

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

THE TRUTH



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

VOL. III. No. 7.

FEBRUARY 14 1919.

WHOLE NUMBER 87.

FIVE CENTS

ORGANIZED LABOR

Let the Following Be Your Slogan: Six Hours a Day; No Reduction In Pay and a Job For Every Returned Soldier

MINN. HIST. SOC. ALB.

25,000 British "Tommies" Mutiny For Civil Status

Gold Branded Generals Stand Aghast When Soldiers Refuse to Leave Folkestone for France After Leave of Absence.

"The war is over; we won't fight in Russia, and we mean to go home!" With this slogan on their lips, according to the issue of the London Herald, approximately 25,000 English Tommies are taking demobilization into their own hands.

At Osterley Park 1,500 marched to London to voice their demands. At Folkestone, England, 100,000 uniformed men organized a soldiers' union, and their action has been described as "successful mutiny." At Shoreham 7,000 demonstrated; at Shortlands, 1,500; at Dover, about 4,000. At London 400 men who were to have entrained for Salonica have refused to go.

The Truth here reprints the first full news reaching this country of the military outbreaks in England.

It began on Friday morning at Folkestone; it spread in a flash to Dover, Osterley Park, Shortlands, Sydenham, Grove Park, Shoreham, Kempton Park, Park Royal, Aldershot, Maidstone, Chatham, Bristol, Fairlop, and even to a detachment in London supposed to entrain for Salonika; and it is not ended yet—not by a long way.

Two months ago the armistice was signed. For two months the armies—and not alone at home—have been demanding their release. For two months the press has been trying to whip up an agitation for a money war upon Russia. For two months the magnates have been shivering in their buttoned boots at the prospects of a new spirit in the homecoming armies of war which are to become the armies of industry. And for two months the War Office has been playing cat's-paw—issuing millions of incomprehensible forms, first, out of incompetence; secondly, for political reasons. Discharge became demobilization; demobilization became a maze of millions of miles of red tape and circulars.

After the official reveille had been sounded at Folkestone on January 3, there was no parade, for the sufficient reason that no one turned up. But on their own signal—three taps of a drum—2,000 men unarmed and in perfect order, demonstrated the fact that they were "fed-up"—absolutely "fed-up." Their plan of action had been agreed upon the night before—no military boot should be allowed to leave Folkestone for France that day, or any day, until they were guaranteed their freedom. It was sheer, flat, brazen, open and successful mutiny. They knew it, and they did it.

Picketing the Harbor. Pickets were posted at the harbor. Only Canadian and Australian troops were to be allowed to sail—if they wanted to. As a matter of fact, they didn't want to. One officer tried to interfere. He leaped across a gangway, and got a rough house. "I am a relative of Sir Douglas Haig," one general officer pleaded. "We are all King's messengers," said another party. But nothing of that kind availed them.

The Gathering Forces.

Meanwhile, troop trains were arriving at Folkestone with more men returning from leave and on the way to France. These were met by pickets, and no more than the mildest persuasion was needed to divert the men to the rest camps. There, in a mass, they joined the demonstrators.

On Saturday an armed guard of Fusiliers was posted at the quays by the army authorities. They carried fixed bayonets and ball cartridges. The pickets approached. One rifle made a show of going up; the foremost picket seized it, and forthwith the rest of the guard fell back.

The mutineers visited the station in a body, after having posted their own harbor guards, and tore down a large label, "For officers only," which was posted above a comfortable waiting room. I mention this, as it typifies one of the many causes of the trouble—the bitter resentment felt at the easy conditions of the officers as compared with those of the men. Another cause of trouble, about which I heard on every hand, was the perverseness of the food. The Cherry Gardens Camp was particularly mentioned in this regard.

A Soldiers' Union. On Saturday a great procession of the soldiers concerned, welled by now to about 10,000, marched through the town. And everywhere the townsfolk showed their sympathy. At midday a mass meeting decided to form a Soldiers' Union. They appointed their officials and chose their spokesmen—every one, be it noted, a trade unionist. This, again, I wish to emphasize, because of the attempts in some organs of the press to show the whole movement as one of jealousy toward the organized workers at home.

Recognition. By now the telephones and telegrams between London and Folkestone had done their work. And the Big Whigs from London, including Sir William Robertson, were arriving in Folkestone. True, their counterparts in France had refused to meet the representatives of the German Soldiers' Council (with proper class-consciousness they preferred the German Junker), but they had to meet the English soldiers' representatives. They just had to. There was no alternative. This, mind you, is in England. Not in Bolshevik Russia. Here was "recognition" without a vengeance!

The fact that there was a conference at all was a supreme victory for the mutineers. And, indeed, for democracy. To my mind, it was an even greater victory than the result of the conference, though that was a total relief of every one of the men's immediate grievances. All men with jobs open to them were promised immediate demobilization; men with prospects of jobs were given a week's leave in which to make those prospects certain; and, finally, a complete indemnity was given to the mutineers, the generals explaining that they "would forget the incident." But they won't—not for a long time.

Folkestone's Last. That does not close the Folkestone story. Workers' control gave the Demobilization Department another lesson. The men elected 140 of their number to act as clerks. These clerks in one day issued all the necessary pass papers, ration books, and railway warrants for the whole camp. On Sunday the camp was clear, and the latest to leave were

the leaders of the movement, who watched their last comrade go free before they went for themselves.

Other Incidents.

At Osterley Park, 1,500 A. S. C. men, mostly bus drivers in civil life, broke camp on January 6, and seized a number of army lorries. On these many scores of them traveled to London to voice their demands. A highly-placed officer tried to browbeat the men without any success, and the same terms were "conceded" to them as had been given to their comrades at Folkestone.

At Shoreham, 7,000 men demonstrated; at Shortlands, 1,500 men; at Dover, about 4,000. I understand that at Boulogne, Calais and Staples strange and ominous events on the same lines have happened. In London 400 men who were to be entrained for Salonica refused to go. Everywhere the feeling is the same; "The war is over, we won't fight in Russia, and we mean to go home." The temper is solidifying itself. The meeting announced for Thursday in Trafalgar Square has been postponed. But watch the papers for further announcements.

For three years the Herald has been demanding the following program, realizing the inevitable chaos that would result from keeping men in the army against their will in peace time. Now the soldiers are beginning to make these demands their own, and we believe that a great national agreement in the fighting forces will very speedily bring the government to its knees and senses.

1. Immediate discharge (not demobilization) of all men who have jobs awaiting them. Cut out the Dispersal Camps!
2. All men who desire to leave the fighting forces, but have no jobs actually waiting for them, to be demobilized and given extended furlough with full civilian rights and privileges, either at the rates of pay for the jobs they left to go into the army or at such a rate of maintenance as shall keep themselves and their families in comfort until jobs at trade union rates and under trade union conditions are found for them. Absolute discharge to take place immediately they are in work.
3. Discharge and demobilization not to be left to commanding officers.

Labor and the Soldiers.

We have the evidence of the Daily Mail, not likely to be prejudiced in our favor, that the great mass of soldiers sympathized with Labor at the recent election. What is Labor going to do to show its sympathy with their comrades in the army? By every post the Herald is receiving resolutions demanding drastic action on the part of the workers in support of the millions of trade unionists who are in the fighting forces.

If the House of Commons had been sitting, as it ought to be, to meet this grave situation, the live men in the Labor party would be putting searching questions to the responsible heads of the government. We cannot wait until Mr. Lloyd George has finished bargaining with the unionists as to who is to get the big-salaried jobs in his Cabinet, and we demand to have the official answers to the following questions:

To ask the Secretary of State for War whether he will formally acknowledge the Soldiers' Union and deal with the problem of demobilization through the men's committees and on the lines indicated above?

To ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware of the disquieting rumors as to disturbances, followed by bloodshed, among the English and Dominion troops at Calais, Boulogne and Staples; and whether he will tell the public what truth there is in these rumors?

To ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether English troops are to risk death by cold and starvation in Russia; whether it is war against the Russian revolution; and whether Russia shall not be left to evolve her own destiny, without the shedding of more British blood? To ask Mr. Lloyd George. What about it?

WILSON AND LENINE FOR RULE OF WORLD

We Call Ourselves Honest Men and Mean To Stay Honest.

By Paul Wallace Hanna, N. Y. Call.

Paris, Feb. 1 (delayed).—Wilson or Lenine? In the middle of October last I wrote from Washington that the race was on between a Bolshevik peace and a peace of the 14 points.

That race is still on, and Paris is a grandstand from which the contest is seen more clearly every hour. What the peace conference will do has already become less important than the question whether it will do anything before the issue passes entirely out of its hands.

In Paris one sits and waits, and listens. Some have lost all patience, and others are losing it. "We call ourselves honest men; if we mean to stay honest, let us wash our hands and go home." A man who came to Paris less than a month ago in high hope and an official capacity, uttered the above exclamation.

He has not gone home, but he has gone to Switzerland for a rest and possible forgetfulness. He will not return to Paris. He has had enough.

The fourteen points lag, while Bolshevikism spreads. Lloyd George is detained in London, but fifty new Soviet agitators have arrived in Vienna. Paris newspapers applaud Hindenburg's victory over the Spartacist group at Berlin, while idle men in uniform damn their fruitless drilling.

Italy has told Wilson that she cannot last through 1919 without a loan of \$100,000,000 from the United States. She needs the money to feed and clothe the 5,000,000 men under arms who are producing nothing. But Orlando and Sonnino will not give up their anxieties of Dalmatian, Greek and Turkish territory. In return for the \$100,000,000 Italy is willing again to endorse the fourteen points, in principle.

