

W B 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



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WHOLE NO. 93. FIVE CENTS

"WORLD BEING REMADE" Says Debs in His Farewell Speech

RUSSIAN POSITION

Bureau of the Representative of the
Russian Socialist Federal Soviet
Republic

(Mr. Le C. A. K. Martens, appointed representative of the Russian Soviet Government in the United States, is a mechanical engineer and man of business experience, 14 years old. He was born in Bachmut, the province of Yekaterinoslav, Southern Russia, had his school education in the "Gymnasium" (high school) at Kursk, and graduated as a mechanical engineer from the Technological University at Petrograd. For the past few years Mr. Martens has been in the United States as the American representative of the "Demidoff Iron and Steel Works", which have purchased here several million dollars worth of machinery for the works. The Demidoff works are the largest steel works in Russia. Before the war they employed 28,000 men. About a year ago the Demidoff plants were nationalized by the Soviet Government.—Ed.)

Statement of Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens

"I have recently received credentials appointing me representative in the United States of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic with instructions to negotiate for the opening of trade relations between the United States and Soviet Russia. Soviet Russia wants to arrange the purchase of great quantities of supplies here. As a first step I have forwarded my credentials to the State Department, with a memorandum on conditions in Russia and an outline of the desire of my government to reestablish trade with the United States.

"My government, in the event of trade being opened with the United States, is prepared to place at once in banks in Europe and in the United States, gold to the amount of two hundred million dollars (\$200,000,000) to cover the price of initial purchases.

"To insure a basis of credits for additional Russian purchases in the United States, my Government is ready to submit propositions which I believe will be acceptable to Americans interested in Russian trade.

"The purchases I am empowered to arrange will be commensurate with the needs of the 150,000,000 people of Soviet Russia. These needs are now all the greater because of the disorganization caused by the war and the utter extravagance and incompetence of the Czarist regime; the inevitable waste and disorders attendant on the transition period of the revolution, before a stable government was finally established by the people and last because for the past year and a half Russia has been able to carry on practically no foreign trade.

"Russia is now prepared to purchase in the American market great quantities of commodities such as: Railroad supplies, agricultural implements and machinery, factory machinery, tools, mining machinery and supplies, electrical supplies printing machinery, textile manufactures, shoes and clothing, fats and canned meats, rubber goods, typewriters and office supplies, automobiles and trucks, chemicals, medical supplies, etc.

"Russia is prepared to sell: Flax, hemp, hides, bristles, furs, lumber grain, platinum, metals and minerals.

"Within a short time I shall appoint a commercial attaché and open a suite of offices in New

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DEBS DEFIES DESPOTS

"RATHER SPEND LIFE IN JAIL THAN
BETRAY SOCIALISM!"—DEBS

CLEVELAND.—"I speak to you as a Socialist, as a revolutionist. I am opposed to a government which holds you in sovereign contempt. I would rather a thousand times go to the penitentiary than betray the cause of Socialism."

This defiance was hurled by Eugene V. Debs in a farewell speech two days after the Supree Court of the United States affirmed his conviction by a jury in Federal Judge Weestenhaver's court.

Before a capacity audience of 3,000 which filled the West Side Turner Hall one hour before his scheduled appearance Debs made his farewell.

When he made his entrance on the platform a frenzied cheering welcomed him. The audience was in no mood for pyrotechnics. It sensed the tragic climax in the veteran fighter's life. Removed from his immediate presence an overflow crowd of 2,000 assembled outside the hall, cheered intermittently.

Debs was calm. His opening words, were accorded an instantaneous silence. He said:

"How true it is that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, roughhew them how we will: It may seem strange to you, but in my plans, in my dreams, I did not think of going to the penitentiary—and I—I had a thousand times rather go there and spend my remaining days there than to betray this great cause.

"So far as I am concerned it does not matter much. The margin is narrow, the years between now and the sunset are few, and the only care that I have personally is that I may preserve to the last the integrity of my own soul and my loyalty to the only cause worth living for, fighting for, and dying for.

"It is so perfectly fine to me to look into your faces once more, to draw upon you for the only word I have ever had, the only word that has ever come to me, the only word that I can ever speak for myself. I love mankind, humanity. Can you understand? I am sure you can.

"We are close of kith and kin, we are human and when we get into close touch with each other we come to understand that our good depends upon the good of all humanity.

Opposed to System.

"I am opposed to the system under which we live. I am opposed to the government that compels you, the great body of the American people, to pay your tribute to an insignificant few who enjoy life while the great body of the people suffer, struggle, and agonize without ever having lived. Can you understand? I am sure you can."

"Let me get in touch with you for a while. I am going to speak to you as a Socialist, as a revolutionist, and, if you please, as a Bolshevik.

"And what is the thing that the whole world is talking about? What is it that the ruling class power of the world are denouncing, upon which they are pouring a flood of all their malicious lies—what is it? It is the rise of the workers, the peasants, the soldiers, the common man, who for the first time in history said, 'I have made what there is, I produced the wealth; I want to be heard.'

"Now, for the first time in history, his bowed head lifted, he stands erect and is beginning in his grim strength to shake off the manacles, straighten himself in the sunlight, in his gigantic attitude, opening his eyes, beginning to see for the first time, beginning to ask

why it is that he must press his rags closer to his body, that he may not touch the rich man's costly silks, that he himself produced—why it is that he must walk in alleys, while he is forbidden to enter the great palaces he has erected—why it is that he must support all the banquets of the world that he may not taste.

"He is beginning to think. That is Bolshevism! That is the revolution in Russia! That is the beginning of the end of capitalism and the end of the beginning of Socialism!

Earth Beginning to Shake.

"And because we say this they are going to put us in jail. With every drop in my veins I despise their law and I defy them. If the Scriptures are true, Paul was sent to prison, and shortly afterward the prison doors were opened by an earthquake.

"The earth is beginning to shake beneath the feet of the profiteers.

"Have they outlawed the red flag here? The red necktie? The red socks? How perfectly foolish! Have you heard about the Pope in the middle ages forbidding the comets to appear? Why, the other day the chaplain in the House of Representatives asked God to give Congress wisdom!

"I am appealing to you tonight—the crowd, the mass, the common people—I do not care anything about the Supreme Court, begowned, befettered, bewhiskered old fossils, corporation lawyers, every one of them—they have not decided anything. They never have; they never will.

"Sixty years ago the predecessors of the same body confirmed the validity of the fugitive slave law. They declared that a black man had no rights which his master was bound to respect. They imagined that chattel slavery was secure for all time. And within five years that infamous institution was swept from the land in a torrent of blood.

Did Not Meet Issue.

"They did not dare to meet the issue. They did not decide that the Espionage law was constitutional. They dared not put that decision upon record. Have you read that law? The amendment to that law that makes it a crime for you to criticize crime in the United States? That makes this country take the place of old Russia under the czar?

"Have you ever read it? Know anything about it? Know that it is a gag upon your lips, fetters all your constitutional rights? That law—do I respect it? No!

"How perfectly fine it is to stand straight up and do what Wendell Phillips said: 'When they pass that kind of a law, put it under your feet.'

"Do not say a word against war—not one. That is treason—to the ruling classes. They make war you do not. You never did. You paid all the bills, shed your blood, made all the sacrifices. You do not say a word. Have your limbs shot off, your eyes gouged out, gassed, come back, and then hunt for a job.

"The finest thing I know is to carry yourself as a man—face

(Continued on page 5)

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

32 MORE I. W. W.
PUT ON TRIAL IN
KANSAS COURT

Wichita, Kan.—Four months after President Wilson said "and thus the war comes to a close," the trial of 32 members of the Industrial Workers of the World, charged with having hindered the prosecution of the war, began in the Federal Court.

This is the third and last large trial of Industrial Workers of the World. The two other trials, at Chicago and at Sacramento, resulted in severe sentences being imposed upon 146 who were at the time prominent in the work of the I. W. W. In no case where the men have been tried in large numbers has there been an acquittal.

As a result of the many trials of the defendants in some cases have resorted to a silent defense, sitting without protest or comment while the machinery of the judiciary slowly grinds out their conviction and their sentence, which in many instances have been as high as 20 years.

Each of the 32 men are indicted on five counts under the Espionage act, each count based on charges of having kept the United States war machine from functioning as perfectly as possible, and thereby that much postponing the day of victory over the Germans.

If they are convicted on all of the counts, each one will be subject to a fine of \$40,000 and 40 years in prison. The aggregate fine would be \$200,000 and the aggregate years in jail 1,280. None of the men own \$40,000, either in cash or property; some of them do not have 40 cents. They are for the most part young men, with their services to society still incomplete.

The usual corps of busy reporters was on hand, together with a large crowd of spectators, when the men filed into court. They took their places in silence, enduring the inspection of the reporters and the audience with an occasional smile. For the most part they looked straight ahead, and seemed to be concentrating upon the matter of "abstract justice," rather than upon the immediate form of justice assumed about them—the dark-colored courtroom, the somber and solemn-faced judge and the idly curious face of the audience. The prosecuting attorney and his assistants neglected their cartload of exhibits and evidence for the immediate consideration of selecting a jury.

Those who had come prepared to witness a collection of freaks were disappointed. They found a group of men in working clothes, many of whom showed the scars of their occupations, but none of whom presented anything approaching the appearance of the cartoons of the so-called typical "Wobblies."

The reporters were busy "picking out" features, noting grim glances and sleepless eyes with a view to translating them into sneers of vengeance and haunted looks of fanaticism.

It is expected that it will take some time to secure a jury, as there is a marked tendency upon the part of veniremen to say that they have a prejudiced opinion in the matter.

NEW LEAGUE PACT A CHANGELING LEFT BY BRITISH

American Diplomats and European Radicals Call
It Farce—Said to Have Lain in English
Foreign Office Eight Months.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

The League of Nations is a plan of evolution submitted to a world in revolution. It is a device for curbing the lusts of nationalism, a substitute for the internationalism that already is half born. In Paris there is a young American diplomat who knows what democracy is and who believes in it. He told me in January that a real League of Nations would be born at Paris, and that it would contribute hugely to the peace and progress of mankind. He had seen the American draft of that league—had helped frame it.

"It is 10 per cent good," he said. "The other 10 per cent is evil nonsense which we shall have to accept for the present and get rid of later. The present draft will disarm the nations, provide for selfdetermination and create a permanent international body on which all factions in all countries will be represented. It will be genuinely democratic."

That sounded good. I saw the young American diplomat again in February.

"The league is a betrayal and a farce!" he exclaimed. "The American draft has been torn up and thrown away. The present draft is full of 'may's' and short on 'shall's.' There is no democracy in it. It is a league of foreign ministers, who may proceed to do anything they care to, just as at present. All minorities are excluded. It is a Holy Alliance to preserve the status quo. Article XI gives the league the right—makes it a duty, even—to send armies into Russia or any other revolutionary country and restore 'order,' whether the rebellion there 'immediately affects any of the high contracting parties or not.'"

"Where were the Americans when this draft was framed?" I asked.

"God knows!" he exclaimed.

So I left him and sought out a friend of Colonel House.

"How does the colonel like the league draft?" I queried.

"He thinks it's punk," was the incandescent response.

"Isn't he better it?"

"No, it seems not: the whole commission was stacked against him. He's very blue about it, and has been dodging his friends ever since the thing came out."

"And Wilson?"

Wilson Was Still Smiling

"Wilson is still smiling, but he knows he's been licked. He told the colonel the draft was pretty weak, but it represented a compromise with opposing forces and would have to be accepted."

French and British Socialists had been awfully keen to see armaments and the private manufacture of munitions outlawed by the league. I asked a French radical for an opinion on Article 8, which advises "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, etc."

"If you ask Clemenceau, Lloyd George or Hindenburg they will tell you that France, Great Britain and Germany, respectively, have never possessed a soldier or a cannon more than was 'consistent with national safety,'" replied the radical. "In fact, each one of them now believes their armies were woefully inadequate in 1914."

No statesman ever confessed that his country had more soldiers or battleships than it needed. "National safety" was the basis of armaments before the war and, according to the league draft, "national safety" will be the basis in future.

GIVE DEBS FREEDOM

Release Must Be Effected or All
Should Accompany Him to
Prison, Meeting Told.

AKRON, Ohio.—"Get Debs out of prison or go to jail with him."

A little gathering of people, representing many groups of opinion in the United States, met at the home of Mrs. Margaret Prevey and formulated this simple slogan.

The conference was called shortly after Eugene V. Debs had delivered his farewell address at Cleveland, following the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the lower court and sending him to a West Virginia Federal prison for 10 years. Debs was present.

Beside Mrs. Prevey, there were James Larkin and John Reed.

THE THIRTY-HOUR WEEK IN ENGLAND

The introduction of the 47-hour week in the engineering industry has had the effect of stirring up a considerable amount of unrest in various parts of the country. Several district strikes have taken place, and a national movement is on foot for the purpose of securing a much more drastic reduction in the hours of working than the one put into operation on January 1st.

District committee and shop stewards' committees are demanding a 30-hour working week, and are receiving considerable support for their demand. In addition workers who have not come within the scope of the present reduction are claiming the right to be included.

The demand for a much shorter week has been gathering force during the war period. The amount of overtime worked by the majority of engineers has generated a feeling of reaction against a continuance of long hours, and the demands made by the districts have forced the union executives to take some action.

Is it too revolutionary to ask for a 30-hour week in England when the workers in other lands are battling for complete control?—London Call.

largely worked out by the genius of British brains."

Mr. Churchill's Prophecy.

Should the league, as worked out by the genius of British brains, be adopted as framed, it only remains for us to speculate on the uses to which it will be put. Here, again, War Minister Churchill, gives us a clue:

"The league will be on trial at the outset. The idea that we can leave the greater part of Europe and part of Asia in chaos and anarchy is most absurd."

Quite so. For does not Article XI disclose the foresight of British genius by providing that:

"It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the league to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.... and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations."

Poland and Finland, certainly, and perhaps Siberia and Georgia, will be admitted to the League of Nations. Their very first "high contracting" acts will be to complain against Soviet Russia, and thus permit Mr. Churchill to fulfill his prophecy.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

Labor's Candidate for City Commissioner

POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT. Issued in behalf of W. F. Murnian, Candidate for City Commissioner, by Labor Campaign Committee, John E. Jensen, Sec. & Mgr. Amt to be paid \$30.25.



WILLIAM F. MURNIAN

Labor's candidate for city commissioner has been a resident of Duluth 25 years. He joined the Duluth Electrical Workers' union in 1897 and has been an active member ever since. He served as president of the local union for six years, and has been secretary-treasurer for eight years. He represented his union in the Federated Trades Assembly for many years, and has been president of that body for five terms, which position he still holds, no other persons having served as president of the local central body as long as he.

Vote for W. F. MURNIAN Labor Candidate for City Commissioner.

BY W. E. TOWNE, PRESIDENT OF TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

With the nomination at the recent primary election of W. E. Murnian, labor's candidate for the office of city commissioner, a heavy responsibility was placed upon the organized workers in the city of Duluth.

His election must be assured and secured.

That he will be elected, is beyond a question of a doubt in the minds of the indefatigable and sturdy supporters who have worked so strenuously for his nomination.

Aside from all this, however, there are certain fundamental reasons why Mr. Murnian should be elected to the city council.

For years and years labor has endeavored to get consideration for its interests and privileges before city councils and state legislative bodies. Its requests and pleadings have met with indifference and obstinate opposition and oftentimes legislation abhorrent and detrimental to labor has been passed and become law.

Realizing the power and strength of labor when united into organizations in the shops, mills and factories, labor men have determined that this power of labor should no longer be nullified by division upon the political field.

The result of this new-born resolution was the nomination of a union labor man for the office of city commissioner.

Every union man is obligated by the principles represented by his union card to vote for Mr. Murnian.

Every man who labors for a daily wage should know that his best interests as a worker and a citizen are held close to the heart of labor's candidate.

The interests and privileges of labor, at this immediate period, overshadow all other problems and questions.

It is then necessary that a man who is directly out of the ranks of labor should be placed in the city council. Who, by direct contact and life among and with the workers, is qualified to know and understand the needs and desires, hopes and fears, aims and objects, ambitions and purposes of the working people.

Too long and often have the problems of city administration been considered and settled from the standpoint, solely, of business interests.

