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

THE TRUTH

Permit No. 40 Duluth, Minn. 1c. Paid

VOL. III. No. 10. 14 MARCH 1, 1919 WHOLE No. 90. FIVE CENTS

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DID THIS OCCUR TO YOU?

WHEN the Allied armies were under separate commanders, and fighting separately, the German troops were forcing their way through to Paris. But when the folly of this sectionalism was realised, and the armies fought as ONE BIG UNION, the enemy was quickly defeated. Workers, does it not strike you that the solidarity that won for the Allies on the military field will win for you on the industrial field?

THOMAS DENOUNCED AS TRAITOR TO PARTY BY FRENCH LEFT WING

Le Populaire, Majority's Organ, Says Spokesmen of Right Faction Have Deserted to Enemy on Field of Battle and Defends Soviets.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.
Special Correspondence to The New York Call.

PARIS, Feb. 4 (delayed)—The internal French Socialist bomb has exploded. Thomas Renauded, Poisson and Debreuil, spokesmen for the old Right Wing, hurled their anti-Soviet hand grenade through the pages of L'Humanite this morning.

And at noon Le Populaire, organ of Jean Longuet and the Left Majority, took up the gage of battle, denounced Albert Thomas & Co. as traitors to the working class, who "have gone over to capitalism in the midst of battle," and defied them to attempt at the Bern conference to inducte the Internationale to stab Russia in the back.

In an article which L'Humanite could not find room to print in full, Thomas Renaudel et al charge the Bolsheviki with having repudiated the principle of national defense and having set up a minority dictatorship, which "caricature of Maxism" they are striving to have the whole world accept and imitate.

Le Populaire calls attention to the fact that only four names are attached to the document, which it terms a political trick designed to influence the Berne conference inasmuch as the signatures have had full opportunity to express their views in their regular Humanite articles, but reserved them for sudden and unexpected publication at a time when they would do most harm to the Internationale and ring most joy to the bourgeoies.

The principal part of Le Populaire's response follows:

"To begin with this remark: of the four men who sign, three —Thomas , Renaudel and Dubreuil—are by right and by designation by their particular friends, editorial writers for the party journal, and are free to expound their views once a week in that organ.

"But they have not done so. They have, in fact, boycotted L'Humanite (and their sabotage takes still other forms). Their present manifesto is not, therefore, issued for the purpose of airing views which they could not otherwise make public. It it a political maneuver.

"And what a maneuver!

"Four names only to sign this document. Without doubt Compere Morel (noted reactionary) would not have refused to sign it but, of the others who once marched with its authors, only themselves remain. One can understand this; the trick is not a nice one.

"Now we begin to understand the complacent assistance which various governments have lent to the organization of the Berne conference.

"The old majoritaries are going to Berne to repudiate and condemn Bolshevism; that is to say (and they have said it quite clearly) to prevent advantage being taken by the revolutionary workers of the economic consequences of the war.

"We understand how great is thme service they render the bourgeoisie, which at this moment trembles at the thought that out of the war may issue the revolution.

"Before the war Albert Thomas or Verenne might discuss in doctrinaric fashion ministerial and reformist problems. One listened to them without protest. They were the curiosities of the party.

"But today, when the revolution is no longer in the realm of theory, but one of the facts, we contemplate Albert Thomas with derision. And with Renaudel at his side repudiating and flouting the revolution! We are obliged to stigmatize their conduct as anti-Socialist and pro-Capitalist.

"On the very field of battle they change camps, go over to the enemy!

"So much by way of a general statement. But there is more. The singers of this document have not a single word to say against military intervention in Russia. It had been supposed that even they were agreed with the general Socialist condemnation of military action against the Russian people.

"Yet in this statement intervention it not repudiated. On the the contrary, the present revolutionary government of Russia is attacked with such violence that the advocates of intervention will receive full encouragement. And this a crime.

"And these are the men who talk of unity!

"Yet we like them better, now that they have thrown off their masks and dropped their vile intrigues to split the new majority of the party. Today they issue their defy to the rank and file. Socialists will accept the challenge."

CHICAGO GAG ACT VICTIMS TO SPEND 968 YEARS IN JAIL

92 Defendants Fined $2,580,000 —Cases Include Those of I. W. W. and Socialists.

(By United Press.)

Chicago.—Nine hundred and sixty-eight years of human life to be spent behind prison walls.

The figures made public here today are aggregate sentences of violators of the Espionage act sent to prison from the Chicago district. They mean an average of five years for each person convicted.

In addition to this loss of almost 1,000 years of freedom, the property loss to the 192 defendants was, through fines, $2,580,000.

Cases tried here included two regarded as among the most important growing out of alleged obstruction of the government's war program—one against "Big Bill" Haywood and more than 100 I. W. W. associates and the other against five Socialist leaders readed by Victor L. Berger.

Haywood and 92 associates have served or are serving their sentences. The Socialist leaders are free, pending review of their trial by the appeal court. A total five months was consumed in the trial of the two sets of fendants.

MUST AVERT STRIFE SAYS LLOYD GEORGE

London.—The United Kingdom is faced with the prospects of civil strife, and the House of Commons should do everything in its power to avert it, Premier Lloyd George declared to-day in introducing a bill to constitute a committee to inquire into the conditions prevailing in the coal industry.

611,998 TO 104,997 THE MINERS' VOTE

London.—Complete figures of the miners' ballot on the strike question show 611,998 for and 104,997 agaisst. Ninety per cent, of the miners voted.

FIGHTERS PETITION WILSON TO FREE WAR OBJECTORS

Ask Amnesty as Act Of Justice.

MEN ROTTING IN LEAVENWORTH PRISON FOR IDEALS --- DEBS AND STOKES CASES CITED

WASHINGTON. — Two hundred and fifty American soldiers and sailors demanded the immediate release of all political prisoners in a petition addressed to President Wilson, and presented at the White House by a committee headed by Private J. Bentley Mulford, member of the Rainbow Division and veteran of Chateau-Thierry and the Argonne.

The petition, which was signed by many commissioned officers as well as by privates, calls for the release of "all political prisoners now held in prison because of their refusal to take part in the war, or because of their expression adverse to the part the United States has played."

Ask Act of Justice.

"We ask this," the petition continues, "as an act of simple justice. We feel that it little befits the nation which has assumed the leadership in the world's democratic strivings to hold its political dissenters in prison when such other countries as Russia, Germany, and to a considerable extent, Italy, have released theirs. Even the Prussia of Bismarck granted a general amnesty after the close of the Franco-Prussian war.

"Mr. President, the views of the men in prison have not been our views; their attitude has not been our attitude. We have taken part in the war; we have offered our services, our very lives, if need be, to the cause which the nation has espoused. But we did not fight under the banner of democracy with the expectation that democracy would be throttled at home. We did not wish, and we do not wish to see, our brother citizens held in prison because they felt impelled to pursue a different course than ours.

"We are aware that the Department of War has exercised a degree of liberality in its treatment of war objectors; that it has offered farm furloughs and the like to many of them, and that it has released a large number whose religion forbade killing. But, at the very moment this petition is drawn up, almost 300 idealistic young men are being held at Fort Leavenworth because of their unflinching stand against taking any part in the war. One of these men has been awarded a Carnegie hero medal; another is a Rhodes scholar and professor of philosophy; many of them have suffered themselves to undergo the unspeakable torment of being manacled to cell bars for nine hours a day rather than forsake their ideals.

"In addition to these young men, there are several hundred men and women who have been sentenced to prison under the Espionage act—under provisions of that act which have nothing to do with espionage. Such fine humanitarians as Eugene V. Debs and Rose Pastor Stokes are of this number. And these to suffer the living death of prison because of their idealism?

"Mr. President, the war is over. No good can be subserved by the further crucifixion of these dissenters. We rely upon you to extend a general amnesty to our political prisoners, and thus to vindicate in this detail America's championship of freedom and democracy."

Before it was presented at the White House the petition was read and the signatures carefully examined by Secretary Baker, who manifested a keen interest.

7,354,000 MEN KILLED IN WAR

Gen. March Says Russia Was Chief Sufferer With 1,700,000 Slain in Battle.

Washington, March 1.—Battle deaths during the war among all participants, so far as available statistics show, were given today by Gen. March as 7,354,000. This represents only men killed in action or who died of wounds.

In the list prepared by the general staff Russia led with a total of 1,700,000, Germany was second with 1,600,000 and the United States last with 50,000.

Approximate figures for the nations were:

Russia	1,700,000
Germany	1,600,000
Austria-Hungary	800,000
France	1,385,000
England	706,700
Italy	460,000
Turkey	250,000
Belgium	102,000
Bulgaria	100,000
Roumania	100,000
Serbia and Montenegro	100,000
United States	50,000

BOHEMIA TREMBLES ON VERGE OF REVOLT AGAINST BOURGEOIS

Frankly Revolutionary Outbreaks in Prague and Other Cities—Socialist Factions United, and Industrial Republic Is Expected Soon.

By PAUL WALLACE HANA.
Special Correspondence of The New York Call.

PARIS, Feb. 4 (delayed)—Bohemia is an asylum from the Bolshevist menace which is rising rapidly all over Europe. Word lately brought from Paris shows that the new country presided over by Professor Masaryk is "on the eve of a grave interior crisis."

Prague and other cities have been the scene of serious rioting by the masses in protest against high prices, profiteering and the growing shortage of all necessaries. Many stores and warehouses have been looted. Frankly revolutionary demonstrations have been led by the Bolsheviki elements at Ziskov and Kladuo.

Bohemia's most active Bolshekiv leader is Muna, upon whose head a price has been placed by the Czech bourgeoisie. But Muna is far from being isolated in his struggle against oppression. The Bohemian Socialist party is outspoken in its friendship for Muna as opposed to his conservative foes.

In the official Socialist organ Pravo Lidu, Editor Stivin protests energetically against the persecution of Muna and proclaims that "for any violence suffered by him I will demand personal satisfaction, and if it becomes necessary I will return violence for violence."

Many other Czech Socialist leaders have expressed similar sentiments declaring that "the party is determined, at any cost, to prevent the Czech Republic from becoming the scene of a "White Terror" of the bourgeoisie."

The Socialists have created a permanent committee to wage war against the White Guard, which not content with pursuing Muna, has tried to arrest the Militant Leader Haudlirá who took part in the Bolshevik movement in Russia.

The bourgeoisie is frightened by the return of two regiments of Czech deserters, who are said to be dominated by the Bolshevist view point.

"What," asks a writer in the Paris L'Humanite, "will be the result when the unhappy soldiers sent to Russia and Siberia return to our midst, demoralized, or even possessed, by the ideas of Lenine and Trotzky, with ourselves to blame?"

It is officially announced that the Bohemian Socialist party gained 36,000 new members during the single month of December last. At the party congress on January 2 all factions decided to unite in demanding of the government prior to the general elections that it expropriate without conditions, all the railroads and mines in the country.

The party expects to attain its goal by legal means following a victory in the elections to the Constituent Assembly. On the basis of the revolutionary ferment already exhibited, Paris forecasts the formation of a complete Socialist republic in Mohemia, with Dr. Smeral as president.

On January 8 an attempt was **Bourgoeisie Nears Downfall.** made against the life of Kramarz, which revealed the profound agitation going on among the Czech masses. The present figures in the government are wholly devoted to the interests of the bourgeoisie, but their reign is unquestionably nearing an end.

Kramarz, Benes and Masaryk are accused of aiming to supplant the nationalism of the Hapsburgs with a scarcely less acceptable Czech nationalism, and to this end they have enjoyed the assistance, deliberate or not, of the entente powers.

It is alleged that the annexationist appetite of the Masaryk group has won for them, from the Poles, the title of "the Prussians of the Slav world." My own analysis of the European crisis is supported by a writer in L'Humanite, who says of both Czechs and Poles:

"Their present leaders are committing the same fatal error. They labor to extend their territorial boundaries while neglecting the domestic interests of their people. They forget that, in the present state of Europe territorial adjustments must take a second place—that the imperious hour of internal politics has arrived."

Eastward beyond Bohemia the mass revolt against intolerable economic and political conditions continues to rise. Soviet adherents have reconquered more than

(Continued on page 2)

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REAL BOLSHEVIK PROPAGANDA

On Whose Side Are You? Workers' or Capitalists'?

The peoples of the world are not divided by nationality, but by class.

What interest have you in common with your master?

Even if he is your fellow countryman, even if he is of the same race as you are, does that prevent him from sweating you? Does that prevent him from making you work for as many hours as possible, for as little money as possible?—Not in the least.

Even during the war, when you, the working people, are sacrificing your lives, your all, the capitalists have continued to exploit you and your family.

The sole aim of the capitalist is profit.

They make profit out of your food. They make profit out of the uniform you wear. They make profit out of the guns you use. The war has been for them an Aladin's Cave from which to draw wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.

What has been for the masses the cause of death, destruction, ruin, has been for the capitalist, a means of piling up colossal fortunes, both now, and in the future.

All profit is wrung from our class, from the sweat, and blood, and tears of the working people.

It is the same in all countries. In England, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in Russia.

Does nationality count?—No! It is class that counts.

Working Class or Capitalist Class, on which side are you?

Capitalists have investments in all countries. Where their money is there their hearts are also. There is no patriotism for them. But they always remain loyal to their class.

As against the working class the capitalist of all countries are united. They understand the class war.

There are only two camps, the workers' camp and the capitalists' camp.

In Which Camp Are You?

The interests of the workers of all countries are the same. No matter where you live, in England, France, Germany, if you are a workman you must work for a master, and he will only employ you if he can obtain a profit out of your labor.

The workers are always opposed to the masters.

In England great strikes are now proceeding, because while you have come here to fight for "liberty", the masten class at home waits to impose Industrial Conscription upon your fellow workers.

Real free[illegible]nd social [illegible] y

be achieved when the workers of all countries overthrow the master class and take control in their own hands.

We in Russia have done this. We have abolished capitalism and landlordism in Russia.

We have a workmen's government.

Your capitalists know that our revolution is a menace to them. They fear that the workers in other countries will follow our example.

They are therefore supporting the Russian capitalists against us. They are determined to crush our revolution, and put the landlords, capitalists, and the Tzar back again.

And you have been brought here for that purpose.

What are you, a workman or a capitalist?

If you are a workman, then you must be on our side, for we are workmen, too. We are the same class.

Learn from the capitalists, and be loyal to your class.

An injury to the Workers of One Country, is an injury to the workers of all countries.

If you help to crush our revolution, you will only be helping to fasten the shackles of wage slavery more firmly on yourself.

Refuse to do the work of our common enemy, the capitalist!

Join with us in the fight against capitalism, and war!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE.

The above is a copy of a circular prepared by Bolshevik authorities of Russia, to be distributed among allied troops who are fighting on Russian soil. It was published in Leslie's Weekly Feb. 8, 1919.

JUARES SLAYER'S TRIAL GIVES PLUTES CHANCE TO SPEW MORE VENOM

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Special Correspondence to The New York Call.

PARIS, Feb. 3 (delayed).—The trial of Villian, assassin of the great Socialist leader, Jean Jaures, has been set to occur in March. Only in a limited sense will it be a murder trial. It will be rather a court proceedings at which the policy of the French Socialist party during the month just before the world war will be successively denounced and defended.

Jaures was murdered by a fanatical young nationalist whom the chauvinist newspapers of Paris had made to believe that Jaures was a traitor to France. French Socialists believe that Villian was and is mad. They believe, also, that just as his madness was provoked by capitalist hate and bigotory, so will his trial be made the occasion for a concentrated cannonade from all reactionary batteries against the Socialist defences.

Jaures was an inveterate enemy of the bill to increase the period of military conscription from two to three years. In that battle he rallied the forces of French liberalism as they had not been rallied for a generation. And for that offense he became a marked man to all the forces of selfish reaction and chauvinist nationalism.

The same vile press which poisoned the people's minds against Jaures is today spewing its venom upon Jean Longuet, tireless and triumphant leader of the Left (now majority) Socialists. In its current number the sex-humorous weekly, Le Rire, appears with a front-page carton on the Bern Conference.Longuet is shown embracing a German, while in the background appear some French peasants amid the ruins of their war-torn village.

In an open letter to Juven, proprietor of Le Rire, Longuet makes the following reply:

"Some months before his tragic end you published in your journal Le Rire, an infamous drawing aimed at the greatest and best of Frenchmen, Jean Jaures, in which you exhibited him wearing a spiked German helmet. This drawing appeared on the front page, which you habitually devote to pornography and nationalism.