Orlando hates Clemenceau. He says the French Prime Minister is backing Jugo-Slav "pretensions" east of the Adriatic. Clemenceau despises the Italian upstart, and he to restore a Roman empire on the Mediterranean. And fears it.

France, with her grip on the richest iron mines in Europe, has a population that falls and will not stop falling. Italy's bluff rate flourishes.

Why England proposes a formal peace with Soviet Russia, one can only guess. Four thousand soldiers from Royal Park rode in to Whitehall on Wednesday and demanded a pledge from the war office that they should not be sent to Russia. The pledge was given and published that neither they nor any other British soldiers would be sent against Russia.

Mine sweepers sailors at Rosyth have refused to go on sweeping mines. They complained about the low pay for their risky service. But "the complaints came chiefly from men who have been away to Copenhagen and have had a hard time there," explains the Times.

A hard time! Copenhagen was the British base for naval operations against the Bolsheviks of the Russian Baltic provinces. A sailor hears strange doctrines when he hears the shore of Russia.

Highland Light Infantry have sent a committee to Edinburgh to demand haste in their demobilization. These men fought in France and Mesopotamia.

Why France fights the proposal to make peace with Russia, one must guess, also. A financial expert with the American yepce mission says all the late European belligerents are bankrupt. A big proportion of French wealth lies in Russian bonds and industries. The Soviets have repudi-

ated the first and confiscated the second.

The American financial expert thinks France can get even with the Bolsheviks only by repudiating her own war debts. And as far as he can make out, the others will have to do the same.

Five million French men and women have bought bonds. But the Brest sailors who refused to leave for Russia seem to have ignored the critical fiscal condition of their government. Which reminds me:

At the Hotel Cillon today I talked with an American officer lately returned from the front. He praised Clemenceau as a great statesman. "But the French soldiers don't agree with me, I must confess. When you ask them about their government they spit."

Press censorship was never more rigorous than at present in Paris. Blank columns appear in all the dailies. The German Spartacus Socialists recently addressed a statement to the proletariat of the world. A copy of it reached the office of Jean Longuet's paper, Le Populaire. The censor forbade its publication. I understand he has since relented, and that the document will soon be printed.

Not a line of the Brest sailors' revolt has appeared in a French paper. An American correspondent included some mention of it in a dispatch which he submitted to the French censor, the American cable censor being absent at the moment. The French official was startled when he came to the Brest conference.

"That has nothing to do with the peace conference," he said. "But it is true, isn't it?" the reporter answered.

"You did not see it in the French papers, did you?" The reporter cut out the sinful passage, but the censor was still uneasy. He telephoned to the Prime Minister's office and talked at length with some one there.

"If you American correspondents are going to include that kind of thing in your stories," he finally told the reporter, "we will have to put a special French censor over you all."

An average of 15 per cent of the space in all Paris newspapers is devoted to the spread of Bolshevikism in Europe and the need to combat it. But how shall it be combat? Even the moderate Socialists are at a loss for an answer.

"At Lausanne," writes Huysmans, "the working class will formulate the demands which it means to enforce through parliamentary forms."

"Through parliamentary forms!" echoes Le Populaire. "Then the Russians and one wing of the Germans will have no place at Lausanne. But M. Huysmans may be right. To discuss them in parliamentary forms is really all we have to do with the revolutions in Russia and Germany which are proceeding quite independently of our abstract views."

WORK HAS NO WORD ON PASSPORT REFUSAL

Chicago.—No word has been received from the State Department at Washington regarding the passport for John M. Work, one of the three official delegates of the American Socialist party to the international Socialist and labor conference now meeting at Berne, Switzerland.

Work received notification of the refusal of his application for a passport two weeks ago and immediately asked for reconsideration. Since then there has been no information received regarding the possible action of the State Department.

GERMANS AND POLES END 5 AND 10 CENT WAR

Basle.—Germans and Poles have signed a seven-day armistice on the Silesian front, which may be renewed automatically, it was reported in dispatches.

This armistice ends one of the independent wars that were threatening eastern Europe. The Poles had announced their intention of occupying Berlin, and at one time were reported within 100 miles of the German capital.

Workers Sweep on Toward Full Industrial Democracy

Watson of Shop Stewards' Council Expects Violence, But Deplores It—Labor's Program Calls for 40-Hour Week.

By EDWIN HULLING ER.

London.—The present strikes in Great Britain and Ireland are the first step toward socialization of all industries, and establishment of revolutionary committees like those in Russia, William Z. Watson, member of the Shop Stewards' National Administrative Council, declared.

Watson frankly admitted the shop stewards' sympathy with Bolshevik philosophy, and declared they hope to participate in the International Revolutionary Congress to be called by Premier Lenine.

"The shop stewards hope to establish revolutionary committees like those in Russia," said Watson.

"The present strikes are the first step toward socialization of British industries and their control by the workers. We sympathize with Bolshevik philosophy, and hope to enter the international revolutionary congress to be called by Lenine."

"We already represent 50 per cent of the English laborers. The shop stewards are behind practically all the present strikes. We are 'direct actionists,' as opposed to the regular unionists, who are constitutionalists. We are against the bourgeoisie. We hope they will submit to the new regime, but if they are obstreperous, we intend to be firm. Personally, I would not be surprised to see violence in England; but I hope it won't come. I presume it will be necessary to control the London newspapers. We do not intend to touch the telegraph lines. We intend to use the present controllers of industry as managers under us—when they are good fellows. Our present program includes a 40-hour week, perhaps shorter, if it should be found desirable."

Watson rose from his desk and showed the correspondent a copy of the San Francisco Daily News tacked to the door. Placing one finger on a picture of Lenine, his wife and friends in a carriage, he said: "It looks like a peaceful family party. We do not believe all the stories we hear of Bolshevik terrorism. We hope to avoid the use of physical force, but, if we are opposed, we intend to seize industries. The shop stewards' committees are already organized, preparatory to taking over the plants in which they are working. When the time comes we will simply shut off products from the present owners, operating the plants ourselves."

Representatives of 8,000 waiters voted to strike unless they are granted an 8-hour day and are allowed to keep all of their tips.

There was a general strike of employees in the London tubes. Traffic was disorganized.

Sinn Feiners are co-operating with the workers to force a general strike throughout Ireland, according to a Dublin dispatch published by the Daily News.

By combining forces with the strikers, the Sinn Feiners hope to force release of their members now in jail, in addition to obtaining concessions for the workers. Placards were being posted throughout the country bearing the slogan, "Release prisoners. Grant 40-hour week."

Thousands of people are reported to be storing food and candles in anticipation of the threatened strike.

"Grave, New Danger." "Grave, New Danger" is a headline in the Daily News.

Twelve Sinn Feiners in Dublin were found guilty of illegally drilling in a private hall here and were sentenced to six months' imprisonment. When arraigned they denied the authority of British laws and one of them, while in the dock, waved a republican flag.

With the nationwide strikes still spreading, and armed government troops patrolling the riotous no-beds, Britain looks with grave alarm to the storm signals flaring up in various parts of the United Kingdom, the most threatening being the strikers' announcement that they will resist "the government-armed tyranny which failed to suppress justice in other countries and will fall in England."

More Than 100 I. W. W. In Jails Need Funds For Defense

By CAROLINE A. LOWE.

The overshadowing importance of the great Chicago I. W. W. trial, involving more than 100 men, and continuing for five months, has caused members of the organization and sympathizers to lose sight of the fact that more than 100 other men scattered in various parts of the country are still awaiting trial. Month after month they have suffered in vile jails, apparently forgotten by the outside world. Their cases are coming to trial, one after another, in the near future, and no funds are on hand to prepare adequate defense. There is the Wichita case, involving 34 men; the Omaha case, with 28; the Spokane case, with 28, besides several others in which but one or two men are indicted.

In the Wichita case the men have been imprisoned since November, 1917, in unspeakably vile jails in Kansas. They are under charges of conspiracy almost identical with the Chicago case. Several of them are shattered in mind and body because of the intolerable conditions prevailing in these jails. They are, with but one exception, men who were engaged in the oil industry, and are being persecuted because of their endeavors to organize the oil workers. Many of them, in fact, are mere boys, who had just joined the organization and had not yet taken any active part in it. The long months of imprisonment have taught them more regarding class oppression than years of ordinary experience on the outside could have done.

The Wichita jail has a rotary tank, built of sheet iron, which is placed upon a central pivot that it must be turned around every time any one enters or leaves the tank. This turning process is accompanied by a most distressing crunching noise. Men confined for weeks in this barbarous place go insane. The cells are triangular in shape, with the toilet facilities in the narrow point of the cell, measuring about 15 inches across. They empty, not into a sewer, but into an open trough, which is cleaned at the pleasure of the

DEFECTIVE PAGE

Triumph at Hand, Says Nearing

By Scott Nearing.

Bolshevism is the rise of the majority to power. For centuries there have been Bolshevik movements under different names. At the present time the term is applied to those who are insisting that the masses of mankind should be heard in the settlement of the world's affairs.

The term, "Bolshevism," is used today by the master class with the same sense of righteous horror that the term "Jacobinism" was used immediately after the French revolution. The Jacobin Club was an organization in which some of the most extreme among the French revolutionists functioned. The term of "Jacobin" became synonymous with revolution, radical and liberal. Finally it was applied to Czar Alexander of Russia by his more conservative fellow monarchists.

