a formidable force by early spring, gas schools were opened at Moscow.

The Bolsheviks, whose active forces in the field from the River Dvina to the Volodga railroad are now estimated to number 15,000, brought up still more artillery yesterday and are heavily shelling the new American position on the Vaga River and also the position on the Dvina, at Tulgas. The other sectors are comparatively quiet.

The American evacuation of Taresevo came only after a week of fighting in this sector, in which the Bolsheviks kept persistently on the offensive after suffering considerable loss in their first attack, which was repulsed. Although attacked at Taresevo from three sides and greatly outnumbered, the defenders held on there until yesterday, when a flanking column of the enemy, with guns, proceeded northwestward over a winter road and began an attack on the village of Gora, which is on the line of communications northward between Taresevo and Srdmakrenga.

The detachment of British at Gora held out until the American Taresevo force completed its evacuation. The two forces then joined, retreating northward.

The official statement of the operations on the Northern Russian front, says:

Wednesday and Thursday the Bolsheviks strongly attacked the positions at Taresevo, compelling the Allies to retire northward, and they are now holding positions twenty miles north of Taresevo.

Washington, Feb. 1.—The situation in the Archangel district is regarded by military officers in Northern Russia as extremely critical. Advice to the War Department today made no reference to an appeal for reinforcements, but it was said here that, inasmuch as this was a matter for determination by the Supreme War Council in Paris, a more detailed report had been sent to that body, possibly with a request for additional support.

Available figures obtained by War Department officials show that the British force in the region of the north is approximately 6,000, the American 4,500, the French 1,500, the Russians under British officers 1,200, with 1,000 other soldiers of one of the smaller allied countries. The exact disposition of these forces is not known officially in Washington, no report on this subject having been made in some weeks.

Army officials said that the body of troops now retreating before the well armed and reinforced Bolsheviks was little more than an advance post. Reports of a forty-mile retirement, however, led experts to believe that a larger body was engaged than had been supposed heretofore. General March, chief of staff, expressed the opinion a week ago that the number of troops in the advance south from Archangel was sufficiently large to keep the situation in hand.

Great Britain and Ireland Are Held In Strike Grip

Labor Seems To Be Taking Action As a
Reconstruction Measure—Belfast
Is Completely Tied Up.

London, Jan. 30.—The strikes which have broken out in Great Britain and Ireland are the beginning of a fight in the interests of demobilized soldiers, labor officials declared today.

The strike situation, which resulted in paralyzing of shipbuilding and seriously affected other industries, was unchanged early today, though it was believed that the trouble would be extended later through sympathetic walkouts. Nearly 200,000 men were on strike in various parts of the country.

"The strikes are the beginning of British labor's battle to force capital to provide for demobilized soldiers by shortening the working week," Fred Bramley, assistant secretary of the British Trade Union Congress, said.

"Demobilized soldiers will flood the country with idle men. Consequently, great numbers of jobs must be created. Signing of the armistice abrogated the truce between labor and the government. Labor is now free to use force to back up its demands."

200,000 Are Idle.

It is estimated that nearly 200,000 men and women are idle in the United Kingdom and Ireland because of strikes in various trades, creating one of the most serious industrial situations the country has had to face in many years. Half of the strikers are in Belfast, where the strike movement continues to spread.

The city of Belfast by night is now in virtually total darkness, hospitals being the only places where lights can be shown without danger of attacks by strikers. Everywhere else the display of a light has caused either the stoning or the storming of the premises.

In cases where such drastic action was not taken the people were forced by threats to screen their lights. Even in private houses it is not considered wise to use more than one candle, and the supply of candles is rapidly diminishing.

Men in various of the smaller industrial plants who had remained at work came out for safety's sake, the picketing having spread. One of the morning newspapers was forced to suspend publication. The shipyard workers are opposed to the strike and are endeavoring to arrange a meeting for Wednesday.

There is no change in the situation on the Clyde, where 20,000 shipyard workers are out, or in London, where 15,000 ship repairers are striking, and have refused an offer to refer the question of wages to a committee.

To these must be added 24,000 Fifeshire miners, 6,000 South Wales miners, 5,000 Edinburgh shipwrights, 4,000 Manchester dockers, 4,000

South Wales shipyard men and a number of Glasgow municipal workers.

Except in London, where the question is one of wages, all these strikes are due to a demand for shorter hours with the same privileges and wages as prevailed when longer hours were worked.

100,000 Out in Belfast.

There are 100,000 persons involved in the strike at Belfast, and 26 trades are affected, writes the Belfast correspondent of the Mail.

"The strike is the most serious ever experienced in this city of strikes," the correspondent says. "Belfast is like a dead city. Its entire social life is paralyzed, theaters and saloons are closed, tram cars are not running, bakeries and laundries are closing, and there were no afternoon papers. Only two small editions of morning newspapers appeared."

All by Candle Light.
"Telegraphic and telephonic communication with outside districts is seriously handicapped. After sunset restaurants are closed and evening services cannot be held by the churches."

"Railway stations are lighted by naphtha lamps, but in their homes the people depend upon candles. Should the candle supply fail, there will be a plague of darkness."

"The main cause of the trouble lies in the fact that the workers in electric and gas plants have joined the shipyard workers in demanding a 44-hour week. Things are in such a state of chaos that a change must come soon. Grave diggers joined the strike on Monday."

They Did It Themselves.

London, Jan. 31.—Alex. Thompson, editor of the Clarion, a Socialist paper, in reviewing the industrial unrest for the Mail, writes:

"The new Labor Minister, Sir Robert Stevenson Horne, whose sincere sympathy with labor's desire for improved conditions of life has very favorably impressed leader of the trade unions, confesses his utter helplessness in dealing with the grave problems assailing him on his entrance to office."

"None of the present strikes have been authorized by the executives of the unions involved, and all are contrary to official advice. Therefore it is obviously impossible for Sir Robert to interfere."

"It is his policy, as Labor Minister, to support trade union executives, as any other action would only weaken their authority and strengthen the hands of those who have disobeyed instructions."

SUPERIOR I. W. W.

At the Open Forum meeting, in response to an appeal by Mrs. Carney, a collection of \$8.05 was taken for the "Leavenworth Book Fund."

Open Forum meetings every Wednesday. J. Polin will speak next Wednesday. If you intellectuals want to know how little you know, attend the Open Forum.

THE RED FLEET OF THE BALTIC

By Albert Rhys Williams

In January, 1918, the Soviet Government sent out the following wireless message—one of the many appeals to revolt that were continuously going out:

The Revolutionary sailors of the Baltic fleet, in conference assembled, send their greetings of brotherhood 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' Committee are the High Command. The yacht of the former Czar, 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.

With the words, "Flower and pride of the revolutionary forces," Trotzky had hailed the sailors of Kronstadt as they stood in July before the Tauride Palace, 6,000 strong, demanding "All Power to the Soviet!" These were words, not of flattery, but of fact: for the Russian sailors were first to hoist upon their battleships the red flag of revolt, just as the German sailors are now the first to fly the red emblem of the Revolution. Through all the days of counter-revolution they were the first to sense danger to the new democracy. They have always been first to drop everything and hurry to its rescue.

They had no love for the Kerensky Government; yet when it was threatened, by the thousand they came pouring out of their ships and island citadel to line up against the wild divisions of Kornilov. When the cadets rose against the Bolsheviks and took possession of one of the nerve-centers of Petrograd—the telephone station—it was the sailors who headed the storming party that rushed the courtyard entrance and dug the cadets from their nest. When Petrograd was threatened with being cut off from food, and the November revolution with being starved into submission, the sailors were dispersed throughout the countryside as far as Siberia. With argument and bayonet they started the flow of food into the revolutionary capital. When the unity of Russia was threatened by Ukraine and the counter revolutionists on the Don, it was the sailors pouring down from the Baltic fleet on the North and up from the Black Sea fleet in the South who put fear into the hearts of the separatists.

The reason why the revolution is so precious to the sailor is that to him it means deliverance from the nightmare of a past, the very thought of whose return is intolerable. The Russian naval officers were recruited exclusively from the privileged caste. The count against them is that they enforced, not a rigid discipline, but one that was arbitrary and personal. The weal of the sailor might be subject to the whims, jealousies, and insane rage of a petty officer whom he despised. His replies to his superior were limited to the three phrases: *tak tochno* (quite so), *nekak niet* (no indeed), *rad staratsa* (glad to try my best), with, of course, the natural salutation, "Your Nobility!" In four years 404 seamen were sent to disciplinary battalions, 79 to military prisons, 332 to civil prisons, 1,235 to penitentiaries, 431 to Katerga (hard labor in Siberia) and 56 were executed.

For this reason the outbreak of the revolution meant the killing of scores of officers, the dismissal of hundreds of others, and a sharp watch over all the rest. For this reason Kerensky, when he appeared to be coquetting with those whose eyes were longingly turned to the past, felt the hot blast of indignation from the fleet.

RESOLUTION.

The Second Congress of Representatives of the Baltic Sea fleet has passed the following resolution:

We demand from the Soviet of Soldiers, Workmen and Peasant Deputies and the Central-Flot the immediate removal from the ranks of the Provisional Government of the "Socialist"—political adventurer Kerensky, as one who is scandalizing and ruining the great revolution and with it the great revolutionary people, by his shameless political blackmail in behalf of the bourgeoisie.

To thee, Kerensky, who hast betrayed the revolution, we send curses. At the moment when our comrades, stricken down by shells and bullets, and drowning in the Gulf of Riga, are calling us to the defense of the revolution; at this moment when we all, as one man, are ready to lay down our lives for freedom, ready to die in open fight on the sea with the external foe and on the barricades with the internal enemy, we are sending to thee, Kerensky, and to thy friends, curses for thy appeals, by which thou art endeavoring to disintegrate the forces of the fleet in this fearful hour of the country and the revolution.

Second Congress of Representatives of the Baltic Fleet. October 16, 1917. Helsingfors.

In no country is it possible to confuse the sailor with the landsman. The unmistakable stamp of the open sea is in his bearings and in his blood is the tang of the salt-sea winds. But the Russian sailor has something which marks him off even from his own kind through the world. In his heart there blazes the revolutionary fire. As flaming apostles of Socialism the men from the fleet passed along the highways and through the market-places of Russia; even in the remotest villages the sluggish-souled peasant felt the quickening touch of these missionaries of revolt. They were ubiquitous, and zealous in every meeting and every plot. But these sailors who have so keenly set out for the democratization of Russia—how well have they democratized their own section of it? They who have so confidently challenged the whole world order—what sort of order have they set up in their own homes?

Home to the 1,500 sailors of the Siberian fleet was Vladivostok. To the 10,000 men in the landlocked fleet of the Caspian it was Baku. The 8,000 sailors of the Ice fleet guarding the White Sea found their refuge in Archangel. The two main fleets—the Black Sea, leading the revolt of 1905, and the Baltic, claiming the honors for 1917—had respectively a personnel of 45,000 and 65,000 men. These sailors from their far-reaching campaigns of propaganda and civil war come homing back to Sebastopol and Odessa in the Black Sea and to Revel, Kronstadt and Helsingfors on the Baltic.

My first glimpse of the sailor at home was in the Gulf of Finland, where the Baltic fleet stood as a barricade on the water-road of Petrograd. An old reserve officer directing me along the quay pointed out a strip of yellow wood which ran around the "Polar Star," the yacht of the former Czar, and said:

That moulding is of the best mahogany, and cost 25,000 rubles, but the sailors are now too lazy to keep it polished. So they painted it yellow. In my day a sailor was a sailor. He knew that his job was to scrub and polish and he tended to his job. But the devil is loose among them now. Think of it! On this very yacht that belonged to the Czar himself ordinary seamen sit about making laws about managing the ships and the fleet and the country. And they don't stop there. They talk about managing the world. Internationalism and democracy they call it, but I call it downright treason and insanity.

There in brief is the point at issue between the defenders of the old regime and the champions of the new revolutionary order. In the old order the discipline and control were superimposed from above; in the new they proceed from the men themselves. The old was a fleet of officers; the new is a fleet of sailors. In the change a new set of values has been created; a new code has been formed. In it the polishing of the sailors' wits upon democracy and internationalism has higher rating than polishing the brass and mahogany.

The second indication of the temper of the new fleet came to us as we climbed the gangway of the "Polar Star," where Rasputin and his associates once had their day. The correspondent of the San Francisco Bulletin, Miss Beatty, was informed that the presence of her sex upon the ships was tabooed. The captain was very polite, very much adorned with gold braid, but withal very helpless.

"In such a matter, you understand," he explained, "I can do nothing at all. Everything is in the hands of the 'committee'."

"But she has come 10,000 versts to see the fleet," "Well, we can see what the 'committee' says," he answered. The "committee" was complaisant and made a special dispensation in the matter. We were on our way again, with the captain in advance warding off the challenging inquiries of the crew with the explanation "by special permission from the 'committee'."

