

The Fear Of Death Is The Beginning Of Slavery

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

THE TRUTH



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WHOLE NO. 99

Welcome Home, Minnesota Soldier Workers!

Soldier Workers!

For a year and a half you have been under arms—either on the battle-line in France, or in camp over here.

Some of you volunteered. The great majority of you were conscripted without being asked whether or not you wanted to go. But as free men and citizens, you would have refused to go if you had not believed that this was a War for Democracy, a War against Tyranny and Oppression, a War to Make the World a Better Place to Live In.

The War is over. You come home flushed with victory, eager for that increased measure of freedom that was promised you. As you sailed up the harbor, wild with the joy of home-coming—as you paraded the city streets, hung with banners and thunderous with cheering crowds—eagerly you looked around to see the signs of that new world which you believed you had hammered into shape with your cannon, and cemented with the blood of your fallen comrades.

Well, now that you have had time to look around, how does it strike you? Is there more democracy than before you went away? Although the War is over, workingmen are still being sent to prison for speaking what they believed, while not one single profiteer has been punished with a day in jail. 'Gene Debs, and Kate O'Hare go to the penitentiary for defending the rights of the workers, while the charges against the Phelps Dodge thugs who deported workers from Bisbee, Arizona, into the desert, have been dropped by the Government. Working class papers are denied the mails, and suppressed, while the capitalist papers openly incite to violence and lynch law against working-class organizations, and get off scot-free.

The National Security League and other capitalist spy societies and White Guard organizations carry on, under the pretext of "fighting Bolshevism," an almost open fight against the working class, but if a foreign born worker dares to join the I. W. W. he is deported without trial—if they can get away with it. Root, Lodge and other defenders of the tyranny of the great trusts attack our Government without scruple, but there are fifteen hundred champions of the working-class in prison right now for daring to think different about the Government than the ruling class permits.

The City of New York appropriates \$250,000 for decorations to welcome you home, and there are innumerable Victory Dinners at six dollars a plate, but you can't get jobs, not even the jobs you held before you went away—unless you'll reduce your former salaries.

WON A WAR—LOST A JOB!

You return to find industry closing down, bread-lines everywhere, prices of everything out of sight and a lot of new millionaires who got rich manufacturing war materials. You find no plan of reconstruction, either on the part of the Government, or private employers. Everybody cheers you coming back; but a man can't live on cheers.

Your comrades in Siberia and North Russia are still at war, without a declaration of war, against the only Workingmen's Government in the world. In North Russia they are commanded by the Japanese. The Government will not tell them why they are fighting—the Government does not dare to tell them why they are fighting. They are sick at heart, enduring untold hardships.

Look abroad, to Paris, where our noble Allies squabble over annexations and indemnities, and plot to prevent the workers from taking over their own Governments.

The capitalist press, and the White Guards of the National Security League, incite you against the workers and their organizations. They tell you that "Bolshevism" is attempting to destroy our "free institutions." They finance soldier-papers like Treat 'Em Rough, which is backed by James Farrell of the United States Steel Corporation and other capitalists who hate the workers, to urge you to attack Socialist meetings. They whisper that while you were suffering and risking your lives in stinking trenches for thirty dollars a month, the workers at home were on strike for enormous wages.

This is a lie. The fabulous wages reported in the newspapers only applied to a small fraction of the skilled workers. The high cost of living has wiped out that increase for the great body of workers; their condition is worse than it was before the war; their Unions are being broken up, and industry is closing down in order to reduce these wages to a point below the living wage before the war.

Every effort of the workers to improve their condition was an effort for you every demand of the workers for industrial democracy is your demand. The revolutionary Labor movement is your movement. You belong to the working class. You are workers—not soldiers. You are crushing yourselves when you help to crush the working-class revolution.

Be men. Join hands with the workers of Russia, of Hungary, of Italy, of England. Fall in! The iron battalions of the proletariat are forming.

FRENCH 'TIGER' TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA IRONY AND PATHOS IN BARES CLAWS BERLIN MAY DAY HUSH

French Socialists and Laborites Voice Anger Over May Day Events.

Paris, May 1.—Eighty policemen were wounded in May Day riots here today and fifty arrests were made.

Among those slightly injured were Leon Jouhaux, General Secretary of the Federation of Labor, and Deputy Poncelet. A young man was killed in the opera district.

Fifteen persons were wounded, several of them seriously, in the neighborhood of the Gare de l'Est when crowds stoned a cavalry force and many shots were fired.

There were numerous clashes in the Boulevard de Magenta, where barriers were erected and the troops were fired upon.

Early in the afternoon shots were heard, apparently coming from the crowd on the boulevards between the Madeleine and the Opera. A number of persons were seen lying in the streets and it was not known whether they were shot or were ridden down by the troops. Ambulances were sent to the vicinity.

Aimed to March on Chamber.
Speakers addressed the assemblages and advised them that they were the weaker party, suggesting that they return to the Place de la Republique and the Place de la Bastille, "your own part of Paris." The crowd then began to move in that direction.

One of the speakers climbed a

pole to address the crowd, saying that it was useless to attempt to storm the Place de la Concorde and reach the objective, the Chamber of Deputies and the War Ministry, where demonstrations had been planned.

The crowd moved away, turning east on the boulevards, singing the "Internationale." The roar of voices was audible for many blocks as the surging people overran the boulevards, which were lined with the Republican Guards in their shining helmets.

The place de la Concorde looked ghastly in the cold, driving rain with rusty captured German guns of all calibre pointed toward the heavens. Here and there was a machine gun, inconspicuously placed between the captured enemy pieces and looking strangely new.

Some Slashed With Swords.

Several persons were slightly injured in clashes with troops resisting the passage of crowds toward the Place de la Concorde. A few individuals in the crowd were slashed with swords.

The troops had their greatest difficulty in keeping the place de la Concorde clear. After one attempt to invade the place had been only temporarily successful the cavalry and police herding the crowds back

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"I saw more opera in Petrograd during the months it was supposed to be running knee deep in blood, than I ever did in all the rest of my life," states Red Cross worker, recently returned from Russia.

A Lecture By WILFRED HUMPHRIES.

"I saw more opera in Petrograd during the months it was supposed to be running knee-deep in blood, than I ever did in all the rest of my life," said Wilfred R. Humphries, worker for the American Y. M. C. A. and later for the American Red Cross in Russia during its reddest months. Humphries, young, unaffected, eager-eyed, of the college organization worker type, gave his lecture on Russia at the Woodman Hall and Workers Opera House last Sunday and Monday evenings, and in the course of it showing slides of Bolshevik scenes that he brought with him when he left Russia four months ago. "Besides the opera, there were Ibsen, Shaw, Tolstoy, Shakespeare's plays and vaudeville. In two months that Maeterlinck's 'Bluebird' ran, I never succeeded in getting in line early enough to get a ticket. In Moscow, I went to night school three evenings a week to learn Russian, and other evenings attended political meetings at Smolny Institute and other places. And every evening I saw women coming out of theaters in twos and threes, unattended by men, starting out across the city, streetcarless and dark, with no fear whatever. At this time schools were being organized all over Russia. I remember in Petrograd seeing a poster announcing the opening of a kindergarten that said the children would be served with a hot lunch. This was the

chaos and anarchy you read about.

I heard stores of chaos and anarchy in Russia, too. From the time I landed in Vladivostok—where the red flag was flying—through the seven thousand miles of the journey to Moscow, we were met by the fleeing bourgeoisie and regaled with stories of terror and atrocity, hunger, typhus and murder. Typhus was killing a thousand a day, said the fugitives. Three-fourths of Moscow was burned to the ground. The Kremlin was destroyed. First we heard that Kerensky had thoroughly defeated the Bolsheviks. As we came nearer it was that the issue of the battle was still in doubt. Nearer—the Bolsheviks seemed to have the advantage, temporarily. When we got there the six days of fighting was over and Kerensky was fleeing.

"I saw 'destroyed' Kremlin—with a piece of statuary at the gate broken and holes through two of the churches—otherwise intact. I found the origin of the 'three-fourths of Moscow burned.' Five buildings had really been destroyed.

"Outrages—of a sort—I did see. On one of my departures from Petrograd, at the Nicolif station, I saw three Russians officers, epaulettes off, of course, carrying passengers baggage to the train. For the standard fee, since no tips were allowed, they duly carried my luggage for me. I saw a portly Russian gentleman in an expensive fur coat selling a bourgeois newspaper. After a particularly heavy snowfall, the Petrograd Soviet ordered everybody out to shovel snow, with the order

that no one physically able to shovel might hire anyone else to do it for him. And house committees enforced the ruling.

"One more outrage I saw. Soon after the Soviets came into power, the bank clerks and civil servants, encouraged and supported by the bourgeoisie, went on strike. Lenin countered them suddenly and cruelly by seizing all the banks and ruling that no matter if a man had millions deposited, he could withdraw no more than one hundred and fifty rubles (fifteen dollars) a month for each member of his family. This meant that the bourgeoisie could get no money to support the strikers and the result was that the strike was broken. But the touch that added insult to injury was the order that each depositor must stand in line to draw his monthly allowance. He couldn't send anyone for it. I saw in that line a plump, deeply-furrowed, bediamonded woman with genuine tears coursing down her cheeks at the indignity she was suffering.

"What impressed most impartial observers in Russia, I think, was the tolerance, the consideration, I had almost said the gentleness of the Soviets and their policies. You have heard much about the suppression of bourgeois newspapers. The only ones suppressed were those that were printing absolute and outrageous lies about the Bolsheviks. If a Russian newspaper said in glaring headlines that the Bolsheviks

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Junker Recalls Masses' Past May Days and Comments on Present Situation.

Berlin, Germany, May 1 (delayed).—The irony and pathos of the fate that has overtaken Germany lay naked in the deserted streets of the riven empire today. For years May 1 was made the great symbol of the millennium which was supposed to await the German people in the near future. Millions of working men and women turned out in former years on this day and marched behind gaily tooting bands. It was the day on which the social democrats held their annual demonstration. A chuckling junker said to me today as we walked the streets in search of an open restaurant.

"Germany has had many anniversaries, but of them all this is the most ironical and tragic. In the old days the people marched, sang and cheered. They dreamed of the time when the masses would rule and when liberty would sit enthroned in Utopia.

Workers Shooting oWorkers.
"Now that time has come and the masses rule. And see! There are no parades, no bands and no singing. The dream is gone and the reality is here. Workingmen shoot down workingmen. The armies under Herr Noske, the people's general, attack the armies under Max Lieven, another people's general."

My companion waved his hand at the dreary, deserted streets. "See," he said, "the people rule and the greater dream has been realized."