The ruling minorities always have special privileges that they must protect. Therefore, they are in constant terror of the rise of the majority. The ruling class in the United States is quite frank in stating that the people must be kept in check. Thus John R. Mott is reported as saying at the house of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that "whole peoples must not be permitted to get out of hand." Dr. Richmond, president of Union College, is quoted by the New York Times as warning the Americans against "an autocracy of mere numbers." The new history syllabus for the New York schools warns that "the menace of Bolshevism is as real and universal as the menace of typhoid fever."

The term "Bolshevism" means "majority." The Social Democratic Labor party of Russia split in 1903 over a resolution concerning party policy. The majority in this split were dubbed "Bolshevik," and the minority "Menshevik." The original of the term is, therefore, peculiarly suggestive of the situation which it purports to describe. Majorities everywhere are rising into power, and it is against this rise of the majority to power that he master class is uttering its protest.

Capitalism is the seed-ground of Bolshevism. More than half a century ago Karl Marx showed how completely capitalist society bore within itself the germs of its own destruction. The Socialists have contended that class struggles are an integral part of social evolution—that the existence of a ruling minority presupposes the existence of a ruled majority, and that wherever the condition of life among this ruled majority become sufficiently onerous the majority is bound to overturn the social structure. Particularly, if economic developments have previously socialized the machinery of production.

The developments of capitalist society have added one additional proof of the correctness of this theory. Under capitalism, wealth and power have been concentrated in the hands of a tiny minority. These few wield an enormous and irresponsible authority over the lives of their fellows. The conditions under which the masses exist are rendered almost intolerable by the inequalities of capitalist society. In Russia and in portions of central Europe the masses have refused longer to tolerate this rule of plutocratic minority.

The rise of Bolshevism in Europe is thus the logical outgrowth of

economic and social conditions—the proof of the Socialist contention that capitalism must prove self-destructive. Foreign correspondents, soldiers and statesmen, including the President, have all advised the American people that Bolshevism is spreading over Europe like wildfire. The workers in all of the countries are aroused as they have not been aroused since the period of the Napoleonic wars. They have made up their minds to secure bread, peace and liberty. And they do not propose to stop until those things are obtained.

The Department of Justice is finding Bolshevism also in the United States. Despite the traditions of liberty, despite the widespread belief in the existence of popular rights, there is a growing economic struggle in the United States that finds its immediate expression in widespread strikes and labor conflicts. However, those who strike and those who dominate industry realize that there can be no truce between the working class and the owning class until the workers control the earth. The thinking leaders of the more active elements in the American labor movement are Bolsheviks in that sense. They will be satisfied with nothing less than the social control of the productive machinery.

The efforts to suppress Bolshevism in the United States would be laughable if they were not fraught with such a terrible danger. Minorities have been ruling here for years. The majority during those years has been growing constantly more restive, constantly more determined to assert itself. The minority is equally determined that the majority shall not assert such power. Hence the widespread propaganda which now is being carried on against majority movements. The suppressions, the lynchings, the jailings, all of the persecutions and prosecutions which the ruling class in America is directing against Bolshevism merely serves to intensify hatred and to establish class differences.

If the ruling class in America was true to its own traditions of Americanism it would welcome discussion and grant full liberty to the people to hear both sides on the issue. Knowing itself to be so hopelessly in the wrong, however, the ruling class does not permit the issue to be brought into the light of day. Censorship is its motto and suppression its watchword.

Many years ago King Canute bade the waves to retire and not to wet his royal feet. America today is full of King Canutes who are biding time, waiting until the waves of Bolshevism to retire and not to endanger the foundations of capitalist society. In the long run the American Canutes will be just as successful as was their famous British predecessor.

When Lincoln coined his famous phrase, "you cannot fool all the people all the time," he told why Bolshevism is bound to sweep the earth. The conditions of modern economic life have become intolerable. The economic forces are pitted against the masses. The economic benefits are for the fortunate few. The masses have been very patient. They have waited a long time. They have been almost satisfied. But the war, high prices and unemployment have brought them to their senses. Now they are demanding not only a people's peace, but a people's world—a Bolshevik world, a world in which the majority decide public questions and dominates public affairs.

President Wilson's Welcome at Brest

The Truth has just received translations of the addresses made at the welcome to President Wilson as he landed at the Port of Brest. That city is in the hands of the Socialists, and a great reception had been planned for him. It is charged, however, that the Paris authorities permitted the President but one hour in the Socialist governed city. The spokesman for the Socialist party and the Confederation General du Travail (General Confederation of Labor the equivalent of the A. F. of L. in France), spoke to the President in the following words, which have a particular significance in the light of subsequent events.

"In one of your former addresses to the American people and the world at large, which history will preserve, you said:

"May I not add that I sincerely believe and speak in the name of all friends of liberty and humanity among the nations? I would like to believe that I speak here for the masses, the silent masses of humanity, no matter where they are to whom it was not given, as far as we know, a chance of expressing their thoughts regarding the death and ruin fast accumulating on their homes and their dearest. In making it known that the people and the government of the United States are uniting with other civilized nations in order to guarantee the application of a peace based on the conditions just set out, I speak in full confidence, for every man capable of thought will clearly see in this promise not an infraction of the traditions and the policies of our country, but an accomplishment of all the principles we have professed."

"In participating in your reception at Brest the general Confederation of Labor has already told you of the profound accord of the thoughts of the French workers and the President of the United States regarding the conception of war and peace."

"The organizations whose delegates speak to you here, Mr. President, will feel chagrined if their efforts were to be construed as a deliberate attempt to win your patronage. Such an attempt, though unworthy of yourself, would be unworthy of these organizations."

"But how could they resist their feeling when they had to affirm to the world that thousands upon thousands of men, women and children of France (the silent masses) whose forebears fought so often for the right of mankind are with you in your effort to proclaim the right of nations and to realize a people's peace."

"You have engraved a memorable deed, which cannot be forgotten in the memory of man, or neglected by the acts of diplomats, in those terms of a just, durable and humane peace. How can the people fail to express to you their gratitude?"

"France threw herself wholeheartedly into this war because she felt that she was being attacked. Her soldiers departed, saying 'We want to make this war the last war.' It will not seem to them sufficient that France and her Allies vanquished the aggressor. The silent masses hope

to see their heavy sacrifices paid back by the organization in dull light of a world's peace based upon principles opposed to all principles that breed militarism and imperialism.

It is an immense task, which can not be the deed of one moment, and for which statesmen would only be able to sow the seeds at the peace conference, relying upon the expressed will of the people to ripen and harvest its fruit.

"An inevitable task, whose moral principles you have defined and subsequently brought with you to Europe the material support of the American nation."

"For this task, which has its symbol in the League of Nations, all the elements of democracy look up to you while you are here."

"It isn't by a mere hazard of meeting that the workers, the Socialists and Democrats of France are facing you today."

"Since February, 1915, meeting at London, together with their fellow workers and Socialists of other countries, the workers and Socialists of France affirmed:

"Unflinchingly decided to fight to victory in order to accomplish the task of liberation, they stand resolved to oppose any tentative or transforming of this war of defense into a war of conquests, create new griefs and deliver the peoples more than ever to the double curse of armaments and war."

"Convinced that we remain faithful to the principles of the international, we express the hope that soon the proletariat of all countries, recognizing the similarity of their fundamental interests, will again find themselves united in their fight against capitalist imperialism and militarism."

"The victory of the Allies must be a victory of all peoples—the liberty, the unity, the independence and the autonomy of every nation in the pacific federation of the United States of Europe and of the world."

"A little later, in another conference held at London in February, 1918, after three years of war passed over the world with its ravages and mourning, the workers and Socialists of France stated again:

"Of all the conditions of peace, none is more important to the peoples of the entire world than the one which will make future wars impossible. NO MATTER WHO IS GOING TO BE THE VICTOR, THE PEOPLES WILL BE A LOSER IF AN INTERNATIONAL REGIME, WHOSE PURPOSE SHOULD BE TO PREVENT AN FUTURE WAR, SHOULD NOT EMERGE AS FINALLY ESTABLISHED. Of what use will it be to proclaim the right of the peoples to dispose of their destinies, if these same destinies should rest at the mercy of new violences, if it could not be protected by an international and supreme force which means nothing less than a League of Nations?"

"By a solemn binding of all the states through a universal consultation of their peoples, they shall give assurance that in case of any nascent

conflict between two or more states it would be brought to the arbitrage of this league."

"The refusal to arbitrate OR TO TO ITS DECISION SHOULD CONSTITUTE A SUFFICIENT PROOF OF PREMEDITATED AGGRESSION, and subsequently all the peoples will stand together for the application of the sanctions at their disposal, whether economic or military, against such and such states which refuse to recognize the arbitral accord or attempt to disturb the universal pact of peace."

"But the true and loyal acceptance of the rules and decisions of the international organization involves the complete democratization of the countries of the world."

"THE ELIMINATION OF ALL ABSOLUTE POWERS which up to date can deliberately declare war and peace; parliamentary assemblies, elected by and for the sovereign rights of the people; THE ABOLITION OF ALL SECRET DIPLOMACY, making place for foreign policies directly under the control of the legislative assemblies; PUBLICATION OF ALL TREATIES, no treaty to be antagonistic to the stipulations of the League of Nations; ABSOLUTE RESPONSIBILITY OF GOVERNMENTS, AND PARTICULARLY THE FOREIGN SECRETARIES OF ALL COUNTRIES, TO THEIR PARLIAMENTS. Such policies will evidence the sincere abandonment of all forms of imperialism."