"When, within a few weeks, he who was incited to his crime by an unclean press comes to trial in a court of law, I hope that the public prosecutor, my friend, Paul Boncour, will place in evidence before the jury that piece of testimony.

"Today, however, unworthy I be of such great honors, I am made the target of those who caused the assassination of Jaures. In the latest number of your journal a vigorous artist, who like so many others, prostitutes his talent to the rich and powerful, has, under your instructions, I am persuaded, published an abominable picture, in which I am shown in the arms of a German, and with a defamatory line below.

"You know perfectly well that the Socialists of all countries, and among them the German Socialistsâ have always denounced the devastation and crimes committed by German militarism in Belgium and Northern France. If we now go to Berne it is to affect a union of the peoples, which alone is competent to make forever impossible a return of the crimes of which we have all been impotent spectators during 50 months.

"You know this perfectly well. You know also that we, even more than you, have at heart the well-being and future safety of our country, so cruelly afflicted It we now count 1,500,000 dead, it is your politics, and not ours, that will before history bear the responsibility.

"It still pleases you to exploit the sufferings, hates and ignorance of the poor people whom you deceive—you and others. You are welcome to that exploitation. I and my friends make note of the fact."

Meanwhile, the French Socialist press is rapidly regaining among the people the circulation which it enjoyed befor ethe persecutions of war time came to make its existence a precarious struggle. L'Humanite's circulation is now close to 100,000 daily, after falling to less than 20,000 during the war. Populaire is considerably smaller, since its news service is deficient, but its vigorous editorial policy and the steady drift to the Left among the French workers have endowed it yith better health than it ever enjoyed before.

BOHEMIA TREMBLES ON VERGE OF REVOLT AGAINST BOURGEOIS

(Continued from page 1)

half of Ukraine and there is no organization force to impede their further advance.

Ukraine Favors Lenine.

Two more conservative emissaries has arrived in Paris, fresh from Southern Ukraine. In a confidential talk with their partisans here they explained that all the present hunger in Russia is caused by the blockade that despite the food shortage the people are everywhere adhering more closely to the Soviets, and that the masses throughout the Ukraine are devoted to the principles of Lenine.

"We conservative Russians have been utterly at a loss to understand the failure of the entente to come to our assistance. After all Russia's sacrifices, we expected we should be helped in our fight against the Bolshevik. Now that I am in Paris I understand. The French government is powerless to help us any further. Among the masses in this and other entente countries there is a warm sympathy for the Soviets. The governments know this: they cannot send armies to fight the Bolshevik."

EXTRA!

SOLIDARITY IS THE SLOGAN.

Duluth Workers Refuse To Scab On Their Fellow-Trade Unionists.

The blacksmiths who were employed at the National Iron works, refused to handle the work of the scab molders sent in to defeat the molders' strike. With the result that six of them were locked out and the remainder WALKED OUT. This is the best bit of news we have heard for a long time. It shows that there is a real spirit making itself felt in the local labor movement, the spirit of solidarity. We congratulate the blacksmiths employed at the National Iron works for the their manly action.

On Sunday there will be a meeting of the Metal Trades Council, in the Woodman Hall, at 1.30 p. m. It is called for the sole purpose of organizing a general strike in sympathy with the molders, who are striking for an eight hour day, eighty cents per hour and for the sacredness of womanhood. We trust that if necessary, the workers of Duluth will strike. We learn that the employers' federation are prepared to back the owners of the National Iron Works and the Clyde Iron works, so that they will not lose financially. Against the financial strength of the basses, the industrial power of the workers is triumphant. By complete solidarity of all the workers, the molders can win their strike and so show to the masters, here in Duluth, that the forces of labor cannot be trifled with.

See that every worker attends the meeting of the Metal Trades Council on Sunday. Remember the molders are in the industrial trenches and they are asking for supplies. If you fail to back them up, they will lose out and you yourselves will have to fill the same trenches. **Stand up like men! Remember that it is the workers that need your assistance and remember above all things, that AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL.**

SHURE!

The English local will meet in room 13, Sloan Building—1928 West Superior Street, at 2 o'clock sharp. This meeting must be attended early otherwise it will have to be postponed, as there are two important union meetings being held that members wish to attend. So please come at 1:45 as the meeting is at 2 p. m.

Tell your merchant that you read Truth.

HELLO!

There will be a meeting at the Sloan Hall, Sunday afternoon at 2.30 p. m. of the Mooney defense committee. All those who are interested in this committee are requested to attend. Tom Mooney and W. K. Billings are still in the "hell-hole" of San Quentin. The crime with these men were found guilty(?) of, was never proven. It is your bounden duty to see that they are released. But before you can release them, you must devise ways and means of bringing about their release. **ATTEND THIS MEETING AND LEARN HOW.**

REPLY TO VARNEY.

A reply to the article by Harold.. Lord Varney, which appeared in our last issue, has been received from Karl Dannenburg, editor of the "Radical Review, unfortunately same did not arrive until we had gone to press. It will appear in our next issue. We strongly advise you to make sure of your next's week's copy of Truth by subscribing at once. Furthermore we urge all locals to send in a bundle order.

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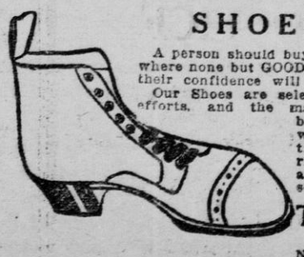

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Even during the war, when you, the working people, are sacrificing your lives, your all, the capitalists have continued to exploit you and your family.

The sole aim of the capitalist is profit.

They make profit out of your food. They make profit out of the uniform you wear. They make profit out of the guns you use. The war has been for them an Aladin's Cave from which to draw wealth beyond the dreams of avarice.

What has been for the masses the cause of death, destruction, ruin, has been for the capitalist, a means of piling up colossal fortunes, both now, and in the future.

All profit is wrung from our class, from the sweat, and blood, and tears of the working people.

It is the same in all countries. In England, in France, in Germany, in Austria, and in Russia.

Does nationality count?—No! It is class that counts.

Working Class or Capitalist Class, on which side are you?

Capitalists have investments in all countries. Where their money is there their hearts are also. There is no patriotism for them. But they always remain loyal to their class.

As against the working class the capitalist of all countries are united. They understand the class war.

There are only two camps, the workers' camp and the capitalists' camp.

In Which Camp Are You?

The interests of the workers of all countries are the same. No matter where you live, in England, France, Germany, if you are a workman you must work for a master, and he will only employ you if he can obtain a profit out of your labor.

The workers are always opposed to the masters.

In England great strikes are now proceeding, because while you have come here to fight for "liberty", the masten class at home waits to impose Industrial Conscription upon your fellow workers.

Real free[illegible] and social [illegible]

be achieved when the workers of all countries overthrow the master class and take control in their own hands.

We in Russia have done this. We have abolished capitalism and landlordism in Russia.

We have a workmen's government.

Your capitalists know that our revolution is a menace to them. They fear that the workers in other countries will follow our example.

They are therefore supporting the Russian capitalists against us. They are determined to crush our revolution, and put the landlords, capitalists, and the Tzar back again.

And you have been brought here for that purpose.

What are you, a workman or a capitalist?

If you are a workman, then you must be on our side, for we are workmen, too. We are the same class.

Learn from the capitalists, and be loyal to your class.

An injury to the Workers of One Country, is an injury to the workers of all countries.

If you help to crush our revolution, you will only be helping to fasten the shackles of wage slavery more firmly on yourself.

Refuse to do the work of our common enemy, the capitalist!

Join with us in the fight against capitalism, and war!
WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE.

The above is a copy of a circular prepared by Bolshevik authorities of Russia, to be distributed among allied troops who are fighting on Russian soil. It was published in Leslie's Weekly Feb. 8, 1919.

JUARES SLAYER'S TRIAL GIVES PLUTES CHANCE TO SPEW MORE VENOM

Bq PAUL WALLACE HANNA.
Special Correspondence to The New York Call.

PARIS, Feb. 3 (delayed).—The trial of Villian, assassin of the great Socialist leader, Jean Jaures, has been set to occur in March. Only in a limited sense will it be a murder trial. It will be rather a court proceedings at which the policy of the French Socialist party during the month just before the world war will be successively denounced and defended.

Jaures was murdered by a fanatical young nationalist whom the chauvinist newspapers of Paris had made to believe that Jaures was a traitor to France. French Socialists believe that Villian was and is mad. They believe, also, that just as his madness was provoked by capitalist hate and bigotory, so will his trial be made the occasion for a concentrated cannonade from all reactionary batteries against the Socialist defences.

Jaures was an inveterate enemy of the bill to increase the period of military conscription from two to three years. In that battle he rallied the forces of French liberalism as they had not been rallied for a generation. And for that offense he became a marked man to all the forces of selfish reaction and chauvinist nationalism.

The same vile press which poisoned the people's minds against Jaures is today spewing its venom upon Jean Longuet, tireless and triumphant leader of the Left (now majority) Socialists. In its current number the sex-humorous weekly, Le Rire, appears with a front-page carton on the Bern Conference.Longuet is shown embracing a German, while in the background appear some French peasants amid the ruins of their war-torn village.

In an open letter to Juven, proprietor of Le Rire, Longuet makes the following reply:

"Some months before his tragic end you published in your journal Le Rire, an infamous drawing aimed at the greatest and best of Frenchmen, Jean Jaures, in which you exhibited him wearing a spiked German helmet. This drawing appeared on the front page, which you habitually devote to pornography and nationalism.

"When, within a few weeks, he who was incited to his crime by an unclean press comes to trial in a court of law, I hope that the public prosecutor, my friend, Paul Boncour, will place in evidence before the jury that piece of testimony.

"Today, however, unworthy I be of such great honors, I am made the target of those who caused the assassination of Jaures. In the latest number of your journal a vigorous artist, who like so many others, prostitutes his talent to the rich and powerful, has, under your instructions, I am persuaded, published an abominable picture, in which I am shown in the arms of a German, and with a defamatory line below.

"You know perfectly well that the Socialists of all countries, and among them the German Socialistsâ have always denounced the devastation and crimes committed by German militarism in Belgium and Northern France. If we now go to Berne it is to affect a union of the peoples, which alone is competent to make forever impossible a return of the crimes of which we have all been impotent spectators during 50 months.

"You know this perfectly well. You know also that we, even more than you, have at heart the well-being and future safety of our country, so cruelly afflicted It we now count 1,500,000 dead, it is your politics, and not ours, that will before history bear the responsibility.

"It still pleases you to exploit the sufferings, hates and ignorance of the poor people whom you deceive—you and others. You are welcome to that exploitation. I and my friends make note of the fact."

Meanwhile, the French Socialist press is rapidly regaining among the people the circulation which it enjoyed befor ethe persecutions of war time came to make its existence a precarious struggle. L'Humanite's circulation is now close to 100,000 daily, after falling to less than 20,000 during the war. Populaire is considerably smaller, since its news service is deficient, but its vigorous editorial policy and the steady drift to the Left among the French workers have endowed it yith better health than it ever enjoyed before.

BOHEMIA TREMBLES ON VERGE OF REVOLT AGAINST BOURGEOIS

(Continued from page 1)

half of Ukraine and there is no organization force to impede their further advance.

Ukraine Favors Lenine.

Two more conservative emissaries has arrived in Paris, fresh from Southern Ukraine. In a confidential talk with their partisans here they explained that all the present hunger in Russia is caused by the blockade that despite the food shortage the people are everywhere adhering more closely to the Soviets, and that the masses throughout the Ukraine are devoted to the principles of Lenine.

"We conservative Russians have been utterly at a loss to understand the failure of the entente to come to our assistance. After all Russia's sacrifices, we expected we should be helped in our fight against the Bolshevik. Now that I am in Paris I understand. The French government is powerless to help us any further. Among the masses in this and other entente countries there is a warm sympathy for the Soviets. The governments know this: they cannot send armies to fight the Bolshevik."

EXTRA!

SOLIDARITY IS THE SLOGAN.

Duluth Workers Refuse To Scab On Their Fellow-Trade Unionists.

The blacksmiths who were employed at the National Iron works refused to handle the work of the scab molders sent in to defeat the molders' strike. With the result that six of them were locked out and the remainder WALKED OUT. This is the best bit of news we have heard for a long time. It shows that there is a real spirit making itself felt in the local labor movement, the spirit of solidarity. We congratulate the blacksmiths employed at the National Iron works for the their manly action.

On Sunday there will be a meeting of the Metal Trades Council, in the Woodman Hall, at 1.30 p. m. It is called for the sole purpose of organizing a general strike in sympathy with the molders, who are striking for an eight hour day, eighty cents per hour and for the sacredness of womanhood. We trust that if necessary, the workers of Duluth will strike. We learn that the employers' federation are prepared to back the owners of the National Iron Works and the Clyde Iron works, so that they will not lose financially. Against the financial strength of the basses, the industrial power of the workers is triumphant. By complete solidarity of all the workers, the molders can win their strike and so show to the masters, here in Duluth, that the forces of labor cannot be trifled with.

See that every worker attends the meeting of the Metal Trades Council on Sunday. Remember the molders are in the industrial trenches and they are asking for supplies. If you fail to back them up, they will lose out and you yourselves will have to fill the same trenches. **Stand up like men! Remember that it is the workers that need your assistance and remember above all things, that AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL.**

SHURE!

The English local will meet in room 13, Sloan Building—1928 West Superior Street, at 2 o'clock sharp. This meeting must be attended early otherwise it will have to be postponed, as there are two important union meetings being held that members wish to attend. So please come at 1:45 as the meeting is at 2 p. m.

Tell your merchant that you read Truth.

HELLO!

There will be a meeting at the Sloan Hall, Sunday afternoon at 2.30 p. m. of the Mooney defense committee. All those who are interested in this committee are requested to attend. Tom Mooney and W. K. Billings are still in the "hell-hole" of San Quentin. The crime with these men were found guilty(?) of, was never proven. It is your bounden duty to see that they are released. But before you can release them, you must devise ways and means of bringing about their release. **ATTEND THIS MEETING AND LEARN HOW.**

REPLY TO VARNEY.

A reply to the article by Harold.. Lord Varney, which appeared in our last issue, has been received from Karl Dannenburg, editor of the "Radical Review, unfortunately same did not arrive until we had gone to press. It will appear in our next issue. We strongly advise you to make sure of your next's week's copy of Truth by subscribing at once. Furthermore we urge all locals to send in a bundle order.

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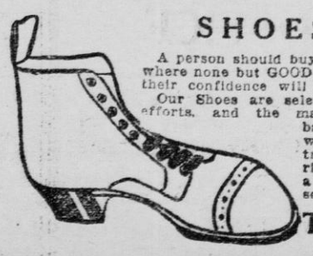

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THIS CONCERNS ALL OF US

(Read this letter! It is the most damning indictment that has yet been drawn of the actions of certain of our officials in the treatment of men and women who happen to hold social ideals with which those empowered to administer the laws of this country are not in sympathy. Think of a man possessed of intellectual powers that make him capable of writing such a letter, and then contrast him with some public officials with whose words and deeds we are all familiar. What will our children have to say about this generation that allowed such injustice to prevail in this republic?)

Immigration Station.
Ellis Island, New York Harbor,
New York, Feb. 27, 1919.

Five men were shipped to England yesterday.

This was the first contingent to be deported of the forty-odd members of the I. W. W. held here for deportation. However, they were not shipped in opposition to their wishes.

With the editor's permission, I should like to express a few of my opinions regarding the law under which these men were arrested, and under which I was arrested, and may be deported. I have been in direct contact with its influence for nine months, and so should be fairly well familiar with all its features of injustice.

It occurs to me that the Espionage act, with all its oppressive features, is no more dangerous to the traditionally liberal institutions of America than this typically Russian deportation law.

To govern is an art; and if the acts of a governing body cannot stand the acid test of honest criticism, regardless of whom its critic may be—alien or native—that governing body is dishonest in its policies and purposes.

A true artist welcomes criticism even from a novice, because he knows that there is a latent spark of genius in the dullest of men; but the artists who apparently hold the reins of government in the United States are exidently trying to fortify themselves behind laws intended to suppress, not only criticism, but even opinions contrary to those held by men who have the governing power.

Seven Spanish radicals were brought here from the city yesterday. They probably will be followed by hundreds of other aliens who have enough backbone to hold an opinion believed to be undesirable.

In Russia, in the palmiest days of the czar, imprisonment or exile did not result from holding an opinion, but from expressing an opinion intended to incite to certain unlawful acts.