It is proposed to change this and give the large majority of the people an opportunity to have the problems of city administration considered and settled from the standpoint of the working people.

The important position of the workers in this community demand adequate and proper representation in the city government.

If the workers are good enough to perform the vitally necessary work in maintaining the life of the community, if they are intelligent and responsible enough to operate the vitally necessary industries of the community, they are intelligent enough and responsible enough to function as public officers in the community.

A vote for Murnian means the inauguration of a program to make the city a better and a cleaner place for working people to live in. The working people have to stay here the year around. No trips to Florida or California in the winter for them. No vacations during the summer in the mountains or on the lakes for them. Then, if they have to stay in the city the year around it should be made a more pleasant and more convenient place for them to live in.

To place a labor man in the city council means a keener and a livelier interest in public affairs on the part of the workers. It means a new sense of pride and responsibility when they know that their voice will be heard and listened to and heeded, and that instructions to their public representative will be mandatory and not be treated as a joke and ignored altogether.

Oftentimes working men are involved in struggle, not of their own seeking, that mean that they must cease work in a body and petition for redress of their grievances. Then is the time, when labor should have a tried and true champion from its own ranks, who with a cool head and steady hand and heart can meet a critical situation with credit and benefit to the struggling workers.

W. F. Murnian is just big Bill Murnian, for 30 years a member and a worker in the Electricians' union, for the past several years he has been president of the Federated Trades Assembly, and after he is elected to the city council he will keep on being—just big Bill Murnian.

He is fair, square, honest, intelligent and practical.

He is quiet, fearless and liberal minded.

He stands, without qualification, upon the platform the Duluth workmen adopted at the labor conference on February 9.

A vote for Murnian is a vote for the general good and the highest welfare of the community at large.

A vote for Murnian is a vote for a more united and progressive labor movement in this city.

A vote for Murnian is a vote for progress in municipal affairs.

A vote for Murnian is a vote for duty, well and faithfully performed.

A vote for Murnian means no regrets, no mistakes, and a civic duty well and conscientiously performed.

A vote for Murnian is the best investment that any worker can make or will have the opportunity to make in the next two years.

All this and more is why you should vote for Murnian.

Vote for W. F. Murnian Labor Candidate for City Com.

Allies Are Driving Germans Into Arms Of Russian Soviets

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

"Germans talk of joining with Russia to fight the Allies," is the headline over a special cable from Berlin to a New York paper.

It is typical of the blind times in which we live that this possibility should only now begin to receive attention in conservative circles. Wise diplomats and extreme Socialists have been discussing it ever since the first Spartan uprising in January.

On February 2 I wrote from Paris that the program of the German radicals was to refuse any kind of peace with the present Entente rulers and to ally Soviet Germany with Soviet Russia in an appeal to the proletariat of the world for help in resisting intervention.

It required no prophet's vision to make such a statement. The Allies were subjecting the new republic of Germany to precisely the same treatment they had accorded the first republic of Russia. They had done nothing to strengthen the moderate Kerenski against the proletarians and they were doing everything to weaken Ebert in his struggle with the Liebknecht followers.

Picked Winners at Paris.

Ebert was banking on Wilson and the 14 points to "save" Germany. Liebknecht was sure the imperialists of London, Paris and Rome would dominate the peace

conference. Every student of the situation knows today that Liebknecht picked the winners at Paris. And every frank dispatch from Berlin tells us that thousands in Germany are reacting to the situation as hundreds did in January.

When Liebknecht cried "We will make no peace with the Entente; our allies must be Russia and the proletariat of Allied countries!" He was howled with scorn, and by none more fiercely than the Majority organ, Vorwaerts. Yet it is in Vorwaerts of March 14 that we read:

"Until now, Germany has deliberately opposed the Russian method of instituting a world revolution through paid agents, but if Germany is forced to refuse to sign the peace treaty it could not fail to effect a great change in her policy. She would center her hope on achieving similar far-reaching changes in the western countries and consecrate her revolutionary energy and resources to the task.

"Germany would not willingly embark on such a policy, which must mean a sanguinary conflict and terrible sacrifices for herself as well as other nations, but the better way of a peaceful settlement may already be blocked by the Entente's mad and criminal decisions. Thus Germany may be forced to choose the hard fate of resisting the Entente's coercion, not with arms in hand, but by new weapons which recent developments furnish the German people. The present generation may have to make heavy sacrifices to insure happiness to posterity."

If Vorwaerts had printed those lines in mid-January the Ebert gov-

ernment would have gone down with a crash and the revolutionary proletariat would today be in undisputed control of Europe as far west as the Rhine. The reverberations of that event would have been heard immediately in Italy, France and England, where bayonets are already required to curb the champions of Soviet rule.

Two Points of View.

Vorwaerts is the mouthpiece of politicians whose methods do not differ from those of their kind elsewhere, and it is probable that the threat to spread revolution in enemy countries is far from sincere. But that does not make it less significant. Short of complete sincerity, its obvious purposes are two—namely, to frighten Clemenceau out of his plans for despoiling the west bank of the Rhine and to appease the millions of Germans who have begun to say: "Liebknecht was right; there is no hope except in an alliance with Russia and an appeal to the working class of Europe."

Just before his death, Kurt Eisner gave an interview, in which he said that, call the form Soviet or anything else, it was clear that Germany must be ruled by the workmen and soldiers, with the Independent Socialist party as their possible political expression. The text of that little known interview is among papers which I do not have at hand, but will publish later. It seems to have had a profound effect, if we may judge by the ardent co-operation between the Spartacists and the Independent Socialists in the February rebellions.

Hints of a coming alliance between Germany and Russia were current in widely separated circles as early as January last. In London I talked with an anti-Bolshevik

Russian, who said the terms of the November armistice disclosed sufficient proof for him that an eventual union with Russia was contemplated at Berlin by the moderate elements even. His idea was that the Germans never would have surrendered their fleet and stores of munitions if they had not known of other weapons in their armory and been planning to use them to resist a peace of ruin and subjection. If this were not so, he argued, it had been better to make the Allies fight all the way to Berlin, in the hope of favorable complications before giving them the right to dictate a peace ruinous to Germany.

Three days later I encountered the same theory at Paris. But this time it was among members of the British peace mission. One of these men was especially positive in his conviction that the whole situation would resolve itself into an alignment of the West and the industrial democracies of the East. He acknowledged that the East's appeal to the working class of the Entente countries might create no end of difficulty, but he would not forecast the outcome.

Cashing in On Victory.

An attaché of the American mission was asked why, in view of this portentous outlook, the French would not consent to modify their claims and help frame a treaty which the Ebert government would have no excuse for rejecting.

"Diplomacy," he smilingly responded, "has one peculiarity which has lunged to it through the centuries. It believes that 'the existing order' and 'anarchy' are the only alternatives in nature, and that 'anarchy' always terminates shortly in a resumption of the existing order. Until this anarchy arrives the existing order must move

along traditional lines. Germany is beaten, and France demands the spoils of war. The obvious and only thing for her to do is to take them. The existing order, for her statesmen, loses its security and becomes a puerile thing if victorious nations are not to cash in on their victories. And in this instance France must cash in on her victory or collapse from internal exhaustion. This is certain, while 'anarchy' is still but a spectre. So the hard bargain will be driven, whatever the aftermath."

STEEL BOSSES EGG MEN ON TO STRIKE

Throughout Industry Union Is Discriminated Against for Cheaper Labor

(By United Press.)

Washington.—Steel magnates are fostering a strike throughout the whole industry by their discriminations against union men, officials of the steel workers told Department of Labor officials today.

They conferred with Hugh L. Kerwin, head of the Labor Department's Conciliation Division, and a representative of the department will take up the men's grievances with the managers of the steel plants. The delegation today included representatives of the American Federation of Labor and local union officials from the Johnstown, Pa., steel district. They asserted that the discrimination which they charged were being carried out throughout the whole steel industry, and submitted reports from the Pittsburgh and Bethlehem districts. Most of the discriminations consist, the men claimed, in discharging union men and hiring cheaper labor in their places.

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1913 WEST SUPERIOR STREET.

SORRY HE SPOKE

"I told Henrietta that I was proud to see her vote just like a man," said Mr. Meekton.

"Did that please her?"

"No. The choice of phrase was unfortunate. She said that if she couldn't vote better than a man there would have been no need of her troubling about the ballot in the first place."—Exchange.

O. F. WENNERLUND'S EYE TALKS



PROTECT your children's eyes. If you neglect them in their youth, serious eye trouble may later result. At times the use of glasses in childhood corrects early defects and enables them to enjoy later in life what optometrists describe as second sight.

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

The STORY of SEATTLE

THE TRUE STORY OF THE SEATTLE STRIKE
WILL BE TOLD

By **J. ERVINE**

SEATTLE METAL TRADES COUNCIL
AT THE

WOODMAN HALL
SUNDAY EVENING, MAR. 30

The story of the Seattle strike is one of the most interesting and gripping stories ever told. Hear how Labor held a whole city in its grip! Hear how Labor controlled the situation! You will feel better labor men and women after you have heard the story of one of the grandest battles ever fought by the Labor movement.

THERE WILL BE SINGING AND MUSIC AT THIS LECTURE. --- YOU ARE ALL
CORDIALLY INVITED TO ATTEND. Combine pleasure with propaganda.

Take the "Blue" Out of Monday!

ONE OF THE GREATEST
INVENTIONS OF THE AGE
FOR EASING WOMAN'S
HEAVIEST WORK.



Of course a few women are still perfectly content to wash clothes the way their grandmothers did but they are getting fewer every day.

The modern way to wash clothes is to let that little electric motor do it and its a wonder that the "blue" disappears out of Monday. A washer doesn't cost a fortune either, only \$75.00 upward. Easy payments, of course.

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SCANDINAVIAN LOCAL SOCIALIST PARTY

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MONSTER DANCE

— at the —

WOODMAN HALL, MARCH 29th, 1919

The net proceeds of the dance will be handed over to the Molders' Strike Committee. "An injury to one is the concern of all".

Swedish Dances

— IN —

FORESTER'S HALL
EVERY SATURDAY EVENING

ADMISSION \$1.00.

LADIES FREE

THE GREAT CHANGE

By Robert Page Lincoln
Special to Truth

The change that the Socialist Party has undergone during the years of the Great War, (and amazingly so during the months following the signing of the armistice), is one as complete and inspiring as it is perplexing to a number of the radicals. The transformation that the Socialist Party of this country and of the world has undergone is one of staggering proportions; it has shattered a hundred and one theories; completely disrupted the well laid plans of the mild vote-getters, and has broken through its chrysalis, into the sunshine, the result being not a butterfly beating its wings in a dismal void but the body of true Marxian Revolutionary Socialism.

The capitalist interests of the world desired nothing in the world any better than the Socialists should continue as a minor party vainly striving to reach the goal by what has been termed "evolution". The weakness of the Socialist Party up to the present time has been its lack of red-bloodedness. The Socialist Party was only to be thought of as an anemic figure on crutches carrying a banner: Workingmen of all countries Unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to gain; this figure followed but a varied clan of human beings, no two having like ideas on any subject that came up. They all mistily knew that they were striving upward to the light—but that was all they knew. The mild form of the old routine Socialism demanded that mass meetings, and meetings of the Locals be held every so often. The progress of Socialism in America would then be told, headed by the fact that things were going on splendidly; another sheriff had been elected in Sand-Dune, Nebraska, or Cross-Roads, Iowa almost elected a Socialist to the Village Board. The speaker would be forced to pause at this juncture while the audience clapped their hands and glanced approvingly at each other. Internationalism would be brought up; but the inter-nation was something really to be associated with the problem of the Fourth Dimension and caused so much unfruitful deliberation while the audience was delighting over the election of the Sheriff down in

Nebraska that it was almost repulsive. The mild pre-War Socialism almost aggressively localized itself. They would make their city lead in Socialism. They would win over some other city. Hence they spent much money contributed by the workers in the effort to capture that city; usually failing in their endeavors. Instead of realizing that true Socialism was a world-wide movement, the pre-War Socialists contented themselves with a political odoriferous brand of Socialism so far removed from the it was hardly more than an insect. Into this field sprang all varieties and breeds of "Socialists", many reactionaries who were merely using Socialism as an entering wedge into political dominance when all others avenues to them had been closed. These and many other so-called Socialists were merely tools of the capitalist class. The Socialists were betrayed in every election. If a man went into office under these colors he inevitably turned traitor, for the old routine Socialism was always staggering around wondering what it was, what it would arrive at, and why in thunder it didn't get somewhere!

The capitalists sincerely loved the old brand of political Socialism. Outwardly they condemned it roundly as being destructive to the home, that all Socialists were free lovers; that whisks and abolition of incentive were its pet aims. Inwardly, and in their select groups, the rich rubbed their hands in glee for they knew that the routine Socialism which actuated the Second International was like putty in their hands. Their spies formed themselves into every Local; broke up every forward move; betrayed the whole movement. The spies were cast out, but other spies entered. It was a constant knock down and get up, knock down and get up; and nothing was gained.

The moderate breed of pre-War Socialism worshipped at the shrine of its "intellectuals". There were the Charles Edward Russells, Simons, Kopelins, Wallings, Stokeses, and so forth. With high-sounding phrases and noble wind they fed the radicals. They leveled Socialism into what is known as "parlor Socialism". It was a delicate sort of a compound that had a temperamental and some special brand of Utopia without anything leading

up to it but air. Saturated with this sort of stuff the Socialists would read the literature poured out of the presses and would confidently tell the people that Socialism was but a few years distant; that Socialism would come faster than anyone had any idea of. All that was needed was to make the people class-conscious. That was all. And then they would go to the polls and vote the "strange Socialist ticket." Then simply and adequately the Socialists would have control of the means of production and distribution; men would work but two or three hours a day. Simple and off-hand; just like that. It did not enter into their minds that Socialism is to usher into this world the greatest, most staggering change it has ever known and that the opposition to such an change is of mountainlike proportions. SUCH A CHANGE CAN NO MORE BE GAINED BY THE INCESSANT FIGHTING OF GROUPS THAN THE STARS CAN BE REACHED BY AEROPLANE. The old style of moderate Socialism hated the true radical. True Revolutionary Socialism was to the moderates but a matter of words. Political Socialism, (vote-getting Socialism) was the active move; and it failed at every show-down. Moderate Socialism was denounced by Jack London. "Yours for the Revolution" he signed all his letters; and finally left the Party cold. Haywood as one of the Executive heads of the Party was voted out of the Party for being too radical. The vote will win, announced the Moderates.

The Great War changed things all in all. The Socialist Party was rent in twain all over the world. The Socialists in America were profuse in their vitriolic condemnation of the German Socialists for not sticking together and aiming to stop the War by a general strike. They did not realize that they themselves were identically the same as the Moderates of Germany, and those same Moderates fell over themselves in their hurry to vote all-power to the Kaiser's war-machine. Later they worked hand in glove with the Kaiser and his gang of Imperial cut-throats, and why? Simply because they did not sense true Socialism, true Internationalism any more than a minister senses that Comrade Jesus was the world's first Socialist. Like the localized efforts of the American Socialists, so the localized, nationalistic brand of German Socialism. When the time came they found that they must defend the Fatherland and its gang of smug bourgeois plunderbund and its reigning Imperialists. The Fatherland first, was the cry.

The War drove the Socialists into three groups. The first group were the intensely nationalistic group who believed in country first, unlike Thomas Paine the framer of the American Constitution who stated that "all the world is my country." This group became what is known as the Social-patriots. They were the Right Wing of the Party.