"In such a generalization of democracy, in a world where international guarantees will effectively be insured against any aggressiveness, the League of Nations will lead to the means of solving international conflicts."

"Thus, for the workers of France, as well as for you, Mr. President, 'the world must be made safe for democracy.' It is with this purpose in mind that you have formulated your fourteen peace conditions. They, at first, rallied all the Entente governments who expressed themselves in a similar tone. They have dazed somewhat all the peoples with their pure light. They have even reached the troubled consciences of the German people themselves. They have contributed in part to instigate the German revolution as a punishment for the crimes of the imperial government."

"The peoples, all the peoples, are waiting in expectation to see a rapid peace take up and formulate the fourteen stipulated conditions and, in so doing, seriously make it possible to begin the reconstruction of

the entire world.

"This would not be the least service you will have rendered to humanity, Mr. President, that you should have thought it of prime necessity to come much nearer and give your personal commentary of which the peace conference will not fail to be inspired."

"In so doing you will help with your presence here to bring to an end the formidable nightmare of the people and to prepare a durable peace from which the world's organization of labor, through free and loyal co-operation of all the democratized peoples on the face of the earth, will emerge."

"There you will find the true significance of the tremendous acclamations of which you are the object today."

There, Mr. President, free of disguise or insubordination, speaking in the clear and open space as you speak, as you like to be spoken to, you will find all the thoughts of the great workers' and Socialists' organizations of our country."

PAVING THE WAY

By Scott Nearing.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is a pioneer of international Socialism. The company owns numerous oil properties and 13 refineries—seven in the United States, four in Canada, one in Mexico and one in Peru; its pipe lines cover many states; it operates can factories, barrel factories, canning plants, glue factories and pipe shops; it has an ocean-going fleet of 54 vessels; it has branches and marketing machinery in Central America, South America, the West Indies, Great Britain, Italy, France, Germany, Roumania and South Africa. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey has burst the boundaries of nationalism and spread its network of productive machinery over the earth.

Those who built this huge business empire paved the way for internationalism. Ignoring the confines of country, continent, race and creed, they have laid the economic foundation upon which the new world is being constructed.

They were profiteers.

They planned only to grow rich. They had no idea that in their eagerness for profit they were checking their own ambitions by establishing the economic basis of the co-operative commonwealth.

EDITORS TAKE NOTICE

(The Nation of Feb. 1 contained an article, "Fighting for Democracy," by a drafted man. It had one passage which we hope some of our editorial writers will read. We reprint it.)

"Some one has sent me some cuttings from the New York Tribune, and also some copies of a journal called the War Weekly. When I read things like these I have a feeling almost of physical nausea. The mud and the dirt and the thousand discomforts which we have to undergo are clean in comparison with the spirit shown by writers like these. They are not the utterances of men. They remind me of nothing so much as the shrilling of hysterical fishwives. To spit venom and hate from the security of an editorial office is an easy and a safe thing to do. Words can't hurt the enemy, and words are cheap—cheap, that's just it. The decent, chivalrous soldier—and there are many such—who has staked his life can feel nothing but disgust when he meets with things like these."

FRENCH FOOD PROFIT HOGS TO FACE MUSIC

Washington.—French profiteers will face court-martial under a plan of the French Department of Justice to put down foodstuffs speculation, according to French cables. An economic commission of the Cabinet has been established to investigate the rise in the prices of necessities, it was stated.

A teacher asked her class in spelling to state the difference between the words "results" and "consequences." A bright girl replied: "Results are what you expect and consequences are what you get."

Liberty of thinking and expressing our thoughts is always fatal to priestly power, and to those plous frauds on which it is commonly founded.—Hume.

Stored-up knowledge, like stored-up wealth, is of no use to anyone until it is put into circulation.

Swedish Dances

— IN —
FORESTER'S HALL
EVERY SATURDAY EVENING

ADMISSION \$1.00. LADIES FREE

Entertainment

— AT THE —
WOODMAN HALL
SUNDAY EVENING, FEB. 16

1919 at 8 P. M.

W. E. TOWNE will speak

MR. LAVICK WILL PLAY ON THE VIOLIN.

(All who have heard Mr. Lavick need no second appeal to come again. Lavick is an artist. Do not fail to hear him.)

EDITOR OF TRUTH WILL PRESIDE.

Scandinavian Band will also play.

EVERYBODY WELCOME.

Admission 35c & 15c.

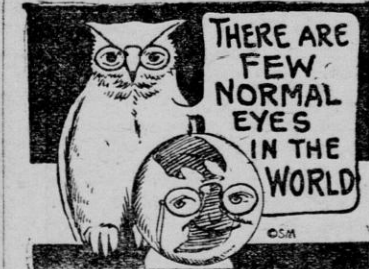
Zenith Phone Lincoln 117-A.

FOR A GOOD PAIR OF SHOES GO TO

Juten Shoe Store

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

O. F. WENNERLUND'S EYE TALKS



EMMETROPIC EYES meaning those that are normal in youth, are rare. Most eyes have not the proper focusing accommodation. When these defects make themselves apparent no time should be lost in consulting a competent authority. Our optometrist will search out for you in scientific fashion the eye troubles that are interfering with your vision and we will make glasses to correct them.

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

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

CHICAGO READERS VISIT —

THE CLARION
Books & Stationery
204 N. CLARK STREET
WILL GET YOU
Any Magazine or Periodical
from any part of the World
THE CLARION
Fellowship
MEET EVERY EVENING
OPEN DISCUSSION

WE SELL
Any Radical Paper

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

Frank's Shop

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

FRED W. ERICKSON

Established 1893
GROCERIES AT WHOLE-
SALE & RETAIL
2029—31 W. 3rd St.
LIN. 3561 MEL. 421.

SAVE MONEY
JEWELRY AND WATCHES
SOLD AND REPAIRED
— by —
M. GOLD & COMPANY,
1619 North 5th Street, WIS.
SUPERIOR. OGDEN 512-Y.

O. T. ROSAAS
PHOTOGRAPHER.
Lincoln 599-X Melrose 9219
2030 West Superior Street.

WAR IS OVER
BUT PRICES ARE UP
EXCEPT AT
ERICKSON'S
HARDWARE
WE ARE NOW AT
2015 W. Superior St.

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

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

IRELAND

By KATHERINE HUGHES
Just Published. 50c a copy
The best statement of Ireland's political, social and economic struggle for freedom.
DEMOCRACY IN IRELAND
By HANNA SHERIDAN SHERIDAN
With two portraits. 50c a copy
THE RIGHTS OF IRELAND and
FAITH OF A FELON
By JAMES FINTAN LALOR
With an Introduction by James Connolly
Five cents a copy
THE DONNELLY PRESS
164 East 37th Street New York City

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

BATHS AND SHOWER BATHS
Hotel Rex Barber Shop
R. P. JENTOPF, Prop.
Five cents a copy
2001 W. Superior St., Basement
DULUTH, MINN.

SHOES FOR ALL
A person should buy their shoes these days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused.
Our Shoes are selected from the best makers' best efforts, and the man we shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you trade. We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer.—We are Union men selling and repairing Shoes.
The Model Shoe Store
JENS JACOBSON, Prop.
Note the address. 1921 W. Sup. St.

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

GARBER BROS.

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

GUST LANDIN
Photographer
24—21st Ave. W.

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

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

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

Readers See ---
ERLAND ERLANDER
ARCHITECT & BUILDING
CONTRACTOR
4306 West 5th Street.
—BEFORE YOU DECIDE TO BUILD—
Call 7650.

Zenith Phone, Lincoln 3.
Bell Phone, Melrose 412.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONVENTION OF 1787

By MISS CAROLINE LOWE.

Now let us take a little review of the history of our country. In the earliest day our nation consisted of thirteen scattered colonies. These colonies united first against the Indians, later against the oppression of the English government. They elected delegates to a Continental Congress, which congress in time prepared and adopted our first United States Constitution. This constitution was called the Articles of Confederation. It, among other things, made four provisions that were of importance from our standpoint. First, it provided that congress should consist of just one house, there should be no senate; second, that members of congress should be subject to immediate recall; third, that they should be elected by direct vote of the people, and should serve but one year; fourth, that the Articles of Confederation should be amended by congress, and must be ratified by all of the state legislatures.

Benjamin Franklin tells us that the country as a whole was prosperous at this time. That the blacksmith sang at the anvil and the farmer rejoiced at his plow. But he tells us, also, that there was a small element in society who were discontented and dissatisfied, and "that it is always in the power of a small number to make a great clamor." That this small element cried "hard times, hard times, hard times," and demanded that Congress "take action to relieve the situation."

Who were these gentlemen who were so hard-pressed? First, there were the bankers who had money at interest, and the money speculators who had investments in public securities—many of whom had bought up the scrip of the Revolutionary soldiers for a few cents on the dollar and were demanding that congress redeem this scrip at one hundred cents on the dollar. This congress refused to do. Second, there were the land speculators, who had in various ways secured large tracts of land, hoping that the colonists would move out upon them and thereby increase their value. But the working people were too well satisfied at home and did not choose to risk the tomahawk of the Indians in the new and unsettled country. Third, there were the men who were engaged in manufacturing, and these men were demanding that congress protect their "infant industries" by means of a high protective tariff.