The law under which we are held for deportation, and under which hundreds of other radicals and union men may be deported, prohibits the individual, or a group or organization from holding opinions opposed to what is believed to be the best interests of the ruling class. However, it does not specifically mention the capitalist class; it does prove by its wording that it is aimed only at the worker and his class opinions.

It is up to every liberty-loving person, especially of the working class, in America to uphold his right, both to hold an opinion and to express that opinion.

Only through criticism of the acts of those men who represent the people in public office can good government, justice for all and the greatest possible amount of liberty consistent with justice be obtained and maintained.

It is for trying to extend and maintain American liberty and justice that many will be deported unless this law is repealed.

It is possible under this law to "frame up" on any alien, or even an American who does not know his birthplace, and through the connivance of a corrupt official, obtain his or her deportation.

THE ONLY ALIEN WHO, IN MY OPINION, SHOULD BE DEPORTED FROM ANY COUNTRY IS THE ALIEN WHO WILL NOT TRY TO EXTEND THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY WHERE HE RESIDES, OR, AT LEAST MAINTAIN THOSE LIBERTIES AT ALL COSTS.

Yours for industrial freedom, E. E. McDONALD.

INDORSE THIS

Canton, Ohio, February 27, 1919.

The followinå resolutions were adopted by Local Canton of the Socialist Party of Ohio at their regular session, Thursday, Februarry 27th, 1919.

WHEREAS: Numerous resolutions have been formulated by Socialist Party members throughout the Country, demanding that a National Emergency Convention be arranged for by the National Executive Committee, and the Committee declines to call such conventions, and

WHEREAS: To initiate a referendum under constitutional provisions would defer the holding of such a convention for at least several months, and further that the "American Socialist" being no longer published, the provisions of the constitution in regard to calling a convention by a referendum cannot be adhered to, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED: That the National Executive Committee be hereby instructed to arrange for the holding of a National Emergency Convention, in the city of Chicago, on May 1st, 1919, and that all Socialist Locals throughout the Country be hereby requested to endorse this resolution, and to at once notify the National Executive Secretary of the results of their actions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to all State Secretaries, who are hereby requested to lay the matter before the members of their respective States, and that copies also be sent to all Socialist Publications.

(Signed): ERNEST SYKES, Sec'y.

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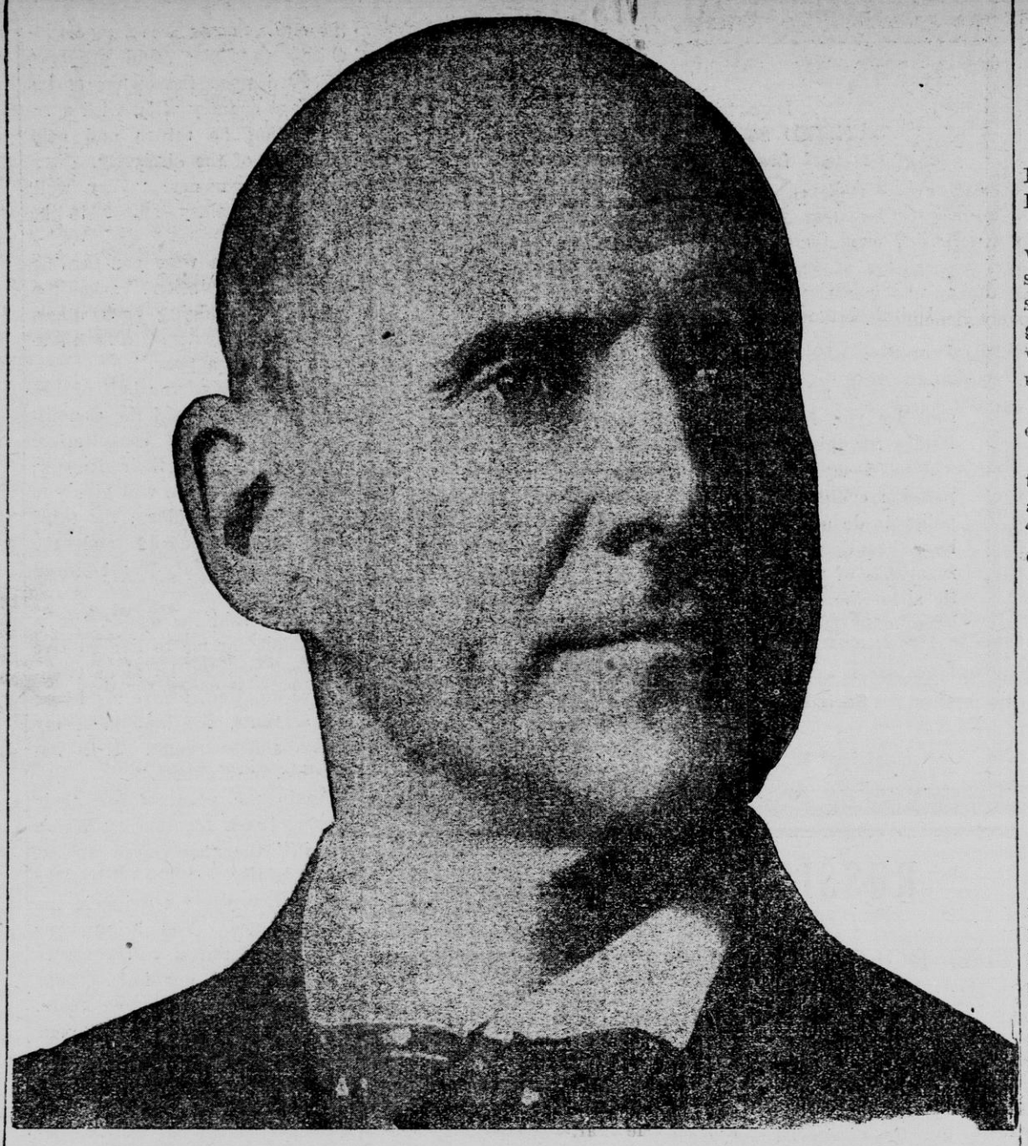

DEBS TO JAIL. WHY?

By Jack Carney.

Amidst all the rejoicings of radicals at the turn of events in Russia and Germany, our hearts are sad, because 'Gene Debs must go to prison for ten long and weary years.

Do you realise comrades, what it means for a man turned sixty to go to prison for such a long time? It means but one thing—DEATH.

I am thinking tonight of a day I spent at the home of 'Gene Debs. I can picture 'Gene with his big smiling face and feel the clasp of his arms around my body. I can picture his dear old wife. As she smiled on me and gave me enough food to last me a week, to carry me through a journey that lasted but five hours. I can picture Theodore Debs with his wonderful optimism. I shall never forget the time I spent with 'Gene and so he must go to prison. It is hard for me to even dream of 'Gene being in prison. I cannot imagine that a capitalist class would go so far. But then we have had our Lawrence strikes, Colorado massacres, Mesaba strikes and many other places, where the blood of our class has flown like wine at a banquet of those who starve us and debauch our daughters, wives and sisters. The capitalist class will send 'Gene to prison, because they could not buy him. They send him there because they know that they can never Gomperise him.

The spokesmen of the toiling millions will ever fill our prisons, so long as we, the toilers, refuse to use our economic power and swing open the very prison gates, that we to our eternal disgrace built.

There stand the prisons that we built. Inside of them will go 'Gene to keep company with thousands of others, who are paying the price, that must be paid by all who remain true to the ideals of Socialism.

True it is, our masters own the industries and so wield the club of economic insecurity over our heads. But with all the power they possess, in the twinkling of an eye, an educated and organized workingclass could wrest from their hands every factory, mine and shop that they now own. In the twinkling of an eye, every girl upon the street could be released from a life of shame; in the twinkling of an eye every hungry child could be fed and in the twinkling of an eye, every prison door could be opened, if the workers would organize all together in one union and in no uncertain tones send out the cry-ON TO FREEDOM.

Arouse yourselves my fellow-workers! Say to the masters of America, no more of this bloody tyranny that condemns such heroic souls as Debs to a prison cell. Arouse yourselves and let the voices of your starving children and your debauched sisters thunder in your ears. Let their voices keep you awake, until your very souls are afire with a passion for social justice. Re-echo the cry—THEY SHALL NOT PASS. How long is this slaughter of our class to continue? Are we men or driven beasts of burden? Oh men of labor, stand erect and like lions aroused cast asunder the cords that bind you. Stand erect and by the power of your strong right arm, O Labor, send out the cry—that 'Gene Debs must not go to prison.

O Men of Labor, by your power oceans have been spanned. By your power cities have been built. By your power swamps have been cleared and mansions erected thereon. By your power granaries have been built and filled with wheat. O Men of Labor get together and with your souls afire set a world in chains free.

GLASGOW STRIKE LEADERS BACKED BY RANK AND FILE

By JACK MOONEY.
(Special Correspondent.)

GLASGOW, Feb. 11 (by mail)—The shop-steward movement has been gaining much headway here in the British Isles in the last 10 years. The ultimate aim of the shop-stewards is to run the industries in the interest of the workers. Political action, as a method of attack, is frowned upon.

The leaders in the shop-steward movement in Blasgow are Willie Gallacher, David Kirkwood, Harry Hopkins, Arthur McManus, John Muir and James Messer, who were deported to Liverpool a few years ago, because of their activities in a strike.

Hardly had the present strike of the Clyde workers begun, three weeks ago, when Gallacher and Kirkwood were brutally handled by the police, arrested and charged with inciting to riot. Shinwell, secretary of the British Seafarers' Union, who is one of the foremost leaders in the strike, was arrested at his home the same day. A few days later, Harry Hopkins, district secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, was also seized.

Hopkins has been expelled by the national executive committee of his union for the unofficial strike action. At a meeting of the entire membership of the Clyde engineers, however, Hopkins was given a vote of confidence and the national executive committee requested to resign.

The railway men of London were out on a similar strike for a half-hour meal time in eight hours. The strike was unofficial, but after holding out a week against the union officials the strikers were given the sanction of the National Union of Railwaymen. On the following day the men returned to work with an agreement to settle the strike satisfactory to both sides.

Unlike the officials of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the leaders of the railway men displayed rare judgment by yielding to their men and getting them to return in a week. The officials of the engineers have been more stubborn, and as a result, their men have been out three weeks with no strike pay.

PARIS COMMUNE

By the Editor.

On the morning of the 18th March, 1871, the workers of Paris proclaimed the Commune.

It was the first attempt of the workers to obtain control of society. War-weary and oppressed they marched out on that glorious dawn and over 110,000 workers sacrificed their lives upon the altar of human liberty.

We forget Paris—1871, but we cannot forget Petrograd 1917.

The Communards lost out, but their struggle was not in vain, as Marx clearly points out in his "Civil War in France." Writing of the Commune he said:-

> "Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priest will not avail to redeem them."

The Paris Commue cost the workingclass of France some 110,000 of the best of France's brave workers. Before the enraged capitalist class of France, the workers were worse than the Prussians who had just conquered them. The "invader", the "hated enemy", the "mad beasts" in e passing of a night suddenly became virtuous and friendly d with the alliance of the Prussian and the French masters the vorkers of Paris were drowned in seas of blood. Talk of your Belgium and forget Paris 1871! The men who were murdered in Paris, in 1871, were fighting for the workers to gain human freedom and history never records the struggles of the workers, so we forget.

But although Paris is forgotten, we still have Petrograd and Berlin. Masters you murdered us in Paris, because we were too simple in our beliefs in your goodness. In 1871 we trusted you, in 1919 we despise you because we know you for what you are. As in 1871, the French masters allied themselves with the Prussians, so in 1919 Allied capitalists ally themselves with the Scheidemanns, so that they too might drown the workers in seas of blood. But the mistakes of the past, are but the signposts of the future. What we lost by our mistakes in 1871, we shall gain by our knowledge of same.

The Paris Commune has its lessons for the workers. The main one is that the fight for industrial democracy must be made and fought by the workers. The controlling powers must be the workers. It must be from the commencement to its conclusion a purely working class fight. In the revolutionary movement there is no room for "friends" or "sympathizers". We can only organize as workers. Intellectuals can never understand our fight, because it is the conditions that produce the rebels, not the text-books. Text books can explain things to us, but they alone can never produce the rebel. So the workers must organize and by their own power acheive their own freedom.

Like in the Paris Commune, so with the Russian revolution. Marx states that during every revolution, "there intrude, at the side of its true agents, men of a different stamp; some of them survivors of and devotees to past revolutions, without insight into the present movement, but preserving popular influence by their known honesty and courage, or by sheer force of tradition; others mere brawlers, who by dint of repeating year after year the same set of stereotyped declamation against the Government of the day, have sneaked into the reputation of revolutionists of the first water. "How true it all is! Read the speeches of our good historical Socialist comrades! Read how they "admire" the Bolsheviki; how they act when they are called upon to take their stand upon the principles of the movement!

Communards you fought and died like men and women. In 1871, the capitalist class murdered you and shewed you no mercy. Today the tables are turned, it is now our turn to rule. The fight of 1871 but adds assurance to the victory of the workers in the coming years. We shall live to see the Commune of the World, the whole wide, wide world. All through the length and breadth of every nation will ring the same cry that rang through the streets of Paris, on that glorious March morning, in 1871, "Vive La Commune!" Around your graves Communards we shall rejoice. Rejoice because we shall stand around the graves of men and women. Rejoice because by your noble efforts, the day of freedom was brought nearer. We leave you now to go back to the factories to organize and in our task we shall be inspired by the noble deeds that you have done. Back to the mine, the factory and the fields, back we say to organize and in the day of our organized strength we shall stretch out our hands and take all that we have produced and in so doing we shall come into our own. We weep no longer, neither do we beg. Today we stand as men and women conscious of our task and inspired by the fruits of victory that must be ours. We stand today happy and rejoicing, knowing that our children will never experience the sorrow, and suffering that you have gone through. On fellow-workers to the goal of freedom. On with your organization and with all workers banded together into one red internationale we shall conquer. "WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE-YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS—AND A WORLD TO GAIN!"

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GLASGOW'S RIOTING UNIFIES SCOTLAND FOR 40 HOUR WEEK

Child Killed by Soldiers Clearing Crowd From Square—Leaders Beaten Up—Result, Scottish Trade Unions Demand Short Week and Join Up With Shop Stewards.

By ALLEN EASTWOOD.

GLASGOW, (delayed).—Glasgow is an armed camp. Soldiers are marching and countermarching through the streets, and the martial pipes are skirling. A scuffle, now dignified as "Glasgow's Bloody Friday," between a handful of civilians and the police has given birth to this influx.

The crowd had gathered in front of the town hall to await Lloyd George's answer to their appeal for help. The labor leaders, Shinwell, Gallacher, and Kirkwood, were inside the building awaiting for the Lord Provost to read them the government's answer. The police began clearing the square.

The crowd fought back. A child was killed and many people injured.

Shinwell, Kirkwood and Gallacher, hearing the uproar, rushed out into the square and begged the crowd to disperse; for this two of them were beaten up and arrested. The third was arrested at his home later. All of them are being held without bail.

And the capitalist press of Great Britain rings with glee and calls them Bolshevists and revolutionaries and wild agitators.

Leads to 40-Hour Week.

But what did riot lead to, actually?

Yesterday the conference of the Scottish Trades Unions met here. They resolved to advocate the 40-hour week for all of Scotland, and to urge their union leaders to work for this result. In short, the unofficial shop stewards' strike is joining up with the old trades union organization.

The more democratic syndicalism of the shop stewards now has the support of the more cumbersome Scotch Trades Unions. This result was achieved largely by the Friday fracas. The workers decided to stick together, through thick and thin, the regular unions and the irregular shop organizations.

In short the whole of Scotland is being jockeyed into demanding the 40-hour week. From a great variety of claims and demands, the 40-hour week demand emerges clearly. Other programs, for the moment rest; 100,000 men in Glasgow are out of work, 60,000 of them strikers. Next week the bakers hold a meeting as to whether they shall join up. And the municipal employes, which includes tramway employes, because the railways are municipal, also hold a meeting to decide. If they go out, Glasgow will be tied up as tight as Belfast.

Government Creates Bitterness.