Mid-way between the Right Wing and the Left Wing are the Centrists. The Centrists may be termed half Social patriot, (or "My country over any other country"), and half holding to the belief in the inter-nation. The Centrists are also half doubtful over routine Socialism, i. e., getting there by vote. Hence when the changes the War brought on were demoralizing the ranks of the radicals they were forced to choose between two wings. Either the Right or the Left. A number went over to the Right and as many to the Left. The War has therefore eliminated the Centrists, and the Right Wing is now cheek to jowl with the bourgeoisie, "who for the pottage of imaginary fleeting successes and gains sold out the birth-right of the aims and aspirations of the working class, thereby declaring war against the working class," as one writer has it. Note that Charles Edward Russell had been so boy-cotted by the capitalistic press that he could not even sell the rake he had been muck-raking with. He suddenly found that he was not a revolutionist after all like George Washington who gave a soldier his coat at Valley Forge and sat, himself, and froze in a ragged shirt by a fire in the Name of Freedom when this country was fighting against the red-coats of an insane, sexually degenerated king. So Russell again became a capitalistic hireling and shortly thereafter blossomed out in every bourgeois sheet in the country. This is the same Charles Edward Russell, by the way who went to Europe in 1914, to view the Great War at close range and came back frothing and wrote that anyone could see that this was a War entirely by the capitalist class to oppress the working class of the world. He exhausted him-

self in a scathing denunciation in a full book on the subject. But after two or three years he decided, for a consideration that he was no longer a Socialist. That pictures our deliciously intellectual Right Wing, along with that starved Vermont, John Spargo, who will now be found writing neopalescent tracts for the staid Atlantic Monthly. He had to choose between that and looking up an "abandoned farm" in Vermont and the terrors of Vermont farming were too much for his perfumed, aesthetic temperament.

The Left Wing of the Socialist Party of the world constitutes the true get-there Socialism. Boiled down the Left Wing are the Bolsheviks in Russia, and the Spartacists in Germany. The Independent Socialists of Germany are the ever wavering Centrists looking for a place to land. Communists is but another name for the Spartacists; and the class struggle is the obviousness of their aim. Both the Bolsheviks of Russia, and the Spartacists of Germany have found that if things were left to the vote a superior number of the people (through a super-abundance of the middle class and the people whose votes they can buy) will overcome the working people. Hence it has been figured out that what the working class gains in the way of territory shall be held down by force of arms; and when any taken territory, country or province is gained acquisition of that acquisition is held by arms in the hands of the working people; and this is what is known as the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Thus at last accounts Bavaria is in the hands of the Spartacists and they are holding what they have gained by force of arms: The Dictatorship of the Proletariat. In democratic countries of the world this is impossible owing to such governments granting the people every known freedom such as freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of thought; and again from utter lack of having any socialists in jail for exercising their constitutional rights. If a democratic country tortures conscientious objectors by hanging them up by the hands and starving them in dungeons, and lashing them to the wheels of cannons and to the mouths of cannons, that would be different. Then the people would be aroused as the Bavarians were when Kurt Eisner was killed, but it is obvious that no democratic country would, or has, done these things. Democratic countries are always free from the odium of mental or physical oppression. If a man in a democratic country has anything to say on any subject he may stand on any street corner and say those things for constitutions and such sacred voices of the people of past days insure absolute freedom. Democracy is recognized for its observance of the will of ALL the people and never clings around the silken finery of industrial kings or the rapid mouthings of ex-professors. There is where our own country leads. It means that every man shall be heard or know the reason why that man can not be heard!

With the shattering of old Socialistic evolutionary illusions, true Marxian Socialism was born. The Second International ended during the times of War. We are now on the brink of the Third International and we have at last come into our own. The Third International is a hands around the world movement; the full flower, fully blown. When Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg were killed in Germany, we realized that it was as though Debs and Kirkpatrick in our own home ranks were imprisoned. When Kurt Eisner was slaughtered by a decadent count the knife thrust also went deep into our vitals. We first realized the true spirit of Internationalism when mass meetings were held in Russia demanding that Tom Mooney be released from prison in California. True Internationalism, TRUE SOLIDARITY was realized, and is realized now as we hold meetings and demand that hands be kept off of Russia. Instead of thinking in narrow, cramped spheres we have burst from our chrysalis, into the sunshine true Left Wing Socialists or not Socialists at all.

NERVE!

Certain workers in the textile, mining, building and clothing industries have been striking for more wages. Some of them asked for 20 per cent, some for 30 per cent and some had the nerve to demand as much as 40 per cent increase.

Forty per cent increase! How does forty per cent increase look to the other side? The profits of one meat packing concern were 300 per cent higher in 1918 than in 1914; a great textile trust reports earnings of 700 per cent more in 1918 than in 1913. The number of millionaires is 400 per cent greater in 1918 than it was in 1914. The business world takes a hundred per cent increase as a matter of course.

Imagine a union demanding 100 per cent increase in wages! The members would look sheepishly at one another; the officers would advise and exhort. "How can you have the nerve?" they would ask.

But think a moment! The net income of the United States was 35 billions in 1915 and 73 billions in 1918—an increase of over 100 per cent. The workers produced all of this increase and if they should not get it, who should?

Do you think it would take nerve for a worker to ask for 100 per cent increase in wages? How much more nerve would it take for an exploiter to refuse the hundred per cent to the worker while he slipped two hundred into his own pocket!

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GENERAL STRIKE IN BELFAST

City Completely Tied Up—Electric Plants and Shipyards Shut Down—44-Hour Week and No Compromise.

BELFAST, (delayed).—Belfast is in the throes of an epoch-making strike for the 44-hour week in the engineering and shipbuilding trades. Away back in August last a mass meeting of shipyard and engineering workers was held in the Ulster Hall to consider a resolution demanding the 44 hours without reduction of wages.

It is significant of the temper of the men then that the meeting turned down the 44 hours in favor of 40 hours and no Saturday work. The chairman of this meeting, by the way, was James Baird, an avowed Home Ruler and Socialist since 1893, but a trusted shipyard leader for all that. The shorter week was made an issue at the General Election, but Sir E. Carson could not be urged farther than to hint at a compromise on the small difference between 47 and 44.

Belfast, of course, was concerned in the general movement for the shorter week, and the ballot on the employers' 47-hour offer was taken on January 14, the occasion being utilized for an impressive demonstration. The 47 hours were turned down by 13,508 to 1,181. On the question of drastic action by way of an unofficial strike for 44 hours there voted 20,235 for and only 558 against.

Accordingly strike notices were handed in by the E. and S. Federation District Committee on behalf of some 40,000 workers in 26 firms, including the two shipyards. The notices took effect at mid-day on Saturday last, and the strikers, ignoring a request for "more time for consideration" (after six months!), came out unanimously.

The workers in the Belfast Corporation Gas and Electricity Works were also called out. As a result the municipal tram service ceased working at about five o'clock in the afternoon. When darkness fell the streets remained unlit, and by Sunday mid-day the gas supply was exhausted to avoid cooling of dimers.

Small staffs have been allowed to work so as to avoid cooling of the gas retorts. The Strike Committee agreed to allow electricity to be supplied to the hospitals, but it was found that other consumers on the hospital routes were using the current. The Lord Mayor refused to issue any injunction against this procedure, pleading that he had no authority to issue it and no power to enforce it. The hospitals are being supplied, but the current is being limited to prevent its use for industrial purposes. As a result of the stoppage of gas and electricity and the calling out of skilled men very many mills and other firms were unable to start work on Monday morning.

The Post Office telegraphs are seriously affected by the electricity shortage. The newspapers are able to publish only very small editions. The bakeries are mostly dependent on electricity, gas and coke, but it is anticipated that a sufficient supply of plain bread will be turned out. It is possible, also, that the railway shops will be affected by the calling out of their craftsmen. Many churches abandoned services on Sunday evening.

Belfast therefore, is in darkness at night, is cold (and very cold in this weather) by day, workless, almost newsless, doubtful about its bread, and unable to cook its meals.

The number of original strikers is about 50,000, or one-eighth of the total population of the city, while the total number affected is variously estimated, but must be up to 100,000.

Already a partial victory has been won. The Corporation are willing to concede the 44 hours to their employees, but the concession will not be accepted unless and until it is extended to the whole shipyard and engineering industry. The men are determined on a complete victory. A mass meeting was held on Sunday, and was addressed by Messrs. Quinlan, shop steward, and J. Thom, Executive member of the Scottish Iron-moulders, conveying greetings from the Clyde, in addition to C. McKay, Federation Chairman and other local leaders. A big procession through the centre of the city was arranged for Tuesday. Belfast is determined to be in the van of the whole movement.

The Press, Corporation and employers have raised the usual cries of "Syndicalism," and the men are prepared for the starting of the "Orange and Green" bogey.

The National Executive of the Irish Labor Party has decided to convene a Special Conference for February 8 to consider a national demand for a 44-hour week and a wage of not less than 150 per cent above pre-war rates, with an absolute national minimum of 50s. per week.

Post Office employees in Dublin on Sunday unanimously demanded a 42-hour week with a weekly half-holiday and no "split" duties.

Dublin Civil Service Second Division clerks on Monday last denounced the rumored introduction of an 8-hour day.

Railwaymen and railway clerks in Ireland are also active in their agitation for shorter hours.

Since receiving the account of the Belfast Strike, the following letter has been sent to us by the editor of the Voice of Labor, the organ of the Trade Union and Socialist movement of Ireland.

Belfast Hath Spoken.

Sir,—I must compliment the "Voice" on its outspokenness during the past few weeks on national and international questions. Even Belfast is not neglected. Perhaps I might be allowed to express my opinion on recent happenings in Belfast.

A thorough believer in Industrial Unionism, I need hardly say that Connolly's "One Big Union" appeals very forcibly to me. I do not see how industrial salvation can be secured except by an organized effort of all the workers. While I despise the discredited doctrine of Syndicalism, I am not blind to the fact that little or nothing can be expected from that conglomeration of reactionists which we are pleased to call Parliament. There is the possibility of the Welsh Wizard over-reaching himself—but would the electorate reject Pilate?

"Direct Action" is promising at present. Belfast has tried it. Belfast is not defeated; it merely lost a battle. Greater struggles with better organization will, I believe, not only regain the lost ground but will considerably advance us into the enemy's country (or profits). A clear definition of the words "drastic action" is necessary; but the blame for the temporary defeat cannot fall on any individual. Lack of organization, leadership, and class-consciousness added its part. Belfast is creeping, not walking; industrially it is yawning, politically it is fast asleep. The materialistic conception that was taken of the strike proved conclusively that the real meaning of the unrest was recognised by few.

I haven't the least compunction or dread of contradiction in asserting that the Federation did not utilise the full forces at its disposal to squeeze the sponge of capitalism; and I learned with disgust and loathing of the indifference shown by the Federation towards the various offers of those whom I am proud to call my fellow-countrymen. Until Irishmen realise that Labour's colour is red—not green or orange—industrial and political action is a burlesque. During the strike Belfast workers appeared to be a leaderless democracy, and events have proved that many of the "fire-

brands" are typical of the month of March.

If the strike achieved nothing except to show the strikers that in future more attention must be paid to Trade Unionism than to Ulster Unionism, it has accomplished much; but who would grudge our admiration for our eight Labour M. P.'s whose mental anxiety and sleepless nights on our behalf confounded the empire materially assisted in moving Lord Pirrie's bowels of compassion which resulted in the offering of such ideal terms? "You cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear," but who dares to say that you cannot make a democrat or a Socialist out of a Unionist M. P.?

Unofficial Vigilance Wanted.
I have always been sceptical of the pugnacity of full-time officials when they face the employers, therefore I would favour the formation of unofficial local committees elected by and from the rank and file, controlled by a national executive and federated internationally. Herein lies the best possible method of having unified action and capturing the industrial machine; but the movement must be purified of jealousy, prejudice and ignorance with the fluid of education. With a confederation of all workers of all lands I do not see how any demand, however revolutionary it may be, could be denied, because with industrial unity an accomplished fact, political unity must follow.

Belfast failed, and in a sense I'm glad it failed. Belfast resumed its work, and I voted for resumption. Why exploit the suffering, the loyalty and enthusiasm of workers whose semi-class-consciousness might be obliterated and whose leaders' hearts and prejudices were where their heads ought to be? It is ludicrous to expect a hungry army armed with blunt bayonets and blank cartridges to fight; but it is criminal for leaders to be in possession of both food and munitions and quibble over "principle" and "prestige" while the army loses. Better accept temporary defeat than extermination. Upon Belfast's failure of today the success of to-morrow will be built.—Yours, etc.,

WM. LORIMER.

THE "BULL" IN BOLSHEVISM

By BRASSET MARTEAU.

Even Breshkovsky repudiates the silly yarn about "nationalization of women" in Russia. The great American press certainly has been busy putting the "bull" in Bolshevism.

"River Seine rises suddenly." Crocodile tears over the fate of small nations, from the Quai d'Orsay?

Pope Benedict's authorization to fast during Lent on some other day than Saturday will be received with satisfaction by Catholics of the capitalist persuasion. Working-class Catholics are not affected—they already were fasting every day in the week.

"No beer, no work." Isn't worrying the employers. But just try "No work, no eats," on them!

Rev. H. B. Atkins should be a firm believer in the purifying and ennobling influence of war. If 10 years for embezzling Y. M. C. A. funds in France don't convince him of it, nothing will.

"Furnish heat or get convicted," says law to landlord. "Press your case and get evicted," says landlord to tenant, according to report of Legal Aid Society—Charles E. Hughes, president! Property sins, property wins. Not trimming the system, but abolishing it, is the real job ahead.

Lord Northcliffe is sending his Mr. Burton over just in time to aid in checking labor unrest here. Otherwise, we might be in danger of following the example of the Munich Soviet, which is allotting laborers a food ration twice as large as that for the bourgeoisie and ordering the seizure of palaces, villas and barracks for working-men's homes!

"I warn American labor," quoth Senator Reed, in the Senate on February 22, "to beware lest they shall be drawn from their place of advantage to the level of what has hitherto been denominated the pauper labor of other lands!" And just two days earlier Lord Leverhulme, in the House of Lords, "gave the workers some sound economic advice and bade them remember that American labor produced three times as much as British." How many more wars in going to take before the workers in all lands recognize that their worst foes are not the workers in any other land, but the capitalists in every land, who pit them against one another for the sake of profits?

DARROW'S VIEWS ON BOLSHEVISM.

We publish the following article by Clarence S. Darrow, not because we agree with all that Darrow states, but to let our readers know that sentiment for the Bolshevism is increasing. We have known Darrow for quite a while and we know, from personal contact with him, that at one time he was opposed to the Bolsheviki. When the air is a little clearer we will publish some of the letters we have received from intellectuals, including Darrow. Of course we not enthused over the idea of Darrow coming out for the Bolsheviki. It is only a matter of history repeating itself. The intellectuals will always side with those movements that have fought their way to their front. But they will not side with those movements that are fighting their way to their front. That is one reason why the I. W. W. are ostracised by the intellectuals. There is one class of people that can assist the workers and help them in their fight for human freedom and that class is the workers themselves.—Editor Truth.

It is quite evident that Bolshevism has alarmed and terrified the world. There is Bolshevism everywhere, we are told, and even the United States senate is to investigate its alleged activities in this country. Irish strikes of an unusual character have been ascribed to Russian Bolsheviki agitators. Ministers of state are sitting up nights ruminating over the new phenomenon.

But what is Bolshevism? What is the meaning of the word, to begin with, and what the nature, essence, and quality of the thing so named—and certain idealistic, radical Americans are known to say that unfortunately the term itself has a sinister, dark, forbidding sound.

Well, as to the name, the story is simple and prosaic. Bolshevism means an adherent of a majority wing of a party or school. The Russian Social Democratic Party is divided into two factions, as is the German Social Democracy, as is the French Socialist Party, and as is the British. In Germany we hear of the Majority Socialists and the Minority, or Independent, Socialists. The word majority means none. Bolsheviki means the majority party—neither more nor less. Mensheviki means the minority party. We have Republican Bolsheviki and Republican Mensheviki—and at one time the standpatters were the Bolsheviki—and perhaps they are even now, despite insurgency.

At any rate the word Bolshevism has no terrors for any one who has a smattering of Russian or of radical and reform literature. As to the thing—that's another story.

To comprehend the phenomenon of Bolshevism it is necessary to know something about Russian political and revolutionary history. There are, or there were at the last general election, eighteen political parties in Russia. The Social Democrats are one of the few major and really important parties. They are, for Russia, an "old" party. To this party, roughly speaking, belong all those who follow Karl Marx and his so-called scientific—and revolutionary—Socialism, and who regard "Das Kapital" as their Bible. There are other Socialist factions and schools of thought in Russia, these holding, again roughly, that Marxism does not apply to the Slav-empire—backward, undeveloped, dark, and with traditions of its own—or, as some Russians say, a lack of binding and galling traditions. The Socialist Revolutionists (to whom "Grandmother" Catherine Breshkovsky, Tschaikovsky, Bourke, and many other famous Russian radicals belong) are not Marxists, but mild, national Socialists, "peasantists," so to speak, who believe in gradually establishing a form of Socialism based on certain supposed typical Russian institutions, the Village Mir, or Commune, the Artel, or Workers' Industrial Union, and the like.

