



THE TRUTH

MINNESOTA
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

1c Paid
Duluth, Minn.
Permit No. 40

Subscription
\$1.50 per year

VOL. III.—No. 49

14

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1919

WHOLE No. 130

FIVE CENTS.

STEEL STRIKERS WINNING

WILSON CABINET HAS GONE CRAZY

Offer of 14 Per Cent Raise and
Glass' Defense of Owners En-
rage Union Delegates.

"TOO POOR TO PAY".

Treasury Head's Statement Hope-
lessly Reactionary—Sec'y Wil-
son May Have to Quit.

By Paul Wallace Hanna.

Washington.—Miners' dele-
gates now in Washington declare
the Wilson Cabinet has gone
politically insane in the effort
to please mine owners particu-
larly and the big employing inter-
ests generally.

This opinion is based not only
upon Garfield's demand that the
coal diggers accept a 14 per cent
wage increase, but even more
upon the flimsy and gratuitous
defense of the operators offered
by the "memorandum" on pro-
fits put out by Secretary Glass
of the Treasury Department.

The miners are asking what
shred of neutrality is left to an
administration which first
breaks its solemn promise on the
Lever law, then employs the
courts and the Attorney Gen-
eral to rob workers of the right
to strike, and finally gives the
press an official statement de-
signed to show that the mine
owners are too poor to pay high-
er wages.

Hopelessly Reactionary.

Hopelessly reactionary in-
stincts are manifested by the
Treasury Department in the first
paragraph of the Glass memora-
ndum, according to the miners'
delegates. That paragraph says:

"Coal operators generally in
the United States in the year
1914 and 1915 lost money when
normal depletion and deprecia-
tion are taken into consideration.
What is meant by this is that a
proper item in fixing costs is
depreciation of plant and de-
pletion of the cost or value of
the coal in the ground."

There has certainly been no
"depletion of the cost of coal
in the ground" or anywhere else,
if that queer phrase means what
it appears to mean, the miners
contend. As for the shrinkage of
the value of coal left under-
ground, it does not require an
analysis by Mr. Glass to inform
the public that a ton of coal taken
out of a mine leaves a ton less
coal in the mine.

Must Pay for Natural Loss.

But since when, the miners
ask, has the principle of private
property demanded that the pub-
lic reimburse capitalists for the
normal and inevitable loss of
their principal?

It has required a world war
and an appointee of Woodrow
Wilson to propose that the peo-
ple shall not only redeem the
country's natural resources from
private owners at a first profit
of from 15 to 2,000 per cent, but
must, on the exhaustion of a
given mineral deposits, leave the
private owners with an extra
compensation equal to the virgin
gift of nature.

The coal miners are wondering
how long it will be before Carter

This Day Is The Scripture Fulfilled

And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy
name? And he answered Him, My name is
Legion: for many devils were entered into
him.—Gospel according to St. Luke, chapter
VIII, verse 30.

Glass will propose a levy on the
people to compensate the oil
trust copper trust and others for
the eventual exhaustion of pet-
roleum and copper deposits, or
against the time when some one
may discover a substitute for
these commodities.

Must Resign or Surrender.

The steam-rolling of labor by
the present administration has
now reached a point where Sec-
retary Wilson may have to resign
or see himself utterly flattened
out in his big chair at the head
of the Labor Department. The in-
dustrial Ludendorffs are after
him as much as they are after
immediate victory over recalcit-
rant groups of workers.

Secretary Wilson remained in
the Cabinet during the injunc-
tion crisis on condition that he
be allowed to call the present
wage conference, at which he
hoped to bring a half-way ac-
ceptable wage increase from the
operators. He began by inducing
the miners to cut their demands
in half. The operators have yield-
ed absolutely nothing.

At Wednesday's Cabinet meet-
ing Secretary Wilson was
thoroughly spanked by the Junk-
er majority and literally thrown
out of future negotiations. He
was told to get off or get out.

His mildly pro-labor attitude
in labor disputes is not the only
thing the captains of industry
have against Secretary Wilson.
They accuse him of trying to
liberalize the application of
deportation laws. Among them-
selves the Tories spatter Wil-
son with the mud they are fling
at Frederic C. Howe, former
Commissioner of Immigration at
New York. They are determined
to replace him with a Secretary
of Labor who will grease the
tracks for every person it is
sought to railroad out of the
country.

The Slaughter of Liberals.

We are in the midst of an anti-
labor pogrom, a massacre of lib-
erals, which includes the radical
and the near-radical alike. There
is pathos, irony and Greek humor
in the poisonous newspaper head-
lining to which men like Howe,
Gompers and Secretary Wilson
are being treated.

If Wilson leaves the Labor De-
partment, Louis F. Post, his first
assistant, can hardly remain in
office, to say nothing of the corps
of lesser liberals in the depart-
ment, who, like their chiefs, have
stayed on during the big reaction
because they believed a few good
acts yearly might be allowed
them to perform.

And when all their places have
been filled, America's exportation
of liberty lovers will shortly
rank with her overseas shipments
of wheat or cotton.

ANOTHER ARREST

(For Distributing Truth.)

A. A. Larson, one of the com-
rades in Minneapolis has been
arrested and thrown into prison
for distributing copies of
"Truth", containing our appeal,
"Hands Off Soviet Russia."

It is another example of the
stupidity of the Government of-
ficials. In order to prove to the
Republicans Plutes of this State,
that they are on the job, they
arrest radicals. It is does not
matter how frivolous the grounds
are for arrest, the arrests are
made.

You can rest assured that
these arrests are going to be
challenged. The Government
must either repudiate the offi-
cials, who are afraid to stand
their ground, or accept the re-
sponsibility for the arrests.

We have received the following
letter from comrade Broms:—
Dear Comrade:—

You have probably been in-
formed by this time of the arrest
of Comrade A. A. Larson on a
charge under the espionage act
of interfering with the enlist-
ment of soldiers. His troubles
began the day he was taken in
the raid on our hall. The charge
of disorderly conduct or vag-
rancy or whatever it was, was
forgotten and in its place this
has been imposed. He was arrest-
ed in Minneapolis, taken to St.
Paul and placed in the Ramsey
County jail on last Thursday
afternoon. His wife was refused
knowledge of the place of his
confinement and it was only by
inquiry at the jails that we were
able to locate him. This morning
I got the very best attorney that
we could hire, Mr. C. C. Joslyn
of Minneapolis, a real fighting
lawyer. It will cost us something
to carry this case through, but
the comrades came across very
nicely yesterday and we will be
able to handle our end somehow
or other as far as legal expenses
are concerned. I do not know
whether we can take care of
his family as they should be,
but we certainly are going to
try. His bonds have been set for
\$10,000 and I am quite positive
that we will not be able to handle
that. Joslyn is going to make
a try for a reduction and there
ought to be a fair chance of
success and then we may be able
to take care of the matter. But
I had such a difficult time get-
ting just a thousand dollars
bond for Maxin Abern here re-
cently that I am quite sure that
we will have no bondsmen avail-
able for even this amount. It
may be at the time as some-
one there in Duluth who can take
care of the matter and I wish
that you would see what you can
do.

Fraternally,
ALLAN S. BROMS.

Tittoni Resigns; So- cialists To Demand Soviet Be Recognized

Conservatives Suggest King Abdicate
and Duke of Aosta, Popular With
Army, Takes His Place.

CABINET MAY RESIGN

American Major Says That D'An-
nuzio May Plunge Holy Into
War and Precipitate Riot.

ROME.—The mantle of power
is slipping from the shoulders of
the Italian constitutional monarchy.
Tommaso Tittoni, Italian Minister
of Foreign Affairs, has resigned, and
Vittorio Scialoja has taken his place,
it is reported.

It is said that the Socialist
Deputies in the Chamber, who
constitute a strong phalanx of 150
among the 550, have determined to
accomplish "some supreme act of
rebellion which will overthrow the
trottering government of the bour-
geoisie."

Certain factions among the con-
servatives are suggesting such a
measure as abdication of King Victor
Emmanuel in favor of the Duke of
Aosta. The duke is said to be in
favor with the army and would be
valuable in a crisis demanding the
support of the military for the gov-
ernment.

The march of events is briskly
raising to staccato, and the roads
that those events are taking has for
its ultimate goal the setting up of
republic.

The strongest faction for revolu-
tion consists of the Socialists, who
have been encouraged by their recent
victories in the general elections.

Nationalists Cast Down.

Other factors in the whirl of
events are the Nationalists and the
Catholics. But the Nationalists are
cast down by the fizzle of the
picturesque escapade of d'Annunzio.

The scene of the first act is cast
for the first convention of the new
Parliament on December 1.

On that date the newly-elected
Socialists are expected to execute a
coup.

The Socialists formerly have avoid-
ed being present at the opening of
Parliament to escape taking the
oath in the presence of the King.
It is predicted that they will be
present in a body this time and
drown his voice in hisses when he
speaks.

Minister Meeting Daily.

The Council of Ministers is meet-
ing daily to consider the grave
situation. Former Foreign Minister
Tittoni is said to have expressed the
opinion that the whole Cabinet
should resign. In such a state of
affairs, the question among the
conservatives is, "What should the
King do?"

One newspaper has denied that
the King would not deliver his
speech in person.

It is believed that the Socialists,
no matter what happens, are deter-
mined to make an anti-monarchial
demonstration. Should the King
not appear, Premier Nitti will prob-
ably give his speech.

MILAN.—Immediate recognition
of the Russian Soviet government
and the establishment of trade re-
lations between Italy and Russia will
be the chief object of the Socialist
bloc in the new Parliament. Recogni-
tion of the Soviets has a big issue
in the campaign, which won the
Socialists 150 seats.

Italian Socialists' Program.
The Socialist program calls for
the taxation of wealth and distribu-

TO LABOR

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world,
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You are your power,
The world must follow you.

The world's life hangs on your right hand!
Your strong right hand!
Your skilled right hand!
You hold the whole world in your hand,
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or wrong or right,
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you never rose before!
Nor hoped before!
Nor dared before!
And show as was never shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one!
See justice done!
Believe! and Dare! and Do!

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

tion of land among the peasants.
Industrial democracy with the work-
ers choosing their own repre-
sentatives to share in the direction of
industrial organizations, and im-
mediate complete demobilization is
demanded.

There will be a determined as-
sault on the monarchy, without
doubt, and when the republic is
ushered in, the socialists' plans, as
announced in their program by
Avanti, will insure that it is an
industrial republic.

The gravity of the situation in
Italy is attributed to the war poverty
of Italy and the exploits of d'Annun-
zio by Major Sherman M. Craiger,
U. S. A., just returned to New York
from Italy, yesterday.

Major Craiger in an interview
with the United News said:

"Gabriele d'Annunzio's declared
intention of using Zara as a base for
further raids southward along the
Dalmatian coast, with the purpose
of seizing Sebenico, Spalato and
Ragusa, and of making a general
attack against Montenegro, has
produced a situation of the utmost
gravity in the Adriatic.

He has 50,000 troops of the
regular forces of Italy at his dis-
posal, together with arms, equip-
ment and supplies. Moreover, the
battleships Indomito and Saint Bon,
along with a couple of torpedo boat
destroyers, were turned over to him
by Admiral Millo, commander of the
Italian occupation army at Zara,
who has telegraphed his resignation
to Premier Nitti and cast in his lot
with d'Annunzio.

It is not to be supposed that
with such a naval and military force
available the latter will long hesitate
to attack the Serbian division of
12,000 at Spanlanto, or at some
other point. This is bound to bring
on a fight. Then Italy will find
herself dragged into a war with
Serbs and Slavs, or obliged to re-
pudiate d'Annunzio and his fol-
lowers.

"Either Course Spells Disaster."

