

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

THE TRUTH



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EUROPEAN LABOR

Still keeps on the job. While the spectre of hunger haunts America the golden sun of industrial freedom sheds its warm rays over Europe. -- American workers you have made the Great Sacrifice! You left home, wife and family and some of you have left your comrades behind on the blood-sodden fields of Flanders. Those who stayed at home sacrificed health and pleasure and unceasingly labored in the factories. Today soldier-sailor and worker are being thrown out of work. Your masters have no use for you now, the world-war has concluded and so on the scrap-heap you must go. Will you stand idly by and allow a sordid capitalist class to treat you worse than animals? Men of the labor movement join hands with the soldier and sailor and let your red blow free. Demand six hour day--no reduction in pay and a job for every sailor and soldier. Now is the time to act and act you must--what shall it be slavery or freedom?

LONG LIVE SOLIDARITY

BRITISH LABOR DEFIES OLD UNION LEADERS IN OUTLAW STRIKES

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

PARIS, (Delayed).—One need not theorize about the temper of British labor. More than a quarter of a million men and women workers are idle in that kingdom today in consequence of strikes.

Less than 15 per cent of these strikes are "official." They are "outlaw strikes," walkouts by men and women who consulted among themselves, formulated their own grievances and ignored the decision of unions executives not to pay strike benefits to the illegal protesters.

I have intimated several times in this correspondence that leadership, both political and industrial, is out of touch with the masses in Europe. I shall now give some of the facts which support that statement as it affects Great Britain.

We may begin at Glasgow, where the Clyde workers, after vainly asking the English labor leaders to espouse their cause, have gone on strike to enforce the 40-hour week. "We will not go to the government for a settlement," says a statement issued by the strikers; "the government may come to us if it wants information."

Forty hours will sound like a short week to many "advanced" labor men. Well, say the Clyde strikers, that is just a beginning for us; we want a 40-hour week so that we may organize better to strike for a still shorter week.

Wednesday morning huge crowds of workers marched through the streets of Glasgow and were addressed by their own speakers wherever and whenever the mood possessed them. At one point they took possession of a street car and used the roof of it for a speakers platform.

From that eminence Strike Leader David Kirkwood announced that every public and private industry in the city would be paralyzed if necessary to bring victory. The 20,000 workers in this particular trade would not permit any kind of traffic to move at street crossings until the entire procession had passed.

The Glasgow Herald and Record offices were the scenes of big demonstrations by workers who denounced their hostile attitude toward the strike.

A general strike is proceeding at Edinburgh along the same general lines. The formal labor leaders here, as elsewhere, have tried to stay the movement, but on the very day they issued their last injunction against the strike 2,000 more workers of the engineering and metal trades dropped their tools.

"People notice," says the Bourgeois

London Post, "that the strike leaders are Russian Jews who advocate Bolshevism, Sinn Fein Irishmen, defeatists of the Independent Labor party and other similar organizations."

Outspoken Ones Popular.
In this connection, Ramsay MacDonald told me the other day here in Paris that of all the Labor party candidates for Parliament who were accused of "disloyalty" those men polled the biggest votes who were most outspoken and uncompromising in their hostility to the government's policies.

It is certainly to these intransigent proletarians that the workers now look for guidance in their fight for control over their own lives and working conditions.

A sufficient commentary on the Morning Post's charge of Sinn Feinism, is furnished by the plight of Belfast, where a general and most menacing strike is in progress, and where, as the same paper makes known, "the extremists on the strikers' committees are in supreme." Has Belfast become a hotbed of Sinn Feinism?

Old Hands Sanction Strike.

The situation having got entirely out of their control, the old union committeemen of the shipyards, engineering establishments and municipal undertakings decided on Thursday to sanction the movement and pay strike allowances to the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. And that same day 5,000 building trades workers joined the walkout.

In Belfast we have the curious condition of a strike led by the most skilled crafts, whose conservative union officials still persist in holding the movement illegal and withholding strike benefits.

Gravediggers Go Back.

The only Belfast workers who have gone back to their jobs are gravediggers, who yielded only to the sanitary necessities of the case, without weakening in their devotion to the general cause.

On Thursday the strike had spread beyond the limits of Belfast to the Harland and Wolff airplane works, where 2,000 men walked out. On the same night the journeymen butchers met to consider the need of their joining.

Looting has already occurred in Belfast, where many shop windows have been broken and their contents stolen. The Municipal Employees Association has resisted an appeal from the Lord Mayor to resume their jobs. These municipal

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"Now's the Day, and Now's the Hour"

By JOHN MACLEAN, M. A.

(From "The Call," published by the British Socialist Party.)

We witness to-day, what all Marxists naturally expected, the capitalist class of the world and their governments joined together in a most vigorously active attempt to crush Bolshevism in Russia and Spartacism in Germany. Bolshevism, by the way, is Socialism triumphant, and Spartacism is Socialism in process of achieving triumph. This is the Class War on an international basis, a Class War that must and will be fought out to the logical conclusion—the extinction of capitalism everywhere.

The question for us in Britain is how we must act in playing our part in this world conflict. Some are suggesting a general strike to enforce a withdrawal of British troops from Russia and, I suppose, from Germany as well. That to some of us on the Clyde is too idealistic. Were the mass of the workers in Britain Revolutionary Socialists they would at once see that their material well-being depended on the peaceful development of Bolshevism in Russia and would in consequence strike for the withdrawal of British forces, at the moment attempting the downfall of Russian Social Democracy.

But the workers are not generally of our way of thinking, and so are unable to see that their material interests are bound up with Bolshevism's stability in Russia. It is necessary follows that we will have no success in urging a strike on this issue especially as the Government has the majority of trade union leaders in the hollow of its hand, and can easily manipulate them against us—with comparative safety to the leaders at that.

Some of us on the Clyde, therefore, think that we must adopt another line, and that is to save Russia by developing the Revolution in Britain no later than this year. We Socialists know that the capitalists can only realise their profits by selling a great part of their goods abroad. If the mass of wealth produced at home is trebled as compared with pre-war times (and that is a modest estimate) it must be quite apparent that a vastly extended market must be found abroad. We know that America is in exactly the same predicament as Britain, and we further know that America intends to assume the supreme economic position in the world that Germany has just failed to attain. If it is true, as well-informed commercial papers assert, that in 1918 America built more ship-tons than Britain we may take it that America

is in a position to lick Britain in the "navy race."

In five years' time such will be the glut of goods on the market that fear of Revolution through unemployment and hunger may force these two Powers into war. If capitalism lasts, then, war is inevitable in five years; yes, and a war bloodier than the present one. Humanity is in a very, very tight corner, and so those who will be called on to kill in the next war have to make up their minds whether they will accept present wage-slavery with its murderous consequences or fight capitalism to death this year. The saving of one's life calls forth great exertion, and it must be our business to see that that exertion is scientifically directed towards Social Democracy.

The next question for us is the start of the fight. How can we get the mass on the move and pulled onward by the young, who wish to save their lives. We have the opportunity at hand. The demobilisation has already created a menacing unemployment problem. We can get the support of the unemployed if we can suggest a means whereby they can get a living. The only possible solution is a drastic reduction of hours per week. This reduction will appeal to the employed if they are assured of at least the pre-war standard of living. Here we have the economic issue that can unify workers in the war against capitalism.

The Miners' Reform Movement in South Wales and Scotland, in view of this, adopted as their immediate program the Six-Hour Day, Five Days a Week, and One Pound a Day.

On the Clyde and amongst the miners the cry was, "All eyes on Southport." It should be borne in mind that the Clyde Workers' Committee has issued a leaflet urging the Thirty-Hour Week, and pledging its support to the miners. The Miners' Reform Movement had decided that, if the Miners' Federation at the Conference at Southport on Tuesday and Wednesday, January 14th and 15th, did not make up its mind to have the program enforced, they would call a strike about the middle of February. Thanks to the advance guard, the M. F. G. B. has at Southport agreed to the Six-Hour Day. The Government is asked to enforce it by amending the Eight-Hour Act. My good old friend, Bob Smillie, at the Conference pointed out that "We can produce enough in less than a six-hours day if we were not producing to make millionaires."

The Executive Committee has now to interview the Prime Minister and

the Government, and failing satisfaction, must convene another conference. From our point of view that is all to the good. The onus for a strike is thus thrust on the Government, and will add to the fierceness of the fight when it comes off as we know the government will never concede the miners' demands. This will also give the Reform Movement time to expand their propaganda in the various coalfields and knit up more closely than ever.

It is now the business of all other Workers' Committee to accept the same program and prepare the workers by leaflets circulated inside the workshops.

If no Workers' Committee exists in your town or urban area, seize the chance at the first Socialist meeting to ask the fighters to remain behind and form the nucleus of a committee. Do it now, to-morrow may be too late.

To convince the simple-minded workers who believes his master ought to have a profit, I am providing my audience with the following illustration:—

The chairman of the Darraque Motor Company at the annual meeting stated that since August, 1914, their employees had increased fourfold, but that their output had increased sevenfold. That means that one worker now in four hours producing as much as formerly in seven. Seven sevens are forty-nine. Add two and that makes fifty-one, a very common pre-war number of hours per week. Seven fours are twenty-eight. Add two and that makes thirty. So that in thirty hours the Darraque workers are doing as much now as formerly in fifty-one hours.

Once we get the mass on the move on this issue we shall be able to put them on to the run owing to the chaos this capitalist war has produced.

With a determined revolutionary minority we shall be able to take control of the country and the means of production at once, and hold them tight, through disciplined production under the workshop committees and the district and national councils. Through the Co-operative Movement we shall be able to control the full distribution of the necessities of life, and so win the masses over to Socialism.

All revolutions have started on seemingly trifling economic and political issues. Ours is to direct the workers to the goal by pushing forward the miners' program and backing up our "black brigade."

The condition of the army, the navy, and even the police strengthens us in the fight. Capitalism is in the last ditch. Let us this year cover over this dripping monster and prepare the way for Human Solidarity on a sound world-wide workers' owned and controlled Economic Solidarity.

EUROPEAN WORKERS DISPLAY LITTLE FAITH IN PEACE CONFERENCE

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.
Special Correspondence to The Call.

PARIS, (Delayed).—The decision still hangs in a tender balance.

Six weeks ago the Paris peace conference entered into a race with revolution for the mastery of Europe. The contest remains a draw, judged by surface evidence, but close inspection convinces many judges that revolution will win, some time between April and October.

Now comes the Bern meeting of labor spokesmen who, by prompt and determined action six weeks ago, might have dictated a lasting peace of the peoples. Perhaps it still lies in their power, if not in their disposition, to do so, but one is compelled to doubt that they will exert their influence fully in time to achieve an orderly transition to the new society that is awaiting its birth here.

The old masters of society no longer hold anything but the cut reins of control. Europe is consuming the slender residue of resources accumulated for the prosecution of the war. There are virtually no peace industries in operation and none being prepared to employ and supply the teeming, restless populations.