Perhaps it is well to explain that in Russia the radical or revolutionary is usually a Socialist of one kind or another. Even non-Socialist writers have said that "In Russia one is born a Socialist," and in Prof. Paul Miloyoukov's book on "Russia and Her Crisis"—a standard work, I am told—there is a long chapter of Russia's Socialistic tendencies and Socialistic seed, as it were, that is planted in a favorable soil. In Russia the non-Socialist radical is a rare bird. He is sneered and scoffed at. He is dubbed a reactionary. This has been the case for 50 years or more. Individualism or philosophical anarchism as a philosophy has never flourished in Russia, although communistic anarchism had a considerable following at one time.

If, then, the great majority of Russian radicals are, and long have been, Socialists, nothing is more natural—for Russia—than a split in each of the major Socialist parties. Russians are theoretical, academic, garrulous, disputatious, uncompromising. They have not had sufficient contact with real affairs to learn to practice give and take. They split when they cannot agree on points of theory or of method. They do not feel bound by decisions of majorities at conventions or other gatherings.

Years ago, then, the Social Democrats, or Marxists, of Russia disagreed and parted company. The differences were not very important. They concerned questions of method, of control of the party and its organ. After the split the majority called themselves Bolsheviki and the minority Mensheviki. Nothing serious happened after the split, for neither faction had much chance under the czar. It was indeed a crime to belong to the Social Democratic Party. Members of the *duma* were again and again indicted for that offense, tried, and exiled to Siberia.

After the revolution of March, 1917, the conditions in Russia, economic, political, moral, were such the purely academic differences among Russian Socialists, at home or abroad, were inevitably precipitated into burring practical differences. The autocracy was gone and dead. The people of Russia were sick of the war and determined to have peace. They could not and would not fight for territory, money, prestige, or honor. They needed peace and expected the free government to secure it for them.

The Lvov or bourgeois government could not secure peace. They were too gentlemanly and diplomatic and honorable to talk of a separate peace. The Kerensky government was more "leftist," and had several Socialists in the leading departments, but it, too, hesitated, waited, argued, pleaded, and counseled patience and moderation. The masses were in no mood to wait and suffer, to starve and die. The Soviets, spontaneously formed all over Russia, because the old governmental bodies lacked authority and were not democratic or representative, insistently demanded peace and fundamental reforms. In Russia the most fundamental of all reforms was that of the tenure of land. The peasants—80 or more per cent, of the population—wanted land; they had wanted it for generations and had hoped the czar would break away from the barons and landlords and give them the land. To them the revolution, freedom, the new life, meant primarily the land and secondarily plenty of home rule, village autonomy, plus light taxation and the abolition of conscription.

The Kerensky stop-gap government could not give the masses, the peasants and wage workers, the few basic things they wanted and demanded. It had to go. It went. It fell just as czarism fell, without a struggle. The only party that was ready to promise the people the reforms and blessings they demanded—the land, peace, self-government, etc.—were the Majority Social Democrats, led by Lenin and Trotsky. Those men had audacity, faith, courage, fanaticism and revolutionary fervor. They were not diplomats and cared nothing for conventions and manners. They seized the reins of power with the acquiescence of the masses. There were no effective opposition to them. Then they proceeded to make peace—the best peace they could get from Germany. They sacrificed much, they gave up much, they most reluctantly yielded to the German militarists.

This is not the place to discuss their mistakes or their fallacies. They got the peace they had promised to the masses, and the fighting stopped. The soldiers and sailors could go home—they had already been deserting by the thousand.

But peace was not enough. What of bread? What of the land question? What of liberty and self-government? The Bolsheviki cabinet turned at once to these internal questions and issued their famous decrees—the land decree, the nationalization of industry decree, the constitution of free Russia, etc. They knew they had numerous and strong enemies in and out of Russia. They expected serious opposition to their Socialistic reforms, so sweeping, so uncompromising, so unheard of except in books, from the nobles, the landlords, the manufacturers, the merchants, the bankers, the non-Socialist professional groups, the

richer peasant proprietors, and the conservative workmen. So they boldly proclaimed "a second revolution," a social revolution.

In other words, they made it quite plain that they were not mere revolutionary reformers, but untried, resolute revolutionists. They had, they said, a great, a historic opportunity to establish Marxian social democracy in Russia. They had the right and the duty, they contended, to make the effort and to make it at any cost. They were prepared to resist opposition and to give it no quarter. He who was not with them was against them. They had to act quickly and decisively, they said, or else fritter away their chance and prove themselves weaklings and cowards.

They established a dictatorship of the proletariat. They made their appeal, not to the "dark masses," the peasants, but the class conscious, advanced, and literate or half-literate wage workers. They abolished everything of the old, or new-old, every Kerensky order that stood in their way. They repealed the universal and democratic suffrage act. They declared themselves enemies of "bourgeois democracy" and all its machinery and works. They were not democrats, or liberals, or evolutionists. The familiar tests and yardsticks of the "free countries" they laughed at as stage tricks designed to delude and fool the average person.

They were revolutionary, international Socialists. They knew exactly what they wanted. They had their own philosophy of history. The argued that revolution was as legitimate as evolution. Why shrink from a little violence, tyranny, bloodshed? Why make a fuss about free speech and free assembly? If political revolution is justifiable, and if dictatorships might be created in time of such revolutions to prevent reaction and treachery, why were not strong measures, a dictatorship, disfranchisement of counter revolutionists, fully justified at a critical time of social and economic upheaval?

The Bolsheviki leaders asked and are still asking these questions, and their answers are given in deeds, and in words. Their task is colossal—to establish Socialism after Karl Marx in Russia, or in such parts as they now control. They believe that they can succeed in spite of the bourgeoisie, the nobility, the mild revolutionaries, the non-Socialist reformer, the richer peasants, the "reactionary" workmen. They believe that the masses, though ignorant and "unconscious" politically, feel instinctively that the Bolsheviki program alone can give Russia freedom, prosperity, local self-government, culture and human brotherhood. To educate the peasants is a task of decades and generations. Meantime the few really class conscious, intelligent supporters of the Bolsheviki leaders must rule Russia and introduce Socialist changes as fast as possible.

After Russia, the leaders say, will come Germany, France, Italy, England and at last even the United States, the fast, sleek, bourgeois, individualistic United States. The social revolution "is coming" they cry. Marx proves this. History proves it. Russia is merely, owing to the war and a combination of amazing circumstances the pioneer and pathfinder in this glorious movement. Russia, as it happened, is fresh, unspoiled, democratic at heart, and her plutocracy and bourgeoisie are not powerful enough to prevent the great adventure or gravely to endanger its success.

Elsewhere the struggle will be bloodier, sharper, longer, but capitalism and the wage system are doomed and discredited and Russia would be criminal if she were to allow these evil things to take root. Hence, at any cost, Socialism must be saved, defended, and given a trial in Russia. Compared with what it offers to mankind, the violence, disorder, graft, oppression, suffering complained of by the various opponents of Bolshevism are said to be trifles hardly worth mentioning. What of the French terror? What of the American revolutionary war and the war over slavery and secession? asks Lenin.

"Let the allies evacuate Russia," he continues in effect, "and we shall rehabilitate and reconstruct her whole fabric and set an example to the world. We are seeking to establish permanently the highest form of democracy. We are seeking to abolish slavery, exploitation, poverty, private monopoly, and flagrant, unwarranted, unnatural inequality. Give us time and a chance to go to work and to revive commerce and trade, and our experiment will astonish humanity. After a while we may re-enfranchise the disfranchised aristocrats and bourgeoisie, the clergy and investors, and bring the dictatorship to a close. Our tyrannical measures are temporary—a necessary evil. We stand for equality and liberty and fraternity. We are fighting counter-revolution and are adopting war measures—that is all."

SPARTACANS CONTROL RHINE

By Ed. L. Keen

United Press Staff Correspondent

Paris, March 28.—The Spartacan revolution in Germany, from a series of loosely-connected petty strikes and demonstrations has within the past week grown to the proportions of a serious uprising that threatens to overthrow the present government.

The revolutionists are now in control of the Rhine and Ruhr districts, Saxony, Thuringia, Franconia and, apparently, Bavaria. They have succeeded in cutting communications between Berlin and Weimar, and dispatches indicate that a part of the Cabinet is in one city and the remainder in the other. A national Soviet congress will be held in Berlin on Monday to present demands for acceptance of a radical program of social and economic reforms.

The German government seems unable to reach an agreement as to whether the Soviets should be crushed or given recognition. President Ebert was reported in a United Press dispatch this week to favor establishment of a national Soviet body as the lower legislative branch of the government, replacing the Bundesrat. Other ministers, notably Chancellor Scheidemann, were said to counsel employment of every force at the government's disposal to suppress the Spartacans.

The growth of the revolution has had an important bearing on the work of the Supreme War Council, which is paving the way for a preliminary peace with Germany. The uprising is recognized as largely due to the food shortage and non-employment, and the Allies realize that partial relinquishment of the blockade on foodstuffs and raw materials will tend to stabilize conditions in the enemy country. With this in view, the War Council, it is understood, will take up the blockade question early next week, simultaneously discussing the new military immigration. Neither country, however, will make its ratification of the covenant dependent on acceptance of its suggested amendments.

CALLS DEBS CASE U. S. STAIN

By Paul Scott Mowrer.
Special Cable to the Daily News.
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Paris, France, March 17.—Jean Longuet, the French socialist leader, discussing the confirmation of Eugene Debs' sentence to ten years' imprisonment for violation of the espionage act, writes:

"The application to such a man, who is universally esteemed by his adversaries and venerated by his comrades, of the monstrous penalty to which he has been condemned merely for expressing his socialist opinions, would be a stain on the shield of the great American republic, to which its illustrious president has given such noble luster throughout the world. It is impossible that President Wilson should leave our comrade Debs to endure the scandalous penalty to which he has been condemned."

M. Longuet summarized Mr. Debs' career, recalling that he has been several times a candidate for the presidency of the United States. The Longuet article is remarkable as being one of the first instances in which a European political leader has shown interest in a purely American case.

The clergy and investors, and bring the dictatorship to a close. Our tyrannical measures are temporary—a necessary evil. We stand for equality and liberty and fraternity. We are fighting counter-revolution and are adopting war measures—that is all."

Debs Defies Despots

(Continued from page 1.)

humanity, look up into the sun and not feel ashamed of yourself; walk straight before the world, and live with it on terms of peace; look at yourself without a blush. Have you ever tried it? If you have, you are a Bolshevik.

"The great world is in travail today. A great upheaval is shaking the foundation of capitalist society. The master class are driven to extremities. They are going to establish a League of Nations to preserve the peace, to prevent war. What does it mean?"

Master Class Staggered.

"Simply this: That the master class itself is staggered by the cost of modern war. Here are all these modern nations, great and powerful in economic and military ways, straining to harmonize their various conflicting interests. In theory it is perfectly fine; but how ridiculous it is to imagine for a moment that the interests of nations that are innately in conflict can be permanently harmonized."

"What does it mean? It is the last, desperate, temporary expedient of the master class, the commercial interests, the economic interests, to prolong their sovereignty. Have you any views on it?"

"Who is it that is making the terms of peace? Is it not strange that the great, common people who shed their blood, fought the war, made the sacrifices, should have no voice in making the terms of peace? The working class—the working class, which for 1,000 years constituted the slaves, the tragedy of history—I call it as I speak, I can see across all the centuries, the patricians of ancient Rome in the amphitheaters, while they poured their slaves into the Coliseum to destroy them for pastime—and through the middle ages, how the serfs were killed for their profit and glory—through all that, I can see the working class, that youth, the victims of the ages, the martyrs of the centuries, you who went to war when it was declared, you who were in the trenches, you who shed your blood like water, you who suffered the agony that human speech can never tell, you who had your limbs torn from your bodies—you have no voice in that peace conference, no representation there."

"Just one second—hand one, Sam Gompers. The other day Sam, fourfoot Sam, was banqueting by a sevenfoot Russian duke, and the duke was in poor company."

"The world is in turmoil. Where is your representative; where did you elect him? What did you have to say about these terms? Not one real representative, but politicians and diplomats and thieves and liars, the tools of your masters—that is who is there."

"They are going to make the world perfectly safe for democracy, and that is why I am going to the penitentiary."

World Being Remade.

"You can think a bit, and I want to stir you into thought and action. We are on the eve of tremendous developments. The world before your eyes is being destroyed and recreated. Russia is making a beginning; the Soviet is just a sample. They have shed some blood, they have made some mistakes, and I am glad they have. When you consider for a moment that the ruling-class press of the world has been vilifying Lenin and Trotsky, you can make up your mind that they are the greatest statesmen in the modern world. In that brief space of time they have done more than all the capitalist governments have ever dared to do in constructive work. They have refused to compromise. They said to the old reactionaries, 'You will not have any voice in the government until you do useful work.'"

"In every previous revolution it was said that the working class was not ready. Russia did not know that it was ready; that is the trouble with the working class of the world."

"What have they done? They have given the franchise to men and women all over the republic. They have inaugurated many beneficial changes. They have said, 'We do not want the recognition of the United States, or of any capitalist government.' That is fine, inspiring; I applaud it will all my heart."

"In Germany the same spirit is at work today. We do not know, we cannot tell; the dispatches are meager. And so it is in Bohemia, Bulgaria, Hungary, England, France and in the United States of America."

"They are going to suppress the red flag; you may not carry a flag except under your vest. That is the level of your statesmanship. Aren't you proud of it?"

"In Germany—do you know what is going on there? In spite of all opposition, the Spartans, the

heroic followers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the most magnificent and heroic figures in Europe in modern history.—They are dead, but the revolution lives, and their magnificent souls go marching on."

"At the beginning they said that the Bolsheviks had ruined and bankrupted the country of Russia, and in the next breath we read that they are financing the revolution everywhere. The son of Trotsky stole 50,000,000 rubles, and Trotsky never had a son. The wife of Lenin went to Italy with trunks loaded with gold, and she never has been in Italy in her life."

"Is there a lie they have not told? Is there a calumny which they have not circulated about Lenin and Trotsky?"

"They are fighting for your liberty, for you, if you only know it, and I am only too glad to pay my tribute to those men I love. Along this line Congress is making an investigation. The Overman committee has discovered that there is some Bolshevik agitation in the United States. It is to be ended by deporting, without trial, without hearing, 46 of our working people."

"How perfectly brutal and infamous and disgusting an example of how capitalism treats its workingmen. Compare the hard, horny palms of those who are to be deported with the lily-white hands of the deporters. You can see the difference. The deported were the producers. If they are to be sent abroad, I want to go with them!"

"What you and all of us need in this hour of trial and travail is working-class solidarity."

Appeals for Solidarity.

"We need to unite. We need to get together. We need to feel the common touch. We need to recognize our kinship. The world is against us if we are not for ourselves. Through the history of the ages you have been oppressed, you have been downtrodden, you have been degraded. When you go for a job to the master class you work under conditions they prescribe. You depend upon them for tools, you work for their benefit. Do you like this? This is capitalism."

"The system in which you enrich your master and impoverish yourselves, the system under which 5 per cent of the people own the wealth of the country and the great body of the people struggle through all their years for an existence and pass away without ever having enjoyed one hour of real life. How pathetic and tragic it is that our land, with its boundless resources and treasures, its machinery, its workers, everything for production for every man, we have in the midst of all these benefits the great body of the people struggling for existence."

"I appeal to you just once to stand perfectly erect in the majesty of your humanity. You owe it to yourself."

Washington Was Denounced.

"Look into the eyes of your brother and see the new light that is shining for the working class. We have been oppressed, we have suffered, we have agonized and now let us unite and stand together against capitalism. That is the plea I am making tonight."

"I do not desire to make any glowing periods, I wish I could read your hearts tonight, your attitude of soul."

"Let us unite industrially. If Germany had been organized industrially this great calamity would have never come."