"Either course spells disaster for
the government at Rome. If war
does result, an internal revolution
will inevitably follow, as there are
enough pacifist elements in the So-
cialist party to form a working al-
liance with the Maximalists, who
lean toward Bolshevism and the
overthrow of the dynasty.

"Should the government attempt
to disavow and punish d'Annunzio,
reason."

Legion Mobbers Get a Wallop

By NATE L. WELCH

Detroit, Mich.—Riot and anarchy
proposed by the American Legion
received a body blow here, when the
city authorities announced their pol-
icy of non-interference with radical
meetings as long as they were con-
ducted within the law. This deci-
sion came after the city has been
set agog over the statement issued
by the American Legion, that they
would discuss the Haywood meet-
ing planned for Nov. 30th, if the
authorities did not prohibit it.

The Legionaries thought they
could put their rowdiness stunt over
without opposition. But hardly had
their policy been announced, than
a veritable storm broke loose on the
part of genuine Americans who pro-
tested against mob-rule in no un-
certain terms. The Private Soldiers
and Sailors Legion, which has the
support of organized labor, fired a
hot shot denouncing the proposed
suppression of free speech and as-
sembly, and sent a committee to
the mayor demanding that "the
ideals of freedom for which we en-
dorsed of freedom scribble and left
our comrades dead on the fields of
France shall not be trampled under
foot by ruthless servants of pluto-
cracy." Police protection will be af-
forded the Haywood meeting.

The strike against the Dupont En-
gineering Co., involving more than
6,000 building tradesmen in the
state, is progressing satisfactorily. An
early victory is predicted as signs
are not wanting that the company is
weakening.

Local unions are now swinging be-
hind the steel strikers with financial
assistance. The Patternmakers fired
the opening shot by voting \$500
out of their treasury, and one day's
pay assessment, which ought to net
about \$10,000 from this local alone.
Aoteln unions are falling in line to
demonstrate their solidarity with
the battling steel workers.

the regular army and navy is suf-
ficiently disaffected to render such
a course futile. The Military party
believes it is strong enough to defy
the Ministry and even attempt the
unseating of the King. A republic
with Gabrielle d'Annunzio as Pres-
ident is not beyond the bounds of
disavow and punish d'Annunzio, reason."

Strong as Ever.

Vandergrift, Pa. — A state-
ment has been made to me by a
negro who works in the mill of
the American Sheet & Tin Plate
Company. He claims that in 12
turns he drew a pay of \$57.00,
including some overtime. The bar
mill is crippled in the Finishing
Department; so badly crippled
that, especially the galvanizing
department, no white (galvan-
ized) sheets are being produced
to amount to anything. The
mill's coal supply is low and
they have three or four auto
trucks hauling coal from small
country banks. There are 2,000
men on strike in Vandergrift and
Apollo, so you can see that the
ranks here have not appreciably
weakened.

Hickery, Dickery, Dock.

W. Leeburg, Pa. — They
brought in some strike breakers
here; 69 men went in and 69
came out the same day, saying
they would not go back in the
mill until the strike was settled.
The mill is so badly crippled that
no material at all is being turn-
ed out.

Closing Down.

Beaver Falls, Pa. — The Penn-
sylvania Bridge Company is un-
derstood to be on the verge of
closing down because of lack of
coal and structural iron.

Pennsylvania Doesn't Allow
Freedom of Funeral.

Bradock, Pa. — State troop-
ers have discovered a new variety
of rioting. It consists of the fun-
eral of a steel striker. The fol-
lowing is taken from The Daily
News Herald; publishes in Brad-
dock, and, as even a superficial
reading shows, is not favorable
to the strike:

"State troopers, spurring
their horses into a procession
of marching men in Bradlock
Ave., near George St. at 9
o'clock this morning, broke up
a threatening demonstra-
tion by strikers. The crowd
which was dispersed was esti-
mated at 400 men. They fled
in all directions, disappearing
up alleys, into houses and over
fences.

"The procession had formed
in the rear of a funeral cort-
ège which was moving to S. S.
Peter and Paul Greek Catholic
Church in George St., police
said. The State troopers were
immediately notified and
charged down Bradlock Ave.
The galloping horses swept
into the crowd hurling men
right and left and causing
scores to flee for their lives.
Within a few minutes the at-
tempted parade had vanish-
ed."

The Bradlock troopers seem-
ed to be out after the Cossack
record. Some of their most no-
table achievements in this town
have been riding up the Church
steps to disperse attendants at
the Church service, riding into
the First Grade babies of the
Parochial school and dispersing
them (doubtless in order that
the children might not riot) and
the latest escapade, dispersing
a funeral.

"Banking" Their Steel.

Monessen, Pa. — A railroader
who is well acquainted with the
mills reports the following:

"The Pittsburgh Steel Com-
(Continued on page 2)

Six Senators Block Repeal of Spy Bills



Stand-pat Members of Senate Judiciary Committee Kill France Bill for Repeal of Espionage Acts on the Grounds That They Are Needed to Enforce Prohibition.

Washington.—In the confusion of the closing days of Congress, six United States senators—it has just been learned—quietly put to permanent sleep the various bills introduced in the Senate for the repeal of the espionage acts.

All six were members of the senate judiciary committee behind whose doors burial took place. The six are: Nelson, of Minnesota, chairman; Kellogg of Minnesota; Cummings of Iowa; Brandegee of Connecticut; Dillingham of Vermont (all Republicans); and Overman of North Carolina, Democrat. At a meeting attended only by the six and with Senator Borah, Senator Norris and other progressives absent, they consigned to the graveyard with an adverse report the France and other bills termina-

ting Burleson's control of the press.

News of the action reached the senate slowly. When inquiries were made by surprised senators, Senator Cummings of Iowa explained on behalf of the six that they felt that the new prohibition measures needed the supplementary support of the espionage acts, especially the provisions regarding search warrants. Therefore they voted to continue the spy bills in force.

In the lower House the Republican leaders are said to have expressed considerable dissatisfaction with the course taken by the Senate leaders as it goes counter to their desire to scrap the reactionary program of the Democrats in a bid for public support.

STEEL STRIKERS WINNING

(Continued from page 1.)

pany and the Pittsburgh Steel Products Company before the strike produced from 85 to 100 cars of steel a day. They are now producing less than 10 cars a day and most of it is billets which they pile up on the river bank.

"The Page Steel Company before the strike produced 8 cars of steel a day, the railroaders now pull 1 or 2 cars a week. Three hundred colored boys left the P. S. Co. They were brought here from Baltimore, Maryland. They were mostly ex-soldiers and were brought here by lying agents of the P. S. Co., saying they were going to work on government jobs, 8 hours and 65¢ per hour. I am enclosing bill which the colored boys say are distributed around Maryland. At this moment a railroader reports that 35 cars of steel returned to the P. S. Co., condemned unfit for use."

Scabs Scratch for a Living.

Joliet, Ill. . . Several hundred scabs have been quitting here every day for several days past. A rod mill has not turned out anything and not a bundle of wire has been produced since the beginning of the strike. They are blowing about 20 heats in 24 hours while the normal rate

is about 10 per hour. They have cut out over-time for the scabs. There are plenty of cooties among the scabs.

Add These Unions to the Honor Roll.

New York, N. Y.—The Marine Engineers Benefit Association No. 33, voted \$10,000 from the treasury and a day's pay per member for the steel strike. They have a membership of 4000 at an average wage of \$8.00 per day, so the total will reach about \$32,000. Micrometer Lodge of Machinists No. 460 voted to send cash and levy an assessment of two days' pay which will approximate \$55,000.

How Is This for Unselfish Devotion.

Braddock, Pa.—John Kotzuros, a Greek who has been on strike here since Sept. 22 came yesterday to the strike headquarters and stated his desire to help some of the other strikers families who are in poor circumstances. He stated that he was well fixed himself, that his savings were more than sufficient for his own needs. He was in earnest about it and wished to turn over cash to the strike headquarters to be disposed of as seemed best. Instead of doing this, brother Kotzuros was put in direct touch with families in need, so that he was able to use his own income as to what he would contribute, and also give those he helped the benefit of his own personality and fine unselfish spirit as well as the benefit of his money. A collection was taken up for the wife of a deceased striker, Andrew Gratzur. Fifty Dollars was collected in small coin.

Rats Don't Like Scabbing.

Martins Ferry, O.—The following dispatch from here is printed in the Pittsburgh Sun: "Hardware men report an exceptional demand for mouse and rat traps this year. One dealer said he had never exceptional demand for mouse and rat traps this year. One dealer said he had never experienced such a rush for rodent catchers. The steel strike is blamed as the animals which had lived about the plants where furnace kept them warm and the serans form men's lunches provided them with food. Two tin plate plants, where hundreds of rats fattened on the bran used in polishing tin, are

idle, causing rats to infest the city.

Steel "Production."

Clairton, Pa. — Twenty-eight more cars of steel have been returned to the mill here, over the Wabash Railroad.

Oh, Judge, Have a Heart!

Pittsburgh, Pa.—A local magistrate sentenced a man charged with vagrancy to work in the steel mills here, according to a Pittsburgh paper. That isn't a bad idea, using the steel mills for jails. Many a scab has found the steel mills about as hard to get out of as a jail and the liberties a steel magnate allows steel workers haven't much on those given the "trustee" in an up-to-date penitentiary. The newspaper item referred to states:

"William Lemere, 38 years old, of Detroit, Mich., who said he came to Pittsburgh from Cleveland, O., Saturday night, and who was found sleeping in the plant of the A. M. Bvers Company, South Sixth and Bingham Street, early this morning, was 'sentenced' to a job in the plant by Magistrate Sweeney in the Southside police station.

A Thousand a Week to Kick Elbert.

E. Liverpool, O. — The Joint Council of E. Liverpool and Wellsville pledged \$50 a week from each member for as long as the strike lasts. This includes 9000 men employed in the Pennsylvania Railroad Shops at Wellsville.

A Pig! A Pig! A Kingdom for A Pig!

New York, N. Y.—The iron and steel shortage is winning the interests more and more tightly. Orders cannot be placed for any kind of products from the steel mills. Wire is not on the market and orders will not be accepted for even as late as next June. Pig iron is quoted at \$36.80 in the New York papers, an advance of \$12.05, 80¢ higher than the Government's maximum during the war. Prices threaten to "do further sky-rocketing at any minute. The steel interests are fighting to keep prices of pig iron and steel down but pig is acting like greased.

"He Can't Get 'Em Up, He Can't Get 'Em Up."

Pueblo, Colo.—Mill still down tight. Company continues to give out information that this or that department will start on a certain day, but they not start, the reason being that they can't get the men to start with. Superintendents and foremen are coming from house to house urging men back, telling them they will lose out for ever with the company if they do not return, etc. One of our men got in and made a careful examination of the plant. He reported that they had 491 Mexicans, 194 negroes, 43 Italians and a little over 100 Americans. Considering the normal force of 6000, it is not strange that they do not attempt to start any part of the mill.

Gary Ought to Decorate These Legion Heroes.

Coatesville, Pa.—Our men are sticking beautifully. What a bunch it would be if they were all like the men out here. They are still trying to get our men because we have the cream of the steel workers. A local published proceedings of a recent meeting of the Legion here, stating that they have pledged themselves to watch yours truly, and to send me out of town at the first opportunity. Walter Searle, Local Sec'y.

TO A REVOLUTIONIST

Courage yet, my brother or my sister!
Keep on—Liberty is to be suberv'd whatever occurs;
That is nothing that is quelled by one or two failures, or any number of failures,
Or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people, or by any unfaithfulness,
Or the show of the tushes of power, soldiers, cannon, penal statutes.
What we believe in waits latent forever through all the continents,
Invites no one, promises nothing, sits in calmness and light, is positive and composed, knows no discouragement, knows no discouragement,
Waiting, patiently, waiting its time. — Walt Whitman.