But the word captain is an anachronism. Rule 2 of the Decree for the Democratization of the Fleet reads: "All designations of ranks existing up till now which serve to show class distinctions are abolished and all are to be called Seamen of the War Fleet of the Russian Republic."

Furthermore, "All giving of titles is to be abolished and all men are to bear the name of their calling in accordance with the special function that they fulfill; for example, *grazhdanin* (citizen), *komandir* (citizen commander), in like manner it is 'citizen' artilleryman, 'citizen electro-technician,' etc." But captain is not the only anachronism. His gold braid is an anachronism likewise, for on the new uniform common to all seamen the trappings and tinsel are at a minimum.

The citizen commander pointed down the corridor past the princesses' suits to the great cabin from whose precincts he said that he was debarred. It was consecrated to the meetings of the Central Committee of the Baltic Sea—or, as it is more familiarly known, the Centrobalt. It consisted of one representative for every contingent of 1,000 sailors, making a committee of about 65. This General Committee is divided into four general departments.

The Administrative Committee deals with questions about the make-up of the fleet, the construction of new ships, and the conditions in the factories where these ships are made. It determines the personnel of the crews, the transfer of sailors from one ship to another, the rate of pay, mobilization and demobilization.

The Supply Committee looks after the provisioning of the fleet with food, coal, oil and medicines. It looks after the finances of the fleet, accepting the new ships that are built and paying for them.

The Political Committee conducts a propaganda by sending to the front, to the barracks, and throughout the countryside, men with papers, books and speeches. The rules provide that all seamen are free to become members of any political, national, religious, economic or professional organization, societies or unions. They have the right to preach freely and openly, verbally, by writing, or in print, their political, religious or other views. The judicial section of this committee examines in scandals and conflicts between sailors and commanders. The inquest section makes inquiries into bad ships, counter-revolutionary activities and like matters.

The War Marine Department (Voyenno-Morskoy Otdel) is the executive head of the fleet. It consists of a commander and two assistants, one managing the operative and the other the technical side. In all operative and technical affairs the War Marine Department is of supreme authority. All the orders to the fleet, to the smaller units, and to the individual ships are given under the signature of the chief and countersigned by a member of the department attached to his service. In matters of navigation and technique this commanding staff is in complete control over the whole organization, both in and out of battle. It holds command over the drilling, and fixes the time for the sailing of the ships.

By the irony of history these seamen were put to work upon the problems of radical democracy in the very cabin where, but a few months before the most reactionary autocrat in all the world held control. My credentials secured me entrance to the cabin, which had none of the elegance that I had imagined. The piano and other decorative furnishings had been removed, while the table and chairs were protected with brown canvas covers. It had been turned into a workshop and carried as business-like an air about it as did the seamen who were conducting their routine work in it. Ordinary seamen they were who had suddenly turned legislators, administrators and clerks. They were a bit awkward in their new role, but they clung to it with desperate earnestness for sixteen hours a day. For they were dreamers held by an ideal whose drive and scope appear in the address which they presented to me after my greetings had been interpreted by the captain.

To the representative of the American Social Democracy, Albert Williams, in Reply to His Greetings to the Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet.

The Russian democracy in the person of the representatives of the whole Baltic Fleet sends warm greetings to the entire proletariat and all the workers of the country beyond the ocean and hearty thanks for the greetings sent by our brothers in America.

Comrade Williams is the first swallow come flying across to us to the cold waves of the Baltic Sea, which now for a period of over three years has been dyed by the blood of the sons of one family, the International.

The Russian democracy, the Russian proletariat, will strive up to its last breath, to unite everybody under the red banner of the International. When starting the Revolution, the Russian democracy did not have in view a political revolution alone. The task of all true fighters for Freedom consisted in the creation of a social revolution and the advanced vanguard of the revolutionaries in the person of the members of the Russian Fleet and the workmen will fight to the end for the realization of these great ideas and will hope to find sympathy, an answer to their call, and help in other countries.

The flame of the Russian Revolution, we are sure, will spread over the whole world and light a fire in the hearts of the workers of all countries, and we shall obtain support in our struggle for a speedy general peace.

The free Baltic Fleet is awaiting with impatience the moment when it will be able to go to America and relate there all that the Russian democracy went through before the revolution under the yoke of czarism and capitalism and what it is feeling now when the banner of the struggle for the freedom of peoples is unfurled.

Long Live to the American Social-Democracy.
Long Live the Proletariat of all Countries.
Long Live the International.
Long Live General Peace.
The Central Committee of the Baltic Fleet, Fourth Convention. (SEAL).

(Signed by the officers and thirty-four members of the Committee.)

Feodor Averchkin, secretary of the Central Committee, escorted me on the pilot boat to his battleship, the "Respublika." The entire crew was assembled on deck to give cheers and to hear the news from the first foreign *tovarishch* (comrade). The declaration that he was an American In-

ternationalist put him immediately at one with 960 out of 1,020 members of the crew. The officer Zarloki translated, but a speech was not necessary. The phraseology of the new revolutionary ideology has entirely displaced the old patriotic and religious ideology in Russia. The mere reiteration of the new battle cries has power to charm and inspire these new disciples of revolt. The sounding of them in my foreign accent drew such an outburst of applause that it echoed like a salvo from all the ship's batteries. A testimonial was inscribed with an array of seals and signatures in the characteristic Russian manner.

The photographer was called upon to make a record of this historic event—the American and the Russian Internationalist shaking hands on the bridge of the battleship "Respublika" off the coast of Finland. It was done amidst great acclamation from the crew. In all this the commander and his staff hung on the edge of the crowd as if they were outsiders or outcasts. I pointed this out to Averchkin and suggested that it savored of humiliation. He averred that the proceedings were quite in accord with regulation No. 37, which provided that the commanding staff be debarred from all affairs which were of state or international significance.

"But isn't your commander a good fellow?" I asked. "He looks that way to me."

"Why, yes," Averchkin replied. "Even before the revolution he was a good fellow and now he is one of the best in the world. So if you want him in the picture, all right." The captain smiled and took his place in the picture amidst much applause from the crew. After this love feast we retired to the ship committees' quarters, where I was plied with innumerable questions about the American navy ranging from "Do the American navy officers reflect solely the viewpoint of the upper classes?" to "Are the American battleships kept as clean as this one of ours?" As we talked, eggs and steak were brought to me, while a great plate of potatoes was served each member of the committee. I commented upon the difference.

"Yours is officers' fare and our is sailors'," they explained. "Pochemo, revolutsiya?" (Why, after the revolution?) I exclaimed.

"They laughed and said, 'The revolution has given us the thing that we value most—freedom. We are masters of our own ship. We are masters of our own lives. We have our own courts. We can have shore leave when not in service. Our duty we have the right to wear civilian clothes. We do not demand that the revolution should give us everything.' Afterwards, however, these men became a bit more ambitious gastronomically, though on account of the shortage of food the democratization of the ration was accomplished more by sabotage on the officers' ration than by leveling up that of the sailors."

The crew not only elects its own committee—generally on the basis of one member for every fifty sailors—but likewise chooses all its officers. For the position of commander the list of the candidates is drawn up by the ship's committee, together with the flagman. For the position of assistant commander the list is made up by the committee in consultation with the commander. The balloting then proceeds on the basis of general suffrage and the election is valid if two-thirds of the crew participate.

Each group of specialized workers elects its own head. The electro-technicians elect one of their number as chief. The divers elect one of their number as chief of their guild. The list of the candidates is made up by the men in consultation with the commander. The crew is informed of the results of the elections. If during seven days no protest is raised upon the part of the crew against any elected person he is regarded as confirmed in his position by the personnel of the ship.

Every seaman has the right to refuse the post to which he has been elected, provided he gives the motive for his refusal. The final decision as to the acceptance or rejection of this refusal is left to the Central Committee of the fleet, to whom must be submitted a detailed record of the case.

"There are three tendencies in the present democratization of the fleet: (1) The formation of specialized groups like divers and mechanics into corporations or guilds. This action exhibits a syndicate viewpoint. In the medical force the professional union of physicians and fedsheers (assistant surgeons) presents its candidates to the different ships. They are then confirmed in their position by the different crews, and the results of the election are communicated to the Central Committee.

(2) The concentration of much power in the executive heads. This begins with the chief of the War Marine Department, and runs down through the commanders of divisions, flotillas, divisions of ships of the second, third and fourth rank, airship, coast defense, hydrographical expeditions, etc.

(3) A wide provision for the use of the recall in the individual ships and in the fleet at large. One-third of the members of the crew may raise the question against anyone in authority. It is the same in a specialized group. If, for example, the electro-technicians are dissatisfied with their chief, one-third of their number can raise the question of his recall. If two-thirds of the contingent vote for the recall it is directed by the ship's committee, together with a report of the chief of the unit to the Central Committee for final confirmation of the decision.

As there are fleets on the different seas and rivers, the next body above the central committees of the different fleets is the All-Russian Convention of Fleets. They elect first of all a Marine Council of twenty members, which exercises a general supervision over the building of new ships, the inspection of wharves and barracks, and the new courses in the naval colleges. The most important function of this Marine Council is to sit as a part of the great central governing body of Russia—the Soviet of Workmen's Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies in Moscow.

The second superior body elected by this All-Russian Convention of Fleets is the Supreme Marine College of three. The chief of this is ex-officio a member of the Council of People's Commissaries. The sailor Dybenko was the first to hold that office. The second member of the Supreme Marine College was Modest Ivanov, under whose direction were the departments of the Naval Ministry in the great Admiralty Building in Petrograd. Here is his letter to the editor of the *Revolutionary Citizen*:

Having received numerous letters containing threats even of death, and not having the time or the opportunity for answering them, I consider it my duty to explain why I entered the Supreme Marine College.

I must tell you who I am. I am Modest Ivanov, forty-two years old. I took part in three wars which Russia conducted. I was at Port Arthur, have been wounded twice and have decorations for active service, including the sword of St. George. I am an Academician. At that moment of the March revolution I was commander of the cruiser "Diana" and on a wave of absence at Kronstadt. I was not there subjected to any violence or insult. In reply to a telegram of the crew and the officers of the "Diana" I arrived immediately at Helsingfors and went to the "Diana," where I was received most heartily by all. On May 14 I was elected by the second detachment of cruisers ("Rossia," "Gromoboi," "Diana" and "Avrora") and appointed at the request of the crews chief of the detachment. I retained the post for six months, accomplishing all the time certain responsible tasks. During this period there was not a single case of insult to an officer on the part of the crews. The commanders were also elected, and the sailors and officers lived in perfect friendship.

But I saw clearly that the officers were lagging behind the progress of political thought in the country. They were becoming more and more separated, losing contact with the crews, that is, with the people. My opinion is that the fault lay in the difference between the staff of the commander of the fleet and the highest democratic organization in the fleet, that is, the Centrobalt. At the most critical moments (Kornilov's attempt and the separation of Finland) the voice of the commander of the fleet and his staff was not heard. The position of the officers became acute. They were in a cul-de-sac. Owing to certain events (my conflict with the former Minister of Marine Lebedev) I knew that the crew, that is, the people, trust me, not as a leader of any political party, but as a naval officer, Modest Ivanov, who stood up for the power of the people in the person of the committees, and whom the sailors knew by his service in the fleet during the course of twenty-four years. After the revolution of November, on the 27th, I received from the Centrobalt a telegram demanding my consent to be put up as a candidate for the Supreme Military Col-

Swedish Dances

— IN —

FORESTERS' HALL EVERY SATURDAY EVENING

ADMISSION \$1.00.

LADIES FREE

lege. I was given one hour in which to decide. I consented immediately. My candidature was unanimously confirmed by the Centrobalt, and afterwards the All Russian Convention of Fleets, the first in the history of the world, elected me finally and promoted me to the rank of rear-admiral.

You ask me why I entered the Supreme Marine College. I will give you a precise answer: I hoped and still hope to find a common language between the sailors and the officers for the creation of a future, maybe a national fleet. . . . Most of you write that my name will be nailed to the pillory of history. . . . I answer, "Let it be so nailed, but let Russia have in the future a great commercial national fleet, as she has a military fleet."

(Signed) Member of the Supreme Marine College and Manager of the Ministry of Marine, Rear Admiral Modest Ivanov. January 19, 1918.

In spite of all the terrible vicissitudes through which the fleet passed since Modest Ivanov wrote these words, he has retained his faith in the integrity of the sailors, and the reports of the Fifth Congress of Soviets show him still the ardent believer in their great adventure of democratization. But as a class the officers still cling to the hope of a return of the old order. After the decree of democratization they met at their club and in a resolution declared that the decree would inevitably lead to the complete disorganization and ruin of the fleet, that it compelled the officers to be on the same footing in the common rights, and that they would recognize only the decision of the Constituent Assembly.