We talked then of the peace awaiting Germany.

"Perhaps we shall sign and perhaps we shall not," he said smiling. "What difference does it make? Perhaps our fiery epigrammatist, Herr Haase, will come into power and every one will become bolshevist, or perhaps the monarchy will return."

"Ah, the Wonderful English!"
"If you should ask Downing street London, Downing street would tell you that it is all immaterial. Germany is crushed, Russia is crushed and England has added another noble slice of Africa to her possessions, and so England is content and even magnanimous. I grant you that it was a moment of stupid insanity which inspired the Germans to fancy that they could cope with England. Poor, old, clumsy thinking, simple-minded Germany! All she got for her pains, her heroisms and her sacrifices was a reputation as a baby killer. Ah, the wonderful English!"

We talked then of the danger of bolshevism.
"I don't believe in it," said my companion. "I wish I could. I mean I don't think there is. Yet who knows? History is full of strange things. Bolshevism would ruin Germany, but ruining Germany now is like gilding the lily. Germany has nothing to lose and perhaps it would be a great aid to us if it came. Today Germans are killing Germans."

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DEFECTIVE PAGE



W. F. DUNN,

WAR CHANGES WORKERS' VIEWS

Shakespeare says, "He that being robbed misses not that which he is robbed of, let him know it and he's not robbed at all." The ordinary working man until quite recently had no idea that he was robbed if he received the value of his labor power, or exploited either for that matter; to him everything was as it should be if he managed to obtain a fair wage which is equivalent to a bare existence. The Socialist agitator talked himself deaf and dumb and blind, but the working class never as a class moved except in the master's interest. In 1914 the war came and transformed everything. It took millions of tons of powder and other explosives to jar loose the brains of the slaves, but the most pessimistic of us have now to acknowledge that the revolution is not only coming, but is almost upon us. The toilers are now looking at the world with wide-open eyes and are getting ready to act on their own behalf. They have seen the gigantic machinery of production stretch itself as it were and produce under their control, commodities in such vast quantities as to stagger the imagination. They have seen the politicians and other humbugs in their true colors and they are amazed and angry at being fooled so long. The working man knows now that he produces all exchange values. He knows that he fights all wars, he knows now the master class can plunder, and graft and kill and cheat, because he has seen it at its dirty work. The mask is torn off, capitalism and it stands in a state of nudity without a single lie left with which to cover its hideous nakedness. The hoary old villain, however, instead of hiding his head in shame, opens his arms and says to the working man, "Let us embrace. Let us get together, we are not indispensable to each other?" and he is filled with rage and fear when the working men says contemptuously, "Nothing doing." The real situation between

capital and labor at the present time is similar to that of a farmer who is trying to catch a loose horse in a field. He has a few oats held temptingly in one hand and the halter behind him in the other and the horse won't be tempted but tries to get the farmer into a position where he can kick him. It was the good fortune of the writer to visit one of these get together affairs the other day and really it was too funny for words. The representatives of labor had the apologists for capitalism in such a hopeless muddle that the real character of the enemy came out. He adopted the slave driving tactics at the meeting and this gave the game away still more. It would be well for the class conscious working man to steer clear of the henchmen of the master class and avoid these gatherings. Were the master class honest in this it would first begin by firing its stool pigeons, its Pinkertons, its provocateurs and the other garbage it carries around with it. How can there be any getting together? The tiger may love the lamb because the latter provides the former with a pleasant meal, but how can the lamb be expected to love the tiger. One thing we know and that is that the master class has on every occasion used the working class as it saw fit. It has starved, exploited, killed and beaten our class until it can stand no more. It would do the same in the future as it has in the past if it only had the power. The will is still there. Why does the master class try to get the working class to co-operate? There is only one answer, "Because it is afraid." The working man is now in a position to put the capitalist class in the dock, try it and execute judgment and he is going to be compelled to do so in every country in the world where capitalism is in existence. Meanwhile, remember that safety is absolutely assured if the worker resolutely keeps to the revolutionary watchword of "No compromise." B. C. Federationist.

Mothers' Day, May 11th

Wear a flower Sunday, May 11, in
Memory of the best of mothers.

J. J. LE BORIOUS,
Florist,
921 E. 3rd St.

W. F. DUNN,

State Senator of the State of Montana and Editor of
Butte Daily Bulletin

will speak in behalf of

TOM. J. MOONEY and W. K. BILLINGS

Sunday Afternoon May 11 2. p. m.

WORKER'S OPERA HOUSE

Sixth Avenue East and Third Street.

Auspices of the Mooney Committee Duluth Federated
Trades Assembly.

TOM MOONEY MUST GO FREE!

By LUELLA TWINING

I visited Tom Mooney in the penitentiary at San Quentin.

As I sat waiting for him (he was working in the iron factory, a mile away) the high walls and watch tower, with its machine guns, the whispered conversation of a convict talking to a woman evidently dear to him, the atmosphere of repression, force and melancholy made my heart sink.

I was overwhelmed with the conviction that Fickert, with his Oxman, is victorious and, so far, we are failures.

I couldn't help asking myself "will Tom Mooney ever be free?"

Tom Mooney finally walked in, passing the warden and guards nears the door.

He looks well. His frank, open handsome brown eyes and friendly smile, though a trifle sad, gave me hope. There he was in the flesh. We saved him from the gallows; surely we can free him from the prison.

During our hour's talk he did not complain. He is a brave warrior—I came near saying, but that is not the word for a man confined in the penitentiary. Where he was in jail he worked constantly, writing pamphlets, addressing envelopes, etc., but now he can do nothing, nothing but slave in the iron foundry.

"What they do here is to silence a man. A man can do nothing, write nothing. Why I wrote Rena (his wife) 16 letters that never went out of the penitentiary," he said.

How I felt it. The penitentiary is next to the tomb for a burial.

"Well, how about the Mooney convention?" I asked him.

"It was fine," he said, his eyes brightening. "The test is with the

mass of the working people. This is an economic fight and only the working people can save me. I leave my case with them."

"But they must look out that the Governor does not commute my sentence to 17 or 15 years, instead of giving me my freedom," he added.

As he talked I wished I could fly everywhere speeding up the workers. How well he would perform the task, were he free and another in his place; but no, he must mold iron in the prison, while his heart is with the toilers in New York, Chicago, in every corner of the country.

So we, who are free, must act and act now.

We must make the general strike a success—so stupendous that even Governor Stephens may hear.

While waiting at the ferry to return home I got into conversation with the ticket agent. He was enthusiastic about the penitentiary. He would lead you to seek it as a health resort. "You ought to see the fine beds and you just ought to see the steaks. I never saw such good ones," he said triumphantly.

"But the death cell and the gallows," I replied.

He looked at me with astonishment.

"Why, the dirty, low-down rascals. I see them taking there—Why, hanging is too good for them."

"Look at this," he said, holding up Mooney's picture. "Did you see Mooney over there? This is his picture. They circulated about 300,000 of them. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment a little while ago by the Governor."

"What did he do that for?" I asked.

"Well, what do you think? There was an uproar all over the

world about Mooney" (his tone indicated that he did not expect me to believe such an improbable story) "and the Governor thought he'd better."

Even he had learned that an uproar had saved Tom Mooney from the penitentiary?

On the way home I got to thinking of his warning about the commutation of sentence.

Undoubtedly, that will be the program. How like Governor Stephens, minded to hang Tom Mooney.

The fear of a general strike "made him think he'd better commute his sentence," to quote our ticket agent.

But, if he is not informed in no uncertain terms that nothing short of complete freedom will satisfy the working people of this country, Governor Stephens will commute his sentence to 17 or 15 years.

Tom Mooney says he would rather be dead.

Be on your guard. Do not be stampeded at the last minute. Be assured that, when the general strike is organized, ready to be pulled off at a certain moment, Governor Stephens will commute Tom Mooney's sentence.

Governor Stephens means to shatter our forces at the last moment.

He thinks that never again will we be able to reinforce them, and Tom Mooney will remain in the penitentiary nearly a quarter of a century.

Never! We must be prepared for that blow.

We must not let our forces be shattered by a cowardly commutation of sentence at the last moment.

Be prepared! The slogan is "Freedom for Tom Mooney or a general strike."

LEFT WING AND THE REVOLUTION

By LOUIS C. FRANA.

The distinguishing feature of the controversy in the Social Party between the Right Wing and the Left Wing, between the moderates and the revolutionists, is that the Right Wing refuses to develop and defend its real program. This is partly fear, partly camouflage, and partly sheer stupidity.

The moderates have a program, and a consistent program. It consists of parliamentarism, of reforming Capitalism out of existence, of municipalization and nationalization of industry on the basis of the bourgeois parliamentary state, of the theory that the coming of Socialism is the concern of all the classes—in short, the policy of the moderates (which is in itself consistent, while inconsistent with fundamental Socialism) is a policy of petit bourgeois, "liberal" State Capitalism. But this policy broke down miserably under the test of the great crisis of Imperialism; it broke down under the test of the proletarian revolution, and revealed itself as fundamentally counter-revolutionary.

But the moderates, essentially, still cling to this reactionary policy, although they are compelled by circumstances to disguise it, to camouflage it with cheap talk about "being left wing" and "a shift to the left" in the international movement, compelled to wait until "normal" times in order openly to defend their reactionary policy. So the moderates refuse to discuss the fundamentals of the Left Wing

Manifesto and Program; they refuse to oppose their real policy to ours; they dare not....

Accordingly, the Right Wing indulges either in vituperation of our revolutionary comrades, in threats of expulsion (guardians of the unity of the Party), or in sophistry.

Characteristic of this sophistry was Algernon Lee's letter in the Call of April 2nd. Lee implies that the acceptance of the Left Wing policy depends upon an actual revolutionary crisis, and says:

"Have we reason to expect a revolutionary crisis in this country in the proximate future, aside from the possibility of such a crisis being voluntarily precipitated by one element or another? In such a crisis, if it should be precipitated (on matter by whom) would the majority of the people probably be active with us or against us? Or would the majority remain neutral and inert, ready to accept the outcome of the combat between a revolutionary minority and a reactionary minority? In this latter case, taking into account only the supposed active minorities, which of them would probably win in a decisive struggle at this time? On the basis of our answers to these questions, have we reason to seek or welcome a hastening of the crisis? These are fundamental questions. Upon the answers we give to them must rest our decision on detailed problems of methods and tactics. They are unescapable questions. It is important to understand the

immediate "moment" in the great social struggle as a basis for action; but Lee uses it to make arguments against action.

The policy of the Left Wing, in general, which is the policy of revolutionary Socialism, is no a policy only for an actual revolutionary crisis. The tactics of the class struggle, of the unremitting antagonism on all issues between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, function in "normal" as well as in "revolutionary" times.