Millions of acres will lie fallow this coming summer because their tillers are still in uniform and because there is no seed for the planting. The cost of living climbs steadily upward from its present straining altitude, while statesmen without ideas or initiative mouth patriotic platitudes to the restless masses.

Working people are striking without consulting leaders in whom they have no faith left—leaders who go abroad to advocate a league of nations when all the masses want is more food and control over their immediate fortunes.

The most sinister thing in Europe (or the most hopeful) is the average man's lack of faith in any kind of a conference, excepting only a conference of his shop companions.

The Welsh miner is not interested in a meeting at London of some labor control board, and still less in a parliamentary proposal for regulating the condition of the working class. He has come to believe that his group committee is more qualified than any other to adjust the grievances of that group.

The Paris trainmen who stopped every wheel turning on subway and surface cars last Friday and Saturday are not sending men to Bern to discuss the face of the German colonies. If they think of those colonies at all, it is to conclude that they are not worth worrying about by men and women who must make a des-

perate fight at home, if they are to escape privation or disaster within a short time.

Quick return to work, at short hours and good pay—that is the demand everywhere of the men who have fought the war. More pay and cheaper food and clothing—that is the demand of the civilian masses who have survived the war.

There is nothing in any peace plan yet submitted at Paris which promises to meet these two inescapable demands at any near date. And the masses must have quick relief.

"Statesmanship" permitted the war to come. "Statesmanship" allowed it to continue until Russia went to pieces—and to the Soviets—dragging central Europe in her train.

"Statesmanship" today keeps, not only the late enemy countries, but all Europe, dangling by the same string of hesitation and incompetence over the fire of uncertainty and growing famine. Can the effect be different where the cause and treatment are the same?

Opposed to the statesmanship which plans the political peace of the future while the social war of today is mobilized under the baton of mass exasperation and fanaticism, one sees in Europe the positive, dynamic, dogmatic, fanatic teaching of men and women whose imaginations have been fired by the example of Russia and who find among the nerve-frayed populace eager listeners to their teachings.

For the masses of Europe the peace conference has only one word: "Wait." But into the ears of the hungry and exasperated masses Bolshevism pours, day and night, the counter-charge: "Don't wait." And among the peace delegates at Paris you will find every day a new convert to the theory that the clocks tick on the side of "Don't wait."

So it is that the official mind is turning toward Bern in the hope that the conference there, speaking in the name of labor, may formulate still another and moderate program or reconstruction, and, laying it before the constituted governments of western Europe for execution, turn them to the people and repeat the admonition of the threatened order, "Wait."

Bern will be very moderate. There is no longer any question of that. Soviet Russia will not be there. The Spartacists are in the German back-ground, not at Bern. The heart of Italian Socialism beats in quick sympathy with Bolshevik and Spartacist, but it will not prevail at Bern.

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THE DAY OF THE PEOPLE

By Eugene V. Debs.

Upon his release from the Kaiser's castle—the doors of which were torn from their hinges by the proletarian revolution—Karl Liebknecht, heroic leader of the rising hosts, exclaimed: "The Day of the People has arrived!" It was a magnificent challenge to the Junkers and an inspiring battle-cry to the aroused workers.

From that day to this Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and other true leaders of the German proletariat have stood bravely at the front, appealing to the workers to join the revolution and make it complete by destroying what remained of the criminal and corrupt old regime and ushering in the day of the people. Then arose the cry that the people were not yet ready for their day, and Ebert and Scheidemann and their crowd of white-livered reactionaries, with the sanction and support of the fugitive Kaiser, the infamous Junkers and all the allied powers, now in beautiful alliance, proceeded to prove that the people were not yet ready to rule themselves by setting up a bourgeois government under which the working class should remain in substantially the same state of slavish subjection they were in at the beginning of the war.

And now upon that issue—as to whether the terrible war has brought the people their day or whether its appalling sacrifices have all been in vain—the battle is raging in Germany as in Russia, and the near future will determine whether revolution has for once been really triumphant or whether sudden reaction has again won the day.

In the struggle in Russia the revolution has thus far triumphed for the reason that it has not compromised. The career of Kerensky was cut short when he attempted to turn the revolutionary tide into reactionary bourgeois channels.

Lenine and Trotsky were the men of the hour and under their fearless, incorruptible and uncompromising leadership the Russian proletariat has held the fort against the combined assaults of all the ruling class powers of earth. It is a magnificent spectacle. It stirs the blood and warms the heart of every revolutionist, and it challenges the admiration of all the world.

So far as the Russian proletariat is concerned, the day of the people has arrived, and they are fighting and dying as only heroes and martyrs can fight and die to usher in the day of the people not only in Russia but in all the nations on the globe.

In every revolution of the past the false and cowardly plea that the people were "not yet ready" has prevailed. Some intermediate class invariably supplanted the class that was overthrown and "the people" remained at the bottom where they have been since the beginning of history. They have never been "ready" to rid themselves of their despots, robbers and parasites. All they have ever been ready for has been to exchange one brood of vampires for another to drain their veins and fatten in their misery.

That was Kerensky's doctrine in Russia and it is Scheidemann's doctrine in Germany. They are both false prophets of the people and traitors to the working class, and woe be to their deluded followers if their vicious reaction triumphs, for then indeed will the yokes be fastened afresh upon their scarred and bleeding necks for another generation.

When Kerensky attempted to side-track the revolution in Russia by joining forces with the bourgeoisie he was lauded by the capitalist press of the whole world. When Scheidemann patriotically rushed to the support of the Kaiser and the Junkers at the beginning of the war, the same press denounced him as the betrayer of socialism and the enemy of the people. And now this very press lauds him to heavens as the savior of the German nation! Think of it! Scheidemann the traitor has become Scheidemann the hero of the bourgeoisie. Could it be for any other reason on earth than that Scheidemann is doing the dirty work of the capitalist class?

And all this time the prostitute press of the robber regime of the whole world is shrieking hideously against Bolshevism. "It is worse than Kaiserism" is the burden of

their cry. Certainly it is. They would a thousand times rather have the Kaiser restored to his throne than to see the working class rise to power. In the latter event they cease to rule, their graft is gone and their class disappears, and well do they know it. That is what we said from the beginning and for which we have been sentenced as disloyalists and traitors.

Scheidemann and his breed do not believe that the day of the people has arrived. According to them the war and the revolution have brought the day of the bourgeoisie. Mr. Bourgeois is now to take the place of Mr. Junker—to evolve into another Junker himself by and by—while Mr. Wage-Slave remains where he was before, under the heels of his master, and all he gets out of the carnage in which his blood dyed the whole earth is a new set of heels to grind into his exploited bones and a fresh and lusty vampire to drain his life-blood.

Away with all such perfidious doctrines; forever away with such a vicious subterfuge and treacherous betrayal!

The people are ready for their day. THE PEOPLE, I say. Yes, the people!

Who are the people? The people are the working class, the lower class, the robbed, the oppressed, the impoverished, the great majority of the earth. They and those who sympathize with them are THE PEOPLE, and they who exploit the working class, and the mercenaries and menials who aid and abet the exploiters, are the enemies of the people.

That is the attitude of Lenine and Trotsky in Russia and was of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, and this accounts for the flood of falsehood and calumny which poured upon the heads of the brave leaders and their revolutionary movement from the filthy mouthpieces of the robber regime of criminal capitalism throughout the world.

The rise of the working-class is the red spectre in the bourgeois horizon. The red cock shall never crow. Anything but that! The Kaiser himself will be pitted and forgiven if he will but roll his eyes heavenward, proclaim the menace of Bolshevism, and appeal to humanity to rise in its wrath and stamp out this curse to civilization.

And still the "curse" continues to spread—like a raging conflagration it leaps from shore to shore. The reign of capitalism and militarism has made of all peoples inflammable material. They are ripe and ready for the change, the great change which means the rise and triumph of the workers, the end of exploitation, of war and plunder, and the emancipation of the race. Let it come! Let us all help its coming and pave the way for it by organizing the workers industrially and politically to conquer capitalism and usher in the day of the people.

In Russia and Germany our valiant comrades are leading the proletarian revolution, which knows no race, no color, no sex, and no boundary lines. They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them, scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers within our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber-class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death!

From the crown of my head to soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it.

"The Day of the People has arrived!" Reprinted from "The Class Struggle."

A NEW SOCIAL ORDER.

"We must ensure that what is presently to be built up is a new social order, based not on fighting but on fraternity—not on the competitive struggle for the means of bare life, but on a deliberately planned co-operation in production and distribution for the benefit of all who participate by hand or by brain—not on the utmost possible inequality of riches, but on a systematic approach towards a healthy equality of material circumstances for every person born into the world—not on an enforced dominion over subject nations, subject races, subject colonies, subject classes, or a subject sex, but in industry as well as in government, on that equal freedom, that general consciousness of consent that widest possible participation in power, both economical and political, which is characteristic of democracy."—President Wilson.

LABOR SNUBBED, BUT IMPERIALISTS BULK BIG AT QUAI D'ORSEY

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

PARIS, (delayed).—Grimly amusing melancholy bears heavily upon a distinguished member of the American peace mission tonight. His heart is heavy because, forsooth, "labor is not doing its full share to compel a democratic peace!"

What is this record of labor's failure? For months past British labor has been demanding in detail the things for which President Wilson is laboring today in Paris, namely, no armed intervention in Russia, a League of Nations, no imperialist annexations and the right of self-determination for all peoples.

For demanding these things the leaders of British labor were labelled as anarchistic imitators of Bolshevism by Lloyd George during the recent campaign in Great Britain in a speech which more than any other turned timid votes away from the Labor party.

Lloyd George has a seat at the peace conference. Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, George Landbury, Arthur Henderson and the others were turned out of Parliament and are now "reproached" because they do not give more aid to a democratic peace.

The story of French labor is the same. Longuet, Sembat, Cachin and the rest have been and still are under a virtual state of martial law because of their unrelenting fight against the imperialism of the Quai d'Orsay. Clemenceau and Pichon sit at the peace table, and their newspaper organs fire daily broadsides into the Wilson program, sneering at the "amateurish idealism," which threatens to wreck their program of "practical statesmanship."

Labor Leaders in Jail or Near It.

In Italy the situation is repeated. The leaders of the labor movement are either in prison or in imminent peril of it. Their open letter to Wilson protesting against the imperialistic plans of their government's censor. Yet the heads of that government sit around the green table at Paris today.

It is true the record at labor in the Entente countries will not compare with the achievements of labor in central Europe and Russia, where the working classes have, to a fairly complete degree, assumed full charge of their own affairs.

Would the melancholy Yankee

envoy have the workers of France, England and Italy follow the full example of their "enemy" comrades and by a sudden stroke remove the last serious obstacles to a peoples' peace?

One may suspect that he would, so heavy is his soul with dread of what the summer will bring forth in Europe, should this talkative peace conference drag this wavering length into "the heated term." He knows that moderation has won a truce, not a victory in Germany, and that warm, dry tinder litters the Entente countries from end to end, waiting to catch the flying sparks from the next flare-up across the Rhine.