How has all this affected the efficiency of the fleet? Many experts will testify that they find in the fleet the inevitable effects of the destruction of the old discipline—a considerable lowering of its technical efficiency. Others assert that after going through three years of war and two revolutions the fleet was in as good condition as any in the world. This seems a partisan view. As to its moral efficiency, there is no doubt that it was superb. The battle of the Moon Sound Isles furnished a good test case. Outnumbered by the German squadron and outdistanced both in speed and gun-range, these revolutionary sailors fought a brilliant engagement with the enemy. Even their worst detractors have admitted that the fighting morale of the fleet was unsurpassed. The fever of the sailors would probably have assured the success of the experiment in democratization if the officers instead of "sabotaging" had given enthusiastic support to the undertaking. But they are tragically fettered by the habits of their class and by the ingrained prejudices of their tradition. Though some strove to make the democratic gesture and to repeat the shibboleths of Socialism their hearts were not in the task.

To insure success, behind the democratic machinery there must be the enthusiastic democratic spirit. The sailors, realizing this, have made ready for the training of their commanders out of the ranks of the workers. They founded a university in which hundreds of sailors were taking courses ranging from the most elementary to the most advanced. In the meeting of the educational committee, when they were organizing their curriculum, I blunderingly asked the chairman from what school or university he came. He blushed and hesitated, then said: "No university; no school. I am almost one of the dark people. But I am a revolutionist. We know that our greatest enemy is ignorance, and we are going to begin right now to kill that foe." . . . his ardency he persuaded several members of the University of Helsingfors, many officers, and several co-operating scientific and educational societies to join in this work. While the regulations demand that "all persons appointed to commanding posts must have corresponding training, theoretical and practical, attained by certificate from special schools," in the

present exigencies seamen, who are particularly skilled and who can pass practical tests before the commission appointed by the Central Committee are allowed to hold certain posts. The Sailors' University provides a shortened theoretical education for them.

The world-wide rise of the working class forcing a new social reorganization is based not solely upon the demand for the necessities of life, but on the claim for a larger participation in some of its amenities. Coming down the main street of Helsingfors one night I was commenting upon the absence in this port town of the usual bands of sailors rolling down the street. Suddenly we were brought sharply up before an imposing building which had the dimensions and appearance of a great modern hotel. The door opened, and we heard strains of music. Entering, we went along a richly carpeted stairway and through a large doorway until we came to the dining hall. There, in a room set with potted plants and mirrors, with hundreds of lights shining upon the glistening napery and silver, were the diners, listening to the orchestra playing Chopin and Tchaikovsky, interspersed with an occasional ragtime piece from the American conductor. It was not the usual hotel assemblage of adventurers, speculators, bankers and politicians, with their retainers and their women, but the seamen of the war fleet of the Russian Republic. The game and smoking rooms were crowded, while through the halls and corridors streamed a procession of laughing, jesting, arguing sailors in their suits of blue.

The hotel bore in big letters the sign Matrosski Kloob (Sailor's Club). When it was opened ten thousand sailors immediately joined, paying their dues of two marks a month and organizing their club on the usual Russian Soviet plan. Every fifty members of the club chose one delegate. That made about 200 members in the central committee, from which was chosen the president of twelve. Eighty-five per cent of the sailors are literate—a proportion surprisingly high among the Russian proletariat. The club accordingly boasted a much-used magazine room, the nucleus of a library, and an excellent illustrated weekly journal, *Moryak* (The sailor). The motto of the organization was: "A welcome to all the sailor of the world."

After hoisting the red flag of revolt one of the first act. of the revolutionary fleet was to abolish all outward signs of the hated old regime. Those ships which carried in their names reminders of the old autocracy were rechristened and came forth from their baptism of paint with names fitting the new republican order. By this ceremony the "Emperor Alexander II" became the "Dawn of Liberty" (*Zaria Svobody*); the "Czarevitch" became the "Citizen" (*Grazhdanin*); the "Emperor Paul the First" became the "Republic" (*Respublika*). Such changes were easy to make, but they were not merely superficial. They are symbolic of a change in reality. They are the outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual fact—the democratization of a great fleet. Many changes in the technique have been and will be made, but it will always be a democratic fleet. Just as the fervid revolutionary spirit of the seamen made this democratization and consequent socialization possible, so is this socialization in its turn reacting upon the psychology of the seamen. They have a deep feeling of communal ownership. When the ship's boat carried me away from the "Respublika," Averchkin, with a gesture that took in all the gay ships riding at anchor in the bay, and with a gleam of pride in his eye, exclaimed: "Our fleet! Our fleet! And we shall make it the best fleet in the world. It will always be ready to fight for liberty and justice!" and then, as if looking out beyond the gray mists which hung above the bay and beyond the red mists of the world war, he added, "until we make the international revolution and the end of wars."

PURE MILK IS A NECESSITY.

In these times with milk at such high prices and no guarantee that it is pure, it is a real discovery to find one milk dealer who will guarantee his milk and also show you a certificate showing the excellent quality of his milk as backed by the Duluth Board of Health. Where can you buy absolutely pure milk at fourteen cents per quart? Milk, without the cream extracted at fourteen cents per quart! He does not fail to send a trial order to JENS NILSEN, who has his own cows and guarantees his milk.

Only those who live between 25th Avenue West and Piedmont can be served.

JENS NILSEN,

1914 WEST 10th STREET

LINCOLN 479-D.

DANCE at WOODMAN HALL

Every Thursday and Saturday Night
Admission: Gents. 50 & Ladies 15c.

SIDELIGHTS SHOW CAUSE FOR FRENCH DEMAND OF SPOILS

By Paul Wallace Hanna, N. Y. Call.
London, Dec. 27 (delayed).—"The Cock of France is today at its height, but, if the peace conference does not begin and conclude too soon, the Cock of France will, like the wine in your glass, lose its effervescence and subside."

I looked with more than a mild surprise at the British Intelligence Service chief at my side, a man whose value to the British government is measured exactly by the accuracy of his information about other governments. It had not occurred to me that he would say the thing quoted above. Yet, if the man wished to talk it was not my task to stop him. So I asked:

"What is it that France wants?"
"Everything within reach," he smiled, "and you may think that are quite beyond reach. Quite recently," he added, "I talked very frankly with a member of the French government and had him tell me, with much fervor and conviction, of the territory his country must annex and the 'guarantees' it must procure in order to give France her coveted place in the world. I allowed him to present the whole French claim and argument, then I said:

"I am sure you are a boche!"

"Why do you say that?" he asked, in astonishment.

"Because your instinct, psychology and logic are precisely like those of the Prussian crowd we have just whipped. There is no doubt of it, my friend, you are a boche."

German Revolution Real.

A few minutes later my official neighbor was asked if he thought the German revolution was not "a bit of Hun camouflage." "By no means," he answered. "Certain members of the new crowd at Berlin are certainly covered with Junker tar, but they are not the revolution. The German revolution has been gestating for more than a generation and would have been delivered shortly even if the world war had not come. It may be that the war delayed, rather than hastened it."

"At least 80 per cent. of the German people were sure their country was the victim of a conspiracy in 1914. That is why they fought so well, not because they loved their autocrats."

"Those autocrats controlled the educational system of the country; that was their power for evil, and it has not been destroyed. The German revolution is quite real and will be thorough enough before it ends."

Can it be that there is any real affinity between the unhorsed Junkers of Prussia and a certain type of French statesman?

What Would Northcliffe Do?

I shall allow Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, to give his testimony. Lloyd George took breakfast one morning last March with a man who will not be named here, but whose word would carry conviction anywhere. I have just talked with this man, who improved the breakfast hour by appealing very directly and earnestly for a straight-out endorsement of the Wilson peace terms by the British Prime Minister. Knowing both the strength and weakness of the Welsh statesman, the breakfast guest urged him to become the greatest figure in modern history by the simple process of adopting the American program and forcing Europe to accept it. Lloyd George seemed seriously to consider the proposal for a few minutes, but finally revealed his opportunist psychology by asking:

"What would Northcliffe do?"

"Let Northcliffe go hang," retorted the other. "He will denounce you, of course, at the start, but the people are war weary and hungry for a program of justice and idealism. Go to the people with your idea. I will go with you, and so will every other liberal public man in the country. Do that, and in two months we will have the people at our backs."

The Prime Minister was silent a moment, and then gave his decision. "No, I can't do that," he replied. "You can advocate such a thing, because the people know you have nothing to win or lose by it."

"But my situation is very different. There are the French. They and we are both tired of the war, and even with America in, we can't go on more than another year. France has aims which must be satisfied if the program you advocate is carried out."

Sie Germans on Russia.

He was silent again, and then concluded:

"My own wish is to let the Germans have a free hand in Russia, if they will just give Alsace-Lorraine back to France. But France must recover Alsace-Lorraine. If we don't help them get it back, the French have told me they will throw in their lot with the Germans and then drive us off the continent."

In the light of this chat at a March breakfast, one understands why Clemenceau can persist in demanding the full imperialistic spoils of victory in Europe, Africa and Asia. All the secret treaties in Europe were not stored in Petrograd, and the "Tiger" will not hesitate to imitate the Trotsky whom he affects to despise—or to threaten it—as a means to achieve victory over the "fourteen points."

BOSS' AGENTS STIR UP STRIKES, CHARGES MANLY

Chairman of Labor Board Tells Conference of Provocations to Discredit Unionism.

Washington—Basil M. Manly, successor of Frank P. Walsh as joint chairman of the National War Labor Board, made direct charges at the reconstruction conference of the Popular Government Association, held here last week, that provocation agents, operatives for a well-known detective agency, were being employed by certain companies to foment strikes among their men.

Manly cited two specific instances in which unjustifiable strikes had been urged by supposed union men who had been found to be in the pay of the employers. Many other instances of the same kind could be cited, he declared, and these two were merely typical.

"Such employers as these, who deliberately stir up industrial strife in order to discredit unionism and collective bargaining, are the greatest menace to American institutions existing in the country today," he declared. He also made a few remarks concerning the enlightening spectacle of employers, representing organized dollars, refusing to deal with organizations of men, their own employees, although they themselves felt quite at liberty to organize employers' associations and chambers of commerce.

Manly was presiding officer at the labor conference of the reconstruction convention. On the platform with him was Louis F. Post, assistant secretary of labor, who had come to speak in place of Secretary Wilson, whose wife was seriously ill.

Post Astonished.

Although the activities of agents provocateurs are fairly well known to union men, the assistant secretary was apparently somewhat astonished by Manly's charges. He was certainly interested.

"I am glad Mr. Manly has made these charges and they will receive publicity," he said. "In almost every case that has come before the Department of Labor, workmen involved in a controversy have been more than willing to accept the Department's mediation. I do not say that it is the case, but I should not be surprised, in view of Mr. Manly's statements, if the few cases in which workmen have shown an unreasonable attitude may have resulted from the leadership of company agents in their ranks."

Post was formerly editor of the Public, and should have known the press better than to expect any large amount of publicity to follow Manly's remarks. At any rate, if he has followed the Washington papers, he realizes now there are some things the free and untrammelled press of America takes no interest in, and that one of these is any remarks that may prove offensive to the twin gods of American industry, Business and Dollars.

Press Overlooks Charges.

For, although the Washington papers carried long stories on the reconstruction conference, and press associations were represented at its meetings, the remarks of Manly did not appear in print, and, in fact, the entire part of the conference relating to labor was slurred over with bare mention.

There was very little in that conference that would meet the approval of America's industrial overlords. Post, himself, made some illuminating remarks in which he described forcefully what democracy in industry is not, and he called upon the agencies of the government to hunt down those men who are working against its interests just as relentlessly as it would in time of war.

"These same men," he said, referring to employers of whom Manly had spoken, "were only a few months ago claiming a monopoly of patriotism and flourishing the flag in our faces. Is there no such thing as patriotism in time of peace? Or is the flag hung up merely to hide the dirt on the walls?"

New Boarder—How's the food here?

Old Boarder—Well, we have chicken every morning.
"That's first rate. How is it served?"
"In the shell."

Socialism is what a real Christian would like to practice, but cannot under present conditions.

'GENE DEBS ALL THROUGH

To the Editors of Industrialist.

(From the Saturday Spectator, Terre Haute.)

Down East there is a man, known in Terre Haute, who recently sent to Eugene Debs, under sentence by the federal court, an amount to aid in his defense. This old friend is anything but a Socialist, but he loves Debs, and added his mite to the fund which went to defend the great Socialist leader. A copy of the letter from Mr. Debs was sent to the Spectator by the Down East man. It is in part as follows:

"Let me thank you from my heart for the words of loving sympathy, you express, as well as for your generous remittance for my defense. I need not say that I am deeply sensible of each word and appreciate tenderly the spirit of your offering."

