

"I stand on the threshold of going to prison with malice toward none and with perfect faith in the rectitude of my course and an absolute confidence in the justice and ultimate triumph of the cause to which I have gladly given my life.
"TO ASK A PARDON WOULD BE TO CONFESS GUILT."--Eugene Victor Debs.

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

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

THE TRUTH

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

VOL. III No. 17.

APRIL 25, 1919.

WHOLE NO. 97. FIVE CENTS

WHY AMERICAN SOLDIERS REVOLTED

ALL IRELAND MAY STRIKE

LEADERS SAY 250,000 ORGANIZED
WORKERS READY TO ANSWER CALL

Labor Parliament at Dublin Will Be Shifted to Limerick.

By RUTH RUSSELL.

Limerick, Ireland, April 21.—"All Ireland is to go on strike," was the ultimatum delivered by John Cronin, head of the strike committee, at a meeting of the citizens of Limerick called by Mayor Adolphus O'Mara. The labor parliament of Dublin will be shifted to Limerick on Tuesday.

Ready to Defy Military.

"This national executive council will be ready to back us against the military," said Mr. Cronin. "It will back us to the extent of calling out every worker in Ireland. We hear that the army will make an effort to break the strike. There are 250,000 organized workers in Ireland."

Peace Offer to Russ Seen in Food Plan

Lenin's Acceptance of Scheme to Revictual Country Will Relieve Allies' Forces.

By PAUL SCOTT MOWRER.

The Daily News Peace Conference Bureau, Paris, France, April 18.—The reply of the council of four to Dr. Nansen's proposition to revictual Russia is considered here to amount to an offer of peace to the bolshevik government. The council of four, which decided a short time ago to withdraw all the allies' forces from Russia as soon as possible, now announces through Dr. Nansen first, that it does not desire military, political or financial concessions in Russia and second, that it is ready to try to feed a certain part of Russia provided the Russians themselves will make suitable financial arrangements and will provide transportation and distribution facilities in the regions concerned.

Tacit Recognition Is Implied.
There is no definite mention of recognizing the Soviet government, but tacit recognition is implied. The acceptance of the allies' proposition by Lenin would save the small detachments of the allies' forces that are so hard pressed at Archangel and probably would enable the allies to exact payment from the Russians for the immense quantities of stores which have been lying in that part for the last two or three years. Having made peace with the allies, the Russian reds would be free to devote their whole strength to fighting the reactionary armies of Admiral Kolchak and Gen. Denikin. Indeed, Leon Trotsky has issued the following appeal:

"We should recognize that the principal counter-revolutionary forces are concentrated on the eastern front. It is there the decisive blow must be struck. Forward, comrades! Soldiers of the revolutionary proletariat forward toward the Urals!"

FREE LOVE LIE NAILED BY TWO U. S. OFFICIALS

"No Immorality Since We Got Rid of Upper Classes," say Russian Soviets.

By Lowell Mellett.

PARIS. — "Nationalization" of women by the Bolsheviks is a myth, according to William Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens, American investigators, who have just returned from Russia.

"We asked Premier Lenin and others about the reported nationalization of women the first time we met them," Steffens told the United Press tonight.

"All we got was blank stares of non-comprehension. We repeated the question the next day, whereupon we were informed they had understood the first time, but they had not supposed we meant the question seriously. They said they had heard the story themselves, ran it down, and found that an obscure anarchist organization in the interior had posted notices proclaiming nationalization of women, as a joke. They said they were sorry that some one's freakish idea of humor had attracted more attention than any real accomplishments of the Soviets."

"As a matter of fact, conditions in Russia approach the puritanical. Officers of the Soviets explain this by saying, 'We have got rid of the imperial upper class.'"

Another story circulating in Paris peace circles is that the Hotel Europe in Petrograd is filled with the government's "white slaves," taken from the homes of former wealthy citizens.

"The fact is the Hotel Europe is now a children's free hospital," said Steffens.

Women Bolsheviks Ejected From House of Commons

LONDON, April 15, (Associated Press).—There was an unusual scene in the House of Commons tonight. During a discussion of a labor motion on pensions two women in the strangers' gallery began shouting "You are murderers. You have not settled the last war. You are leading the people and workers to another war."

They were immediately hustled out by attendants.

Then a third woman, attired in a long white cloak, in the same gallery, slowly arose and exclaimed: "We want the Soviet."

This woman left quietly on the request of the attendants.

OH ARTHUR QUIT YOUR NON-SENSE.

Secretary Balfour has addressed a note to Bela Kun, warning the Soviet Government of Austria that it will be held responsible for the fulfillment of its undertaking regarding foreign interests.

May Day--Your Day

Many years ago, primitive people of early England gathered together upon the first day of May and celebrated it as a holiday. The First of May meant to them the coming of Spring. It meant the elimination of the horrors and the privations of the Winter. The snow that had covered the ground, was the means of preventing the cattle and the people from obtaining food. So with the coming of Spring the people were happy and so they set aside the first day of May as a national holiday. On this day the sun burst forth in all its radiance and the sap began to shoot through the trees. The flowers began to bloom and shed their fragrance and the birds of the air sang their songs. Truly the people had occasion to rejoice on this the First of May!

Down through all the ages, man has climbed up the hill of progress. Ever advancing, ever marching forward to the goal of freedom. Out from the swamps he came. Villages were built, towns were developed, and teeming cities erected. River chasms have been spanned and the railroads bring us nearer and nearer together. Mighty steamships go throbbing and thrashing over the ocean and bring the uttermost parts of the world together. All this progress has been made possible by the mighty power of Labor. Without the power of Labor this progress could not be possible.

Many year ago, the Knights of Labor, made May Day the workers' holiday. A holiday upon which the workers could get together and demand an eight-hour day. The demand of the workers for an eight-hour day, was identical with the coming of Spring. As the coming of Spring brought new life into the world, so the demand of the workers for an eight-hour day, brought new life into the labor movement. True it is, today, that the League of Nations has conceded the eight-hour demand of the workers. But each day brings new needs and new needs bring forth new desires. Today the workers of England, Canada, France, Italy, Russia, Germany and all countries of the civilized world, will gather together and prepare their plans for big demonstrations on the first of May. The workers will gather together for the purpose of demonstrating their solidarity. They will join hands in the bonds of international solidarity. We appeal to you to take a day off on the First of May. Workers all over the country will gather together on the First of May. In every village town and city there the workers will gather and pledge their faith anew in the solidarity of Labor. Will you take your place in that body of workers? Will you be man enough to let our boss see that you have caught the new spirit of the new day? Men of Labor the future is yours if you will but organize in the union of your class! Solidarity means power. Power means freedom. So on the First of May close down the factories and join hands with your fellow-workers.

Let us on the First of May, 1919, pay our tribute to the brave men and women who fell in the cause of industrial freedom. Let us remember those in prison languishing there, because they loved humanity better than their own freedom. Let us above all things urge the solidarity of Labor and in the one union of our class, march triumphantly to the tune of the songs of a new democracy. March into the land of industrial freedom, out of the land of industrial bondage.

Workers of the World Unite.
You have nothing to lose but your chains.
And a world to gain.

SOVIETS APPEAL TO ALLIED TROOPS NOT TO WAR ON LIBERTY AT CZARISTS' BEHESTS; SAXONY AND ITALY IN THROES OF UNREST

War Dept. Gets Leaflets Which Caused Mutiny

Soldiers are Entreated Not to Play The Game of Old Regime in Russia.

Washington.—A mass of Bolsheviks for undermining the morale of American troops in Russia has been received at the War Department and will be published.

The propaganda was taken by army authorities from letters forwarded by soldiers to their relatives in the United States.

Much of the propaganda was directed at British troops. All pamphlets declare that Allied troops are in Russia as part of the conspiracy to restore a Czar to power. One leaflet under the heading "All-lies," declared that Allied troops are in Russia against the will of the people and that, "except for few hungry peasants" immediately around Archangel, the Russian people wish to be left alone to work out their own destiny.

Knowledge of the nature of the Bolshevik propaganda is expected to be valuable to the War Department. It has been hard to fight the propaganda because of the difficulty of finding the nature of attacks. The propaganda was circulated only where Bolsheviks were.

Of the Bolshevik leaflets, two are signed, "Lenine, President of the Council of People's Commissaries," and "Tchitcherine, People's Commissary of Foreign Affairs."

The first is headed, "Do you realize what you are doing, fellow workers?" and continues:

"Do you thoroughly realize what you are doing when you advance against us?"

"Have you asked why you have been brought here?"

"Yours is not only 'do and die.' You also have a right to reason why."

"You have not come here to fight for liberty. You have come here to crush it. You have not come here to establish the rule of the people. You have come here to overthrow it."

"You know that Russia was, up till last year, ruled by the most brutal, tyrannical and corrupt autocracy known to history. You have known of the terrible struggle we have had against our tyrants, of the imprisonment, of the hanging, of the deportation to the mines of Siberia."

Come to Restore Czar.

"You British fellow workers sympathized with us then, and often helped us."

"Did you not rejoice when we overthrew Czarism? You did. Yet you have come here to restore it. That is why you have come here."

"It may not be your intention."

"But it is the intention of your government. It is the intention of the Czarist officers who are attached to your General Staff."

"When you obey their orders, you are carrying out their objects."

"They are not democrats. They are militarists and monarchists. They have a supreme contempt for the people and believe that they alone have the right to rule. They hate our revolution and want to crush it."

"There is no doubt that they want to suppress the revolution and restore the reign of the Czar."

(Continued on page 2)

Threatens Miners With Cut In Pay

Will Abolish Increase Granted Last Year if Strike Continues, Garfield Wires Howat.

"COWARDLY," SAYS LEADER. Reject Proposal "With Contempt" and Will Fight "Infamous Penalty Clause" to Last.

Pittsburgh, Kan., April 19.—H. A. Garfield, Federal Fuel Administrator, in a message today to Alexander Howat President of District 14, United Mine Workers, threatened to revoke the provision of the agreement between the coal miners and the coal operators of November, 1917, which gave the miner an increase of \$1.40 a day, unless Howat ordered the striking miners of the Central Coal and Coke Company to return to work.

"The action taken by you and Wilkinson in calling strike, and reasons you give are altogether unsatisfactory," says the Garfield telegram. As wired you yesterday, I do not pass upon the merits of the controversy by calling your attention to the fact that you have not proceeded according to the Washington agreement, which still holds and which applies in your case.

"Furthermore, if you persist in going contrary to the Washington agreement and the mine workers of your district support your proposal to disregard that agreement and continue on strike, I shall issue a statement to all miners and operators in your district that, you having repudiated the Washington agreement, the operators in District 14 and 21 are no longer bound to pay the wage advance of \$1.40 secured by that agreement."

To the Garfield message, Mr. Howat replied by wire as follows:

"Your message received in which you say unless I refer grievance to you for settlement and order miners to return to work pending your decision that you will notify all miners and operators in my district that the coal operators are no longer obliged to pay the \$1.40 wage advance secured by the mine workers of the country in November, 1917."

"I reject with contempt the cowardly proposition submitted by you."

"This, I suppose, is the miners' reward for their loyalty to our government during the war in which our country was engaged in which our members made every sacrifice and responded to every call in producing coal, buying Liberty Bonds, donating to the Red Cross, and also giving up their lives on the battlefield of Europe fighting for our country."

"Now we are going to fight for ourselves to establish for the miners the principles of democracy and justice which they fought to obtain for others. The mine workers have suffered under the iron heel of oppression for the past eighteen months, under the infamous automatic penalty clause. We don't propose, however, to submit to the word of a dictator any longer."

"I therefore desire to say that as far as I am concerned the strike in this district will continue until the operators make a satisfactory settlement to the miners in this district, also in District 21. We are prepared for any emergency and intend to fight to the last ditch."

Soviets In Appeal To Allied Troops

(Continued from page 1)

"Is this fighting for democracy? Come to Murder Liberty."

"Realize what you are doing. You have come to murder liberty, not defend it. Just think of the shame of it—Englishmen helping to crush a people who have succeeded in making themselves free! We cannot believe you will do it."

"It would be the most shameful act in history."

"English fellow workers, don't do it."

This leaflet bears the printer's date of August 10, last, and was one of an edition of 10,000. The next leaflet is headed "All-lies," in order to convey an appeal to the Allies, as well as the charge, "All-lies," to the reader. The leaflet continues:

"In order to obtain the consent of the workers of Britain to the unwarranted act of aggression against us, your government gives the following as its reason for landing troops in our country. Seek to Crush Revolution."

"1. That they have come to stamp out anarchy and restore order it is not true."

"Your government and the French government are themselves responsible for what disorder there is in Russia. Ever since our revolution the agents of the French and British governments have been conferring with the counter revolutionaries giving them moral encouragement and financial assistance for the purpose of undermining the power of our workers' government, and to bring about its downfall."

"Your government and the French government are co-operating with the Czech-Slovaks, who have blocked the access to our food supplies. The serious food shortage in our country is aggravating the state of disorganization."

Blames Allies for Disorder.

"If there is disorder, your governments are responsible for it. Remember, when a capitalist government enters a country where there has been a revolution for the purpose of restoring order, it always means that they intend to crush the revolution. This is what the German government did in Poland, in the Ukraine, in the Baltic provinces and in Finland. That is what your government wants to do in Russia."

"They do not want to restore order. They want to restore the Czar."

"2. That they have come to help the Russian people. It is not true. Want to Be left Alone."

"In the first place, it is helping to bring war among a people already exhausted by war. We do not want war. We want peace. We want to be left alone, to consolidate the gains of our revolution, to reorganize economic and social life in such a manner as to secure to the workers the credits of their labor. Your government is not helping to do this. It has sent you here to prevent us doing it. Your government is co-operating with the Czech-Slovaks, who are suppressing the workers wherever they go."