So, the eyes of this cautious, informed statesman have turned toward the international labor and Socialist conference at Bern as an event which may produce from European labor a program so red and emphatic that the Clemenceaus and Orlando at Paris will make haste to embrace the Wilson program as a refuge from greater "disaster."

Gompers Offends Wilson.

In this connection, Samuel Gompers has aroused the intense disgust of President Wilson and his colleagues here by his effort to drive a wedge between the trade unions and the political parties of Europe. This effort cannot possibly succeed; but, if it did, it would simply split wide open the very body of public opinion upon which Wilson relies most to support his peace plans.

I am told the president may advise Gompers to swallow his intrigue pride and spleen and go up to Bern immediately, if he wishes to help the United States at the peace table. The nuisance which Gompers has become at this critical moment may be a piece of providential retribution for the way the A. F. of L. president was tooled to, as the exclusion of all the radical and Socialist labor people of the United States, during the war.

"The Old Menace!" It is, surely, droll enough that, with Wilson laboring mightily to have the blockade against Germany lifted, Gompers should come to Paris as a champion of starvation tactics against central Europe and Russia. "The old menace" is the epithet used against him by one who knows the President's mind unusually well.

THE INTERNATIONALE.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

(By Eugene Pottier.)

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us.
Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

Refrain:

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The Industrial Union
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

Refrain.

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
Wage systems drain our blood;
The rich are free from obligations,
The laws the poor delude.
Too long we've languished in subjection,
Equality has other laws;
"No rights," says she, "without their duties,
No claims on equals without cause."

Refrain.

Behold them seated in their glory,
The kings of mine and rail and soil!
What have you read in all their story,
But how they plundered toil?
Fruits of the people's work are buried
In the strong coffers of a few;
In working for their restitution
The men will only ask their due.

Refrain.

Toilers from shops and fields united,
The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the people,
No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened!
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
The blessed sunlight still will stay.

Refrain.

Now that it is quite too late to make practical amends for past tyranny and blundering by his subordinates, I believe Wilson regrets the persecution which American Socialists suffered at the hands of his administration. At all events, he is said to wish that a strong delegation of American Socialists was going to Bern to help enunciate a working class program that would make his own road easier at Paris.

Acting Secretary of State Polk seems to be entirely responsible for the refusal of passports to the American Socialist delegates, and, unless I have been misinformed, Mr. Polk today received a cablegram from Paris ordering him to issue the passports immediately, provided the Socialists think they can still reach Bern in time for the conference.

BRITISH LABOR DEFIES OLD UNION LEADERS IN OUTLAW STRIKES

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workers are also out in defiance of their elected leaders.

Their reported threat to cut off the city's water supply shows the desperate and determined mood of the Belfast workers.

Several thousand ship repairers on the Thames, near London, have dropped their tools to enforce a demand for 15 shillings more a week. Here, again, the trade union executives denounce the strike and refuse pay benefits. Conservative critics say the strikers have ample funds, however, and are disposed to flout their old leaders. They also refuse mediation by the government Committee on Production, but insist upon a flat surrender to their demands.

Police Unionized.

The extent to which policemen are unionized and ready to strike for recognition and more wages would astound the average American. Virtually every city in the country has its union of class-conscious policemen, men who have come to rely upon nothing but their organized strength and that of their fellow workers to procure justice.

Americans may have heard that a very big vote was polled in the engineering trades against the 47-hour week proposal. That is quite correct, I am told that far more than half the engineering workers were opposed to the demand, because they wanted a much shorter week. The union leaders fixed the ballot so that a straight "yes or no" vote must be cast, and their utmost efforts were required to obtain a majority for the plan.

Shop Stewardship Is Soviet.

The real leaders of British labor today are the shop stewards, and the shop steward arrangement is an English adaptation of the Russian Soviet, save that it has, as yet, no political character.

To the warning that British workmen cannot expect to reduce their workday unless they are prepared to increase their per-hour production, the present labor spokesmen retort that they will do nothing of the kind; that the employers can either accept their reduced profits or get out, as they are no longer needed, anyway.

It seems to me important to make a note of these things, if for no other reason than that they are so fundamental and different from anything being discussed or considered at the Paris peace conference.

EUROPEAN WORKERS DISPLAY LITTLE FAITH IN PEACE CONFERENCE

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not even with the support of Jean Longuet.

The British delegates are fearful of a premature, abortive uprising at home, and as an antidote for this they are committed fervently to a Wilson peace and will labor chiefly to promote it at Bern.

Sitting in Paris, obsessed with all the fearsome signs and portents encountered during visits to Italy and England since Christmas, one fears that the working class of last year, not of 1919, will be represented at Bern.

Bern will put power and prestige in the political hamper of Woodrow Wilson. Can it put bread into the bare larders of the millions for whom bread alone will tip the balance between "Wait" and "Don't wait"?

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

Robins At Last Speaks Word About Russia

He Upholds Lenin and Trotsky and Says He Will Write True History of Revolution Anon.

Raymond Robin, who was for a long time head of the American Red Cross work in Russia and whose taciturnity since his return has caused all America to wonder, is quoted in a recent issue of the Butte Daily Bulletin as having said:

"I am on a government mission and my mouth is closed, but I have the entire documentary history of the Russian revolution hidden in a dozen safe deposits in as many cities, and when this thing is over I am going to write that history. Lenin and Trotsky are men actuated and upheld in their tremendous task by the inspiration of an ideal, and the charge that they are German agents is absolutely false.

"I have documents signed by Lenin and Trotsky ordering out the Red Guards to resist the German invasion. I have documents signed by them ordering the entire supply of platinum transported into the interior, where it could not fall into German hands; I have documents ordering the supply of grain to be disposed of in a like manner.

APPEALED TO GOVERNMENT TO HELP BOLSHEVIKS.

"All Russia needed was economic aid, shoes, farming and agricultural machinery. I wanted the government to extent that aid to her, but I arrived too late; the policy of in-

tervention was already decided upon. "The Soviets wished to exchange their platinum, a metal needed in great quantities for the manufacture of munitions, and their copper, for shoes, machinery and factory equipment. That was all the aid they needed, and it would have made possible a successful resistance of the German invasion.

"Again, I say, I was too late. I believe that Baron Reading, the English ambassador, McAdoo, Burleson and Attorney General Gregory are the men who prevailed upon the government to consent to armed intervention, a policy that was dictated more by the attitude of the French and English governments than a desire to do justice to Russia.

"It would do no good to publish the evidence I have in my possession now, until the wave of hysteria has subsided. When the war is over I intend to write the true history of the Russian revolution.

"There is no international force in Russia that can overthrow the Soviets; they have the backing of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people, but by blockading the Russian ports, the allies may be able to strangle the Soviets; whether they are able to do so or not, the Soviet government is the only real government of the workers that has yet been established, and it is the mother of all the coming working class governments."

THE HEART OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Sometimes you hear something about "the brains of the Socialist movement." We have never been able to locate any exact spot in which they are situated, but we believe that the heart of the Socialist movement of America still beats in the breast of Eugene Debs. And when Debs stood up in front of that jury of retired merchants and farmers in Cleveland, about to sentence him to live and die in a felon's cell, and declared his solidarity with the Russian bolshevik government, his adherence to the class struggle, his sympathy and respect for the I. W. W., and when he turned to his judge with a magnificent gesture of superiority and said to him, "Your honor, it is true that I am opposed to our form of government," the keynote of American Socialism for the coming years was sounded, and no manifestoes of the National Security League and no contrary testimony from our more prudent parliamentarians can change it.—Max Eastman in the Liberator for February.

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BOLSHEVIKI SURROUNDED THE ALLIED TROOPS WITH STEEL, BUT WOULD NOT KILL, U. S. SOLDIER DECLARES

SOVIET TROOPS FELL BACK TO AVOID SLAUGHTERNIG

Expedition Branded as "Pitiful Failure" by Correspondent, Who Says North Russia Seethes With Unrest at Military Meddling in Local Affairs.

The office of the Russian Socialist ally, Novy Mitr, in New York, was recently visited by a soldier of the American army who had just returned from Archangel. His experience, no doubt, is of interest to every one who has been watching the drama which is being played in far distant north Russia. His story shows that, not only is there no necessity for holding Allied troops in Russia, but that their presence there is becoming a tragic farce, greatly damaging the reputation of America.

"I am a Russian," the soldier said. "I found myself in the American army, as did many natives of Russia with first papers or without them. I lived in the state of Michigan, and when the draft came I was taken in. I was placed in the 339th Michigan Regiment, and with this regiment I went to Europe to fight for democracy, freedom and justice.

"When once you are in the army, you become a small part of a machine which works as is prescribed; one loses his will; has to do whatever one is ordered to do. So it was in my case.

"The regiment went abroad. Already before the departure I had a hunch that we would be sent, not to France, but to Russia. I shared my apprehensions with some other

soldiers, but they merely laughed at me.

"On our arrival in England we received our equipment, and my fears doubled; the winter clothes we got augured nothing good. Again we started, and now my apprehensions proved to be true. We were sent, not to the south, but to the north, to Scotland. There we were put on a ship, and departed. We travelled for seven days, and when we saw the coast we discovered that snow was on the mountains (early in September). Now it was clear that our destination was not France, but Russia.

No Munitions to Guard.

"We landed at Archangel. We found there English and French soldiers. Before we landed we were told that we came to Russia, not to fight here, but merely to safeguard the Allied ammunition stores. Yet no ammunition was found there; the Bolsheviks had carried away with them everything to the south—they cleared the place of everything, to the last shell and cartridge. Only empty stores remained.

"What are we to do here, then?" we began to question ourselves and our officers. The officers were silent. Others said: 'The future will show.'

"The first day passed quietly. The plan was to organize a military parade through the city. Rain

caused the parade to be postponed. We scattered around and stood under awnings in order to protect ourselves against the rain.

"I found myself under a cover of a storeroom which was in course of construction and I started a conversation with the workers busy at it. 'How are things going?' I asked them. The workers in astonishment looked at me—a foreigner who spoke Russian. Their faces betrayed apprehension: 'What sort of man is he, perhaps a spy,' they evidently thought. I calmed them by stating that I was a Russian, their countryman. We started a lively conversation. I found out that 'under the Bolsheviks' they had lived much better; they had bread, and their earnings had been larger. As soon as the English came, said one of them, everything came to grief: no bread and poor earnings.

English Seized Everything.

"Later, I convinced myself of the truth of their words. The English, indeed, had seized everything there, in a dictatorial manner ruled the territory occupied by the Allied troops. The population hates them, as one can hate foreign invaders. The attitude of the Russians toward the Americans is considerably better.

"A few days after our arrival in Archangel, we received orders to march south. 'Where?' we asked. 'To the front,' was the answer.

"The order was given, and we had to obey. We were loaded into freight trains, and then we started. I do not remember how long we were on the way. The days there are short and dark, and nothing could be seen from the train. Finally we stopped. We discovered we were at the station Oboserska. We saw no Bolsheviks. Later, we found out that the Bolsheviks were retreating to the south, not because they feared our forces, but merely because they wished to avoid any slaughter.