These men were all men of the wealthy and mercantile classes. Finding that congress was not amenable to their demands, they called a convention to meet at Annapolis in May, 1786, and announced that this convention was called for the purpose of adjusting the trade relationship between the states. Without

waiting for all the delegates to arrive, the convention was called hastily to order, and but one thing was done. A call was sent out for a second convention, which was to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and it was boldly announced that it was the purpose of this second convention to amend the Articles of Confederation. I told you that these Articles provided for the manner in which they should be amended—they were to be amended by congress, not by a convention. Nevertheless, this convention met in Philadelphia and was called to order on the 25th day of May, 1787. It had for its purpose the amending of the Articles of Confederation, our first United States constitution. Was not this an important gathering? This convention was met for the purpose of changing the government of the United States, which change was to effect the life of every man, woman and child in this country from that day to the present. Would you not have thought that such a momentous meeting would have been thrown open to the public? At least newspaper men should have been permitted to attend, that they might let the people as a whole know what was being done. On the contrary, the first thing done by this convention was to pass a resolution shutting the doors upon all except the elected delegates, and from the 25th of May, 1787, until the 17th day of September, 1787, these "patriotic" gentlemen met in secret session and not another soul in the country was permitted to know what was going on behind those locked doors. Not only were all others excluded, but a second resolution was passed forbidding any delegate to write to his friends on the outside and ask for advice upon the questions under consideration, and a third resolution forbade any delegate to take any resolution or copy of the minutes from the convention hall without the unanimous consent of all the delegates present.

What were they doing behind these locked doors that they were so afraid the general public would find out? They were giving us a government less democratic than was the government of England at that time—they were taking away from us the democracy we have enjoyed under our first constitution. Let us examine this closely. In earliest times England was ruled by a king who was an absolute monarch. He could put to death his own brother with impunity, if he chose to do so. Many times he did so choose, and finally his brothers and cousins and relatives as a whole, organized against him. For long years years warfare waged between the English kings and the nobility. After a time the nobility was victorious, and the king was forced to establish the House of Lords, giving to the nobility a controlling voice in the government. This was a step toward democracy. It served as a check on the power of the king. Later on, rich commoners rebelled against the oppression of the king and the nobility.

They organized against them. For long years warfare waged, but in time the commoners were victorious. They forced the king and the House of Lords to establish the House of Commons, which served as another step toward democracy and placed another check on the power of the king. Later on the franchise was extended to many, even of the working class, and thus was democracy extended and another check placed on the power of the ruling class. In England the constant trend has been toward democracy and the check has been on the power of the rulers.

How was it with the government given to us by our illustrious forefathers who framed our present United States Constitution? Apparently, they gave us a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. In reality, they took away from us the democracy of the first Constitution, and gave us in return, only the power to elect the members of the house of representatives. And for fear that this house should pass some good measure in our interest, over the house of representatives they placed an aristocratic senate to serve as a check on the power of the people. And then, for fear that some good measure in our interest should pass the house and escape the vigilance of the senate, they gave the president the right of "veto" over the laws of the first Constitution, and gave us in return, only the power to elect the members of the house of representatives. And for fear that this house should pass some good measure in our interest, over the house of representatives they placed an aristocratic senate to serve as a check on the power of the people. And then, for fear that some good measure in our interest should pass the house and escape the vigilance of the senate, they gave the president the right of "veto" over the laws of the first Constitution, and gave us in return, only the power to elect the members of the house of representatives.

I am not saying that the condition of the working class in England is any better than that of the workers in our country. I know that it is not. I am saying that the government in England is made more readily responsive to the demands of the English people than is ours, and that they have it within their power to make such changes as will bring great and beneficial results with far less difficulty than besets us in this country.

It was nine years after the convention adjourned before President Washington filed the records and minutes of this convention with the secretary of state. It was thirty years after the adjournment—the last delegate had died—before Congress had the proceedings published.

Proof of Statements. I should not be permitted to make these statements regarding our constitution unless I can produce the proof of their correctness. I have the proof, which I shall now submit to you. I have here a book which I value highly. It is a record of this convention, "The Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention of 1787," as they were recorded by the Hon. Robert Yates, Chief Justice of the State of New York, one of the delegates to this convention. I shall

quote first from the report submitted by Luther Martin, Attorney-General of Maryland, and also one of the delegates to the convention. On page four of this volume, Mr. Martin says: "Before I arrived, a number of rules had been adopted to regulate the proceedings of the convention, by one of which seven states were to be present to constitute a quorum, and the majority of that number, might eventually have agreed upon a system which has to affect the whole Union. By another, the doors were to be shut, and the whole proceedings were to be kept secret; and so far did this rule extend, that we were thereby prevented from corresponding with gentlemen in the different states upon the subjects under our discussion; a circumstance, Sir, which I confess, I greatly regretted. I had no idea that all the wisdom, integrity and virtue of the states, and of the others, were to be shut out from the convention. I wished to have corresponded freely and confidently with eminent political characters in my own and other states; not implicitly to be dictated to by them, but to give their sentiments due weight and consideration. So extremely solicitous were they, that their proceedings should not transpire, that the members were prohibited even from taking copies of resolutions, on which the convention were deliberating, or extracts of any kind from the journals, without formally moving for, and obtaining permission, by a vote of the convention for that purpose."

Permit me to quote from page 144, from the speech by Alexander Hamilton. This speech covers several pages, and in it he describes the kind of government that, in his opinion, we should have. He says:

"All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born, the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and, however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed, it is not true, in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge and determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change, they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed to steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrollable disposition requires checks."

Ah, yes, that is what John D. Rockefeller, the rich and well born, was doing, when he sent the trainload of gunmen into Ludlow, where they fired into the tent colony and set fire to the tent under which two women and eleven children were burned to death. Since he could not receive any advantage by a change, he was merely maintaining "good

government." That is what the "rich and well born" coal kings were doing in West Virginia when they sent the armored train through the mining camps and shot defenseless men, women and children to death in that terrible struggle which the workers were making to bring about a "change" that would enable them to lighten even in the small measure, the burdens that were crushing them. It was the intention of the framers of the constitution to give us a government in which all the controlling power would be placed in the hands of the "rich and well born," who, since they could not receive any advantage by a change would ever maintain "good government" by crushing the efforts of the mass of the people to bring about such changes as would ameliorate their sufferings. That you may have no doubt that these "aristocrats" were the "rich and well born" to the people, let me read the closing lines of Alexander Hamilton's speech, in which he says, "I confess, that this plan, and that from Virginia, are very remote from the idea of the people. Perhaps the Jersey plan is nearest their expectation. But the people are gradually ripening in their opinions of government; they begin to be tired of an excess of democracy; and what even is the Virginia plan, but 'poor still with little change of sauce'." Just one more quotation from a book. It is from a speech by Mr. Morris, another influential delegate to this secret convention. You remember that our first constitution, the Articles of Confederation, provided for but one house of congress, there was no senate. Our second constitution gave us the senate, and in the discussion as to the nature of this important body, Mr. Morris says: "The second branch (the senate) ought to be composed of men of great and established property—an aristocracy; men, who from pride will support consistency and permanency; and to make them completely independent they must be chosen for life, or they will be a useless body. Such an aristocratic body will keep down the turbulence of democracy. But, if you elect them for a shorter period, they will be only a name and we had better be without them. Thus constituted, I hope they will show us the weight of aristocracy."

"Keep down the turbulence of democracy"—and "show us the weight of aristocracy," this is the spirit that pervaded the constitutional convention. And yet, as Professor J. Allen Smith, of the University of Washington says, "In the United States at the present time, we are trying to make an undemocratic constitution the vehicle of democratic rule. The constitution was framed for one purpose while we are trying to use it for another."

I am now ready to present to you no less an authority than President Wilson. President Wilson says all that I have said about the United States Constitution, and he says it in even stronger words than I have used. In his

book, entitled "Vision and Reality," he says:

"The Federal government was not by intention a democratic government. In plan and structure it had been meant to check the sweep and power of popular majorities. The senate, it was believed, would be a stronghold of conservatism, a not of aristocracy and wealth. The president, it was expected, would be the choice of representative men acting in the electoral college and not the choice of the people. The Federal judiciary was looked to, with its virtually permanent membership, to hold the entire structure of national politics in nice balance against all disturbing influence, whether of popular impulse or of official overbearance."

Only in the house of representatives were the people to be accorded an immediate audience and a direct means of making their will effective in affairs. The government had, in fact, been originated and organized upon the initiative and primarily in the interest of the mercantile and wealthy classes. Originally conceived as an effort to accommodate commercial disputes between the states, it had been urged to adoption by a minority, under the concerted and aggressive leadership of able men representing a ruling class. The Federalists not only had on their side the power of convincing argument, but also the presence of a strong and intelligent class, possessed of unity and informed by a conscious solidarity of material interests."

I am not complaining of these fathers of ours. I am calling upon my class, the working class, to do as they did. I am demanding that we unite solidly in our class interest, that we originate and organize a new government that has for its purpose the serving of the material well-being of the working class.

Why should we, who are made the victims of this constitution, continue generation after generation to look upon it as a divine document? The Declaration of Independence was a great document. It will go down through all history as a protest against oppression and an advance toward complete human liberty in the convention that gave us the United States Constitution. Most of them actively opposed it. Let us give it credit for what it is, what it is a business document, prepared by business men, for the purpose of serving their business interests. And as such it is deserving of no homage from the working class, which can never hope for industrial or economic liberty so long as it remains the document of class rule.