"I can well understand your opposition to Socialism. Economic determinism is a great thing. It is that, more than anything else, that keeps people out of the Socialist movement until the very system to which they cling jars them loose and they are compelled to turn to Socialism to save their skins. As to Socialism putting you out of business, that, of course, depends upon the nature of the business, and if it is a useless and unnecessary one, as thousands are under the present criminal and corrupt system, utterly wasteful of every thing and productive of nothing useful, then you may be sure that Socialism means the end of your business. There is a vast mass of business carried on today in which millions and billions are being literally thrown away for which there would be no earthly use in a sane society, any more than there would be for the wanton butchery of human beings that is now disgracing civilization and bestializing the race."

"I must correct you upon one point: I am not in any 'trouble' nor in any 'unfortunate position.' I was never so free from trouble in all my life, and if you could see the hundreds of letters that are pouring in here from all kinds of people and from all over the world, you would conclude that I am the last man to need sympathy or condolence. I have fought and am fighting for a cause that is going to win against all the reactionary powers of the earth. I have no service flag, but will take my chance of being awarded one by posterity. This generation may abuse me all it pleases through its prostitute press and its hack politicians, but the heart of the common people is with me, just the same, and I would not exchange their confidence and love for a single hour for all of Rockefeller's stolen millions for all eternity."

"I, too, could have been 'prosperous' and 'rich and eminently respectable,' but I prefer to be true to my convictions and my ideals, and therefore an 'undesirable citizen.' I can stand the present, serene and unafraid, and await the verdict of the future with absolute confidence. My day is coming, and coming to stay, though it may not come in my time, which is of small consequence, and so is the day of those who now attempt to persecute and vilify me, and in that day then popularity will have vanished like the mist, and they will sink into oblivion, as if they had never been. The next time I come to your city, you will see what the people now think of me. The only trouble will be that there will not be an auditorium anywhere big enough to hold them."

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

LETTER WRITERS—If you like this paper write to the editor and tell him so. If you do not like it tell him why. You and I together can make a paper that will make the Master Class sit up and take notice.

THE foulest blow is the one that hits the worker in the breadbasket.

If the workers can run the industries, why can't they own them?

Capitalism has no flag, but if it had it would have to be black in order to be appropriate.

WE SELL Any Radical Paper

YOU DESIRE
PROGRESSIVE NEWS STORE
624—7th Street,
ROCKFORD - ILL.

IF your sight is being dimmed by use or age or if your vision facilities have always been insufficient you should consult us. We will examine the machinery of your eye in a scientific manner and make for you the glasses that will restore perfect vision facilities.

O.F. WENNERLUND OPTOMETRIST
1919 W. SUPERIOR ST.

ITALIAN PROTEST SLIGHT TO WILSON

(Continued from page 1.)

on, together with the mutilated copy of Avanti, to the President.

The first expurgated section was a denunciation of the Roman scheme to annex all the eastern Adriatic shore, extend Italian hegemony over Greece and to plant the red, white and green flag on the shores of Asia Minor.

The second was a eulogy of the Russian and German revolutions, and a declaration that the Italian workers drew their chief inspiration from the rebellious Slavs and Teutons.

The third reproached President Wilson for asking that national armies be maintained sufficiently strong to preserve domestic order, a phrase which Lazzari said went beyond any that European statesmen had ever dared employ, the latter having always been careful to deny that their armies were meant to put down revolutions.

This last item illustrates very well the temper of the Italian Socialists, who are determined to make no compromise with bourgeois society. A famous American magazine writer had accompanied me to the Avanti office. As we talked Arturo Caroti, a member of the Chamber, came in. The magazine writer turned to him and asked: "How do the Italian Socialists feel about the Russian Soviets?"

Caroti looked at his questioner in astonishment.

"How do we feel about them?" he repeated. "We are Bolsheviks!"

Between Policies and Principle.

Lazzari and Caroti were asked whether they thought the Socialist members of the Chamber might not have helped the Wilson cause against Italian imperialism by remaining in their seats during the President's visit. Caroti smiled indulgently, while a look of great weariness came over the seamed face of Lazzari. The latter answered:

"It is beyond the power of the Italian Socialists, or any one else, to insure the triumph of the fourteen points, and it would only be to deceive and to misrepresent ourselves for us to act as though we thought they could win," he said.

"The fourteen points are too conservative for the Socialists and too radical for the bourgeoisie of the world. They represent nobody but a handful of moral idealists—they have no constituency."

"I know that the capitalist imperialists of Italy regard the fourteen points as foolishness, and will have none of them. The same is true of the capitalist imperialists of France and Great Britain."

"Finally, I know that the fourteen points are unacceptable to the bourgeoisie of the United States. It could not accept them and survive, and its rejection of them is proved by the defeat of President Wilson in the November election."

Lazzari paused an instant, then concluded with passionate emphasis: "Wilson stands isolated, at home and abroad; there is no hope for the world save in the united working class of the world."

The magazine writer ventured to remind Lazzari that the French and British Socialists thought it good politics to support the Wilson program up to the time when its rejection by the imperialists should reveal its futility.

Caroti answered: "It is natural for them to do that; it fits in with their tactics of compromise. But the Italian Socialists are Bolsheviks; they have never supported the war, nor their government. Now our government pretends to endorse the fourteen points, but we Socialists will make no such pretense. We support the workers of the world, and will deal with no others."

Custom thinks Progress very unruly.

The foulest blow is the one that hits the worker in the breadbasket.

If the workers can run the industries, why can't they own them?

Capitalism has no flag, but if it had it would have to be black in order to be appropriate.

WE SELL Any Radical Paper

YOU DESIRE
PROGRESSIVE NEWS STORE
624—7th Street,
ROCKFORD - ILL.

IF your sight is being dimmed by use or age or if your vision facilities have always been insufficient you should consult us. We will examine the machinery of your eye in a scientific manner and make for you the glasses that will restore perfect vision facilities.

Frank's Shop
Successor to Brawn
FANCY SHOE WORKS
21 N. 20th Avenue W.
Lin. 808-X. Duluth.

Making Education Safe For Democracy

By William Thurston Brown.

Before we can undertake anything worthy to be called education, we must have clearly in mind certain principles that appeal to all unbiased minds as valid and just. Whoever attempts education without first laying such a foundation will accomplish nothing worth while.

Here, then, are the claims which I make in behalf of education and as the reason for the existence of Ferrer Modern School:

I. The only thing that gives value—or even meaning—to existence is human improvement, individual and social.

II. Sociologists tell us that the measure of human improvement is to be found in the degree of freedom that the individual and the race attain. Not obedience to fixed laws, not adaptation to a given environment, but the breaking of old bonds and the outgrowing of old environment—this is the measure of human advance.

III. The indispensable medium of freedom for human beings today is democracy, in some form. Human improvement has taken place in the past under other forms of social order. It cannot take place today under any other form than democracy. This has become a fundamental necessity of humanity's improvement, whether individual or social.

IV. But democracy is dynamic, not static. It grows and outgrows. It is not the same thing today that it was yesterday, and it will be something more tomorrow. Spiritually it is the never-ending struggle of human beings for freedom, for justice,

for self-expression and brotherhood. Politically, it will be the control of all social agencies by and for the producing units of society. A society that tolerates parasitism or autocracy in any form is not democracy.

V. Democracy cannot be conceived or established by people en masse. It can be created and established only by those people who need democracy in their business or occupation, by those to whom democracy is a question of life or death. History and experience have proved that people whose method of getting their living does not require democracy have no understanding of it and no desire for it.

VI. The maintenance of democracy depends, in the long run, upon intelligence; upon well-informed minds and mobile wills—wills capable of action, and active. In a word, upon education.

VII. The decisive period in education is that of the elementary and secondary schools, kindergarten, grammar school and high school. Education for democracy must be obtained in that period.

VIII. The coming 25 years will see the greatest struggle for democracy in all history. That struggle is now on. Even President Wilson, though his conceptions of democracy are of the eighteenth rather than the twentieth century, has said that an old order is dying, a new order coming to birth today. But the men and women who must shape that new order are now boys and girls in the public schools. The challenge of this supreme task of civilization to our educational system is preeminent and immediate.

IX. The American Public School System has no conscious or effective relation to democracy. It is a tradi-

tion, an anomaly. Its only conscious relation is to bureaucracy or plutocracy. Its curriculum and its methods are incapable of fitting boys and girls for creative, constructive democracy. Its personnel of control and instruction, as a whole, are unconscious of the task of education.

X. President Frederic Burk of the San Francisco State Normal, himself a part of the public school system, says of it:

"This system was put together in monarchical times. It is a replica of the military monarchy. . . . It is a strange anachronism that the schooling mechanism for training men to be serfs should have been handed down, unchanged by tradition, to become the schooling system of American democracy for the training of freeborn, thinking, self-responsible, government-making citizens of the twentieth century. Yet this fact stares at us complacently from nearly all forms of the schooling system from the kindergarten through the universities."

XI. Ferrer Modern School was born of the social vision and democratic ideals of the only people who need democracy in their business, the only people to whom democracy is a question of life or death—the wage-workers. Its curriculum is the only kind that can develop minds capable of creative citizenship. Its methods are the only ones that can produce human wills capable of service in a dynamic social order.

"There are some queer ways about building operatic." "How do you mean?" "When a man wants to expand his building for business reasons, he calls in a contractor."

If the workers can do the necessary work of society, why can't they control the necessary working machinery of society?

It was Spartacus of old who said to his fellow gladiators: "If we must fight, let us fight for ourselves." Is there no modern Spartacus among the ranks of the warring working classes of America?

FRED W. ERICKSON
Established 1893
GROCERIES AT WHOLESALE
SALE & RETAIL
2029—31 W. 3rd St.
LIN. 356; MEL. 421.

SAVE MONEY
JEWELRY and WATCHES
SOLD and REPAIRED
M. GOLD & COMPANY,
1515 North 6th Street,
SUPERIOR
OGDEN 542-Y.

O. T. ROSAAS
PHOTOGRAPHER.
Lincoln 559-X Melrose 9219
2030 West Superior Street.

WAR IS OVER
BUT PRICES ARE UP
EXCEPT AT
ERICKSON'S
HARDWARE
2021 W. Superior Street
Duluth.

WEST END SHOE WORKS
Fred Johnson, Prop.
Class Shoe repair
218 28th Avenue West.
Lincoln 35-D.
DULUTH, MINN.

JAMES BRAWN
Formerly at 20th Ave. W.
NOW AT
Progressive Shoe Works
27 N. 5th Ave. West.

Olson & Hoppenyan
Phone, Lin. 10 Phone, Mel. 7620
UNDERTAKERS
2014 West Superior Street

BATHS AND SHOWER BATHS
Hotel Rex Barber Shop
R. P. JENTOFF, Prop.
10—CHAIR SHOP—10
2001 W. Superior St., Basement
DULUTH, MINN.

IRELAND
By KATHERINE HUGHES
Just Published 25c. a copy
The best statement of Ireland's political, social and economic struggle for Freedom.
DEMOCRACY IN IRELAND
By HANNA SHERREY SKEFFINGTON
With two portraits 25c. a copy
THE RIGHTS OF IRELAND and FAITH OF A FELON
By JAMES FINTAN LALOR
With an Introduction by James Connolly
Five cents a copy
THE DONNELLY PRESS
164 East 37th Street New York City

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 we 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, 1021 W. Sup. St.

SUPERIOR SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL
meets at 8 o'clock
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
TERMINAL HALL
Corner Winter and Ogden

GARBER BROS.
CLEANERS AND DYERS
WE CALL FOR AND DELIVER YOUR WORK
1925 West Superior St.
Duluth, Minn.

GUST LANDIN
Photographer
24—21st Ave. W.

Zenith Phone, Lin. 91
Bell Phone, Mel. 2349
B. M. HANSEN
Meat Market.
Headquarters for all imported
1909 West Superior St.

WM. J. BIRD
BARBER
1922 W. Superior St.

THAT'S ALL WE DO
EXAMINE EYES and FIT GLASSES
BUT WE DO IT RIGHT
Drs. Larson & Larson
BEMIDJI Specialists MINNESOTA

Zenith Phone Lincoln 117-A.
FOR A GOOD PAIR OF SHOES GO TO
Juten Shoe Store
MEN'S, LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S SHOES.
12 21st Avenue West, Duluth, Minn.
MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

O.F. WENNERLUND OPTOMETRIST
1919 W. SUPERIOR ST.

Frank's Shop
Successor to Brawn
FANCY SHOE WORKS
21 N. 20th Avenue W.
Lin. 808-X. Duluth.

JAMES BRAWN
Formerly at 20th Ave. W.
NOW AT
Progressive Shoe Works
27 N. 5th Ave. West.

GARBER BROS.
CLEANERS AND DYERS
WE CALL FOR AND DELIVER YOUR WORK
1925 West Superior St.
Duluth, Minn.

Readers See ---
ERLAND ERLANDER
ARCHITECT & BUILDING CONTRACTOR
4300 West 5th Street.
—BEFORE YOU DECIDE TO BUILD—
Call 7650.