"In Samara the workers obtained an 8-hour day. It has now been abolished. All working class organizations, trade unions, and such like, are suppressed. Wherever the Czech-Slovaks go they suppress our local Workmen's Councils and establish in their stead an oligarchy of speculators, capitalists, and ex-Czarist officers. Your government will use you to do the same in north and central Russia."

One Way to Help.

"If your government wanted to help the Russian people, it would recognize the Soviet government and assist us to reorganize our railways and industries. We, in fact, invited your government to enter into business relations with us that would have been to our mutual advantage. But your government made no reply."

"3. That the Allied invasion of Russia is welcomed by the Russian people. It is not true."

"Who is welcoming you? A few starving peasants whom your government bribes with a promise of food. These poor people are not glad to see you. They are only eager for the food they hope you will bring. Who else is welcoming you? The ex-landlords of Russia, who are expecting you to restore to them the land, harvests and mines which are now the property of the whole Russian people."

"The capitalists, who want you to overthrow our workers' govern-

ment and compel us to become their wage slaves again. The Technovniks, the ex-officials of the Czarist government, who want you to restore them to their soft jobs, to resume their old game of bribery and corruption, for which Russia in the past was notorious. Yes, this crowd with their hangers-on, are very pleased to see you here. They will flatter you, and make a fuss over you; all the while they have a supreme contempt for you, for you are only working men, whom they are using as their tools."

A third leaflet disclosed what was reputed to be a widespread plot instigated by the Allied governments to overthrow the Russian revolution.

The statement told of British efforts for a rebellion at the time of the landing of British troops; of payments of money or various purposes, including arrest of Lenin and Trotsky; of plots to make famine more acute by dynamiting bridge and food trains, forcing the populace to revolt from hunger.

Excuses for establishing a dictatorship was to be found, the propaganda said, in a forged treaty between Russia and Germany, which represented the Soviets as selling Russia's independence to Germany.

Reactionaries Control War Department.

War Department Establishes Propaganda Bureau. Seeks to Defend Existing Court Martial System.

Washington Post, April 14.

It has become known that the War Department has created an elaborate propaganda bureau, with a big staff and commodious offices, for the purpose of flooding the country with publicity matter calculated to convince the people, now thoroughly aroused to the injustice of the court-martial system, that it is worthy of their confidence and adulation.

This publicity bureau is located in the old land office building, formerly used by the now almost defunct provost marshal general's office, and is equipped with all the equipment needed in the preparation and distribution of propaganda. Its staff is composed of Col. Wignmore, Maj. John D. Langston, May Jesse J. Miller, a captain, and thirteen clerks. This force has been placed directly under the Secretary of War, the officers being carried as "on special work for Gen. Crowder," who is now in Cuba. May Miller was recently promoted from captain, faring much better in this respect than thousands of over-seas officers who won, but have not received, higher rank for gallantry in action.

These officers should have been demobilized when the functions of the provost marshal general's office ceased to exist in January, but Gen. Crowder retained them, and directed them to prepare data with which to refute the charges against the military court-martial system as made by Senator Chamberlain in his speech on January 3, and otherwise defend the indefensible court-martial system. When Gen. Crowder left for Cuba, on March 12, he obtained authority from Secretary Baker directing this staff to take up the work of flooding the country with publicity.

It is said that Mr. Baker was reluctant at first to adopt the scheme, and agreed to it only after considerable argument. At a conference Gen. Crowder urged severe disciplinary measures for Col. Ansell. He said to Mr. Baker, in effect, that the criticism of the system was fraught with mischief, but only for the Secretary himself, but to Gen. Crowder and the discipline of the army in general. He then recommended the campaign of organized publicity that was finally agreed upon, and is now under way in an effort to influence the public mind against reforming a court-martial system that dates back to the Revolutionary war period and is as archaic as the rack or the wheel.

Unlike most war machines, the tank when stripped of its armor makes an excellent farm instrument. The powerful tractor of the largest type can draw an almost unlimited number of gang plows, but the war chariots at Camp Meade will never be scrapped for any such uses. According to the army officers here they have other peace-time uses—they are the very thing for a street riot, as only the rioters can get hurt. Nothing but artillery can stop them, and one tank would be the equal of a whole regiment of infantry in quelling any Bolshevik gathering that might be assembled.

ALL THE RESOURCES OF THE STATE

The miners and the railway workers have won a great victory. At every stage of this contest between the Triple Alliance and the Government organized Labour has vanquished its opponent. The Government of time-serves, political insincerities, and suborned place-hunters is forced to change its tone. When it comes to heel, it gives in with a snarl. Of course, the horse, foot, and artillery will be used against the miners! Who can expect, aught else while the workers rashly use their political power to give to their masters the control of the armed forces of the State? The Guards were marched through London on Saturday to convince the people that capital rules the soldier. Mr. Bonar Law is just as frank as miners and railwaymen like him to be, but the "Daily Mail" thinks "it is a pity Mr. Bonar Law had so little time in which to think out his phrasing before addressing the House of Commons on Thursday night."

The Next Government.

The Triple Alliance is taking the place of the Government. When the result of the miners' ballot was known, Mr. Lloyd George wished to refer the questions in dispute to a Commission. Yielding to pressure, he suggested that the Commission should present its report on hours and wages by March 31st. Then, yielding to more pressure, he proposed that the report should be forthcoming by March 20th. As that date draws near, President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Orlando are called upon to help the Wizard to gain still more time. For months the Paris Conference has pattered a making peace. Suddenly the fate of all humanity is found to depend on an immediate peace settlement. The chief men at Paris, engaged in sharing out the spoils of war, discover reasons why "Dear Prime Minister" should stay away from England, and the Press that is tied to capitalist interests enlarges upon the unmitigated wickedness of the miners and railway workers if they move in Mr. Lloyd George's absence. The art of government is become the dodging of the Triple Alliance.

The Meaning of the Report.

Labour just begins to find its own mighty power. The Government are prepared to accept Justice Sankey's report because of the strength of the Miners' Federation. The increased wages, the shorter working day, the condemnation of the "homes" that civilised, cultured Britain has permitted scores of thousands of its most useful workers to occupy, are all alike an admission by the Government that when a million men organise and act for their own economic betterment no Government dare refuse their just claims. The Coalition has no more love for Labour than any of its predecessors in control of the State. It concedes more only because Labour is stronger, demands more, wants more, will take more. The miners declare rightly that with national ownership all

the cost of their plea for a higher standard of life can be met by economies in the collieries and in the distribution of coal. They cause to come before the Commission a mass of evidence even more damaging to the case for private capitalism than avowed Socialists had ventured to expect would be forthcoming. But the evidence would count for nothing if the miners were not ready to act with the precision and force of a giant hammer. As they are ready, the Commission reports that the private ownership of mines must not continue: the Government accepts that view: the Commission undertakes to report on the whole question of nationalisation by May 20th: the Government undertakes to legislate accordingly. The miners are showing the workers the way to get things done.

The Rights of Industry.

The railwaymen and the miners have given an excellent lead. There are people who want to go slowly—ever so slowly—who say that the strength of an industrial organisation should not be brought to bear on Parliament in order to compel that moribund institution. There would be no need to do so if Parliament were composed of members of the working class who did their duty to the workers. But Parliament is composed mainly of the workers' enemies, who gained their seats by wealth and the corrupting influence of a Press which only money commands. Mr. Bonar Law fears there will be an end to Government if too much is conceded at one time. The kind of Government he defends, the protection of land and capital and the right to profit by the robbery of labour, is getting perilously near its end. Against those who defend the system that gave millions more in profits to the mine-owners whilst the miners' standard of life continued to fall despite increases in the money wage—against those who defend the greed and cunning of capitalist society preserved by the deliberate corruption of opinion among the misled democratic voters, industrial power, the strike, and boycott are absolutely legitimate weapons.

Let not the Triple Alliance halt for fear of public opinion. At the moment public opinion is with the men, not with the masters but it may be swung back on to the side of Mr. Lloyd George by a week's Press propaganda. If the fickle thing turns, let the Triple Alliance remember that public opinion has never voluntarily done a service for the working class. Of public opinion in the true sense there is none, and there is none to fear. The Triple Alliance is compelling Parliament to use its political authorities the emancipation of Labour. To-day miners, railway men, transport workers are leagued together; to-morrow their alliance will spread until it is a league of all the working class. Then we shall not knock at the doors of Parliament. We shall command it.—"London Call."

New York.—"In union there is strength." The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America are proving it anew.

In New York City, April 1st will see the inauguration of wage increases of \$2.00 to week workers, 10 per cent to piece workers, and 12 1-2 per cent to knee pants workers due to the efforts of this association. The manufacturers, both independent and organized, have had ample time to adjust their business to this scale, so smooth sailing is expected.

The Montreal group held a celebration meeting on April 1st, and is working well toward a 44-hour week for its workers.

Chicago is very busy with a number of different triumphs. B. Kuppenheimer & Co., a very prominent member of the Manufacturers' Association, succumbed to the demands of the union after three weeks' contest. They have agreed to reinstate the 1,500 employees of their South Side factory, to recognize shop committees from each floor and to pay the strikers for all the time they have been out. Agreements have been signed with fifteen firms; negotiations are on with a number of others. Workers are joining the union in large numbers, stimulated by the fact that the union, and only that, is obtaining better conditions for them, concrete illustrations of which exist in increases of 15 per cent and 20 per cent in a number of shops.

On the other hand, it took seven

weeks for the employers of Syracuse to realize that their employees had the right to unionize in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, and that a wage increase and a 44-hour week were necessary to the best efficiency of the shop.

Cincinnati's splendid response in circular form to one by the employers insinuating everything from loss of position to un-Americanism and Bolshevism, is proof of the dignity that labor is acquiring because of its ideals for a "little more joy in life," a "better chance to live upon the plane of the American standard of living," the "justice of their cause and the purity of their motives." They are in the second week of their strike and are determined to stick until they win.

ARGENTINA.

Labor Wants Port Nationalized. Buenos Aires.—Nationalization of the port having proved so effective in bringing the recent strike to a close bids fair to become a permanent feature of shipping conditions.

Government control gave confidence to the strikers that their interests would be protected and they returned to work relieving a congested condition on the wharves by loading and moving out the cargo steamers.

The Labor Unions are submitting a bill embodying this plan of nationalization to their congress. It has a good chance of being carried. It is supported by leading statesmen as well as by labor.

IRISH PRIEST Lets Loose

San Jose, Cal.—The speech of Father Yorke is as follows:

Telling a audience of 2000 rapt listeners that "There is more truth in the Bolshevik crowd than in all the politicians of all the earth," playing the morning newspapers of the land in words of biting and scathing scorn, and referring to David Lloyd George as "that damned little Welsh attorney," Father Peter C. Yorke delivered a stirring address at the St. Patrick's Day gathering at the Victory theater, that contained more of the old Yorkeian fervor, flavor and fire than any address that he has delivered since he first became noted as a speaker of power and convictions.

The theme of the Rev. Father Yorke's address was: "What Does Language Mean?" And he answered his own question in a vehement, impassioned plea that roused his hearers to a pitch of frenzy.

"What does language mean?" asked Father Yorke.

"Does language mean anything?" he asked.

"Does Bolshevik mean anything? Well, let me tell you, there is more truth in the Bolshevik crowd than there is in all the politicians you have in all the world."

Then Father Yorke paid his verbal respects to President Wilson, Lloyd George, George Creel and other worthies and he handled them without mince.

Father Yorke's address follows: "What does language mean? I really wonder if language means anything?"

"Our president has deluged us with words. He told us all kinds of things about what he was going to do. Now the great question is: Does he mean anything by what he says?"

"I know it is an awful thing to say anything against the president. I know that only too well."

"Now you Irish have been voting the Democratic ticket for 150 years, and what have we got out of it? Nothing."

"We have been talking five months, talking about making the world safe for democracy. Now what does democracy mean? It means the rule of the people. That's what it means."

"We are supposed to be the rulers. We are supposed to be the democrats. If this is so, what knowledge did we have. What knowledge have we now?"

"Please excuse the language, but I am saying it in the worst way I can. We didn't have knowledge of a damned thing. (Wild applause.)

"George Creel has been to it that we didn't get any knowledge. Now, who is George Creel. He is a (censored). You are welcome to him. The griddle is too hot for George Creel. A man can sit on a griddle when it is comfortable. He can even enjoy sitting on it, when it is comfortable, but when it gets too hot to sit on, he has to get off of it. The griddle is too hot for George Creel. Do you get me? He's leaving it."

"They have been filling you up for the last four years with foolishness. Did you ever hear of the Wild Ass of the Desert, who fillet his belly with the East wind, and when he brayeth, no man regardeth."

"A human is supposed to be an intellectual animal. You men and women of San Jose are you intellectual animals or not?"

"In California, in San Francisco, in San Jose, I am afraid you are not intellectual animals."

"What do you get for breakfast? Oh, I know you get breakfast food, mush and the like, but what do you get for your mind for breakfast? You get the morning newspaper. What is the morning newspaper for you? The morning paper is filling you up with the East wind. The morning paper is filling you up with propaganda. The morning paper is the Wild Ass of the Desert."

"You take your morning paper and you take what you see in it for granted. Its not always true when you see it in the morning paper. Its rarely true. If you people would say I am going to do this thing regardless of the morning newspaper and then go and do it, you would knock the devil out of all the morning newspapers in the world, and there's a good deal of the devil in the morning newspapers."

"Do you remember that they used to say that the Democratic party was made up of the chivalry and shovelry, and that it was you, the

Irish, the shovelry, who voted for the chivalry. (Loud applause.)

"Don't applaud. Take out your handkerchiefs and weep that you were such damned fools. People of San Jose, the time is coming when you must forget that you are Republicans or Democrats. You will have to vote for yourselves."

"No response?" pondered the speaker.

"You don't respond because you don't understand."