"These crimson flowers that have just been presented to me represent the springtime, the springtime of revolution. I have faith in it and in humanity; I have faith in the Man of Galilee. Twenty centuries ago he spoke to the common people and they heard him gladly. He was brought before the scribes and the doctors and the lawyers and the judges. They said 'He is preaching dangerous doctrines. He is a Bolshevik.' They hung him on a cross near Jerusalem as a warning to the centuries."

"But ever since there have been men and women of moral courage who dared to speak the truth as they saw it, who have been maligned and persecuted; they have been stoned and burned at the stake, their ashes scattered to the four winds. These men are remembered and it is to them that we owe our progress."

"Remember that George Washington was denounced as an unprincipled scoundrel; Jefferson was said to be a violent fanatic; Samuel Adams a dangerous character; Patrick Henry was an incendiary."

"A little later there was a group of abolitionists who fought against an institution which had existed for 300 years in this country. Abolitionism was the Bolshevism of that day. Those men were ridiculed. Today they are honored, while the smug, respectable people of their day lie buried and forgotten."

"The great working-class move-

ment will similarly triumph. Its emancipation from the ruling class must come soon."

Rush to Shake Debs' Hand.
The conclusion of Debs' speech was dramatic. From the slow, rhythmic, laborious articulation which marks his speeches, he had suddenly wrought himself to a pitch of tumultuous haste. His speech ended sooner than was expected."

The audience took no heed of Chairman Ruthenberg's introductory admonition to remain in their seats. When Debs turned to sit down, a thousand people rushed for the platform with outstretched hands. Debs shook hands with all whose proximity permitted the greeting. Some of the women rushed to kiss him."

During a pause in his speech members of Local Cleveland had presented Debs with a basket of red roses and carnations. Debs regarded the floral tribute with smiling eyes, and remarked:

"Is it not timely, however flimsy, to ask if an ordinance has been passed to prohibit their color?"

"I am richer than John D. Rockefeller. He never enjoyed a gift so pure in loveliness, so deep in meaning. I deplore his poverty."

Undesirables.

Away with the undesirables! Deport them; jail them; persecute them; denounce them; silence them. The undesirables must go!

Undesirable? What is an undesirable?

Any man or woman who narrows the opportunity of a fellow human being for life, liberty and happiness is an undesirable. Every parasite; every despot; every tyrant; every opportunist; every man who lives at the expense of a fellow man is an undesirable.

No human being makes himself desirable by saying prayers or preaching patriotism, or waving a flag, or promising to save other men's souls. Men become desirable only when they help their fellowmen to live larger, stronger, happier, nobler lives.

The chambers of commerce, the boards of trade, the manufacturers' associations and the other business organizations are deciding who is undesirable and then insisting upon a campaign to deport them, jail them, persecute them, silence them, destroy them. The business interests are doing that now. They are establishing a rule of public policy. Undesirables do not belong in the United States. They must go!

Suppose the people apply that doctrine to American life and begin with the parasites. Every able-bodied adult human being who is not doing a fair share of the world's work, but is living on the product of other men's labor is an undesirable. He must cease to be a parasite by taking a job. The new world is a world of workers. No one else has a legitimate place here.

A few men, highly placed, own the jobs on which millions of their fellowmen depend for a living; they own the products of these jobs; they own the surplus produced by the industrial machine. They are exercising a despotic, irresponsible power over the lives of their fellows. They are undesirables. The jobs, the product and the surplus must belong to the workers. The exploiters must go.

The forests and mines, oil wells and corner lots of America are in the hands of a few monopolists who take toll from society in the form of monopoly profits. These "bag barons" represent the spirit of the middle ages. They have no place in a free government of free people. They must go!

Away with the undesirables! America is no place for them. Away with the parasites—give them jobs! Away with the exploiters—the workers must own their tools! Away with the "bag barons"—surplus wealth belongs to those who produce it! The undesirables in America must go!

KIN OF CANADIAN DEAD TO SOLACE THEMSELVES WITH BITS OF HARDWARE

Quebec.—Mothers and widows of Canadian soldiers who died in the war will be given silver crosses by the Dominion government, Minister of Militia Newburn announced today. The British government is also planning to present the next of kin of the soldier dead with commemorative bronze plaques.

The president of the A. F. of L. is in Europe, representing Samuel Gompers.—Ontario Labor News.

We don't hear so much about poor, stricken Belgium at the Peace Conference as we did in the war. Why?—Ontario Labor News.

RUSSIAN POSITION

(Continued from page 1.)

York as a headquarters for this large scale purchasing arrangements. For the purpose of organizing trade relations on a proper basis and as a medium through which American trade interested in Russian commerce can secure practical contact, I am planning to organize and incorporate a "Board of Trade of Soviet Russia."

"Under the old regime Germany was the greatest factor in Russian foreign trade, and the bulk of imported manufactures came from Germany. In the year before the war German exports to Russia amounted to nearly four times those of Great Britain, the second factor in Russian imports. In as much as Germany's production for a considerable time remains subnormal, Russia is all the more and open market for the other countries. In a trade sense as well as in a political sense, Russia is starting anew. It is quite obvious that the manufacturing nation that first secures a large amount of the Russian foreign trade at this time, will be in an advantageous position for the future as well."

"I may state that large European manufacturers are already well-informed as to the possibilities of trade with Soviet Russia and are laying their plans for it as soon as possibilities of trade with Soviet Russia are laying plans for it as soon as the present impossible blockade conditions are relieved. In this connection I wish to quote a significant London dispatch printed in the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, March 14th. The dispatch stated:

"It is realized that in view of the disturbed state of the country it is not possible at present to transact business in more than a comparatively small area, but firms who know Russia need no reminder of the advantage of having representative on the spot."

"It is felt that when normal conditions return to Russia it should be possible for British traders to obtain a far larger share of Russian trade than in pre-war days, and it is hoped that this possibility will encourage firms who have not previously dealt with Russia to investigate the great potentialities of this market. It will be remembered that in the last year before the war Germany's exports to Russia amounted to 633 millions of rubles. Britain came second with 170 millions and an exceptional opportunity exists now, owing to the temporary elimination of German competition from the South Russian market."

"In regard to the blockade, and the invasion of Russia, I am empowered to state that my Government is willing and sincerely anxious to have hostilities cease in Russia and to enter into agreements with the American Government to facilitate the peaceable withdrawal of American troops from Russia."

"On the part of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic there thus exist no obstacles to the establishment of proper relations with other countries, especially with the United States. The Soviet Government of Russia is willing to open its doors to citizens of other countries for peaceful pursuit of opportunity, and it invites any scrutiny and investigation of its conditions, which investigation certainly will prove that peace and prosperity in Russia will follow on the cessation of the present Allied policy of non-intercourse with Soviet Russia, and by the establishment of material and intellectual intercourse."

"The Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic has now been in existence for over sixteen months. Its Government, the Council of People's Commissars, is a government controlled by and responsible to all members of the population who perform useful work, physical or mental. Only those who refuse to exercise their productive abilities, choosing to live on the fruits of the labor of other people, are eliminated from participation in the control of the Government. Every person engaged in useful productive activities participates directly in the management of society in Russia today."

"Within the past few months the vast territories wrested from the control of the Soviet Government during the past year have been regained with the aid for the laboring population of those districts. This includes much of the territory torn from Russia by the position of the Soviet Government. Representatives of the former Constituent Assembly, representing the Social Revolutionary Party and other groups, recently met representatives of the Government at Moscow and

came out in support of the republic against foreign intervention. They begin fully to realize that the overthrow of the Soviets would lead to the reestablishment of the old czarist autocracy so bitterly hated throughout Russia. The peasants, who from the outset in large majority gave support to the Soviet power, have steadily become more consciously attached to the Soviet Government, which they realize is the only guarantee for their remaining in control of the land which for centuries the Russian autocracy kept in the hands of their former oppressors."

"In as far as opposition has ceased in the form of violent counter revolutionary attempts against the Soviet Government, it has been possible to assuage extraordinary temporary measures such as censorship, martial law, etc."

"Much prejudice has been created against the Soviet Government by the circulation of false and often absurdly silly reports about the nature of the institutions and the measures taken by the Soviet Government. One of the most frequent allegations is that the rule of the Soviets is one of violence and murder. Of course, much an accusation is altogether unwarranted. It has been necessary to adopt stern measures against people who continuously and openly plot for a re-enslavement of the Russian workers and who resort to methods of violence in their fight. Such measures however have been immeasurably less oppressive than those usually resorted to by governments against their opponents who are found using violence against established society. Intervention in Russia obviously has had very much to do with the so-called terror. Mr. Litvinoff the representative of the Soviet Government said in this respect the following in a note to President Wilson:

"The chief aim of the Soviets is to secure for the toiling majority of the Russian people economic liberty without which political liberty is of no avail to them. For eight months the Soviets endeavored to realize their aims by peaceful methods without resorting to violence, adhering to the abolition of capital punishment which abolition had been part of their program. It was only when their adversaries, the minority of the Russian people, took to terrorist acts against popular members of the Government and invoked the help of foreign troops, that the laboring masses were driven to acts of exasperation and gave vent to their bitter wrath and bitter feelings against their former oppressors."

"I wish to emphasize that the so-called red terror, which is so greatly exaggerated and misrepresented abroad, was not the cause but the direct outcome and result of allied intervention."

"The best means for the termination of violence in Russia would be to reach a settlement which would include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia and the cessation of direct or indirect assistance to such groups in Russia who still create futile hopes of an armed revolt against the workers Government but who even themselves would not think of such a possibility if they could not reckon on assistance from abroad."

"In spite of all handicaps, the Russian workers through their Soviet Government have made remarkable constructive progress and laid firm the foundations for a well ordered development of their society. I am confident that any fair student of the accomplishments of the Soviets in different branches of economic and intellectual matters would confirm this view."

"During the past year the Soviet Government has managed to complete the building of some 2,000 versts of new railroads. It has planned large scale work in the way of road building, canal building, etc. Tens of thousands of new primary schools, vocational schools, workers' universities and lecture courses, especially courses offering agricultural instruction, have been established and maintained at great expense, and educational activities have been extended to include the making of the treasures of the arts and sciences as easily accessible to the people as possible. An army of over a million men has been trained, equipped and kept supplied with munitions."

"In spite of the great handicaps due to the heritage of disorganization from the old regime, the lack of raw materials and machinery, the obstructionist methods of opponents of the government, and to the natural confusion of a transition period of revolution, much has thus already been accomplished and the foundations laid for a high development of economic life."

"I believe it is high time for the world outside of Russia to dispense with its passionate and partisan dealing with the Russian situation, and in the place of indiscriminate abuse of the Russian working people undertake to approach the situation in a sense of a serious understanding of the actual condition and opportunities."

Cov's Column.

There was "a time, a time, and a half time." In U. S. A.

An "sedition"—an "treason"—an "free speech"—an "anarchy"—an "disloyalty"—an "disorder"—an "everything."

And both of our Presidents were away in Europe—fixing the unfizible—leaguizing the unleagueable—working overtime—trying to decide where a Bulgar began—and a serb left off—persuading the Bolsheviks, Tiger—and the Bourgeois Lamb—"some"—"Lamb"—to lie down together—in a "Presbyterial Peace" so busy—they didn't have no time for U. S. and there was hettopay.

And the Senator from Momson—down—saw a "revolution"—painted all in "red"—wherein "religion"—an "God"—(poor old God!)—and "Americanism"—and "freelove"—an "faith of the fathers"—were all being Bolsheviked—'an' he said—"aint it awful, Makkell!"

And a "Patriot"—from the "White Supremacy"—"Democratic"—State of nota C'alina—where six-year-olds are "permitted"—to work in the Cotton mills—from dark to dark—if they have dependent fathers—and mothers—to feed—conjured up a vision—of the Socialists—an' I. W. W.'s—expatriating this "permit"—an' thus—"overthrowing"—"law an' order"—an' "Christ"—and "Christianity"—an' he wouldn't stand for it—'a'tall—'a'tall.

And Borah bathosed—an' Pointexter pointed—an' Ole 'owled—about an' to the Stars an' Stripes—'an' there was hettopay in U. S. A.

PREPAREDNESS.

Early in February, an announcement was issued of the formation of "The National Association for the Protection of American Rights in Mexico". In this Association, there are representatives of "all of the American interests having grievances against the Carranza government." Among the banks that are members of the Association are J. P. Morgan Company, the National City Bank, the First National Bank, the Guaranty Trust Company and the National Bank of Commerce. The Anaconda Copper Mining Company is one of the strongest of the mining companies interested. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, the Mexican Petroleum Company and other large interests are represented in the organization.

Two weeks later, the metropolitan press carried the story of the organization of an international committee of twenty bankers—ten Americans, five Frenchmen and five Englishmen. J. P. Morgan is acting chairman of this committee. The object of this committee is to "inform itself as fully as possible as to the existing conditions in Mexico, with a view to such positive action as may be taken whenever circumstances permit."

Poor Mexico!

"I BELONG TO THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS"

Mother Jones has returned from an organizing trip in West Virginia. The old enthusiasm for the cause shines in her eyes; the fury of the struggle sounds in the deep, vigorous tones of her voice. She is the embodiment of defiance to economic tyranny and industrial oppression.

She spoke sternly of the measures to which the master class in the United States has resorted, in order to crush the workers—of the lowered wages, the broken strikes, the brutal grip of industrial despotism, the long prison sentences, and of the ignorance and folly that were prompting it all.

"To my knowledge, they have made ten I. W. W.'s for every one that they put in jail," she said. "Of course, I do not agree with the I. W. W. boys in many things, but as I told them when I went into the court house in Chicago during the trial, here were working-men in the hands of the common enemy. Some said to me then that my going there might hurt me with the A. F. of L. movement, but I told them that I belong to the whole working class, not to any part of it. The hope of the working class is my hope; their fight is my fight; their loss is my loss, and their gain is my gain. I am a part of the labor movement in its fullness and entirety."

Patronize t' advertisers.

Soldiers, Workers Unite

Detroit, Mich. Fifty representatives of the Allied War Veterans with a membership of nearly five hundred trooped into the meeting hall of the Detroit Federation of Labor, while in session Wednesday evening and laid before the body a list of grievances and recited a tale of hardships suffered and insults met with since their discharge from the army and navy at the hands of the self styled patriotic exploiters while in quest for work.

The arrival of the soldier and sailor representatives was a distinct and pleasant surprise to the labor men assembled. A phone call a few minutes previous was the first information received of the desire of the workers in uniform to join hands with the men in the shops and factories. And as the soldiers and sailors marched in the hall, the delegates rose to their feet and greeted them with enthusiastic applause. The worker in uniform found that he is a member of an exploited class and must unite with the militant workers battling for liberation from economic slavery? The two met and the promise of a united working class presenting a solid front to the enemies and detainers of labor in the city of Detroit looms bright for the future.

The spokesmen of the Allied War Veterans told of having been denied a meeting hall by the Army and Navy Club. Chamber of Commerce and other organizations displaying welcome banners to returned soldiers and sailors because their members refused to sing the song of the exploiters and wanted real jobs and decent consideration in place of the fancy ribbons and flowery praise showered upon them by the stay at homes. They elected men from rank and file as officers of the organization instead of calling upon "prominent" people to lead them out of the wilderness, they refused any charity, but demanded to be given jobs at decent pay and hours, they took the slogan of democracy literally and when asked for its application in this broad land and in the city of Detroit they were unceremoniously kicked out of their meeting place by the people who never saw a trench except in the movies and who "stood by" while the boys marched off to war.

It dawned upon the war veterans that their place is with the working class; to stand together and wield their power toward accomplishing a common purpose and they came to the organized workers to present the case of the returned soldier and sailors.

They were welcomed by the Wm. Bailey, President of the Federation, George Krogstad of the Patternmakers, Julius Deutelbaum, editor of the local Labor paper and other radical spokesmen of the organized workers in Detroit and every assistance possible will be given the soldiers and sailors to find work and promote their organization. A committee of labor men will confer with a committee representing the Allied War Veterans and will provide them with a suitable meeting place and encourage organization among the men in uniform.

The get-together of the soldiers, sailors and workers in the city of Detroit is an augury of the growing class consciousness and an awakening among the men and women who produce the goods of the world. The Central Labor body, formerly the most reactionary in the country, is now piloted by the younger, radical element, and this being a large industrial center, great things may be expected as the conflict grows sharper and the final struggle for supremacy between the capitalists and the workers is fought out. Drawn together by common interests the workers in uniform instinctively stand to shoulder to shoulder as the hosts of labor are marshalled in battle array to emancipate the world from the thralldom and degradation of the system of wage slavery.