Italians For Dictatorship of the Working Class

Rome, Jan. 4 (delayed).—Italian Socialists are not enthusiastic about the proposed international conference of workers at Lausanne. They hear rumors that the Russians and the German Spartacus group will not attend and they do not believe their own government will issue passports to the Italian delegates.

Italian working class leaders have been powerfully affected by the Russian and German revolutions. Wherever I have gone in England, France or Italy I have encountered a strong feeling that the Ebert government in Germany would soon or late be overthrown by the Liebknecht adherents, but in Italy this conviction is especially strong.

All immediate plans among the Italian Socialists are being drawn with this latter end in view. Their minds seem closed to everything but the picture of a working class dictatorship throughout Europe, but do not conceal their contempt for all efforts to patch up a social regime which has been loosened from end to end by four years of war.

"Will there be a working class revolution in Italy?" I asked the man best qualified to answer such a hard question. "Are the Socialists making ready for rebellion?"

"Socialists do not make revolutions; we simply take charge of them when they happen," he answered.

"There will be no revolution in Italy if the government can solve the problems which confront it," he continued. Revolution is the last refuge of a desperate people.

See Government Hopeless.

"Is there any sign that the government can cope with the situation? I see none. Its problems are debt, demobilization and work for the people. There is no money to pay the debts, no plan for demobilization and no work for returned soldiers.

"Five million young men are under arms in Italy. The war is over and they have nothing to do. Every city and village is full of them. They produce nothing but go on consuming the country's small residue of supplies.

"Italy has no coal, iron, copper or oil which means that she must draw these key supplies from the outer world or remain without material to engage the energy of her manpower and for the creation of new wealth.

"But there is no world outside the scope of war's devastation. And even if our government could find the supplies in time, it has no plan for transferring 5,000,000 men from the army to the farms and factories.

Appling Ancient Rome. "The collapse of capitalist theory and of our present statesmanship is shown by the only proposal seriously considered by the government; namely, to give every discharged soldier five lira (\$1) a day until work can be found for him.

"In a word, the Rome of today, desperate and faced by ruin, would

ape the Rome of 15 centuries ago and make paupers of the population to stave off rebellion.

"The lira can be printed in unlimited numbers, but the things a lira will buy come only from labor, and, since few will be at work, the value of the lira must shrink almost to nothing.

The peace hungry multitude has hailed the war's end as a promise that all its troubles will soon be over. But it learns day by day that peace without production may be as bad as war.

"And, upon our statesmen, peace has descended suddenly like a devouring monster, finding them wholly exposed to its fangs. Shouts of victory will not satisfy the belly of mankind beyond a brief spell, and that spell has already begun to pass."

"Where will the revolution first appear in Italy?" I asked.

"Where the pinch comes hardest and soonest," he replied.

"You admire the Russian revolution; will Italy adopt the Soviet form of government?"

"Who can say? The Soviet appears natural to Russia, whose people have always practiced its forms to some extent. Every form of government conceived by man during 2,000 years has been practiced within what is now Italy. When the people have been freed they will know how to shape their institutions."

"Who will be your Lenin?" I asked. "He is still unknown."

"And your Kerenski, or Scheidemann?"

"Our Scheidemanns are already identified. Our movement was largely purified by the war in Tripoli in 1912. The reformers supported that unholy war, and were then expelled from the Socialist party. They still call themselves leaders, but they have no followers."

If the workers can produce wealth, why can't they enjoy the wealth they produce?

LARSON BROS.

Fresh and Salt Meats, Oysters, Fish and Poultry
Zenith phone Lincoln 152
Duluth phone Melrose 382
2728 West 9th Street,
DULUTH, MINN.

A COUGH IS AN ALARM OF FIRE

A cough usually comes from the inflammation of some organ. The words "Inflammation" and "Flame" have the same origin, and so, the cough means a "Fire."

The seriousness of the average cough lies in what it may lead to, such as bronchitis, congested lungs, even consumption. A short hacking cough is often the ONE evidence pointing to the invasion of consumptive germs commonly called by doctors "the pre-tubercular stages."

A. Ph. Balsamic Cough Anodyne helps to KUT OUT THE FIRE when it stops the cough. As a sedative, it soothes and quiets the inflamed and irritated surfaces; as an expectorant it loosens the cough. It acts quickly and safely. It tastes agreeably.

The trouble with the ready-made cough syrups of the "patent medicine" sort is that they may be stale. Stale medicine is no better than stale food. Druggists Members of the Associated Pharmacists put up A. Ph. Balsamic Cough Anodyne themselves. Their slogan is: Always fresh; Always active; Always uniform. 50 and 25 cents a bottle. A. Ph. Balsamic Cough Anodyne is made, sold and guaranteed by

THE PEOPLE'S

Drug Store

PRICE:—35c. and 65c. per Bottle.
2015 West Superior Street.

SO GOOD OF THE ALLIES.

The Allies have decided to withdraw from Russia. Of course every liberal in the country will shower his praises on our good friend, the President, for his good work in behalf of the Bolsheviks of Russia. Socialists know that it was NOT President Wilson that urged the Allies to withdraw. The Bolsheviks themselves by their economic and military power compelled the Allies to withdraw. The Bolshevik army numbers one million well trained volunteer men. They are not the product of a draft law, they are all men imbued with the sole idea of protecting the Russian Revolution. They are prepared to sacrifice life itself rather than allow the Imperialists of the world to drive them back to Czarism.

Against such an army the conscript armies of the world, full of discontented and war-weary soldiers, are powerless. On the banks of the Ural, in Ukraine, Shogo-varsk and many other places the Bolshevik forces have won decisive military victories. The Czecho-Slovaks, disgusted with the military adventurer of the Czaristic regime, Admiral Kolchak, have demanded that they be allowed to go back to their native land. They say that they have no quarrel with the Bolsheviks of Russia.

The cant and hypocrisy of it all. The Allied press denounces Lenin for the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. They fail to tell the Allied peoples that the Allied nations were asked to step in and assist the Russian people to ward off the attacks of the German army. So at this time we shall refresh the memory of our readers with the statement of Lenin issued after the signing of that "brigand treaty" as Lenin termed it.

Peace or War?

On February 24, 1918, Nicolai Lenin made the following statement (given only in its essential part) in justification of his contention that the harsh terms of Brest-Litovsk, imposed upon helpless Russia by the Germans, should be ratified:

The reply of the Germans, as the leaders see, gives us terms of peace even more difficult than those of Brest-Litovsk. And yet I am absolutely convinced that only complete intoxication with the revolutionary phrase can persuade anyone to refuse to sign these terms. This is why I began in articles in the Pravda signed "Karpov" a merciless struggle against the "revolutionary phrase" and against the "revolutionary

itch" because I saw in it the greatest danger of our party—and therefore to the revolution. Revolutionary parties that strictly carry out revolutionary slogans have been ill with "revolutionary phrase" many times in history, and perished on account of it. . . . In thesis 17 I wrote that if we should refuse to sign the proposed peace, then "hardest defeats will compel Russia to make an even more unprofitable peace." It proved to be even worse because our retreating and demobilizing army refused altogether to fight. At the present moment only impetuous phrases could force Russia, in its immediate hopeless condition, back into the war; and I personally will, of course, not remain for a second in a government or on the central committee of our party, if the policy of phrase is to take the upper hand. Today the bitter truth has shown itself so horribly clear that it is impossible not to see it. The entire bourgeoisie of Russia is rejoicing and celebrating the arrival of the Germans. Only those who are intoxicated with mere phrases can shut their eyes to the fact that the policy of a revolutionary war—without an army—is water to the mill of the bourgeoisie. In Dvinsk Russian officers are already wearing their shoulder straps. In Riezhitz the bourgeoisie greeted the Germans with great joy. In Petrograd, on the Nevsky, in the bourgeois newspapers—the Rietch, the Dielo Naroda, the Novy Lutch and others—everyone is preparing to celebrate the anticipated overthrow of Soviet power by the Germans. Everybody must by this time see that these against this immediate, against this supremely difficult peace, are ruining Soviet power. We are compelled to go through a most difficult peace. This peace will not stop the revolution in Germany and in Europe. We will organize a Revolutionary Army, not by phrases and exclamations—as it was being organized by those who, from the 7th of January on, did not do anything to prevent our armies from running away—but by organization, by action creating a serious, national, mighty army.

M. Marchand, the Russian correspondent of the organ of French capitalism "Figaro," in March, 1917, was of the opinion that the monarchy form of government was best for Russia. He was of the opinion that the Bolsheviks were nothing more nor less than a bunch of cutthroats, bandits, etc. Now he writes, "They (the Bolsheviks) are not, as I thought they were, a band of foreign adventurers imposing themselves on passive people. . . . Bolshevism is decidedly essentially Russian, and if it has remained in power until now, in the midst of insuperable difficulties, it is simply because it has the masses behind it. . . . Often I have talked with peasants, representatives of different governments

of Russia. All desired an end to the strife. . . . but all supported consciously or not the Soviets."

"All desired an end to the strife," says M. Marchand. The presence of the Allied troops is the only cause for the strife and turmoil that delays economic regeneration and social peace. The many invitations supposed to have come from representatives of the Russian people have been manufactured by representatives of the Allied nations and Russian reactionaries. These latter people see in intervention an opportunity to obtain vast sums of money and arms so that they may drive Russia back to Czarism and so live the lives of degeneracy and debauchery, that an aroused Russian peasantry and workers has deprived them of. They fear the rule of the Bolsheviks, that says in no uncertain tones, "unless you work you shall not eat."

That either the industrial workers or the peasantry are in favor of intervention is a fiction no longer tenable. Through the wiles of crafty diplomats and scheming Kaiserism, the peoples of the Allied nations have been led astray by every Russian adventurer that came along.

After fifteen months of hard work the Bolsheviks reign supreme. Efficiency and ability have conquered over craftiness and intriguing. Educated men like Lenin and Trotzky, high-minded and conscientious representatives of the workers, have put to flight the political adventurers of the Czaristic regime and the crafty diplomats of the Allied governments. Russia will never go back to Czarism. They have laid the foundations of the Industrial Republic. Soon this mighty structure will be reared in all countries. Against its erection the forces of Imperialism are powerless. The rule of the worker has got to come. It cannot be stayed. Long live the Red Internationale! Long may the Red Flag float in the breeze.

TEN YEARS OLD.

Ten years old. What a life he has led. Coming into the world a young struggling infant, the child was not well received. Except for a few poor struggling workers, nobody would recognize the poor kid. But somehow or other, the more you kicked him the more he grew. In fact, there was a danger of him dying. But still he struggled on and on. His American friends (?) said he was a poor "foreigner," and so they just turned their noses up and left him to the tender mercies of the world.

Ten years! What a life the kid has led! He has made many a member of the Commercial Club lose a night's sleep worrying over him. In fact, the more the kid yelled the more everybody wanted to know why he was yelling. When they found that the kid was protesting against there not being enough food, clothes, fine houses, etc., why all the kids commenced to yell. So the kid grew and other kids came with him, and if you can stop this gang from yelling, you have some job on your hands.

Ten years in a Steel Trust city. Ten years of real work. No movement has suffered so much and no movement has done so much as the Scandinavian Local Duluth. Sure it is the Scandinavian Local we are telling you of. Comrades of America—in San Francisco, Baltimore, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Seattle, Butte—who read this paper, the Scandinavian Local is doing the big things that will make life worth while. Quiet, unassuming, this crowd of comrades is, but they do the work. Never a band plays for them and never a soul shouts from the house top of their work. They are not intellectuals, just the common ordinary workers. Sorry you cannot be with them. To see them in action is inspiring. Can you wonder that we turned down your jobs that you offered us? We are among men and women and we are going to stay here. For when the Great Call comes we want to march with real men and women into the land of Industrial Freedom. March to the strains of the Scandinavian Band. March to the sound of the happy voices of the children (some children—bless them all), women and men of the Scandinavian Local.

Why do we love them?

Let us tell you why?

They have donated over \$1,000 to various defense funds. It did not matter who they were that appealed, so long as they were workers. They answered every appeal. They have stood by the State Organization and the National Organization, even though they disagreed with the ideas of many of the party officials. They stood firm like the true comrades they are.

They support a weekly Socialist paper, Scandinavian and English, and such support! They work like Trojans, because they are hoping that you, my American comrades, will see the vision that they see. They want you to feel the glow of the sun of the new day, as they feel it. Oh! comrades of English-speaking races, if you could only appreciate what these "foreign" comrades are doing to make the world brighter. They want a world that will give to all who labor the joys and real happiness of life. They know that they cannot bring about the New Social Order without you, and so they do want you to come in with them. They will help you all they can, same as they have done in the past. Come with them and feel the glow of enthusiasm as they feel it, and in the days to come you will grip their hands and say, by God, you are men and women that count in the struggle for freedom.