Proclamations, Not Bayonets.

"At one place, south of the station Oboserska, instead of meeting the bayonets of the Soviet troops, we came across a train loaded with proclamations in English, French, Italian and other languages. In those proclamations the Bolsheviks explained the nature of the intervention and advised us to get home. The proclamations were speedily distributed. Later, our officers got wise about it and seized them, burning them immediately.

"During the whole of my stay at the front I observed the new Bolshevik methods of warfare. The Bolsheviks did not harm us, although on several occasions they could have shot us down like so many partridges. Once, while we were crossing a river, a man came forward from the Bolshevik side with a white flag, and, speaking in English, he told us that we were being misled, that we ought to leave the Russian territory and the Russian people at peace. 'You have come hereto fight us, and not we to fight you; we have done no harm to you; so go back to your homes.'

Unharmful by Bolsheviks.

"There were also other instances: We are surrounded on all sides by the Bolsheviks, so that there is no way out of it. We are doomed, we thought. But it was not so. They would keep us thus a day or two and then let us go free, unharmful. Only once they treated us to machine gun and field gun fire—and, indeed, at that time there was no way out of it. There are no trenches, because one cannot dig in the frozen ground. Everywhere are marshes, and one stands almost waist deep in water. We hid behind barricades made of logs. But, of course, that was a poor defense. When a shell strikes such a barricade nothing but splinters remain.

Expedition "Pitiful Failure."

The Chicago Tribune of February 10 published a letter from its correspondent who has been in North Russia, dated Vard, Norway, February 1 (by cable from Norvik, February 8). The following are excerpts from his letter:

"After two months spent in investigating the conditions in North Russia, where American troops are serving under Allied directorship, I can state the following facts:

"1. The North Russia Allied expedition has developed into a pitiful failure. It has failed to inspire confidence and loyalty and give real

assistance to Russia. It has become a cesspool of jealousy, hatreds, mistakes, and shattered illusions. The different Allies distrust one another, and the Russians distrust the entire expedition.

"2. The American troops were put under an absolute imperialistic command, being handled in a way that was against every tradition of the army and country. They were put to doing a King's business, and to do whatever task was assigned to them by the British. American men and their ideals of right and fairness were entirely submerged through the un-American leadership.

No "Spiritual Leadership."

"3. The entire expedition suffered from a complete lack of spiritual leadership. Instead of being an ordinary soldier's job, this expedition required sympathetic understanding. It always has been more political than military. The original leaders thought themselves to be great soldiers and great diplomats, but they proved to be neither.

"4. The expedition has lacked spiritual significance. Europe's warlike men, sent here from the French battlefields, failed to appreciate the great revolution or sympathize with the unrest and the new birth that Russia is going through. Most of the Allied soldiers, especially since the signing of the armistice, hated the job, despite the Russians, and have no concern with the future of the country. The expedition, lacking this spiritual significance in men's minds, has become a mere fighting job to collect Russia's debt to Europe.

"5. There is no enthusiasm even among the intelligent Russians in the north to assist the Allies and fight the Bolsheviks. Everywhere there is a growing disgust against the expedition, especially against the British.

"6. The beautiful faith of the Russians for America is breaking under the manhandling by our forces under the foreign command. The American forces have been led by an American colonel, when they should have had a major general. Within our own forces, we lacked the right leadership, permitting the Americans to be placed under the limited control of foreigners.

Censor Still Busy.

"I have come out of Russia to write this. The censorship that has crawled back into its hole in most of the world still wears the iron heel of war days in the north. The American public has been fed pretty stories of the gentle glories of this 'Help Russia' expedition; but the facts are that a mess has been stewed and has been kept for the cooks themselves.

"America, whose ideals of honor are at stake, and whose sons are being sacrificed, has the right to know the facts. In North Russia the expedition has become a dismal comic opera. Here in the north, in a district that never was violently Bolshevik, where the Allies had many friends at the start, and where since the first days there have been unlimited opportunities to advance confidence and gain respect, here, with everything their own way, the Allies have failed utterly.

"Today, in Archangel, Murmansk, and the other cities of the district, there is growing dissatisfaction against the way the expedition has interfered in local Russian affairs. Every phase of life within the district is controlled by the Allies and dominated by them.

"The Russians frankly resent this. They will tell you openly that they, and not the outsiders, should determine the exact form of government and pick the leaders. Today, if a Russian fails to follow the ideas and opinions of the Allied leaders, he is classed as a Bolshevik, with the possibilities of jail to keep him silent. Only such men as conform with the foreigners' ideas last in the local government.

Meddle in Local Affairs.

"The foreign military are actually and undeniably interfering in local affairs. They are dominating every department, forcing their own ideas and judgments against the wishes of the North Russian Provisional government. Martial law has been established, placing the foreign military above the local authorities. All this reflected against the avowed motives of the Allies.

"It is difficult to understand the question until the facts are grasped that the whole country is seething with unrest. In this land there are a hundred and one pet theories, ideas, and beliefs, all of the adherents striving to put forward their remedies.

Then, into this boiling mess is stuck a bayonet instead of a spoon, and this new foreign cook, whose recipes are not wanted, whose ability is questioned, whose sincerity is

doubted, shouts: 'Try my brand of cooking, you need it. Try it, or I'll stick you with a bayonet.'

"This is exactly what has happened in North Russia. One particular outside nation forced their ideas of life, liberty, happiness, government, justice, censorship and everything on the Russians, and they have been imperialistic, old-fashioned, old-world ideas.

"Recently one of the sincerest Russian revolutionists in Archangel, who gave years of his life to bring about the original revolution, said: 'Fear Allies More.'

"The thousands of honest anti-Bolshevik radicals throughout Russia are fearing the course that the intervention may take more than they fear the Bolsheviks. We prefer the present Moscow government to the return of terrible reaction.'

"The Americans were doing their fighting in small groups with at the most their own platoon or company commanders over them; in certain instances the tiny groups of Americans actually were under the British sergeants. It simply didn't go. The hard feeling popped up and grew. The same conditions prevailed with all the other members of the expedition, and before long hatreds, jealousies and distrusts were engendered which it was impossible to correct.

"All the time the Americans felt they were doing a job for certain nations, helping to collect their debts and re-establish their commercial supremacy. Part of this trying condition was brought about through the lack of proper spiritual leadership in the high Allied command and part through the lack of proper leadership within the American forces themselves. This put the whole expedition on a false basis, and it was reflected through the leaders down to the lowliest private.

"From the start the expedition lacked the thrill of the drive that a great, honest, stated purpose would have given. The majority hated the job and transferred their hate to the Russians. They had no concern for them and did not try to understand the tremendous question the country was facing to discover the solution. They carried on in a half-hearted way, riding roughshod over the feelings of the natives, and acting much more like conquerors than invited guests."

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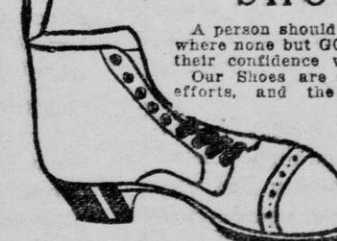
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"Internationalism."

"What makes the festering radicalism of the Bolshevik and the red Socialist so dangerous is that it is so incredibly stupid.

No better illustration of its crass stupidity could be imagined than its conception of "internationalism" as "no-nationalism." When the Red thinks of internationalism he thinks of the world as one chaotic, formless flock, with its destinies ruled by the mad whims of a few red-minded fanatics.

Such "internationalism" is not a beautiful dream, but a wretched nightmare.

Internationalism, the internationalism to which the world is strongly tending, with a vast impetus from the war, is not no-nationalism. "Inter" means between or among—means mutuality. True internationalism means co-operation and understanding between nations, not the destruction of nations as Russia has been destroyed by the "internationalists" of the red type. Indeed, true internationalism depends upon the highest development of the best nationalism—which is a national spirit without imperialism, freed from the monstrous error that national advantage is only to be gained at the expense of other nations. Such nationalism is not only altogether good but altogether necessary.

Germany illustrated the wrong kind of nationalism, which makes true internationalism impossible.

Bolshevist Russia illustrates the wrong kind of internationalism, which also makes true internationalism impossible. Bolshevist internationalism is no-nationalism—international chaos, shot with smoke and blood but without light.

William Hohenzollern typifies the wrong national spirit; and in all nations there is something of this baneful spirit.

Trotsky typifies the wrong kind of internationalism, and Reds everywhere echo its malignant errors.

Woodrow Wilson typifies and voices the right kind of nationalism and the right kind of internationalism—for the right kind of nationalism makes the right kind of internationalism—and all thinking Americans, without distinction of party, rejoice and are proud that this is so.

The above editorial appeared in the Duluth Herald, Feb. 24th, not on the funny page, honest to God it was an editorial, editorial—not deaditorial.

Of course some radicals are inclined to disagree with the above remarkable (?) outburst, but nevertheless it is true there is more freedom in America than in Russia. In Russia, children are NOT allowed to go to work until they are eighteen years of age. In America, children have more freedom than the Russian children, they can go to work at five years of age. What is more, the children of America assert themselves and practice their God-given rights in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness. In Carolina, the children go to work at five years of age, whilst the Russian cutthroats and murderers deny the children their rights and refuse to allow them inside a factory until they are eighteen. Did you ever hear of such oppression in your whole natural career? Thank God, we have men like the editor of the Herald.

In Russia the politicians have got to do what the workers tell them to do. Such abominable tyranny! In America we allow our politicians to do anything they like, in fact, we allow them to do us and they do us fine. Thank God we have freedom in America.

In Russia they torture the capitalist class. Go back to the days of Nero and the Spanish inquisition, and you will never find traces of the cruelty of the Russian workers. They are so full of murderous spirit and a spirit of vengeance, that they make the capitalists work. In America we respect the capitalist. Where we would get our jobs, if there were no capitalists? It is all very well and good for you agitators to ask who builds the factories? Ask that question in Russia!

In Russia they have eliminated the scarlet women. They have even taken women off the streets and given them good homes and decent conditions and so forced them to stop selling their bodies. God, what an outrage! In America we have freedom, because we let women sell their bodies, so that they can live. Thank God, twice, for the courage of the editor of the Herald, who has the pluck to write editorials like the above.

In Russia they are so brutal that they only pay their premier 720 dollars per year. Thank God that we appreciate our President and pay him \$75,000. Of course it can be readily seen that Russia is not on the map with our country.

"Stop! Just a word, if you please!"

"There you are, there always steps in on the scene a radical who queers the whole shooting match. Well, what do you want to say, anyway?"

"Garn you and your boasted freedom! The above editorial is about the silliest that I have ever read, with the exception of your own. Say, I'm a Socialist and I just want to put you wise!"