Ah, but it has served them well, has it not? It is but little more than one hundred and thirty years since it was written. One hundred and thirty years ago our nation was confined east of the Alleghenies. We people only the Atlantic slope. In one hundred and thirty short years we have crossed the Alleghenies; we have covered the great plains of the

Mississippi valley; we have climbed the Rockies, and reached the Pacific. What untold wealth have we produced—and today we are in poverty.

Upon reliable authority we are told that twelve men control all the wealth producing machinery in the United States today. The Industrial Relations Commission tells us that two per cent of the people in the nation own sixty per cent of the wealth; that sixty-five per cent own but five per cent of the wealth. When this constitution was written both millionaires and paupers were unknown. Today we boast of billionaires and the mass of the people are but thirty days from the poor house.

They builded well in their class interest, did they not? So well, that the lives of 90,000,000 people has centered in the hands of the "ruling class." At one word from the owners of industry, mines close down, factories lock their doors, grain rots in the field, the millions freeze for the want of fuel, go naked for the lack of clothing and starve for the need of bread.

The government builded by the ruling class one hundred and thirty years ago is based upon class privilege. The constitution written by them recognizes always the sacredness of private ownership of property, even to the extent that it would be entirely constitutions for one man to own privately every mile of railroad, every foot of ground, every mine, every forest, and every factory in the United States. The basis of government is wrong. Our government is founded upon private ownership of the things we all must use. A little handful of men are today in private possession of these things upon which we all depend, and through their private ownership they exploit us as producers and rob us as consumers. A government founded upon injustice cannot deal out justice. It is in the very basis of our present government that we must strike. Private ownership of collectively owned and operated industries must give place to collective ownership and democratic management of these industries.

Laying the Foundation. Certainly our search into the history of our present government has convinced every thoughtful man and woman that there is no hope for the working class so long as we continue to support the present political government, based as it is upon private ownership of industry and upon class privilege. Our task, as working people, is laid out before us. It remains for us to found a new government. This new government must be so founded that it will abolish class rule forever. For thousands of years the ruling class has based its claim to rule upon its private ownership of property which all must use to live. Remove the basis for the claim and the class itself disappears. Private ownership in the means of life must give way to collective ownership.

The Ancient Lowly.

Some Strikes of the Long Ago.

The tendency on the part of the working classes in Semitic Egypt to strike and protest against the severity of masters was by no means confined to the Hebrews, who had been reduced from peaceful agricultural pursuits to slavery. There is an inscription, not long ago made known by Maspero, showing another important strike of workmen who were engaged on the pyramids in those days of thankless drudgery.

The Egyptologist relates that more than 3,000 years ago a great and winning strike of the masses working on public works occurred. It appears that in Egypt, under the pharaonic dynasty, the skilled artisans were organized and that, like the Romans with their collegium and the Greeks with their eranos, they were employed upon the public works. These were slaves, and prove the truth of their inscriptions assuring us that slaves were organized.

M. Maspero, who with his colleagues was engaged in digging up and deciphering the picture writings and hieroglyphics scrawled on the masonry of temples, pyramids and sphinxes, found an account of a pure strike of the masons. Condensed and rendered into English, it gives the following curious information:

"On the tenth of the month, builders at work on the temple rushed out and sat down behind the chapel, exclaiming: 'We are hungry, and there are yet eighteen days before the next pay day. They would not work until the king agreed to hear their complaints. Two days later Pharaoh went to the temple and ordered relief to be given to the masons; but on the sixteenth day they struck again. On the seventeenth and eighteenth days they also refused to work. On the nineteenth day they broke loose and raised a mob at the Governor's palace, and finally got their demands.' The Athenian State slaves are also known to have received monthly pay in the same manner.

Unnumerable inscriptions collected

from every corner of the ancient world, Syria, Mesopotamia, Greece, Sicily and Etruria, are being gathered into the museums. They bring proof that of all the ancient trades, this of the masons enjoyed primitively the highest organization, independence and enlightened power. Amasis, according to Herodotus, required that workmen should be able to give an account of how they got their living on pain of death, and they had to be organized to do it. Thus it is impossible to imagine that the masons engaged at starvation wages upon the temple where this strike occurred were not among the organized groups.

The Egyptian hieroglyphs are furnishing other strike records. There was a practice among the Semitic as well as the Aryan peoples of engraving upon stones some record of important events. This habit, which is now known to have been compulsory in many States, was especially prevalent among the ancient Labor unions; and through it we now derive most of the valuable information for their history.

One such stone has been recently found in Syria, likewise a Semitic province. It shows a strike of the bakers of Magnesia, on the River Meander.

But let us relate this interesting story. The account, so far as we have it in monumental testimony, shows that at a far off date, nobody knows when, but evidently before our era began, the bakers in the old cities, Magnesia and Paros, who were organized under the laws of Solon, on account of some grievance not defined, struck work and refused to bake and bring to the regular market the usual supply of bread. The authorities of the city, in all probability the city council, which resembled a board of aldermen, being notified of the disturbance, convoked an extra session, and the agoranomos or clerk of the public works, as was later the case at Ephesus, when Demetrius rebelled against the preaching of Paul, delivered a speech to the people protesting against the strike; and the whole thing resulted in the ringleaders of the strikers being arrested, their trade organiza-

tion being temporarily if not permanently suppressed, and the bakers being compelled by force to furnish bread in future for the regular supply. This was no bread riot, but a strike, such as frequently occur among the trade unions now.

The making of music is, in the sensible construction of language, a profession and a trade. Under the Solonic as well as the Numan law of Labor organization, music was considered a trade, just as much as the work of the braziers or potters; and if the story of another strike details the facts, their skill was employed by the government. Another point discernible is that a remarkable amount of manhood and an amazing independence is exhibited; for these bold musicians dared face the political authorities, a thing seldom seen among government employees at the present time.

During one of the Samnite wars, in the year B. C. 399, and at the moment when the Romans wanted more money than they could collect, the censors issued a refusal to permit the collegium of musicians, or musicians' unions to play at the feast of Jupiter at the expense of the city. It had been their annual custom to play at the shrine, and as they had always been lavishly rewarded they took it for an unwarrantable deprivation. Besides this, being voting unions, they belonged to a powerful political body of many trades, who elected into power the commissioners of public works. These in turn appointed them to jobs under government employ. Braced by the justice of their right, they called upon their quinquennalis, or lord-master of the unions, who convoked their advisory board. On deliberation it was voted to resist the penurious demand and strike work, let the consequences be what they would. At the head of their military column, their red vexillum proudly waving at the front, they set up a march with this well-known flaming banner to a distant town across the Tiber. They were aware that the superstitious Roman aristocracy would not dare to offer Jupiter, their great protecting divinity, to whose honor, not that of their own goddess, Minerva, were to

be devoted these celebrations of music and praise. They judged correctly. But being straightforward and ingenious, they knew only the honorable and manly way to win. They were not adepts in the tricks of politicians, and as a consequence, got outwitted just as they were outwitted on a vaster scale by similar cunning, described in our chapter on the Roman conquests. The methods of this trick, as told by the historian, were as follows:

The Senate of Rome sent a commission to the neighboring town of Tibur, now Tivoli, whither the strikers had marched in a body, to ask of the political council of the place its co-operation and intercession, with a view to induce the musicians to come out of their sulks, return to the feasts, and give Jupiter the music for nothing. The reception was friendly. Negotiations were immediately opened with the strikers; but in vain. The workers were uncompromising. All solicitations were refused. It was now the very day before that set for the feasts. Fear that the gods would envelop them with wrath began to make the Romans tremble. A strategem was agreed upon. The musicians were to be asked to give a concert. At that pompous display they were to be inveigled into accepting potations which they seldom refused. Stuffed with wine, and when all were unconscious with inebriation, they were to be taken bodily in cushioned chariots back to the eternal city and landed safely at the Roman forum, where all was in readiness for the sacrifice of the morrow. In the early dawn the sacrifice would begin. It was a cause of great sport for thousands. The multitude is a greater moral power to the workman than strike than the councils of the great. And when they awoke from their stupor and found themselves suffused with a friendly hurrah of nearly all the population of Rome, gushing with flatteries around them, then they imbibed the full force of the joke by which they had been outwitted. They consented to play, but not until a stipulation was agreed to permitting them, annually in the future to hold a jubilation, the 13th

day of June, and march with their red flag and carnival uniforms through the streets, clothed with an accredited permission to solicit contributions for their benefit.

This surprising concession to them by the Senate was fully equivalent to a complete success. Their strike had been won; for such a privilege accorded them in legal form was to go into practice the very next year, and remain available forever, bringing them annual tribute, comfort and respect.—From "The Ancient Lowly" by C. Osborne Ward.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA

(From the Duluth Daily Bulletin.)