It didn't require an actual revolutionary crisis to oppose the imperialistic war.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's acceptance of the war "in order to save the Russian Revolution" a betrayal of Socialism.

It didn't require a revolutionary crisis to make Lee's voting for a "Liberty Arch," on which is inscribed "Murmansk" as a glory of the American troops; a betrayal of the Soviet Republic in particular.

It doesn't require a revolutionary crisis to condemn the policy of petty-bourgeois reformism and compromise pursued by Algernon Lee and his confederates in the Board of Aldermen.

And it doesn't require an actual or immediate revolutionary crisis to accept the Manifesto and Program of the Left Wing; but this acceptance is necessary for the immediate struggle of the moment, and as a preparation of our forces for

the revolutionary struggle that is coming....

Let us discuss this problem more fully. It is necessary to completely expose the miserable arguments of the Right.

The central concepts of Left Wing theory and practice are mass action and proletarian dictatorship. From these concepts flow three sets of tactics: before, during and after the Revolution. The immediate "moment" in the social struggle may compel a different emphasis; but the tactics are a unity, adaptable to the particular requirements of the social struggle.

Mass action implies the end of the exclusive concentration on parliamentary tactics. It implies awakening the industrial proletariat to action, the bringing of mass proletarian pressure upon the capitalist state to accomplish our purposes. It means shifting the centre of our activity from the parliaments to the shops and the streets, making our parliamentary activity simply a phase of mass action until the actual revolution compels us completely to abandon parliamentarism. Mass action has its phases. It isn't necessary to have an actual revolution in order to use mass action,—before the final form of mass action we may use its preliminary forms, in which, however, the final form is potential. Take, for example, our class war prisoners. It is necessary to compel their liberation. The Right Wing depends upon appeals to the Government who has imprisoned our comrades, upon liberal public opinion, upon co-operation with bourgeois and essentially reactionary organizations in "Amnesty" conventions,—upon every thing except the aggressive mass effort of the proletariat. The Left Wing proposes a mass political strike to compel the liberation of our imprisoned comrades, to bring proletarian pressure upon the Government. Get the workers to down tools in the shops, march to other shops to pull out the workers there, get out in the streets in mass demonstrations,—that is mass action we can use now, whether or not we are in actual revolutionary crisis.

In proletarian dictatorship is implied the necessity of overthrowing the political parliamentary state, and after the conquest of power organizing a new proletarian state of the organized producers, of the federated Soviets. These concepts were implied (if not fully expressed) in revolutionary industrial unionism which equally contained in itself the implication of mass action. Revolutionary industrial unionism placed parliamentarism in its proper perspective. The acceptance of and the propaganda for revolutionary industrial unionism did not require an actual revolutionary crisis; yet the moderates refused to accept this vital American contribution to revolutionary theory and practice (even refused to accept industrial unionism as necessary in the immediate economic struggle).

No! It is miserable sophistry to affirm that the Left Wing policy accords only with an actual revolution. That is precisely what the moderates (led by Scheideemann, Cunow, Plekhanov and Kautsky), declared that the Basel Manifesto had proven wrong in expecting an immediate revolution, that the masses had abandoned Socialism, therefore—they had to support an imperialistic war! But the Basel Manifesto did not assume an immediate revolution; it asserted that war would bring an economic and social crisis, and that Socialism should use this crisis to hasten the coming of revolutionary action.

The final struggle against Capitalism is on; it may last months, or years, or tens of years, but this is a revolutionary epoch imposing revolutionary tactics. And revolutionary agitation is itself an act of revolution. It is not our job to "hasten" a revolutionary crisis. Capitalism itself takes care of that. Our job is to prepare. Our job is to act on the immediate problems — unemployment, the soldiers, strikes, class war prisoners—in the spirit of revolutionary Socialism, in this way preparing the final action.

The Left Wing Program is a program of action, not a program of wishing for the moon. Sophistry can't annihilate it. Life itself is with us.

The moderates in Germany said it was absurd to expect a revolution; and then they used all their power to prevent a revolution. And when the proletarian revolution loosed itself in action, the moderates acted consistently and ferociously against the revolutionary proletariat.

In Russia, the moderates said a proletarian revolution was impossible; but when it came they acted against the revolution.

That is the attitude of the moderate Socialists everywhere, who are riveted with chains of iron to the bourgeois parliamentary state, who are absorbed in futile petty bourgeois reformism and the "gradual penetration of Socialism into Capitalism." Their arguments may appear plausible, until the test of the proletarian revolution reveals them as sophistry. Lee's arguments and policy are characteristic of the Scheideemanns, the Hendersons and the Vanderveldes....

Imperialism, roughly, appeared in 1900; and with its appearance developed the revolt against parliamentarism. Socialism,—Syndicalism, Industrial Unionism, Mass Action, Bolshevism, the Left Wing, Imperialism, as the final stage of Capitalism, objectively introduced the Social-Revolutionary epoch. But the dominant moderate Socialism did not adapt its practice to the new requirements; and it broke down miserably under the test of the war and of the proletarian revolution.

The war was the expression of the economic contradictions of Capitalism, of the insoluble problems of Imperialism. It is clear that Capitalism is breaking down; that the proletarian revolution is conquering. Capitalism cannot adjust itself to the new conditions, cannot solve its enormous economic problems. The world of Capitalism is in a revolutionary crisis—more acute in Europe, less acute in the United States, but still a crisis. This crisis, which is a consequence of the economic collapse of Capitalism, provides the opportunity for Socialism to marshal the iron battalions of the proletariat for action and the conquest of power.

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The Communist.

FOR

Good Shoes, Skirts,
Hats, etc.,

See

Arthur B. Auchel,
2011 W. Superior Street,
Duluth, Minn.

Truth About Russia.

(Continued from page 1)

had massacred all the prisoners and cut them in small pieces, it would be closed. But newspapers might print all the arguments against the Soviet system that they pleased. I have shown you a slide of the procession of priests, marching through the streets in protest against the division of church and state.

"The Social Revolutionists had planned a great demonstration in protest against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, to be held January 5. The Soviets did all in their power to persuade the Bolsheviks to keep away from the streets where the procession was to pass, so as to avoid any possible disturbances. There was fear of an uprising, so the Soviets arranged that all public buildings be well guarded. The manner of this was to ask all the people in the building, including the janitor, to aid in protecting it. The Soviets guarded the city by placing emergency armored cars with Red Guard groups at intervals all over the city.

"Another evidence of this large tolerance is the fact that nothing was done about the dastardly attempt to assassinate Lenin, who was shot at by a member of the Social Revolutionist Party. At one time when the Social Revolutionists of terror, the warning was sent out to them: 'For every Bolshevik leader killed, we shall kill one hundred of the Social Revolutionists.' That was enough. There was no more trouble except one attempt by an anarchist girl.

"Trouble between the Anarchists and Bolsheviks never came to any more than battle in a few cities just at first. In the early days of Soviet rule, many Monarchists who wanted to oppose the new Government and also wanted to make a living without working, announced themselves as Anarchists and seized houses and goods. But, of course, the real Anarchists denounced them.

"Now there are about ninety per cent of the population participating in the government—and I don't believe that percentage of people votes in America. All those that do useful work with hand or brain—and that means now about ninety per cent of the population—have representation in the Soviets. The teachers send delegates, as do the medical associations composed of doctors and nurses. What was in the beginning a dictatorship of the proletariat—with action begun as it always must be begun, by a militant minority—is now a true democracy. Those sabotaging against the Bolsheviks in the early days when they thought that the government would not last six weeks, are giving up their opposition as they realize that this is a government that has come to stay. I was in Samara when the teachers' association met, split into a left and right wing, the majority reorganizing the association and electing delegates to the Soviets, the minority going out of the association altogether. A considerable section of the intelligentsia were with the Bolsheviks from the first. A glance at the Bolshevik cabinet will prove that. I think one might say that it is the most cultured cabinet in Europe. Many of the rest have been honestly converted since then.

"A minority objects to the centralization of industry—says there is not democracy enough and that the industries should be immediately and completely handed over to the workers.

"But remember, that the Bolsheviks do not claim that Russia is socialist. They say that the co-operative commonwealth is not immediately possible, especially in a country as industrially backward as Russia. They say that Russia will have to develop the stage known as State Capitalism, with concentration of industries and formation of trusts. Mme. Kollantay said: 'We can't fully socialize Russia all at once. You other nations have a much better chance to socialize your industries, as industry is already partly socialized with you. You can begin where we leave off.'

"But centralization of industry under bourgeois rule, Russia has not nationalized all her industries. Some are still under private ownership, modified by Workers' Control. Committees of workers audit the books of the industry, seeing that there is no water stock, limit the profits to five or six per cent, require the owner to re-invest in the industry a good proportion of his receipts, and regulate hours and wages.

"Lenine says the policy of the Bolsheviks is to take over those industries that have reached the monopolistic stage, and then the others as fast as the new govern-

ment can chew and swallow them. It may be said that the industries not now owned by the workers are controlled by the workers.

"Under Workers' Control the number of stores and shops has largely decreased, naturally enough with the vanishing of competition. "Another result of control by the workers, combined with the peasants' ownership of the land has been the 'back to the land' movement. Petrograd and Moscow have materially decreased in population, chiefly as a result of the agitation to go out and take up land, agitation that arose because Petrograd and Moscow were the two places where it was hardest to get food on account of the crippled railroads. But even in those cities during the worst of the railroad demoralization, it cost no more to live than in San Francisco. In Moscow I got dinners of soup, meat, vegetables, coffee and sometimes dessert for from five to ten rubles, that is fifty cents to a dollar—and, of course, conditions have much improved since then. Through the darkest days, from the time the Bolsheviks got control, I am sure there was not one hungry person in Moscow.

"They had begun to organize the distribution of food in a most fair and thorough manner from the time I arrived in Russia, when the great army of twelve million was still demobilizing itself. Even while happy groups of soldiers with their gas masks and tea kettles hung on their backs were trooping home, I saw armed guards handing out leaflets that announced a moratorium on house rents. 'Rentals under one hundred and fifty rubles a month are not payable for three months,' the leaflets said. 'Rentals above this amount are payable as usual.' This and the rationing of food was a godsend to the poorer people. Of course, this was in the early days of Bolshevik rule. Later it could not be said that the working people were poor people. Their wages were more than adequate—that is, they could live well and save, too. When the White Guard overthrew the Bolsheviks in Siberia and reestablished capitalism there, the guard complained during the first few weeks that they could not force workmen to work because they had too much money saved up.