"What is this internationalism of President Wilson, after you have cast aside his speeches and dipped below the surface? You will find in every country that goes to make up the league of nations, the same sordid poverty and starvation that exists here. You will hear the same pitiful cry of the starving child, the outcast woman of the streets and the starving unemployed. In all the countries of the world the gaunt spectre of hunger hovers over the land. Women crouch before it and children die at the first touch of it. Black poverty is the lot of the workers of all lands and you say that if all the workers come together under such conditions, that there will be a beautiful international. Sit back in your chairs, editors, and write your smooth editorials. You are as far remote from the life of the people as the north pole is from the equator. Do you think that we

can free the world from poverty and war, pestilence and plagues by drinking in the words of mental bankrupts? Not on your life! What is more, the workers realize that the internationalism of President Wilson is but the final epoch of capitalism. Capitalism has so developed that it now seeks to keep itself in power by bringing all the rulers of the world together. Capitalism today seeks to gather new strength by bringing all its component parts together and resisting the advance of the new society. As the germ in the egg develops and finally gives us the chicken, the shell is broken and out steps the chicken. The germ of the new society is the organized workers. They are developing their organizations and soon they will take control of industry, the basis of life. Soon they will bring in a new era, wherein all who labor shall eat. Call it by what name you like. It does not matter much. The workers are getting together on the job. They are beginning to realize how vast their power is.

The international that the capitalist class fought, they have brought about. The World war brought workers together and you will never be able to separate them. Shoulder to shoulder they are standing. British and Canadian soldiers refuse to go to Russia. The soldiers today are tired of the foolish drilling and being kept in camps. The workers today see the spectre of unemployment staring them in their face. War-weary soldiers and unemployed workers. Overfed capitalists and society butterflies. The one hungry stares at the other overfed. CAN IT LAST? No, a thousand times no! Rattle your typewriter on, until its bearings get white-hot. Words—words—words, simply words. Against all your fulminations, your canting phrases and your rottenness, we will come, in all our power and might. Up from the mines, out of the factories, from off the ships we are coming organized in one union of our class, with one object, the things we make shall be ours. SHALL BE OURS! Russia opened our eyes to the power that lies within us. Germany, Bavaria, Austria, England, Scotland, Ireland and the workers of all countries are organizing into industrial unions. Soon we shall stretch our hands across the waters of the ocean. All around the world, across the Atlantic and the Pacific we shall send around the world the band of brotherhood that will gird the world and with our hands clasped together we shall take in the world for the workers. Stop it! You cannot! You cannot even give soldiers jobs. Your system is crumbling. We alone can rebuild on the ruins of capitalism. We shall take hold of your rotten system and phoenix-like a new society will arise. The future is ours. The shouts of a new democracy can be heard. Listen my editor friend, to the strains of the Internationale! Can you feel as I feel? No, a thousand times no. The feeling I have got came from my life with the workers. We all feel the same. Yes, we are coming millions strong. The world to claim. We are coming, the sons of men and the daughters of women. Raise your voices and sound the glad tidings."

What can an editor do against a man like that? As we gazed at him, we could see that there was a force behind his words. There was a look in his eyes that plainly showed how determined he was. Men with his spirit can never be crushed.

RIGHTS!! RIGHTS!!

Today a league of nations is being built. Small nations are standing outside the peace conference asking for rights. Rights, you say! What rights have we? There is no right today, unless it rests upon might. Of course our pacifist friends will object. But if we will be frank with ourselves, we are compelled to recognize that those who rule today, by the strength of their economic power they determine what is right or wrong. It is right to drive women on the street and make huge fortunes out of their degradation and shame. Right, because those who make the fortunes compel others to keep their mouths shut and their ears closed. Where is there a newspaper editor who dares to tell the truth about the social injustices that are being perpetrated in our midst. It will be as hard a task as finding a needle in a haystack, to find such an editor. Ask any editor why he does not print the real truth, the stark, naked truth? He will tell you of a wife and child that await his coming so that they may eat. Above him with the whip of economic insecurity stands the capitalist, and when needs be, he will use that whip and another editor will join the ranks of "martyrs to truth."

Dr. Sigmund Freud, the well-known authority on psychology, in his message to the world states:

"But the war in which we did not want to believe broke out and brought—disappointment. It is not only bloodier and more destructive than any foregoing war, as a result of the tremendous development of weapons of attack and defense, but it is at least as cruel, bitter and merciless as any earlier war. It places itself above all the restrictions pledged in times of peace, the so-called rights of nations, it does not acknowledge the prerogatives of the wounded and of physicians, the distinction between peaceful and fighting members of the population, or the claims of private property. It hurls down in blind rage whatever bars its way, as though there were no future and no peace after it is over. It tears asunder all community bonds among the struggling peoples and threatens to leave a bitterness which will make impossible any re-establishment of these ties for a long time to come."

Freud states the ease of war which is the case of capitalist society. There are no rights, there are so-called "necessary acts." Nations are ravaged because of military necessity. Men and women are sacrificed because of the necessity for profits. Whatever the cap-

italist class deem necessary, that is right. Only those who have power have rights. The few liberties that are handed to the workers are not rights, they are skids under the wheels of progress. The atrocities that are committed in war are made necessary by the terrible nature of war itself. Armies that are hungry, cannot afford to feed their prisoners and the world reels with the stories of the atrocities of prison camps. Recognize the fact that you live in a world ruled by force and built by force.

Love is needed, but before you can have a reign of love in the world, cast out those who breed hate. Before you can cast out the hate breeders, you must be possessed of power. Labor has that power. Efficiently organized and conscious of its powers, labor can give to itself all the rights it deserves, simply by taking them.

TELL THE BOSSES!

Billy McEwen opposed the Seattle strike, because the men broke their contracts. Poor Bill, his end is near.

REVOLUTION! REVOLUTION!

By COL. C. E. S. WOOD.

Broad as the front of the sea,
Rolling, heaving, advancing, swelling.
Behold a triumphant multitude.
It will break in thunder on the shore.
And the land shall be made clean.
Above the sea of grey faces
Write the two great standards.
On one is written "Justice."
On the other "Freedom."
They are written in blood.
Onward the tide surges, mounting upward;
Men with pale faces;
Women with despairful eyes,
And little children who have never laughed.
The banners of their poverty
Dance like demons,
And the tramp of their feet
Is the ponderous throb of the engine
Without a master.
They are coming
From mines, mills, and factories;
From slimy slums of cities;
From dark and dangerous caverns of the earth;
From narrow, dripping tunnel of darkness;
From clamorous, devouring penitentiaries of industry;
From white-hot hells of furnaces;
From the mind-maddening laughter of machines,
And the devouring cruelty of the cities.
Their banners grimace against the dawn,
And their rags of misery jump with glee.
Behind them, hobbling, grinning, leering,
Scramble the misshapen spawn of Civilization.
As leaves upon the floor of the November forest
They cover the earth, and the rustle of the leaves
Is their breathing:
"Revolution! Revolution!"

They are not going down into the pits.
They are not marching to the factories.
They are not going to the furnaces.
I know they will not turn back
More than the relentless rivers turn not back
More than the waves turn not back
Which dash the great ship on the rocks
And churn her bones savagely.
Death sits in the eyes of the imminent host.
They have accepted the challenge
And they are pressing forward, ready to die.
Their breasts are naked.
They have beaten their picks into swords,
Their saws into knives.
Their eyes are fixed.
They are willing to die.
Death is their drummer;
Drumming upon the unknown graves
Of all the oppressed.
Like knapsacks on their backs,
Bowing them over,
Is the untold suffering of the centuries.
They are heavy with the martyrs of the ages;
The unimagined, patient Poor
Whose blood has forever welled up
About the knees of Oppression

Revolution, dark and brooding angel;
Only ministrant who lifts up the bruised head;
Nurse who wipes the blood from the martyrs lips
And gives rebels to drink of life-giving waters;
Savior and Preserver;
Helper and Deliverer;
Your hands are gilt with crimson.
Your feet are the strong feet of the runner.
Your head is crowned with a crown of thorns,
And precious drops drip down
Your resolute face.
Dread Angel of the Awful Presence,
Open and set the captives free.
Dark, silent, loving, cruel and merciful One,
Hold yourself not aloof.
You are our hope:
Our only redeemer.
Come, with thunder and with lightning,
That the air may be clear.
Come, with deluge and tempest,
That the Earth may be purified.
Come, with agony and bloody rain,
That life may be made anew.
Pitch head-long from the cloudy battlements
And with heavenly fire utterly destroy
This distorted and misshapen world,
That another may arise in beauty,
And the little children be born into joy.

A True Story

By ANISE in the Seattle Union Record

He was just A BIG BOY, Frank Travis, When he blew into Sacramento A year ago last October, He had ONLY A NICKEL Left in his pocket, And he met a FRIENDLY man, A WOBBLY, Who said to him: 'Come along down to the hall And bunk there for the night And we'll get you a JOB TOMORROW.' So he went down To the I. W. W. hall, And they gave him A place on the floor To SLEEP. And they gave him COMRADESHIP Of fellows who asked him NO INSULTING QUESTIONS. And next morning Some one STAKED him To a DOLLAR, And they got him a JOB. He went out And made a little stake, And a month later He CAME BACK, And said: "A bunch like you Is GOOD ENOUGH for me." He joined And took out a RED CARD. He had a GOOD VOICE And loved SINGING, And he went down nights To the HALL.	And WHERE ELSE Could he have gone For welcoming companionship? He was there Just a month later, When they RAIDED the place And they put him in JAIL. In Sacramento, He lay on the CEMENT FLOOR For sixty-four nights, And then fell ill. I don't know what They thought he had done To be arrested for. And NOW, I suppose, NOBODY EVER WILL KNOW, For he DIED After ELEVEN months in jail While he was still WAITING For his trial, And BEFORE he was CONSIDERED GUILTY OF ANYTHING. He was JUST ONE Of millions of workers All down the ages, BORN at the cost Of infinite anguish, Reared at the cost Of endless sacrifices, And WASTED By a society that NEVER PLANNED Any PLACE for him. I wonder whether There is ANYTHING ELSE In the whole round world That is PRODUCED At such COST And THROWN away So CHEAPLY.
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DOMESTIC

Ladies' Garment Workers Winning.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Entering upon its fifth week, the strike of the 35,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union gives every indication of a successful termination in the near future. Already from 18,000 to 20,000 of the workers in 970 of the 1,200 shops affected have returned to work with all their demands granted.

The strike began January 21, following the refusal of the manufacturers to treat with the union. For some time the union had had an agreement with the employers whereby work during the slack months would be distributed among all the workers, and workers could not be discharged without the consent of the union. When the union presented to the employers a request for reduction of the working hours from 49 a week to 44, and for a 15 per cent increase in wages, the manufacturers and contractors refused to discuss the question with the union officials unless the latter cancelled their right to supervise dismissal of the employees, and would allow them at the end of every season to "reorganize" their establishments; that is, dismiss employees wholesale, keeping on full time those whom they preferred. As the result of the strike that ensued, the union in the shops in which a settlement was effected, not only secured the 44-hour week and 15 per cent increase in wages, but retained the agreement regarding division of work, and, in addition to the right of supervising dismissals, compelled the employers to agree not to discharge any shop chairman or member of price committee. The outlook at this writing is very encouraging, and it is expected that the union's demands will soon be granted by the shops still on strike.