The government's stern refusal to listen to the strikers demands, branding them as revolutionaries, and as unauthorized by their own officials, has created great bitterness here. Certainly Bonar Law, a dyed-in-the-wool Tory, should not have had the decision. Evidently the government is really siding against the strikers and with the employers. It now remains to be seen whether the great trades union officials will prefer their own dignity and authority to the workers' good, or whether they will chime in, as have done the Scotch Trades' Union officials and Delegates' Conference. If they chime in, then there will be one issue all over Great Britain for a 40-hour week. Certainly the Irishmen will reduce their demand for a 44-hour week to one for 40 hours. And if labor can be united on that, then, surely it will be easy to unite it on other and greater issues, in short the socialization of industry and the abolition of unemployment.

The situation is big with possibilities. And the employers see that, and intend to put up a stiff fight, too.

If, however, the labor move goes on successfully it is quite possible Lloyd-George may jump on the labor band wagon, defy his Tory friends and call a new election. One is eager to know what he will do.

Trouble Brewing.

Meanwhile, trouble is brewing here, Glasgow labor will not submit tamely, I am afraid. These people are very determined and dour. That's the difference between them and the Irish, and that's why I came here and didn't go to Ireland. These mean business. They will try proselytizing among the troops—are doing it already, I am told. But if hunger and dispossessing — for they surely won't pay their rents—intervene, then trouble will take the place of talk. The crowds in the streets do not look happy; and in the poorer sections the people do not look so well fed as one would expect from the talk of war wages.

The children particularly look frostbitten and wan. It is to be hoped that, if the movement becomes nationwide, the government and orthodox trade unionism will see that this new thing, organization by shops, under shop stewards, must be officially incorporated and the demands for the 40-hour week recognized.

Every union leader tells me that this shop steward movement has been due to the cumbersomeness and remoteness of the trades union system, and partly to the timidly and government attitude of the union leaders during the war. The men learned to strike under their shop stewards, ignoring their duly appointed leaders. One union official admitted that only setting up of much greater local autonomy within the unions the unions will save them.

New Deal Is On.

And what accounts for the deep bitterness behind these strikes?

Partly the employers' chicanery and oppression during the war; partly, as I have written before, the birth of a new consciousness among workers.

They do not want to settle down into the old rut, wrangling for petty increases from time to time. They want a new deal now—an entirely new deal. By uniting on this 40-hour week issue, they will be founding a unity which may lead them eventually to this higher goal. Shinwell, Kirkwood and some others of these Scottish leaders, no doubt, owe much of their power to the far-reaching promises they have held out to their followers. The world will await the result with interest. By the time you receive this cat will have jumped one way or another.

But what now is happening here in the labor world is probbaly more crucial than the high talk at Paris.

And is it not strange that Shinwell also is a Jew? Surely, a people chosen for martyrdom, a strange people?

Department of Justice
UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY
Leavenworth, Kansas.

Harmon Allen, Chaplain.

Feb. 22nd, 1919.

Mr. Jack Carney,
Duluth, Minnesota.

Dear Sir:

This is to acknowledge receipt of the eighteen books sent by you for the prison library. We thank you kindly for this donation.

Also, I thank you very much for your kind expression concerning my work in this place. It is my policy to do unto the imprisoned men as I would like to have them do unto me were I similarly situated. I do this regardless of the man's offense; in fact, I know very little about the crimes charged in any individual case. I have found the golden rule the only rule of life.

Very truly yours,

HERMAN ALLEN,
Chaplain.

RUSSIA'S PEASANTRY

THE BOLSHEVIKI UPSETTING BUSINESS TRADITIONS OF AGES

(Quotations from The Nation's Business, February 1919, the official magazine of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States.)

We cannot be too often remined that the Bolshevist idea of government, a matter of a few comrades getting together in the interest of the common weal, is an idea with which the great masses of peasonts are thoroughly acquainted. Every Russian village has its "commune" or **mir,** which is an informal gathering of every adult male, a sort of neighborhood smoker, transacting the village's business. "The whole country will be just one big commune," argued the proletariat leaders. It was too easy. They knew how to take a hint, and the new name for the local commune, **soviet,** meaning **counsel,** as well as **council,** was accepted as something arranged for their own good.

"This great national commune," said the socialistic leaders, "is to liberate the productive forces of the world." It is a big order. Can they do it? The Russian peasant builds his house with a wedge and an axe. Can he erect the complicated structure of national and international trade, with tools equally primitive?

Several months have now elapsed since the Brest-Litosk treaty. The German-Russian commercial convention, provided for in article twelve of that treaty, shows the predominant importance attached to the immediate resumption of peaceful intercourse between the two countries.

Each nation has been sending commissions and experts to the other for several months for the purpose of re-establishing trade; but trade has not been re-established. Germany expected to get the hide of the Russian bear for a door-mat of trade. But—the hide, though frowsy, is still on the bear. Except through smuggling, practically no goods have passed by land from Russia to Germany, or from Germany to Russian up to last September.

Good will, indispensable for international trade, is present on both sides of the Russian-German frontier, but the decrees of the Soviet government, regulating commerce within Russia and between Rusia and foreign countries, are based on principles which, if applied, demand unthinkable concessions on the part of other countries, to the new Russia.

"We don't understand such chaos," the other countries say. "Have a revolution and you will," replied the Bolsheviki, who worry more about the brotherhood of man than about the solvency of their own country.

According to communistic theory which dictates legislation in Russia, the object of the revolution is to change the state into a mere administrator of production. It doesn't govern, mind you; it merely presides. It is a committee. It is socialism.

The Bolsheviki are trying to "centralize" industrial undertakings. This has already been accomplished in the cases of the manufacture of sugar, wool, tea, tobacco and paper. Trade in the products of each group is monopolized by the central office, which barters commodities directly with the central offices for other commodities. No money is used. These central offices have two functions: they are offices of statistics and accounts and they control the orders given to manufacturing plants.

Merchants and factory owners are under the double oversight of the "extraordinary commissions to check speculation, sabotage and counter-revolution," and the labor committee. Merchants caught speculating are shot. Engineers and factory managers who fail to report at their places of business are arrested for sabotake.

The substantial owner of a paper mill was captured and cornered by his own workmen. As is usual with the Bolsheviki, a committee was appointed to run the mill. Soon discovering its inability to make rapid progress, it called upon the owner at his spacious country villa, with a request that he return and help them out of the difficulty.

Said the owner: "Very well, but what salary am I to be paid?"

"How much were you earning before the revolution?" asked the committee, nudging each other.

Said the owner: "Ten thousand roubles a year."

"We will give you half of that the first year," said the committee, after a brief consultation, and counting on their fingers; the second year we will give you four thousand roubles; the third year three thousand and the fourth year twenty-five hundred roubles."

"But," said the owner, "it is impossible for me to live on five thousand roubles, let alone twenty-five hundred. I have my house my servants, the food bills, my horses and carriages. It is impossible, unthinkable."

Again the peasants put their tousled heads together. "We've got it," they announced at last triumphantly. "The difficulty here is that you are living in the wrong place. You bring your family and things and come to live in one of our huts. Your expenses won't be much there. Besides, we've decided that your villa will make a fine restaurant for the people."

This shift was enforced. The whereabouts of the mill owner no one knows; while his villa has become a popular tea-drinking rendezvous for peasants and returned soldiers.

So far as an exchange of commodities with Germany was concerned, so great was the latter country's need of metals, asbestos lubricants, flaxa hemp and textile, that she promptly accepted the Bolshevist idea of sea trade barter and sent to Petrograd ships laden with coal. Though exorbitant values were placed on the commodities, the trade was effected after much bargaining. In addition to coal, Russia in this manner also procured drugs, dyestuffs and machine parts from Germany. Soviet foreign trade experts therefore believe themselves justified in boasting: "You see, our method works." Nothing succeeds like simplicity!"

THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA

"Nicolai Lenine, the Bolshevist Premier, is the only prominent Bolshevik left who appears to lead an austere life."—The Times February 26.

"Premier Lenine, refugees say, is not affected by the food problem. His bill for fruit and vegetables in a recent month amounted to 60,000 rubles."—The Times, February 26.

Tell your merchant that you read Truth.

THE COST OF THE WAR—WHICH IS BUT A SMALL FRACTION OF THE COST OF THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM.

(Reprinted from the Melting Pot.

The war casualties are given in the following figures:

	Men in Arms	Lives Lost	Total Casualties
United States	3,764,000	53,169	236,117
Great Britain	7,500,000	658,665	3,049,991
France	6,000,000	1,100,000	4,000,000
Italy	5,000,000	500,000	2,000,000
Russia	14,000,000	3,500,000	5,000,000
Belgium	350,000	50,000	300,000
Servia	300,000	150,000	200,000
Roumania	600,000	200,000	300,000
Germany	11,000,000	1,580,000	4,000,000
Austria-Hungary	7,500,000	2,000,000	4,500,000
Bulgaria	1,000,000	50,000	200,000
Turkey	1,500,000	250,000	750,000
	58,514,700	10,091,834	24,536,108

40,000 RUSS TROOPS, SPURNING SOVIET WAR, ENSLAVED BY FRANCE

Republic Exiles Soldiers to Africa to Die In Great Numbers of Hardship, Privation and Disease For Refusing to Fight Bolsheviki.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.
(Special Correspondence to The New York Call.)

PARIS. (delayed).—Between 30,000 and 40,000 Russian soldiers are held today in slavery by the Republic of France.

The crime of these slaves is that they refuse to make war against the Soviet Republic of Russia.

Every known method of coercion has been used by the Clemenceau government to break the will of these "obstinate" Russians whose steady reply to their persecutors is:

"We cannot make war on the Bolsheviki without knowing whether they are good or bad for Russia. Let us first return home and judge for ourselves."

These Russian slaves of France are at present engaged at hard work, and without compensation, under the tropic sun of French Africa. Late reports show they are dying in great numbers of hardship, privation and the disease caused by the unaccustomed African climate.

Some 25 leaders of the "rebellious" Russian soldiers are held in miserable confinement on an island near Bordeaux.

Friends of the Russians have made repeated appeals to Clemenceau for mercy, saying:

"Can't you see that this cruel policy will make Russia the eternal enemy of France?" Such appeals have been contemptuously ignored.

Before the overthrow of the Czar there were 25,000 Russian soldiers fighting against Germany on the French front. When news of the revolution reached them they joined in the general rejoicing of free men everywhere. They even commited the further offense of attempting to form soldiers' councils among themselves.

This conduct made them the objects of suspicion and hatred of the French authorities, by whom they were forthwith placed in virtual internment.

With the fall of Kerenski, the sympathy of the Russian soldiers in France went over to the Soviet regime, and when the peace of Brest-Litovsk was concluded they immediately declared themselves neutrals in the world war and demanded that they be allowed to return home.

This demand the French government met with machine gun fire, in which large numbers of the Russians were killed or wounded.

When the cruellest coercion had finally failed to move the Russians, a colonel among them was asked to make a special and personal appeal for volunteers to join the Czhecho-Slovaks in the war against the Soviet Republic.

Of more than 20,000 men thus appealed to, a few hundred consented to the proposal. The reply of the others was:

"Our comrades at home have made peace. Perhaps they did wrong, as you say, but you have been very cruel to us ever since the war was overthrown, and we must first go home and judge for ourselves whether the Bolsheviki should be destroyed."

The authorities then decided that the entire Russian force was a menace to French democracy, and shipped them all off to Africa, after segregating the leaders, who were sent to the island off Bordeaux.

Then came the old Russian colonel already mentioned, whose breast bore medals conferred both by the former Czar and the Republic of France, and said:

"My soldiers are right. It is wrong for us to fight against our comrades in Russia until we are first allowed to go home and see what kind of government they have chosen. You have sent my soldiers into slavery in Africa. Send me there, also for I believe as they believe.

In November came the general armistice, and with it the release of tens of thousands of American and Entente soldiers from German prison camps along the Rhine. Among the hordes who streamed westward were thousands of Russians, who took advantage of the general confusion to escape from their bondage—as they supposed.

The Russians were in terrible plight; famished, barefooted and uncluothed. Those who came toward the American lines were soon equipped with the American uniforms—the only clothing quickly available—and allowed to proceed onward into France. Perhaps the others fared as well; I have not heard. It is estimated that between 10,000 and 15,000 escaped Russian prisoners thus entered France during the last days of 1918. They quickly congregated in Paris and other towns.

Then they were discovered by the French authorities.

"You have no right here," said the officials. "You must go back to Russia and join the Czecho-Slovaks in war upon the Soviets."

"We cannot do that," replied the patient Russians, "until we have visited Russia and Judged the Soviet by its works."

The French officials argued and threatened. The Russians were unmoved. They were a part of the great Russian conspiracy not to condemn the Soviets without a hearing.

So, they, too, have been sent off to Africa slavery, to bear witness in the dark continent of the white man's love of humanity.

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The Seattle Class Rebellion

By JOSEPH PASS

To have lived through the five days of the general strike in Seattle and emerged an impartial observer has not been the experience of many mortals. Having seen the working class lay down its tools as a single unit, and assume under its own management during the period of strife certain essential industries, has left many a man happy and inspired. To have remained neutral during this struggle was psychologically impossible. Men whose temperature in the past remained around the frigid zone suddenly awakened from their cold atmosphere and in passionate ecstasy either cursed or praised the rebellious worker. I saw professors from the University of Washington, keen students who are studying the labor movement at close range, lost their pedagogical dignity and cheer wildly the enthusiastic assembly. A woman next to me was shedding tears from the pure joy of living. In the large banking institutions of the city men were whispering to each other and cursing the day when they commenced to "tolerate" unionism. An international union official was dispatched to the city in an effort to halt the street car men from "breaking" their agreement with the company, as they had voted to join the general strike, but after 24 hours the international official was so effected by the spirit of the hour that he advised the car men to join their striking fellow workers, and so defeated his original purpose in coming. Miracles were the order of the day.

Shipyards' Grievances.

The shipyard industry in the Pacific Northwest is practically the outcome of the world war. Prior to the great struggle the lumber industry held the foremost place among the enterprises of the great Northwest. From September, 1914, and on, when the Dominion of Canada placed her first order with the Seattle Construction and Dry Dock Company, shipbuilding became the great backbone of these communities. Tens of thousands of men were herded into the Northwest, and overnight a great industry was born. Where small shops existed before and the thud of a single hammer could be heard, large plants came in, with the multitudinous clang of its various compressed air instruments. Where only yesterday lay miles of empty tidelands, today monster yards are laboring day and night, giving birth to vessels of steel and wood.

And then America entered the war. More ships were needed. More shops were built. More men came. From the entire West droves of men rushed to the ports to build ships; men who had never seen boats larger than a fishing smack; men whose patriotic pulse drove them to these shipyards; men and boys from the farms, hearing of the high wages and of the promise of still larger rewards in the near future, came rushing into the city to make their little stake. They labored and labored. Miles of ships were built. A war for democracy was being waged, and the men, spurred on by patriotism, speeded up until the Northwest became known as the fastest shipbuilding section in America.

A raise in wages had been promised the shipyard workers for months. The Macy board was appointed, and the memorandum that created that board was signed by the international presidents without the sanction of the membership, and over the protest of the Puget Sound districts, but then the war was on, and the men desided not to create friction, and to wait until later developments.

I sat in the conference room of the Metal Trades in Seattle and listened for over an hour to James A Taylor, one of the members of the Board of Appeals, recite to the grievances of his men. He looked tired and worried. The fighting spirit shone in his face. He is shrewd. He will not budge one inch if it is to the detriment of the working class. Theory is foreign to him. From the everyday battles of life he learned the desires and hopes of his class. He gave Charles M. Schwab and Charles Piez many an unpleasant hour in Washington and Philadelphia. This vigorous labor man o the West stood up and fought these various boards with weapons that were unknown to the labor leaders of the East. As he set there and recited to me how the international unions had indorsed the demands of the cost, and how the Macy board stalled and stalled, month after month, in giving their decision, there was fire in his eyes. The war was on, and the board could always hold the rod of patriotism over the heads of the men in case of strike.

The Fourth Liberty loan came on. The men were urged to buy, and buy, and buy. How can a man with a wife and three children, getting $4.50 a day (and 70 per cent of the workers were receiving that) and the cost of living higher than in New York, and going up, afford to buy bonds? Will the Macy board pay the back wages accruing from the raise from August 1, 1918, to allow the men to invest in bonds? A wire arrived from somewhere, stating that all back wages from August 1 would be paid, and the men, depending upon that promise, plunged heavier than they could afford.

On November 12 the Macy award was made public and some workers received 87 cents back wages, and some $1.12, and some $6.14, and some a few dollars more or less. The war was over, and, if the worker wanted to strike, why, let him. The matter was taken to the Board of Appeals and resulted in a split decision. Of the six members of the board, the labor trio did not agree with the Macy award, while the three members appointed by the Navy Department and the Emergency Fleet voted to sustain it.