Ten years old. The future looks bright and promising. Gaze across the waters of the Atlantic and see the big things that are being done. We know your hearts beat with pride. The men and women over there are possessed of the same vigor and spirit as the Duluth Scandinavian Local over here. May the coming year find thousands of comrades as true and faithful to the cause of International Socialism as the comrades of the Duluth Scandinavian Local.

Comrades of the Duluth Scandinavian Local, we are proud of you. You are real men and women. En Avant.

The Battle Song of Industrial Freedom

(AIR: . . . MARSEILLAISE)

By a Paint Creek Miner.

O, hear them marching, marching—singing.
The world is shaking with their tread!
The stern battalions onward swinging;
And see their banners blazing red!
And see their banners blazing red!
The angry sons of every nation,
No more like driven beasts to toil—
Mere bondsmen to machine and soil
And goaded ever by Starvation.

CHORUS:—

Unite, and stand as one,
Our place is in the sun!
Arise! Arise! All organise;
The battle has begun!

O, masters, will you hear unheeding
The thunder-roll of Labor's might?
Not on our knees before you pleading,
But on our feet demanding Right,
But on our feet demanding Right!
For, like a giant newly risen,
We fold our arms in industry
Until all men enslaved are free;
And those who languish now in prison!

CHORUS:—

Ye hated tyrants hide and tremble,
For retribution is at hand!
The marching hosts of Toil assemble,
And in One Mighty Union stand,
And in One Mighty Union stand!
We have been patient to this hour,
With rags and crusts that you have thrown,
But, now we claim the world our own;
Our hands shall hold the reins of power!

CHORUS:—

Leavenworth, Kansas, Jan. 31st, 1919.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THANK YOU FOR THE HONOR-WOBBLES.

We have been advised by the wobblers of Leavenworth Recruiting Local that it is our task and solemn duty to provide them with all manner of literature. To give the list of good send-off we are donating \$5 worth of new books. We sincerely trust that every wobbler and Socialist Party member will either send us in a dollar or a new book. You will readily perceive the absolute necessity of sending these books to Leavenworth. They will go into the hands of I. W. W. and members of the Socialist Party. So just dig down deep and send in that donation. Last week was our birthday. So send your birthday gifts to the Leavenworth Library Fund. We have promised to raise a fund of one hundred dollars. Who will send the next five dollars?

Mr. and Mrs. Truth \$5.00

OPEN LETTER TO EDITOR OF HERALD.

Dear Sir:-

Realizing how needful you consider yourself in this community and desirous as you are of educating the people, we are taking this opportunity of setting you right.

In the first place, when you seek to criticize Socialism, you must be equipped with a knowledge of science, otherwise you will eventually find yourself all tangled up.

Socialism is a theory of social evolution and not a mere question of politics like the tariff. If you want to understand the way new solar systems and worlds are evolved, you are perforce to study cosmology. If you want to study and find out how the surface of the earth was made ready for organic life, you must study geology. If you want to continue your studies further and understand in which way organic life has developed on this earth, you must study biology.

The average newspaper editor's mission is to keep the people in subjection, so that they will be contented with their present existence. Therefore, it can be readily seen that there is no incentive for a newspaper editor to acquire a scientific knowledge of economics. It is not to knowledge that he owes his position, and too much, indeed, might cause him to lose his job. Many a man in modern life has come to realize with Galileo the danger of knowing too much.

When the church had charge of astronomy it was heresy and punishable with death to disagree with Ptolemy that the sun revolved round the earth; therefore the astronomers of that day were not very eager to advance other theories. There was, in fact, no demand for science in the field of astronomy; faith alone was wanted. Since those days we have progressed and men today who deal with world problems are compelled to study more deeply than they have done in the past.

The workers today feel a new spirit gripping them and they are studying more and more. So much so, that the editorials of the Herald are causing many a good laugh at the expense of you, Mr. Editor.

In one editorial you seek to disprove the correctness of the Socialist position by using as an illustration the mere fact of persons having Liberty Bonds. What a mind you have! We strongly advise you to take the first boat to France, such a master mind as you possess is needed at the Peace Conference to unravel the knotty problems that confront the statesmen of the world.

The mission of capitalism is, through competition, to perfect the machinery of production, to bring about a greater division of labor, thus reducing to a minimum the amount of labor necessary to carry on production; to take production to every part of the world and through the centralizing process build up large industries ready to be taken over and administered by the working class, aroused and victorious.

You may disprove of our contention. But if you will but turn to Mexico, you will find their a living example of what we write. For what is the Mexican problem? Having revolutionized industry within the confines of these United States, the capitalists of this country have sought to develop the undeveloped nations of the world, Mexico being one of them. Hitherto all that these undeveloped nations were required to do was to purchase the consumable products of this country; but this is now insufficient, and capitalism begins to develop and exploit Mexico through the investment of capital and the introduction of machinery. It becomes no longer sufficient, for example, that Mexico sell the United States its agricultural products and raw materials, and that it purchase the manufactured products of the United States. The Mexican home market must be developed; it must absorb the surplus capital of United States capitalism. Then comes the investment of American capital in Mexico. The building of factories, railways, docks, etc. This is the export of capital, the animating factor of Imperialism.

In Mexico there is a feeling gaining ground among the people of that country that they should have democracy. As a result, revolutions have taken place and they tend to disorganize industry. Carranza levies a tax on all property owned by foreigners. American capitalists do not like this, and so we are going to see intervention take place in Mexico. When it takes place, you will be issuing editorials denouncing the Mexican people, like you are denouncing the Bolsheviks. You are the blind tool of the American Imperialism. The only difference between you and the editor of the News Tribune is that the editor of the Tribune admits that he is with Big Business, body and soul, while you masquerade as a liberal thinker.

Capitalism must obey the law of economic development. The invention of steam gave increase power to the bourgeoisie. By the power so obtained they wrested control from the hands of feudal lords. Today at the height of their power, they stand helpless confronted by Bolshevism. Bolshevism is to capitalism what capitalism was to feudalism. It is the expression of the

logical development of human society. After the rule of landlord we had the rule of the capitalist; after the rule of the capitalist we will have the rule of the workers. It is inevitable. So you are wasting your time. You cannot be with the workers and their masters. The struggle must go on, despite the attempts being made to suppress it. Go with those that pay you, for the world loves the logical being.

You call Bolshevism murder. Let us pause for a moment and examine this charge that you make against the Bolsheviks. When Col. W. B. Thompson, chairman of the American Red Cross Mission in Russia, was confronted with the self-same charge that you have made, he replied:

The terrorism under which the limited property-owning class is living is slight compared with the terrorism in which the workingman and peasant lives in fear of the return of the old regime.

Of course you will ask why then are the papers full of these stories of murder and massacre? Let me refer you to a paper, of which you are a subscriber. A paper that is not revolutionary, the organ of the "nice" people of this country, the New Republic:

What is the source of the lies about Russia which are so systematically disseminated in this country? A couple of weeks ago the statement was published on the front pages of the eastern newspapers that on November 10th the Bolsheviks were to indulge in a general massacre of all their class opponents. But what actually happened on or about that day? The following dispatch published in the New York World may give some idea. "The Soviet Council in Petrograd has adopted a resolution giving amnesty to all arrested hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against the Soviets, except those whose detention is deemed necessary as a guaranty for the security of the Bolsheviks who have fallen into enemy hands." Instead of a St. Bartholomew, a feast of reconciliation. The lie is published in the most conspicuous part of all the newspapers in the country. The truth is published in an inconspicuous part of one newspaper. Is the case against the Bolsheviks so weak that it has to be sustained by lies?—New Republic, Nov. 16.

Every charge that you have made against the Bolsheviks of Russia is on a level with your knowledge of Socialism. There is one thing that you have stated which is true. That is, that the Socialists want a class autocracy. You never made a truer statement in your life. The dictatorship of the proletariat. All those who work will rule and dominate society. We intend to carry out that idea. We serve warning through you, that we are going to organize and take control of industry and establish the rule of the workers. Only those who perform necessary work will have a right to determine the laws of the country. Make haste and quit your job, for the sound of the approaching storm can be heard.

The Allies have decided to withdraw their forces from Russia. Not because they have become possessed of a change of heart, simply because the Bolsheviks are the dominant force. One million trained volunteer Russian young men are in the Bolshevik army, imbued with the sole idea of human liberty. Liberty whose soul-embracing spirit urged Patrick Henry to say "Give me Liberty or give me Death." The torch of liberty is one torch that can never be extinguished. Tonight it burns brightly in Russia. Soon it will be fanned into flame in Germany and quickly it will spread over the wide world. The future is with the working class. In the hour you sought to vilify our movement you uttered a great truth. The DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. It sounds like music to our ears. Imagine if you can the joy that awaits us. The child slave of the factory, the scarlet woman of the streets and brothel, the tired department store girl, the old man—outcast of human society, the aged women and the rest of the victims of the capitalist system, will soon feel the urge of freedom surging through their souls. Freedom! The dreams of our youth become the joy of our old age. Mr. Editor, your heart and soul today are hardened by the atmosphere and environment that you have been working in. You cannot feel as we feel. The joy of the future is not known to you. Your vision has been blinded by the rottenness of the commercialism of today. Sorry we are for you and your associates. You will never know the joy of our movement. You will never be able to appreciate the work of the Bolsheviks. Reared in an atmosphere that does not know the meaning of service, only of profit, you can never feel the spirit of progress as we feel it. So we strongly advise you to endeavor to understand this new movement of Bolshevism. Endeavor if you can, to analyze it and find out what it is. Try and understand the spirit that urges these brave Russian fighters to go on. When you do that, with an unbiased mind, rest assured you will not make yourself ridiculous in the eyes of sane people by writing editorials like those that appeared in your paper of February 1.

Yours for the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Editor of Truth.

THE SPIRIT OF DISCONTENT.

The spirit of discontent is growing, spreading and becoming more articulate. There is the discontent of the people in general with the high cost of living; there is the discontent of the organized labor movement with its long hours, poor pay and wholesale discharge from employment of some thousands of its members; there is the discontent of the returned soldier who has come back to find women doing his work for less wages and a boss who expects him to work for the same wage as he pays his women workers; there is the discontent of the middle-class, that sees despair and bankruptcy in the sudden closing down of many war industries. And there are multitudinous other causes and expressions of discontent.

In all sections of the working-class movement discontent is rampant, and nowhere is it so keen and so

bitter as among the soldiers who have come back. You can feel that there is something brewing in the air. The hands that played the boys away now are silent. Upon the faces of the boys is a look that spells trouble for the powers that be.

Now what are we going to do to concentrate, organize, focus and provide adequate expression for this discontent?

It is the concern of the working class movement.

It is the workers who are turned adrift from their jobs. It is the workers who are going to endure starvation. It is the workers who will tramp the streets and sleep out, rot on the streets, tortured and depressed.

It is the duty—the solemn duty of every Socialist Party local, I. W. W. organization, Trades Assembly and various other sections of the working class movement to get together. These problems that concern OUR class must be met and solved by OUR class. No other class will do it. They will extend to us the hand of sympathy. But sympathy is not what we want, we want action. Action that must come from the workers themselves.

Discharged soldiers ought not to be left to the mercy of Commercial Clubs and other organizations who seek to make of the soldier a special caste, and if needs be, to use him against the organized workers. The shame will be ours if we allow the misery and dependence of the soldiers to be exploited by a gang of over-fed society dolls and big-bellied profiteers. The terrible problem of unemployment must not be left to end itself in soup kitchens. Sections of the labor movement must not make separate terms with the bosses. We must act as a class and rise as a class. Do not allow the curse of sectionalism to deprive us of the fruits of victory.

Surely there are among us the elements that will have the intelligence to promote solidarity among the workers so that an exploiting, over-fed profiteering class will be unable to exploit our differences?

The first and foremost need of the hour is solidarity. The whole working class movement must exercise all its political and economic power in a united fashion to break down the opposition of the ruling class. There is no necessity to waste money and energy on political fights. That is not the kind of political action. Political action is the action that follows as a reflex of the action on the job. We must bend Congress and State legislatures to our will by the efficient use of our industrial organizations. We need at this moment a Labor Congress containing representatives of the rank and file. They must have men who are thoroughly class conscious. These men must act as a Labor General Staff. They must prepare the workers for the successful carrying on of the class struggle. We need Workers' Councils that will unite all factions of the labor and radical movement together. On that council must be workers. Keep out editors and so-called intellectuals. The Council must express the ideas of the man on the job. If unemployed agitators are not to prove futile, if the soldier, who after all is a worker, is to secure fair treatment, if the brave men and women in prison are to receive some atom of justice, if the widows and orphans are to be fairly dealt with, we must have a radical change in our labor organizations. There is no room within our movement for a thousand and one unions, neither is there room for the politician.