The strikers were subjected to the usual intimidation of employers' guards. Many cases of actual violence were reported, and a number of guards have been arrested for beating pickets.

Building Trades on Strike.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The building trades, after weeks of attempted bargaining, commenced a continent wide strike on February 17th with the walkout throughout the country of 100,000 men in the basic trades of the industry—carpenters, plasterers, bricklayers, masons and hoisting engineers. About 25,000 workers in New York City are affected. The situation is the outgrowth of an unauthorized strike of about 3,000 carpenters on government work in South Brooklyn 14 weeks ago. They demanded a wage of \$6.50 a day, an increase of \$1. The strike spread throughout New York and vicinity until about 7,000 carpenters were involved. Finally the employers locked out all carpenters on union work, whereupon International President William L. Hutcheson of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners took charge of the situation.

The strike took on an international character when, on February 17th, the Executive Council of Labor, meeting in New York, sent a cable to President Gompers of the American Federation, who is now in Paris, requesting that European labor oppose all contracts sought for by New York contractors in Europe. The Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor had endorsed as fair, foreign contracts given to the Building Trades Employers' Association

under the reconstruction program, and now the strikers desire that European labor be notified that the endorsement is withdrawn.

Strike leaders assert that if employment of non-union men in place of strikers is attempted, the strike will be extended to other trades in the industry, thus making it general.

On February 19th, representatives of the trades on strike went to Washington at the suggestion of Secretaries Baker and Wilson for a conference with representatives of the Building Trades Employers' Association.

New York Working Women Underpaid.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Thousands of the working women of New York are seriously underpaid, according to a report recently issued by the New York State Industrial Commission. In an investigation of 417 factories employing 32,881 women, 3,305 or 10 per cent of them were earning less than \$6 per week; 6,434 or 20 per cent were earning less than \$8. The total earning less than \$10 was 11,377 (35 per cent), while 17,503 (53 per cent) were earning less than \$12 and 22,426 (68 per cent) were earning less than \$14. Of the total number of women employed, 2,711 (8 per cent) was earning \$20 per week or over. The four industries covered were paper box manufacture, manufacture of shirts and collars, confectionary, cigars and tobacco. The wages were higher in the cigar industry than in any of the other industries upon which the report is based.

In similar investigation of 205 mercantile establishments in which 23,279 women were employed, showed 29 per cent earning less than \$10 per week; 50 per cent earning less than \$12 per week, and 68 per cent (19,199) earning less than \$14 per week. Eight per cent earned \$20 or over.

The publication of these figures showing the wages of working women in New York state comes almost at the same time with the publication of another set of figures showing the cost of living for women in New York.

An exhaustive study of living conditions made in a third class city of New York state by the Federal government covered the living expenses of 170 women. The expenditures of these women were divided as follows:

	Per Week
Room and board, including lunches	\$6.67
Clothing	4.60
Other expenditures, including carfare, dentist and doctor bills, laundry and all other essentials purchases	3.35

Total weekly budget ... \$14.62

These figures correspond with figures recently published by the United States Department of Labor.

A comparison of these two sets of figures shows that approximately seven-tenths of all the women working in New York industries recently investigated, were receiving less than a living wage. At the same time, one-half of the women were getting under \$12 a week and one-third under \$10 per week.

Reading Laborites Decline to Take Part in Victory Parade.

READING, PA.—Asserting that organized labor will hold its own demonstrations "when the occasion warrants", the Federated Trades Council of Reading, by unanimous vote, has declined to participate in the "vic-

tory parade", which is being planned by a citizens' committee. Rather than parade with profiteers, the Reading laborites declare that they wish to bend their efforts toward protecting the interests of returning men and combating the efforts of the master class to force soldiers to work for low wages.

Poor Man Not to Sit on Michigan Jury.

LANSING, MICH.—How the ruling class is trying to tighten its grip on the whole machinery of government is strikingly illustrated in the effort now being made in the Michigan legislature to insert a property clause as a qualification for Michigan jurors. Jurors henceforth, if the bill becomes law, will be selected from the assessment rolls of the city, not from the registration lists. Even a conservative like William P. Conolly, former Recorder of the City of Detroit, scores this reactionary attempt in the following words:

"We are no longer to have trial by a jury of our peers. A property qualification is to be adroitly added on to the requirements for jury service."

"The khaki-clad lad who went over-seas to brave all and give all for democracy cannot sit on a jury in this precious court, but a home-guard, who was piling up personal gain in a bomb-proof job over here, can be a juror, because forsooth, in his coign of safety, he acquired enough property to get on the tax roll."

Connecticut Launches Labor Party.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.—At the call of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, 150 delegates met at New Haven recently to discuss the advisability of forming a labor party. Affirmative action was taken, and a platform adopted containing the following demands: The restoration of free speech, free press and free assembly; the provision of public works to deal with unemployment; public ownership of public utilities; the reduction of the cost of living; democratic control of industry; democratic control of education; universal enforcement of the American standard of living; equal rights for men and women; proportional representation of labor in all departments of the government; no war to be declared by the government prior to a referendum vote of all the voters in the country; opposition to all forms of military training in time of peace.

The conference also went on record in opposition to interference in Russian affairs, and demanded the withdrawal of the troops from Russia.

FOREIGN

ENGLAND.

New Parliament Represents Minority.

LONDON, ENGLAND.—Figures recently compiled by The Herald, a Socialist publication edited by George Lansbury bring out the startling fact that the New Parliament is made up almost entirely of men who are representatives, not of majorities, but of minorities. According to the latest returns, out of 9,690,109 votes cast in Great Britain, 5,096,233 voted for the Coalition, and 4,593,876 voted for other candidates. When one takes into consideration that there 20,000,000 voters on the register, and that out of these 20,000,000 only 5,000,000 voted for the Coalition, while over 10,000,000 stayed away from the polls entirely, it becomes evident that the Coalition candidates, both successful and unsuccessful, obtained only one in four of the votes on the register.

To this should be added the further fact that the Labor Party did not contest at all in some 250 constituencies. Nevertheless it polled over 2,500,000 votes.

Had there been proportional representation, the 60 Labor members actually returned would be nearly 150.

Mass Meeting Protests Intervention in Russia.

LONDON, ENGLAND.—As a protest against Allied intervention in Russia, an immense demonstration was held in Albert Hall—the Madison Square Garden of Great Britain—on February 15th. The meeting was arranged by the executive committee of the British Socialist Party. The withdrawal of troops from Russia was demanded.

SCOTLAND.

Male Spies Are Having Hard Sledding in Scotland.

LONDON, ENGLAND.—According to the Herald, edited by George Lansbury, "Mascot" police note-takers at Socialist meetings in Scotland are met with such hostility that the authorities are now employing women to report the orations of revolutionaries." The Herald continues, "So, when you see a fair damsel in the audience taking a Pitman account of the rebel speech, you can conclude her employer is the Secret Service."

AUSTRALIA.

Labor Wins Another Seat in Parliament.

WELLINGTON, NEW ZEALAND.—Prussianism, as personified in power, sustained a signal defeat when in Wellington South, Robert Semple, the radical candidate of labor, won a seat in Parliament over the government's candidate by a vote of 2412 to 1281. Semple is one of the men who, in 1913, was locked up in jail by the Massey-Ward combine because of his industrial agitation. It so happens that the other two men who were in jail with him, H. E. Holland and Mr. Fraser, have recently been elected to Parliament also.

In Palmerston North, the result of the elections was an even greater achievement, although the candidate of the laborites, Mr. Galbraith, lost by 300 votes. Galbraith was a new man in the political arena and not a practiced speaker; nevertheless he added 179 votes to those of the previous candidate of the Labor Party, C. J. Thorn, who was a brilliant platform man.

FRANCE.

Paris Labor Audiences Are Radical.

BOSTON, MASS.—How radical labor audiences are becoming in France is strikingly illustrated by the following account just sent to "Forward" of this city by its special French correspondent:

"A mass meeting to discuss demobilization was held at the Winter Circus on Sunday, January 12. Four or five thousand men attended it—roughly a third in uniform. The Socialist deputies who are members of the Military Affairs Committee, were to speak. One or two of them did, but the house was evidently more radical than they. It booed the name of Albert Thomas; it interrupted Braque with remarks about his past record (when the war was still on he favored intervention in Russia); it told Poncet that while he might have been a 'minoritaire' he had never been and was not yet minoritaire enough; and when Pierre Laval ventured to remark that France was 'incapable of falling into Bolshevism' the thousands rose to their feet like one man and shouted 'Vive le Bolshevisme!' Pierre Laval faced the uproar for a few minutes, then sat down; the chairman announced Pierre Renaudel, known for his anti-Bolshevism, but Renaudel never had a chance. The audience chanted the Internationale; it cheered for Lenin, for Longuet, for the Soviets, for Bolshevism in general; then it

discovered Pericat, the radical union leader just released from jail, and carried him to the platform. Renaudel retired, not having been able to say a single word, and Pericat orated."

Patriotic Resolution Strikes Snag

PARIS, FRANCE.—At the final meeting of the Congress of the League for the Rights of Man, the effort of the directing committee to pass a resolution expressing fervent gratitude to the heroes who had made the supreme sacrifice for France and for liberty elicited such violent protests from the audience that the proponent had to leave the platform.

SWEDEN.

Railway Workers Win 8-Hour Day.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.—The strike of the Swedish railroad workers, which began during the first week in January, has ended with a victory of the strikers. The eight-hour day has been established in all railroad workshops and on all state-owned railroads.

NORWAY.

Workers Agree on Common Action.

KRISTIANIA, NORWAY.—As a result of a series of conferences between representatives of the trades unions and of the Socialist Party of Norway, a common program of action has been agreed upon by both for meeting the present situation in Norway. Both bodies agree to admonish and urge all men of draft age to organize themselves into Soldiers' Councils which shall have, as their principal object that of preventing the military authorities against the working class. They agree further, in the event that a more extreme step become necessary, to organize Workmen's Councils to support the efforts of the Soldiers' Councils. Both the trade union and the political wing of this new combination agree to demand as a common program, the socialization of industry, of the banking system, and of trade; the abolition of militarism and the conversion of military establishments into industrial plants; the introduction of universal suffrage for men and women above 21; the adoption of the eight-hour day; and a just solution of the land question.

SWITZERLAND.

Labor Congress Protests Imprisonments.

BERNE, SWITZERLAND.—A significant demonstration of working class solidarity was given by the delegates of the labor unions of Switzerland who assembled recently in the second general labor congress. It will be recalled that a general strike took place in Switzerland last November, and that in the course of it a number of laborites were imprisoned. This congress protested against the government's singling out individual representatives of the working class and holding them responsible for the general strike. In ringing terms it declares "all action of the general strike as their common deed, for which it, as a unit, accepts full responsibility."