"Whenever there was a shortage of anything, sugar, bread, whatever it was, the Bolshevik government monopolized it and rationed it out, issuing food cards to make sure that no one could buy more than his share. Sugar was scarce all over Europe. The Soviets set the price at fifteen cents a pound and allowed each person a monthly allowance of from a half pound to a pound, depending on the locality. At first for a short time there was a little sugar for sale in isolated markets and the rich people were buying it at the rate of \$1.50 a pound.

"I had a capital opportunity to see the efficient working of Soviet food control, for in taking twelve hundred Serbian refugees across Siberia, for the American Red Cross, I entered into relationship with more than one hundred Soviets over three thousand miles of territory. These were refugees who had fled to Roumania, then to South Germany, then to Siberia in Russia. Raymond Robbins got at appropriation of a quarter of a million dollars with which to take them out and colonize them until there should be a chance to take them back to Serbia, and I was loaned to the Red Cross to take care of the job.

"I found how ready the Soviets everywhere were to help the refugees. They sold us food at the same rate as it was sold to the Russian people, prices that might interest you, particularly as they were little more than half what would be charged in this country. Butter was from two to four rubles a pound, that is twenty to forty cents; eggs were two to two-and-a-half cents apiece; bread three cents a pound; and at one place we got whole roasted chickens for thirty to sixty cents apiece.

"We were as generously treated in other respects. At Omsk we asked for a monastery for the housing of the refugees, and would have received it except that it was already full of other refugees, as was the whole city. But the Omsk Soviets sent a celebrated man of the city, a doctor, along with us to help us get settled in the next city. He accompanied us and helped us for ten days, and when I offered him reimbursement for his work and time, he refused it. Afterward when the White Guard had overthrown the Bolsheviks at Omsk, I saw him under quite different circumstances, a pitiable figure being taken to prison to be hanged, and I was glad to be able to effect his release by telling his captors how he had aided the American Red Cross.

"Another proof of the remark-

This poster was taken from the walls of the cities of Vladimir and Saratoff by Wilfred R. Humphries of the American Red Cross. Mr. Humphries says: "The alleged decree was circulated by unknown enemies of the revolution. It was put out in the name of the Anarchists, and not the Soviets. It was posted on the walls one night, and torn down by order of the Soviets the next day. Then the Federated Anarchists came out with this emphatic repudiation."

In view of the fact that the editors of the New Europe, the first to print the alleged decree, have solemnly withdrawn the charge, it is interesting to note the Anarchists' denial.

Enemies! You are defeated, and you are going down lower and lower. You have reached such a low level that your cause is now desperate. You wish to continue living in idle luxury and have us work for you. Enemies, you slander and misrepresent us when you say we Anarchists would use our liberty to enslave women.

"You forge our name to this vile decree that your vile hands have written. For centuries, and all over the world, Anarchists are fighting against all decrees, all forces, and all oppression. We ourselves have used force and violence only against our oppressors. We want to live in perfect freedom. It is conceivable that we would now issue a monstrous and contradictory decree?"

"Think for yourselves! Is it likely that Anarchists would advocate or even permit such degradation of woman? You think only to provoke trouble. You are only trying to deceive ignorant people. Don't you suppose we have wives, mothers, daughters and sisters of our own?"

"You provocateurs apparently don't know our strength, but you shall know. Death for provocateurs! Death, no matter who they are! We will make you pay for this vile crime! Anybody found circulating such dirty propaganda will be put in the same class. Everybody, whether with us or not who opposes such contemptible propaganda methods deserves commendation.

"With all our souls we fight on for all that is best for Russia!"

able efficiency of the Soviets was the tremendous campaign of propaganda carried on up to the German revolution. Boris Reinstein, the Socialist Labor Party delegate from America to the proposed Stockholm conference, was and still is the head of the English-speaking department of Foreign Propaganda. Petroff one of the two men released from English jails on the demand of the Soviet Government which ruled that no English merchant could go into or out of Russia until they were freed, is the right hand man of the chief of all the propaganda. Two dailies in German with a half-million circulation were printed and shipped to the German front, some by airplane, some by hand, through Russians who had become acquainted with Germans during the fraternization period. An illustrated paper for the benefit of the uneducated Germans was also got out. One of these showed the photograph I am showing you here of the German Embassy building, with an inscription something like this beneath it: 'See the building of the German Embassy, with a banner above it bearing the words of a great German. It is Bismarck? No. It is the Kaiser? No. It is the immortal Karl Marx, and his words are 'Workers of the World, Unite!' We now throw back to you the words of your great countryman and ask you to unite. We Russians have taken the words seriously and all power is now in the hands of the workers. How long will it be before a German Socialist will come as Germany's ambassador?' Besides these, pamphlets were got out in English, French, Swedish, Turkish and Chinese. I came in close contact with these propaganda workers while I was working for the American Y. M. C. A., getting out and distributing copies of President Wilson's Fourteen Point speech. The Russians liked that speech and agreed with most of its fourteen points, but they were a little skeptical as to whether the Allies would stand by it.

"I got up to Petrograd in time to spend six interesting weeks seeing big things happen there, with John Reed, Louis Bryant and Albert Rhys Williams. I was at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee when it was decided to let the Constituent Assembly meet for one day as a demonstration of class line-up. And I saw the Assembly dissolved early one morning by a sailor who did it by simply telling them that the Red Guard was tired and wanted to go home.

"I saw one whole Sunday of bourgeois protest meetings in Moscow. These were carried on in a very sensible way. Two hundred or more groups of two or three bourgeois

men and women formed about the city, each group engaging a few soldiers in an argument. There was no disorder, the Russians are so amazingly reasonable. But they didn't convince the soldiers that they had done anything wrong in taking the power from the rural rulers," as they put it. "Why don't you first trust the educated peoples to lead you, instead of putting faith in this Lenin, this man in the service of the German government?" Some bourgeois men asked one soldier. "We are dark and ignorant, I know," the soldier replied, "but there is one thing we do know, and that is that the educated people have always deceived us."

"Here are some of the 'dark and ignorant' Russian people at their new work of governing," Humphries continued, showing a slide of half a dozen stolid-faced earnest workmen. "This is a village Soviet holding a meeting to discuss the ways and means of forming a frame on the chair. That is used to help them in their adding and subtracting."

"This is one of the ten thousand schools the Soviets have opened," he said, indicating a slide of a schoolroom with rows of earnest children at one side, three teachers, all eager and competent looking.

"The Bolsheviks have, as you have heard, turned many of their munition factories into factories for the manufacture of agricultural machines, but not all of them. They knew that they must aid the first nation that had a revolution, so they kept a necessary number of the munition plants going."

"The story of the alleged nationalization of women was shown by Humphries, to be a deliberate lie. It was originally told by the representative of the Century Magazine, who together with Humphries, was in Samara when the notorious proclamation was issued.

This proclamation was secretly posted by the supporters of the Royalist party, for political reasons. The people, who were strongly in favor of the Soviets, recognized it at once as the work of the "agent provocateur." The local Soviet officials removed the proclamation and started an investigation. They found

out that the supporters of the Czar's party were responsible, though these people tried to blame it on the anarchist group.

The anarchist group issued a scathing denunciation of the monarchists, which was read in full by the speaker.

The most interesting part of the story lies in this: The representative of the Century Magazine saw the original proclamation. He knew what action the local Soviet took in the matter. He read the statement of the anarchists and he knew how public opinion was aroused over it. Yet, when sent to the outside world he sent only the original monarchist-inspired proclamation and not the denial, remarking, when Humphries inquired, "Why, this is the biggest story every written. To tell the finish would be to kill the story."

By such methods is our alleged "news" manufactured by the hirelings of capitalism.

"The stories of chaos and starvation of which we hear so much are greatly exaggerated. Evidence in the shapes of menus in the dining cars, with prices 'cheaper and better than on the American train,' was submitted. This particular short line of railroad is operated by the Cooks and Waiters' Union."

MAY DAY IN BERLIN

(Continued from page 1)

in Bavaria. This is a spectacle which should delight the entente. On the other hand, perhaps it is a spectacle which makes the entente somewhat nervous.

"England's Morality Responsible."

"England's delicious morality is responsible for what Bolshevik menace there is, to the world. England thought it necessary to keep up the blockade. Nothing was too bad for the nation which had killed Belgian babies and so England continued to starve us after the armistice continued to demoralize us.

"It would have been much better politics for England to stand our women and children against a wall and shoot them. Such a procedure would have angered us Ger-

mans, but it would have been forgotten in time. But, no, shooting women and children is too immoral; it is better for one's morals to starve them. Coming in and destroying German factories is too Hunlike in tactics; rather cripple and ruin them in a perfectly moral way. Hence the blockade and hence bolshevism."

We found a restaurant open and here my companion talked of the war of the future.

Predicts U. S.-British War.

"Maybe what I say is fantastic and inspired by tangled emotions," he said. "But the next war is coming between England and America. You watch. England will form an alliance with Japan and when America becomes too great a rival and when the American merchant marine endangers British commercial omnipotence England will again wage a holy war against a nation of greedy, unprincipled baby killers—your own esteemed countrymen, my friend."

Returning from the restaurant, I met the independent socialist leader, Rudolph Breitscheidt.

"After the peace terms are published," he said, "I'll have ideas. Now I have none. All Germany is waiting. You will have many stories to write after the peace terms are known."

I asked Herr Breitscheidt if he wasn't celebrating May 1.

"One does not celebrate the crack of doom," he answered.

(This report was cabled by the foreign correspondent of the Chicago Daily News.—Ed.)

FRENCH 'TIGER' BARES CLAWS

(Continued from page 1)

into the side streets near the square, the effort was renewed.

The crowds formed again in the boulevards and the place de la Madeleine, and swept back toward the Place de la Concorde. The cavalry was drawn up across the Rue Royale several ranks deep with bared sabres and the passage of the people met resistance.

A general scuffle ensued and it was then that the few who were hurt received their injuries.

Shortly afterward the crowd got together again in front of the Madeleine, and red flags began to appear, when firemen turned hose upon the massed people, gradually dispersing them.

The Union of Syndicates of the Department of the Seine placarded Paris with an expression of surprise that the Government had forbidden street demonstrations on May Day and protesting against "such a measure of distrust of the working class."

Affirming the intention of the union not to enter into a struggle with armed force, the manifesto concludes:

"If the Government persists in its interdiction, we bind our comrades to avoid any conflict with the police in order to preserve the value of the first of May as a demonstration of the power of the workers."

The newspaper Voix du Peuple, the organ of the General Labor Federation, was distributed to the crowds in the streets, but police and military seized every copy they could find.