AFTER WAR PROGRAMS

There are loud demands on all sides for an after-the-war program. The capitalists have their program of lower wages cheaper production and wider markets not to mention more merchant ships, an increased navy, a larger standing army and universal military service.

The workers, on their side, should be preparing with more effective organization, a more clearly defined vision of the ultimate goal—industrial democracy and the overthrow of capitalism—and, in the meantime, incessant and insistent demands for more wages and shorter hours.—The Rebel Worker.

CLEMENCEAU WON SINGLE-HANDED IN FIGHT ON SOVIETS

AMERICA, ITALY, JAPAN, ALL O. K'D
BRITAIN'S PLAN TO WITHDRAW

French Premier Held Out Against Recognition, Says Hanna, Hoping for Teutonic Alliance to Crush Bolsheviks, and Isolate England, as Well.

"Gentlemen, the Soviet government rules over virtually all of European Russia, and enjoys the active or passive allegiance of two-thirds of the Russian people. All of us here know that to be true. The time has come for us to face the facts publicly and prepare to recognize the Soviet government. A general peace which left Russia out would be a farce."

At the first meeting of the peacemakers at Paris, in January last, David Lloyd George made the above declaration in the name of Great Britain.

His position was warmly supported by the United States, endorsed by Italy and approved by Japan. As Le Populaire declared on January 12:

"Only the government of France wants war against Russia. It alone rejects the pacific suggestions of England and America."

Here we have the lineup of the peace conference respecting Russia in the middle of January.

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England was glad to follow the American cue looking to a quick retirement from Russia. Twelve thousand British soldiers had just seized and closed the port of Folkestone in protest against continued foreign service.

Several regiments carried banners through the streets inscribed with the words, "We will not go to Russia!" Similar incidents had occurred at Dover, at camps near London and in Scotland. Sailors lately back from the Baltic Sea were showing symptoms of radical infection by refusing to accept duty on mine sweepers without revision of wartime discipline and pay.

French seamen at Brest had indulged in open mutiny against Russian service, and the popular cry of "Demobilize!" was rising all through the Entente countries. Discipline was going to seed at an alarming speed among the armed men on land and sea.

In every quarter it was predicted that France would yield and accept the American-British suggestion. Attacks of the American mission told me Clemenceau and Pichon had not a leg left to stand on, that the long fight for an intelligent policy toward Russia was all over but the shouting.

I was allowed to examine a memorandum prepared by the American military authorities covering the details of a quick withdrawal of American forces from the Archangel front. It was prepared at the request of the American Peace Commission, and was shown to me as evidence that the retirement from Russia was actually on foot.

This memorandum admitted the impossibility of getting all troops completely out of northern Russia before spring, but it outlined a method whereby, with the use of six available icebreakers, all troops might be retired from the precarious Archangel front to Murmansk. This operation, it was pointed out in a diplomatic footnote, would serve as evidence to the Soviet government of the good intentions of the Entente.

Planned Mission in January. Simultaneously with this withdrawal America was considering the dispatch to Russia of a genuinely liberal commission, whose duty it would be to survey the ground with an impartial eye and report, among other things, whether it thought the Soviet government should be formally recognized.

As proposed in mid-January, this commission contained the names of Albert Rhys Williams and William Allen White. Williams needs no introduction here, and of White I can say that he refused in February to be a delegate to the Prinkipo conference, unless first guaranteed that reporters would be taken along, provided with every facility for getting their news out and allowed to attend all meetings of the proposed conference.

That was in January. History now records to the credit of the "legless" Clemenceau that Allied troops were not withdrawn from Russia; that a liberal American mission was not sent to Moscow, and that even the compromise Prinkipo conference was not allowed to take place.

The cock of France, which I

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was assured in London at Christmas time would shortly lose its tail feathers, has at least retained the skillful use of its formidable diplomatic spurs.

Clemenceau's Plan.

Why do the British, Americans and Italians yield when France insists?

The reason is obvious, and has been confessed by Lloyd George to a man I know. By an alliance with her late foes, the Teutonic nations, France might not only recoup her fortunes at the expense of Russia and divers smaller mid-European states, but could, perhaps, place herself at the very head of a fresh continental entente that would leave England isolated and Italy either merged in the new group or hopelessly subordinated to it.

Clemenceau has a sense of geography and a knowledge of Machiavelli which makes him a terror to his colleagues.

While finding it relatively easy to check and turn his adversaries at Paris, the "Tiger" has had to watch the steady advance of Soviet theory and practice into the territories he was trying to have with what Pichon termed the "sanitary cordon" around Bolshevism.

At the very time French diplomacy was sweeping everything before it at the Quai d'Orsay, a bourgeois mission reached Paris from Lithuania. Its modest purpose was to have the United States send against the Lithuanian Bolsheviks 60,000 American soldiers now in France of alleged Lithuanian origin, together with their full equipment of supplies, artillery and munitions.

Lithuanian "Patriots."

I talked with these gentlemen for several hours. Lithuania, they said, must be made a bulwark against the Bolsheviks who already had occupied Vilna and were penetrating deep into Poland. Strong Soviets flourished in Warsaw and Lodz, composed of workmen who were for the present supporting Pilsudski against the old reactionaries, but whose program was to overturn the whole of bourgeois society and unite with Soviet Russia.

They assured me that Lithuania would have few native Bolsheviks if a bayonet barrier against Russian propaganda were erected. A few questions brought an admission that of Lithuania's 5,000,000 people 2,500,000 are composed of landless peasants and their families. These people, the delegates, thought, would not of their own accord make any trouble for the present "government."

At about the same time some distinguished and wealthy residents of the Ukraine reached Paris, and, with others of their exiled countrymen, held a doleful meeting to discuss their troubles.

"The Bolsheviks are advancing rapidly and soon will occupy all of the Ukraine," said the last man from Odessa. "We have been utterly at a loss to understand why the Allies refused to send us aid, after all Russia sacrificed in the early years of the war. But now I know the reason. In all the Allied countries the working people have a strange, but strong sympathy for the Soviet government. This is especially true in France, I have learned. I can assure you that the French government means well, but it is afraid to send large armies to Russia. We must face this sad truth."

This gentleman added that

while famine prevailed in many parts of Russia, it was due entirely to the Allied blockade and military occupation of strategic points. Therefore, he urged, all conservative Russians must work to have the blockade continued.

Want Army of 160,000.

Two weeks before leaving France I enjoyed a conversation with his excellency, the Czar's former Foreign Minister, Sazanoff. He, too, admitted very freely that the Ukraine would soon be entirely in the hands of the Soviet unless formidable military aid were sent by the Entente. His remedy was to raise a volunteer army of 160,000 men in the Entente countries, send them to Odessa and from there begin the reconquest of all Russia. It seems worth while to repeat one question and answer which occurred during this interview.

"The Ukraine," I said, "is rather thickly populated with land owners and their families. Is it not possible, M. Sazanoff, to find 160,000 native or foreign owners of land in the Ukraine who will take up arms and expose their lives in defense of their own land, instead of coming abroad to get 160,000 young men in Entente countries who do not own the land, and will not own it, even if they survive the struggle to seize it?"

"Ah," replied the ex-Moreign Minister, "but you see the land owners have all had to flee from the Ukraine to save their lives."

Lest he had not understood my question, I repeated it, but M. Sazanoff insisted upon talking about other things.

With French theory and Russian practice both making headway at Paris and in eastern Europe, respectively, it cannot be long before they collide somewhere east of the Rhine and precipitate the new world crisis which is so clearly scheduled to arise.

TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL.

Sault Ste. Marie, Mich.

Mr. Jack Carney

"Truth", Duluth, Minn.

Dear Sir and Brother:

Will you please publish the following resolution. This was spread upon our Minutes on the 4th Inst.

with instructions for me to send copies to Central Bodies throughout the State.

Fraternally Yours:

R. H. Atterbury,

Acting Secretary.

1. Is it possible for the various labor groups throughout the State, to co-operate in matters of threatened legislation, or matters of mutual interest, instead of the present indifference or ignorance of our various endeavors? We might unite in demanding a state constabulary for our protection against the predatory interests. Demand Juries of employers only, when our own class are involved. A compensation law to compensate business for loss of time if a worker gets cheated up or otherwise injured. Insurance against sickness of the wage-slave (drat the man, he should not eat so much). A labor platform, big enough for all the workers in the State to stand on. Get a minimum wage law for women enacted, which would make the minimum wage low enough to make it compulsory for our daughters to sell their bodies, instead of voluntarily as at present. Have a law passed making it compulsory for craft unions to scab on each other, instead of the inefficient voluntary method now in vogue.

2. Governor Sleeper is now credited with owning and controlling an institution mis-called the Mich. State Fed of Labor; is it not advisable for us to have one of our own, composed of Bankers, Lawyers and Business men? These men usually represent us in our State Legislature, and at Washington.

3. Whereas all the employers in a particular industry, combine and pool their interests within and without the state. Could we not do the same? Thus making it possible to more successfully resist any attempt to increase our wages?

4. Whereas our communications

to various labor bodies within the state are never acknowledged and rarely recognized. We therefore deem it necessary to have a law passed, making this a mark of distinction: Have medals struck off for distribution to the central bodies and unions, in order of merit.

5. Whereas in the larger cities, where female and child labor predominate, it is very advisable that their wages be increased to the extent that the men displaced in industry could be kept at home in comfort and health: This would naturally tend to do away with the recurrent periods of unemployment.

6. Whereas a large and increasing number of craft unions are paying dues, to keep a large and also increasing army of headquarters officials in more or less luxury: We consider it a great injustice to these men to attempt to consolidate the laboring men of this country into four or five groups. Furthermore we demand it be made a criminal offense for anyone advocating such imitating of capital combinations, called trusts: That they be classed as I. W. W. or other dangerous characters, and be forthwith deported to Russia.

7. Whereas it being roughly estimated that one third of the total male adults in this country are not entitled to the franchise, these men apparently not considering the privilege of citizenship any guarantee against capitalist exploitation: We hereby go on record, we are in favor of an educational campaign, whereby these misguided people be instructed in the principles of democracy, as practised today.

That it is a criminal offense to work for an American Citizen, unless he be permitted to enjoy a large profit from the product of their labor. That wages, roughly estimated at 22 per cent of the value of their labor, is ample to enable them to become enormously wealthy, by practicing rigid economy and thrift. That the coupon-clippers, who own and control all the land and natural resources, two factories, mines and means of communication who also incidentally rule this country, are appointed by God. That the methods employed by these individuals, mentioned in Myer's History of American Fortunes—that dishonesty and the theory of the survival of the fittest, are the result of the diseased imaginations of radical agitators. Also show them that our returned soldiers are treated with more than ordinary generosity. That they may therefore be encouraged to enlist to fight for democracy in China, when necessary.

That the persistent rumours concerning the copper barons in the Upper Peninsula are refusing work to returned soldiers, giving preference to Aliens, who are being arrested and threatened with deportation, or actually deported if they demand a higher wage, could not possibly be true. That our Public Press is the noblest institution on earth, their veracity being unquestioned. That school education is unnecessary, that almost five millions have survived without it. That all the Labor Leaders are strictly honest, incapable of self-seeking, and fully represent the ideas of the rank and file; even if on the surface their mental capacity would seem to belong to the stone age. That most of the Labor Press in the State of Michigan, is a marvel of progressive ideas, and radical to a degree never attained before; that their unselfish devotion to their advertisers is without example in history.

Resolved, That if the above methods fail to inculcate the ideas of citizenship into the minds of these eleven or so millions of aliens. We demand they one and all be indicted: Tried by our Supreme Court, and if found guilty—of which we have not the slightest doubt: They be sentenced to life imprisonment. This would solve the problem of unemployment, by giving our citizens the opportunity of building the necessary falls. Our farmers the opportunity of a market at home for their products in feeding these criminals and would give our benevolent government an opportunity to raise the income tax to provide the means to pay the necessary expense. That this matter is feasible we have no doubt.—We already keep a large population in luxury and idleness: A vast surplus of commodities have to be exported to get rid of them, this leads to war with conflicting interests; by our suggested methods, all this could be eliminated, and would provide all classes an outlet for their surplus energy and relieve the present friction, for all would then have to work.

Read "Labor in Irish History."

Tell your merchant that you read Truth.

Speedy Peace Urged to Quiet Toilers' Revolt

By HAROLD E. BECHTOL,
European Manager of the N. E. A.

PARIS.—The working classes of Europe are living in a dangerous state of revolt that nothing short of peace can ease.

The peace conference recognizes the fact and most of the peace commissioners realize the gravity of the worldwide restlessness.

Those who know the labor situation best are pulling hardest for speed.

They hope that the peace treaty will be ready for sending to the individual states for ratification soon after President Wilson's return next month!

That program calls for the meeting with the Germans in attendance at Versailles in April and peace by May 1.

Commissions will work for months, perhaps years. But the permanent world machinery—the League of Nations—will be established, with the principles for its guidance clearly set down, when the treaty is signed.

When that is done, many peace commissioners and labor leaders believe the principal cause of business and labor unrest may be quickly removed.

Treaty Not Cure-All.

Not that the signing of a treaty is going to be a cure-all. On the contrary, it may be some time before the new deal that labor intends to get is worked out.

But not even a start can be made until labor and capital learn the general conditions, which will govern their relations with each other, working conditions, supply business, particularly business abroad.

The big powers' answer to charges that the small nations are being steam-rolled, lies in part in this tendency to "wind it up" at the first moment possible without sacrificing results.

Aside from the need for a quick settlement, the big owners say that full machinery and opportunity is provided for making the influence of the little nations felt on questions vitally concerning their interests or future.

President Wilson recently told a delegation of French working women who called on him that "the conference is turning out to be a rather unwieldy body, a very large body, representing a great many nations, large and small, old and new."

The disposition of the powers has been to loosen up the joints as far as possible without depriving any small nation of proper hearing where its interests are vitally concerned.

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OPEN DISCUSSION

RULERS ONLY WILL CHEER WILSON ON HIS SECOND TRIP

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Woodrow Wilson has set foot upon the soil of Europe for the second time since the armistice was signed.

Three months ago his visit there aroused the masses to a concert pitch of hope and enthusiasm, and filled the rulers with a grave uneasiness.

Today the rulers acclaim his return to Paris, while the disillusioned masses regard him as "the great bourgeois," whom they fear has succumbed to the might of their own reactionaries.

In brief, but concrete proof of this statement one has only to compare the eulogies lavished upon Wilson by the workers during his first stay in Europe with their bitter comment upon what he had done up to the time of his departure in February.

Virtually without exception the labor and liberal press of England and France had lauded the President as an apostle of democracy who had come to 'shame' or force the imperialists of Europe into a "peoples' peace" based squarely upon his 14 points. In him, they declared, lay the only hope, that the Paris conference would end wars by establishing the principle of self-determination, guaranteeing universal disarmament and creating a democratic League of Nations.

After two months of tedious, secret bickering, the League of Nations draft was completed. Wilson read the document aloud to a suffocating little group of diplomats and reporters, and departed in haste that same evening for Brest and America.

Labor and Socialist circles examined the league draft carefully and threw up their hands in despair.

For weeks and months Marcel Cachin had defended Wilson in L'Humanite against the growing cynicism of the French Socialists. After reading the league draft, however, the valiant Cachin gave up the fight, and in a signed expression of his "sorrow and disillusionment, caused by a perusal of the document," wrote:

"We do not find in this document either the general spirit of the messages of Mr. Wilson or the necessary precisions on the composition of the league—on its actions or on its role.

"This project cannot in any manner receive the adhesion of democrats and popular parties throughout the world, who have placed so much hope in the idea of which Mr. Wilson had constituted himself the eloquent defender.

"In place of a complete new organism, for which the murdered peoples were waiting, we are offered a new edition of The Hague Conference."

Thus spoke the great centrist and compromiser within labor's political organization. La Bataille is the organ of the French unions. It dismissed the league draft and Woodrow Wilson, whom it had lauded for weeks, with this melancholy gesture:

"What bitter irony! One fails to find in the project the realization of any of the aspirations of men of good sense forming the vast majority of mankind."