"What does government exist for? Does it exist, that this man or that man may eat of gold plates in Europe? Does it exist that we may have fools showing off in Sacramento? Does it exist that you may have a commission plan of government in San Jose? And let me tell you, there is nothing worse than the commission form of government that you have in San Jose."

"There used to be in the old times of San Francisco on the corner of O'Farrell and Market streets an old fellow with a telescope. 'Come and see Mars for five cents,' he used to say. That's the trouble with you folks. You want to see Mars, but you do not want to see yourselves. But you must see yourselves."

"Now I want to tell you people that you are just as well able to govern yourselves as all the politicians and all the statesmen and all the hoi pollo on the top of the earth."

"And coming back to the morning newspaper, let me ask you what is a morning newspaper? Why are you so afraid of a morning newspaper? Why is it that you fall down before the morning newspaper?"

"If it were not that some good doctors are opposed to my opinion, I would say that your ordinary morning daily newspaper is a hygienic apparatus. That's what I think of the morning newspapers."

"Why is it that while we have been making the world safe for democracy, we don't say a word about Ireland. (Great applause.)

"If you mention Ireland, it is pssh and tush, and likewise don't wake the baby. (Laughter.) Well let me tell you we are not only going to wake the baby, but we are going to wake up the whole orphan asylum."

"They'll tell you that the Irish question is a domestic question between Mr. Ireland and Miss Britain and they'll advise you to let them have their family quarrel out between themselves. Well we're going to have it out, and its going to be a regular family affair, not a mere domestic spat between Mr. Ireland and Miss Britain."

"I have one last thing to say, and I have been coming around to it. 'WHAT ABOUT IRELAND?' From the gallery: 'Ireland is all right.'"

"You bet your life, you Bolshevik, Ireland is all right," smilingly responded the speaker.

"I want to tell you that the Irish in America have no effect. You are the wind whistling through the trees. The Irish in Ireland are the ones that will settle their own question."

"One thing I ask you is that you keep the flag flying."

"Who are we, who are gathered here? We are the scattered remnants of the Gael."

(From the gallery: "We are the Irish.")

"Who is that Bolshevik that is interrupting me?" asked the speaker with a laugh, then continuing, "We are the ravelings. We have left Ireland. We have no right to say a word to them."

"Let us say that in Ireland's fights we of California have never been backward. You of San Jose have never been backward. Whenever there was a fight for Ireland, we have been in it, in spirit at least, and God speed, we'll be in it to the end."

"Who is Lloyd George, a damned little Welsh attorney that he can tell twenty million Irishmen what they must do, and how they must be governed?"



SAVING RUSSIA.

From "Here and There With the Thirty-first" American Army Paper, Printed in Siberia.

Note:—That discontent with their senseless Siberian expedition is not confined to the company of American infantry which mutinied recently is made clear by the following sarcastic poem, which boldly appears in the Army paper printed by the Thirty-first infantry which is now in Siberia. Copies have just reached this country.

—EDITOR.

My mother says, says she to me,
Most patriotic you must be.
Stand ready, boy of mine, to be
a hero;
Be ready with your gun in hand
To fight for this, your native
land,
Although its provocation sink
to zero.
I'll send you, laddie, night or day,
To die for the old U. S. A.
Against its foes from Britain,
Spain or Prussia;
But what she never said to me
Is that she'd send me overseas
To die for Russia.

The Russians may be good or not
(They seem a fairly decent lot,
Altho their arguments are thin
and squeaky),
But maw, she never said: "My
boy,
If you would fill my heart with
joy,
Go save the Russians from the
Bolshevik."

I'd like to ask maw if she knows
Why I should tramp through endless
snows
Now that the stuffin's out of
worthless Prussia;
To ask her if with joy she'd yell
Should I return all shot to 'ell,
Through saving Russia.

So when they put me in a crate
And ship me 'Trans-Pacific
freight,"
Down in the hold where it is
dark (oh, very),
Then dump me on a lonely pier,
A pretty flag around my bier,
They'll cart me off with honors
military.
Then home at last, upon the hill
I'll die beside my Uncle Will,
As if I'd died a hero, fighting
Prussia.
And maw—how happy maw will
be
To mark the stone placed over me,
"He died for Russia."

New England Wires Tied Up.

Boston.—New England, with the exception of Connecticut, was practically cut off from telephone connection with the outside world, following the strike of 8,000 telephone operators on April 15.

The strike was called in an effort to enforce a demand for increased wages for operators, who are now paid \$16 a week at the end of seven years. They demand a minimum of \$19 a week and a maximum of \$22 at the end of four years.

Reports from Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont showed that the strike was put into effect with remarkable speed and without disorder. In practically all New England cities and towns the operators left their posts.

In Boston it was said not one of the several thousand girls reported for work: Hospitals, factories, hotels and doctors, accustomed to use the telephone to a great extent, were handicapped.

Throughout Massachusetts the tie-up was almost complete, practically all the cities reporting the strike was in effect. It was said not more than six operators were working in the entire State of Rhode Island.

Scared Capitalists Take Out Strike Insurance.

TACOMA.—One of the funniest instances in connection with the recent general strike has just come to light. It is that the largest insurance companies did a huge business writing strike insurance. They impressed upon the trembling employing class that the radicals in the labor movement would surely resort to violence to gain their point. Business men therefore rushed to the offices of the companies to take out strike insurance to guard them against losses from expected violence. Hysterical newspaper stories further inflamed their imagination and caused them to pay big premiums for special insurance. Of course nothing happened, with the result that the only line of business that seems to have prospered during the general strike was the insurance business.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR NEWS SERVICE

SUPPLIED BY RAND SCHOOL

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Arkansas Miners Face Starvation.

Huntington, Arkansas.—The 5,000 coal miners of Sebastian County are face to face with starvation. During the war they made good wages, but since November 11, 1918, they have been given only one or two days of work each week. Two days a week will not support life in the average miner's family.

Sebastian County is solidly organized. All the miners belong to the United Mine Workers of America, an A. F. of L. union. The Alabama fields, unorganized, are getting steady work. The union workers of Arkansas are losing out.

Eighty per cent of the Sebastian County miners are Americans. During the war they bought more than the average share of Liberty Bonds and War Saving Stamps. Today these stamps and bonds are their chief source of livelihood. They are living on last year's fat.

Rumor has it that things will pick up after June 1st. Meanwhile rents remain high and the prices of food are climbing. Unless work resumes soon, the miners of Huntington and the neighboring camps will face real hardship.

Situation in Cleveland Not Encouraging.

Cleveland, Ohio.—The Street Railway Employees have voted 13 to 3 against opening the agreement with the company for further discussion. The men receive 43c. an hour for the first three months; 46c. for the next three months, and after that 48c. Extra men who report and are assigned to runs are paid for a minimum time of 5 hours. The swings are short. All of the working time must be within 14 consecutive hours, so that the men have at least 10 hours out of the 24 to themselves.

Many of the returned soldiers have taken jobs on the cars extra men. They are not enthusiastic about their prospects.

The total number of unemployed in Cleveland trades are flat. The iron and steel industry has slowed down, but it still giving fairly steady work. Miscellaneous trades, especially those whose prosperity was based on war orders, are suffering severely.

An unofficial vote has been taken among trade unionists on the question of supporting the Labor Party. The count thus far is 2673 "yes" and 2540 "no." An official ballot will be sent out in the near future.

The Socialist Party of Cleveland has issued a manifesto urging the workers to support the Socialist Party and to ignore the Labor Party. After calling attention to the numerous instances in which the workers have been misled by the adoption of "reform" measures, the manifesto continues:

"The platforms of the Labor Party of Chicago and New York fall short of the needs of the hour. They propose reform measures only and even these do not go very far.

"The Socialist Party has urged the workers to take independent political action when the present leaders of the Labor Party movement were still asking them to support the parties of their oppressors—the Republican and Democratic parties. It has always been in the lead in the fight for the workers' cause. It will continue in its position of uncompromising opposition to the capitalist system until this system is overthrown.

"Events in Europe are proving that socialism inevitably succeeds capitalism. There is no other road to freedom. Why should we falter and follow the paths that experience of the workers of Europe and Australia has proven leads to nowhere?

"Not a Labor Party but mass support of the Socialist Party and class conscious political action against the capitalists is the way to emancipation and security for the workers."

ENGLAND.

Labor's Municipal Victories.

London.—Municipal politics never attract much attention in Great Britain—an attitude of mind that may change when our Left has established the Soviet system here—but the recent Labour victories on the County Councils may be regarded as significant of a revolutionary change of opinion throughout the country. At Durham—a cathedral city, too, which is generally a stronghold of the possessing classes—for the first time in our municipal records the Labour Party is actually in power on a County Council. In the London County Council there is a Labour Party for the first time, which manifested its presence very pleasantly recently in a vigorous protest against

the term "market rate" in reference to a school attendant's wages. "Market rate," declared one of the new Labor members, "may be all right for pigs, but what right have you to apply it to human beings?"—and he succeeded in getting it changed to "trade union rate," both in title and effect. Another very interesting labor advance is shown in the unexpected return of a Labor majority on a parish council in a Buckinghamshire village which is one of the strongholds of the Rothchild family, who have dominated the council without opposition since parish councils were first instituted. This kind of the increasing unrest among agricultural laborers, who still see no sign in the rate of their wages and the abominable conditions of their housing that the country is going to be made "fit for heroes to live in"—(see General Election platform promises).

Labor's "Triple Alliance" Averts Strike.

London, March 26 (Delayed).—The threatened strike of Labor's Triple Alliance—miners, railway men, transport workers—was averted at the week-end by the decision of the men's leaders to negotiate further with the Government. Today at the deferred Miner's Conference, it was agreed not to strike without a further ballot, which will be accompanied with a strong recommendation from Robert Smillie and the Conference to accept the Government's offer in view of the important concessions already gained, and of the prospects of further gains if the Coal Commissions continues to sit. This momentous decision will probably affect the conclusion to be arrived at by the railwaymen at their conference tomorrow. Indeed, it may be said that the great strike is certainly postponed for the moment, since the policy of the Triple Alliance is to strike all together or not at all. It cannot be denied that all three unions have won a distinct victory, both in the increased pay agreed to by the Government and also in the tentative steps taken towards acceptance of the principle of nationalization. That of course is the crux of the whole matter, and Labor not unnaturally is beginning to watch very carefully all public utterances in favor of nationalization. As Mr. J. H. Thomas, the railway men's leader, said in the House of Commons, a week ago, the men do not want to exchange the tyranny of control by private ownership merely for a similar tyranny of State ownership. On the definition of nationalization a great deal will depend in the near future if this is really to make for a settlement of the present unrest.

FOREIGN

FRANCE.

International Solidarity Among European Workers.

Paris.—Louis Legrain, Secretary of the metal workers of Avenir, France, has published a letter in Le Populaire (March 25, 1919) in which he describes the efforts of the Government to employ German prisoners in place of French workers in the metal trades. The employers desire to start their factories. There are still two million men in arms in France. An easy remedy seemed to be the German prisoners who were obtained through the Government. The Government promised to cease this practice but repeatedly broke its promises, thus permitting these war profiteers, to hold the French workers under their heels. Says Legrain: "The result was very different from that which they all hoped. These Germans whom they had represented as having neither heart nor conscience have more nobility and character than our industrial barons. They refused absolutely to take the places of the French mechanics.

"This action by these prisoners should demonstrate to the working class that it is not feelings of hate which win and build up for the future, but on the contrary fraternal bonds should be stretched across all frontiers. The true enemy is not outside but inside the country. They are the exploiters of human flesh in whatever branch of industry they belong."

Paris.—If the decision of the six important unions in France is adhered to, May 1 will be observed by a general abstention from work. The delegates of these unions—the Railroad Workers, Miners, Dock Workers, Metal Workers, Sailors and General Transport Workers—at a meeting yesterday decided to unite in efforts to obtain recognition of

the demands of the worker, especially an eight-hour day and increased wage.

Delegates recognized that the demands of individual unions had been satisfied in many cases, but decided that the members of the unions should not work on May Day, in order to show the power of the organized working classes and the spirit of solidarity. They adopted the following resolution:

"The Railroad Union—That definite engagements have been made regarding the eight-hour day and the scale of wages. Two commissions are in session arranging details.

"Miners Union—That the Coal Mine Owners' Committee of France has bound itself to discuss the eight-hour day at a meeting of the Ministry of Labor on April 23. Nevertheless these unions will participate in the general cessation of work on May 1.

"The Dock Workers' Union reports that an eight-hour day already is in operation in all ports, but the dock workers promise a general cessation of work on May 1 in order to give full strength to the labor demonstration.

"The Metal Workers' Union reports that it is about to receive the same assurances as the other unions, but will participate in the May 1 demonstration to show its affiliation with the aspirations of the other workers. The Sailors' Union has made similar declarations. The Transport Workers' Union, which includes the workers on the Paris tramways and subways reports that its demands are approaching realization, but will abstain from work with a view of keeping the attention of the public authorities fixed on its special claims.

"This meeting therefore, decides to ask the General Labor Federation Committee to take measures to give May 1 an exclusively working-class character, to make known to the proletariat its decisions and to establish that the abstention from work on May 1 should have the character of a demonstration."

No mention is made of the length of the proposed cessation of work. It is presumed that the General Labor Federation Committee will decide this point.—(New York Times, April 17.)

ENGLAND.

Labor Declines Junket.

London.—The exclusion of Labor from the Paris Peace Council (to say nothing of the exclusion of the enemy) has just led the Labor Party here to refuse to be represented on the Government delegation to Germany to inquire into the political and economic situation there.

Textile Trades in Bad Shape.