Anderson, Petterson & Lundstrom

The Greatest Swedish Home Folks Play!

Will be given by the

Swedish Dramatic Company

of Minneapolis in

AUDITORIUM

Eleventh Street and Nicollet Ave.

Wednesday, Dec. 31st,

NEW YEAR EVE

at 8:15 P. M.

Madame Wilma Sundborg from New York will make her second appearance in Minneapolis with the company.

Tickets for sale at \$1.50 \$1.00 75c 50c at Cable Piano Co. and Scandia Imp. Co., 1421 Washington Ave. S. (Seven Corners).

AXEL SUNDBORG

DIRECTOR

In Duluth at the

LYCEUM THEATRE

Sunday, January 11th, 1920.

Matinee 2:15 and in the Evening 8:15 P. M.

Tickets for sale at:

Lyceum Theatre, N. J. Setterlund, Tailor 2007 W. Superior St., Stones Books Store, 221 W. Superior St., Spencer Pharmacy 402 Central Ave., West Duluth; Herman Olson, 1823 W. Superior Street; Holmberg's Drug Store, Tower Ave., Superior, Wis.

AXEL SUNDBORG, Director.

The Glass in Scabology Will Now Recite.

Cleveland, O.—Our men are holding out excellently here with no indication of a break. I am sure we have not lost a total of 500 out of our total number of 25,000. The steel mill is attacking the Mayor and Chief of Police here for giving us a fair break. Our attorney intends to introduce a bill in the extra session of the General Assembly of Ohio, requiring all workers imported from one city to another, or from other states into Ohio, to take an examination and prove their experience in the line of work which they are brought in to do; this examination to be taken and passed before they are allowed to work.

EGYPT.

Demonstration for Independence Ruthlessly Suppressed.

Alexandria.—At a recent peaceful meeting held for the purpose of demonstrating the desire of the Egyptian people to be freed from the foreign yoke of Great Britain, thirty persons were killed and 143 wounded.

According to "La Bourse Egyptienne," the Imperialist newspapers of Egypt have tried to convey the impression that the incident was of no significance and that only four were killed and 14 wounded. Continuing, the paper says:

"It was a veritable carnage, committed against an unarmed crowd, which only desired to manifest peacefully in favor of independence."

"By such means you can, perhaps, completely exterminate the Egyptian race, but you will never thereby drag from it consent to the Protectorate."

To prepare for Industrial War.

Chicago.—The utilization of the nation's excess war material—airplanes, tanks field pieces, rifles, bombs, etc., for the equipment of national guard troops, and the active support of Chicago's employers of an intensive enlistment campaign of are being urged by Harry H. Merriek, president of the Chicago Association of Commerce and head of the Great Lakes ruth Company.

Says Mr. Merriek: "Unquestionably it is essential that the clean cut young men of the city, if they desire to enlist in any one of the several national guard regiments now being re-

organized here, should not be retarded in their commercial or industrial progress by such enlistment. On the contrary, employers should make it plain that service in the national guard is a service to the state, that the young men who join the guard will be regarded with favor, that their jobs and pay will not be endangered by the annual trips to camp for instruction purposes nor their vacations be jeopardized.

"I consider service with the national guard today as essential and as necessary as service in the American Expeditionary Forces during the war. I am in favor of universal military service, but I am doubtful whether the present congress will give it to the nation. The guard, therefore, is made more essential than ever before as a training school for future wars, as an agency of preparedness."

PLUTOCRATS PREACH MURDER.

Washington, D. C. — Murder and rioting is publicly advocated by a group of business men in the State of Washington, according to a telegram to President Gompers of the A. F. of L. from William Short, president of the Washington Federation of Labor.

Short in his telegram calls attention to the fact that the Tacoma "Ledger" and the Seattle "Post Intelligence" are carrying full page advertisements containing an editorial published in "Business Chronicle" of Seattle, the official organ of a group of employers. From the advertisement the following passages are quoted:

"We must smash every un-American and anti-American organization in the land. We must put to death the leaders of this gigantic conspiracy of murder, pillage and revolution. We must imprison for life all its aiders and abettors of native birth. We must deport all aliens."

"The Non-Partisan League, the so-called Triple Alliance in the State of Washington, the pro-German Socialists, the closed shop unions, the agitators, malcontents, anarchists, syndicalists, revolutionists, traitors, the whole motley crew of Bolsheviks and near-Bolsheviks must be outlawed by public opinion and hunted down and hounded until driven beyond the horizon of civic decency."

"The administration at Washington has made a mess alike of the affairs of the world and the affairs of the American people. It is simple truth to state that the Federal government in the hands of the present administration is responsible in greater degree than any other single agency for the present chaotic and menacing condition."

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Workers! Once again Capitalism has struck at you, at your rights, your hopes and your aspirations. The bloody hand of Everett, of Ludlow, of Calumet, of Butte, Bisbee and every other outrage, has reached out again. This time into the town of Centralla and in its murderous clutch it now holds eleven members of the working class whom they intend to destroy. They would destroy these workers because they are members of the I. W. W. and defended themselves against the organized violence of the tools of the Lumber Trust.

They would hang these workers because they by defending their meeting place, in deed and in spirit, defended the meeting places of every workingman's organization in the country. They, were defending all that is necessary to the onward march of Labor, Free Speech and Free Assemblage.

The persons who would hang these men—these workers—are kin to those who during the war were lynching and terrorizing the land with their cries of pro-German. They are the same who gorged with the profits of war and are now organizing mobs to descend on the halls of organized workers to crush their activities. They have four years of successful terrorism and unchecked murder behind them.

No one need recount their gloating tales in the newspapers during the war; of tar and feather parties, of lynchings and terror. The jails are full of their victims. These persons are the tools of Capitalism.

The affair at Centralla in which five lives were lost was the inevitable climax to a reign of terror and murder. Here the natural law of self defense driven to its furthest retreat answered for all mankind the terrorism and violence of an insane system. The constitution of the United States so long trampled under foot by organized greed had at last found defenders, defenders perhaps ignorant of the test of the constitution, but alive to the spirit of freedom that animated its authors. For defending themselves from mob violence, for defending the rights of free assemblage, for resisting the damnable murderous clutch of Capitalism the Workers in Centralla are now lying behind the bars at the mercy of cruel jailers—helpless. Their only hope lies in you who are on the outside. To you whose rights they have defended they entrust their own defense. Are you going to ignore their trust? Are you going to leave them to the murderous profit mongers, who will murder them as a warning to the rest of the workers? The workers charged with murder in Centralla, must be defended. It is up to the workers to defend them by donating money to their defense.

If you wish to donate to the defense of these workers, these defenders of your rights, you can do so by enclosing your donation and send it to Geo. Williams, 318 No. Wyoming Street, Butte, Montana.

THE FUTURE OF PEACE AND WAR By LEON TROTZKY

Quasi-erudite and profound bourgeois babblers put the question: "Is war possible in the future? Is not war inevitable? And they arrive at the conclusion that war is inevitable.

As we are aware there exists on this subject a considerable literature. In our time, the question has left the domain of literature and has been transferred to the domain of intense struggle, which everywhere has assumed the character of open civil war. In Russia, power has been taken over by a political party whose programme definitely and accurately describes the social-historical nature of past and present wars, whilst those conditions, under which war becomes not only unnecessary, but impossible, are also definitely and accurately described.

Old fashioned people however always like to start from the beginning, however far back they may be, and in this instance preference is given Professor Lehr, by selecting him, as a basis of learned reference, the commonplace banality that "struggle is the basis of life."

This aphorism, based on an infinitely wide conception of the word, "struggle", simple cancels the whole of human history, and merges it wholly with Biology. When we speak of WAR and are not playing with words, we have in view the systematic collision of state organized groups of human beings, using those technical means which lie within their reach, and fighting for aims or ideals which the State powers of those groups fix for themselves. It is perfectly clear, that nothing of the kind exists anywhere outside of human society historical understood as such. If STRUGGLE is the fate of all life, then WAR, at any rate, is purely historical, human phenomenon. Without first taking note of this fact, one cannot be said to have arrived even at the threshold of the question. Formerly people devoured each other. Even to this very day cannibalism is carried

on in some places. It is true that the Ashantees do not publish journals, however if they did, is it not probable that their theoreticians would write "The hopes of the human race renouncing cannibalism are unfounded, as struggle is the basis of life". On this basis, one might reply, to the learned cannibal, that with us the question was not exactly one of struggle in general, but of that particular form of it which consists in the hunting of people for their flesh.

It is a quite undisputable fact that cannibalism ceased not owing to the influence of preaching but owing to a change of the economic conditions of life; when it became more profitable to convert prisoners into slaves, cannibalism disappeared. But the "struggle" did not that remain? Unquestionably it did. The question with us however is not one of struggle in general, but of — cannibalism.

Formerly male fought with male, for the sake of the female. Ancient bridegrooms "enticed maidens to the river". At the present time this practice is not continued, notwithstanding that struggle is the fate of every living thing. Mutual skullcracking in forest and cave, gave way later on to tournaments of knights in the presence of ladies, and to duelling. Now both tournaments and duels belong to the past, or have been converted into the majority of countries into masquerade echoes of olden times bloody encounters of the past. In order to understand this process it is necessary to investigate the development of things, the economic relations between man and woman; the change in the clan and family; the rise and development of society; the historical limitations of the views and prejudices of knights and courtiers, the role of duels, as an element in the ideology of society, the disappearance of social standing of privileged castes, the conversion of duels into a nonsensical relic of the past and so on.

With the bare aphorism that

"struggle is the basis of life" one will not go far in this question, as in most others.

Slave races and tribes fought against each other. The ancient Russian princes fought against each other. The same is true of various German races, and of the feudal princeoms of France that later on were united. The bloody civil wars of the barons, the wars of one province against another. The towns against the troops of knights, all this was the order of the day not because "struggle is the basis of life", but because of the definite economic relations of the period, and disappeared together with them. The causes which led to the battles of the people of Moscow with the people of Kiev, of the Prussians with the Saxons, of the Normans against Burgundy, were at their respective historical epochs not less binding than the causes which led to the last war of the Germans with the English. It would appear that the matter is not one of a general law of nature, as such, but of those specific laws which define the development of human society. Even if one does not go beyond the sphere of the most generalized historical reasoning, one may ask: "If mankind survived the wars of Burgundy with the Normans, of the Saxons with the Prussians, of the Kiev and Moscow principalities, then why should mankind not survive wars of England with Germany, of Russia with Japan." "Struggle" in the widest sense of the word, of course, still remains, but war is a particular form of struggle which has existed only from the time since mankind started to build society and use arms. War as one particular phenomena of struggle, changed in accordance with the changes that took place in the forms of human culture, and given certain historical conditions, is capable of disappearing entirely.

The feudal wars, owing to their divided and scattered character, brought about a certain disunity in medieval life. One

province regarded the neighbouring province, as a world shut up in itself, from which much gain might be secured. Knights gazed with rapacious eye, from their castles at flourishing and wealthy towns. Later on, all this changed, separate districts and provinces developed into a united whole. On this new economic basis, a united France, a united Italy, a united Germany arose, but as a result of terrible internal and external struggle. Thus economic unity, by converting vast lands into one economic organism, has made wars impossible within the framework of the new, vast historical formation of the Nation — the State.

But the development of economic relations does not stop here. Industry long since penetrated beyond the national framework and connected the whole world by a chain of mutual dependence. France and Germany and Russia have long ceased to be self-contained worlds; they have become dependent parts of a world wide economy. Indeed, we realise this more to-day during a time of military blockade, when we are not receiving the products which of German and English industries which we are in need of. But the German and English workers feel this mechanical rupture of the economic unit not less sensibly, by not receiving bread from the Don and Siberian butter.