Delay is dangerous. The robber gangs that run all countries are too busy looking after their own interests. They are too absorbed in their greed and plundering to even properly realize the anarchy they are plunging into. Hungry men will not wait. Starving masses, particularly starving masses of men who have been lying knee deep in blood and dirt in the trenches of Europe. Men who have been facing death will not brook much ceremony. If hunger revolts and bloody massacres are to be avoided, then the working class movement must be efficiently organized and disciplined. They must agitate and dare everything. The working class movement is the ONLY movement that can do this effectively.

BOY, PAGE W. McEWAN.

Three hundred thousand babies die every year in America. When next you talk about the atrocities inflicted upon the Russian people by the Bolsheviks, please remember that 300,000 blue-eyed baby boys and girls die from the lack of food, William! Can the Bolsheviks beat that? We should say not!

WE APOLOGIZE.

Yer e it is hard for a feller to get out a paper and have no mistakes in it. We hav an orris cat, who swallows the type and eats the mats. With milk at 16 cents a quart, xcept Jens Nilsen's, it is a hard matter to keep him fed, so we must suffer in silence.

Last week we had a hard job pullin' ourselves about. Every limburger in our body was aking and to harf to stand orl day in a print-shop, tired and sick in sum task. Yer see we are human, not a merchine, and so yer must bare with us for a short time. We will be orlright in a few days. Orf corse it is tru that we don't belong to the Typographical Union. Yer ave no need to tell us that. So if you do not admire our artistic temperament, we don't blame yer, becos we haven't got any. We have the pep and we aroun the peepul. We no sum good printers. One was a business guy. He new how to run a paper; he run it that well that he run himself out of town. He could run a paper orlright, but he was so fond of runnin' he couldn't stick to the real work.

Well, comrades and feller wurkers, it takes us orl our time to swallow doughnuts and coffee, so we have no time to swallow encyclopedias (thurs a wurd that is wurth a dime). So beer with us and we will come back with a punch that will land us in Leavenworth or the land of industrial freedom.

CLEARANCE SALE

\$12.50 Men's All-Wool Mackinaws \$9.00
\$15.50 All Wool Coats \$12.48
\$10.00 Leather-Lined Vests \$8.48
Men's Felt-Shoes \$1.98 & up
Men's Leather-Topped Rubbers \$3.39 & up
\$2.50 Men's Flannel Shirts \$1.98 & up
\$3.00 Union Suits \$2.39
\$4.00 Union Suits \$2.95
\$5.00 Union Suits ALL-WOOL \$3.98

Arthur B. Anchel

2011 W. Superior St.

DULUTH.

Entertainment

— AT THE —

WOODMAN HALL

SUNDAY EVENING, FEB. 9th

1919 at 6 P. M.

Speaker: — D. M. CROCKER

(Crocker kindly gave way to Comrade Benfall last Sunday. He will positively speak this coming Sunday.)

Editor of Truth will deliver address on "GENE DEBS—WORKER"

Scandinavian Band will also play.

EVERYBODY WELCOME.

Admission 35c & 15c.

43 I. W. W. TOOK THEIR SENTENCE WITH A LAUGH

Defiant Stand of Unionists in Sacramento Told in Eye-Witness' Account.

An eye-witness' account of the court room scene when 43 members of the I. W. W. were sentenced in Sacramento 10 days ago, after having maintained a "silence strike against capitalist justice" during the trial, has just been published by the New York Defense Committee, 27 East Fourth street, New York City. After being out only 70 minutes, the jury brought in a verdict of "guilty as charged" against all of the defendants, showing that the case of each had been dispatched in a minute and a half.

The men seemed rather glad to have it over with, it is reported. There never had been any doubt in their minds as to what the verdict would be. As they were led out of the court room they sang "Solidarity Forever!"

The next morning, January 17, the 43 "silent defendants" were brought in for sentence. The three who had refused to join in their decision to put up no defense were absent. "Have any of the defendants anything to say before I pass sentence?" asked Judge Frank H. Rudkin.

They had, indeed. Their pledge of silence, "in contempt of court," was to last only until they had been convicted. Their tongues were now loosed. Eleven of them spoke, occupying the entire morning, during which time the 43 stood shoulder to shoulder before the court and delivered probably as scathing an arraignment of capitalist justice as has ever been voiced by workmen.

Through every speech rang the spirit of unflinching defiance, which the men had consistently shown during their 15 months' imprisonment and their long trial. Not one of them sounded the ingratiating note customary under such circumstances. "Perjurers" was their scornful characterization of the witnesses for the defense and their denunciation of the methods used by the prosecution was so merciless that finally United States District Attorney Robert Duncan pleaded, "May it please your Honor, I assure you that not one witness I put on the stand perjured himself."

The defendants will proceed with what they have to say," was the judge's reply.

Mortimer Downing, one of the spokesmen, pointed out that two of the convicted men, W. H. Faust and Felix Cedno, were not even members of the organization in which they were accused of having conspired; that official records showed that defendant O'Connell was in the hospital at the time when one of the government witnesses swore that he had set fire to the building, and that he himself already had been "rail-roaded" to jail at the time when the government detectives swore that he was out on the picket line in connection with the Wheatland hop pickers' strike in 1913.

The evident embarrassment of the government officials at these charges was increased when Downing bitterly arraigned the authorities for forcing a sick man, Frederick Esmond, now believed to be dying of heart disease, complicated with consumption, to sleep on the jail floor without bedding for over two months, along with the other defendants, five of whom died of influenza or pneumonia.

Every employer claims the right to set the hours and wages and conditions under which his men shall

work," said Downing. "Well, I will tell you what we mean by direct action and action on the job. We mean that the worker is going to tell how much and under what conditions he will work. The I. W. W. have taught this, and will continue to teach it, until the workers gradually become stronger and stronger, and finally take over the industries."

"I am glad I am a member of the I. W. W., whom the District Attorney calls the scum of the earth," said James Price, another defendant. "At least, I have kept my word and stood by my principles. The District Attorney swore to uphold the laws of the land, but he has violated every principle of the Constitution. When it comes to sabotage, he has the I. W. W. backed clean off the boards."

In a short, fiery speech of defiance, James Mulrooney told the judge why he had become an I. W. W. after witnessing in Butte, Mont., in the summer of 1917, the lynching of a sick man, Frank Little, a member of the executive committee of the organization. He also witnessed the Speculator Mine disaster, when 167 workers were killed.

"I uphold every principle of the I. W. W.," was his closing challenge.

"I am not much of a speaker," said Frank Elliot, "as I come from the ranks of labor, but I want to express my supreme contempt for the whole gang." Frederick Esmond, referred to above, made an impassioned address, in which he tore to shreds the testimony of the government, detectives and stool pigeons, denouncing the whole trial as a disgrace to the country.

One short sentence was the speech of Roy P. Connor: "I have nothing but contempt for a court where perjury is considered patriotic."

Godfrey Ebel told how he had been arrested without a warrant and, when he refused to give perjured testimony against his fellow workers, put in solitary confinement, not even being allowed anything to read, and, when his release was ordered by Judge Dooling of San Francisco, re-arrested and thrown into jail along with the others. Will Hood, another of the convicted men, declared that "Dublin Bob" Connellan was imprisoned at the very time when the prosecution's witness, Bollhorn, had testified to having seen him near a building which he was accused of having fired. Hood's denunciation of Bollhorn and of the methods used by the government to secure a conviction was so vigorous that the judge finally brought him to a halt.

"We didn't come here expecting justice," said Phil McLaughlin. "We want all you will give us. We'll do the same to you when our turn comes."

The reading of the sentences was greeted with scornful laughter by the 43 workmen, more than half of whom, with a smile of contempt on their lips, heard themselves condemned to ten years in prison. They were led back to jail singing:

"Hold the fort, for we are coming, Union men be strong."

Julius Weinberg, who had turned state's evidence, was then led forward to make his plea.

"I know these men, your Honor," he read from his written plea for mercy, "and know the harm that would come to you and me and the United States, if they should achieve their aims."

The judge let him off with two months in jail. Meanwhile, the 43 men who had stood by their principles could still be heard in the jail tank downstairs, singing "Solidarity Forever."

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

1 Year \$1.50
Six Months 85c

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

Address Communications to TRUTH, 101
Stack Building, Duluth, Minn.
— PHONE Mel. 2517 —

COMRADE KATHERINE BRESHKOVSKY.

W. McEwen is endeavoring to save America from Bolshevism. William is an old-time labor leader and so he is obeying the natural law of self-preservation.

Every week William informs us what people are saying who are opposed to the Bolsheviks, but we have yet to find him telling his readers what those who are in favor of the Bolsheviks are saying. Last week he quoted "The Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," so this week we intend to deal with this dear old lady. Because she is a lady in every sense of the word.

Ekaterina Konstantinova Breshkovskaya (nee Verigo), known among the Russian comrades as Babushka. Babushka, the sound of that name sends a thrill of pride through the soul of every Russian comrade. Born among the aristocracy. Wealth and luxury for Babushka if she wished. But Babushka said no and took her place among the workers and by her marvelous spirit and tremendous courage, Babushka helped to make possible the Russian revolution.

Seventy-four years old and still possesses the vigor of her youth. Babushka, we are all proud of you. Though you allow a sordid master class that would destroy Russian freedom for all time to come, to exploit you so that they may restore Czarism in Russia, we are not vexed with you. How could we be? You have paid with your life's blood the price that we all must pay if we are ever to be worthy sons of the Revolution.

Forty years ago you were a happy wife, possessed of a devoted husband. In those years you turned to your sweetheart and said, "Are you willing to suffer exile and death in this cause of liberty?" He answered no and you parted. Love ties are strong. Too strong for many of us, but Babushka loved all humanity better than her sweetheart. Sacrifice was not the word for it. That is why we love you, Babushka, and why we shall always love you.

Disguised as a peasant, Babushka commenced her work for a free Russia, that was in 1873. She went among the peasants and endeavored to organize them, and one year later she was arrested. For three long years Babushka was kept in prison. In 1877 she was placed in the dock and was one of the leading figures in the famous political trial known as the famous "trial of 193," the first political trial in Russia. The result of that trial was five years at hard labor in Siberia for Babushka and EXILED FOR LIFE. Babushka was deported to the Kara mines, and then to Bargusin, in Trans-Baikalia, and there she remained until 1881.

In the summer of that year she, with three others, made an attempt to escape, but was caught on the way to the Pacific coast, brought back to Kara and sentenced to four years' hard labor and FORTY LASHES. At that time Babushka, the very people who are capitalizing your glorious fight for freedom, sided with the Czar.

In 1904 Babushka came to this country and collected funds for the sole purpose of overthrowing Czarism. On her return the notorious Azeff had Babushka arrested and she was again kept in prison for three more long years. In 1910 she was again placed in the dock, along with Nicholas Tchaykowsky, and sentenced to Siberia. Her companion was acquitted because he recanted. Babushka could have obtained her freedom at the same price, but Babushka was no coward.

In 1913, in the cold month of December, Babushka again made another attempt to escape, but unfortunately she was again captured. Finally, with the coming of the Russian Revolution, Babushka was released and given the greatest ovation that was ever accorded to any woman.

Louise Bryant in her remarkable book, "Six red months in Russia," has this to say to Babushka:

Very pathetic, indeed, was her description of what it was like to be free. This feeling she never knew until the news of the revolution was brought to her. She wrote, "The longer the war lasted the more terrible were its consequences, the brighter were the basenesses of the Russian government. The cleaner was the unavoidableness of the democracies of all countries getting conscious, nearer also was the Revolution."

"I was waiting for the ringing of the bells announcing freedom, and I was wondering why the bells made me wait. . . .

"On the 4th of March a wire reached me in Menusinsk announcing my liberty. . . . From Achinsk began my uninterrupted contact with the soldiers, peasants, workmen, railway employes, students and numbers of women—all so dear to me."

. . . A sad misunderstanding ensued which probably led to all the rumors about Babushka's imprisonment by the Bolsheviks. Nothing of the kind occurred. I do not think that anyone in Russia ever thought of harming Babushka, although she must have been misled into believing this, because for a while after the fall of the Provisional Government she was in hiding. But later she lived quietly in Moscow.

There is nothing strange in the fact that Babushka took no part in the November revolution (Bolshevik revolution—Editor.) History almost invariably proves that those who give wholly themselves in their youth to some large idea cannot in their old age comprehend the very revolutionary spirit in which they themselves began; they are not only unsympathetic to it, but usually they offer real opposition. And thus it was that Babushka, who stood so long for political revolution, balked at the next logical step, which is the class struggle. It is a matter of age. If Julie Ward Howe were alive—an old woman of eighty—one would hardly expect her to picket for woman's suffrage in front of the White House, although in her youth she wrote the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

The following interview with Babushka was taken from a Western paper:

By Gilbert O'Day.