London.—The textile trades—cotton and woollens at present passing through a critical stage, unemployment being rife in many of the Lancashire and Yorkshire towns. The Executive of the Textile Factory Workers' Association, which represents every section of the cotton industry, resolved, after a meeting in Manchester held recently, to ask the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Labor to receive a deputation to explain the extraordinary position in reference to unemployment in which the trade in Lancashire finds itself. In a statement at the close of the meeting, Joseph Cross, secretary of the association, said: "The trade is swiftly going from bad to worse, and we are approaching a state of affairs equal to that existing at the worst period of 1914. Short time in the spinning sections and playing off for beams in the weaving branches increase every week. On top of this the government has decided to reduce the rate of pay from the out-of-work donation fund. The result is that it is almost impossible for



PURE MILK

OUR MILK CONTAINS THE CREAM AND IS GUARANTEED

JENS NILSEN,

We serve from 25th Ave. W. to Piedmont. 1914 W. 10th St. Lin. 479-D

CAPITALISM

today

is betwixt the devil and the deep sea

SOCIALISM

today

is on the threshold of the world. The workingclass is fast coming into its own.

Superior Workingmen and Women:

Celebrate INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY this year at TOW ER HALL under the auspices of the Central Committee, Socialist Party of Douglas County.

May 1st, 8 p. m.

Com. Dan White of Massachusetts will speak.

Revolutionary music by orchestra.

Admission free to all.

Help Bring About the Solidarity of Labor!

some of our people to exist decently.

"What makes this harder to bear is that we know that the neutral markets are bare of goods, that the people are crying for yarn and cloth, and that if only some sensible arrangement could be made, even tentatively, it would give the employers an opening for their spinning and weaving machinery, and afford us just relief for which we ask. We claim that as the government is apparently unwilling to face this it should at least not carry out its announced intention of cutting down the out-of-work donation for men from \$7.25 to \$5.00 per week, and to women, from \$5.00 to \$3.75."—London Call, March 20.)

Mexican Clerics Give Warning.

Chicago.—Declaring that a small selfish, but very powerful minority in the United States and Mexico are still seeking to embroil the two republics in war, three Catholic archbishops, exiled with 36,000 of their parishioners from Mexico are appealing for moderation in dealings between the two nations. The clerics, who say that they were obliged to leave their home land due to indignities heaped upon them by the

Caranza Government still insist their faith in Mexico is absolute. They fear there is danger of a clash between the United States and Mexico being precipitated by plottings of those who would benefit by the war. The appeal, signed by Archbishops Jimenez, Ruiz and Plancarte, warns the rank and file of the United States and Mexico of the insidious machinations of "those who still seek to fan old flames and rekindle old hatreds to obscure the interests of the common people."

Figures on Unemployment.

Washington.—Unemployment in thirteen of the leading industries is described by the Monthly Labor Review of the United States Department of Labor (February, 1919). A comparison is made between identical establishments in December, 1917, and December, 1918. Three of the industries, automobile manufacturing, car building and iron and steel, show an increase in the number of persons employed. The other ten show decreases. The smallest, 3 per cent, is in paper manufacturing. The largest 24 per cent, is in the woolen goods industry.

Terre Haute, Ind., April 14th, 1919.

Eugene V. Debs, Federal Prison, Moundsville, West Virginia.

They have your body behind prison walls but your unconquerable spirit, radiant as a sunburst, soars humanity's luminous heights a million miles beyond the foul touch of filthy hypocrites and their prostituted mercenaries. Your unwavering fidelity to principle, your unfaltering love and devotion to the cause of the crushed and oppressed will be an unceasing inspiration. I was never so proud of you. My arms are about you, old pal, and will be through time and eternity. Your loving brother,

THEODORE DEBS.

An Attack On "Bolshevism"

By superintendent of Los Angeles schools. Refuted by J. H. Ryckman, Special by Louise Bryant.—Upton Sinclair and others. Also the news Los Angeles newspapers refused to print and the advertising matter they refused to take.

The New Justice

The radical magazine of the west issued twice a month.

\$1.50 a year—85c for six months.

10c a copy—Ask for May 1st Edition.

"TRUTH IS MIGHTY, AND SHALL PREVAIL"

VOICES FROM RUSSIA

An historic booklet of compiled facts.

The most brazen calumnies have gone forth from press and pulpit concerning the Soviet Republic of Russia—Voices from Russia speak the TRUTH. Every Revolutionary Socialist in America should make use of this exposure of capitalist lies.

Price, prepaid, single copy, 25c; 5 copies to one address, \$1.00, in lots of 25 or more 15c per copy. Address:

THE MELTING POT

A Journal of International Socialism.

809 Pointiac Building,

St. Louis, Mo.

ALVEN & SOHLEN

TRANSFER CO.

GENERAL DRAYING

PIANO AND

FURNITURE MOVING

Phone: Calumet 311

4031 W. Superior St.

Duluth, Minn.

LARSON BROS.

Fresh and Salt Meats, Oysters,

Fish and Poultry.

Zenith phone Lincoln 162

Duluth phone Melrose 382

2728 West 1st Street,

DULUTH, MINN.

Olson & Hoppenyan

Phone, Lin. 10 Phone, Mel. 7620

UNDERTAILERS

2014 West Superior Street

JAMES BRAWN

Formerly at 20th Ave. W.

NOW AT

Progressive Shoe

Works

27 N. 5th Ave. West.

Tel. 102 Melrose

A.Ph.

La Divina Cream

A very elegant, exceedingly agreeable, and thoroughly effective

Beauty Aid, Beautifully Made The equivalent of and yet the superior of any "cold," "face," "massage," "rubbing," or similar cream now upon the market.

La Divina Makes a Beautiful Complexion and More It Makes a Beautiful Skin

Wrapped up each BEAUTIFUL BOUDOIR JAR of this skin-deep beautifier, is a dainty

BEAUTY SECRETS BOOKLET with full instructions for carrying out the celebrated TWENTY MINUTE BEAUTY TREATMENT. Also, How to apply rouge so that it cannot be detected. With La Divina Cream and this booklet FACIAL ARTISTRY IS BROUGHT TO A PERFECTION NEVER BEFORE REACHED.

FIFTY CENTS THE JAR

To be had from

THE PEOPLE'S

Drug Store

Frank's Shop

Successor to Brawn

FANCY SHOE WORKS

21 N. 20th Avenue W.

Lin. 808-X. Duluth.

O. T. ROSAAS

PHOTOGRAPHER.

Lincoln 699-X Melrose 9219

2080 West Superior Street.

FRED W.

ERICKSON

Established 1893

GROCERIES AT WHOLE-

SALE & RETAIL

2029—31 W. 3rd St.

LIN. 3561 MEL. 421.

SAVE MONEY

JEWELRY AND WATCHES

SOLD AND REPAIRED

M. GOLD & COMPANY,

1619 North 5th Street.

SUPERIOR OGDEN 542-Y. WIS.

Now Ready First American Edition of

Labor In Irish History

By JAMES CONNOLLY

Commandant-General of the Irish Forces in the

Insurrection of 1916. Executed by the British.

A historical review of the economic and

political conditions which have given birth to

the psychology of the Irish proletariat.

Cloth, \$1.00 (Postage extra) Paper Cover 50c.

THE DONNELLY PRESS

164 East 37th St. New York City

Zenith Phone Lincoln 117-A.

FOR A GOOD PAIR OF SHOES GO TO

Juten Shoe Store

MEN'S, LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S SHOES.

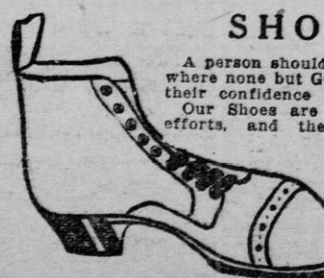
12 21st Avenue West, Duluth, Minn.

MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

SHOES FOR ALL

A person should buy their shoes these days at a store where none but GOOD SHOES are sold—a store in which their confidence will not be abused.

Our Shoes are selected from the best makers best efforts, and the man we shoe this year will come back next year. Once we serve you we are not afraid of losing you trade. We know from past experience that once a customer always a customer.—We are Union men selling and repairing Shoes



The Model Shoe Store

JENS JACOBSON, Prop.

Note the address. 1921 W. Sup. St.

In Soviet Russia

"WE MAY AS WELL REMEMBER THAT WE OWE A DEBT TO RUSSIA", SAYS LOUISE BRYANT.

A crowd of some five or six thousand people filled the City Auditorium at Wednesday evening to hear Mrs. John Reed (or as she is better known, Louise Bryant) tell what she saw in Russia. It was an enthusiastic audience, and although the heavy hand of the city council shut off discussion and free speech, limiting the address to a typewritten lecture censored by its reactionary self, yet the continuous applause and approbation expressed showed the sympathies of the audience. Any one that doubted the extent of revolutionary sentiment in this city should have been present. When we get free speech in the city of Portland we should get Louise Bryant to come back and tell us the rest of the truth about Russia, the things she was not allowed to say this time. If we treat with the Soviets we must also compromise. If we do not treat with them we must make ready for a long war—perhaps for a world revolution! It is a very serious thing we have to do, and we cannot decide off hand.

I am an American, born of American parents, and I have a good deal of faith in these United States. I do not think that our differences have grown so great that we cannot still talk things over and somehow get together without any violence—for if the rest is as interesting as this speech, we certainly want to hear it.

(Reprinted from Western Socialist.)

Friends and Citizens: In this most critical moment in the history of the world each one of us is in a difficult position, but particularly those who, because they believe in more tolerance than the rest of their fellows are dubbed "radical." Tenseness is very apt to breed hysteria, and hysteria beats its own head against a stone wall. Now, I believe that my country has become altogether too hysterical in its attitude toward Russia. Here is something new in the world; something called Bolshevism. A conservative correspondent has very wisely remarked, it is a force perhaps as Christianity, certainly it is a force that is becoming important enough to be deeply considered by the Peace delegates.

At the present moment Lloyd George and President Wilson assume the same attitude, and now the French have decided on withdrawal. They believe it is necessary to treat with the Soviet leaders; that also is my attitude.

Now I beg tolerance of this audience. I sincerely believe that it is necessary for us all to be calm in our international judgments. I know that there are people here who will disagree with my remarks. I want those people to consider that it is no easy thing for me to stand here before you and speak frankly about Russia. It is never pleasant to go against the will of the reactionaries, and it is particularly hard for me because this is my former home, and I find myself in the unenviable role of a prodigal daughter, speaking with the kind permission of the city fathers on a very delicate subject.

It happens that we have only two courses open to us as Americans and as Allies; one is to treat with the Soviets, and the other is to declare war on them. Even clever diplomats cannot juggle the issues much longer. So we have to prepare ourselves for a great decision. I haven't much idea what this criminal syndicalist act may be, but I haven't any desire to violate it, and I want to say before I proceed any further that the last thing in my mind is the overthrow of the Government by force. I believe in legal measures for all sorts of change, and I haven't advocated any other measures.

This isn't the first time I have spoken to a more or less conservative audience on Soviet Russia, and it hasn't been my first attempt to explain Bolshevism.

I shall always retain very vividly in my mind the unpleasant memory of two days when I testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

On an afternoon about a month ago I found myself in a rather dark room before a long table, at which sat six men with cold eyes and harsh, angry voices. They were my countrymen but they appeared also my enemies. Their hate was naked and ugly. The flame of it burned away a mist before my eyes, and I came away with vague fears sud-

denly turned into vivid realities. I am glad to say that all the Senators in Washington by no means share the narrow views of the men who sat on that committee. America has a great deal to thank Senator Hiram Johnson of California for—for his very broad-minded views regarding Russia, and his very decent Americanism.

Most of the men on the Senate Judiciary are old men, and I do not speak now so much of the fact that they are old in years, but that they are old in thoughts. They are still thinking of the world as it was before the great war, and no such world exists. They have decided to crush unmercifully all defenders or explainers of change. Each aged senator, moustaching his everlasting cigar, sees in himself a Marquis de Lantenay—a strong man of the hour; sees in himself perhaps another small national hero, like Ole Hanson, of Seattle.

Now I have never been afraid of intelligent conservatism, but I am afraid of ignorance. Ignorance is cruel and intolerant; one cannot reason with it. So that is why I say we must talk these things over frankly together, we mustn't let our prejudices run away with us on our ignorance of European politics. If we do that we may destroy ourselves. How many centuries ago wrote Sophocles: "Woe for the doom of a dark soul!"

Now, I can comprehend very well why an old politician wouldn't welcome the opinions of a young reporter, especially if that reporter had been heralded as a radical, and it is pretty easy to be heralded as a radical in these days. I think, with some confusion in my mind, of how I managed to go to prison with the suffragettes in Washington, and how that reflected all through my testimony before the Senate Committee. I am speaking in a suffrage state where people understand that suffrage isn't anything very violent, and I worked very hard for suffrage before we got it in Oregon, but I never had any very strong feeling about burning the President in effigy or burning his various speeches; the whole idea did not interest me at all, but the fact that women in America have been rightly or wrongly forced into becoming militants interested me very much as a reporter, and when I talked it over with the editors of the Metropolitan Magazine we came to conclusion that it would be an interesting experience for a writer to be in prison the day that the Federal amendment was voted on. At that time we believed that the Federal amendment was going through and we also knew that almost half a hundred suffragettes were going to jail the day before. Now, since I have been away from Portland I have gone through some very meager and severe times. I was in France during the hardest days of the war, before America came in, and I was over half a year in Russia during the Revolution, and so under-feeding and a few battle experiences hadn't made me very physically fit to go into a thing like a hunger strike, nevertheless, after we had been in prison about twenty-four hours the amendment was voted on and defeated by one vote. If it had been voted on favorably there is no doubt that we would all have come out. But as it was defeated, we remained in, and as I did not want to break the morale or to begin eating in front of those suffragettes, and as I actually do believe in suffrage, I am willing to suffer for this most foolish sin on the part of my countrymen, of still denying some of the women in some of the states a vote, I decided to do what the rest were doing, so I went on a hunger strike and was released on the fourth day because I was ill. While as I say, I did not think it necessary to explain in detail to Senator Nelson and Senator Overman any of my reasons for going, because I do that. So of course these old gentlemen looked upon me as a pretty violent person, but at the same time they also looked upon Colonel Raymond Robbins as a violent person, and that seems sheer madness.