Production has become universal. But the appropriation of profits, that is, the right to extract the cream from Universal Production, remains yet in the hands of the bourgeois classes of separate nations. Therefore, if it is necessary to seek for the roots of the present war in "nature", it is not in biological nature, nor even in human nature that one must seek, but in social "Nature" of the bourgeoisie, which has grown into a class of exploiters, of profit-makers, of robbers and despots, who compel the working classes to fight for it. Universal production united into a

whole, creates unimaginable sources of wealth and power. The bourgeoisie of every nation grasps at these sources, thereby disorganising universal Production in exactly the same manner as the feudals barons, during a period transitory to the new one, interfered with national production.

The class which is doomed to interference destroy production, cannot for long maintain itself in power. It is just for this reason that the bourgeoisie feel themselves obliged to search for a way out by creating the "League of Nations". Wilsons idea consists of a united universal production, which one may regard as a partnership of thieves in which products are to be divided among the capitalists of all lands without war. Naturally Wilson is inclined to keep things for his New York and Chicago stock-brokers, while the thieves in London, Paris, Tokio and elsewhere are not agreed on this.

The difficulty of the bourgeois Governments in deciding the matter of the "League of Nations" consists in the conflict of bourgeois appetites. Nevertheless, one may say with certainty after the experiences of the present war that the capitalist classes of the most important countries will create conditions for a more or less united, centralized, exploitation of the two hemispheres without war, similar to the manner in which the bourgeoisie liquidated the feudal wars within the bounds of national territory. The bourgeoisie however will be able to decide this question only in the event of the working classes failing to rise against her, in the same way as in former times the working classes rose against feudalism. The significance of civil war, which in Russia has ended with the victory of the proletariat, and which is nearing the same end in all other countries, comes to this: that the working class takes into its own hand the solution of the problem which now stands before the whole of mankind, a matter of

life and death, namely converting the whole surface of the earth, the mines and everything produced by the labour of men into one, systematised universal production, where the distribution of products will be regulated as by one big general bank.

Learned bourgeoisie base the inevitability of war until doomsday upon the rickety conclusion of old State jurists. They point out that legitimatism, "the principle of nationalists", and political equilibrium cannot save the world from war.

Legitimatism based on the belief in the immutability of all class, casts and monarchial refuse, that was ever collected on the face of the earth. To occupy oneself in proving that the recognition of the divine rights of the Romanoffs or the Hohenzollerns or powers of the Paris money-lenders will not safeguard us from war is in reality only wasting one's time with "profound" prattle. The same applies, of course, also to the theory of the so-called "political equilibrium". Marxism (communism) has revealed better than anything else the delusive and specious character of this theory. Diplomatic trickery about "political equilibrium" was merely a screen with which to conceal the diabolic competition in the development of the military machine, on the one hand, and on the other, — the endeavours of England to counterbalance France by Germany and Germany by France.

The theory of an armed peace by means of "European equilibrium" can be likened to two engines on the same rails rushing towards each other, — a theory which Marxists laid bare in all its falsehood, long before it collapsed covered with blood and mud.

Only petty-bourgeois dreamers, or bourgeois charlatans are capable of using the principle of nationality as a basis for permanent peace. Wars were conducted under the banner of nationalism at a time when industrial de-

velopment needed a transition from the provincial to a wider national-State basis. Modern wars have nothing to do with the national principle. We will say nothing whatever about civil war. Kuchuk sells Siberia to America, Denikin is ready to enslave three-fourths of the Russian people to England and France only in order to reserve for himself the possibility of exploiting the remaining fourth. International wars also have nothing to do with the national principle. England and France share German colonies between each other and despoil Asia. America thrusts its paw into European affairs, Italy takes possession of neighbouring slaves. Even the semi-strangles Serbia starts to throttle the Bulgarians. The national Principle here, even in the best of cases, is no more than a — pretext. The matter is one of universal power, of the domination of the industry of the whole world. Having subjected legitimatism, the theory of political equilibrium, the principle of nationalists and so on to certain cheap criticism, Graf Hirschelmann does not even touch upon the question of the real fate of war. And meanwhile the fate of war is being decided in a very practical manner. By thrusting the bourgeoisie away from the helm of State, by taking power into its own hands, the working class is preparing for the creation of a Federative Soviet Republic of Europe and the whole world on the basis of UNITED WORLD ECONOMY.

War was and will remain a form of armed exploitation or armed struggle against exploitation. The world dictatorship of the proletariat, as a transition to universal communism, stands for the abolition of exploitation of one man by another, and consequently of armed conflict between man and man. War will disappear in the same way as cannibalism disappeared. Struggle will remain, but it will be the collective struggle of humanity against the hostile forces of nature.

L. Trotsky.

DENIKIN AND THE ALLIES

By G. TCHITCHERINE (Russian Soviet Government)

Valuable documents discovered on General Grishin-Almazoff, at the time when the latter fell into the hands of the red fleet in the Caspian Sea, disclosed the curious relations existing between the Denikin and the Allies. While these relations to the outer world appear like those of close friendship, overshadowed by no unpleasantness of any kind, they bear in reality all the signs of an intense mistrust, almost of hate on the part of the old Czar Generals towards the Allies whom with unrestrained contempt they dub "the Barbers" or "the Jew Freemasons".

On the 13th of July some letters were published in the "Pravda", written by prominent leaders of the Denikin camp. Indeed it is in one of these letters or rather in a despatch sent by Denikin's agent Pronin to the Staff of Kolchak, that the French receive the nickname of "Jew Freemasons". A similar strain of feeling is to be found in certain other intimate documents in the same collection. Czarist generals remain true, at least, to themselves. The courtiers of the "Autocrat", transferred into exiles and paupers who drag on their living through the charity of the Entente, nevertheless retain their former pride.

In a report made at the Jassk conference of the 30th November to 2nd December 1918, by General Grishin-Almazoff, one of the documents in our possession, reference is made to the notes of Milinkoff in which the following description of the Allies in Siberia is given: "To a larger extent they were engaged in speculation (the majority of them: Consuls, Barbers, or teachers of languages), they all behaved in an arrogant and provocative manner. This expression of aristocratic contempt, is vented together with certain political ideas of a rather ambiguous

nature. The Denikians fear that the Allies, having once placed them in power they will not readily leave Russia, but intend themselves, to remain dominant in a conquered country. This fear on the part of the Denikians, we need hardly mention, is not at all an unreasonable one. Meanwhile, with intense anxiety, the Denikians follow closely upon the policy pursued by the Entente governments in the Ukraine; their endeavour to create, as Germany formerly endeavoured to create, provinces and republics of a more less independent character, provinces of which they would be able to make themselves the masters, thus diminishing the territory of that "Great Russia" which the Denikin patriots are themselves desirous of keeping for their own exploitation. Amongst the dossiers which go to make up the Grishin-Almazoff archive two are marked "Alphabet". These consist of a collection of reports of a Secret Inquiry Institution, which has its agents in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, in the Crimea and the Caucasus; each agent is designated by a different letter of the Russian alphabet. Under the letter "Slovo", a certain Cadet Stepanoff is concealed; this is a man who during the Denikian "extraordinary" conferences made himself a State Controller. The extremely interesting and vivid reports made by him, point amongst other things to the suspicion with which the Denikians regard the Allies on whose charity they are at this time existing. In a report of the 11th-24th February, Stepanoff writes: "The struggle for a United Russia Volunteer Army must be conducted on a number of fronts: there is the bolshevik front, the Separatist front, the front of internal disorder, the front of political chatter and the front — it is pain-

ful, offensive and bitter to relate, — the front of the Allies, of the Angle-French". In a letter of the same date to Maklakoff, this same Stepanoff reveals a secret: "Will they not make us pay for all the French and English blood that is spilt in and for Russia, in spheres of influence and by turning Russia into a sort of Turkey, Persia or Egypt? More tanks, more guns, more manufactures and money is what we want and fewer Allied soldiers." These last two sentences are underlined with the usual green pencil of Grishin-Almazoff who writes on the margin: "This is very true!" The following is a description given by Grishin-Almazoff of the conduct of the English in Transcaucasia, in his report to the Jaassk conference: "The English occupied Krasnovodsk-Mery, that is to say they have liberated Turkistan, Colonel Stock, a well-known anti-Russian, whose appointment came as a direct challenge to Russian circles, is acting as representative. The Russian are treated more like India natives, — this no doubt, is their Colonial policy."

Complaints with regard to the support shown by the Allies to all kinds of autonomous local republics is the "Leitmotiv" (leading tune) that runs through practically the whole collection of documents of Grishin-Almazoff. Always the same complaints too little help is rendered by the Allies to the Denikians, too little ammunition is sent and in place of clothes, old rags are provided. Their aid is both feeble and undecided. Meanwhile, the Transcaucasian republics and in particular Petlura are regarded by the Allies as the favourite children. During his appointment as Military Governor of Odessa, Grishin-Almazoff was in constant touch with French policy in the South, and accord-

ing to these documents, Grishin-Almazoff is occupied practically every day in an incessant struggle which he and the other Denikians put up against the systematic coquetry of the French, who it appears, prefer to hold their own opinions in regard to Petlurians. There is an interesting letter addressed to Maklakoff by the South Russian National Centre, a powerful organization which includes many members of the Denikian Extraordinary Conference, such as Sazonoff, Stepanoff, Noratoff, Massloff, Tchelishcheff, Shubertsky, Tchekisoff, Astroff, as well as other well-known cadets, C. V. Panin, P. D. Dolgorukoff, with M. M. Fedoroff as their president. This letter is one whole indictment against the Allies for their feeble and undecided support of a United Russia, for their, on the contrary, very zealous support of an independent Georgia and for the negotiations into which they entered with an independent Ukraine. "Has it not turned out that the Allies and friends of ours are no longer in need of a United Great Russia and that it is very profitable for them to have a Russia, parcelled up and impoverished. Since powerful 'Great Germany' disappeared, enfeebled, as they believe in France, for a hundred years or more, there is no longer any need for a powerful Russia. It is better for them to have a Russia that will play second fiddle, a Russia that can be used by all of them for their own selfish interests, than a powerful Russia that later on it will again become necessary to count with, as a factor in world politics. "This representative of bankrupt Russian Imperialism still lives in the hope of seeing Russia re-established by means of foreign aid, can find nothing better to do, in return for an insignificant assistance rendered

by the Allies, than to threaten the latter with punishment, the punishment of a Russia which is to be restored in the future: "Woe to those who forsake her in her hour of misfortune, and to those who take advantage of her misfortune in order to impoverish and weaken her."

The National Centre does not stop at this, but threatens the Allies with something else, revealing on this occasion quite uncommon perspicuity. "In vain do the Allies imagine that they are insured against Bolshevism. Bolshevism. Bolshevism they presume to be disease of the 'weak and conquered'. They are making a great mistake. Bolshevism is a disease that 'spares neither the powerful nor the strong'. "In all essentials Bolshevism is the doctrine of the class struggle, a doctrine, which applied to the masses, to the mob, at once results in Social revolution, the appropriation of all that belongs to the rich and eminent. This doctrine has indeed very great attraction for the masses." "Will the proletariat of France withstand such a temptation? In France of course triumphal fetes are the order of the day at present, but triumphal fetes will not last for ever. When the army comes home and asks itself: 'What has victory given us? When it starts to compare that which democracy promises, will it then withstand the temptation? "The social divergency which Proudhon was impud with cannot for long be stifled by any victorious war. As long as the Bolshevik Microbe is not destroyed in Petrograd and Moscow, as long as it is not destroyed in Germany — it will continue to threaten France. By the indecision and connivance which our friends and allies at present evince with regard to bolshevism, they are preparing their own

ruin. A year ago, Germany was separated from bolshevism for ever, now it finds itself quite powerless to overcome it. Should this be repeated in France, then France will take a long time to get over her victory". "We are aware that arguments of this kind have not much weight with the French, that these arguments are calculated even to irritate them. Their arrogance and pride prevents them from seeing that these arguments are something more than a far-fetched scare, that they are the result of a close acquaintance with the bolshevist contagion. But we have no energy left to convince people, fate, maybe, will take its own course, and the social revolution traverse its own inevitable passage across all Europe. May be Proudhon was right when he foresaw and predicted all this. Are we not perhaps in the presence of the unseen working of some historic spirit?"