Paris presented a mournful and gloomy aspect during the morning, there being no carriages or auto buses on the streets. No newspapers appeared. The Metropolitan Railway was shut down in conformity with the decision to cut off electricity for two hours beginning at 7 o'clock. The tie-up of the transportation lines was broken somewhat by the appearance of a few taxicabs.

Restaurants and cafes were closed and many guests in the hotels had to go hungry if they had not supplied themselves with food beforehand, as no meals were served in most of the capital's eating places. Even the druggists closed their stores.

No amusement was provided by the theaters, music halls, and other resorts, which were closed for the day. Senders of letters and telegrams found their facilities hampered by periodic stoppages in the pos-

tal and wire services. Almost every class of labor took the day off.

Two More French Socialists Voice Anger Over May Day Events.

Paris, May 4.—Ferdinand Buisson and Deputy Comperre-Morel have complied with a demand of the Socialist Party that they resign their appointments as Commissioners for Mercantile Marine and Agriculture as a protest against the events of May Day.

Leon Jouhaux, Secretary General of the Federation of Labor, in his letter sent to Premier Clemenceau yesterday resigning his post as supplementary representative of the working classes at the Peace Conference, said:

"I have the honor to declare to you that from today's date I cease to participate in the work of the Peace Conference, where I sat as a supplementary delegate. It is my duty to make known the motives of this decision.

"Called to the conference as the representative of the French working class, it is impossible for me to fulfill this mandate after the day (May 1) on which your Government brutally prohibited the French workers from expressing their thoughts and manifesting their aspirations. You have created an inconsistent situation which cannot be accepted. It is not merely in diplomacy that the principles of right and liberty hold. The people have a claim to them. You have refused them to the people.

"By forbidding the manifestation which you knew would be perfectly peaceful, by ranging your police and army against the workers of Paris, and by allowing an unprecedented brutality to be practiced against men and women who were only exercising an essential liberty which their comrades in all countries enjoy, you have failed to recognize the devotion and self-denial which this working class displayed during the war.

"I can only, therefore, submit my resignation to you."

TAXI DRIVERS WON'T TRANS-PORT SOCIETY BELLES BREAK-ING STRIKE.

Newport.—Dainty debutantes and near-debutantes just simply despised those low-bred strikers and decided that they would operate the switchboards of the phones here themselves.

As a result, they are wondering whether it pays to take the jobs of girls who have not worn decorative gowns since they were babies.

The fact of the matter is that the taxi drivers refused to take the society belles home from their jobs, and in private cars, safe from the hisses and jeers of the telephone operator pickets, each rosebud preened her bruised petals and decided that contact with the crude details of the workaday world was not conducive to the preservation of that soul aloofness that is so essential a part of the life of the right people.

Their work for the day at the switchboard produced little or no effect upon the strike. There were 11 girls in the group. They were led by Mrs. Maude Howe Elliott, daughter of the late Julia Ward Howe, the author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," which deals with freedom and the justice of a righteous God.

THOUGH JAILED, HE SPEAKETH

Debs' Daily Message from Moundsville Prison.

The skies of the East are even now aglow with the dawn, its coming is heralded by the dispelling of shadows, of darkness and gloom. From the first tremulous scintillation that glides the horizon to the sublime march to meridian splendor the light increases till in mighty flood it pours upon the world.

From out of the midnight of superstition, ignorance and slavery the disenfranchising sun is rising. I am not gifted with prophetic vision and yet I see the shadows vanishing. I behold near and far prostrate men lifting their bowed forms from the dust. I see thrones in the grasp of decay; despots relaxing their hold upon scepters, and racks falling, not only from the limbs, but from the souls of men.—

RUSSIAN-GERMAN NUMBER.

Next issue will be a Bolshevik edition.

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DULUTH, MINN.

IM STILL ON DECK! SAYS DEBS, REFLECTING ON FATE OF FORMER FOES

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL.

(Special Correspondence).

Chicago.—"All, or nearly all, of the enemies I've had during my life time have met with misfortune and tragedy. Clouds have settled early over their careers. I'm still on deck. And I'm going to emerge from this new experience in my life, in triumph, too."

This is one of the conclusions that Eugene V. Debs reached, as we discussed the big incidents of his busy life, while making that memorable journey to prison from Cleveland, Ohio, to Moundsville, West Va., on Palm Sunday, April 13. He did not gloat over his fallen foes, who have sought to hold back the hands of progress, but rather exulted in the fact that the world was moving ahead in spite of all obstacles.

It all comes back to me now, stronger than ever, as word comes from Debs' prison down in West Virginia, to the effect so many visitors want to see and visit 'Gene that Prison Warden has been compelled to turn them away, and there are so many letters coming to 'Gene in the mail from all parts of the world, that the Prison Warden is planning to change his ruling made on the night of our arrival, that 'Gene would receive all letters sent him.

HAS MORE FRIENDS THAN EVER.

The prison officials, if not the democratic officialdom at Washington, are no doubt discovering that Debs has more friends than ever.

One of Debs' most bitter opponents during the Pullman strike was John R. Walsh, the Chicago banker and newspaper proprietor. Walsh was himself sent to prison as a bank wrecker. His friends secured his release just in time to permit him to die on "the outside."

George M. Pullman and Eugene V. Debs clashed in the great Pullman railroad strike. Pullman is said to have gone to an early grave because of the wild life led by his two sons, both of whom died degenerate at an early age, also clouding the life of the wife and mother.

FORMER JUDGE AN UNBURIED CORPSE.

Judge Westenhaver, at Cleveland, Ohio, who sentenced Debs to his present 10 years' imprisonment, isn't the first interpreter of law that has faced the Socialist spokesman. One of these was Judge Peter S. Grosscup, of the federal district in Chicago, who some years ago was driven from the bench in disgrace and who now lives somewhere, as Debs remarks, "an unburied corpse."

It was Judge W. W. Woods that was called upon to sit in the great "conspiracy trial" growing out of the Pullman strike, as a result of which it was hoped to send Debs to prison for life. Woods died unlamented.

It was E. St. John, chairman of the railroad managers' association one of the most powerful and most successful of all the railroad managers this country has ever had, that claimed Debs and his American Railway Union, couldn't disturb the operation of the big Rock Island railroad. When the strike came and this railroad was tied up tight from one end to the other. St. John was dismissed in disgrace, and the last heard from him was to the effect that he had some petty job on some obscure railroad down in South Carolina. These are only a few of the wrecks resulting from the efforts of the few to stop the growing power of labor from asserting itself. Perhaps in prison, Debs may find time to write the full story.

As we toured by short stages across the states of Ohio and West Virginia, Palm Sunday, April 13, dodging Socialist demonstrations wherever the United States marshal had suspicion any might develop we speculated as to what sort of prison Debs was about to enter.

Debs recalled that his first experience with jails and prisons came during the "A. R. U." strike when he was thrown into the Cook County jail in Chicago.

"My chief companions in the Cook County jail," he said, "were huge, famished sewer rats that tormented me by day and kept me awake at night. One night as I dozed away they ate up my shoes and then came crawling and sniffing over me."

Debs then told how a rat terrier, owned by one of the jailers came to his cell, and he pleaded with the owner to permit the dog to remain with him, knowing that that would keep the rats away. The jailer consented, but no sooner had the

cell door closed upon Debs and the rat terrier, than the dog set up an unceasing howl that did not end until he was released. Even the dog refused to remain in the cell in which Debs had been incarcerated by the plutocracy of a quarter century ago.

"When I was in the Cook County jail it contained 350 human beings, 300 men and 50 women," narrated Debs, "six unfortunates were crowded into each cell, with the result that the place became stifling hot from body warmth. The presence of swarms of lice added to the tortures suffered by these 350 prisoners, who, in their struggle against the heat and vermin, undressed until most of them were stark naked. They were often bloody from head to foot through constant scratching."

In those early days of the American Railway Union, when the workers on the railroads were seeking to build a powerful organization to combat the railroad barons, the newspapers directed a steady stream of vilification and abuse at Eugene V. Debs.

"I received from 30 to 40 letters every day as a result in which the writers threatened to assassinate me," said Debs. "While I was in jail on one occasion, I received a letter from a boy of 18 years of age, in which he stated that he had just bought a gun and that he was coming to Chicago to 'get my blood by Saturday night.'"

Throwing Debs and the other officials of the "A. R. U." in jail was one of the methods resorted to by those in power to break up the strike. The offices of the union would be raided, all the records carted away, and the officials arrested. Then the kept press all over the nation would publish a report to the effect that the strike had been broken. The local officials of the "A. R. U." reading the local reports, would wire to Chicago for information. This would not be forthcoming because the officials were in jail and the records in the custody of servile government officials. Demoralization in the ranks of the strikers would thereupon set in.

It is interesting to note that Debs was sent to Woodstock jail for six months, whereas his fellow workers were sent to jail for one month, because, as the court stated, Debs was intelligent enough to know better than to commit the crime he was charged with, the violation of a court injunction.

When Debs was taken to Woodstock jail, the prominent citizens of the Chicago suburb seriously considered lynching the terrible agitator who had been brought amongst them. On repeated occasions they protested to George Eckert, sheriff of McHenry County, who had Debs in charge, that he was treating this sower of discontent "too white."

"You attend to your own business and I'll take care of mine," was the sheriff's reply to the prominent citizens.

In Woodstock jail as everywhere came in personal contact immediately became his friend. When Debs left Woodstock jail he was presented with a set of resolutions, read, expressing the well wishes of his fellow prisoners, while the wife of the sheriff at each succeeding Christmas always sent Debs some remembrance, and after her death her daughter has continued to send Debs a Christmas card each year.

With these reminiscences from Debs, who were with him on his journey to prison this year, 1919, concluded that somehow he would get along at the West Virginia state penitentiary at Moundsville, West Virginia.

But these same reflections threw into the limelight more than anything else the gross stupidity and utter ignorance of a reigning social order, seeking to maintain itself in power by imprisoning one of its most prominent opponents.

Debs' very presence in prison breeds the discontent and protest, whose growing power and volume will force the ruling class to liberate him immediately the volume of that protest becomes threatening enough.



WHY THE OLD WORLD REVOLTS

A Conscript Europe

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA

Revolution is the last refuge of ordinary men. It is the recourse of peoples bereft even of those morsels of comfort and confidence which suffice through generations to hold them, pious and inert, before the altars of law and order.

What, then, are we to suppose is wrong with Europe, homeland of the white race, seat of science and industry, when one after another of its great national groups fling themselves cursing out of the old temples and join in the mad, exultant crusade to erect a new order on earth? Shall we accept the counsel of bewildered journalism and say that a Russian schemer, or a Prussian schemer, has bewitched the human race? And, with this naive definition of our charter, shall we conscript new armies and cast fresh cannon wherewith to destroy the infidels?