Colonel Robbins was head of the American Red Cross in Russia. He is a man who has all his life fought Socialism, not because he is particularly conservative, but because he doesn't think it is a practical

system. Of course I absolutely disagree with Colonel Robbins, but that is of no importance. Colonel Robbins is a man with a conscience. He has been a devout preacher, which is a grave matter, because he still reckons with God. Now I understand very well why the Russians trusted Robbins instead of Ambassador Francis, although Robbins did not agree with them on a single point. They felt his integrity, and a certain loftiness of soul in which the stars shone. They knew, for instance, that he would never come home to America and tell a lie in order to make a point because he is against Lenin; for example, he would never say that he is a cheap German agent, he would say he is a great statesman, and please do not underestimate him. He is the kind of a man who gave Edgar Sisson of the Bureau of Public Information the now famous Sisson documents, and told Mr. Sisson that they were "interesting examples of forgeries" which he had already investigated, and when Mr. Sisson cabled home that he had found authentic documents to prove the Soviets were Pro-German and signed this cable with Robbins' name as well as his own, Col. Robbins at once denied all connection with it and has never spoken to Edgar Sisson since, and he has also had to face the fact that while he has been a Progressive and now wants help to spiritually revive the Republican Party he is willing to face any unpopularity he may gain by telling the truth about Russia. It seems to me for a man in his position, to be a very fine thing, just because it is such an unpleasant thing to do, and one is so very apt to be misunderstood. Colonel Robbins said to the Senate Judiciary Committee, and he said it in a very serious tone and with a very serious face, "Italy is a government on a volcano. Underneath the surface in France is a growing conscience to put through the Socialist program. In England Lloyd George, with the Tory government behind him, does not dare to enforce the public law against the Soviets in Belfast." He said, "Gentlemen, does this look to you like a movement you can crush with denunciation?"

Before my mind's eye I saw another figure, more intense, more pitiful, more emotional, the figure of Kerensky before the Pre-parliament, begging the politicians before him to compromise before it was too late. I saw that plea met with jeers. I saw Kerensky when scorn withered him, and he left the meeting a sobbing, broken man. I was sorry for Kerensky then, and I am sorry for Robbins now. It seemed to me when I was in Washington that there could be no place for the Girondists. I felt for a little while how stupid it was of me, or of any one, to go humbly before a committee investigating Bolshevism with the naive purpose of explaining it. Because they seemed to have shut their ears and their eyes and their hearts against it; they knew only that they hated it, but since that time I have been thinking, and I am not so sure, I still feel as I said a little while ago that we are not so far apart that we cannot thrash this thing out, that we cannot make a decision just as we have got to make a decision on the League of Nations. It isn't possible for any country, in my opinion, to withdraw into itself and have no international connections. We have got to have internationalism of one sort or another whether it is a League of Nations or a league of workers. We have to talk about the League of Nations just as we have to talk about the Soviets; we have to find out what each point in that League of Nations means; we have to know whether it is going to make it necessary for us to become the Cossacks of the world, policing every new Revolutionary country, not allowing the people of the world to throw off their chains, or whether it means that we are not against internal revolution; that we are not lining ourselves up with the Kings as against the people, and I am sure you will all agree with me that these decisions are before us, and that it won't do any good to shut our ears against honest criticism or disagree with it, and it isn't fair for anybody in this audience to criticize the City Council for allowing me to use this auditorium to tell what I know of Revolutionary Russia, because I give you my views as a reporter, and not as a missionary for any particular faction in Russia.

I have refused to go to Canada and speak on Soviet Russia because I said I could not in any way mix in Canadian politics, and if I went there and spoke against intervention I would be mixing in Canadian politics. I was asked many times in Russia to deliver speeches on political subjects, and I always refused, but it is my belief that I have a right to say anything I want in

my own country, because I believe in free speech, and I believe in a free press, and I think these are two American rights which we cannot possibly lose, even if we have to suffer for them, even if we have to go to jail for them, even if we have to become unpopular for them. We must maintain free speech and a free press in America, and I am mighty sorry that we cannot bring more pressure to bear so that we would have these much talked of "open covenants openly arrived at," that were so much discussed before the Peace Conference began, and which now seem to have been altogether forgotten; and in speaking in favor of a conference with the Soviets, I do not speak in favor of the secret Prinkepon Conference, or any other secret conference held on the edge of the world somewhere. Let us have it out once and for all let us hear these Soviet leaders and find out what they believe.

I arrived in Russia just at the time of the Korniloff revolt in September, 1917. I have been reading a good deal about Russia before I went over there, and perhaps that is why I felt myself so astounded when I got there. Absolutely nothing in Russia was as I expected it to be. Coming out of France in those hard days when France was never sure the Germans were not going to break through the lines, still I was not prepared for what I saw in Russia. Here was a great country, torn by a long war, and now torn by a Revolution and a counter-Revolution. I shall never forget the Russian army as I saw it in October, and I shall always wonder why we found it necessary to report in America that the army was in such good condition when it was so hard pressed and in such a deplorable condition. The war is over now and we can discuss these matters frankly, in fact we have to discuss them frankly. I saw regiments, whole regiments, where men stood in the mud, sometimes without any boots, sometimes without overcoats, sometimes without ammunition, and always without sufficient food. There they stood rotting in the rain, perishing to save Russia, and in their minds a growing suspicion because the Allies did not hold a conference to discuss war aims. I came upon a regiment that had had no food for three days except some carrots that were dug behind the lines between fighting, and as Col. Robbins has pointed out, we were sending news over to Russia through our Committee on Public Information, that millions of Americans, well equipped, well fed, strong and young, were going into the war, and he explained that the Russians thought that it probably wasn't necessary for them to fight quite so hard any longer—their casualties are 7,000,000. At any rate, Revolutionary Russia had sent out to the world a very beautiful formula which will never be forgotten or overlooked in history, and that formula you are all familiar with. It was, "No annexations, no indemnities, and the right of all people for self determination."

You will recall, my friends, that the war was started under the Czar, and that the masses in Russia were naturally suspicious of anything that the Czar had anything to do with, so they wanted to know what the Allies stood for; they wanted to know what Italy stood for, what France stood for; they weren't so much concerned about what this country stood for because they knew we weren't trying to take away anybody's territory. So they begged for this conference and it was promised them in June, was postponed to September, then to November, and finally apparently given up altogether. With that final decision of the Allies and the now famous speech of Bonar Law, the last shred of influence of the provisional government disappeared. Kerensky himself told me a few days before he was disposed that the people of Russia were so economically tired and the morale of the army so low, that he did not see how they could do much more fighting, and whatever we may think of Kerensky, we must always give him credit for the fact that although he was a sick man he tried his best to keep the Russians in the war, and the fact that they did not stay in can never be credited to him. Twice a week he took the long journey from Petrograd to the front and made speeches to the soldiers, but he could not promise them a conference and could not even promise them ammunition and food, and so of course his mission was hopeless.

The Russian army was completely demoralized before the Soviets came into power. Everywhere one could meet soldiers going home and as they went home they took their guns with them; and also Kerensky in trying to put down the counter-Revolution of Korniloff armed the working men of Petrograd and formed a nucleus of the

Red Guard which was very shorn to use those same guns against the armies he brought on Petrograd. I suppose it is rather hard for us to realize that to Russians the Revolution and not the war was the great thing. So many centuries of oppression had been their unhappy lot, and now was a chance of liberty, a chance to have their own country the way they wanted it, and it seemed so hard to them to go on fighting an external war, and yet they knew they had to do it. Nevertheless, when the Cossacks came on Petrograd, and here I ask you to remember the tradition of the Cossacks, that the Cossacks are to the Russians what the Hessians are in a small way to us; the Hessians, those paid soldier sent here by the British government during our revolution. The Russians had always looked upon the Cossack as the trained bullics of Russia. At the command of the Czar they would always shut down any uprising as a whole. Now, there are Cossacks and Cossacks, and by this I mean that the young Cossacks do not stand with the old Cossacks. There have been remarkable revolts in the ranks of the Cossacks. I will not forget a tall, handsome Cossack who came before the Democratic Congress, and so beautiful was this man, nearly seven feet tall, that the audience mildly applauded him as he came out on the stage, and a sentence he uttered there I can never forget. He said, his voice trembling with emotion, "The Cossacks are tired of being policemen! Why should we forever settle the quarrels of others? Let us have a life of our own, let the Cossacks be free men, living as brothers with all citizens of Russia." Now, to the old Cossacks, such sentiments were not welcome. If the Revolution was successful the old Cossacks lost their jobs, and that is why, perhaps, I cannot get it into my conscience that we, a free American people, are supporting a Cossack of the old type in Siberia. Here is a man, Kolchak I mean, who has a temporary government established in Siberia; this government could not last half an hour except by the support of foreign bayonets. Also he is against organized labor and has broken unions.

I was speaking recently to an officer of the old regime while with a young man of superior intelligence. He came to my hotel to talk to me and to make a confession. He said that while he was in Russia just after the Soviets came into power, he was caught with some counter-Revolutionary officers, and of course as one is judged by the company one keeps, he was also judged by the reputation of those officers. Now his family, he said, were always strongly in favor of the monarch and staunch supporters of the Czar, but this young man had always been sympathetic towards the Revolution, although he had not been an active revolutionist. He has been wounded five times in the war and has won many decorations. He was very happy, he said, when he heard of the overthrow of the Czar, he wanted to help Russia every way he could, and he wanted to fight for and support any government there was in Russia, but as some of the officers had sold out the Russian army again and again, and as he was an officer and had not had time to explain himself to the Revolutionists, as I said, he was caught with counter-Revolutionist officers and taken by some common soldiers to Kiev. These soldiers knew perfectly well what the other officers had done, and therefore they were in favor of shooting him with the rest, but a Kronstadt sailor coming along just at that time said to soldiers that it was ridiculous to shoot any man without a trial, no matter what the evidence was, and therefore they must take all these people and try them before the Revolutionary tribunal. By this time the officer had become thoroughly hysterical; he couldn't place himself; he had a feeling that to be tried with those other men would mean his certain death, and so as they were taking him to the tribunal and were walking along a lonely street and he was between two private soldiers, a desperate idea occurred to him. To use his own words, he said, "You know that Russians are very hot and impulsive, and then we do a rash act and after that we regret it all the rest of our lives, and so," he said, "a panic seized me and I drew out my revolver and shot these two soldiers. After that no course was open to me except to flee. When I got to Siberia I found there Semionoff, a Cossack of the old order. Semionoff offered me a place in his army, but I could not take it; I could not fight on the side of an Imperialist like Semionoff, and so I hung in midair; I

belonged neither to the Revolution nor to the Monarchy. I was very ill, having suffered from so many wounds, and I came to America to recuperate. Now I find myself in this position; I am a Russian, and my soul is in Russia and my body is in America. I am against intervention; I cannot see how any Russian with a real feeling for his country can be for intervention. I want now to go back and offer my services and my life to that Revolutionary government. I am a student; I graduated from a Russian university. I could be a teacher now, and teachers are surely needed. I have been to my Consulate and he does not give me any encouragement because he knows I have made my decision, and I have decided to stay with my country no matter what government it has, and he is a monarchist. I do not so much care whether we have a Soviet government or whether we have a provisional government."

Then he said a very significant thing. He said, "Suppose that the Allies withdraw from Russia, suppose that we have to have a civil war, and suppose that I get killed, or somebody else gets killed. That, after all, is a small matter to history, the important thing is that we will somehow get together."

Now his point is exactly my point. We fought in this country four long years a terrible civil war, and other nations allowed us to go through that trial, which was really the birth of a nation, without interfering. It was perfectly true that you may recall that certain nations did wish to intervene, and perhaps it looked as if they ought to intervene. Now you can easily see if you let your imaginations work a little, that Sherman's march from Atlanta to the sea looked a trifle ruthless to the European world; it may have seemed to them as Russia now seems to Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, that "they are going to go on and slay one another until there isn't anybody left." I want to remind this audience, no matter what politics any member might profess, that the only thing that kept a great country from intervening in America was the Russian fleet in Charleston harbor. Russia threatened to declare war on England if England interfered in our affairs, so if we owe a debt to Lafayette, and nobody questions that we do, we may just as well remember that we owe also a debt to Russia.

Now I do not intend to speak to you altogether from a sentimental point of view. You may not like the government they have in Russia it may seem altogether insane, but the like it up there, they want a Soviet government. I am absolutely convinced of that, and no lesser person than Colonel Roosevelt in his very last utterance in this world, in his last editorial in the Metropolitan Magazine, has made this statement, that "the Soviet government is no doubt the government desired by the majority of the Russian people." Now I am not standing up before you and approving or disapproving of that government. I am not standing up here and approving or disapproving of the Japanese government. Personally I like much more the Soviet government than I do the Imperial Japanese government. Personally, I think no matter how many failures they make in Soviet Russia they will eventually give to the world something very good out of that experiment, and I do not think that the Imperial Japanese government is going to give us anything we want; it will have to change itself as time goes on to fit the age of democracy.