Dossier "Alphabet" contains a whole series of documents devoted to complicate politics of the French representatives in the South, where Denikians are for ever vainly attempting to persuade them that they and they alone are they only true friends of the Entente and the only authority capable of undertaking anything serious against the bolsheviks. The principal acting person on the side of the Entente is a certain colonel Freudenberg, in the hands of whom the French generals, both d'Anseme, Bertelle and Franz d'Esper are mere children. Grishin-Almazoff himself is at a loss to find words sufficiently strong to describe the crafty ambiguous policy of this Colonel Freudenberg and his presumed lack of foresight.

And all these people bring their complaints and accusations to colonel Freudenberg. The rivalry between the white guard

volunteer army and Denikin's government unsettles and hinders the latter in all possible ways, thus proving to the French that Denikin is incapable of successfully carrying out mobilization in the Odessa district by reason of the population's hatred towards him. Naturally, the followers of Denikin declare all this to be falsehood and calumny. But colonel Freudenberg is not quite so sure of that. On the other hand however, when colonel Freudenberg, witnesses how numerous elements rally for Ukrainian independence and gather round Petlura, of course, he does not wish to refuse their aid for the sake of Denikin's beautiful eyes. France looks further afield. The followers of Denikin, the national centres, and other adherents to the restoration of a united Russian state, are perfectly right in accusing France of desiring to seize the lion's share by supporting local supporters of independence.

Conversing with the Denikians, Freudenberg always declares himself, of course, to be partisan of a United, indivisible Russia, also of a programme of restoration of the old Russia State in its former potency. But from his conversation with the Denikians, it is quite clear that he is not at all convinced that they are as powerful as they declare, and uncer-tain as to what extent the assurances they make to him with regard to their good faith can be relied upon. There passes before our eyes many vivid picture of incessant wrangling that goes on in the White Guards Camp. The smaller the area of authority, the more they divide up, and the more furiously they fight among each other.

And Freudenberg does not always succeed in hiding this fact. In a conversation with Shulgin, he astonishes him by suddenly pulling out the treaty with Pet-

lura and by showing to the latter a paper of the Ukraine Directory, in which it is stated that "The Directory recognising the mistakes made by it, begs of the French command, assistance in its struggle against the bolsheviks, further that the Directory commits itself to French protection and begs representatives of French to undertake the leadership of the Ukraine government in military, diplomatic political, financial, economic and judicial spheres, until such a time when the struggle against the bolsheviks comes to an end. Freudenberg turns triumphantly to Shulgin and asks: "What do you say to that?" Shulgin replies: "Dogs, such as Pelurians, are capable of signing anything". This conversation forms the leading theme which is repeated, with endless variations, throughout all the documents of this collection.

There is a special dossier in the Grishin-Almazoff archives, which is marked "Special Matters". In this dossier is filed everything of a nature to compromise the French, documents relating to their double dealing, to their coquetry with the Petlurians, "these bandits and robbers", as Grishin-Almazoff unreservedly expresses himself, to their irregular and lawless administration in Odessa, and to the unlimited insolence of soldier-ruffians who experience for the first time, of the feeling of victory, while, together with all this, their complete incapacity to adopt themselves to unusual circumstances, — their frivolity, carelessness, ignorance of military affairs and absence on their part of even the most elementary precautions during the approach of the bolshevik troops, — all this is collected together and placed as one great "act of indictment" by Grishin-Almazoff. It is from him that we learn how the French supplanted the local authorities of Odessa, and with a complete disregard for anybody, they issued their own instructions, in respect to all spheres of life. It is he who informs us of how French soldiers threw people out of their own houses so that they might make use of these themselves, how, on the other hand, the French were always very quick in lending their authority to the arrangements for all kinds of amusements, especially for French of-

ficers, and finally how he himself was forced to pay his own household expenses. We learn from his how the French, recognising neither law nor custom, took over local administrations, suspended newspapers, made requisitions, searches etc., of how a hotel room just being evacuated by the chief of the Staff of the Volunteer Army was broken into by French soldiers and all the things thrown into the street, — how French sailors in a restaurant threatened Volunteer Army officers with revolvers and declared their intention not to recognise any of the Russian officers and so on. A critical moment arrives after all this; it is the approach of the bolsheviks on Kherson. French grandeur appears here to have been built on feet of clay: French soldiers refuse to take up the fight against the bolsheviks. "After a few shrapnel shells had exploded close by, the feelings of the people underwent a rapid change for the worse. At the entrance to the Staff, when the commander of the regiment entered and came out with orders to take up position on the front, his regiment declined even to budge. The regiment stood there in one long row with its rifles stacked up in front of it. Occasional mutterings were heard". We came to Russia on police duty, not to fight. ... I am on leave for France in fortnight and have no desire to be buried in Kherson". The commander of the regiment thereupon made his escape upstairs where he fell upon a sofa and became hysterical. "Afterwards he started to hand out his money and papers, requesting me to send them to his wife, as he was about to shoot himself. Only after some trouble did I succeed in pacifying him. ... This is related by a Russian officer-translator attached to the French. The final result turned out to be the evacuation of Kherson and its occupation by bolshevik soldiers.

As far as the French command is concerned, this last event is described in the documents in sufficiently strong language. "Arrogance and frivolity of the French ... We revolted at the inertia which is shown by the French command, at the complete absence of all necessary orientation and of a nonchalance which in general is quite incomprehensible to us. ... It is impossible to rely on the French! It is impossible to rely on the French!

These statements were made on the 25th February by the Greek colonel Solokopoule and Battalion Commander of the 34th Greek Regiment, Captain Vlakos. They add: "We are sure that you will take steps in order that the conversation we have had with you should not reach French ears, for it is quite obvious to you that in such a case we should have much unpleasantness. We believe in the sincerity of the promise you have given us, and so far are not threatened by any danger."

However, in setting out for Siberia, Grishin-Almazoff was imprudent enough to take all these documents with him, — documents which picture to us so frankly and so clearly the relations existing between the Denikians and the Allies, documents which reveal the most intimate contacts of the two camps of robbers; which, while remaining for the outside world an emblem of untarnished friendship were, to all intents and purposes, torn with enmity. We make these documents public and submit them to the supreme judge—the working class! —

NORWAY

52 Candidates Elected to Parliament

New York.—Fifty-two socialists will be members of the incoming Norwegian parliament, the Socialist Party at the recent general elections having polled 250,000 votes.

The party stands without reserve on the side of the Bolsheviks, and recently dispatched Egede Nissen, one of the best known of the Norwegian leaders, to Moscow.

The party is strongly anti-militaristic. Some months ago formally ordered the constitution of soldiers' soviets by all men liable for military service.

ITALY

Paper Established to Spread Communism

Milan.—In order to popularize the among the workers of Italy, a fortnightly review, bearing the title "Comunismo", has just been established here. The new review is being edited by G. M. Serrati. It is to appear on the first and fifteenth of each month. It bears the sub-title "Review of the Third Internationale". The purpose of the periodical is set forth in the initial editorial as follows:

"This review is the organ of propaganda and of battle for the Third Internationale. Its program is the program of the Third Internationale.

"We shall write for the common folk and not for the elite. We shall agitate the problems of the common people. We shall speak in terms which plain folk can understand.

"We shall direct the forces which are stirring everywhere, thanks to the proletarian socialists, in order that the working class may free itself from the yoke of wage slavery and that it may achieve its social emancipation."

Among the subjects discussed in the first issue are "The Proletarian Dictatorship," by C. Lazzari, recently released from prison; "The Manifesto of the Third Internationale," "What a British Journalist saw in Russia," by Arthur Ransome, "India a Cemetery," "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," by Nicholas Lenin, etc., etc.

AUSTRIA

Whole Rising Generation May Go Under

London.—That the whole rising generation of Austria "may go under" unless famine relief is quickly brought, is the opinion of Dr. K. F. Wenckelbach, a Dutch physician who lived in Austria through the war and who is a delegate to the "Fight-the-Famine Council" in session here now.

Said Dr. Wenckelbach to a representative of the "Daily Herald."

"The condition of the famine-stricken people of Vienna is beyond imagination. They have no potatoes, and as for meat and other important foods, they are supplied as it were, from hand to mouth.

"I went to Vienna from Holland, which is my native country shortly before the war, and I have since felt that as a doctor I could not leave the sinking ship, but must remain to help the suffering people, especially in the hospitals.

"They are very badly off for medical appliances and drugs and have no money to buy them. The most elementary requirements for the patients are lacking.

"The children are rickety and without strength or vitality. It looks as though the whole of the rising generation must go under."

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RUSSIA

Lives Traded for Recognition

New York.—That 60,000 human lives were traded in return for the recognition of a small capitalistic government, is the bland admission of Leo Pasvolosky, editor of "Russkoye Slovo" of this city, in a recent article in the New York "Evening Post." The government in question which paid the price of human lives is Esthonia. Says Mr. Pasvolosky:

"The representatives of the North-western Russian Government on August 13 signed an agreement with the Government of Esthonia, recognizing her independence, in exchange for which Esthonia undertook to furnish Gen. Yudenich an army of 60,000 men. Incidentally, the correspondent of the 'Matin' who reported this, expressed regret that France did not take part in this 'arrangement', which was a decided victory for British diplomacy."

As to how Yudenich maintains himself, the editor of "Russkoye Slovo" remarks:

"Financially, the Northwestern Government is supported by the British, who have recently advanced to it a credit of \$5,000,000. It receives very considerable military assistance

from the Allies, particularly from England and France, and is working in constant touch with the Allied military missions."

HOLLAND

Radicalism Rampant in Dutch Schools

By W. J. L. KIEHL
(Cable in the New York Globe and Chicago Daily News.—Copyright, 1919)

Amsterdam, Nov. 17.—A "bond" or union of revolutionary social intellectuals has been inaugurated and the names of the members of the executive board have been published.

This union works in conjunction with communistic teachers' organizations and revolutionary socialist students' organizations in Holland. From persons whose sons are studying in the Dutch universities I learn that many students are imbued with bolshevism and that the communistic propaganda is very strong.

Two professors in the Amsterdam university are known to be "Idealist Bolsheviks," and in the Delft Technical University communism is popular. The new union will seek connections with similar organizations in other countries.

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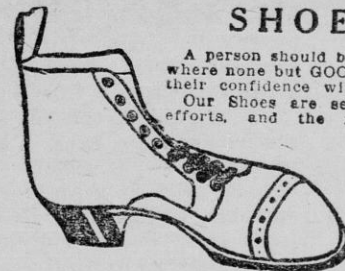
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"J'ACCUSE" By HENRY BARBUSSE

I Accuse! ... With this cry an honest man attacked the formidable social forces which in 1893 tried to dishonor an innocent man in order to assassinate him.

With this cry, emanating from the depths of their conscience, honest people now come out against the international reaction which, for monstrous reasons of class interest, in order to save its old barbarous privileges, has undertaken to dishonor and crush by hunger or by force of arms, the great Russian republic whose only guilt is that she dares to materialize her dream of emancipation.