Socialism is the most powerful movement in society. It is the all absorbing question of the hour. The capitalists of the world are trembling as they see it sweeping onward, growing more powerful with each victory. The philosophy of Socialism explains the historical developments of society; the Socialist way is the active expression of those who are conscious of this development. The Socialist Commonwealth is the goal. Therefore, we have the theory, the action, the desire. The first international of the movement had theory and enthusiasm, the second theory, the third theory, enthusiasm and action. There was, perhaps, room for discussion on the soundness of the theory of Socialism in the past, but now there is none. History has given its verdict and it says that Socialism is correct. The only way has been room for discussion on the methods or tactics, but now there is none. The revolutionary Left, those who claimed that revolution was a necessary part of evolution, those who claimed that nothing but uncompromising action on the part of the proletariat would bring freedom, who said you cannot reform slavery, those who said expropriate the expropriators by revolution have been vindicated by the greatest of all judges, namely, history. The schools or groups that have stood uncompromised are now leading the world's revolution. The sections of the movement that have catered and compromised with the capitalist now stand and defend capitalism against Socialism. What is the Socialist party of America to be in the future? This question seems to be worrying the Spargo-Benson-Russell-Simons fra-

ternity. Already they cry out to stay the party from what they call the extravagances of Bolshevism. Already they are preparing to follow to the last the footsteps of Scheidemann, Hyndman and company, and fight the social revolution. Will they succeed? It depends on the members. They must fight and struggle that the party may rid itself of the opportunistic poison that it has gathered. They must throw off the compromising and reforming element and come out clear and unhampered on a revolutionary base. Capitalism must die, and those who would patch it at this stage of the game, but do so to carry its poisonous corpse farther into the new day.

The Socialist party must be the active living daily expression of the proletariat. It must spread the knowledge of Marx and Engels, the real exponents of revolutionary Socialism; it must enthuse and arouse the workers; it must be active every day, every hour, every minute; it must not be a simple voting machine; it must be a vital fighting organization of the wage earners of the country.

The spirit, the courage, the consciousness of Debs has called for the Russian Soviets to speak of him in the kindest and most respectful terms. Debs is an example of the spirit of the left. The cowardly, un-

principled meanness of Spargo has called for his condemnation, not only from Russia, but also Italy and France. Spargo is an example of the right. Benson, in his wish-washy rubbish of democratizing capitalism, is the expression of the center. Which way shall the party swing? To the left. To the revolution.

Now is the time, now is our day, let every real Socialist strive with all his and her might that the Socialist party of America arise to the occasion and become the vanguard of the proletariat revolution. Away with all palliating, away with all those who desire office more than the freedom of the working class, and on with the class struggle. Educate, enthuse, act.

DUBLIN TO KEEP CITY'S FREEDOM FROM WILSON

Dublin.—The Lord Mayor's deputation has decided not to go to Paris to confer the freedom of the city on President Wilson, because he has not answered the formal invitation, it was learned.

The municipal council also passed resolutions protesting against "misrepresentation in Ireland" in the United States by the British government.

Working men hunt for jobs; their masters not the profits.

DANCE

at WOODMAN HALL

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

PURE MILK IS A NECESSITY.

In these times with milk at such high prices and no guarantee that it is pure, it is a real discovery to find one milk dealer who will guarantee his milk and also show you a certificate showing the excellent quality of his milk as backed by the Duluth Board of Health. Where can you buy absolutely pure milk at fourteen cents per quart? Readers do not fail to send a trial order to JENS NILSEN, who has his own cows and guarantees his milk.

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

JENS NILSEN,

1914 WEST 10th STREET LINCOLN 479-D.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE

1 Year \$1.50
Six Months 85c

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TRUTH

(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)
EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY
WEST END LABOR ASSCN.

Address Communications to TRUTH 191
Stack Building, Duluth, Minn.
— PHONE Mel. 2517 —

AN APPEAL TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

In Seattle every worker left his job and struck in sympathy with the shipyard workers. In Butte the miners have downed their tools. In Paterson over 30,000 silk workers have come out on strike. In New York City there are thousands of workers out also. Gaze across the waters of the Atlantic and you will find the same thing going on over there. In England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland the workers are striking. In Paris the whole of the transport industry came out on strikes. There must be a reason for all these strikes. Men do not strike for the fun of the thing. Men do not face starvation out of pure cussedness. Behind all strikes is the spirit of discontent, which manifests itself through the medium of the strike. The spirit of discontent is the result of certain causes.

What are those causes?

April, 1917, was declared. The President in his speech to Congress stated that:

"The right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest to our hearts—for democracy."

In response to that appeal, thousands of members of organized labor joined the army and went to France. These men went away to the beating of drums and the playing of bands. To the cheering of the crowds, the fluttering flags and the promises of their employers to keep their jobs open. They went out and left behind their wives and children, believing that those who bid them go would see to it that their children did not starve. Yes, out there they faced DEATH, HELL, STARVATION and DAMNATION. Yet the men went through it all.

What of those at home?

There were those who remained behind. They worked night and day in the shops. Every hour that came, there they were found on the job. A nation wanted supplies and its workers responded to that call. They wanted to back up the men "out there," that is why they worked so hard "over there."

What of the employers?

They stayed at home. On July 12, 1917, the President made this appeal to them:

"When they are giving their lives, will he not give his money?"

They spurned the appeal of the President and coined the blood of the workers into dollars. Out in France the bleached bones of many a worker lie. With many of their faces upturned to the sky, they breathed their last on the battlefields of Flanders. What more can a man give than his life? The employers, what did they do? They made profits greater than they ever made before. The pre-war profits they made cannot compare with the profits they made during the war.

United States Steel Corporation...\$271,531,730
Inter-Mercantile Marine Company 21,777,162
Anaconda Copper Mining Company 57,911,830
U. S. Rubber Company 11,226,208
Bethlehem Steel Corporation 43,593,968
(An average increase in profits over pre-war years of 250 per cent.)

The soldiers who went out to France and were lucky enough to come home, arrived home to find women in their jobs, of course at less wages.

The increased (?) wages that the workers have received have been swallowed up by the high cost of living. So out of the war the only people who have gained are our masters. They have reaped hundreds of thousands of dollars profit, while we have managed to pull through. We now face the dread spectre of unemployment. Imagine if you can, the feelings of thousands of mothers who live in dread of their husbands being fired from their jobs. After all the work that was done during the war and the sacrifices that have been made, life is being made a hell-upon-earth due to the dread of unemployment. Today the labor movement is facing a crisis. Munition factories, etc., will close down on account of the ending of the war. German workers are making ammunition for the United States government, thus throwing out American workers from their jobs. The Allies are going to levy an indemnity upon the German nation. This levy will be paid in goods. The German workers will work night and day to produce these goods, while the American workers will be walking the streets, out of work.

How are we going to meet these problems?

In the first place we have to get together. We have got to have a punch behind us. We have got to organize all our economic strength. That means we must be well and efficiently organized. All shipyard workers must act together. We go on the job together. We work together. We knock off work together. So why not strike together?

Yes—STRIKE S-T-R-I-K-E.

We have reasoned with, appealed to and begged for our rights and we have been met with Knights of Liberty and other "gentlemanly organizations." We have allowed the capitalist press to fool us by calling certain workers pro-German, and we have been foolish enough to heed the press. Now we have got to wake up before it is too late.

The soldiers are coming back. They want jobs, because they must live. There are not enough jobs to go round. So they will be after your job. That means they will be compelled to work for less wages than you. You cannot live on what you are getting now. What will you do if you get less? You can give the soldier a job. Quit working long hours, make room for the soldier. In other words, reduce your hours.

Do not be afraid of your boss. He is only one man. You are organized. It is your foolish belief in the imaginary power of your boss that keeps you down. Quit dividing yourselves. Reorganize your unions so that on all matters affecting your lives you can act with increased power, i. e., all together. One union of the workers facing one union of the bosses. One union of steel workers facing the one big Phion—the Steel Trust. If you allow others to fool you by crying I. W. W., the fault is your own. So cast your eyes towards Seattle and learn the lesson of solidarity. Learn how great a power you possess when you act solidly together. The chance has come for you to show that you are wise in your time. Will you take advantage of it?

LIFE'S CONTRASTS.

A limousine goes rolling by. In it are three youths, dressed up in fur coats. Their cheeks bloom with the glow of youth. They are the sons of important people, and expect ere long to be given the directorship of some company, a seat in Congress, or a government job of some kind. They will make the laws for the workers, either in the shop or in Congress. They are being fed, clothed and housed, these big, strong, healthy, well-fed, well-clothed sons of very important people. Yes, life is good to them, because the stunted, poorly-fed, shoddy-clad workers work and deny themselves so that these three sons of very important people may loll back in their limousine and rule the workers.

Moored against the docks is a ship from which three youths are emptying coal, working doggedly in a stifling cloud of coal dust, set on finishing the job and getting home to supper and having an evening at the "movies." The sons of the workers—of quite unimportant people—they expect nothing, just a small raise in wages, and are content to be ruled by the three youths who loll back in the limousine.

THE COMING STORM.

"Just like mother used to make" is a cry that is fast dying out. The machine stands today monarch of all it surveys. Where is your hand-woven cloth, your home-made butter, your home-made bread straight from your mother's oven, the hand-made pair of shoes? They have all gone, never to return.

The machine has taken possession of every industry, from the primitive and simple to the most artistic. Butter-making, which came down to us from the remotest historical times, is carried on today by the aid of machinery which takes milk fresh from the cow and turns it into butter.

Go into any large office and watch the calculating machine at work. More accurate than the mathematician who has taken his degree with honors.

What has been the effect of the machine?

The machine has taken hold of handicraft industry and given us the trust. The individual skill of the worker has been rendered well nigh obsolete. Take ing used to be done by families in small villages. In some parts of England and Italy you can still see the old spinning machines. These industries were scattered over whole counties (equivalent to the American state). Today the spinning and weaving is done mechanically by everybody. The tool for spinning and weaving is used by all in common. An individual when he goes to another job is compelled to leave the tool behind; it is too big and heavy. The old shoemaker, with his glasses, used to make us feel good as we sat and watched him make a pair of shoes. The old shoemaker's store was a village institution. Where is it today? Gone, supplanted by the big shoe factory. The old craftsman has had to give way to the machine.