Eaten by Capitalist Lions.

Le Populaire, which had always warned its readers that Wilson was in a lion's den, simply noted the fact that he had been devoured, and declared afresh that there could be no peace or security for humanity short of the emancipation of the workers by their own efforts.

Appropriately enough, the reactionary press, including even the royalist journals, greeted the league draft with applause and delighted acknowledgment that Wilson was, after all, "an idealist who does not ignore the practical consideration of statecraft."

The praise of Wilson in all imperialistic quarters of Europe has grown steadily in volume and fervor since the middle of February. Prior to that time I heard him repeatedly denounced in private by friends of Clemenceau as a fool who was strengthening the hands of the Socialists and paving the way to an upheaval. They now refer to him and the league draft as their warrants for proceeding along the exact lines they had mapped out from the start.

In their fight to defeat democracy the imperialists of Europe today hail Woodrow Wilson as their "Daniel come to judgment." And they no longer fear that this smiling Portia will stage an anti-climax. He has joined them in a charter within which they feel free and strengthened to thwart their rivals and enlarge their own special interests.

One cannot doubt the good faith and high intentions of those French and British leaders of the working class who hailed Wilson as the best available champion of mankind at the peace conference, and who adopted the political policy of exploiting him and his messages in the hope of influencing the Paris decisions. They did not comprehend

the Wilsonian genius for ambiguity.

It is, therefore, refreshing to consider the attitude of the Italian Socialist party, as set forth in an open letter to Wilson published in Avanti, January 4, on the occasion of the presidential visit to Italy. In this letter the Italian workers cheerfully acknowledged Wilson's moral superiority to their native statesmen, but, they pointed out, his doctrine reflected neither the basic aspirations of the working class nor those of the employers and was therefore doomed to fail.

What the Censor Destroyed.

Becoming still more frank and direct, the statement then proceeded to clauses which the censor struck out, but which I procured in the original from the editor of Avanti and forwarded direct to Wilson.

To quote:

"The result of the war has permitted the complete unification of the Italian nation, but it has not opened any road to redemption for the Italian workers. The arbitrary powers which you justly condemn, and which produced the war, govern still, undisturbed.

"The imperialistic ambitions of our ruling classes have found means of extending the Italian dominion over the Albanian, Greek and Arab peoples, while the Jugo-Slavs appeal for the rights of self-determination. All this, assuredly, is not done to remove from our life the hidden danger of future complications and conflicts.

"Only the liberation of the working class from capitalist control can bring to the nations the possibility of inaugurating relations of concord and fraternity, because the government of things, substituted for the government of persons, will assure to all a life under a regime of justice and equity.

"Such liberation already has commenced among the populations of the countries conquered in the war—Russia, Germany, and, to some degree, Austria-Hungary.

"We look with anxiety and with hope to the example of those working classes. But it happens that you have not said one word to defend the rights of those workers, nor does it appear that you intend using your influence with your associates to the end that the rights and liberties of those peoples shall be respected and they be left free to complete their social revolutions according to the exigencies of their conditions and the circumstances in which they live."

Last Act of the Comedy.

At the time the Italians thus outlined their position many good people regarded it as churlish and impolitic. Within six weeks, however, their attitude was completely justified and now has become that of the workers in France and England, as well.

In exchange for the applause of the masses Woodrow Wilson has won the cheers of the diplomats. The tumult and the shouting of the people has died; the captains and the kings have kidnapped the hero. Let us sit back and enjoy "the second act of this fine comedy. It will be a short act.

BIG BUSINESS EAGER TO EXPLOIT RUSSIA

Washington.—Government officials were urged to provide shipping facilities for cargoes bound for the Black Sea area.

Commercial interests are eager to re-establish trade connections in that part of the world, and the Department of Commerce and the Shipping Board have been requested to allocate tonnage for such trade routes.

A delegation of industrial representatives and officials of the United States Chamber of Commerce today laid the case before Secretary of Commerce Bedfield. The delegation was headed by Senator Owen, Oklahoma. He declared it was vitally necessary for American interests to begin deliveries of their products to Black Sea ports, if this nation's commerce is not to be lost in the whirlpool of trade readjustments.



MENACE OF SOCIAL REVOLT KEEPS ALLIED ARMIES IN UNIFORM

Rulers Fear Repetition of Russian and German Overthrows—Prefer Evils of Maintaining Huge Standing Forces At Risk of Bankruptcy.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Demobilization proceeds slowly in Europe. People who wonder why it is not carried out faster can find an answer by recalling what has happened in every land where the armies were disbanded on a large scale when hostilities ceased.

Russia signed an armistice with Germany in December, 1917, and the progress toward social revolution acquired fresh speed in both countries thereafter. The Russians literally threw their arms away and went home en masse.

German morale on the eastern front fared nearly as badly. The Prussian officer who forced the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, General Hoffman, has confessed that the Kaiser's armies in Russia succumbed to Bolshevik theories and were worthless during the remainder of the war, except as evengels of Leninism within the Central Empires.

Throughout Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria demobilization, whether dictated in the armistice terms or in consequence of riotous desertions preceding and following the armistice, had the same disruptive results.

Demobilization and "socialization" have gone hand in hand from the Volga to the Danube and the Rhine. Socialists, "red" or "orange" rule all but the western fringe of Europe.

In this western fringe of Great Britain, France and Italy, demobilization proceeds slowly and with grave fears on the part of the rulers. Statesmen still prefer the unknown perils of keeping millions of men under arms to the demonstrated and almost certain consequences of turning them back into the jungle of civil life.

This half-paralysis of the military branch of government cannot endure much longer. A half-million "single men in barracks" might easily be maintained by any nations willing to tax itself to support them prior to 1914. But the situation is totally changed now.

To begin with the present armies of the Entente are not made up of single men in barracks. They are made up largely of married men on rain-soaked hill-sides. All of them, married and single, are sick of soldiering, and have begun to damn the men responsible for their continued bondage.

Industry at Deadlock.

The demobilization deadlock is chiefly due to the industrial deadlock which prevails all over Europe. The normal function of society—the production and distribution of necessities—has almost ceased.

There is no work for the discharged soldier. The British government boasts that its scheme to raise a volunteer peace army of 900,000 men will succeed, because able-bodied young men prefer the army to idleness and destitution which await them in civil life.

Great Britain is far better equipped to wage peace than any other country in Europe. She commands the seas and has access to the raw materials of the world. Yet, as the War Office explains to the Associated Press:

"In the new army men will be clothed, fed and sheltered and will draw a minimum of about \$5 a week pocket money. They have quickly awakened to the realization that there is no such prospect awaiting them when they return to civil life." And the army routine in

exhausted most by the paralysis of industry.

Both countries are on the verge of bankruptcy, but they still find it easier and safer—for the present—to raise new loans to support idle armies than to release those armies into the wilderness of peace.

An American financial expert tells me that the franc is worth about 8 cents (instead of 20 cents) in an open market, and that it will drop to the 8-cent level if France dares to let her manufacturers begin buying necessary materials abroad.

The Italian lira is in a similar fix. That is one reason why Italy seeks desperately to procure another American "credit" of \$100,000,000 to purchase vitally needed materials, instead of exposing the enfeebled lira in a cruel world.

Borrowed Money.

By importing food bought with American dollar "credits" and selling it to their own peoples for oxygenized francs and liras, the French and Italian governments are managing for a time to keep the wolf from their throats.

With borrowed money Clemenceau is today selling 3 francs' worth of bread to the French masses for 1 franc. Yet the masses are shouting for more and cheaper bread. This transaction is symbolic of the whole social structure of Europe.

While they have millions of men still under arms, "to hold the beaten Hun," it is easier for the French and Italian governments to float loans among domestic patriots, which is another section of the vicious circle.

Unless they wish to abandon the whole system of military conscription, it is not possible for France and Italy to imitate the British scheme of a volunteer army to absorb the workless population—even assuming that the scheme offers a permanent barrier against revolt.

Demobilization lags in Europe for the same reason that everything else lags there—except discontent and rebellion. The war had wrecked the physical structure of society, destroyed the popular psychology which kept the ship upright in former crises and confronted statesmen with the task of putting Humpty-Dumpty back on a wall which no longer exists.



United States Supreme Court declares that 'Gena Debs must serve ten years in prison. Hurrah for de-mock-racy!

BRITISH WORKERS STRIP FOR TUSSLE WITH POLITICIANS

Railway, Mine and Transport Unions Decide to Hold Their Own "Election" to Transfer Power Into People's Hands.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

British miners, railway men and transport workers have resolved to unite in a general strike, "unless their century-old grievances are righted."

This threat is the real "bye-election" by which the future of the famous Coalition government of Great Britain may be judged.

At a trick election in December, in which 50 per cent of the electorate refrained from voting, the Lloyd George Tories won a big victory over the "pacifists and Bolsheviks."

By a vote estimated at 10 to 1 the men who run the railroads have voted for a general strike to enforce their demand for the nationalization of the lines, an 8-hour workday, participation in the management and the continuance of all war bonuses.

By a scarcely less decisive vote the miners decide to strike to compel nationalization of the mines, a 6-hour day, a 30 per cent advance in wages and a share in the management of the industry.

The transport workers are not less modest in their demands. And the full significance of the affair is that these three bodies of essential workers have united in "one big union" to bring the government to terms.

Lloyd George will, of course, employ every device to separate the unions and defeat them one at a time, but the chief feature of labor radicalism in England today is that it is being forced by the rank and file and is feared by "leaders" of the old type as much as by the government.

The case of James H. Thomas, chief of the railwaymen, is typical and timely. Lloyd George drows his peace making at Paris to talk with Thomas by telephone to London, and of Thomas we are all going to hear much from now on.

Thomas is not a Bolshevik. He hates and fears Bolshevism. For years past he has dreamed of a gradual advancement by labor until some vague level called "justice" should be attained. That is his ideal of progress—as it is of other intelligent people—and not the world war, which he fervently supported because violence alone seemed adequate to end Prussianism, has made Thomas abandon the belief that capital can be peacefully negotiated out of the path of labor.

For Thomas, personally, my own admiration and gratitude were won by his refreshing disorderliness at a Paris meeting to promote the League of Nations. The meeting occurred in late January. Boosters of the league were there from all lands, from Leon Bourgeois and Lord Robert Cecil to the last through Hamilton Holt and Emile Vandervelde and Arthur Henderson to Barnes and Thomas.

The elegant and spacious rooms in the Boulevard St. Germain were packed with celebrities. The etiquette of the gathering was flawless in its severity. Every one thrilled as actual members of great governments, one after the other, stepped forward into the little space about M. Bourgeois and lauded the theme of a society of nations. The golden age appeared quite at hand. Hadn't Lord Robert Cecil just rendered his trembling homage to the idea and then dropped back into his seat on the window sill?

Not a thoughtless or unkind word had been said. Then came Thomas. M. Bourgeois began to introduce him in the best Quai d'Orsay idioms. In the middle of Bourgeois' second sentence a little man, with the unmassaged features and deliberate gestures of a coal passer, popped in front of Bourgeois and began to address the assemblage. It was Thomas. He had not come to be praised, but to express his mind.

His voice was pitched two octaves higher than any we had yet heard, and it kept going up bent by habit on reaching the far circumference of his Hyde Park audience. He stood a little in front of and just between M. Bourgeois and Lord Robert Cecil. And this, in part, is what he said:

Will Keep Him Moving.

"This is the first time I have ever been called to speak in company with my noble friend, Lord Robert, with whom I utterly disagree on every question of politics. I usually take the platform only to say unpleasant things about him. On this occasion and on the League of Nations, however, it gives me great pleasure to announce that Lord Robert is right.

"He is right, I think, and may add, because labor has forced him to get right. We believe that Lord Robert needs to be kicked into being right, and I can assure you that labor means to furnish all the kicking required to keeping him

moving in the right direction."

Immoderate laughter from the rougher elements present who understood English was contrasted painfully with the dismay of their cultural superiors and with the bewilderment of the purely French. Lord Robert grinned and clung to his window ledge. Thomas swung round and made a sweeping gesture before M. Bourgeois:

Speaking For Cobar

"In a few days I am going to meet the Germans." He swung back over the semi-circle and bowed to Lord Robert. "In a few days I am going to meet the Germans," he repeated, a loud note of defiance in his voice. "And when I meet them at Berne I will say to them: 'We have saved you from your militarism, and we now ask you to help us get rid of our own militarism. We can't get rid of it without your help, unless you join us in a League of Nations to prevent wars. Will you help us?'"

Thomas paused and surveyed the room, which had already grown less stuffy.

"Gentlemen," he resumed. "I speak for labor; and I come to tell you that labor is a threatening volcano. It is influenced more every day by a spirit which looks to methods of redress that fill me with alarm when I consider what they may lead to. I ask you to do what you can to help allay this dangerous spirit by creating a League of Nations that will make future wars impossible."

After that Thomas and his moderate colleagues of the labor movement went off to Berne. And while they were gone the rank and file of labor cast aside their old leaders and in Belfast, Glasgow, Edinburgh and on the Thames indulged in the most threatening strikes ever witnessed in the United Kingdom.

On his return home Thomas found more smoke than ever issuing from the volcano. He found every rank of labor permeated with the belief that in a show of force alone lay salvation, and determined to be done with a "leadership" which talked politics with Lloyd George, instead of guiding labor in the actual conquest of industry.

That is what Thomas means when he tells Lloyd George over the Paris telephone that "it will be practically impossible to control the men in their attempt to right their century-old grievances."

Woodrow Wilson remarked that the end of the war would find labor extremely impatient with the old devices of politics and militantly disposed to demand real thought and action of their public men.

"Thus, the war comes to an end." Moderate Socialist policies were a few years ago regarded as the heirs apparent to business competition and commercial imperialism. But the reigning monarchs stoutly refused to abdicate in favor of their lawful successors.

Instead, they went to war with each other. From that mad venture we now emerge with a generation of unlawful pretenders—the proletarian dictators—contending for power and fanatical in their belief that they have a divine right to rule. Moderate Socialism is so belated in its arrival that it must begin by fighting for its inheritance against the "third generation."

It is so in Great Britain and elsewhere in Europe. Driven by the pressure from below, moderate labor leaders undertake general strikes, half political in character. They can do no less. The stampede is on, and the herders must ride or be trampled underfoot.



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EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY
WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

A Call to Action.

The workers of Hungary have proclaimed a Soviet government and they have joined hands with the Russians. The correspondent of the United Press is firmly convinced that ere long the German workers will line up with Russia and Hungary. With such a combination the capitalists of the world must sooner or later come to scratch and admit their defeat or—?

They have regaled us with speeches of the President, who tells us that the League of Nations is to establish peace. Cast your eyes towards the Peace Table and ask yourself is that so? *The one place in the world where they need peace is at the Peace Table.* The statesmen of the world are endeavoring to divide the spoils. They are afraid that one nation might get more than another nation. Italy wants to divide up Austria, Poland wants Dantzig, France wants Alsace—Lorraine and England and America have their wants. While they are bargaining with each other, the workers of all the respective countries are organizing and are now preparing their plans for the final conquest of capitalism.

Lloyd George has his fingers ever on the receiver of the telephone that connects Paris with London. The cables are busy carrying the news from here to Paris. Truly the statesmen of the world are having the times of their lives. So we can well afford to ignore them and go on with our task.