We are accusing the rulers of France, England, and America who, in order to achieve with impunity, at the expense of the blood and money of their people that are still being kept in a state of subjection—their supreme anti-Socialist and in humane effort—have initiated an abominable campaign of vilification against Bolshevism, have used the basest and most arbitrary means to prevent the truth from spreading, have perverted

and falsified the facts (as was done in the case of Dreyfus or Caillaux), have poisoned public opinion, in order to force the masses of the people to arraign themselves against their own cause, and have deceived the people in order to be able to betray them.

We are accusing the clique of international imperialists, militarists, and merchants of having ignominiously, by means of the mercenary press, represented a thoroughly Socialist regime as a state of disorder. The fundamental law of the Russian Soviet Republic exists, in spite of everything, and any one so desirous may now read it. It is based on the principle of equality and the law of labor; it institutes the commune of the workers of Russia and assures them direct control. It proclaims the international character of the proletariat. No matter what our personal preferences may be, we must all admit that not only are these fundamental principles not contrary to reason and justice, but in the eyes of the most sensible

and loyal people, these principles appear to be the only thing capable of eradicating completely the two scourges which the theories of folly have been inflicting upon mankind: exploitation of the multitudes by the few, and war.

And it is just because of this, because of the glory of idealistic and practical truth, because of the halo of Bolshevism, and not on account of the few dictatorial measures taken by the people's commissaries—transitory and fully justified consequences of every successful revolution—and not due to the disorders, for which, as the Allies well know, the Bolsheviks are not responsible—that our masters—our enemies—have undertaken the torture and annihilation of Russia.

We accuse the Allies of having distorted the truth as regards the attitude of the Russians at the moment of the Brest-Litovsk peace. The Russians have proposed a thoroughly democratic peace, without any mental reservations. The Allies have refused to adhere to this proposal; for this they would have had

to admit their war aims, which were annexationist and therefore could not stand the light of open admission. It is therefore not the Russian, but the dictators of France and England who have in this case, as well as in many others, betrayed the cause of the people and of peace, have prolonged the war and decimated the national armies; in the same way that they have inundated with blood the Russian revolution through their ferocious opposition, prompted by self-interest and through the hypocritical aid which they have incessantly given to the counter-revolutionists; and in the same measure as they have, through systematic organization of massacres, devastation and famine, caused catastrophes which they have afterwards denounced as the consequence of the Soviet regime.

We accuse the bourgeois governments of the Entente of having thrown into this effort their last resources and the last forces of their people, whom they are openly dragging into a cynically reactionary cause, which one cannot honestly call other-

wise than the cause of Kolchak and Denikin, those butchers, bandits and Czarists.

We are accusing them of having left armies, innumerable regiments, in Germany, and of having become accomplices in that military reorganization fraught with the menace of revenge, in order to better crush popular aspiration in Russia, Germany, and elsewhere, and thus of having once more sacrificed the country's safety and the peace of the future to class hatred.

At a moment when the economic situation of our country has been damaged almost beyond repair, when the debt of France reaches and is going to surpass the amount of all of her resources, when the high cost of living and the taxes are becoming unbearable, when no prophecy is dark enough to picture the abyss into which we are falling, we accuse these unworthy representatives, not of nations but of castes, of having launched a campaign of war and blockade, which costs millions of dollars, impedes international commerce,

causes millions of sacrifices, and will bring in its train new wars, and of doing all this merely to save their infamous social order, and to extinguish an example too bright and luminous. We accuse them of precipitating the ruin of France, while disgracing her at the same time.

We are placing our faith and hope in the ultimate triumph of truth, determined no longer to aid in this greatest crime in the history of mankind without doing everything in our power to unmask it. We do not for a moment think that a single conscience can remain indifferent to so much cynicism and duplicity. We assume all civic responsibility. We shall proclaim the truth, that the people may know at least against whom they are going and that they finally may come to grasp the fact that they are fighting against themselves. In order to remain the masters of things and men, the age-long exploiters make use in their struggle against those who are now in the position of the Frenchmen of 1793 and who are carrying

out their mission in a fuller measure,—the only force capable of defeating the rebellious slaves who have become judges, i. e., the mutineers of all of their brothers.

Comrades, men, young people, women, mothers of future martyrs, former soldiers who are heartily cursing the war, manual and brain workers, all you have a common interest, and you Frenchmen to whom the noble traditions of French liberty—the traditions which they are attempting to trample on and soil—are still dear, do you not see that in Russia the soldiers of all countries, women, and children are dying in large numbers! Do not remain then any longer in face of these events, in gross ignorance, frightfully blinded by egotism inert and disgraced. Refuse to align yourself with despotism and savagery.

Save the cause of human truth by saving it in Russia. Rest assured that the future generations will judge the honest men of our generations by the degree to which they will now have voiced their emphatic protest.

Henri Barbusse

PROPOSED RUSSIAN PEACE TERMS

(A few weeks ago, the Russian Soviet Government gave out its new peace terms. They were responsible for the favorable speech of Lloyd George. In accordance with our policy, as stated at our hearing last Saturday we herewith publish same.—Ed. Truth.)

The Allied and Associated Governments to propose that hostilities shall cease on all front in the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, on a date to be set, to allow sufficient time for notification to be received by all parties, and that no new hostilities shall begin after this date pending a conference to be held in a neutral country, provided that either a radio or direct telegraph wire to Moscow should be put at the disposal of the Soviet Government.

The duration of the Armistice to be for two weeks unless extended by mutual consent, and all parties to the Armistice to undertake not to employ the period of the Armistice to transfer troops and war materials to the territory of the former Russian Empire. The conference to discuss peace on the basis of the following principles, which shall not be subject to revision by the conference.

1. All existing de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to remain in full control of territories which they occupy at the moment when the armistice becomes effective, except in so far as the conference may agree upon the transfer of territories; until the peoples inhabiting the territories controlled by these de facto governments shall themselves determine to change their governments.

The Russian Soviet Government and all other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, the Allied and Associated Governments, and the other governments which are operating against the Soviet Government, to agree not to attempt to upset by force the existing de facto governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire and the other Governments signatory to this agreement.

To Restore Trade.

2. The economic blockade to be raised and trade relations between Soviet Russia and the Allied and Associated countries to be re-established under conditions which will insure that supplies from the Allied and Associated countries are made available on equal terms to all classes of the Russian people.

3. The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right of unhindered transit on all railways and the use of all ports which belonged to the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, and

are necessary for the disembarkation and transportation of passengers and goods between their territories and the sea; detailed arrangements for the carrying out of this provision to be agreed upon at the conference.

4. The citizens of the Soviet Republics of Russia to have the right of free entry into the Allied and Associated countries, as well as into all countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland. Also the right of sojourn and circulation and full security provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of those countries.

Nationals of the Allied and Associated countries and of the other countries above-named to have the right of free entry into the Soviet Republics of Russia, also the right of sojourn, and of circulation and full security, provided they do not interfere in the domestic politics of the Soviet Republics. The Allied and Associated Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into the various Russian Soviet Republics.

The Soviet Governments of Russia to have the right to send official representatives enjoying full liberty and immunity into all the Allied and Associated countries and into the non-Soviet countries which have been formed on the territory of the former Russian Empire in Finland.

A General Amnesty.

5. The Soviet Governments, the other Governments, which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire to give a general amnesty to all Russian political opponents, offenders and prisoners, and to give their own nationals who have been or may be prosecuted for giving help to Soviet Russia.

All Russians who have fought in or otherwise aided the armies opposed to the Soviet Governments, and those opposed to the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to be included in this amnesty.

All prisoners of war of non-Russian Powers detained in Russia, likewise all nationals of those Powers now in Russia, to be given all facilities for repatriation. The Russian prisoners of war, in whatever country they may be, likewise all Russian nationals, including the Russian soldiers and officers abroad, and those serving in all foreign armies to be given full facilities for repatriation.

6. Immediately after the signing of this agreement all troops of the Allied and Associated Governments and other non-Russian Governments to be withdrawn from Russia,

and military assistance to cease to be given to any of the governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire.

The Soviet Government and the anti-Soviet Governments, which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, to begin to reduce their armies simultaneously, and at the same rate to a peace footing immediately after the signing of this agreement.

Foreign Debts Recognised.

The conference to determine the most effective and just method of inspecting and controlling this simultaneous demobilization, and also the withdrawal of the troops and the cessation of military assistance to the anti-Soviet Governments.

7. The Allied and Associated Governments, taking cognizance of the statement of the Soviet Government of Russia in its Note of February 4, in regard to its foreign debts, propose as integral part of this agreement that the Soviet Governments and the other Governments which have been set up on the territory of the former Russian Empire, including Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Finland, shall recognise their responsibilities for the financial obligations of the former Russian Empire to foreign States, parties to this agreement, and to the INDIVIDUAL NATIONALS of such States. Detailed arrangements for the payment of these debts to be agreed upon at the conference, regard being had to the present financial position of Russia.

Note.—The statement of the Soviet Government of February 4, 1919, referred to above is as follows:—

1. The Russian Soviet Government does not refuse to recognise its financial obligations to all its creditors, either States or individuals, belonging to the Entente Powers, whereas details of the realization of this point must become the object of special agreement as the result of the proposed negotiations.

2. In view of the difficult financial situation the Russian Soviet Government proposes an exchange with raw materials which will be enunciated in the suggested agreement.

3. In view of the great interest which has always been shown by foreign Capital for the exploitation of Russian natural riches, the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to grant concessions upon mines, forests, and so on to citizens of the Entente Powers under conditions which must be carefully determined, so that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia shall not suffer from the internal rule of these concessions.

4. The Russian Soviet Government will negotiate with

the Entente Powers on the question of territorial concessions.

Reply Before November 15.

8. The Soviet Government of Russia undertakes and accepts the foregoing proposal, provided that it is made not later than November 15, 1919. The Soviet Government is most anxious to have a semi-official guarantee from the American and British Governments that they will do their utmost to see to it that France lives up to the conditions of the Armistice.

The Soviet Government hopes that it will not be necessary to transfer this offer (with the necessary modifications) to the Central Powers.

PRINKIPO: TEXT OF SOVIET REPLY

The following is the text of the original wireless message sent out in February last by the Russian Soviet Government in reply to the Entente proposal for an all Russian Conference to be held at Prince's Island (Prinkipo):—

By Radio. 4/2/1919.

To Carnarvon (British Government), Forsyth (British Government), Carnarvon, for Washington (Secretary of State), Lyon, for Washington (Secretary of State), Karlsborg Telegrafagentur.

To the Governments of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and the United States of North America.

The Russian Soviet Government has learnt from a Press radio about an alleged invitation from the Entente Powers to all the de facto Governments in Russia, calling upon them to send delegates to a Conference to the Prince's Island.

No Invitation

Having received no invitation, and learning from Press radios as before the fact that it has given no answer is being interpreted as a refusal to answer the invitation, the Russian Soviet Government wishes to remove from its line of action every possibility of misrepresentation. Taking into consideration, further, that its acts are being systematically presented by the foreign Press in a false light, the Russian Soviet Government takes this opportunity to state its attitude quite clearly and openly.

Although the situation of Soviet Russia is becoming every day more and more favourable, both from a military and interior point of view, the Russian Soviet Government evaluates so highly the conclusion of an agreement which will put an end to the hostilities that it is ready to enter immediately into negotiations to that end, and even, as it has so often before declared, to pay the price of serious sacrifices, under the express condition that the future development of the Soviet Republic will not be endangered. Considering that its enemies derive their force of resistance solely from the help given them by the Entente Powers, and that these are consequently the only real adversaries

with whom it has to deal, the Russian Soviet Government states herewith to the Entente Powers the points on which it would esteem possible such sacrifices, in order to put an end to every difference with these Powers.