"To tell the entire story of these boards wold be writing a chapter in the history of capitalism," is the way one official put it to me. "They came out here and delivered some speeches to us and patted us on the back, calling us 'boys'; these one-dollar-a-year men talked to us about democracy, and what they would not do for us after the war was over was not worth mentioning. And look, when we ask for an increase in wages they now tell us, that soon, very soon, the men will return from the front and there will be an oversupply of labor, and therefore we must not ask for an increase now. Yes, that is what Piez told me."

On December 5, the workers voted to reject the Macy award and strike.

On January 21, 27,000 men walked out in the City of Seattle, and thousands upon thousands of workers in surrounding communities followed.

The General Strike.

Nowhere in the United States has the worker shown such a spendid solidarity as in the Northwest. In years past, battles, class battles, were always staged and fought with vigorous vitality. The worker guards his liberty here. The Everett massacre and the subsequent judicial battle is still fresh in our mind. The vigilant manner in which the workers fought for Mooney is the common knowledge of all. The policy of Gompers is entirely out of favor, even with the most conservative worker.

A general sympathetic strike was proposed. The rank and file began to clamor for fight. Union by union commenced to ballot its membership. Union by union commenced to bring in the returns, and the overwhelming majority of organizations voted for the strike. The capitalist press commenced taking notice, and started a campaign of vilification, the influence of which was only limited by the fact that there was a large labor daily in the field. The Interests started caucusing. They were face to face with a FACT. A city of 375,000 population with 65,000 organized workers, practically the entire adult population unionized, and here a general strike was threatened. Why, this means chaos, revolution, Socialism, and immediately the cry of "Bolshevism, I. W. W., Anarchism," went up. But the unions proceeded with their business and sent warning after warning that, if the shipyard strike was not settled, industry in the city of Seattle would be completely paralyzed.

The Oriental Laborer.

A problem faced the organizers of the General Strike. What would the Japaaise worker do? Ten thousand of them live in the city, and are extensively employed in the hotels and restaurants. If the eating places would not close, the strike would be a failure. Although the local unions have shown a willingness to admit the yellow worker into the ranks, the A. F. of L. constitution forbid it. The Japanese worker resents this, and has stated it at various times. It was a delicate problem, and no one knew how to approach him, and like a cry from the wilderness the following communication was received:

Seattle, Washington,
February 5, 1919.

Mr. J. Duncan,
Secretary of Central Labor,
Labor Temple,
Seattle, Wash.

Dear Sir:

Regarding present crisis, we Japanese Labor Ass'n., hereby declared to join General Strike sympathetically, and, however, to make the steps with yours.

We are much appreciate that some local unions or organized labors here in Seattle, having had a good feeling toward us, while American Federation of Labor is still discriminating us and refusing to become member of its organization.

But, in fact of, we, laborer throughout the world having a similar position against the capitalist, no matter what jobs they are occupied or what nationality they are, there should no border for the laborer and we should do our duty in every way to help win this fight.

At the called-off-strike of ship yard workers, we have different standpoint and as far as the General Strike have been called, I, director of this organization have notified to all members in this city to do their best to help the strike.

But I really wanted to say that we would be faithful foreigner for this government so long as we are protected our lives and wealth by, and the actions of your unions is not go against their faithfulness of citizenship, we are glad further help to you, if necessary.

Enclosed check of $50 of which we took collection from our members at here office, please place on supporting this General Strike, we are heartily sympathy with. We are,

.....
General Director.

The Oriental problem was solved!

The Internationals.

The unions were voting to strike. The spirit of solidarity, was there. The most conservative men talked general strike. Wires flashed from Seattle asking the various internationals to sanction the walkout. In some cases the heads were "wise," and did not answer. O'Connor of the Longshoremen warned his union that if they struck the charter would be revoked. The organization decided to defy their international officer and stay by their striking fellow workers. The worker of the West has always felt that a change must come within the A. F. of L. He looks askance at his high officials, 3,000 miles away, who undertake to tell him when to strike and when not to strike. The shipbuilding industry is a good indication in itself. The Pacific Coast unions have, for good Lord knows how long, been begging their internationals to grant them a charter for a coast council. This has been refused over and over again, in fear that this organizeu force would be too large to handle. The unions in Seattle held that they were not breaking any agreement with their employers when they walked out in sympathy with the rest of their fellow workers. No new demands were asked for themselves. It was a battle for the lowest-paid men in the shipyards, and not even a single capitalist newspaper in the city denied the justification of these demands.

The General Strike Committee.

Under the American Federation of Labor there are chartered within the city of Seattle about 125 unions. Out of his group, 110 unions voted in favor of the strike, five unions balloted in the negative, and the remaining 10 abstained from voting. On Sunday, February 2, 8:30 a. m., the general strike committee met in first session. This group consisted of three members elected from each union in the city that had voted for the strike. They immediately proceeded to organize and declared an executive session. I was permitted to read through the minutes of this most interesting body, and the problems that they faced were stupendous. The life of an entire community was in their hands, and the responsibility they faced was realized by each and every one. It was something new to the worker of America. Mistakes were made, mistakes that cost them dearly, but, considering that no precedent existed in the American labor movement to which these men could turn, and considering the short time in which the strike was organized, the results were marvelous. We must realize that a large community lay idle, and this committee was the steering wheel of the ship. Its duties were large and small. For instance, let me quote from its records.

"Brother —— presented a request from —— union to allow one of the members of the Auto Mechanics to fix Dr. King's car. Moved by —— that this request be granted. Amended by —— and seconded by —— that the matter be referred to Auto Mechanics' Union. Carried."

And, again,

"The matter of allowing exemption for a single number of men to operate furnaces, or, rather, to keep furnaces with sufficient heat to keep them in condition, so that they would not be destroyed, was taken up for consideration. After being thoroughly explained by Brother —— that all men were off furnaces at the present time, it was moved by —— and seconded by —— that wheels be put in action to secure a sufficient number of men on these furnaces to heat same, to prevent them from falling or caving in. Amended by —— and seconded by —— that, in event of this concession being granted, any attempt on the part of the company to ship out of their plant one single engine, that all men be called off work. Amendment carried."

Not only did this committee supervise the industries that were kept running to safeguard human life and protect property from self-destruction, but they undertook to spread the strike to various communities. They succeeded in so far as their messengers could reach the other parts of the Northwest in the time allotted to them. When the struggle came to an end, the committee realized three things: First, a general strike must be more than local; second, if it is more than local, the object for which the strike is called must be a social one, and, third, if a local general strike is called, a definite time must be set for its termination, and then it can only serve as a protest.

Whole City Amazed.

The General Strike Committee set the date for February 6, at 10 o'clock. The entire city was stupefied. Some took the situation good-naturedly, others cursed. There was general excitement. Some people for the first time in their lives realized the power and solidarity of labor. Others shook their heads and wondered what the world was coming to. The depots were crowded to the doors with the fleeing bourgeoisie, who had listened to the voice of the newspapers which were announcing the coming of revolution. The papers were attempting to break the solidarity of labor, but the Seattle Union-Record, with its large circulation, guarded the interests of the worker, and kept on relating the truth from day to day. People were preparing for the coming of the strike. Old lamps were dug out from the cellars, or new lamps purchased, and a stock of kerosene put in. The procuring of groceries and meats and flour was the object of every individual. The day before the strike the streets of Seattle looked like a huge market place. The city was preparing for a great event.

Thursday morning the whole community was alive to the significance of the situation. In the heart of every man there lay hope, a desire to the last minute that probably Charles Piez would grant the workers some concession, or offer to compromise, but the representative of Bethlehem Steel said "No". Nine o'clock in the morning the street car motor men put on their "To the barn" sign. At 10 o'clock the cars must be in the barn. The teamsters commenced rushing at neck-breaking speed. At 10 o'clock the trucks must be in the garages.

All was in readiness. From the empty department stores girl clerks watched the homewardbound worker. The late purchaser was running with his provisions to make the last car. In the large entrances of the newspaper buildings the sign "Temporarily Suspended" appeared. Wheels stopped.

Where an hour before noise was supreme, quietude reigned. The worker rested. In a last effort, an immense siren got up enough steam to blow the announcement that 10 o'clock was here. The FIRST GENERAL STRIKE IN AMERICA was on.

Feeding the Public.

The first immense practical problem that faced the unions was how to feed the people. Ninety-five per cent of the restaurants were unionized and their doors shut tight at 10 o'clock in the morning. In fact, some of them did not open at all, in the anticipation of the walkout. The other 5 per cent were the rich man's dining rooms, and they were largely handicapped and some had to shut their doors because of the fact that a related trade was striking. Upon the culinary workers the responsibility fell. I watched a city government clumsily preparing for war fall all over itself in accomplishing the most simple thing. And here was an "ignorant" group of workers, with only a very few hours' notice, arise majestically and discharge their duties with a song on their lips. To the ordinary trade belongs the glory of the hour.

I talked to Edward T. Levi, a jovial little Irishman, with an Hebraic name, a man of the most conservative type, who was happy when responsibility fell on his shoulders. Levi smiled when I asked him how he liked the job of managing a revolutionary kitchen.

"Think of it! I, a most conservative and prominent member of the Waiters' Union of America, being accused of taking part in a revolution! Let me tell you what is the matter: We have found a weapon that is strong and powerful, and they know it, and they don't like the idea of us discovering this weapon.

"You know, the first thing the strikers discovered was that they had to eat. We had some time in convincing the teamsters that they must immediately handle our stuff, and ours only. They said they were on strike. At last we convinced them that striking against themselves is disastrous—that they must eat. At last it dawned upon them that supper time would soon be here, and, as all the restaurants were closed, they had to turn to their own kitchen.

"This commissary department certainly had trouble. The Metal Trades furnished us the money, but finances were our least worry. We waited to the last minute, and then stripped for action and organized our various departments. We had the employment department, and the purchasing department, and the distributing department, and all kinds of departments.

"We are serving tens of thousands of meals, and tomorrow we expect to reduce the price from 35 cents to 25 cents. And let me tell you right here, this is the first time in the history of this city that a man cannot go hungry. Get that? We are giving away hundreds of meals. If a man has a card in his pocket, his organization pays; if not, the commissary department feeds him. We are surely making a lot of mistakes, but, having to manage 21 eating places, we cannot become perfect in one hour.

"This general strike is surely some powerful weapon we have. Look! The boys are roller skating on our main thoroughfare because we took a vacation."

The Co-operatives' Function.

When I left the commissary department I stepped into the spacious market of the co-operatives. This movement was organized only about two years ago in this city, but already it has reached quite an important place in the labor movement here.

Carl E. Lund greeted me. He was the busiest man in Seattle, as the co-operatives were furnishing all the foodstuffs for the commissary.

Let him speak for himself. This is what he had to say:

"When the workers commenced talking of the general strike, the large interests began to feel worried. In analyzing this situation they found that we had to eat, and they also found that the co-operatives will function, and in order to find out how far we can function, they staged a little raid of their own:

"Four officers came with a liquor search warrant; but, instead of searching for liquor, they went through all our files, and, in order to justify the raid, they announced that I. W. W. preambles were found in our desks. Upon closer examination in their main office, they found that that was the reconstruction program of the Washington State Federation of Labor.

"Yes, the commissary department purchases everything through here. We are serving them with the meats which we secure directly from the farmer. We also furnish them with carloads of potatoes every day.

"This is the only place in the city that has secured exemption for its teamsters from the union, on condition that we only deliver o union men.

"You bet, we can function! We are feeding a large part of the city, and, if this strike lasts any length of time, we are prepared to feed the whole community."

The Milk Situation.

Under ordinary circumstances, Seattle consumes about 30,000 gallons of milk a day. The house-to-house delivery is still in vogue, and, competition being keen, it is a common sight to watch a half-dozen milk drivers bring their goods within one block. The general strike committee realized that babies and invalids must have milk, but such wasteful methods did not meet with the approval of the Milk Drivers' Union. Stations were established within every 25 or 30 blocks, and milk was distributed, one quart to a baby or invalid, per day. About 6,000 gallons were distributed in this manner every 24 hours. The milk was purchased only from private dairymen, non-employers, who are members of the union.

The other dairies operated on a very small scale, the employers themselves working, and they produced about 3,000 gallons a day.

The Labor Guard and Police.

As soon as the strike opened Mayor Ole Hanson announced that the "government of this city is still in the City Hall," and immediately proceeded to protect his City Hall with 3,800 guards and special policemen. Barricaded trucks with machine guns were standing ready in the back of the old building. Policemen and uniformed guards were parading the city with loaded rifles, ready for action. The city looked like an armed theater, and when the military authorities arrived, it can be said, to their credit, that it seemed that the Mayor's plans were not at all to their liking. General Morrison commented upon the action of the union men very favorably.

The labor unions called upon 350 discharged soldiers and sailors to form a war veteran guard, under the direction of F. A. Rust and five United States army officers. This guard, without clubs or guns or any weapon, kept order in the city. Wherever a crowd assembled, they stepped up and said: "In the name of organized labor, brothers, we ask you to go home."

And they went.

On the second day of the strike, when a certain newspaper of the was attempting to get out its paper, the police were guarding it heavily. Mounted men on their restless horses stood guard. Men with rifles that were aching for action. For once, a large crowd of strikers gathered. The police were not very pleasant. A labor guard stepped up, held his hand in the air, and, addressing the crowd in the name of the unions, asked them to go home. Within 15 minutes the streets were empty.

Not an arrest was made during the strike. Not even a fist fight. During the five days of the general strike the average arrests fell from 108 to 32.

The labor guards' methods, the method of reason, prevailed.

The Mayor and the Press.

For a number of years the Ssripps-McRae papers have had the reputation of being the liberal expression in the daily newspaper world. A new situation is confronting this corporation today. A chain of labor dailies is about to be born in the United States. In the last nine months labor dailies have opened their doors in Seattle and Butte, and within a very few months two more dailies expect to open their doors in parts west of Chicago. In all probability this chain will extend eastward. This promises to develop into the strongest competitor Scripps-McRae can have. In the city of Seattle the labor daily from a circulation of 20,000 grew into more than 70,000 in less than 10 months. The Seattle Star (Scripps McRae) has fallen way below its average circulation. This labor daily draws its entire strength from the Star. The Pacific Coast manager of Scripps-McRae took charge of the battle and in an uncalled-for manner, under the flag of patriotism, attacked the Central Labor Council, and was the first newspaper in the city to put up the cry of "Revolution," "Bolshevism," "I. W. W.," in hopes that the aggresive council would break up, and with it naturally would go its child, the Seattle Union Record.

The Mayor of the city is a man who has made a considerable amount of money in the real estate business. He is a representative son of the Scandinavian pioneer, who is a fearless fighter, no matter if he is in the right or wrong. The labor movement has fought Hanson ever since his inception into local politics, because of his unprogressive understanding of the modern industrial era. The initiative and referendum and recall and woman suffrage and a minimum wage for women are an established fact in the state of Washington; but Hanson still thinks they are a predominant issue. In an Eastern state he would be considered a man with progressive tendencies; but in the far West his position in politics is reactionary. These two forces—the municipal authorities and the Scripps-McRae press—under the direction of various large interests, united in an attempt to break up the aggressive A. F. of L. of Seattle. After his announcement that "the seat of government is still in the City Hall" (the unions granted him that), he began to realize that the seat of the industrial government was in the Labor Temple, and by withdrawing their labor power on the one hand and reopening certain other industries on the other hand they were the most powerful. Conference after conference was held between the two disputing forces, the City Hall and the Labor Temple. The Mayor threatened, and the labor forces smiled.

The General Strike Ends.

The first three days—Thursday, Friday and Saturday—there was COMPLETE solidarity in the ranks of the worker. Late Saturday afternoon the Labor Temple felt the weakness of their issue. The worker was underpaid; every one conceded that; but what was needed to solidify and close, and keep closed, the ranks of the worker was a universal demand. Furthermore, for the strike to be effective, it must spread and the issue was not big enough. Here and there the workers responded — in Tacoma, Bellingham and a few other places. Portland was promising to go out; but how long can the worker hold out, and how long will he hold out on this issue became the dominant question in the Labor Temple. The general strike committee was in session all night Saturday. Sunday morning the ranks were commencing to break somewhat, as a few street car men went back to work. By Monday morning the entire car men's union had stampeded. On Monday morning realizing the situation, and facing a practical problem, the general strike committee called off the sympathetic walkout for Tuesday, 12 o'clock sharp. They attempted to get the street car men's union out again in order that the general return to work should be with the same solidarity as the walkout, but the union voted against it.