From the proceedings of the congress it appears that the reason why the general strike was called off before the demands of the workers were won was the fact that the general strike committee believed that the continuance of the strike would lead to civil war, for which the labor movement was not yet prepared, especially not in view of the fact that the soldiers had not yet been won over to the point of view of the workers.

RUSSIA.

Counter-Revolutionists Restore Booze.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Vodka, which was put out of business in

Russia when the Bolsheviks came into power, has been restored in Siberia through the instrumentality of Admiral Kolchak. It will be remembered that soon after the outbreak of the world war the Tsarist government had forbidden the manufacture and sale of vodka. To make this order a reality, the Bolsheviks ordered the destruction of all wine and vodka in private and public cellars, so as to prevent the secret trade in these articles. The Bolshevik troops carried out the order loyally without indulging in a taste for the spirits they had been sent to destroy. The Bolsheviks carried on a vigorous agitation against alcoholism, whilst at the same time providing counter attractions, such as working men's clubs, lecture halls, libraries, god theatres, etc. The result was that Russia within a short time became perhaps the most sober country in the world.

Moderate Socialists Now Support Soviets. Co-operative Movement Spreads.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—From copies of the Northern Commune, a Soviet newspaper published in Petrograd, some numbers of which have just been received in this city, it appears that the Moderate Social Democratic groups in Russia are now supporting the Bolshevik government.

The remarkable success of the co-operative movement in Petrograd is attested by the following figures cited by the Northern Commune; there are more than 9,000 consumers' leagues in operation, about 300 dairy associations, 1000 credit co-operatives, and great numbers of lumberers', fishermen's, agricultural, home, industrial, and other leagues and unions.

To enable the poor people to communicate with each other more freely, the Soviet government, according to the Northern Commune, has issued a decree establishing free postage for one-ounce letters and cards.

AUSTRIA.

Unemployment Spreads in Vienna.

VIENNA, AUSTRIA.—Unemployment in Vienna is increasing in alarming proportions, and the difficulties in providing work have been multiplied by the lack of raw material in many industries. The metal workers seem to be the greatest sufferers, the number out of work, according to the Vienna Arbeiter Zeitung, being 18,000 in Vienna alone. The workers in wood have about 3,500 unemployed, the textile hands, 1,300 transport workers, 1,500, chemical industry, 1,600, and the bakers, 2,000.

TCHEKO-SLOVAKIA.

Youngest Republic Adopts 8-Hour Day.

PARIS, FRANCE.—The youngest republic in the world, Tchecho-Slovakia, has adopted the 8-hour day by law. It has also adopted means of insuring workers and demobilized soldiers against unemployment. It is reported that industries in northern Bohemia are already reviving.

CHINA.

Prevent Loans, Says Chinese Radical.

NEW YORK, N. Y.—In an open letter to Socialist parties of America and of the world, dated Canton, China, Nov. 1918, but because of the difficulties of communication received in this country only now, Y.P. Hsieh, a Socialist member of the Chinese national assembly, appeals to the workers of America to do everything within their power to prevent American financiers from extending further loans to the militarists of Peking, who are merely using these loans to strengthen their stranglehold upon the Chinese workers. Hsieh also

charges that the diplomats appointed as delegates from China to the Paris conference of the world powers do not represent the Chinese people, but merely a military clique in Peking.

FINLAND.

Finnish Junkers Drill in Labor Halls.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—That the labor temples in Finland, built by the co-operative effort of the laborites, peasants and socialists have been converted into military drill halls, and that the labor movement of Finland has almost been destroyed through the butchery of workers and repressive measures, inaugurated by the White Guards, is the charge made by Carl Sandburg, staff correspondent of the Newspaper Enterprise Association, who has just arrived from northern Europe with pictures and documents never before published. Mr. Sandburg points out that the workers of Finland owned some 800 labor temples and people's houses, all of which have been taken over as drill halls and arsenals. The right of workmen to organize or strike, he says, is gone. Upwards of 27,000 persons are held in convict camps, 10,000 have been butchered in mass executions, 12,000 starved to death, one colony of 10,000 moved to Russia, and other thousands moved elsewhere beyond Finnish frontiers. All labor and Socialist newspapers are suppressed, and censorship is rigid.

CANADA.

Labor May Strike for Free Speech.

VANCOUVER, B. C.—That the policy of closing halls to Socialist gatherings by ukase of the police is not confined to cities in the United States, is evident from the fact that in British Columbia, too, every pressure is being brought to bear on hall owners not to rent their establishments to the Socialist Party nor to the Federated Labor Party. So disturbed are the laborites of Vancouver over the matter that a referendum vote is now in progress on the question of a general strike to preserve free speech.

MEXICO.

Nation to Own Lands and Waters MEXICO CITY, MEXICO.—President Carranza has proposed the following amendment to the constitution for the expropriation of lands and waters required for the public use:

"Necessary measures shall be adopted for the division of lands for the development of small property and for the establishment of agricultural centers, furnishing them the lands and water which may be indispensable for the promotion of agricultural industries and to avoid those damages detrimental to society that properties may suffer. The villages, farms and communities that need lands or water, and which may be insufficient to answer satisfactorily the necessities of the population, shall have the right to acquire more lands, taking them from the neighborhood, but in this case, small property shall always be respected. Therefore the donations of lands, which have been made hitherto and in conformity with the decree of January 6, 1915, are ratified."

Yucatan Socialists Convene.

MERIDA, YUCATAN.—A convention of the Socialist workers of Motul, Yucatan, held recently for the purpose of consolidating and organizing Socialist sentiment, was largely attended and resulted in the addition of many members to the party's roster. Particular attention was devoted during the sessions to education and to the organization of a co-operative society in connection with the party.

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The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The lackeys of capitalism, the intellectuals, are holding up their hands and shaking their heads with awe, at the prospect of a dictatorship of the workingclass. The professional element, lawyers, doctors, etc., fear this dictatorship, because they do not understand it. The capitalist class have long enjoyed a dictatorship and have so abused their power, that they grind their teeth with the hope of staying its progress. They cry out that it will bring a reign of terror. Their reason for saying this is due to the fact that they have created a reign of terror that can never be equalled, never mind surpassed, by the workingclass.

In Minnesota there are mines. In these mines there is ore. So long as that ore is in the mines, it has no value. Before they can produce steel from the ore, they must have workers to go down the mines and dig for the ore. Then other workers must transport it to the lake ports and then other workers transport it to other ports. Then other workers transport it to the steel plants. Then other workers take hold of it and convert it into steel.

Then when the steel has been made, other workers take hold of the steel and make it into engines, ships, etc. Then other workers use the engines, etc., and produce more commodities. In fact, the steel industry is the basic industry of society. Yet without LABOR, we would have no machines, etc.

In the gold mines there is gold ore. So long as that ore remains in the mines, it has no value. If you think so, tell a man that you will sell him thousand tons of gold ore. He will want to see it. Of course you tell him it is still in the mine. He will tell you as soon as you can get that ore out of the mine, he will consider your offer. Your ore is valueless, until it is brought out of the mine. In other words, without the labor-power of the workers, your ore has NO value.

You can take any commodity you like and you will find that it is labor that has given it value. Without labor you would have no commodities to buy or sell. In other words, labor is the producer of all wealth.

The mansions that the rich live in have all been built by the very people who live in slums. The fine jewellery that is worn by the over-fed, languid society butterfly has been made by the worker with an Ingersoll dollar watch. The fine limousines that daily parade along Superior street have been made by the strap-hanger. The rich wines and viands that deck the tables of the "elite" have been prepared by the men and women who doctor their stomachs with pickles, etc., in order to counteract the effects of the adulterated food they eat.

Night after night, tramping the streets of our big cities are the thousands of girls who sell body and soul that they might live. Year in and year out, New York 'tartles the people with its monkey dinners, etc. The excesses of the rich are balanced by the degradation of the poor.

Out of the night of darkness and despair, created by capitalism, there has come a feeling that is awakening the people. The sorrows of the past have caused the workers to turn them from their piteous moans to cries of savage protest. They are now aroused and in Russia they turned their protests into action and threw a degenerate ruler from his throne. The same took place in Germany and Austria. Other kings hold their thrones due to the indifference of the people. It is hard for you, my middle-class friend, to understand this demand for power by the workers. But we who have seen our little kiddies die from the want of food; our sisters sell themselves to the very class that has held the whip of starvation and oppression over our heads; and our aged folk die in poverty and want, understand the new demand for power. WE FEEL THESE THINGS AND WE REFUSE TO WEEP AND MOAN ANY LONGER.

We know that you cannot appeal to the Rockefellers and the Morgans. When we have asked just for another slice of bread they have shot us down and burnt our children alive. So now we want to end it all. We want to live our lives so that we can enjoy them. We can shed no more tears, because our eyes are dry with the sunlight of a new day shining in them. Yes, we want and we are going to bring about THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Of course, we shall meet with the usual objections to our demand. We are too crude and too rough. If we obtained control of society we would be ruthless and cruel. They say these things about us, because they judge our actions by what they have done. In the day of our triumph, we shall convert society from an insane asylum to a paradise.

Take today. A child of the slums falls sick. Doctor comes. Diagnoses the case and states that it is clear case of tuberculosis. He knows that the atmosphere of the slum assists the disease. Does he advocate sending the child to California and the supplying of fresh milk, butter, eggs, etc.? NO! Why? Simply because the poor child's father is a workingman and he cannot afford to send his child away. So the grim reaper Death steps in and claims another victim. Society with its Mayo institution, Pasteur institution and all the numerous inventions of medical science states that the child shall die, its father is a common worker. Yet Billy Sunday openly boasts about having a specialist for his wife, whose fee is equal to a workingman's wages for one year! If we had a dictatorship of the proletariat, everybody who rendered service to society would have the BEST medical attention and there would not be any slums.

Go into your own big cities and you will see tailors making expensive suits for those who do NOT work and wearing shoddy clothes themselves. Under a dictatorship of the proletariat, those who work will receive the best and those who do not work will receive the full value of their toil.

Under a dictatorship of the proletariat we are going to organize society. Society is composed of individuals. It is like a big co-operative business. You cannot run society unless some of those who live in society work. At present the vast majority of the members of society work and the arrogant minority reap the benefit. Now under a dictatorship of the proletariat ALL MUST WORK, i. e., those who are physically and mentally fit. WHEN ALL WORK, WE KNOW WHO'S WHO. So that when anyone comes along and wants any service from society, he must show his workingcard. Nothing terrible about that. All who work will eat. So you can readily perceive why the editors of the Herald and the Nuisance Tribune and those they represent object to the rule of the workers.