Those Foreign Loans

Seeing the special importance assigned in the Press, and also in the repeated declarations made by the representatives of the Entente Governments to the question of the Russian State loans, the Russian Soviet Government declares itself, in the first place, ready to make a concession on this point to demands of the Entente Governments. It does not refuse to recognise its financial obligations towards its creditors belonging to the Entente Powers, whereas the details of the realization of this point must become the object of special agreement, as the result of the proposed negotiations.

Further, seeing the difficult financial situation of the Russian Soviet Republic and the unsatisfactory state of its credit abroad, the Russian Soviet Government proposes to guarantee the interest with raw material, which will be enumerated in the suggested agreements.

Thirdly, seeing the great interest which has always been shown by foreign capital for the exploitation of Russia's natural riches, the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to grant concessions upon mines, forests, and so on to citizens of the Entente Powers, under conditions which must be carefully determined, so that the economic and social order of Soviet Russia shall not suffer from the internal rule of these concessions.

The fourth point upon which the Russian Soviet Government finds it possible to negotiate with the Entente Powers is the question of territorial concession, seeing that the Russian Soviet Government is not determined to exclude at any price from these negotiations the discussion of eventual annexations of Russian territory by the Entente Powers. The Russian Soviet Government adds further that, in its opinion, by annexation is understood the maintenance, in some regions formerly making part of the old Russian Empire (excluding Poland and Finland), of armed forces of the Entente; or maintained at the expense of the Entente, or enrolling the military, technical, financial, or other support of these same Powers.

As regards the second, third, and fourth points, the extent of the concession that can be expected from the Russian Soviet Government will depend upon its military situation towards the Entente Powers, which at the present period, is ameliorating itself every day.

(The Soviet Government here recounts the various military successes achieved by the Red Armies, and speaks of its improved relations with the Soviet Revolutionary and the Mensheviks, who also protested against Allied intervention.)

United Against Imperialism.

The growing internal quiet is shown by the suppression of the District Extraordinary Commission. As to the false news of the foreign Press, concerning alleged disorders

in Petrograd and elsewhere, these are, from beginning to end, only fiction. Emphasising once more that the situation of Soviet Russia will necessarily influence the extent of the sacrifices to which it will consent, the Russian Soviet Government nevertheless maintains its proposition to negotiate upon the points enumerated above.

Propaganda Abroad

As to the frequent complaints of the Entente Press about the Russian revolutionary international propaganda, the Russian Soviet Government, whilst pointing out the fact that it cannot restrain the liberty of the revolutionary Press, declares its readiness, in case of necessity, to include in a general agreement with the Entente Powers the pledge to refrain from any interference in their internal affairs.

On the indicated bases the Russian Soviet Government is disposed to begin immediately negotiations, whether on Prince's Island or elsewhere, with the Entente Powers collectively; or else with some of them separately; or else with some Russian political groups, according to the desires of the Entente Powers. The Russian Soviet Government asks the Entente to name without delay the place to which its representatives are to be sent, as well as the date of the meeting and the route to be followed.

The People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

Tchitcherino, Moscow, the fourth of February, 1919

Mutiny in British Troops on Russian Line.

By George Seldes in Chicago Tribune London.—A Castle liner with some 2,000 British troops aboard recently arrived in Plymouth. Other transports bringing contingents from the North Russia expeditionary force are still on their way. Many English and colonial homes have been made happy by this withdrawal from Russia, but the nation has discovered suddenly that the returned warriors are excellent agents for the bolshevik idea.

Tommies you meet on the street, in the restaurants, in the Y. M. C. A. huts, everywhere, do not hesitate to tell you about the mutinies in the frozen north, and they give you the causes. Officers frown, but admit there was no help for it. And those who fear that the bolshevik ideas which the soldiers spread may bring about serious troubles are hastening to disband the regiments and scatter them to the four corners of the globe.

The real reason bolshevism spread among the British, French, and American troops in Russia was because the officers had no valid answer to the men's asking what they were fighting for, a young Australian soldier, a bright chap who had been through the public schools and had worked in America several years, told me. "The bolsheviks kept on sending over notes asking us why we were on their soil. At first we ignored them.

"Then came a day when some of our prisoners came back. They were set free on condition that they asked their officers the same question. Another day some of our wounded of a previous day's encounter were returned to us under a white flag in charge of a young Russian lieutenant who spoke English perfectly.

"Ask your officers why they are fighting us," the bolshevik advised us, and departed.

"Well, that made us think. Up to then we had sent one or two replies, just pulling the bols' legs. This time we asked our officers.

"You are fighting the king's enemies—just as you swore to when you enlisted," our officers replied. "So we sent that reply to the bols.

"A day later we got some more notes from them. I do not remember the wording, but the idea was that they, the bols, were not the enemy of King George and that the real reason the allied troops were on Russian soil was to restore the old czaristic government so that the millions of pounds worth of Russian notes, held chiefly by the French and British interests and canceled by the bols, would be honored and paid.

"The Frenchies got all upset by this note and by similar notes from the bols professing the brotherhood of man and similar socialist stuff. We kept quiet. One day we had another fight with the bolsheviks and lost some dead and wounded. The next day came the usual notes from the bols.

"This time we answered: 'We are fighting to save our skins.' 'The bols replied: 'So are we. Let's all go home.'

"That sounded good. Conditions were awful up there. We really had no reason to be there, we figured, despite the officers' saying it was to fight the king's enemies. Hell, I did enough fighting the king's enemies. I mean the Germans. I was wounded at Croiselles on the Bapaume-Cambrai road. I fought in Gallipoli. I knew why I was fighting then. But there was no sense in fighting the Russians, who were treating us damn white and only beggin' us to clear out and let them settle their own pudding.

"I guess the lieutenants and captains thought the same way about it, although outwardly they kept up the bols being worse than the Germans. We thought so at first, too, and say the atrocities we committed against them were worse than any German atrocities against the Australians and Canadians. Yes, we killed bolshevik prisoners, we tortured them, we bayoneted wounded and left them to freeze to death. After they replied by sending our wounded back well cared for we changed our tactics. We couldn't believe our officers then.

"I don't know much about the Americans, but I guess it was the same with them—and likewise the French. We all changed our minds. Now about this mutiny: we don't call it a mutiny. We just call it cessation of hostilities. We figured we had fought the real war and won the real war, and this was just bloody murder, yardon the word."

TRUTH--Duluth, Minn.

EDITORIALS

"Accept, and the world moves with you,
Revolt, and you walk alone,
But sweet it is both night and day
To know that your soul is your own—

That the open sky is above you,
That your ways are free and bold,
That YOU'RE not one of the timid sheep
That cower in the fold.

The District Attorney prosecuted the charge against us at a hearing, held last Saturday, before the U. S. Commissioner.

We cross-examined all witnesses and succeeded in making T. E. Campbell special agent of the Department of Justice, admit that we acted above board in all matters affecting "Truth" and its dealings with the government. We also brought out the point in our cross-examination of the Post Office official, that we never attempted to hide our paper from the Government. In all our writings and business transactions we have never sought to hide anything from any person or persons. We have fought a clean fight, out in the open, that is more than we can say for our opponents.

We were unable to convince the U. S. Commissioner of the necessity of retaining the rights of free press and free speech. So accordingly we will be tried on January 13th, 1920. Truly a good start for the New Year!

We urged the U. S. Commissioner to uphold the rights of the Constitution. But the District Attorney stated in reply to our appeal, that we were an alien and consequently had **NO RIGHTS** under the Constitution. Aliens are only **PERMITTED** to live and work here and are entitled to what the **GOVERNMENT** cares to **GIVE** them. So there you have it. The District Attorney is a Single-Taxer, or was. He was a big supporter of Henry George. The same Henry George, that our grandfather worked with, in the days of the Land League of Ireland. When Henry George came to Ireland, they did not call him an alien. They extended the hand of fellowship and accepted his advice when possible, and rejected it when they found it unsuitable. When Thomas Paine went to France, he received the hand-clasps of the French men and women. When other Americans have travelled to other parts of the world, nobody called them aliens. It ill-becomes a United States official to use the term alien in the endeavor to score in a legal debate. What is the matter with American affairs, that American officials are afraid to allow an alien to discuss them? True it is that we are Irish. We will be Irish so long as the British Government oppresses Ireland. We stand for a free Ireland. An Ireland that will be owned and controlled by the Irish workingclass, not by the Irish masterclass. But at the same time our love for the cause of workingclass freedom in Ireland, does not make us a narrow-minded bigoted nationalist. We stand for the oppressed workers of all countries and America is not without her share. We are in entire agreement with Thomas Paine.

AN AMERICAN, when he said,—"WHERE LIBERTY IS NOT, THERE IS MY HOME."

On all sides we are being fought. The Government has arrested us. The Commercial organizations have combined against us. All manner of attempts have been made to suppress us. We have beat them all to it. Our circulation is not 1600, as the government states. That is the number of subscribers, but there are thousands of others who read the paper. Our circulation is bigger than any weekly in this State, with one exception.

We are going to live through it all. Within the last few days, men and women of all shades of opinion have advised us to look after ourselves.

We wish to state here and now, that if any attempts are made upon our life, that we will defend ourselves to the uttermost limits. We shall not allow any gang of cowards to intimidate us. If these men who are breathing threats against our life throw the law on one side, then they can rest assured that we shall put into operation the old Mosaic law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

We are not advising the shedding of blood, but we are just issuing notice to those that attempt to do anything. We trust they will not be so foolish as to attempt anything of the nature they intended. They really believe that we stand alone. We have more support than WE really know. The men and women that have clasped our hands, after our recent arrest, have surprised us. Their support has been the means of keeping us on the job. We may not be big enough to beat all the forces that are opposed to us, but rest assured whilst we are on the job we are going to tell the truth about all matters that are of vital importance to the workingclass. We have buckled our belt, grit our teeth so on with the fight!

We do not care if every employer in this city is united against us, what we do appreciate, is the support of the workers of this city. It is for them that we fight. For the men and women whose lot it is to go down into the mines, in the shops and upon the seas, and to sweat and slave so that others may reap the benefit of their toil. We have lived their lives and we know their lot and sufferings, because we have lived and endured them. From the days that we sat at the knees of our dear old grandfather, we have known what it is to dream great things and to hope someday that our dreams might come true. We have known what it is to go out and do and dare, so that by the organization of our class

we might make those dreams of our earlier youth come true. Men and women of the workingclass, many times others have despaired of you, but we have not. We know that you feel the effects of the "stinging lash of poverty" and the oppression of those that own you body and soul. We know of your long hours of toil in a factory, driven like a beast of burden. We know of your trudge home to a house that some call a home and others, in their charity, refuse to give it a name. We know of the struggles that you daily endure and we know that deep down in your hearts is a feeling that has not yet expressed itself. But we do know that someday you are going to gather together and make this world, the world of your dreams. A world in which people will live for the joy of living and not slave for the sole purpose of making others rich. To you we turn in this hour. We beg of you to read and educate yourself. Do not accept what we say, but think for yourselves. Today we stand persecuted by those that enslave your wives and children and yourselves. Ask yourselves the question, "Why do they do this?" and in that answer you will find the basis of our ideas.

Comrades, the fight commences, more in earnest, with our arrest. It may be that they will be able to railroad us to prison or deport us, but never mind, they cannot railroad or deport the workingclass. That class someday is going to get together and run the world for those that will serve the world. To the task of educating and organizing the workingclass let us pledge ourselves. Every arrest is made, only serves to bring more men and women to our side.

When we first came here we sent our message to you all, for the sake of our many friends we reprint our message.