A revolution has taken place in industry. The advance of the machine has forever made it impossible for the worker to rise out of his class. The machine has destroyed the skill of the worker. Today it enslaves the very workers who built it. Today by the power of the machine, a small arrogant few control the servile many. Tomorrow a working class organized around that machine can free themselves. Will they?

THE WORKER.

By Berton Braley.

I have broken my hands on your granite,
I have broken my strength on your steel,
I have sweated through years for your pleasure,
I have worked like a slave for your wealth.
And what is the wage you have paid me?
You masters and drivers of men—
Enough so I come in my hunger
To beg for more labor again!

I have given my manhood to serve you,
I have given my gladness and youth;
You have used me, and spent me, and crushed me,
And thrown me aside without ruth;
You have shut my eyes off from the sunlight,
My lungs from the untainted air,
You have housed me in horrible places
Surrounded by squalor and care.

I have built you the world in its beauty,
I have brought you the glory and spoil,
You have blighted my sons and my daughters,
You have scourged me again to my toil.
Yet I suffer it all in my patience,
For somehow I dimly have known
That some day the Worker will conquer
In a world that was meant for his own!

DESPISED AND REJECTED.

War was declared and the whole resources of the nation were required. Frantic appeals were made to Labor to remain on the job, so that the boys "over there" might receive ammunition and supplies. The appeal was made to the Butte miners, and down into the mine they went. They risked their lives, because the country needed copper. No argument about it, they got busy and if ever a nation had a debt of gratitude to pay, this nation has. It owes a debt of gratitude to the men who lost their lives in the Speculator fire. To all the miners of Butte for the work they have done. Day after day, night after night, they went down into the mines. Down on their knees and on their stomachs crawling about, in order to give the nation COPPER.

John D. Ryan, president of the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, sat at Washington, in an easy chair while the miners still kept on slaving.

John D. Ryan's company cleared \$58,000,000 in the first year of the war. These directors and shareholders led by John D. never went down into the mine. Yet they divided \$58,000,000 between themselves.

The miners of Butte who made these profits possible, are fired from their jobs for a few weeks in order to teach them a lesson. Then when they return they find their wages are decreased \$1 per day.

Such is the gratitude of a capitalist class!

Slave, sweat and risk your life and a capitalist class despises you and robs you. Lounge about in idle luxury and a nation lauds you and calls you great.

Fellow workers of Butte, let the red blood flow through your veins. If you agree to the dollar-per-day reduction at this time, you will find that it is only the inserting of the thin end of the wedge. Stop this damnable exploitation now. Stop it now, so that by your power you will demonstrate that you are earnest men, who realize that you are the builders of society. Upon your backs lives an idle parasitic class. Will you allow them at this time to further fasten their hold upon you? Will you not stand up and say that you are men? In this hour your future depends. If you agree to this reduction the copper barons will press you more and more. Stand as one and compel John D. Ryan and the rest of the Butte copper mine owners to disgorge some of the wealth they have robbed you of. You have the chance of your lifetime. By your organization you can force from the hands of the mining companies the wealth that you have created. Do it! Do it now!

Your reply to the mining companies should be a dollar-per-day increase. Prove to them that you are conscious of your power. They made you work in order to make the "world safe for democracy." Now you make Butte mines safe for democracy. You can do this, if you will ALL get together. Stand united and the victory is yours.

A CRITICISM OF TRUTH.

Certain members off the job, of the Finnish I. W. W. locals seek to create the impression that the policy of Truth has changed. Therefore, for the sake of disproving such an assertion, we shall outline our policy as **AN ORGAN OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA.**

Truth holds to the viewpoint, that political action must be the reflex of economic action. In other words, we must have an economic organization of the workers to make our political power effective. Therefore, we advocate industrial unionism. We shall oppose the formation of any labor organization on the lines of craft unionism. In the same way that we would rather send a message via the Western Union than send a man on foot with it. It is the question of being up-to-date and using efficient methods. There can be no argument about the superiority of industrial unionism over craft unionism.

Secondly, we believe in political action. Certain "leaders," self-styled, class the local Socialists with the Bergers, Scheidemanns, Kerenskis, etc. They are so ignorant of their own position, much less the Socialist, that for the want of an argument they indulge in abuse. Covert abuse, being afraid to come out in the open with a proper attack. We of the Socialist Party of Duluth are in favor of political action of a revolutionary nature. We use the ballot for the sake of propagating our views and the ultimate destruction of the present form of the State. We are in favor of an industrial republic, wherein we shall have an industrial democracy as opposed to the present form of a republic with its industrial autocracy. True it is that the economic power of the workers is all-powerful. But the question that concerns us is how can we organize that economic power of the workers. It is that question that concerns us as a Socialist Party. We exist here in Duluth for the expressed purpose of clearing the minds of the workers of the foolish ideas planted there by the capitalist apologists. During the summer we combatted the capitalist press successfully and showed the workers the true nature of the I. W. W. The workers would not listen to the I. W. W. They refused to read the I. W. W. press. Therefore we took up the cudgels for the I. W. W. and did admirably work in that direction. We shall go before the workers at every election and clearly prove to them how little they can get by voting and how much MORE they can get by organizing on the job. That is the political action we believe in. Anyone who places us alongside of the S. P. politicians and the rest of the social patriots, is deliberately falsifying our position.

We formed a workers' council here in Duluth and

we regret to say that as far as we are concerned, it has failed miserably. We do not wish to imply that our work in that direction has failed. Oh, no, we commence anew, profiting by what we have learned during the last three months. We are going to have solidarity here at the Head of the Great Lakes. We shall not rest content until every worker strives for the ideals of industrial unionism. We have endeavored to work with "professed" believers in solidarity and we failed, but that will not prevent us from going on. We urge upon every reader of our paper to get busy in his local. We want every member of the I. W. W. and radical member of the A. F. of L. to drop us a line. Write your opinions on paper and send them in. Let us discuss ways and means as to how we can come together. We want workers, nobody else. Unless you are ON THE JOB please do not concern yourselves with this proposition. We want all you that work on the job to come together. Never mind what you call your organization, you are all workers. Solidarity is the need of the hour and we are firmly resolved to bring it about.

Some talk of creating an army of revolution, etc, etc. They say Bolsheviks and they have an idea that is all they need to do. Whilst over 140 members of the I. W. W. are in prison, so-called "reds" fritter away the time of the workers in objecting to time-worn phrases. You that have a real feeling. You that know there is a class struggle going on, because you live in it, you are the men we want. You are the men who will do the big things, while others talk about them. Do you think it is possible for all radical WORKERS to get together? We wonder can it be done? Who will answer the call for a convention of radical workers? We said WORKERS!

THE AWAKENING.

Turn back your pages of history and read the story of my life. In the days of Rome—Rome with its beauties and pleasure, I was a slave. It was I who fought in your arenas and gave up my life, so that you might enjoy the sickening sight of another dying. Your brutal tastes had to be satisfied and I was the victim of your blood-thirsty lusts. See the mighty Pyramids. You prate of their grandeur and you marvel and ask, how could they rear such mighty structures? Yet in the hour of your questioning, you never thought of even asking, was it I who built them? No, that would mean the lowering of your self-respect, to even give recognition to the fact, that I am a human! Babylon and Nineveh, oh the glories of those days. The splendor of her feasts and the magnificent beauty of her palaces. It was upon my bent back these two mighty nations were erected. Greece, with all her art, culture, literature, etc., could not have existed for one hour, had it not been for my power, and like a blind tool I labored and became a slave of slaves. History never even mentions my name. Nero, ruled the land that I made rich, and to satisfy his cruel nature he set fire to Rome. Rome the monument to my labors. What did Nero care, there are more slaves to build more cities for more Neros. All through the ages have I labored. I have carried upon my back all the masters of the years. The feudal lords, the barons, the Czars, the Kaisers, the Presidents and all those who enjoy life while I slave. My work has made all things possible. All commands have I obeyed. For years I have groaned beneath the burden of toil. With head bowed down, I have lived in darkness. But now with head erect I see the light. Out of the valley of toil and slavery I shall ascend the mountain top and survey the world that I built. Today I feel a new power urging me on. The fingers of mine are twitching. I want power. I want all things that I have made. I feel them coming to my hands. I who built all things, will enjoy all things. Intoxicated with the joy of a new life, I stumble on. Mark well those of you who win and dine while I sweated. Mark well, I say. Drink now while I am groping my way. For on the morrow I shall arise. With head erect and arms outstretched I shall claim the world that I built. Within the womb of time the seed has been planted. Today it is about to give birth to a new and brighter world. Arise, my fellow workers. For I am the power that stands triumphant. I am the power that makes all things possible. I am Labor.

The slave march stops
The burden drops
Chains are rent
To weapons bent.
Kingdoms crash and finance shakes,
The old world dies, the new awakes.

COMRADE J. O. BENTALL.

Comrade Bentall is now serving a twelve months' sentence in Crow Wing County jail, Brainerd, Minn. Will every reader drop him a line so that he will not feel so lonesome? Of course he will not be able to answer you at once, but keep on writing just the same. If you have any books to send him, send them on to our office. Show Bentall that you appreciate the sacrifice he is making.

We learn on good authority that Chapters 8-13 of the Book of Exodus are to be destroyed.
Why? Well, read Covington Ami's article on another page.

"Judas went out and hung himself." The only difference between Judas and Moyer is one of guts.