If there are any gentlemen from the Chamber of Commerce there I want to ask one of them why, as a good business proposition, he can give a reason for our intervention in Russia? Every nation in the world wants the Russian trade, and I know the opinion of what we could call a "crackerjack" business man on this particular point. I speak now of one of the heads of the American International Corporation. This man is against intervention and let me remind you before I forget it, that our General Staff advised against intervention. It was not military measure, it was a very much camouflaged political move. People close to President Wilson are wont to remark that President Wilson allowed American troops to go in with the other allied armies because he wanted to have something to say about intervention, and he wanted to have something to say about getting all of the troops out, and if we allowed all the other nations to go in without us we would not have had anything to say about withdrawing. But I do not think that is a very good argument in favor of intervention, and I certainly don't agree to any such proposition,

but nevertheless we must admit, aside from all the arguments for and against intervention, that all the world wants the Russian trade. Now before intervention began who had the Russian trade? Who was having that trade handed out to it with a bouquet? America! There was an old suspicion in the minds of the Russian against the Japanese. There has always been a fear of a Japanese invasion and a deep remembrance of the Russian-Japanese war. Therefore, they were against trading with Japan. They were suspicious of France and of England because of the trouble over foreign loans and the holdings of the British and French in Russia, and as for the Germans, they had so much horrible experience with German barons and their terrible repressive actions that they did not want to trade with Germany. We had in our favor a fine tradition in Russia. Their political exiles had come here and found refuge. And so they figured out that while they did consider us a more or less capitalistic nation nevertheless they were far enough away so that they could not hurt us, it would be just a matter of buying and selling and therefore it would be good for each country, and you can easily see that if we had not meddled in international affairs in Russia we would now have captured that trade, and we would have a natural after-the-war avenue of development that would have made America prosperous and Russia prosperous beyond the hopes of anybody.

How senseless it seems to think that we have unemployment in this country, that we have no adequate reconstructive platform, that strikes are increasing, that many of our soldiers are also jobless and that the bridge between capital and labor violence, and that we have this is widening almost to the point of sensible solution and we throw it away!

Now I think every American citizen is entitled to an opinion, and it seems to me that no matter how much you agree with me, or whether you approve of Soviet Russia or not, you do agree on this fact that we cannot quibble much longer, for such action only plants suspicion in the minds of all factions of Russia; they cannot comprehend how we can be fighting without a declaration of war; they cannot see how it comes that we, a free nation, can be a part of anything like that. We are at the present moment forcing the Soviet Russia into an alliance with Germany and with Austria and with Hungary, and we cannot blame the Russians, if, after a few months we find that this alliance has grown to a point where we cannot break it. They have offered us freely what other nations would have had to take with bayonets. Long ago, when the Soviet first came into power, they came to Colonel Robbins with the huge orders for supplies with which to commerce to build up Russia, and today they say they will deposit \$200,000,000 in gold as a beginning. Trotsky himself asked for American officers to train the new volunteer army to fight the Germans, asked for experts and promised to pay them high salaries. The Soviets offered every possible inducement in order to establish friendly relations with America; they did not make these offers to any other country.

Now, I do not want to disappoint any radicals in this audience and I don't want to appear to be talking in too much a commercial vein, but if there are radicals here, I hope they are good sensible radicals and they will realize that no country can live without development and without trade with other countries, and that I speak now both for the benefit of America and the benefit of Russia. I say this of the Soviet government, if it is a good government, if it offers to the people what they desire, it will live; if it is not a good government it will fall, and whether it falls or whether it lives is not a matter for America to decide; it is a matter for Russia and Russia alone.

I want to tell you about the first time I saw the Red Guards fight the Cossacks. It was in December, 1918. I was walking along the streets of Petrograd about noon and I had stopped in front of the City Duma, and I saw what seemed to be a sort of procession coming along the cold wind-swept streets. It was 25 degrees below zero. I stood there and finally the procession came up to and passed me. It was composed of working people who had just come out of the factories and from their homes, and from all over Petrograd, and formed into a very irregular out-of-step army to go out and fight the incoming Cossacks. A rumor ran around the city that the Cossacks

were 80,000 strong, and here were perhaps 20,000 people going out to meet that army. I looked at the rapt faces of these people as they passed me. There were men and women, and even children tottling at their heels; some were armed with fairly good rifles, some had only pistols, and some had only spades and sticks. I followed that army because I couldn't help myself. For the first time in my life the consciousness of what Washington's starving little army at Valley Forge was like, came to me. I confess that I was deeply touched. I do not pretend to be inhuman, a great Revolution like the Russian Revolution, infinitely more great than the French Revolution, if it did not touch me, then I would have neither heart nor imagination. Now, as I said, I followed that army and I saw the battle. I saw women go into that battle and into that fight without any arms at all. It made me think of how animals will fight to protect their young: it was just as primitive as that, and just as fundamental. From that time on I never doubted that the Revolution would live. My friends, you cannot beat such an army and such a people! You cannot starve them out!

Well, that was the day that they broke the tradition of the Cossacks, that was the day that the Cossacks became superstitious at this new kind of fighting, where nobody gave an inch, and if one line was moved down another took its place. The Cossacks ran back miles and abandoned their artillery and their fine horses, and the next day the Red Guards came into Petrograd hearing their dead comrades, but nevertheless joyful. That is not exactly the army we are today fighting in Russia, it is an army that grew out of this army; it is a young people's army of trained men. The Russians knew very well that there was no use to try and keep the old army, so they demobilized that army and built up a new army. After Brest-Litovsk, after that terrible humiliating peace forced on Russia by Imperial Germany, and which acted as a boom-erang on the German government and broke the back of Imperialism in Germany, the Russians decided to issue a call to bring in the last youth of Russia. When Trotsky was made Minister of War he issued this call and young boys between 16 and 18, young girls between 16 and 18, came in, and around them now is built the great new army. That is the army fighting on the 17 fronts; that is the army that I do not want to fight. I believe it is altogether wrong and altogether impossible for a person who believes in self-determination to go against such an army, because according to their rights they are trying to build up new Russia, and we are invading their territory.

A young man by the name of Frazer Hunt went into Russia about two weeks ago. He is a correspondent for the Seattle Times, and I do not know how many other papers, and he cannot be called sympathetic to the Soviets. He criticized them very cruelly. Nevertheless he is allowed to send home uncensored articles and he has been writing in the last two or three days and telling how the Soviets are fighting all the world. Mr. Hunt doesn't seem to have been fitted as teachers to go out and teach the peasants some supplies, but I would like to supplement it by explaining it. The co-operative Societies in Russia are over 400 years old, and the president of the co-operatives, in the Minister of Supplies, is on the Soviet government. These Societies are so used to efficient methods of supplying Russia that they are doing it in the most efficient manner possible now and that is why all Russia has not perished because the Co-operative Societies have been able to take care of this difficult food situation.

When the Germans came into the Ukraine the peasants burned their food rather than give it to them, and now the Allies are holding up great supplies of grain in Siberia, and because of this little children in Central Russia are starving and people generally are starving, and by that I do not mean that they are falling dead in the streets, as commonly reported, or that they are eating horse flesh, or that they are drinking benzine and kerosene, as our press hysterically remarks, but that they are very much underfed. Mr. Hunt explained that the children are fed first, and the Seattle Times Editor, who must be a gentleman with a heart of stone, remarks that that is because the Soviets want to use them for "cannon fodder." Now, my friends, do we want to use our children for cannon fodder, is that the reason we give them three meals a day?

And by the same logic do you suppose that the Russian peasant gives his children, that he loves, food for any other reason, except that he wants the children to live and be strong and enjoy the liberty of the new nation?

They have established in Russia this year 10,000 schools for poor children, the first schools that these children were ever able to attend.

I had a most interesting talk with Mrs. Robinson, whose husband was once head of the Workers' Institute in Chicago and afterwards became head of the far Eastern Soviet. Mrs. Robinson taught in the new schools and she told me about the methods they employed there. They wanted to take out of their country the best that they could and so in establishing schools for children they established them along Montessori lines, Lunacharski, the commissary of education, an extremely cultured man, who might easily have been Minister of Education under any government in the world, said this: "Whatever budgets are put down, the budgets for public education must stay, because it is the honor and glory of the people." And this was the motto that ran over the doors of the Soviet schools: "The children are the hope of the world."

Lunacharski, at the Fourth Congress of Soviets, meeting in Moscow, put on the desk of every delegate, and these delegates came from the remotest parts of Russia, a slip of paper asking them to write down what in the way of education they most wanted in the villages. There were three things universally desired. The three things were these:

Every person in Russia, no matter what age, wanted to learn to read and write. The second desire was for scientific agriculture, and the third was for sanitation. Now the first of these desires was fairly easy to meet because the students helped to solve the problem. They said our higher education can wait. We don't need any extra degrees. Now is the people's hour, we will go out and teach the people, but when it came to establishing schools for scientific agriculture and sanitation, that was indeed a difficult problem, and Lunacharski attempted to solve it in this particular way. Lunacharski established in Moscow what he called an Emergency University, where men could come and take a six month's course and then they would be fitted as teachers to go out and teach the peasants some of the first necessary things in sanitation and scientific agriculture.

I cannot in this lecture go into any detail, but I give you this little example to show you that these people across the world are not just engaged in making bombs, they are trying, very sincerely to build up a new nation. This misunderstanding between us is as foolish in my mind as a little story I want to relate. (This is just a comic story about the experiences of a woman reporter who was afraid that a Russian cab driver would kill her, and he was as much afraid of her as she was of him.)

A consistent campaign of lies for what reason, I cannot explain, seems to be carried on about Soviet Russia in my country.

The other day Mr. Hanson, the Mayor of Seattle, gave out a most astounding statement to the San Francisco Call. He said in effect that the Soviets in Russia have made the women common property, and that is what they were trying to do in Seattle during the general strike. Now whatever you may believe about that sympathetic strike in Seattle, you know perfectly well that it had nothing to do with Soviet Russia, and that it was merely a problem between labor and capital, a local problem, in Seattle, and the unions went on strike together to show their solidarity, and whether you are for or against the open shop, you know very well it was never in the mind of any union man to disgrace the women of Seattle, and the only person who did disgrace them is their mayor, who so advertised his city in this ridiculous manner. Now there has been a story repeated a good many times about Russian women, how we have been able to seriously discuss this thing I do not know, but nevertheless we have done it, and so we must get to the bottom of it.

Russian women have paid a dearer price for liberty than any women in the world. Russian women, by actual statistics, went to Siberia in greater numbers than men, not a thousand women—but ten of these left their homes and went into prison and into exile willingly and knowingly because they believed in liberty. Now all the rest of the women in the world have not paid any such price for political and economical freedom, and of course it

is only reasonable to imagine that such women have gained their liberty after such a price would not on themselves vote that they should become lower than animals. Russian women are elevated to the highest positions. Marie Spirodonava is the most politically powerful woman in the world. She once asked me how many women we had in Congress and in the Senate, and it was with some embarrassment that I explained that we had one woman, and we did not know when we would have another. She said "How does it happen that so many years after your Revolution such a condition exists?" And when I asked her how it happened that there are not equally as many women as men in the Soviet government as men, she said that women have more conscience than men, that it doesn't take any particular training to be a martyr, you simply have to know that you will give your life for a cause, but to run a great department or manage any job like that you have to have particular training and the women did not have it. "Wait ten or twenty years, come back to Russia then and you will see that we are taking probably an equal part in the government."

She asked me to give her my personal experiences with suffrage. Now you see two months after the first Revolution, when they held the Democratic Congress there were 23 regularly elected women, delegates, which would be the same thing as if we would have 23 women senators. I told her how I had been in Oregon during the suffrage fight there and how we had gained suffrage, and how afterwards I had gone to New York and had been disenfranchised, and while I had been in Russia, New York had gained suffrage, and so I was a citizen again provided that I did not move. This seemed very puzzling to Spirodonava, so you see even the Russians sometimes misunderstand our democracy. Equal suffrage was never discussed after the Revolution, it was just considered and put into effect as a matter of course.

We are talking in America a good deal now about deportation and we are talking about it without first finding out whether it is a thing we have got to worry about, or not; in the first place loose talk about deportation is offending some of our very best immigrants. Take for example the Swedes I noticed in the paper in Seattle on Sunday a whole page ad of the Swedish organization demanding to know of the United States Government whether or not the Swedes are no longer to be considered as decent citizens of America, and if not will they please be allowed to return to their own country. Now the same thing is true of Russians in this country. One million Russians are made extremely unhappy by our violent attacks on Russia; they have petitioned the Government and have applied for passports to return to Soviet Russia. They have even gone so far as to say that they will purchase the ships that will take them home. Now let us consider this thing pretty calmly. We have no right to keep these people in America if they do not want to stay here. We have done a lot of talking about hyphenated-Americans, and if we cannot get along with Russians here let us be reasonable and allow them to return to their own homes. On the other hand, let us consider that if we are too unreasonable and offend them without any just cause we are going to cause a crisis in this country which is entirely unnecessary. We are going to make labor so scarce that difficult times are bound to ensue. Now in whatever fight there is I am of course absolutely on the side of labor, I am a working woman myself, but I want to be fair and I want all people to be treated fairly. We have no deportation problem. Our real problem is just the other way. Commissioner Frederick C. Howe has been writing very good books in the last year or two, as he has in former years, and he has been explaining very carefully to us that people are going out of the United States and not into the United States; that the Italians in great numbers are asking to go back home. I saw myself in New York a line formed in front of the passport office composed of Italians.

We have a lot of problems to meet in America. We will be pretty busy taking care of our own affairs, we do not want to become a nation of Cossacks, we do not want to police the whole world, we do not want any other country to tell us to send one million American boys here, or one million boys there, because our army is an army that fights for a cause and not just because some one tells it to go north, or south, or east, or west. It is necessary for every one now to remember this, and remember it well

not one American civilian has been killed in Russia! We must also remember that no guillotine has ever been set up in Russian and although the French were more violent during their Revolution than the Russians, they are now considered a glorious nation, and it has not been such a long time since the French Russians 100 years hence be considered a great and glorious people? Now there are three great crimes in Russia, three crimes which bring them the death penalty. The first crime is for speculation in the necessity of life, the second crime is for grafting within the Soviet itself, and the third crime is for traitors who go out and ask for foreign troops to come in and crush the Revolutionists. All these causes are justifiable causes, and I do not know how any one could disagree with the Soviets about them.