And objection is being made that all art, culture, literature, etc., will be dead, because the workers rule. THE ONE GREAT THING THAT INSPIRES US ALL TO WORK FOR THAT DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS THE FACT THAT LIFE WILL BE FREE. Have you ever heard the workers' orchestras play? Have you had your soul stirred by its music? It is a feeling that cannot be described, it is par excellence. We want more of that music. We want to drink in the soul-embracing music of the great musicians Beethoven, Wagner and the rest of the world's great artists. We want to be transported into the land of pure delight by the fine voices of Caruso, McCormack, Galli-Curci, etc., but we cannot afford to pay five dollars for a seat at the opera. Oh, the joys of life that will be free for all who render service to society! Think of what men and women do in a world corrupted with commercialism and think, if you can, what they will do when the world is free from commercialism! We shall have life in all its abundance. We do not want to rule because our souls are over-flowing with vengeance. We want to make all people free. We want to live and enjoy life.

Today our so-called art, culture, literature is a farce. We talk of "free" this and "free" that and we know in our hearts we lie. Speak the truth today, you worshippers of your cults and see how far you can travel. Today the very people who want to speak the truth, are in prison. Today those who are in limelight and gain applause of press and pulpit are deliberately falsifying the truth. Falsifying the truth, because their paymasters hold the whip of economic security over their heads. To understand and appreciate art, you must be possessed of a soul. A soul to appreciate the fineness and the beauty of life. Today we live hypocritical lives, because of the so-called moral code we live under. It is "right" to deform and stunt the bodies of women and children in your factories, but it is "wrong" to gaze upon the handiwork of an artist whose in the beautiful form of a woman something divine. We censor novels that expose our false codes of morality and we allow charlatans like Billy Sunday and others to act as our moral guides. Yes, the workers are going to show you an age, that has never been surpassed. Rome in all her splendor will not compare with the new society. Think of the beautiful singers that will raise their voices, instead of wasting their lives in slums. Think of the artists that will be born. Think of the joys yet to come. When the sighs of children will be supplanted by the merry voices of children at play. Think of it all and then you say deportation. Foolish threats you make. Deport every alien back to the land he was born in, and the work will still go on. Like the fragrance of the summer garden, the spirit of liberty is coming. We can taste and feel it. It possesses us and our blood quickens at its approach. We cannot go back now. There is no power on earth can stop us from marching on. Like the waves of the ocean that beat on the rocks and wear them away, so we will with our courage and enthusiasm wear away the rocks of prejudice. Whilst we spread our message, a thousand hearts and thousands more are beating in unison. Soon they will lay the foundations of the new society. Soon the roaring of cannons will give way to the musical sounds of the hammers beating sparks of joy out of the anvil of life. In the shops and the mines, on the ships and on the farms, they are coming together. Soon the night will be over and as the day breaks we will shout with joy, for the dictatorship of the workers will have triumphed. But a few years more and we will make honest men and women out of the idle parasites of today. Then, all working hand in hand we will gaze at the past and ask ourselves were such things possible.

Yes, but—We know you say we are too optimistic. Not at all. The labor movement may be slow, but it is slowly coming along. The trail has been blazed by the I. W. W. Many of those brave pioneers have paid the price. Whether it has been in Spokane, San Diego, Everett or Sacramento, the brave fellow-workers of the I. W. W. paid the price. But when they died, their silence was more eloquent than their living tongues. The blood they have shed but fertilizes the ground and more fighters are brought into being. They have blazed the trail. A class-conscious capitalist class, assisted by selfish labor leaders, has been able for a goodly number of years to fool and hoodwink an unconscious class called the workingclass. But Abraham Lincoln once truly said, "you cannot fool all the people all the time." Today rumblings are heard in Seattle, Butte, etc., They will grow bigger and bigger.

The mighty giant is awakening. He is opening his eyes and looking around. Wait until he finds his bearings. Show us an organization like the labor and Socialist movement that has stood the same persecution. The movement moves on and on, with the terrible, incessant, irresistible power of some mighty superhuman force. As it moves it gains new strength. Each day brings fresh recruits. Each week fresh victories. Soon the journey will be ended. The system that labor has created, is about to collapse. Today the capitalists of the world, in face of this movement, are choked full of greed and in their greediness they will lose their very all. Whilst the spirit of service permeates the revolutionary movement, the old spirit of grab hovers around the peace table and in every seat of the elect. Every force for freedom is on our side. Evolution bids us go on. Capitalists want evolution to stop. Evolution declares that those who come with it and assist it, they will progress. Capitalism cannot live. Its very heart is beating its last. Against capitalism we stand arrayed. The mighty movement to which we have dedicated our lives, moves on and on. Its progress cannot be stayed. Capitalism, your hour of death is at hand. Make way for the birth of the New Era.

LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

BOY! PAGE SPARGO!

In 1903 the Social Democratic party of Russia had split into two sections, the Mensheviks (the moderates) and the Bolsheviks (the revolutionists). The "Bolshevik" is a term, applied to one who belongs to the majority party. When the split took place, the moderates were left in the minority, and the revolutionaries represented the majority of the party. The Mensheviks were in favor of an alliance with the Cadets and other bourgeois elements; the Bolshevik favored INDEPENDENT working-class action. The events of 1905 and of recent times have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Bolshevik were right, and the Mensheviks wrong. In 1910 came the first political strikes and demonstrations; the next year saw them eventuate with greater frequency and on a larger scale and as Maxim Litvinoff, the Ambassador of the Bolshevik to England, states:

"Then the revolutionary wave of the proletarian movement began to rise higher and higher in the shape of political strikes and mass protests against the evil deeds of the autoeracy, until barricades suddenly made their appearance in the streets of Petrograd—on the very day when the fatal order for mobilization was issued by the czar! This is a cardinal fact to remember: Russia was in the incipient throes of another revolution when the war broke out, and the leaders of that revolution were the Bolsheviks."

When war was declared the Mensheviks went over to the side of the imperialists of Russia. They followed out the traditions of their set. In all countries the workers have been betrayed by the moderates. Mindful of their OWN safety, they are afraid to move. They do not care what becomes of the worker, so long as they are not asked to partake in a revolutionary movement. The workers of all countries have a lesson to learn from Russia, and Finland also. They must organize themselves into industrial unions and upon their OWN strength depend. It does not matter if an intellectual expresses a belief in industrial unionism, it is by his actions he shall be known. So we strongly advise the workers of this country to re-organize themselves and endeavor to co-operate with the I. W. W. Time has gone by when we could afford to ridicule the I. W. W. They have got to be reckoned with. They are a body of fellow-workers who cannot be crushed. They will exist so long as we have capitalism. So we strongly urge upon all radical members of the A. F. of L. to come to a working agreement with these courageous members of the working-class.

Billy McEwen states that there is a greater force than organized labor and organized capital, and that is—what? Hold your breath for one second, hush, do not tell it to the starving child, the outcast of the streets or the unemployed soldier—hush, it is PUBLIC OPINION.

Remember, when you strike, do not worry about the scabs that take your places, because public opinion will see that the scabs are made ashamed of themselves. Possibly the scabs might get a slap on the wrist.

When you hear of children dying in the thousands, and possibly your child might be one of the many who are dying, have no fear, public opinion will, what—ask Billy McEwen.

PUBLIC OPINION is moulded by the press and who owns the press? The masters of America. Then why be afraid of public opinion, when the printing presses are run by workers. If the workers become educated and refuse to print scab editorials and the dope of labor misleaders, where does your public opinion come in?

With all the powers of the press, the hymns of hate that were sung, the men who were tarred and feathered and those who were sent to prison, because they opposed war, which was against public opinion, why did we send an army to France? Why did we not leave it to public opinion?

Ask Billy, he knows!

The capitalist is in the dock, and as far as I can prevent him, he shall not get out of it.—G. K. Chesterton.

THE PRO-GERMAN BOLSHEVIKIS.

A certain business man in the West End of Duluth is walking about with the "goods" on Lenine and Trotsky. In fact so sure is he of his "find" that he contemplates having all Bolsheviks fed on weiners and sauerkraut.

Before the Sisson documents, the basis (?) of the pro-German accusations against Lenine and Trotsky, came into the hands of George Creel, they were examined by Col. Raymond Robins, British and French governments and found to be DOUBTFUL and REJECTED.

Colonel Robins was over six months in Russia. In the midst of the revolution and acquainted with all the Bolshevik leaders. He came to this country with a knowledge of Russia, possessed by no other American. Upon his arrival, he was ordered by the state department not to say one word about what he had seen and heard in Russia. Why did the United States government seal the mouth of Col. Robins, if they had the proof that the Bolsheviks were in the pay of the kaiser and his gang?

This question will never be answered, because George Creel, late chairman of the committee on public information, has been made the victim of a huge hoax, likewise his assistant, Mr. Sisson.

Colonel Robins has remained silent for many months, until finally after reading a sickening article in a New York magazine by Creel, he wrote to Senator Johnson as follows:

"The enclosed clipping from the last page of George Creel's eight pages of self-laudation in February's Everybody's Magazine suggests that Mr. Creel is unable to relate facts. The facts are:

The President's speeches were printed on the Bolshevik government's presses by special permission of that government. They were distributed under government frank and posted on the dead walls of Petrograd by the Bolshevik posting service.

Mr. Sisson fled from Petrograd March 4, 1918, shouting that the Germans would take the city within a few days, in collusion with the Bolsheviks. The American Red Cross was feeding starving children and evacuating war supplies from Petrograd under Bolshevik protection in quantities until May 11, 1918.

The allied military missions were helping to train the Bolshevik Red army, April 1, and the American ambassador was seeking, with the consent of the allied embassies, the co-operation of the American railway mission with the Bolshevik government weeks after Mr. Sisson had fled in terror from Petrograd.

Mr. Bullard and all the American members of the committee on public information in Russia, fled from Moscow, May 5, reaching Archangel and suffering from the worst case of "buck fever" in my observation.

Imagine the agents of the kaiser printing the appeals of President Wilson! It only goes to prove how gullible some people are.

AGITATION.

In 1786, a group of Baptists were arrested in the state of Virginia, by the sheriff of Spottsylvania, for preaching the gospel of Christianity. The indictment stated that the men were arrested for "preaching the gospel contrary to the law." Thomas Jefferson, Madison and Mason fought for the right of the Baptists to preach the gospel and finally after a hard fight they succeeded in passing a bill in 1776 legalizing all forms of worship.

If the Baptists had lain down and submitted to the law of that period, there would have been no religious freedom act in America. Mind you, it required a vigorous agitation.

A LITTLE HISTORY.

After the war of independence, when the margin of accumulated capital was so much smaller, the misery was much greater. The poor at that time, as in present times, had to spend all they earned in order to live and consequently they did not possess any accumulated wealth. Loud complaints were made against those who were speculating in bread-stuffs. So many were the complaints against the food speculators that George Washington was moved to say, "I would like to hang them all on a gallows higher than that of Haman."

Pity some of our "loyal" friends do not read the history of this country!

TO POLITICAL COMPROMISERS.

"If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterwards defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair."

The above is an extract from a speech delivered by George Washington at the federal convention of 1887.

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

Duluth union buys \$40 worth of subscriptions to Truth. Shipworker state that there is no labor paper in Duluth, subscribes to the Truth and changes his mind.

BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER.

Billy McEwen likes Taft, the EX-PRESIDENT. Do you get that—the EX-PRESIDENT? Where is that job?