For the first time in the history of America a city lay completely idle for five days, and, with the exception of some minor breaks on the fourth day, there was complete solidarity in the ranks of the wage workers. The metal trades remained out on strike for their original demands.

In conclusion: Twenty-four hours after the strike was over I interviewed three prominent labor leaders—a conservative, a radical and a revolutionist. Each one naturally had his own interpretation of the significance of this strike, and each had his own criticism; but on one thing they all agreed. The three of them said:

"The general strike is here to stay, as we have illustrated it as a practical and most powerful weapon in the hands of the working class."

—Sunday Call.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN

OF THE

BUREAU OF INFORMATION ON SOVIET RUSSIA

SOVIETS WANT PEACE

Answer Senator Hitchcock's Statements.

We print below a wireless message from Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, to the State Department at Washington. It is dated January 22, and its raison d' etre is as follows:

Senator Hitchcock, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, delivered a speech on Russian affairs in the United State on January 9th, in which he attempted to justify the presence of American troops in Russia, admitting there were 10,200 such troops at Vladivostok, and about 5,000 near Archangel. We do not need here to repeat his arguments in favor of such military intervention, as they seem to have been correctly reported to the Soviet Government by the Washington radio-telegram of Jan. 12, which provided the data on which Chicherin based his answer. The remarks of Senator Hitchcock, which called forth a lengthy and spirited debate in the Senate, were the result of Senator Johnson's resolution asking for explanations as to the United States' aims in R[illegible] which was referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in December.

Stockholm, January 22nd:—The official telegraph bureau of the Russian Soviet Government sends out the following information:

The representative of the Russian Soviet Government, Maxim Litvinoff, has sent the following note to the State Department in Washington:

On behalf of Mr. Chicherin, People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs, I am sending you the following statement:

A radio-telegram from Washington, received via Lyons on the 12th of January, relates that a statement has been made by Senator Hitchcock, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, about the causes for the sending of American troops to Russia. The principal cause is said to have been a desire to prevent: the establishment of a German submarine base in Archangel. Whether there ever has been such a cause or not, it does not exist any more.

In respect to the second alleged cause for the invasion, namely, that the intention was to safeguard Allied supplies in Archangel, I beg to remind you that even last year we had started negotations for this purpose, and we are now still willing to enter into a satisfactory solution of this question. There can no longer be any danger of the supplies falling into German hands.

The third reason for the invasion was stated to be a desire to maintain an open way for diplomatic representatives travelling from and to Russia. I beg to call your attention to the fact that the best method to attain this aim would be to have an understanding with my Government. Mr. Francis, the American Ambassador, was quite free to return to his homeland unhindered at the time he left Russia. Our only cause in asking him not to remain in Vologda was the great danger threatening his personal security, and we offered him particularly inviting quarters in or around Moscow.

The fourth alleged ground for the invasion is the protection of the Czecho-Slovaks. Yet there has never been any obstacle to reaching an understanding about this issue with my government. **We have officially offered the Czecho-Slovaks free passage to their homeland through Russia on the condition that we should protect their safety. We have now reached a full understanding on this matter with Professor Max, the President of the Czecho-Slovak National Council in Russia. He has returned to Bohemia in order to communicate our proposition to the Bohemian Government.**

Finally, Senator Hitchcock maintains that one reason for the invasion was to prevent the formation of any army composed of German and Austrian prisoners. The only now existing obstacle to the return of all war prisoners to their homelands is the presence of the Allied troops, or White Guards, who are under the protection of the Allied troops. We therefore cannot understand why this should be a cause for a further maintenance of American troops in Russia.

Judging from statements contained in the above mentioned radio-telegram, some prominent members of the principal political party in the United States could not quite understand the reasons of Senator Hitchcock. They expressed their wish that American troops in Russia should be withdrawn as soon as possible.

We share their wish to reestablish normal relations between the two countries, and we are ready to eliminate everything which may be an obstacle to such relations.

This is not the first time we are making an offer of this kind. In October we sent an offer of this character through the Norwegian Minister in Russia. A week later we made a similar offer through Mr. Christiansen, an attache of the Norwegian Legation, at the time of his leaving Moscow. On the third of November we invited the representatives of the neutral countries in Moscow and asked them to deliver a written proposition to the Allies with the view of entering into negotiations which would put an end to the struggles against Russia. On the 26th of November the All-Russian Congress of Soviets declared to the Allies and to the whole world that Russia is willing to enter into peace negotiations. On the 23rd of December our representative, Mr. Litvinoff, communicated once more with the Allied Ambassadors in Stockholm the desire of the Russian Government to reach a friendly settlement of all questions at issue. He also sent an appeal to President Wilson in London; thus the responsibility for the fact that no agreement has been thus far reached does not lie with us.

We have had an opportunity to hear various American officers and soldiers express their astonishment at their being held in Russia, especially when we pointed out to such soldiers that the reason for their being in Russia seemed to be to put back on the shoulders of the Russian people the yoke which they have thrown off. The results of these explanations of ours have not been unsatisfactory to our personal relations with these American citizens.

We hope that the desire for peace expressed by the above-mentioned Senator is shared by the entire American Government and that the American Government will kindly name a place and a time for opening of peace negotiations with our representatives.

People's Commissaire for Foreign Affairs.

CHICHERIN

By MAXIM LITVINOFF

Representative of the Russian Government in Stockholm.

Two Soviet Budgets

British and Swedish papers publish interesting excerpts from the most recent available financial budgets of the Soviet Republic. While these appear still to leave something to be desired in the way of completeness, they yet enable one to form a good idea of the reflection, in fiscal conditions, of the transformation that has taken place in Russia. Thus, they afford material, shown in condensed form in Table No. 1, on which to base a judgment of government receipts and expenses. It should be remembered that the Soviet Government prepares two annual budgets, each for a six-month period, while the budget for former years (such as 1917, in Table 1) was prepared annually.

TABLE NO. 1

	1917	1918
Expenditure	July—Dec.	Jan.—June
Ordinary	13,196,137,000	26,276,199,000
Extraordinary	14,675,131,000	2,797,995,000
Total Expenditure	27,871,268,000	29,074,194,000
Revenue	.....	12,730,194,000
Deficit	.....	16,344,000,000
	.....	14,750,000,000

A number of interesting things may be learn from this table, if the reader will bear in mind the very much lower value of the Russian ruble when the two Soviet budgets were made up, as compared with its value when the 1917 budget was drawn up. For instance, while ordinary expenses appear to total, for 1918, about three times the 1917 figure, the extraordinary expenses appear to be almost exactly one-half as high in 1918 as in 1917. But let us now view these figures through the changed value of the ruble. The ruble averaged about 12 cents in American gold through 1918, and this was also its value when the budget for the first half of 1918 was proposed in December, 1917. But in December, 1916, when the figures for the 1917 budget were ready, the ruble was worth about thirty cents.

In other words, the 1918 "Ordinary Expenses" are in reality not much higher than those of 1917, while the "Extraordinary Expenses" went down in 1918 not one-half only, but descended to a much smaller fraction of the 1917 figure. This means that in spite of the far-reaching educational and social programs of the Soviet Government, its expenses have been kept down, by its honest and efficient administrative methods, to hardly more than those of the bourgeois government that preceded it, while the "extraordinary expenses," which reflect Russia's gain by abandoning the war and devoting herself to serious internal improvements, have gone down to an insignificant total: for it is the 1917 "Extraordinary Expenses" that were still estimated on the war basis, while the 1918 "Extraordi...ry Expenses" were prepared after warfare had been completely abandoned, except for necessary ns against small counter-revolutionary expeditions.

Table No. 2 will give an indication of the nature of the so-called "Ordinary Expenses," in further elucidation of the above statement (the figures for the July-December period, 1918).

TABLE NO. p

Chief Items in Ordinary Expenses.

	Roubles
Commissariat of War	7,737,013,000
Communications	3,548,315,000
Food Supply	3,152,686,000
Education	2,436,127,000
Supreme Council of National Economy	1,674,903,000
Finances	1,258,974,000
Coct of Nationalizing Undertakings	800,000,000
Public Welfare	640,166,000
Internal Affairs	618,531,000

A glance at these figures will show the immensity of the task undertaken and carried out by the Soviet Government. The items of "Food Supply," "Supreme Council of National Economy,' and "Finances" will show what is the amount of wealth that the government is devoting to the provisioning of the population and the stabilizing and coordinating of the economic activities of the country, while "Education" and "Public Welfare" deal with the problems that an enlightened government must face, to secure an intelligent future population. "Commissariat of War", and "Communications" indicate that the necessity of military preparation for counter-revolutionary aggression is recognized and met with while railroads and other means of communication are being extended and kept in repair, for this as well as other purposes.

Table No. 3 shows the various sources of the Soviet Government's revenues.

TABLE NO. 3—ORDINARY REVENUE RECEIPTS (1918)

Note: All revenue is "ordinary" revenue, except as indicated in Krestinsky's remarks.

	July—Dec.	Jan.—June
Direct taxation	10,366,902,000	268,000,000
Indirect taxation	393,285,000	410,235,000
Customs	119,950,000	175,687,000
Government undertakings	813,082,000	889,316,000
State property and capitals	976,698,000	944,767,000
Returned outlay of State Treasury	50,223,000	50,499,000
Miscellaneous	10,045,000	14,277,000

A most interesting comment on the budgets of 1918 we are enabled to take from a report delivered by N. Krestinsky, Commissaire for Finaces, at the First Congress of the Northern District, which includes Petrograd. It is chiefly the conclusion of Commissaire Krestinsky's speech that deals with the budget question:

"In concluding my speech let me dwell upon the connection between this transitory moment, that we are now passing through, where appropriated only at the budget. Money, after the completion of a cycle of economic measures, will be abolished, and replaced by natural exchange. It will be of no concern to us then if the ruble is worth nothing at all. But it is important that we should maintain ourselves until then. The Russian workingmen and peasants believe in the strength of our economic organism. Our immediate neighbors do not doubt it either; some are glad, and others are angry over the unavoidable victory of the Soviet Socialist power in Russia. We receive information as to a rise in the quotation of the Russian ruble, and this indicates that the people abroad believe in our strength and in our victory. The deficit shown in our budget is computed incorrectly. The budget does not include receipts from nationalized industries, which will amount to a sum not less than 3 billion rubles. Furthermore, 3 billions were assigned to the Commissariat for Supplies as a circulating fund. This sum for circulating expenditures may be considered as a temporary deficit only. A number of expense items inserted in the budget for the first half of the year, which were appropriated only at the end of the second half of the year, have been transferred to the budget of the second half of the year because of the closing on August 31, of all credits and unexpended assignments. Thus it happens that some expense items are quoted twice, and represent an amount justifying the reduction of the deficit by a further 3 billions. The real deficit, after these deductions, would be about 7 billions. This amount is smaller than the deficit for the year 1917, when we were still under the reign of the czar and under the government of Kerensky."

But even if the deficit were as large as the apparent deficit shown in the budget—and Commissaire Krestinsky has shown that it is much smaller—the expenditures would nevertheless, by their character, and by the urgent motives underlying them, justify almost any totals. On this subject, Commissaire Krestinsky's speech is very illuminating:

"We have stated here everything that was to be done, that has been done, and that remains to be done in the capitals. As regards the provinces we expect now the taking up of that harmonious labor which will be carried on with the least loss of energy and will yield the greatest results. As a leading principle, therefore, there should be adopted a sharp division between two sections of financial activity: 1) The budget tax matters in the broad sense of the word. Problems connected with this are not yet fully solved on an all-Russian scale. The tax machinery will be completed only when the new taxes are finally drafted. The ten billion tax, which constitutes a boundary line, as it were, between the old and new systems, will be the touch-stone in this respect, and will offer the possibility for the formation of a new tax system as well as of a new tax inspection. A great field is here opened for local initiative and activity, which will afford the means for accumulating information in the capitals for the adoption of the respective measures. (2) The People's Bank, on the contrary, is to retain its general character. In the banking business strong centralization must be necessarily be the rule, and must be carried out in order to lend full uniformity to the state financial system. The local financial organs may and should exercise control over the activity of the branches of the People's Bank; but any measures concerning the financial system as such and, still more, the principles underlying it, may be carried out in the various localities only with the knowledge and the approval of the central power. The plans of work in this direction may be drafted, but their execution is admissible only after they receive the sanction of the central power.

"As regards the situation in matters of taxation, it has radically changed, as compared with the past. The former system can find no justification at present. The indirect taxation, remaining after the cessation of the former direct taxes, is now also changing its character: insofar as the product becomes the possession of the state, its taxation for the benefit of the state would be fictitious. Instead of taxing the product it would be easier to sell it and to turn over the proceeds to the state. The state should exist on the proceeds of the product which is produced by the state. At the present moment we must take into account that not all the industry belongs completely to the state. In the future, the whole system of state economy will be built without money circulation, especially if the revolution should spread to other countries. But this is in the future. Just now we meet our budget with a considerable deficit. Many viewed the deficit feature of the budget as a disastrous omen and believed that all efforts should be strained in order to avoid a deficit and that expenses should be cut in all branches. This is not right. In the transitory epoch of a revolution, which we are now going through, deficits are unavoidable. We must expend immense sums on the organization of socialistic industry. Like expenses are required for war and the support of the proletariat in foreign countries. At the same time, simultaneously with the liquidation of the bourgoisie, the sources of revenue are diminished. We must be very careful in drafting our budget, not to reduce productive expenses, and expenses necessary for the meeting of real wants, but to see that expenditures are in accord with expediency and limited to real necessity. Every necessary expense, resulting in the acquisition of necessary material goods, must be made because simultaneously with the creation of such material wealth we are working toward a covering of the deficit. At present we have taken posession of productive capital: but we must take into consideration the existence of financial capital. There is in the country a great quantity of paper money. We know not much of it was issued, how much cash is in the People's Bank, in the government treasury; we may for the sake of expediency deduct something for bills, now in the Ukraine, in Siberia, in the Volga district, but about 25-30 billion of these bills are still in Soviet Russia and most of them put to no productive use. We therefore considered it possible to introduce a large income tax which would swallow all these unproductive funds. This experiment could not have been carried out in a capitalist country."

A New General Staff Academy Opened.

Moscow, Dec. 9 (Rus. Tel. Ag.) Comrade Dzevaltovskyi, Commander-in-Chief of Military Educational Institutions, in a conversation with a representative of the Rus. Tel. Ag., said that until now the organization of the Red Army had been conducted entirely by party men, who were not always conversant with military affairs. To correct this condition, military specialists had been engaged. A dual administration had resulted. The General Staff Academy had been opened with the object of obtaining men who would be inflexibly loyal to Communism and yet would possess a complete knowledge of military affairs. The academy would be run by comrades who had proved their military talents and their capacity of intellectual leadership. The Academy has a great task before it in domain of the principles of strategy and the tactics of war. The best military specialists have been invited to the Academy as teachers.—

—Northern Commune, Dec. 11.

Free Letter Postage In Russia

A decree of the Council of People's Commissaires, published in the "Izvestya", the organ of the Central Executive Committee, of the 24th of November, 1918, No. 257: "The Soviet of People's Commissaires, believing that a more steady and widespread exchange of written communications between the proletarians of the cities and the poorer classes of the villages will further serve to strengthen and confirm the union already existing between them, and will in this manner aid in organising the revolutionary Socialist forces of Russia, considers it essential to simplify and facilitate the exchange of postal communications. With these objects in view, the Soviet of People's Commissaires decrees as follows: 1) After January 1st, 1919, there will be free transmission in Russia of all open and sealed written communications, weighing not more than fifteen drams (about one ounce); 2) unregistered letters weighing more than fifteen drams, as well as registered letters, will be paid for at the full regular rate, in stamps covering charges for weight and registration; 3) unregistered letters and packages sent by Soviet institutions, pay no charges; 4) the delivery without charge, of unregistered open communications is extended also to cover the correspondence entering the confines of Soviet Russia from other countries."

A wireless telegram forwarded from Moscow states that a conference took place on February [illegible]th between the Soviet Government and representatives of all the parties present in the former Constituent Assembly. The former was represented by three of its best men: Chicherin, Krestinsky and Kameneff.

A few days later a conference of the Socialis-Revolutionary Party was held at Moscow, and passed a resolution roundly condemning intervention. Furthermore, while disclaiming indorsement of the bolshevik party, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party expressed strong oposition to any proposal to overthrow the Soviet Government.