The workers of Europe are now coming into their own. All the lies of the kept press and the soft speeches of statesmen cannot for one moment hide the facts of the situation. The desire of Secretary of State Lansing to send food to Germany, is not prompted by humanitarian motives. They seek to stop the rise of the Spartacus group by sending over food. After the terrible war of over four years, the workers of Germany are going to see to it that no other ruling class is going to send them on another trip to hell. Backed by the successes of their Russian comrades they are becoming more daring than ever and soon, if the truth is made known, Germany will stand as a living triumph to the brave work of comrades Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The doom of capitalism is absolutely certain and sure if—

The Bolsheviks organized the workers in the factories. The Germans are doing the same thing and the Hungarian workers have already organized the workers. The strength of the economic power of the workers has been clearly demonstrated. When Lenin and Trotsky declared the revolution in Russia, they knew that success was theirs because they could depend upon their fellow-workers in the shop. It was impossible for any section of the people to stay in power in Russia, without the backing of the men and women in the shop. Recognizing that, Lenin and Trotsky organized first and then they carried out their plans of campaign. The triumph of the Russian workers is but another tribute to the growing power of industrial unionism. Wherever there is any sign of real progress amongst the workers of any country, it is due to the fact that they have adopted an industrial unionist form of organization. England today is upon the threshold of a social revolution. The workers through their shop steward movement have built the foundation of the new society. It is the most essential part of our work here in America, that we organize the workers upon an industrial union basis. The comrade who at this time sits in the study class studying Value, Price and Profit and neglects to assist in the work of organizing the workers, he is retarding the revolution. Study classes do not reach the workers. Take any city and you will verify the truth of that statement. The workers returning from work, tired and weary, want to rest. The hard work and the heat of the factory have their influence upon them. The workers have never come to the study classes and is that a reason why we should ignore them? All revolutions are but the product of conditions and if we adopt the attitude of the study class habitue we will never organize the workers and in the end we will pay for our crass stupidity, by seeing the country more under the heels of our oppressors than it has ever been. The workers can be reached if we will have the patience to go out on the job and organize them. Once you organize them as industrial unionists, you arouse their social consciousness and then they are ready to receive your message. But if you sit in the study class and wait for the workers to come to you, then you are going to wait for a very long time. Unfortunately we still have comrades who want to argue about religion and many other things. They can draw blue-prints of the revolution, but they have not the courage to go out on the job and organize the workers. Organizing the workers is not an intellectual task. In a strike you must act, not talk. Wherever you have to develop a fighting spirit, you will never find the comrades of the class room. They are busy preparing themselves for the executive positions that will be so numerous after the revolution is accomplished. They can orate and they do know Marx. But if you ask them to translate their philosophy into action, they will excuse themselves by pointing out to you how ignorant the workers are. In other words, "thank God I am not as other men."

Trotsky in his latest work, "From October to Brest Litovsk" points out the difference between the Soviets and the other parties. He proved how the other democratic organizations fell behind. They still harped upon the old ideas of universal suffrage etc. The Soviets depended upon the organic groupings such as the shop, mill, mine etc. They were able to keep in direct contact with the workers. Any new developments that took place, were communicated to the workers' delegates, who were always on the job, they called together the workers in the factory and acquainted them with these new developments. There was no issuing handbills and distributing them to the workers' homes and arranging hall meetings. They went to them on

the job, where they were sure of them. As Trotsky states, "There are in the Soviet incomparably, more profound guarantees of the direct and immediate relation between the deputy and the electors. A town-duma or zemstvo member is supported by the amorphous mass of electors, which entrusts its full powers to him for a year and then breaks up. The Soviet electors remain always united by the conditions of their work and their existence; the deputy is ever before their eyes, at any moment they can prepare a mandate to him, censure him, recall or replace him with another person." Trotsky further states the reasons for the creation of the Soviet form of government. The political form of government represented the mass, that was a tool in the hands of any and every adventurer that came along. That is why Trotsky withdrew from the Democratic Conference. He saw that it lacked action and Trotsky advised the Bolsheviks, with the approval of Lenin, to go back to the shops and organize the workers. Today we see the results of the Soviet form or organization. The tremendous opposition that has been waged against the Bolsheviks is but further proof of the impregnability of the workers' position, if he is organized on the job. Therefore it is the bounden duty of all members of the Socialist Party to wage a propaganda of industrial unionism. By industrial unionism we mean the organization of the workers in the shop into ONE workingclass organization.

Comrades all! The hour that will herald the doom of capitalism is fast approaching. The very foundations of capitalism are shaking and we must prepare for the day when we shall have to stand and take our places in the ranks of those who are prepared to prove their faith. It will not serve us to stand up and recite whole pages of Marx. We shall have to be men of action and not philosophers. Pious resolutions will not serve any good. Go back comrades to your job and instill the real spirit into your fellow-workers. Wherever the worker is engaged in a strike, no matter how foolish it may be, step into it and give the strikers the benefit of your education. Urge solidarity and help them in every way. Prove to them that you are real, not a negative critic. So comrades let us all get together and spread the feeling of comradeship. Let us drop petty squabbles and unite on the big things. Comrades the day is coming shall we stand together and greet the dawn of a new day or shall we shed tears of regret in a night of darkness?

Duluth Trades Assembly.

At the last meeting of the Trades' Assembly, the Assembly went on record as favoring the principles of the League of Nations. Shrewd politicians defied the radicals to state their case against the League. The radicals failed to come to scratch. We had a Socialist proposing international disarmament and we must say that the question put him by a delegate as to whether or no, would the tearing up of union charters abolish the necessity of unions, was a very clever one. It just showed up the foolishness of any Socialist advocating such an absurd proposition as the international dicarmanent. You might as well advocate the abolition of umbrellas as a means of keeping away rain-storms.

The unfortunate thing about the Trades' Assembly is that it has too many 'orators'. Delegates are more concerned with impressing fellow delegates with their eloquence, than advancing the interests of the men they represent. The most vital thing in Duluth today is the molders' and blacksmiths' strike, yet it only occupied the attention of the Assembly for about ten minutes, whilst the discussion on the League of Nations lasted for close upon one hour. It was ever thus. We can always see what is wrong with the world, but right at our own door steps we are blind to the things that are going on. Until the delegates of the Trades Assembly come to realize that only the workers themselves can solve the problems that confront the workers, there is no hope of ever arriving at that glorious stage in the history of mankind, when Labor can call its soul its own. Labor must not look up to politicians to solve its problems it must go down on the job and organize the workers in one union, so that the interests of labor will be as one. We all want shorter hours, we all want higher wages and above all things we all want industrial freedom. Why should we be partitioned off into various units, instead of being welded into a whole? The things we fight for are the same, so why not fight for them as a whole? The future is not too promising. No small committees, which are subservient to the Steel Trust, can create employment. Unemployment is the inevitable aftermath of war, as unemployment for girls is the aftermath of a department store fire. We can solve the unemployment problem better than by creating more work. The workers have too much work to do as it is. The best solution to the unemployed problem is to make every man perform a share of the work of society. That means that the hours of labor will be considerably reduced. A six hour day is a step towards the abolition of unemployment. A four hour day is another step. Complete control of industry is the final step. It can be done. It must be done. Furthermore there is a new spirit coming amongst men. The rapid advance of this paper is conclusive proof that men are not thinking of the editorials of the Labor World. They refuse to accept the counsel of meekness as given forth by the editor of the Labor World. They are becoming more daring and unless the Trades Assembly desires to be swept into the realms of obscurity, it will have to attune its ears to the new songs of a new democracy. Sectionalism must go. It has to go and it is going. The blacksmiths who walked out on strike with their molder brothers prove that sectionalism is fast dying out. Let us be wise in our time and confront the problems of today with the commonsense that befits men and women who

are imbued with the real spirit of labor. Men like Jensen and Morin have vision. You can not listen to the likes of such delegates without being impressed by them. Not by what say, but by what they seek to give expression to. We trust that all delegates will feel like these men. We trust that they will endeavor to interpret the spirit of the new day in the light of an industrial democracy. That they will get away from that state of mind that thinks that presidents can feel the pulse of the workers. There is no statesman born who can rightly gauge the feelings of the men on the job. The heat of the foundry, the mine and the stokehold are but the molders of the opinions of men and those that work with the men and possess the vision of a new day, should also have faith in the men they work with, to bring about the new day. The workers themselves must organize in such a way that they can obtain control of industry and they must drill themselves in such a way that when the crash does come, they will be fitted to run the factories. The time is fast approaching when the workers must either face the dawn of a new era or the dawn of a greater slavery than the world has ever known. That time will require men with hearts of steel and the knowledge of how to run things. Will the Trades Assembly of Duluth take the right step? We again say, will they?

The Silent Press.

On the last day of Congress, a bill was passed known as the Tilton Bill.

Obtain the finest microscope and examine the "silent press" and you will not find one word mentioned about this bill.

WHY?

Simply because this bill, which is now a law, is one that places America in the same position that Germany occupied under the Kaiser. You have all been regaled with speeches about the League of Nations going to prevent war. Well just for a little dessert, read the following extract from the Tilton Law:—

Sec. R. UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING.—

There shall be drafted each year for a three-months' period of intensive training into the military service of the United States all young men who have passed their nineteenth birthday, and who have not previously had three months training, and who are not exempted for the time being by the President of the United States, and such other men up to the age of between twenty-eight and twenty-nine who for any reason whatsoever shall not have had three months' military training, except that if the early years of the operating of this law the total number would thus be greater than the number of men necessary to create twenty-five or such other number of divisions as would embrace approximately five hundred thousand to six hundred thousand men, then sufficient older men shall be excused to meet the above requirements. This draft shall occur at the close of the scholastic year of the educational institutions above referred to, and shall be for a three months' period.

What is the League of Nations, after all that has been said about it? The thousands of American boys that died in France and the millions of men of other countries, their deaths have been in vain. The war was set forth as a war against militarism. The men who marched to their deaths, marched because they believed that a victory over the Central Powers, would mean a victory over the tyrant-Militarism. No sooner is the war over, then the tyrant militarism raises its ugly head here in America.

Of course it is "un-American" on our part to mention these ugly facts. We shall probably be called a traitor and other classical names, but when the drums begin to sound the alarm and the cannons begin to roar again and shells whistle their music again, remember that we were the first paper to mention the fact that MILITARISM had raised its ugly head in America.

How can you stop it?

Simply by going to your work and advising your fellow-men to organize, so that when the call for another war comes, you will be able to decide for yourselves, as to whether you want that war or not.

Things We Forget!

The workers of this country, like in France, Italy and England, are being fooled with the idea that good times are ahead. Their masters tell them that Germany is going to pay for the war and so all the wealth that is collected from Germany will go towards giving us all a good time. The exact opposite is the truth.

Germany cannot pay her war bill in gold, therefore she will have to pay it in goods. The goods will be manufactured in Germany, by German workers in German factories. The German workers will receive one of the blessings of the system, the privilege of working overtime. The goods produced will be sent over to this country to be disposed of. The result will be that the American workers will be out of work. There will be no need to open the American factories, because Germany will supply the necessary commodities. Who did you say won the war?

Why not all join hands and refuse to work overtime at all? Let us band ourselves together and take over industry and quit fooling ourselves that the workers of any other country can assist the workers of this country, by paying war debts?

Also remember that the workers of Germany have a forty-four hour week and the molders in Duluth are striking for a forty-eight hour week.

Who won the war did you say? Ask dad he knows?

The English local will meet on Sunday afternoon at the Woodman Hall at 2:30 p. m. Will you be there?

RAYMOND ROBINS ON RUSSIA

"All power to the Soviet." These five words gave the Bolshevik control of Russia," said Raymond Robins, of the American Red Cross mission in Russia, in a statement to the Senate Bolshevik investigating committee, on March 6th. Everywhere I went in Russia, he said, "I saw that side by side with the old dead institutions there was growing the Soviet system binding together the great mass of the people."

"It was 93 per cent of the population against the upper 7 per cent, that is to say, the old regime. The upper per cent depended in the last analysis on the nearest rifles, and the nearest rifles were in Germany."

He declared that had the United States responded to the message from the Soviet government of Russia and aided them at the crucial moment, Russia would have repudiated the Brest-Litovsk treaty and remained in the war.

"In every respect America has failed utterly in her Russian policy, he said, piling blunder upon blunder and mistake upon mistake and endeavoring to cover the results of stupidity with lies.

"The time has come, now, when we must know the facts about Bolshevism," he thundered. "Not to libel or to slander or defend, but to know. Only by knowing can America meet this challenge.

"The war is over now, and we can tell and know the truth—look squarely at the situation abroad. Italy is a government on a volcano; underneath the surface in France is a growing class-consciousness determined to put through the Socialist program. Lloyd George, with a Tory government behind him did not dare to enforce the public law against the Soviets in Belfast. Does this look like a movement that you can crush by mere denunciation?"

In reply to the question from Senator Overman, "How would you stop Bolshevik propaganda in this country?", the former head of the Red Cross organization said quickly:

"By telling the truth and showing what is involved. If we keep up with the march of progress, we need not fear Bolshevism. But force alone is an old failure against ideas. Government can never expect to suppress a desire for a better human life with force."

"He pointed out that Bolshevism, like I. W. W.-ism sprouts and grows on economic wrongs. "Take the fear of unemployment, accidents and sickness from the workman's home, and you remove the need of Bolshevism," he said. "Laws against the red flag, or any other hysteria, directed at superficial things, are of no avail. Get at the fundamentals."

Bolsheviks Fought Germans. The Bolsheviks were the only party in Russia to consistently oppose the German autocracy, Robins declared, intimating that alleged proofs of German-Bolshevik connivance, such as the Sisson documents, has been prepared solely in order to cover up outrageous blunders made by administration leaders in their policy toward Russia.

"Our stupid policy towards that country," he asserted, has most effectively played into Germany's hands throughout."

Robins referred to the abhorrence in which the Bolsheviks are now generally held. This was what the Germans sought, he said, in order that they might have the whole field free for their own commercial exploitation after the war.

He said that the Germans financed and supported anarchist organizations in Russia, in order to discredit the Bolsheviks with the Allies.

Robins utterly condemned the Czech-Slovak invasion of Siberia, and told how it had overthrown a stable Soviet government in the outlying parts of Russia.

"After the Czech Slovaks got in, I heard of plenty of disorder in Siberia," he commented dryly, adding that in his entire sojourn in Russia he had not come across half as much disorder as he could read about in a single issue of an American newspaper.

He gave an interesting sidelight on the dissolving of the Constituent Assembly when he told of how it was controlled by Tchernoff, who, Kerenski and Breshkovskaya both agreed, was hand in glove with the German military intrigue.

"I believe the forcible adjournment of the Constituent Assembly was in the interests of the Allied cause," he said.

Mme. Breshkovskaya also came in for some sharp criticism from Robins, who said that much as he admired her, he felt her attitude after Kerenski fell, to be very inconsistent.

"If you encourage a revolution," he said, "you must not be heard to weep when it comes."

He told of his many conferences with Lenin and of his sincere admiration for the statesmanlike qualities of the former, who, he said, always was amenable to reason. A letter from Lenin was his unquestioned passport over the entire 6,000 miles of travel and every courtesy was shown him by the local Soviet authorities.

In response to senatorial heckling, Colonel Robins explained, "I am trying to tell the truth about it (Bolshevism). I refuse to be put in a position of defending atrocities, but I prefer to understand a situation rather than to denounce it. I found more bitterness in the United States against Bolshevik atrocities than against Bloody Monday and all the long line of Czarist persecutions. I would like to see both sides of this question presented. Mere passion and resentment will not take care of it. Don't go with hunting, don't use tyranny, don't get hysterical."

As an avowed anti-Socialist Colonel Robins testimony in regard to Russia, long-awaited and strangely withheld, must carry no inconsiderable weight, especially his words, "Not to libel or to slander, or to defend, but to know." Only by knowing can America meet the challenge of the times!

CRIPPLED VETS WIN IN GENERAL STRIKE

Toronto, Canada.—One of the oddest general strikes in the history of Canada has resulted in a complete reinstatement of the men.

It was a strike of returned soldiers, most of them crippled at that, and all engaged in making artificial arms and legs for soldiers who suffered in the war.

They went out because a foreman, who was not a returned man, was discharged by the gov-in the Toronto branch. Palgarey and Winnipeg war veterans employed in making artificial limbs also struck in sympathy. The officials were forced to surrender after a strike of several days' duration and the workers got back pay.

UNIONISTS AIM TO OWN INDUSTRIES

At a gathering of representative trade unionists in Toronto to consider the unemployment situation, the following resolution was

passed, according to the Ontario Labor News.

"Recognizing that unemployment is destructive to the health and happiness of great numbers of the workers, we urge upon them to organize in accordance with Canadian laws, with a view to taking over the industries, with the intention of operating the machinery of production and administering industrial affairs democratically in the interests of the whole people."

WHAT ARE YOU DOING FOR THE PARTY?

Are you giving due consideration to the various questions of theory and practice in the Party, and definitely aligning yourself with the Left Wing, the only part of your organization mentioned in the Bolshevik call for a Congress of the new "Revolutionary International"?

PROTEST against the National Executive Committee sending O'Neal (one of the worst "moderates") over to Europe to confer with the old International Bureau and their ilk.