That course is much recommended and widely entertained, since it comes ready-made out of the old storehouse of statecraft and imposes no novel task upon the minds and imaginations of those who fancy they still have the power to decide. It should be added at once, however, that a pure and simple confidence in this method has flourished more in the United States than in Europe since last January. And the mid-year may see it vanish even from the average American calculation.

It shortly will be seen, that however much princes and politicians have sought to derive dynastic or national advantage from the social revolution in Europe, the revolution itself is an uprising of men and women who can see no hope for themselves or for mankind in the present processes of society, and who are determined to inaugurate new processes over which the masses shall have complete and immediate control.

One who has just returned from Europe sees mockery in the simple question: Why have the masses lost faith? And his impulse is to say that they did not lose faith until they had lost everything else worth having. "Everything else" includes relatives, friends, neighbors, arms, legs and eyes shot away in the war, and the jobs, shelter, clothing and food which millions of them have been denied during the first six months of "peace."

Discharged soldiers, wearing medals for gallantry, were begging for centuries in the streets of Paris within 30 days after the Germans signed the armistice. Faith in strangers was all they had left, and that was fast running out through their armless sleeves. Seventy babies out of every hundred were born dead in Vienna as early as last December, because their mothers were starving. The British plan to raise a volunteer army of 900,000 men was based frankly upon the statement that, after a returned veteran had searched vainly for work in England, he would return to the army as a refuge from starvation.

Now, for this state of affairs there must be some deep and stubborn reason. Intelligent rulers do not willingly allow their subjects to sink so far into the morass of privation that rebellion offers the only way out. On the contrary, the ideal of the modern ruler is a state in which the masses are busily engaged in creating more wealth. And the need, if not the mood, of the masses makes them co-operate feverishly in the realization of that ideal as long as the instruments of co-operation are available.

When the armistice of last November marked an end of the great war, the masters and the masses of Europe still were more or less united in their devotion to this ideal of industry—wealth, profits and wages. It is true that some leaders and factions of the populace already were planning post-war rebellions, just as some politicians and employers anticipated with pleasure an industrial depression that would give the arrogant working class a taste of privation and make it surrender the shorter hours and higher pay that the war had brought. But neither group of these extremists in the class struggle can be charged with producing that paralysis of industry and steepage of faith which have united to mobilize millions under the red flag of social revolution.

The war did that. The war ruined

industry. It ruined industry by perverting it, by drafting it for military service. Former wars didn't do that. The feeble and forgotten British cry of "Business as usual" was rooted in the old belief that business and war were things apart. We know today that war and industry are one and inseparable—so closely joined that the armistice which stopped the fighting, paralyzed industry.

And, when industry halted, the faith of the people evaporated. The shellproof giant! Four years of war could not kill it. In six months of peace it has perished.

It is easy to follow this trail of social disintegration across Europe. Modern industry was less developed in Russia than in any of the great countries that went to war in 1914. And Russia collapsed first. She possessed other revolutionary factors, to be sure, but even they were rooted in the century-old failure to match her vast agricultural resources with adequate facilities for machine production at home. The human Russia of 1914 comprised a feudal aristocracy and a semi-feudal peasantry. Relatively, it possessed no bourgeois class, because that class breathes and breeds only in the smoke and dust of the machine age, which has scarcely dawned in Russia.

What she possessed of machine industry, however, Russia conscripted for war work, realizing that in this epochal struggle the Czar's "last moujik" was no substitute for the cannon, machine guns, shells, poison gas, airplanes and other mechanical devices for killing, to the creation and use of which a nation must dedicate all its genius and materials or quickly succumb. Two years of this straining left Russia disrupted and exhausted in the mechanical sense. Not only was a further prosecution of the war impossible, but the most elementary needs of her civil population could not be supplied. During another six months the Czar strove to negotiate peace. Then the desperate and disillusioned masses raised the cry of "peace, land and bread," cast out the old regime and launched the revolutionary experiment which has grown into a menace to every "orderly" government in Europe, despite a world alliance to crush it.

Being farther advanced industrially than Russia, Italy withstood the strain a little longer, yet Italy, too, was staggering to her fall a year before the armistice and was kept in the struggle only by the desperate aid and encouragement of her allies. Had she been isolated, like the Slav, instead of enjoying direct communication with France, England and America, Italy would have gone down the year the Romanoffs fell.

Helped and coerced by Germany Austria-Hungary held on to the end, then exploded into race fragments, starvation and Bolshevism.

Germany entered the war with the greatest industrial organization the world had ever known. She emerged from it unable to feed clothe or employ her working population—a nation subsisting on the residue of its war stores, powerless to resume its normal functions and drifting rapidly into social revolution.

Of France and Great Britain, it is enough at this point to say that they triumphed by sacrificing their industries upon the altar of Mars. Victory is unquestionably theirs, and with victory industrial stagnation, unemployment, privation, general strikes, bitterness, disillusionment—all the ingredients of decay and revolution.

We had all misunderstood the nature of peace, so far as it was to effect Europe. We saw it as a blessed relief descending upon the just and the unjust, easing the burdens of governments and peoples. This view prevailed almost exclusively among the half-hundred newspaper correspondent with whom I sailed for Paris on December 1. The great crusade of the free peoples against military tyranny had come to an end, with the eagle of victory perched upon the banners of the righteous. It remained only for the wise men of the West to formulate the guarantees of lasting peace and justice among nations. Released from the cruel ardors of war, the peoples of all lands

would busy themselves with the joyous labor of demobilization, lulled by the rising hum of manufacture and commerce, content to await the formal outcome of historic deliberations at Paris.

So it always had been when wars died out. Labor conquers all, says the maxim. In labor the people would forget and have their wounds healed. And, surely, there was work for all in devastated Europe.

Work! How easy it is for us to think in the terms of dead men and things! Our fathers worked when they had health and the inclination there was nothing to hold them back. We work when we find a place in the intricate processes of manufacture and distribution which have supplanted handicraft and agriculture as the basis of society.

History records no struggle of races or dynasties which unfitted men to till the soil or robbed their hands of the cunning to fashion a boot. But boots are no longer fashioned by cunning hands. More cunning machines do it. Other machines have supplanted the man with the hoe, driving him to the city mill and to a third machine whose single operation constitutes his "trade." His job and our depends upon the output of distant mines and the rubber hunters of the Congo.

This is industry, the pillar of modern society. And this thing the nations dared to conscript, drill and put in uniform to wage a war. They dared because they had to. Once upon a time we had armies, arsenals and some contractors to wage our wars. Between 1914 and 1918 we saw Europe and all it contained mobilized to wage war.

After six months of peace it remains mobilized. Armies and industries are still in uniform. The great war is over, but in February men and women were still making munitions in France or spending their days in munition factories because the government had nothing else for them to do. And there was no prospect that it would have anything else for them to do for months to come. In England, France and Italy it is still deemed wiser to float fresh loans to support conscript armies than to turn impatient soldiers out into the wilderness of peace.

War had become the normal condition of Europe, the thing to which her populations, her genius and resources were dedicated and adjusted. Peace came not as a relief, but as a desperate wrench, a crisis which straightway threw the people into confusion, toppled governments over and is still shaking the continent to its farthest extremity.—Sunday Call.

LET'S SAVE COAL

QUAI D'ORSAY BURSTING WITH BALES AND BALES OF PEACE PARLEY 'DOPE.'

Paris.—Wanted—by the French government—a large storage house for 963,466 bales of peace conference official document—overflow from the Foreign Office Building, on the Quai d'Orsay.

There's no room in the national peace mission's headquarters. Printed and mimeographed "dope" is stacked all over the floor and in the halls there, too, and Paris is crowded by its doubled population.

What's going to become of this printed matter after the conference hasn't been officially considered, but it's a cinch nobody wants to read most of it.

107 Per Cent Price Raise Forced by War

Washington.—The maximum of war time increase on all commodities in this country was placed at 107 per cent by the Department of Labor, while reports placed the high points in prices for France at 235 per cent above normal; for England, 133 per cent; for Canada 115 per cent.

In European countries during the war period bank deposits doubled while in the United States they were increased three-fold.

KATE O'HARE WOULD CONDUCT SURVEY OF MISSOURI PRISON

By J. LOUIS ENGBAHL.

(Special Correspondence).

St. Louis, Mo.—Kate O'Hare is in the state penitentiary over in Jefferson City, serving a five year sentence because of her allegiance to her Socialist principles.

In the meantime Frank O'Hare, here in St. Louis, waits, works and watches, not only to make prison life more endurable for the wife and mother, but to leave no stone unturned that might result in her early release, which Kate O'Hare says will come with the liberation of all political and industrial class war prisoners.

I found Frank O'Hare in his office, 1011 Holland Bldg., and he was writing Governor Gardner, of Missouri, urging that Mrs. O'Hare be given permission to carry on sociological work within the prison, in lieu of her work in the prison overall factory.

"Frank and Kate," as they have been known in the Socialist movement for a score of years, have been working on this plan for more than a year. It was with this in mind that an effort was made to have her transferred to the state penitentiary in North Dakota, under the regime of the Nonpartisan League, but this effort failed.

For many months, however, Kate O'Hare has been acquainting herself with all the writings of the prominent authorities on criminology and sociology, getting in personal touch with all of the well known experts in this country. This study has taken her to many of the better known universities in the land.

Mrs. O'Hare made a personal visit to Governor Gardner of this state and urged that she be allowed to do this work. He said he would take the matter under advisement, in the meantime showing considerable interest until the newspapers took up the question, when the Governor retired into his shell, claiming that he hadn't known that Mrs. O'Hare was a convict-to-be at the time of her visit to his office. It is understood that an order permitting Mrs. O'Hare to carry on the work in question must come from President Wilson, although a recommendation from the Governor would have considerable influence.

"Mrs. O'Hare in due time will present to the President her request to be permitted to do sociological work within the prison, Frank O'Hare wrote Governor Gardner. 'She hopes to have the co-operation of scientific, medical and psychological experts in the comprehensive survey which is contemplated.'

"Such permission will not be considered as a favor by Mrs. O'Hare," he continued, "she simply tenders her expert services to the public welfare, and it is simply a matter of the president's discretion whether or not her tender is accepted."

"A large number of scientific men and women are assisting in the preparation of the plan and questionnaire. It will be some weeks before this preliminary work is finished."

In discussing the imprisonment of his wife and co-worker, Frank O'Hare voices Kate's feelings rather than his own.

"Mrs. O'Hare feels that she can stay in prison just as long as the democratic administration can afford to keep her there," he says. "All she demands is that congress and the administration make an investigation of the facts leading up to her arrest in Devils Lake, North Dakota, on July 29, 1917, and in face of these facts, if the administration in power can afford to keep her in prison, she is willing to stay."