The fifty years of life in prison and Siberia and Czar oppression have left their mark. An old basket selling Indian woman with a shawl over her head looked straight into my

eye. She bade me sit close to her and while holding my hand she inquired if I could speak her language, and when informed in the negative she slowly commenced to narrate her story in English. Her news from Russia was meager. She was disappointed, bitterly disappointed because the working class of that country did not choose a different method in achieving Socialism. If they only would have followed Kerevsky's advice how beautiful and glorious everything would have been. But this man Lenin, he is an egotist, a terror. He places his ideas above everything else. Soon, very soon, the working class of Russia would realize it and back into their folds they will take their rejected leaders. Did Babushka think the population of Russia were against the Bolshevik? O, of course, certainly. In time they will regain their strength and overthrow these destroyers. Did Babushka hear about the election in a certain part of Siberia, where under the very auspices of the Allied governments the Bolsheviks received as many votes as all the other parties put together? No, she never heard of it. Did the Bolsheviks torture Babushka as reported? No, but a warrant was issued against her, although she was never arrested. She traveled through various sections of Russia, part of the time under cover. Did dear Babushka see any of the torture committed by the Bolsheviks or meet people who had suffered physical violence at the hands of these destroyers? No, but she was certain some of the reports were true. Did the peasants own the land, and the workers the factories? The peasants owned the land, and they took it themselves and the Bolsheviks did not give it to them, and as for the workers, they were destroying the machines and were ignorant and did not know how to conduct their own business. Yes, the Russian people were opposed to intervention. How American Socialists who had visited Russia and are supporting the Bolsheviks, she could not understand.

Tonight, Babushka, the capitalist class of America welcome you with open arms. Tonight the music will play and your heart will be made happy. Tonight, Babushka, in the slums of our big cities children cry for bread. Tonight, Babushka, you denounce the Bolsheviks, your own countrymen and women. Tonight returned soldiers are left stranded. Your fight in Russia is our fight in America. We want freedom. Our arms are weary with pleading and our eyes red with tears. Babushka, say the word that will inspire us to go on and fight. Babushka, for the love of the Cause wherein you sacrificed so much, help us to win. But Babushka, do not come here and ally yourself with those who seek to set back progress in Russia.

"MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY."

George Bernard Shaw in one of his recent articles states:

The destruction of Germany's prestige has left the British empire in the position formerly held by her defeated foe, namely, that of the most dangerous and dreaded imperial power left in the world."

Remember that this war was the LAST war. Well, that is what they told us. Who said British Navalism after Prussian Militarism?

General De Wet and Pieter Grobler, grandson of President Gruger, have been denied passports to the Peace Conference by the South African government.

Bolsheviks win battles on the Ural, in Ukraine, Shogovarsk and many other places.

Peace Conference decides to recognize the Bolsheviks. Draw your own conclusions.

Congress decides to give soldiers \$50 and officers \$200. We have no king in this country; we are all given equal opportunities, etc., etc., etc., etc., amen.

Senator Hiram Johnson is still at large. He seems to forget that this is a free country.

Fancy a Senator saying this and getting away with it:

I will not subscribe to this doctrine. I will not for one instant concede that it is the duty of the U. S. A. republic to maintain order in a Jugo-Slav or Czech-Slav state, in Albania or Montenegro, in Roumania or Armenia, in Syria, Palestine, Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Courland, Lithuania or Ukraine. I am opposed to American boys policing Europe and quelling riots in every European nation's backyard.

After citing President Wilson's addresses and other documents regarding Russia, Senator Johnson said:

Weak and vacillating and stupid has been our policy with Russia. We solemnly promised that we would not intervene and then, prating of our love for the Russian people, we did intervene. Prating about guarding stores at Archangel, we advanced 103 miles from that port, burned little Russian towns and upset little Soviet governments. In the name of protecting military supplies we shoot down Russian peasants and our boys are shot down by them.

Denying sympathy with the Bolsheviks, Senator Johnson stated:

The servile part of the press will apply the term Bolshevik to me. During the war it has become fashionable to call all who disagree with any governmental policy pro-German. Now any man who will not accept the wrongful edict of entrenched power is by that token a Bolshevik.

Regarding President Wilson and the Peace Conference he said:

The difficulty of the President in interpreting his peace points is that long ago England, France and Italy reached their conclusions and the President is up against the contracts, signed, sealed and delivered and in the pockets of the Allies."

The war is NOT over yet. The future fight will be hard. We must be organized and ready so that we can make all future wars impossible. The economic war between the Allies will follow after the Peace Conference. Will we be wise in our time and take advantage of the present strife? That depends upon each and every one of us. Drop our petty squabbles and get together. Solidarity is needed.

OUR FIRST BIRTHDAY.

One Year Ago! It hardly seems as if we had been with you one whole year. Like the lovers who are courting, time passes all too soon. The love of comradeship that has been showered upon us since we came to Duluth has made 1918 one year of real joy. So comrades, we want to take this opportunity of thanking you, one and all, for the work you have done and the work you have made light by your thousand and one acts of comradeship.

Looking back over the files of Truth, we can well feel proud. What we wrote one year ago, is as true today, as it was then. For instance, in our March 21st issue we wrote as follows:

Dogmatic in our convictions. . . . We offer no apology for our opinions. We seek no liberties we cannot win. We beg no favors that we cannot force by the strength of our economic and political power. We are even egotistic in our antagonism to popular follies. Mob fever, mental disease, however it may be engendered, leaves us cool and dispassionate. We are convinced that there is only one war worth troubling about, and that is the silent war, ever fermenting, ever becoming more bitter, more necessary, more terrible than ever; ever deepening in intensity, the economic war of which the clamorous war is merely a passing trait. When the latter concludes, and the full tide of national passion slips into national indifference, the silent war will continue in its operations.

Gaze at the vast number of returned soldiers that are walking the streets of the city. Hear their masters informing them that they can have their jobs back if they will work for the same wages as the girls that took their places. Out in France they lay covered with mud and slime. At any moment the call might be sounded that meant death. Death stared them in the face, every hour of the day and night. Whilst they gambled with death, their masters were safe at home making huge profits, soaked with the blood of the workers, who had died to make "the world safe for democracy." Can you not understand now the truth of what we wrote last March? Watch the sordid squabbles that are taking place at the Peace Conference! The scramble for the German colonies, etc. Then tell us that freedom is coming from the fields of France.

Yesterday we opposed the war. Today we stand by the returned soldiers. We want them to receive the profits of war. We want to compensate, if compensation is possible, the mother who gazes across the waters of the Atlantic and waits and watches for the boy who lies dead in "No Man's Land." We want to see that the children of the father who gave up his life in France grow up free from the horrors of starvation and the degradation of poverty. You members of the Commercial Club that turned out with your bands, etc., and bid the boys godspeed when they were going away, what are you doing now? Give the men who made it possible for you to get rich as good a chance in life as you have got. Now let your so-called loyal spirit express itself! Disgorge some of the ill-gotten wealth that you obtained as a result of this war!

How foolish to appeal to you!

The silent war goes on, day after day. It must go on. It must be waged relentlessly until the dictatorship of the proletariat is achieved. Foolish politicians, you pass red flag ordinances and think that you can stay the rising power of the workers. Out on the high seas, down in the mines, in the lumber camps and in the shops, men are beginning to feel a new spirit taking hold of them. You can keep your paltry dollars and you can keep your "nice concessions." We do not want them. Do you hear? We do not want them. We are coming with hands outstretched. We want EVERYTHING that our hands and brains have created. The factories we work in, we want them. The mansions we built, we want them also. In fact, we want everything, the whole world, if you please.

How are we going to obtain them?

We are in the shop and everywhere where labor is required. We work hard and slave day after day. We run industry. You reap the fruits of our toil. That is the position as it exists now. Tomorrow we are going to organize. A new spirit is claiming us. It tells us of the things we have done and the things we can do. We are all going to join hands. We shall all work together. No more will you divide us. Your League of Nations is destroying the nationalistic spirit that set Swede against American, French against German. Today we are building our League of Nations, the Red Internationale. We shall come with hands outstretched and take hold of industry. On the job we shall take control. We shall dismiss you with the same contempt that you fire us when we have filled your warehouses. The rising power of the workers today cannot be stopped—They are like Oliver Twist, they want more. They will go on and on, until finally they will obtain the whole world.

What has all this to do with our birthday? Simply to inform our new readers that the policy of Truth has been to create the real spirit in the hearts of the workers. We have done a great deal of good in that direction. We have been able to combat the greatest powers of reaction in this country. Truth by its indomitable spirit has pulled through one of the hardest fights that ever confronted a radical newspaper. The whole forces of Big Business lined up against us. They killed our advertising. Merchants were warned by the banks that their credit would be stopped if they advertised in Truth. Knights of Liberty tarred and feathered our readers and threatened us time and time again. We thank you for all that you have done, members of the Commercial Club and the Knights of Liberty. Your opposition welded us together and by the strength

of our organization we beat you to it. Petty politics were used to send us to prison. We are still on the job. We have never lowered the old red flag yet, and what is more, we are going to carry it aloft until the end of time.

All through the war we have kept our red flag clean. We have remained true to the cause of International Socialism. We have above all other things remained true to the working class. When every avenue of publicity was closed to the I. W. W. during their recent trial, we gave them one whole issue of Truth and big space in other issues. We made the I. W. W. fight our fight. While the I. W. W. are being persecuted, we do not care a tinker's cuss what Bill Haywood said ten years ago. We refused to be so cheap as to argue about the pros and cons of I. W. W.ism. Whilst the other fellow has some of our boys by the throat, there is danger of him choking them to death. We have got to get his hands from off the throats of the workers. Rather crude, doncherknow, does not make us a fit candidate for the "Intellectuals'" society, but it is the real expression of solidarity that we want. "An injury to one is the concern of all." That is our policy and we have lived up to it and we shall continue to do so. The policy that we have advocated has stood the test. When we supported the I. W. W. last summer we lost over 300 subscribers. Today our subscription list has increased over 175 per cent. We have a pile of letters that our Irish modesty forbids us to publish. The best thing of all is the expression of the comrades whom we meet every day. Comrades like—well you know they are. They come and grip your hand and say: "That is what we believe in." We want life in our movement. We want that life to be translated into action on the job. Fellow workers of the I. W. W., we are doing our best. We are not politicians. We could not compromise if we wanted to. We want you to succeed. We want all radical unions to succeed. We are stirring up the fellow workers. We can do more in our own little way than we can do on the job. We will stir them up, you come along and gather them into the fold. We are the message bearers, you are the organizers. We can all work together. We can have solidarity. Do not waste your time quibbling about words that mean nothing. Do not argue about political action. We will go on with our propaganda. We want industrial unionism. We can only preach the message, you will have to organize the workers. We know how much we are able to do, and so do you fellow workers. Keep leaders as far away from you as the North Pole is. Act for yourselves. Acknowledge the superiority of no man. But at the same time be prepared to render service for the common good of all. Act as one and let every fellow worker on the job give of his best and the future is ours.

One year of struggle and success. May the next year find us far along the road that leads to industrial freedom. History books will glow with the light of the recent conflagration, but the light of our war will illumine, not the pages of books, but the hearts of our comrades, and therein lies its power and justification. By our work in the class war we will bring freedom nearer each day. We shall wipe away the tears of sorrow that have been caused by a world war. We shall pursue our Cause with the same feeling of solidarity and love for humanity that we have pursued it in the past year.

Thrones have toppled, kingdoms are sinking in the sway of tottering nations, peoples have been devoured by the mad beast of militarism, known as military triumph, but still freedom is not yet at hand. Though the walls of capitalism may shake and tremble, though the nations may dissolve their boundaries, the class war still continues in its course, like the setting sun.

Beneath the trappings of rampant militarism, our fight remains the same. The hopes, the fears, the cruelties and barbarities of our social life are not made more bearable by military success. Though we have driven the millions of Germans back over the Rhine, though we have compelled the rulers of the Central Powers to bend the knee, the wolf of hunger is still the silent sentry that watches over us. The glory of military triumph has not made our life sweeter. Today poverty is stalking ghoulishly over the bodies and brains of our children who sought not for life. So let us not feel that the fight is over.

Away in Russia they are doing big things. The workers have taken control of industry and they are making a paradise out of the hell of Czarism. In Germany the workers are quietly organizing and soon they will take control of industry and avenge the deaths of Comrades Liebknecht and Luxemburg. Here we can follow suit. Organize! Organize! Organize, fellow workers, with the real spirit of solidarity and understanding. Organize not for concessions, but for complete control of industry. That is the task we have before us. To that end Truth has worked for one year, and to that end we shall work until finally the dictatorship of proletariat is accomplished.

ALL SUNDAY SCHOOL CHILDREN ARE ASKED TO BE AT TRUTH OFFICE AT 11 A. M. SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 9.

United States recognizes Paderewski, says a press dispatch. Wonder if he has had a hair-cut that such an event needs to be sent out as a news item?

Universal charity requires that every one should live on the product of his own toil and not on that of others.