You hear a good deal about there being only one class in Russia under the Soviets. Why just consider a moment, isn't that a peculiar criticism for America to make, haven't we only one class in America, isn't that the very principle upon which the American Republic was founded? Why should they in Russia have two or three classes? All people in Russia are citizens of the republic, just as the people in America are citizens of United States, and the people of France are citizens of France.

Then we hear another thing that jars on our ears and that is the Revolutionary slogan, that "the who does not work shall not eat." Why, that expression came out of the Bible and we ought to recall that Capt. John Smith, put it into effect a long time ago in our country, and any country in the making has got to make a rule like that, they cannot get along with any slackers either on the side of the extreme radicals or on the side of the aristocrats.

There is just one point I want to bring up here and that is concerning religion. I suppose the simplest thing would be to read the law from the Russian statutes. It says:

"In order to guarantee to the workers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the schools from the church and the right of religious and anti-religious opinions is according to every citizen."

Now what can be so radically wrong or violent about that? They have in Russia 47 different races. They have Mohammedans and Christians and Jews, and what not, so that they have to have tolerance, and we ourselves have exactly that same rule here, and the French established that in 1810, and it is the basis of all French politics today.

Now I want to say one last thing about intervention in Russia. Who are the people who ask for intervention? I think of the witnesses who went to the Senate Judiciary Committee under secretaries of the Y. M. C. A. and a few bank clerks, and not the head of one department, official department, sent by the United States Government to look into affairs in Russia. When Albert Rhys Williams formered the Foreign Legion to help fight the incoming Germans after the treaty of Brest, not one of these young men would join his legion, notwithstanding they have the nerve now to come home and ask that other boys be sent there.

Now the majority of the boys in Siberia are Michigan boys, and the mothers and fathers of those boys have protested for quick action, they have signed petitions and held protest meetings, and they have gotten replies three or four times saying that there will be no intervention and everybody is agreed that neither America or England is going to stand for military intervention. But my point is this, this quibbling is extremely harmful not only because it harms our future relations with Russia, but because it is a willful waste of American lives as well as Russian lives. I read with a great deal of horror an account about 417 American boys being drowned crossing the Voge River. I do not believe that it was necessary for those boys to have lost their lives in a cause that has already been decided. I am not a pacifist, and I am not against war, and I am not a missionary for Soviet Russia. I simply say this to you in parting, I would not ask any American boy to do any dirty job that I would not do myself, and I would not myself fight the workers' and peasants' and soldiers' government of Russia.

Wage Rates in Massachusetts Industry.

Boston.—The manufacturing industries of Massachusetts employed 339,890 men in 1917. Wages received by these men are given in

state documents which have just come from the press. Nine per cent of these men were working at a weekly wage of less than \$12.00 per week. One fifth of them were receiving wages between twelve and fifteen dollars per week. One third of them were securing wages between fifteen and twenty dollars per week, and one-third were being paid more than twenty dollars per week. Among the half million men employed by the manufacturers of Massachusetts in 1917, 71,843 were paid twenty-five dollars per week and over.

The wages of women were very much lower than those of men. Less than one per cent of the 212,464 women employed receiving \$25.00 and over per week. Four per cent received \$20.00 and over per week. Almost a third were paid less than \$10.00 a week. The number of women working for \$7.00 but under \$8.00 was 11,833. The number working for \$8.00 but under \$9.00 was 18,137.

Official figures for this same year place a family standard of living at about \$1,500 per year, and a standard for the single woman at about \$600 per year.

"If You Do Or Dont"

By Covington Ami.

Dear Carney:—I see by the last issue of TRUTH that came thru that you are in some danger of being "deported" because you are a "damn foreigner". All I've got to say is, I wish there were more of you! Good luck wherever you are!

But, after reading TRUTH, I picked up the paper yesterday evening (4-11-9) and read where the foreigners were leaving this land of liberty at the rate of "1000 a day", so I was surprised when I read this in today's papers:

New York, April 12.—All the saving banks in the United States are asked in letters sent out today by the savings bank section of the American Bankers Association to aid in checking the exodus from this country when thousands of aliens who are sailing for their native lands with millions of American dollars. But to Bolshevik propaganda, the association says, an "alarming" proportion of the fourteen million foreign born population in the United States are selling their liberty bonds and withdrawing their money from the banks.

Which seems to indicate that you foreigners are surely in some heluva-fix, where they are saying to you: "You shall and you shant, You will and you wont; You'll be damned if you do And be damned if you dont".

Then in a column next to the above interesting news, I found this: New York, April 12.—To combat radicalism in this city, Police Commissioner Enright, four months ago created a volunteer body of the secret police, 3,000 strong, recruited among influential citizens, according to an announcement today by police headquarters.

This force is composed of men of high standing in the community, serving without pay. Almost every business and profession is represented and many dangerous anarchists, it is said, have been deported through the activities of the new force.

How insane must be the "Ruling (?) Class" that attempts to deny human beings every avenue of redress; that jails and d-pts the active workers by the wholesale and then lays their desire to get out of the country on some other course or group!

On top of these two crazy dispatches, the same papers state that it has been decided to refuse the Bavarian Soviet Republic food and that British business-men are howling about American competition in their markets and are demanding that their government "do something about it".

Wonder if we are to have another war for democracy, this time between the British and American Workers simply because the Anglo-American Plutocracy can't move the "surplus" wealth that's piling up everywhere? Well, we will—IF THE WORKERS DONT THROW SAM-GOMPERISM OVER AND COME TOGETHER IN ONE BIG UNION.

The whole I. W. W. and the great majority of the A. F. of L. and Railwaymen's Unions are for ONE UNION. So, why dont they kick the isms highsky and UNITE?

WHY! WHY! WHY!?

Yours for the "liberty of man, woman and child", regardless of flags, colors and creeds.

Covington Hall.

Forest Hills, N. Y.
March 11th, 1919.

To Eugene V. Debs,
Dear Comrade:—

Of course the Supreme Court has sustained the decision of the lower court in your case. To my mind, the decision has added another laurel to your wreath of victories. Once more you are going to prison for upholding the liberties of the people.

I write because my heart cries out, and will not be still. I write because I want you to know that I should be proud if the Supreme Court convicted me of abhorring war, and doing all in my power to oppose it. When I think of the millions who have suffered in all the wicked wars of the past, I am shaken with the anguish of a great impatience. I want to fling myself against all brute power that destroy the life, and break the spirit of man.

In the persecution of our comrades there is one satisfaction. Every trial of men like you, every sentence against them tears away the veil that hides the face of the enemy. The discussion and agitation that follow the trials define men can live together in peace, happiness and security.

We were driven into the War for liberty, democracy and humanity. Behold what is happening all over the world it does not fall upon the hosts of those who are marshalling machine-guns against hunger-stricken peoples? It is the complacency of madness to call such acts "preserving law and order." Law and order. What oceans of blood and tears are shed in their name. I have come to loathe traditions and institutions that take away the rights of the poor and protect the wicked against judgment.

The wise fools who sit in the high places of justice fail to see that in revolutionary times like the present vital issues are settled, not by statutes, decrees and authorities, but in spite of them. Like the Girondins in France they imagine that force can check the onrush of revolution. Thus they sow the wind, and unto them shall be the harvest of the whirlwind.

You dear comrade, I have long loved you because you are an apostle of brotherhood and freedom. For years I have thought of you as a dauntless explorer going towards the dawn, and like a humble adventurer, I have followed in the trail of your footsteps. From time to time the greetings that have come back to me from you have made me very happy, and now I reach out my hand and clasp yours through prison-bars.

With heartfelt greetings, and with a firm faith that the cause for which you are now martyred shall be all the stronger because of your sacrifice and devotion, I am,

Yours for the Revolution—may it come swiftly, like a shaft sundering the dark.

HELEN KELLER

RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERAL SOVIET REPUBLIC

Bureau of the Representative in the United States of America

Commercial Department
April 18th, 1919, No. G. 12.

Address:

World's Tower Building, 110 West 40th St. New York.

Minnie Carney, Secretary, Local Duluth, Minn.

Dear Comrade:—

Kindly express to the comrades in Duluth my sincerest thanks for the greetings sent to me as the Representative of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. The Russian proletariat in their struggle for the abolition of oppression of the working class always knew that it had the sympathies of the workers in America as well as in other countries and your greeting is new evidence of this fact.

I shall take great pleasure in conveying your greetings at my first opportunity to the Russian workers. Fraternally yours.

L. MAARTENS.

Will Guns Settle It?

A sequel to "The Great Madness."

By Scott Nearing

A discussion of the ineffectiveness and impracticability of violence as a means to supplant the existing economic order with a higher type of social organization.

10c Each

Prices in Quantities Upon Application.

THE PEOPLES PRINT

138 WEST 13th STREET, - NEW YORK CITY

THE TRUTH

Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Duluth

One Year \$1.50 Bundle Orders \$2.50 per 100 Six Months 85c.

Address all mail and make all checks payable to:

TRUTH,

DULUTH - MINN.

EDITOR: JACK CARNEY.

Published weekly by the

West End Labor Association,
DULUTH, MINN.

Telephone: Melrose 1087

FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1919.

WE WANT \$274,000.

That is all that we require. Just \$274,000. All you need to do is to send us Liberty Bonds, or if you have any property, kindly let us know. The above represents the amount of bail required for the I. W. W. members who have been offered bail. Many of them are in the last throes of consumption and if they can procure bail, they may improve their health. Send word to Otto Christenson, 1001 West Madison Street Chicago, Ill., how many Liberty Bonds you can LOAN or how much real estate you allow to go bonds on.

The First of May will soon be here, so let us have solidarity now.

REAL RUSSIAN TERRORISM.

We have heard so much about the terrorism of the Bolsheviks. We have not heard about the terrorism that is going on under the stable government, that is being backed up by Allied bayonets.

The Paris correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, a semi-official organ of the Liberal Party of England, states that the following has been made known regarding the atrocities of the stable government of Russia:

An officer of the Czaristic regime, has issued the following orders:—

1. I forbid my troops to take the workmen as prisoners, for they are to be hanged or shot.
2. All the workmen actually in prison are to be hanged in the principal streets and to be left there for three days. For each Cossack who is killed ten inhabitants in the village of Stepanovka are to be hanged, and a fine \$200.00 will be enacted. When an officer has been imprisoned a whole village will be burned. The most energetic measures of repression are to be taken against workmen, and one out of every ten is to be hanged.

Now do you wonder why the American troops revolted? We wonder will Billy McEwan give prominence to the above statement, as much prominence as he gives to anti-Bolshevik stuff.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS TO PREVENT WAR.

Read the enclosed press clipping from the English Labour Leader:—

A Candid Confession.

That very eminent publicist, Sir Sidney Low, writing in the Sunday Times, makes a very frank confession about the nature of the Peace Treaty which is likely to be imposed by the victorious Allies. "The League of Nations," he says, "will be a League of Force, which will be able to employ military, naval, and aerial and economic power to guarantee the settlement, and to punish those who attempt to disturb the arrangement by violent means." This statement must be noted in connection with what immediately follows. The League of Nations, according to this writer, is for the purpose of compelling observance of the Peace Treaty, a treaty which, he goes on to say, will leave dissatisfaction, resentment and restlessness over Europe. His exact words deserve to be quoted and noted:

The Paris negotiators recognise that the present settlement cannot possibly satisfy everybody. The plain truth is that it will leave a vast amount of dissatisfaction, resentment and restlessness spread over Europe. That is inevitable. Germany may be condemned to forfeiture of territory and enormous payments in money or kind. But does anybody suppose that Germans under a Republic or, any other form of Government, will acquiesce cheerfully in the verdict, or will fail to snatch at any chance of reversing it?

It is equally futile to imagine that the present adjustment of all the vexed racial, geographical, and national problems in Eastern and Central Europe can be no more than provisional. Not one, but half-a-dozen, parties will seek to upset it. If it is to be maintained there must be the consciousness that it rests upon an overwhelming force, which can and will be employed in its defence.

This view explains why the League of Nations is to be controlled by the five great Allied Powers. There is not much of President Wilson's idealism in a scheme of this sort. Nor is there any fulfillment of the promise that this war was to put an end to militarism.

"We cannot afford to halt our own battle with the intellectuals in their own sphere. When we assume complete control of the economic basis of society we will in that hour free all classes, and the educated intellect of the future will be free and in return for services rendered to them they will give of their best to the advancement of humanity."

SOLIDARITY OF LEFT WINGERS.

The ballots for the members of the National Executive Committee, International delegates and an international secretary, are in now in your hands.

The Left Wing is asking your support for the following candidates:—

For National Executive Committee:—Dennis E. Batt, John Keracher and W. Bross Lloyd.

For International Delegates:—A. Wagenknecht, Isaac Ferguson, L. C. Fraina and John Reed.

The reason why we of the Left Wing are asking for your support, is because we want the Socialist Party of America to do more than render lip-service to the cause of the revolutionary movements of the world. It is not enough to pass pious resolutions "supporting" the Bolsheviks of Russia, the Spartacists of Germany and the Communists of Hungary and Turkey. If we are genuine members of the Socialist movement, we must be prepared to act when the time for action arrives. The Right Wingers, Berger, Stedman and Work are conducting a big campaign to secure their re-election to the National Executive Committee. Let us examine these candidates, **VICTOR L. BERGER**. This comrade is famous for his remarkable attitude during the late trial before Judge Landis. He endeavored to escape a prison sentence, by telling a capitalist judge and jury, that **HE, BERGER**, was responsible for driving Bill Haywood out of the party. He further stated that he was not in favor of Bolshevism. Mind you all this took place in a capitalist court. A vote for Berger is a vote for pussyfooting, crawling, compromising and all the dirty intriguing work of the politician. The times that we live in and the times that confront us, demand that we stand and meet the position, with heads erect, and our eyes looking straight ahead. We must be men of action and under no circumstances must we compromise. The class war has got to be fought to a finish. There can be no compromise. By our organized power we can win. But if within our ranks we have compromisers or the faint-hearted, then we march to a certain doom. Therefore, to those of you who have written to us endorsing our policy, we ask you at this time to cast your vote for the Left Wing candidates and send Berger to the garbage can of opportunism.