Petrograd Workers' University

Petrograd, Feb. 5.—(Russian Telegraph Agency). The People's Commissariat for Education has opened a university for workers at Petrograd. In the first term the following subjects will be taught: General History, Literature, History of Russia and Foreign Art, History of the Revolutionary Movement, Political Economy, Logic, Psychology, Philosophy, Biology, Fundamentals of Mathematics, and Modern Languages.

Special lectures and exhibitions have been opened for the deaf and dumb.

Polish Troops With the Soviets

A recent number of the Polish newspaper "Dziennik Poznanski" has a communication from its Russian correspondent to the effect that the Bolsheviki have been very successful in the organization of Polish regiments in the army. In the taking of Kazan these Polish troops distinguished themselves, losing many men in killed and wounded, and the Polish paper even goes so far as to say that the city of Kazan would never have been taken without their aid.

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MINNESOTA BULLETIN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF MINNESOTA

Charles Dirba, Secretary, 1217 Hennepin Avenue, Second Floor, Minneapolis, Minn.

MARCH, 1919 PUBLISHED MONTHLY FIFTH YEAR. NO. 3.

PREPARE FOR MAY DAY— THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY

Get ready for May Day. Get ready to align yourself with the revolutionary workers of the whole world, who will celebrate their Labor Day on May First.

Quit work on that day. Show that you believe in the solidarity of the working class, that you recognize the class struggle in which the interests of the workers are directly opposite to the interests of their exploiters, the capitalists, and that you are in the fight. Let yourself be counted in the ranks of the revolutionary army.

Organize the workers for a demonstration parade on May First. Ask them to repudiate the so-called Labor Day, which the ruling class have instituted in September to prate about the identity of interests between labor and capital.

This May Day—not for the eight-hour day, but for the Revolution and the Dictatorshop of the proletariat.

RALLY TO THE LEFT

Comrades—With the bird of Revolution on the wing everywhere, it is essential that we of the revolutionary movement in America should take stock of ourselves.

A glance at the American Socialist movement reveals to us the distressing and shocking truth that the Socialist Party of America has degenerated into a compromising, vacillating, petit-bourgeois movement. The party has lost sight of its revolutionary goal, the overthrow of the capitalist system and the setting up in its place of the Socialist Commonwealth. The leaders of the Party openly evidence its moderate and opportunistic tendencies when the N. E. C., three men to attend the Berne Conference, a Conference repudiated by the Bolsheviki, because it was composed mostly of opportunists, in all countries who oppose the true Communist elements.

The membership, we believe, is revolutionary and does not desire to be affiliated with reformists, social-patriots, and the like. We believe that you will repudiate the action of the N. E. C. in endorsing the Berne Conference.

Throughout the United States, the Left Wing movement is taking definite shape, is getting ready to combat the reactionaries in the Party, to repudiate the Bergers, Hillquits, etc., and to steer the Socialist movement on a decidedly revolutionary course. The contempt in which the Party is held is shown when the Bolsheviki, in issuing a call for a conference for the new Revolutionary International, did not include the Socialist Party of America in their call. Only the Left Wing element, headed by E. V. Debs, was accepted to the Bolsheviki.

You, comrades, who wish the Party to pursue a revolutionary course, who wish to do away with the reformist elements in the Party, who desire to stop further propaganda for mere reform measures, who want only Socialist propaganda preached to the working class, who accept the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the need of revolutionary mass action, and not petty, parliamentary activities—in brief, comrades, you who are Bolshevik, organize your left wing groups in your locals—nay, have the entire local endorse the Left Wing. Tell the comrades and workers of the delusions and snares offered by reforms, combat with all your strength those who are committing the Party to tactics which will mean a betrayal of the Revolution when the time for action comes. Be Bolshevik not only in words, but in action.

NOTICES

STATE REFERENDUM "A-1919"

on the increase of dues, sent out Feb. 14, closes at 6:00 P. M., March the 20th. Be sure that your returns are in by that time.

STATE BULLETIN MISSING.

1918 January, May, and June still needed. Look through your old papers, and see if you cannot find them. The State Office must have a complete file of the Bulletins by all means.

PAY UP YOUR DUES.

Do not wait until the pending referendum is closed. It does not matter. It will make no difference; whether it is carried or not, all dues for January, February and March must be paid at the new rate.

MONTHLY REPORTS.

Look over the reports of locals in another column, and see, if your local is in the list. If it is not tell your secretary at once to send your report in without further delay.

MINUTES OF THE STATE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

FEB. 17, 1919.

The meeting was called to order at 8:15 P. M., by the State Secretary

Present: Sala, Rudsdil, Hoffman, Wilson, and Later Friedman and De Croot.

Rudsdil elected chairman.

Minutes of previous meeting, Feb. 10, approved as read.

Charters. None.

Communications. From Local Boston, Mass., requesting support of their resolution.

Mov. & sec. (Sala-Wilson) to lay on the table. Carried.

From Two Harbors Scandinavian Local complaining of not having received ballots, and protesting against the increase of dues.

From St. Paul Jewish Local seconding the motion to resubmit the dues increase.

Secretary instructed to reply to these Locals and point out to them that the proposition is already resubmitted.

From the Legislative Committee recommending state-wide propaganda against the Motor Corps, Home Guard and Negro Guard bills.

Mov. & sec. (Hoffman-Wilson) to place the communication on file. Carried. (All labor organizations are already fighting them, and the Motor Corps bill is already passed and adopted).

From Ramsey County Central Committee and St. Paul English Local), protesting against the employment of J. G. Soltis for State organizer.

Mov. & sec. (Hoffman-Wilson) to place these communications on the file. Carried.

Mov. & sec. to instruct the secretary to write to Canada for information about Comrade Soltis while he was there, and then have Com. Soltis produce information for his side too. Carried.

From S. P. of Wash, recommending circulation of petition for amnesty.

Mov. & sec. to get this petition from the State Office of Washington for circulation in Minnesota. Carried.

From the National Office giving statements and report for the year 1918. Placed on file.

Bills. None special. Reports of Bentall, Sugarman and Carney on lecture tour accepted and placed on file. The tour was arranged all for Comrade Bentall. Sugarman and Carney substituted when Comrade Bentall received notice to go to jail. Secretary's fin. report accepted and filed.

Unfinished business. Sec'y submitted list of locals dead and inactive. Question on what plan to send out Comrade Soltis.

Mov. & sec. (Rudsdil-Hoffman) that the secretary in conjunction with Comrade Soltis get out a letter to the locals offering dates for Comrade Soltis. Carried.

Tiala's question. Mov. & sec. (Sala-Friedman) to elect a committee of two to investigate the standing of Comrade Tiala. Carried. Vandenbergh and Hoffman elected the committee.

New business. Mrs. Broms has received a letter from Comrade Broms, Fort Leavenworth, urging to take some legal steps for him and the other comrades, and expressing confidence that something could be done in this way.

Mov. & sec. (Hoffman-Sala to concur in the steps already taken by Mrs. Broms for the immediate release of Comrade Broms, to support them financially as much as the State funds will allow, and to arrange for a defense entertainment to raise more funds. Carried.

Mov. & sec. (Wilson-Hoffman) that secretary be instructed to print 2,000 constitutions (the old edition being all used up). Carried.

Mov. & sec. (Hoffman-Wilson) to publish in the monthly reports itemized statement of dues bought by the different locals. Carried.

Mov. & sec. (Sala-DeGroot) to meet regularly every first and third Tuesday in the month. Carried.

On motion adjourned at 10:30 P.M.

Chas. Dirba, Sec'y.

MARCH 4, 1919.

The meeting was called to order at 8.25 P. M., by the State Sec'y.

Present: Holm, Wilson, Rudsdil, and DeGroot; later came Friedman, Sala, and Hoffman.

DeGroot elected chairman.

Minutes of previous meeting, Feb. 17, approved as read.

New charters. St. Paul Russian, 7 members. Granted.

Reports of Committees. Hoffman reported on the standing of Tiala that he had inquired at a meeting of the Minneapolis English Local and was told that the Local had voted to keep in good standing all their members imprisoned, among them also Comrade Tiala.

Mov. & sec. (Friedman-Holm) to instruct secretary to get written statements the financial and recording secretaries of Minneapolis English Local as to standing of Comrade Tiala and Local decisions pertaining to it. Carried

Secretary reported having written to Canada for information concerning Comrade Soltis, and having received only the copy of Western Clarion publishing the notice of the expulsion of Soltis from the Socialist Party of Canada. Comrade Soltis reported having written for his side, but not received any answers yet.

Mov. & sec. (Sala-Rudsdil) to lay the whole matter on the table. Carried.

Communications. From Chas. L. Drake requesting payment of a balance of $139.50 on the Great Wanderlust Show last year.

Mov. & sec. (Rudsdil-Wilson) to lay over for two weeks for the secretary to find out about the shows at International Falls and Duluth. Carried.

From Otto Furin laying down credentials for the "Immediate Action Committee" for the organization of a League for the Release of Political Prisoners; for the reason that it is compromise policy to call a non-partizan convention to include all kinds of bourgeois liberal elements, by their very nature counter-revolutionary, instead of a Party Emergency Convention so necessary at this time

Mov. & sec. (Holm-Sala) to place the communication on file. Carried.

Mov. & sec. (Sala-Rudsdil) to elect another comrade in Chicago to represent this State on the Immediate Action Committee. Carried.

Mov. & sec. (Friedman-Sala) to delegate this to Henry Askeli with power to put somebody else in his place, if he cannot take it. Carried.

From Kerr & Co. asking for list of locals for sending out to them their new catalog. Request granted.

From the Governor's office stating that they cannot find the flag that was taken away from our parade on November 24 (cost about $40.00).

Mov. & sec. (Friedman-Holm) to instruct our representatives in the State Legislative to present a bill for the cost of the flag. Carried.

From Workers' Defense Union. Placed on-file.

Bills. T. E. Latimer—services and expenses on Bentall's appeal now pending—about $250.00, willing to settle for $150.00, if paid by April the 1st. Allowed,—secretary to pay by that date, if possible. $20 for 2,000 Amnesty Petition blanks. Sec'y to return about half and pay for those used.

New business. Sec'y reported that the Defense Entertainment will be given on March the 27th.

Mov. & sec. (Sala-DeGroot) to request the different locals in the State to arrange for May Day Celebration and Parades for the First of May. Carried.

Mov. & sec. (Rudsdil-Sala) that organization question be taken up at the next meeting as a special order of business at 9:00 P. M. Carried.

On motion meeting adjourned at 10:55 P. M.

Chas. Dirba, Sec.

CASH STATEMENT.

Cash received—February, 1919.

Balance from January	$ 6.31
Dues	426.37
Contributions	19.65
Lit. & Su. Sales	276.13
J. O. Bentall's Mtg. (Half)	24.96
Soc. Science League for Defense	21.00
St. Paul, for telegr.	9.66
Hall Com., for postage	2.26
Prisoners Subscr. List	3.00
Total Received	$789.04

Cash Paid—February, 1919.

Dues—

Nat'l Office	$ 30.00	
Henn. C. C. C.	7.14	
Ramsey C. C. C.	3.00	$40.14
Office Expense—		
Salary	100.00	
Rent	15.00	
Postage	30.82	
Tel. & Tel.	9.68	
Stat. & Sup.	7.69	
Printing	18.75	
Miscl.	11.97	193.86
Lit. & Sup.		190.72
Accounts Payable		35.00
Loans Returned		150.00
Bal. on Campaign Leaf		103.00
St. Paul Telegr.		6.91
Prisoners Relief		5.98
Bulletin—Printing	30.00	
Postage	8.00	38.00
Total Paid		$763.61
Balance to March		25.43
		$789.04

STATEMENT OF DUES RECEIVED FEB. 1919

For Stamps	Due:	Dual:	Exmt.	
Duluth Eng.	20			$ 7.60
Heron Lake	12	24		14.88
Mpls. 7th Ward	2			.60
Mpls. 12th Ward	40	20		25.00
Mpls. Crysta.		10		4.30
Mpls. English	103	10	20	38.10
Mpls. Russian	19			7.60
Pipestone	30			10.00
Royal	20			7.00
St. Cloud	20			7.60
Sauk Rap. Eng.	30		25	10.00
M. A. L.	22			10.25
	319	64	45	$142.93
Fin. Fed.—				
Brainerd	25	25	7	
Cromwell	21	33		
Chisholm	20	20		
Cloquet	20	17		
Eveleth	30	30		
Gilbert	24			
Hibbing	60			
Mpls.	50	50		
Nashwauk		50		
Palisade		8		
Saima		24		
Sawyer	13			
Toivola	8			
Virginia	40	40	4	
Zim	6	5		
	317	302	11	175.32
Let. Fed.—				
Mpls.	36			10.80
Lithuan. Fed.—				
M. A. L.	12			.84
Jewish Fed. —				
Duluth	20			
St. Paul	4			
	60			4.80
Russian Fed.—				
St. Paul	10			.70
Scand. Fed.—				
Duluth	296			
Mpls. No. 62	290		12	
Mpls. No. 93	150			
Two Harbors	60	34		
Virginia	19			
St. Paul	42			
	857	34	12	88.98
Slov. Fed.—				
M. A. L.	24			2.00
Totals	1635	400	68	426.37
Membership	2530			

REPORTS OF LOCALS

	Jan.	Feb.
Ball Bluff	12	
Becker	14	17
Bodas	14	14
Brainerd	19	
Chisholm Fin.	51	49
Chisholm So. Slav	20	10
Duluth Eng.	30	35
Duluth Fin.	48	
Gilbert	45	
Granada		5
Hibbing Eng.	54	
Intern'l Falls Fin.	28	24
Leonard	12	
Mpls. 1st Ward	16	
Mpls. 6th Ward	27	27
Mpls. 7th Ward	19	20
Mpls 10th Ward	64	40
Mpls. 12th Ward	93	
Mpls. Crystal	13	
Mpls. English	115	142
Mpls. Jewish	48	
Mpls Lettish	43	
Mpls. Scand. No. 93	82	68
Montevedio	11	
Nashwauk Fin.	38	30
Palisade	20	
Palo	11	
Pine River	20	
Pipestone	10	
Royal	18	19
St. Cloud	19	20
St. Paul Eng.	108	115
St. Paul Jewish	31	
St. Paul West End	10	
Sauk Rapids Eng.	48	50
Sparta Fin.	7	
Two Harbors Fin.	33	
Two Harbors Scand.	87	
Verdon	10	
Virginia Eng.	31	22
Virginia Fin. II	73	97
Virginia Scand.	12	
Waterville	8	
Wright	18	

THIS CONCERNS EVERY MEMBER

If your Local is not on this list, and, if its report is not sent in right away, you are liable to lose your vote in State matters.

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

PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF MICHIGAN

We, the Socialist Party of Michigan, in Convention assembled, at Grand Rapids, February 24, 1919, reaffirm our allegiance to the uncompromising principles of international Socialism.

We declare that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society.

In spite of the multiplicity of labor saving machinery and the improved methods of industry, the position of the workers becomes ever more insecure, and the class struggle between the exploited and the exploiters becomes ever more acute. The boasted prosperity of this nation is only for the owners of the means of production and distribution; to the proletariat it means only hardship and misery.

It is the capitalist system that is responsible for the increasing burden of armaments, wars, poverty, slums, child labor, much of the crime and insanity, disease and commercialized prostitution. These being some of the manifestations of the present mode of production they can only be eliminated by the removal of the cause—the capitalist system. The method adopted by the Socialist Party of Michigan for the abolition of the present social order is that of political action.

The politics of the working class are comprised within the confines of the class struggle; and, conversely, the class struggle is necessarily waged on the political field.

By this statement we do not imply that the political action of the working class is always confined within the bounds of parliamentary proceedure; nor that the means employed in waging the class struggle must everywhere be the same. Political action we define, as any action taken by the exploited against their exploiters to obtain control of the powers of state; or by the master class to retain control, using these powers to secure the means of life.

The Socialist Party of Michigan recognizes the full significance of working class organization for the capture of the political state, and we call upon the workers in this state to unite with us to the end that we may socialize and democratically manage the means of production and distribution, and eliminate for all time the exploitation of the working class.

SOCIALISM VS. THE STATE.

By Emil Vandervelde.

From the State Office $1.00

In the translating of this work from the French, Comrade Kerr has performed one more valuable service to working class students. One is, of course, discouraged from hoping that the book is worth while reading when the author's name is observed. Vandervelde's activities, past and present, are such as to be repugnant to socialists. Despite this "Socialism vs. the State" is well worth the time spent in reading it.