"The court of last resort in this case now is the American people and they will be informed of the facts. I am prepared to carry her fight to the people of the United States and let them pass on the injustice of the conviction and imprisonment of an innocent woman. The people will be informed of the conspiracy of Bowman, North Dakota. No one ever thought Mrs. O'Hare would go to prison. Now that she is actually serving a term in prison, the people are awakening. She is not requesting pardon because she cannot do that when she is not guilty."

The same fear and trembling on the part of the authorities that characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by federal officials in putting Mrs. O'Hare into convict garb.

It was after completing a 14-day farewell tour of Eastern cities, making her final address at Minneapolis, Minn., April 7, that Kate O'Hare journeyed to Fargo, North

Dakota, where she arrived several days before the time she was to give herself up. She surrendered herself to the federal authorities on Saturday morning, at 10 o'clock, April 12, at the same time that Debs was receiving his prison orders from the federal attorney who prosecuted him to come to Cleveland.

During the days that she waited before surrendering herself to the authorities, the plute papers in Fargo were very much excited, imagining that all sorts of demonstrations were about to take place. Frank O'Hare had come to Fargo from St. Louis to be with his wife and this gave the papers additional cold shivers. The atmosphere became so tense and the bourbon press so terrorized the authorities that Frank O'Hare returned to St. Louis on April 11, after assuring himself that Mrs. O'Hare's journey to prison would be made as comfortable as possible.

It was at midnight, April 12, that Chief Deputy A. S. Marshall and Mrs. Wattles took their prisoner out of Fargo on the long journey to Jefferson City, Mo. Stops were made at St. Paul, Minn., and at Kansas City, Mo., so that the prison city was not reached until the night of Monday, April 14. She was "dressed in," or became a convict, on the morning of Tuesday, April 15, the former international secretary of the Socialist Party being given No. 21,669, and being assigned to the overall factory to make 55 pairs of overalls each day.

The strict discipline of the Missouri penitentiary, which is more severe than in other states, will not be eased up the slightest particle for the woman who sat as chairman of the Committee on War and Militarism at the St. Louis Convention (1917) of the Socialist Party. She will be permitted to write but one letter a week. The federal prison at Leavenworth, Kans., is inaugurating a plan to allow all prisoners to write at least three letters a week.

When Frank O'Hare came to the prison on Tuesday, April 15th, to see his wife the first time after entering the penitentiary, he was at first refused permission to see her. It was only after considerable difficulty, and after interviewing several state officials, the capital of Missouri also being located in Jefferson City, that he was allowed to see her. And then his visit was limited to a few minutes on one day. When he returned to Jefferson City the following Sunday, Easter Sunday, he was told that he could not see her until Monday.

Both Kate Richards O'Hare and Emma Goldman number among their friends some of the most prominent women of Jefferson City. One of these had to walk rough shod over the prison officials before she was permitted to see Kate O'Hare on Saturday, April 19, and to send her some delicacies on Easter Sunday morning. All the indications are that the policy of isolating Kate O'Hare from the world is being enforced to the limit.

All of which is no doubt in keeping with the big prison plan to eliminate a human being as much as possible from the world's rushing activities. How it is all reduced to a silent smoothly moving mechanism is probably best shown by paragraph No. 28 of the prison Rules and Regulations, which outlines the conduct of the convicts while at their meals. It reads: "Should you desire additional food, make your wants known to the waiters in the following manner: "If you want bread, hold up your right hand. "Coffee or water, hold up your cup. "Meat, hold your fork. "Soup, hold up your spoon. "Vegetables, hold up your knife. "If you desire to speak to an officer about food or service in the dining hall, hold up your left hand."

Shure, 'Gene!

"The class-conscious worker recognizes the necessity of organization, economic and political, and of using every weapon at his command—the strike, the boycott, the ballot and every other—to achieve his emancipation."

"He, therefore, joins the union or his class and the party of his class, and gives his time and energy to the work of educating and lining up his class for the struggle of his class for emancipation."

Extra! Extra!

There is a strike on at the Leather Works' Sault Ste. Marie. All workers are notified to keep away. Kindly see that this news is spread around so that no scabbing can be done by Duluth workers.

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U. S. CAPTAIN APPEALS IN BEHALF I. W. W. MEN IN PRISON

"A gross miscarriage of justice" and "an outrage that every consideration of right and the peace and good order of society demand should be corrected," is what Alexander Sidney Lanier calls the conviction of three of the defendants in the Chicago I. W. W. trial in a remarkable open letter to President Wilson.

At the same time, he calls upon the Chief Executive of America to do justice to all of the defendants who, he says, were sent to jail on an indictment that he brands as "fatally defective," denying the accused labor leaders their constitutional rights.

Lanier, who asserts that the men were convicted contrary to law and because of public hysteria, was formerly Assistant Attorney General of the Philippine Islands, and later a captain in the Military Intelligence Division, General Staff, United States Army.

In his appeal, printed in the New Republic, he sets forth that he never heard of the I. W. W. except vaguely, until the trial of W. D. Haywood and the other active members of the organization, after

which he was called upon to make a summary of the records in the case for his department. He states that he has no sympathy for the I. W. W., or any other revolutionary organization, but that his sympathies are with the working people, because they have been victims of outrageous persecution, and they have not always secured justice in the courts.

His open letter, in part, follows:

My dear Mr. President—A very earnest passion for justice to all men of whatever race, color or condition of life, constrains me, after mature reflection, to write you in regard to the case of United States vs. W. D. Haywood et al., Industrial Workers of the World, with a view to giving you an unbiased opinion of the case should you be appealed to for clemency in behalf of the defendants.

This government of ours was set up, and its Constitution ordained to "establish justice," among other things, and when that purpose is thwarted or betrayed by those charged with the administration of justice, all personal considerations are as dust in comparison with the duty to expose any

and all prostitution of the agencies of justice and the law to wrongful ends. I have concluded, however, after much consideration, that the only proper and perhaps effective action for me to take is to bring the matter to your attention.

As stated, I have summarized the record of this trial, which covers between 35,000 and 40,000 typewritten pages. It has been necessary for me to read with care and thought every page. It is of course impossible for me to discuss in detail in this communication the law and evidence of the case as revealed in the record. I can state only my deliberate opinion and conclusions, based upon a review and careful consideration of the record as a whole, which are as follows:

Indictment Defective.

1. These defendants were indicted for a conspiracy to unlawfully and feloniously, and by force, prevent, hinder and delay the executive of certain laws of the United States, set forth in the indictment, which laws concerned chiefly the government's preparation for and prosecution of the war. In the first place, the indictment is in my judgment, fatally defective, in that it does not give or convey to the defendants sufficient information of the nature and the cause of the accusations against them, which is their right under the sixth amendment to the Federal Constitution. I understand, and am informed, that in a recent prosecution of certain I. W. W. in Seattle, upon an indictment modeled upon the one in this case as a precedent, three judges of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals quashed the indictment upon the ground above stated.

2. While evidence in the record discloses that several of these defendants said and did things for which they could have been successfully prosecuted under the Espionage law, and for which they should have been prosecuted, convicted and punished, the evidence is, in my opinion, insufficient on the whole to show and establish beyond a reasonable doubt a conspiracy, as charged in the indictment. Congress never conscripted labor, as it might have done, and there is no law of which I am aware that prohibits working people from striking and co-operating in formulating plans for a strike and methods to make their strike a success. The strike being the exercise of a legal right, if the fundamental motive and purpose underlying it were to secure better wages, shorter hours of labor and better living conditions in industry, the mere fact that the interests of the government in its efforts to prepare for and carry on the war, were incidentally prejudiced, did not, of itself and alone, constitute a violation of law, however reprehensible it may be regarded and condemned in other respects.

The evidence shows that these defendants and their associates had been active for years in trying to correct what they conceived to be outrageous injustices to their class in the economic and industrial conditions in this country. Their policy and activities have been consistent from the beginning, and only differed after the United States entered the war in degree and intensity, but not in methods or purpose.

A WRONGFUL CONVICTION.

3. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the indictment and the question of the sufficiency of

the evidence as a whole to sustain the prosecution—and upon these matters there may be ground for debate—there can be no question, in my opinion, of the absolute innocence and wrongful conviction of Charles Ashleigh, Leo Lukie, and Vincent St. John in particular. I defy any one to show me one scintilla of evidence in the record of this trial that proves that either of the above defendants conspired with any one to violate any law, or that they did, in fact, violate any law, as charged and set forth in the indictment or otherwise.

While I am of the opinion that these men were convicted contrary to the law and the evidence solely because they were leaders of a revolutionary organization against which public sentiment was justly incensed; and that the verdict rendered was a foregone conclusion from the beginning in obedience to a public hysteria and popular demand, due to the psychology of the times, I feel that the inclusion in the three defendants above named was a gross miscarriage of justice and an outrage that every consideration of right and the peace and good order of society demand should be corrected.

4. This case has rested very heavily upon my conscience, Mr. President, and it is quite a relief to me now that I have reached the determination to lay before you my views upon it; which I do in the confidence that it will receive from your enlightened mind and deep-rooted instincts of human sympathy and love of justice the consideration it demands, and such action, if the opportunity offers, as will fully satisfy the ends of justice and the best interests of society.

FORD NICE MAN? ASK HIS EMPLOYEES!

HENRY FORD STRIKE BREAKER.

His Philanthropy But a Mask.

Detroit, Mich., May 7th.—Ford employees to the number of 2,500 filled Moose Temple Sunday afternoon shouting and cheering the speeches of the representatives of the Automobile Workers' Union. Shafts directed at the Bismarkian industrial despotism in vogue at the Ford Motor Co., under which some of the employees are ordered to act as scabs at the struck plant of the Wadsworth Mfg. Co., brought the audience to its feet.

"The Ford Motor Co., by sending some of its employees into a struck shop, have performed an invaluable service to the workers of this city and the entire Nation," said W. A. Logan, General president of the auto workers' union. Ford's scientific system of intensive labor exploitation now stands forth for what it really is. By the thousands the workers are learning the bitter lesson that any lasting gains must be made by the workers themselves. Ford workers have learned that they received a cheap bribe from their widely advertised "philanthropic" master, that had for its purpose the closing of the ears and minds of the toilers to the message of industrial unionism. However a shop system based on the worst features of both feudalism and capitalism, cannot withstand the onrushing tide of industrial unionism. Even the magazine writers have

learned that the wages received by members of our union is greater than the average wage received by the employee of Ford's besides which we possess a degree of "self determination" to which the automatons of a more or less benevolent industrial despot, are strangers."