SEYMOUR STEDMAN

SEYMOUR STEDMAN, is a famous lawyer, emphasis on the famous. He has defended most of our comrades who have been arrested. That much can be said for him. But he has always lined up with Berger. He has always stood ready to compromise with every party that came along, for instance the Labor parties that are springing up. When Debs was arrested, previous to going to prison, Theodore Debs wired Stedman that Debs was on his way to prison. Listen what David Karsner, chief reporter for the New York Call states:—

"In the moment of the greatest single incident in the history of the American Labor movement, the greatest figure in that movement was being kidnapped by deputies through extra legal proceedings and with no one to interpose objection, save a woman, Mrs. Prev, one of Debs' bondsmen."

All the glory and the applause of the famous Debs trial had all died away. The gloomy prison, away from the plaudits of the comrades, stood with its yawning gates waiting for Gene Debs. At the hour when Stedman should have been at his post, he was NOT TO BE SEEN. Gene Debs stood helpless before the law. He was rushed to prison, when Stedman his lawyer could have saved him. But no, Stedman the limelight artist, knew that on this occasion, there would be no crowd and consequently no applause and Stedman failed to be there. We trust that you will show your protest against the uncomradely action of Stedman by sending him to the same place as Berger, there to pause and repent.

JOHN M. WORK

JOHN M. WORK—John is a good old soul. He sits at the National Executive meetings and always is ready to correct any grammatical mistakes in the resolutions. His place can be filled by an expert stenographer, who could work for the party and also attend the N. E. C. meetings just the same. John is a comrade you cannot speak harshly of, you can only pity him. He has been with us a long time and done good work in the past, but "new times demand new methods and new methods demand new men." The future requires men of action. We must act with reason and not with sentiment. Therefore we trust that you will cast a unanimous vote for Batt-Keracher and Lloyd.

As regards the candidates for the International Congress, they are all sound and have proved their worth. Therefore without taking up too much of your time, we appeal to you to steer the party from off the rocks by electing all the candidates of the Left Wing.

"OUR 'GENE' NOW CONVICT NO. 2253.

Moundsville, West Va. April 24.—Who is U. S. Convict No. 2253 at the Moundsville state penitentiary? He is Eugene Victor Debs, three times candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist Party Ticket, and one of the World's Greatest Liberators. What is he in prison for? Why he made a speech in which he spoke the truth as he saw it. How long will he be in prison? Until the workers of the United States assert their economic and political power and force the capitalist class to unlock the doors that bar him to freedom.

On the prison records Debs' occupation is given as writer and lecturer, but he is the only convict in the state prison at Moundsville who will not be allowed to practice his trade or profession. Warden Joseph Z. Terrell has had several conversations the "Our Gene" in which he said rather sternly to the sixty-four year old humanist that he must not under any circumstances attempt to "organize" his fellow convicts.

His fellow convicts. The warden explained that soviets might be all right in Russia, but in Moundsville he was the supreme dictator.

Convict No. 2253 gave the warden his solemn pledge that he would not violate the rules of the prison, and when convict No. 2253 gives his word to any man nothing on earth or in heaven could persuade him to break it.

The Moundsville prison has just recovered from an epidemic of Spanish Influenza. One hundred convicts were ill and there were two deaths. The warden seemed particularly concerned about Gene's health, and admonished him to take it easy and rest.

"Remember that I am responsible for your health Debs," said the warden, "and I want you to leave here in as good a shape as you came."

"I will leave here in better shape than when I arrived," said Debs. He smiled and joked a little and told us that he had been treated "excellently."

Debs would say the same thing were he to be bound to the stake and burned. He would kiss the hand of the man who would light the pyre under his feet.

SOCIALIST PARTY MEMBERS.

You are now voting for men to represent you on the National Executive Committee.

Shall they be men who advocate mere parliamentary reforms? Or. Shall they be men whose principles have been indorsed by the Bolsheviks of Russia, the Spartacists of Germany and the Left Wing of the United States.

The Left Wing asks your support for the following candidates.

For N. E. C.—John Keracher, Dennis E. Batt and W. Bross Lloyd.

For International Congressional Delegates.—John Reed, W. Wagenknecht, Isaac Ferguson and Louis C. Fraina.

Do not vote for any other candidates because you may think they are longer in the party etc. The Left Wing all over the country is united. Will you help them by supporting their candidates? Cast a straight vote against compromising tactics and come out for a straight socialist party, knowing no fear but marching on confident in its success and organized ready to combat the forces of capitalism, wherever they may be and whenever they assert themselves.

Eugene V. Debs stands by the Left Wing. DO YOU?

CLARENCE A. HATHAWAY.

WHY THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS REVOLTED

The American soldiers were sent to Russia. Upon their arrival they were met with tons of mental dynamite. Not a shot was fire. Not a gun was heard and not a trench was dug. Yet the American soldiers were rendered helpless by the power of the Bolshevik propaganda.

The ruling class tried to hush up the Archangel revolt, but so long as we have men in the world, so long will the truth prevail. The following questions were fired at the American soldiers when they arrived on Russian soil and every question went home to the hearts of the soldiers.

Read them for yourself.—

"Do you thoroughly realize what you are doing when you advance against us?"

"Have you asked why you have been brought here?"

"Yours is not only to die; you also have a right to reason why."

"You have not come here to fight for liberty."

"You have come here to crush it. You have not come here to establish the rule of the people. You have come here to overthrow it."

"Did you not rejoice when we overthrew czarism? You did. Yet you have come here to restore it. That is why you have come here."

"It may not be your intention."

"But is it the intention of your government."

"When you obey their orders you are carrying out their object."

"They are not democrats. They are militarists and monarchists. They have a supreme contempt for the people, and believe that they alone have the right to rule. They hate our revolution and want to crush it."

"There is no doubt that they want to suppress the revolution and restore the reign of czar."

"Is this fighting for democracy?"

"Is this what you joined the army for?"

CHICAGO LABOR ORGANIZED FOR MOONEY DEFENSE.

The conference on the Mooney Case held Saturday, April 19th, and called by the Chicago Federation of Labor, filled its meeting hall to overflowing, and resulted in the organization of a permanent Chicago Mooney Defense League. This occurred at the instigation of Secretary E. N. Nockles. Delegates from each Labor Union in Chicago and vicinity, whether affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or not, constitute the League. All are invited. The next regular meeting will be held Saturday, May 3rd, 8 p. m. at the Federation building, 166 West Washington street.

A rousing vote recommending the General Protest Strike Program to begin July 4th was favored by fifty-five unions to one against. The South Chicago Steel Workers' Council, representing 60,000 organized men of the Calumet and adjacent districts, went on record as favoring this General Protest Strike Program to secure Justice for Labor and free Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

The statement that the legal constitution of that State prevents California from giving Mooney justice and that the adopted constitutions of some big unions contain clauses that prevent labor going on a General Strike to get Justice for Mooney brought hoots and jeers.

"Suspend the Constitution and get justice" was shouted. "We did it in war-time to make the world safe for democracy. Let us do it now to preserve it"—was the sentiment that prevailed. Constitutions were made to preserve freedom—not to prevent it.

Thomas H. Tippet, who represented the United Mine Workers, spoke eloquently of Peoria, Illinois. "This is one city in the United States that will protest with a General Strike—whether any others do or not. Peoria is 100 per cent American" said Mr. Tippet. "Even our Mayor, judges and Policemen are for Justice to Labor and Mooney. Whoever does not favor a square deal must be crooked"—is Peoria's philosophy.

Maud McCreery of Milwaukee, one of the two women who addressed the National Mooney Congress of last January, lectured the Organization Committee session especially on details of the acceptance of the General Protest Strike in Wisconsin. The rank and file of organized labor is being aroused there and elsewhere as never before.

The Chamber of Commerce in California recently published a pamphlet entitled "The Mooney Case and the Bolsheviks." Organized labor readily has accepted the challenge. It is not being scared by any "bugaboos." An increasing number of Mooney Defense Leagues is the answer. They believe in self-government at the hands of the rank and file—whether you call it Democracy or Bolshevism.

The permanent organization of the Chicago Mooney Defense League elected F. B. Meister, Coopers' Union No. 15, chairman, and A. Johannsen, representing the Carpenters' District Council and the International Workers' Defense League, as secretary. These are assisted by an Organization and Publicity Committee of seven members. Permanent office headquarters have been granted by the Chicago Federation of Labor free of all charge to the Defense League until Mooney and Billings are freed or guaranteed a new trial and a square deal. Organized labor and the progressively-minded public evidently are in earnest in their desire to see this case settled right.

"In this day we have our leaders advocating state control of labor, arbitration boards, wage boards, conciliation schemes, health and unemployment insurance, to scientifically explain the cause of the industrial unrest and why the many are poor. It is enough to make Marx and his predecessors turn over in their graves."

SOME SCOOP

By Thomas Thursday.

PETROGRAD, March Something (Decayed by Censor).—As I write this dispatch—using a barn door for desk, a stick of macaroni for pen and prune-juice for ink—I am able to peer out of my unwashed hotel window and perceive the once prosperous citizens of Petrograd dropping exhausted on the unpaved pavement below. It is hard to write coherently when such heart-rending scenes are of daily occurrence. This, of course, is due to the cruel autocracy of those noted burglars, Lenin and Trotsky, who insist upon ruining everything rather than establish a stable form of government. The food supply is practically nil throughout the entire city, and the emaciated appearance of the people is truly pitiable. Every day one sees restaurants being converted into hardware stores and skating rinks, the proprietors claiming that they can obtain no food whatever. Of course, Lenin and Trotsky are well supplied at all times with the most dainty of victuals; in fact, it is current gossip that they devour fried cows and boiled hash and large beakers of compressed coffee at every meal. What care for the starving dupes under their rule?

Why, only yesterday, while I was walking down the Nevsky something I encountered an old woman lying in the gutter apparently lifeless. I immediately ran to her assistance, and, as I picked her up, I marveled at the lightness of her bulk. I'll swear that she weighed less than twenty pounds! I asked her if she was hungry and she replied between gasps for breath—that she had not tasted anything beside roasted carpet tacks and baked marbles for over three weeks. She also said that her two children had succumbed to the pangs of hunger a week ago, after trying for two months to keep the life within their bodies by eating softboiled monkey-wrenches and lukewarmed screw drivers. Imagine!

As I walked along the dilapidated thoroughfare such sights met my eyes that would make any red-blooded man grind his teeth with ruthless rage. Why, even poor, innocent sparrows fell from the trees like a veritable hailstorm. Why? Lack of food! For, alas, not even crumbs are left these sad days. I met folks crawling on hands and knees to the bark of the chestnut trees, in order to have a bite for their breakfast. Even the park benches are nicked from the constant gnawing of human teeth! Is it not time for such things to be dealt a death blow?

To observe once prosperous dukes and princes sitting on the sidewalks, nibbling at their shoes, is too common a sight to attract undue attention. And about every

five minutes the alleged government posts up anew manifesto. I noted a chap stick one on a cop's back, which condemned to immediate torture any one caught wearing a white or near-white collar, or having his pants pressed more than once a year. And then they get out special posters for the ladies. One that I read forbids the women to use powder or any form of cosmetic artifice, and also states that they are compelled to have their hair cut every two days, whether they have any hair or not. Another poster states that any one who is caught red-handed with a dime in his pocket will be executed without trial by a firing squad.

Money, you know, is no longer a medium of exchange. If a man wishes a pound of shoe-laces, he brings to the shoe-lace merchant a pound of feathers or a pound of egg-shells and exchanges one or the other for the shoe-laces. Needless to say, this system is decidedly clumsy. For example, the other day a chap wished to obtain a quart of lead pipe. He went to the lead pipe merchant to see about it, and what do you suppose the lead pipe merchant wanted in exchange? Well, sir, he informed the chap that he wouldn't part with a quart of lead pipe for less than four gallons of granulated sawdust!

But—I can't write any more, for I have just perceived beneath my window the saddest sight of all—that of a poor donkey chewing a lamp post for breakfast!

To think that the eyes of moral correspondent should live to see such sights!

Miners Favor One Big Union.

Vancouver.—The proposal put forward at Calgary to establish one big union for all industrial workers is meeting with even greater approval than was expected by the most enthusiastic at the conference. From every part of British Columbia word is being received that the miners are unanimous in their indorsement of the proposal. Vice-President J. Naylor of the B. C. Federation of Labor is doing work in mining camps. He states that the miners strongly favor the proposed new organization.

Enquiries are being received from all parts of the country, including the larger centers of the East, such as Montreal and Toronto, as to the plans and the objects of the One Big Union, all showing a lively interest in the question. The District Ledger, the miners' official organ in District 18, is asking for funds for the carrying on of propaganda, and many individuals are subscribing to the end for this purpose. It is expected that all the ballots will be in by May 10, and the result known before the end of May.

COMRADE MEETING

at the

WOODMAN HALL

Tuesday, April 29th., 8 p. m.

Also LECTURE by D. N. Early (Saginaw, Mich.).

Admission Free.

All welcome.

Stirring LECTURE

will be delivered by

DR. N. S. HARDIKER

Secretary of the India Home Rule League of America

Subject:—

"INTERNATIONAL INDIA"

Dr. Hardiker is an Hindu himself and will throw some light upon the present critical situation in India.

The Lecture will be held at the

WOODMAN HALL,

Sunday evening, April 27th, 1919, 8 o'clock.

The Scandinavian Local Band will also play.

There will also be a musical program in addition. You are ALL cordially invited to this meeting. Everybody welcome.