WATCHMAN, WHAT OF THE NIGHT?

Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, whose name is Labor and whose voice is Time's own thunder, what of this midnight of universal madness? What of this night when all the winds of all the ways of the world are sobbing like captive souls chained in dark caverns of fear, and the mother heart of Humanity quails before a dread whose birthplace is the graveyard of Hope?

Watchman, what of the night? What of the battlefields of Europe? What of the millions of men who come from every land to dig their trenches and launch Death and Hell and Damnation? What of the carnage that rolls like a flood of hatred along every battlefield? What of the submarines that lurk in supreme cowardice beneath the surfaces of the deep, write into the records of the world madness the success of their diabolical sabotage, sink millions of irrecoverable wealth to the ocean's depths and fill the world with lamentations for lives ruthlessly destroyed.

Watchman, whose name is Labor, what of such a night? Was it for this a million years ago and more the brute-man stood erect with the sunlight of a new day in his eyes? Was it for this the race came down from the trees, marched from the swamps and the caves, and triumphed over the wild life of the forests? Was it for this the villages were built, the towns developed, the teeming cities established? Was it for this the world's mighty civilisation arose? Was it for this Labor through thousands of slave-cursed years struggled and endured and bled and died? Was it for this the marvels of science were achieved—the telescope swept the heavens, and men analysed the stars and measured the speed of the lightning's flash? Was it for this the great steamships were sent thrashing and throbbing across all the oceans to link up the uttermost ends of the earth, and the railroads laid across river chasms and driven through the rocky hearts of the everlasting mountains for the annihilation of the land distances? Was it for this men conquered the air, unravelled its secrets, and sent wireless wordwonders flying through space? Watchman, what of the night in which all the great discoveries of Science that might have been applied for the benefit of the race are used for destruction both of life and wealth?

Watchman, what of the night in which a handful of men control the world's politics and its destinies, and say whether and when there shall be war or peace? What of the night in which these few hold in the hollow of their hands the control of all the world's industries and operate them for their own material gain and with scant regard for the well-being of the race? What of the millions who toil and slave from the morning of life till night of darkness and death for a pittance—for just so much of the abundance they produce as will enable them to keep body and soul together? What of the huge army of men, women, and children whose lives are needlessly sacrificed on the fields of industry in order that production might be cheapened and profits increased? What of the immense fortunes accumulated by the drones and parasites of society, who toil not neither do they spin, and whose lives are wasted in rounds of luxury, frivolity and often in debauchery?

Watchman, what of the night? What of such a night? And the Watchman whose name is Labor and whose voice is Time's own thunder, replies: "THE MORNING COMETH." Already "the wings of dawn are beating at the gates of day." In Russia they are beating very loudly, and soon the Eastern gates shall swing on sunlit hinges. What of the Night? Capitalism is the Night. Out of Capitalism and along with it came wage-slavery and the oppression of the Many by the Few. Out of the accumulated values stolen by the Few from the Many came the need for world markets. Out of the need for world markets came the struggle for

territorial expansion; and out of the struggle came national hatreds and armaments firms and secret diplomacy; and out of the aggregation of these came War, with dripping fangs and bleary eyes—War, with its far-flung battle-lines, which has made of Europe one vast graveyard, and of the world a house of mourning. Capitalism is doomed. The night will pass; the morning cometh when the Many will no longer slave for the Few. In that new day Each will labor for All. "Then all mine and thine shall be ours." And wars will never again come to curse mankind with their madness; for when Labor has ended the rule of Capitalism it will have translated into national and international practice the great principle of **PEACE ON EARTH—GOOD WILL TO MEN—THE MORNING COMETH.**

We are going to push our trial. We are going to see that the issuer created by the Government is made clear, either one way or the other. Comrades we are winning. When the forces of reaction have to call upon the government to help them out, then it is proof positive that behind us is the overwhelming sentiment of the workingclass. Through the many years we have worked hard to bring our message before the people and today they are accepting it. We met the capitalist class, with its prostitute professors, editors etc., on the intellectual field and demonstrated our intellectual superiority. We demonstrated on the political field, that if we were allowed our Constitutional rights, we would sweep into political office. Then the capitalist class refused to allow our speakers to place their programs before the people. They refused to allow our elected representatives to sit in office. We have proved that when it comes to organization, we can beat them on the industrial field. Beaten on all sides the capitalist class stands today with only one weapon, **THE WEAPON OF FORCE.** It marks the final stage of the age-long fight of Labor. Through the centuries of time Labor has struggled towards the goal of freedom. Many have fallen by the wayside and many have made the supreme sacrifice. But though it is hard plodding along the road to industrial freedom, soon we are going to stand upon the hilltops and taking our children by the hand we will shew them the world that we fought and died for.

CURRENT CANT

"We are a law-biding organization".

Officers of the American Legion.

The American Legion is continually reminding us that they are a law-abiding organization. They believe in the Constitution, spelt with a big C. One has only to review the recent acts of the Legion to know that the above statement is all cant and hypocrisy. The Legion neither stands for law, nor order.

In Oakland, Cal, they broke into and destroyed the headquarters of the Communist Labor Party. Both crimes are classed under the heading of burglary and incendiarism.

In Minneapolis they entered the Modern Book Store, broke the windows and **STOLE** several books.

In Detroit they warned the Mayor that the Haywood meeting would be stopped. This despite the fact that the officials of the community had given their sanction to the meeting. We are glad that the Detroit Federation of Labor is going to invite Haywood to speak and place the issue squarely before the people as to whether the Government runs the country or the Legion. We are glad also that the Federation of Labor in Detroit has decided that the American Legion is no place for a **UNION MAN.**

In Reading, Pa., the Legion came out, armed, and prevented an amnesty meeting, even though the Mayor of that city had given his permission.

In many other places they have usurped the powers of government and have taken the law into their hands. Ye gods! This is the organization that stands for law and order. We have no quarrel with the rank and file of the Legion. We sincerely believe that they are down-right good fellows, but they are being led astray by the gang of scheming politicians and cockroach businessmen at the head of the organization. We hereby challenge:

Dr. IRWIN, young McGiffert, young Condon, Elmer McDewitt or any of the leaders to meet us in open debate. Each side to appoint a committee to superintend arrangements for the debate. The debate to be a ticket debate. Each side to have an equal number of tickets. We will allow the Legion to appoint its own chairman.

In order to discredit the World War Veterans, a bonafide organization of soldiers, they charge us with saying that the I. W. W. and the World War Veterans are the same. Any person who has read the preambles of both organizations can see for himself that there is as much difference between the two organizations, as there is between chalk and cheese.

The leaders of the Legion are trying their damndest to have us run out of town. They have failed. So now they turn to the government. Where is all this talk of fair-play, that the secretary of the Legion assured us his organization possessed? With all the East End parasites behind their organization, they are unable to drive one poor radical out of town. They run to the Government and like a bunch of poor children they plead with the government to arrest us.

The "Poor" Alien.

The local papers are considerably perturbed over the fact that we are an alien. To be an alien these days, especially when you do your own thinking, is a crime beyond the shadow of a doubt.

Suppose for one moment that we took out our papers, and became a citizen, what then? Do you think that the press would be more kind to us, than

they have been? It is not your nationality that counts, it is what you think! So as far as worrying about being an alien we feel at times that some of the boasted Americans might find a good job with Dennikin, Yudenitch and other murderers. It was an **AMERICAN** that said to an **AMERICAN** gunman, referring to Fannie Sellins, another **AMERICAN**, "Kill the God dam whore, son of a bitch." It was an **AMERICAN**, John D. Rockefeller, that was responsible for burning alive of little children, in the tents of Ludlow. It was an **AMERICAN**, an officer of the U. S. Army, that said at Ludlow, "To hell with the Constitution."

When the agents of the Steel Trust went to Theodore Roosevelt, then president, and claimed that if they were not allowed to take over the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, there would be a panic. **THEY LIED.** The Stanley Commission in 1911 investigated the taking over of the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company and stated, "THAT THE STEEL TRUST UNLAWFULLY ACQUIRED A POWER WHICH IS A MENACE TO THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY." Who are the members of the Steel Trust? All good 100 % **AMERICANS.**

Who sends children into the factories of Carolina, at the early age of six? 100 % **AMERICANS.**

Who orders the gunmen to shoot down strikers? 100 % **AMERICANS.**

Who made the millions of dollars profit during the war? **WHO?**

Let us not be misunderstood, we are neither proud of the fact that we are an alien, neither are we ashamed of the fact that we are not an American. We stand for the workingclass of ALL countries, **GERMANY AND RUSSIA INCLUDED.** We have no love for an American boss or an Irish boss. They are both parasites of the worst type. The flea lives on you for a short time, but the boss all the time. But when we witnessed the brutal tyranny that was being exercised over the foreign element of the workingclass we came out for stand for the workinclass and we will always stand for We refuse to allow a bunch of profit-grabbing-child-snatchers to tell us what to do and what to think. We stand for the workingclass and we will always stand for them. Deportation you say! Go to it. Arrest you say! Go to it! You are a bunch of King Canutes. The waves of Bolshevism, which is workingclass independence, are washing over your feet. You are powerless to prevent them. They rise higher and higher, soon the deluge will follow. In the meantime how much do you think we care for what you say about our being an alien. It causes you more worry than it does us.

When they want men to mine the ore; to man the ships; to run the trains; in fact to do any kind of necessary work they do not care whether you are an alien or an American. The more work you can do the better they will like you. Let us discard the foolish ideas of a narrow nationalism and step out into the broad ranks of the army of Labor. Let us stand man to man, woman to woman, as members of the workingclass. As we said at the beginning it is not your nationality that counts, it is what you stand for. Better by far to be worthy of the respect of the poor "hunky" down the mine, than the prostituted praises of a parasite of the capitalist class. No matter who you are, whether you are a foreigner or an American, if you belong to the workingclass, then we stand for you. Today we are receiving the abuse of the East End parasites and the kept press, but we are also receiving the support of the men on the job. The one we treat with contempt, the other we cherish. Comrades let us all stand together. The day of the shirker is nearly over.

ON WITH THE CLASS WAR!

WE TOLD YOU SO!

Many members of the American Federation of Labor are beginning to realise the folly of their ways. When we told you that it would be the radical today and YOU tomorrow, you just treated us with a haughty contempt. Now you are becoming wiser. You see now that it is not the name of your organization that counts, it is the purpose.

The Industrial Workers of the World were first attacked, Labor fakirs passed resolutions, that were published in the capitalist press, thereby giving aid and comfort to the enemy. Then the radical socialists were attacked. Still the resolutions appeared. Now the American Federation of Labor is being attacked. One by one they break us over their knees. United we cannot be crushed, but divided we fall.

When are you going to realise the logic of events and form your **ONE BIG UNION?**

The Citizen's **AL-LIE-ance** denies the right of the Court House employees to organize. The mere fact that they formed an alliance is conclusive proof that they believe in organization. If a small trade union of Court House employees is going to undermine the State, what shall we say of the American Legion that **USURPS** the powers of the State? But then the Court House Union is for the workers and of the workers. Whilst on the other hand, the Legion is for the capitalist class. One is for the advancement of Labor's cause and the other, as in Seattle, can be used for strikebreaking.

Let us meet the challenge of the Citizen **AL-LIE-ance** and shew to them that we believe in **MAPORITY RULE.** Let ALL the workers get together as workers and by the strength of their combined economic and political power they will demonstrate the justice of their cause.

We wonder how some of those labor leaders feel now? Those that went to Mayor Magney and objected to our work. They will surely realise that we were correct in our understanding of things. Dismiss from your minds the foolish idea about capturing of public opinion, but stand together for in **UNITY THERE IS STRENGTH!**