The book contains a wealth of valuable information concerning the development of "Statism" in Europe, and the reader is certainly dense who, after reading it, is not only convinced that government ownership is not socialism, but is not even "a step toward Socialism."

In spite of the date presented by our author relative to the problem of government ownership, he insists upon its value to the movement, in the closing chapters. Here we have a glimpse of that peculiar psychology which has led him into such muddle-headed activities in the past.

Vandervelde clearly shows that the present tendence toward "Statism" is due to the development of industry and the fiscal needs of the modern imperialistic state. This information, together with his evidence of the difficulty of organizing the workers in governmental enterprises, makes an excellent argument against the workers advocating government ownership.

D. E. B.

—The Proletarian.

WHAT ARE YOU DOING FOR PROPAGANDA?

Order from the State Office the following literature for distribution,—at cost or a little less; in quantities of ten or more:—

Letter to American Workers, (Lenin)	.02
On Behalf of Russia, (Ransome)	.02
Letter to Am. Liberals, (Nuorteva)	.02
Reform or Revolution, (Dannenberg)	.06
Soviets at Work, (Lenin)	.07½
Bolsheviki and Soviets, (Williams)	.07½

There is nothing better for propaganda than these little pamphlets; and there is nothing more important just now than propaganda for Revolution.

SOVIET RUSSIA

By Albert Rhys Williams.

10 cents a copy.

25 per cent off on quantities of ten or more.

If you have read William's THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE SOVETS, 10c, (on the same terms as above) you will surely want to order his SOVIET RUSSIA. Do it now.

BOOKS! BOOKS! BOOKS!

Best for propaganda. Good for yourself. Help to the State Office.

Just Received! Splendid Stuff!

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The Future Belongs to the People, Karl Liebknecht	1.25

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH
(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)
EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY
WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

A VOTE FOR JOHNSON IS AN INSULT TO DEBS

PARLIAMENTARISM OR CITY COMMISSIONISM.

A radical editor is never more popular with the nice people in town than when he is at election times. Everybody extends to him the glad hand. Because they want votes. The average politician would sell his own mother for an office.

The men and women in Russia, when they overthrew Kerensky and in place of the political form of government, erected the industrial republic, performed the greatest feat that has ever been witnessed in the whole history of mankind.

The acceptance of the Declaration of Independence by the people of America has been heralded as the biggest thing that ever took place in the history of this country. It brought about no profound change in the lives of the people. It burst asunder no chains. It sheds no ray of happiness into the hearts and homes of the common people.

The accomplishment of the Soviets of Russia on the other hand, is the BEGINNING OF A NEW LIFE. Things can never be the same again.

The chains that bind us will hold for a time; but ere long they must go. Capitalism will continue its predatory practices, and may even aggravate them, while the workers are organizing into Soviets all the world over; but the end is not far off.

The Russian revolution has yet to be thoroughly understood by the majority of the American people, including the members of the Socialist Party and by even the editor of the ONE BIG UNION magazine, [illegible]. The Bolsheviki [illegible] Russia h[illegible] demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt, that political democracy is but a farce and an empty shell. The boast[illegible]r[illegible]onal [illegible]ion of the trusts is but the giving of more power into the hands of the capitalist class. Yet although the truth of this has been clearly demonstrated during the war, we still find members of the Socialist party advocating it as a step towards Socialism.

The Socialist Party is duty bound at this time to call a national convention, so that we can go on record as being the true pioneers of the new order of things. We must go into every political campaign and sound the note of solidarity and inform the workers that they can never hope to acheive their emancipation by delegating their power into the hands of elected officials. We must blaze the trail in politics as many with many rebuffs, but we shall rest easier and feel more satisfied with ourselves, in the knowledge of the fact, that we were wise enough to recognize that the old political life is dead beyond recovery.

The avowed objective of the Socialist Movement is the complete destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth. And it it obvious to every comrade who has studied the events that are taking place in Russia and Germany, that Congress is the last place where we can ever attain fulfillment of the ideals for which we are striving for.

The President of this country was never selected by the people, he was the choice of the Democratic politicians. The same with your Congressman. If you nominate your own man for political office, he finds the whole of the press against him and every voter is corrupted by the dollars that are poured out by our masters. Even if he succeeds in being elected, he has to wade through the dust of antique law and traditions.

Political victories are useless as a means of bringing about industrial democracy. Because after all, we have the present form of government, not because it suits us, simply because it suits our masters. The sooner we allow that fact to soak into our minds, the sooner the better.

You may elect every official to every office you can think of and the class war will still go on. By the exercise of your political power, conditions may be ameliorated, but they can never be changed. It is only by the workers organizing in the workshop, thoroughly understanding why they are organized and educating themselves up to the point where they can carry on industry and taking possession of the tools that they use, but do not own, can they ever hope to obtain their freedom.

The industrial organization of the workers, in one union of the workers is the means whereby the workers can change things from what they are, to what they want them to be.

A moment's consideration of the above ideals will prove that every word we write is the truth. It will take time for many of you to appreciate the truth of what we write. The memories of the political fights of past days is still fresh in your minds and the easy path of voting still lies before you. But if you want to spare yourselves many nights of sad regrets and disappointment at the crookedness of your own comrades in office, you will follow the same path that we are treading.

War came with its innumerable horrors. The shock of war is still with us and will be with many mothers for many a long year to come. If we are to stop war forever, it will be when we possess the power to do so. Resolutions have failed. They always fail. Voting has failed. It never succeeded. So comrades on with industrial unionism, the only method whereby we can ever attain success. Let others play the sordid game of politics, you take the high road that leads to the industrial commonwealth, where the air is clearer and the sun shines and the hearts of men and women are happy, because they know they can see the dawn of a bright tomorrow shedding its rays. It is a hard road to travel. It will demand much from you and the successes will not come so quick, but the road to happiness is not a soft road. It is not lined with roses, the thorns will ever prick your feet, but keep on my comrades for the darkest hour is before the dawn.

PROLETARIAN COGITATIONS.

By Theodore Debs.

Scratch the back and uncover the head of the workingman who is contented with things as they are and you will find both heavily covered with moss.

* * *

At the Paris Peace handicap, the blue-ribbon event of the season, President Wilson's hoss, Fourteen Points, heavily played and loudly touted as a "sure thing" in the winter books, was left standing at the post by Clemenceau and Lloyd George. Fourteen Points will be seen only hereafter in close proximity to a hearse.

* * *

Since this old world was greeted and gladdened by the first sunrise the agitator, despised, maligned, persecuted, imprisoned, has been the pole-star of the lovers of liberty—the luminous light that neither tyrant nor ruler can ever extinguish as long as the iron-hand of injustice holds within its merciless clutch the soft white throats of the children of men.

* * *

"Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching." Yes, the boys are marching. The echo of their tramp can be heard all along the cinder-path, from ocean to ocean, in search of jobs.

* * *

Our good comrade, Ryan Walker, sire of "Henry Dubb," rises to remark that the Statue of Liberty, looking out to sea in New York harbor is "hollow." No more so, Ryan, than the vaunted patriotism of the piratical pampered profiteers. If the old girl, hollow and heartless thought she be, ever takes a squint landward and discover the hypocrisy and deception practiced in her name, she will, with a cry of horror, throw herself into the bottomless depths of the ocean.

* * *

The emblem of the Democratic party is the jackass. What more appropriate unless, parhaps, a polecat.

MORE DISCIPLES OF KING CANUTE.

King Canute was an English king who, like all kings, kaisers, czars and presidents, was surrounded by a group of flatterers. Whatever the king said, the parasites, who fawned on him, applauded and in the case of king Canute, his courtiers went so far as to say that if the king would go down to the seashore, the very waves would stop at his command. The poor guy tried it and got wet feet.

Although it is hundreds of years since the old king died of rheumatism, there are many people left who are endeavoring to do the same as old Canute. Only the waves they try to stop are the waves of Bolshevism and if they ever sweep over the bodies of our present-day Canutes, something worse than rheumatism will afflict them. They will have to go to work and they would rather have wet feet, than their heads wet with sweat.

An association has been formed with the expressed purpose of stamping out Bolshevism, which in other words means the control of industry by the workers. Amongst those who are behind the movement are the following members of the I. D. W. W. (I Don't Want Work organization), Governors Smith, Dorsey, Davis, Burnquist, a few senators and that famous movie-anarchist Douglas Fairbanks. The presence of the latter "celebrity" accounts for the fact that the campaign against Bolshevism will commence on April 1st.

The following is the order of their program:

1. Deluge the country with fleas, beg your pardon, pleas against Bolshevism.

2. Start a campaign fund, they have only $300,000 to on with.

3. Give to every child a button, some 20,000,000, bearing the immortal initials A. A. A. (American Anti-Anarchy Association).

4. Start to organize economic and educational forces against the radical movements of these U. S. A.

Ole Hanson, of Seattle, has had another shot in the arm and in order to further the good work, he has lent his name. So you can readily see we are up against it. When an I. W. W. organizer goes out into harvest fields or on any job, he will hear the name Ole Hanson and in a state of abject fear he will drop dead and bang goes the I. W. W.

This organization is purely an organization of employers of labor. It is as well that it should be. For who is more fitted to judge the needs of the American workers than the employers of this country. They have had the country in their hands for several years and they know what is best. Just think of the energy wasted by the I. W. W., the Socialist Party and the A. F. of hell! For years they have preached and organized the workers, in order to raise their standard of living, when by giving their children a button costing a nickel, they could have been in heaven. It just shows how foolish we have been. Just think of it, twenty million buttons on twenty million kids and you can have the revolution.

These brave men who form this A. A. A. A. A. (sorry but we have run out of A's) organization are going to teach us, the workers, how to run things. And if any of the foreigners say a word against their propaganda, they are going to be deported and then you will see something doing.

Christopher Columbus thought he was doing a big thing when he discovered this country. He went home and told everybody about his discovery and now we are compelled to send all the aliens home. There you are, just when we were putting the aliens in their proper places, up come a bunch of Swedes from Seattle and send us the following resolution:

"1. That we Swedish working men and women, in mass meeting assembled, to the number of 1,000, in Seattle, Washington, do request the government of the United States to make an immediate investigation of the origin and purpose of the propaganda against us in the daily press.

"2. That a clear statement be asked from the government of the United States, setting forth in unmistakable terms whether or not our presence in this country is desirable. And, also, what constitutes sufficient cause for deportation.

"3. That, in case the government of the United States deems it advisable for us to leave this country, such arrangements be made and means provided by which we can immediately proceed with our departure.

"4. That the Swedish government be requested to provide us with necessary means for our transportation to Sweden, in case our presence here is not desirable to the government of the United States.

"5. And be it further resolved, That copies of this resolution be given to the press for publication, and that a similar resolution in the Swedish language be forwarded to the Swedish government at Stockholm, Sweden, and to the Swedish Embassy in Washington, D. C., and also be published in the Swedish press of this country.

"(Signed GUST HILL
"BERNH. JOHNSON,
"RICKARD OLSON,
"LEVIN KOPP,
"P. J. WELINDER."

Just imagine the state of mind of the backers of this new movement. Taft, Cardinal Gibbons and others. By giving twenty million children buttons and flooding the country with silly editorials they are going to turn back the laws of evolution. They will be as successful as Billy Bryan was, when he tried to prevent the onward march of the trusts. The spread of Bolshevism is no new thing. It was known and carried out long before the Russian revolution. The only new thing about it is the name. If any person would read the preamble and the literature of the I. W. W., he will find all that he is reading about Russia. The Bolsheviki in Russia destroyed the political state and applied the methods of the I. W. W. to industry. All this camouflage of the press and others will not alter the fact.

Go into the forest and watch the struggle for existence expressing itself. Take the case of the giraffe. The giraffes commence eating the grass and the herbage that is on the ground and slowly they are compelled to go higher and higher up the trees. Consequently the giraffes with the low-necks arrive at a point where they cannot reach the food and consequently they die. It is the struggle for existence and the natural law of the survival of the fittest.

Turn from the forest to human society. What is that which carries on the struggle in the competition of today? The perfectness of which decides the victory?

First we had the small tools of production. Then came machines, that performed more in a day than the small tools could perform in a month and so the small tools were eliminated and superseded by the machines. Just another application of the survival of the fittest. Behind the small tool is the small capitalist and behind the big machine is the big capitalist. The small capitalist perishes and the big capitalist increases his power.

At the same time the struggle [illegible] the race of capital. Those with the larger amount of capital at their disposal are better equipped to carry on the struggle. Like the giraffe with the longer neck. The concentrati[illegible] of [illegible]g capital[illegible]ts into trusts, ab[illegible]es the po[illegible] business men and so the needs of the workers a[illegible]i[illegible]. In this struggle, the need for organization makes itself felt. When small handicraft was the order of the day, trade unionism played a noble part. But as the trust became the order of the day, [illegible] unions who were unable to adapt themselves to the existing environment [illegible] that they were losing out. The failure of trade [illegible] to adapt themselves to the existing environment compels them to even sink so low as to scab upon their own workers. But as the trustification of industry becomes greater the need for a more solidified organization makes itself felt. That is why the I. W. W. and every industrial union came into being. True it is that certain members of the working class foresaw the necessity for industrial unionism, but if the conditions had not warranted this form of organization, it would never have come into existence. The struggle for existence that has brought the trust will bring about the one big union of the workers. It is seen in the success of the I. W. W. and the stagnation of the American Federation of Labor.

There is another aspect to be considered and that is the development of capitalism. Capitalism for a long time was confined to the borders of nations. But as the productivity of the machine increased, so there arose the necessity for the capitalists to seek for markets outside of the borders of the nation. That gave rise to the final development of capitalism-Imperialism. But as imperialism develops so the number of markets diminishes. Until finally the whole world will have been developed and there will be no place for the capitalists to unload their surplus goods. Today we are finding evidence of that. Soldiers who come back from the war cannot obtain jobs. It is not because the capitalists like to see men out of work. For capitalists are but human like the Dakota farmer, they love to see the old mare working. It is because they cannot find markets and so they do not need men to work for them. That is the picture of things. No markets, no work. No work, no food. No food, misery rampant. Such is a glorious future that confronts the workers of this country. No amount of literature will help the problem and it does not matter if you make a child a suit of clothes out of buttons, that will not feed empty stomachs. The bad conditions that must come about as a result of a bad system, will produce rebels. It will be to radical unions and the I. W. W. that the unemployed must turn. Organized into one workingclass union, the workers of world even can laugh at the modern Canutes. When the Senate thinks that by banning socialist literature, they can stop the waves of Bolshevism, they only demonstrate how ignorant they are. Give us the workers organized and we will defy all the powers that be.

Deportation, bah. Lying editors, bah. Buttons, bah. Bah to all the foolish talk of Senators, Governors, etc., the workers of the world are awakening. The day of their triumph is tomorrow. Today they are being educated by bitter and sad experiences. Talk to your soldiers and ask them what they think of war and their language would make General Sherman blush. The victory lies with the workers. The men in Leavenworth are but the burning beacons that guide the workers in their struggle. Against all the forces of reaction, the Soviets of Russia have won out. Backed by the faith and the idealism of the Russian people they cannot be conquered. Today men speak in a different way about the I. W. W. A Central Labor Union indorses our policy and takes one hundred copies of the paper weekly. A. F. of L. organizers write and ask us not to class them with Gompers and the membership of the I. W. W. has doubled since the trial in Chicago. Masters you are but blind fools! The workers cannot be stayed in their march to the land of industrial freedom. Read the news that comes from abroad and talk with the men on the job. Like electricity the spirit of revolution is spreading and on the morrow, aroused and conscious of their task, a victorious working class will take control and turn an insane asylum, known as capitalism, into a decent socety known as the Industral Commonwealth. So comrades get busy in the fight. Let your red blood flow and your eyes shine with the light of freedom beckoning you on and the sunlight of a new day sending a warmth of spirit coursing through your veins.

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE."

TO THE DULUTH HERALD.

Civilization—"I'm determined to get at the bottom of things, and find out who was the real cause of this war! Do you know anything about it?

Capitalism—"I-I'm a disbeliever in too much vengeance! Why not hang the kaiser and let the matter drop?"

TO KANUTE NELSON.

Strange, yet true. Those who know the least about the Bolsheviki are those who are the most opposed to them.

BOLSHEVISMS.

It is because the Soviet form of government is practicable and workable that exploiters object to it so much.

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