"At the rate our organization is growing, by the first of the year, we will have 50,000 members in Detroit," said Ben Blumenberg, organizer of the local union. "When that time arrives, we will not influence, but will dominate the political life of Detroit and if we still have need of policemen, about the unhealthiest job in this city will be that of impeding gun-men and thugs to act as strikebreakers." In reviewing the causes leading up to the industrial form of economic organization in the labor movement, the speaker declared that the craft union officials can no longer ignore the instant demands of the rank and file. The latter are convinced that the days of craft unions are numbered as an effective force to wage the battles of labor. To continuing the waging of wage wars with the craft form of unionism, is as obsolete as it would be for an army to fight on a modern battle field armed with flint-lock muskets.

The members of the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America are still on strike at the plants of the Wadsworth Mfg. Co., makers of Ford sedan bodies and the spring manufacturing plants of the L. A. Young and the Jenks and Muir Cos. From 700 to 1,000 applications are being received by the union weekly. The organization is also making rapid progress in Toledo, Pontiac and other cities.

THE AMNESTY CONVENTION

It has been proposed to call a National Amnesty Convention of all the organizations in favor of a Government amnesty for political prisoners—including bourgeois Liberal societies such as the Civil Liberties Bureau, etc.

We have nothing but admiration for the handful of Liberals who stood out against autocracy in this country, not only during the War, but afterward. We realize that Socialists owe them a debt of gratitude. We heartily approve of their desire to liberate political prisoners in the United States.

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But the time has come for Socialists to withdraw from active co-operation in reform movements, and to devote their energies to organizing the proletariat so as to make its strength felt directly—which will do away with the necessity for Amnesty Conventions.

Our own National Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party will meet soon—and there we shall take action according to Socialist principles on the matter of the political prisoners.

For these reasons we condemn Socialist participation in the proposed National Amnesty Convention.
COMMUNIST.

Internationalism is Here

LENIN ANNOUNCES ALLIANCE

Russian and Ukrainian Reds Combine Against Rumania.

Paris, May 3.—The Tempts announces today that a wireless message sent out by the Russian Soviet Government on Friday gives the text of a treaty of alliance entered into by the Ukrainian and Russian Bolsheviks against Rumania.

THOUGH JAILED HE SPEAKETH

Debs' Message From Moundsville Prison.

"A mighty social revolution is impending—it is shaking the earth from center to circumference, and only the dead may be deaf to its rumblings.

"Revolutionary education and organization is the vital need of the working class.

"Great is the privilege we enjoy in being permitted to take part in this mighty historic struggle.

"The base and cowardly will sneer and sneak to the rear, but the brave and true, though held itself gape, will do battle with all the blood in their veins, and write their names in living letters on the shining scroll of labor's emancipation.

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FRIDAY, MAY 9, 1919.

MAY DAY.

May Day this year found the workers of every city demonstrating their solidarity with their fellow-workers of the WHOLE world. In America the workers of New York, Boston, Cleveland, Minneapolis, Chicago, Rockford and many other cities marched through the streets with their hearts aflame and their heads erect. Verily this was a real May Day.

True to the traditions of their class, the capitalist class turned out their hired thugs and also used the soldiers in order to stem the rising tide of working-class revolutionary fervor. In New York city the office of the New York Call was wrecked by members of the 4 Minute organization and over a dozen of the staff of the Call had to be sent to the local hospitals for treatment. In Chicago the parades were broken up and many arrested. In Boston the police and the soldiers hurled themselves on the workers and many were injured and others arrested. In Cleveland the big parade of the local comrades so incensed the local authorities that they too remained true to the traditions of capitalism. One worker was shot dead and many injured. The S. P. headquarters were wrecked. In Minneapolis, the workers marched over 5,000 strong. There was very little disturbance. In Rockford the workers marched and made a great showing. This May Day finds the workers becoming more revolutionary than ever.

Masters of AMERICA YOUR doom is sealed. In order to counteract the effect of the revolutionary propaganda of the radicals you dish up your "bum" outrages. The "bum" outrage only shows that you are as dirty and as despicable as your prototypes in Siberia, who retain their power by the force of Allied bayonets. Go on masters, play your foolish pranks and sing while the singing is good. Your foolish press stories only make you the laughing stock of the world. Bombs you say. Yes we are going to use dynamite, but not the kind you mean. We are going to use mental dynamite, the kind that will blow the cobwebs from out of the minds of the workers. We are going to educate the workers and in that hour you will have ample cause to regret the dirty work you performed on May Day. For every worker that was shot, injured or imprisoned, WE SHALL NOT FORGET. We too can be as hateful as you. We too can learn to inflict vengeance, as you do.

Workers and comrades all. May Day has come and gone. You marched out and demonstrated your strength. Yours was a noble sight. As you marched and we heard the tramp of your feet, we felt proud of you. You are men and women who are made of the real stuff. We know that you will be ready when the time comes. You know how to organize. You know that in union there is strength. You require something more than organization. You require education. For that reason we want you all to organize study classes. Here in Duluth we shall take charge of the class. We want all of you who care to join, to send in your names. Come on comrades, we shall educate ourselves and by the strength of our education, agitation and organization we shall laugh to scorn those who hold the reins of power.

To give you some idea of what we are aiming at, read the following article taken from the Proletarian:

THE PROLETARIAN UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA.

As no mention has been made of the progress of the Proletarian University of America for some months it is possible that some of our readers may have concluded that the study class work has been suspended. Again, some of our new readers may not be aware of the existence of this organization. It will not be out of place, therefore, to recount the past and present activities in this field.

Following the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Michigan, held in Detroit last September, a group of the delegates met in the office of The Proletarian for the purpose of combining and unifying the work of the various study classes then in existence in this and other states. The result was the formation of the Proletarian University of America. Since that time this organization has made rapid progress and has accomplished greater educational results than it is possible to record in this article.

We are nearing the close of a successful season in Detroit. Many classes have been conducted under the auspices of the Proletarian University, drawing the greater part of the students from the Young People's Socialist League and the various branches of Local Detroit. In the language branches the Polish, Russian and German comrades have conducted classes with noteworthy results. It is worthy of mention also, that classes in economics for members of the "economic organizations" have been successfully conducted within the labor unions of the city. These classes have developed a goodly sized group who have a fairly thorough grasp of socialist fundamentals, with a few who show promise of becoming capable speakers and writers.

The Comrades of Local Rochester, N. Y., have been conducting five classes each week under the direction of their secretary-organizer, C. M. O'Brien. The students there have shown marked progress. Judging from reports that are received the study class activity has placed Local Rochester in the front rank. A high standard of average intelligence is a better standard of measurement than one or two brilliant minds with a large but uninformed following.

Through the efforts of a few Comrades, Local Buffalo (N. Y.) indorsed the study class work and in January secured the services of one of the Comrades associated with The Proletarian, who has since been devoting his entire time to conducting classes in that city. A recent report shows eight classes in full swing, with many of the students developing into class instructors. The development of a well-informed group in Buffalo will in time prove the greatest strength of that Local.

Another Comrade who had long been active in the study class work in Michigan, and who is now residing in Chicago, reports that three classes have been organized and that there are excellent prospects for further extension. Until quite recently, Chicago, next to New York city, has been a center of reaction; but thanks to the Russian and other groups, a fair start has been made on the road to clarity.

In the western part of Michigan Comrade W. F. Reynolds is conducting weekly classes in Muskegon, Grand Rapids, Holland and Battle Creek. Excellent work has been accomplished along these lines by D. E. Earley, State Organizer.

Toward the end of 1918 the Comrades of the Left in Minneapolis formed a class and affiliated with the P. U. of A. Comrade A. L. Sugarman, who recently toured Michigan, reports that excellent progress is being made. On the Pacific Coast several classes have been formed, those in Portland (Ore.) being especially successful.

Many inquiries are received from Comrades in various sections as to the methods followed in these classes, indicating that considerable interest is being taken in this phase of socialist activity. In answer to these inquiries, and for the information of others who may be interested, a brief outline of the methods used will not be amiss.

In former issues we have recommended for beginners Mary Marcy's "Shop Talks on Economics," to be followed by the "Communist Manifesto." After the class has finished with one of the above mentioned books or both, if enough members can be gathered another beginner's class should be started to go over the same books while the old class goes on with the study of Marx's Value, Price and Profit or "Wage, Labor and Capital," by the same author. Engle's "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific" has been found to be an excellent work for intermediary study followed by LaFargue's "Social and Philosophical Studies," or his "The Evolution of Property."

To those Comrades who are instrumental in starting classes we would say that the choice of text books depends largely upon the stage of advancement of the class contemplated. Do not hesitate to go on with the work, for after all, experience is the best teacher. The class director will develop the tact and capacity for dealing with little obstacles that may arise. Many imagine that in going through one of the above mentioned books they should be able to explain every clause and sentence, but while we are not advocates of superficiality, we realize that it is possible for the students in class work to get the full value of such classic works only after many readings and re-readings. Still, it should leave in the mind of the average member an outline or skeleton of the work, embracing the main points. On this framework of fundamental knowledge the student can go on building indefinitely.

The class director should insist upon each student standing slowly and distinctly, setting the example by reading the passage the second time, previous to discussing what has just been read. As a matter of courtesy, the individual who has read the passage should be given the first opportunity to explain its meaning. Then it should be opened to the other members of the class, to explain and bring out further points. The director, of course, always tactfully keeping the discussion on the actual subject matter just read, and keeping those participating from wandering from the subject.

The thing to keep in mind all the time is not what the other fellow thinks should be in the book, or what interpretation one would like to place on the passage, but just what meaning the author is trying to convey. Added interest is aroused by using illustrations from present day conditions whenever possible.

On the whole, the success of the Proletarian University has exceeded the expectations of those who were instrumental in its formation. We are aware that this is one of the most difficult phases of socialist endeavor; it is easy enough to sell a book or periodical, or to deliver an occasional lecture, but by far the hardest task of all is to get socialists to study socialism.

The army of the proletariat must be well-equipped with the theoretical weapons with which to demolish the contentions of class antagonists; every member of the organization should be capable of doing propaganda work among their fellow workers. In the classical works of modern socialism we have a vast wealth of information upon which to draw; the study class is the workshop in which the intellectual weapons of the workers are forged.

There is great demand for socialist writers and speakers and these must be supplied from our own ranks. Unless we meet this need the movement will again fall into the hands of "middle class" intellectuals as in former times. In these portentous days every sincere Comrade must stand prepared to throw his full strength into the movement; through the medium of study classes such as are now being conducted by the Proletarian University the capabilities of the individual members are increased and the whole organization placed upon an efficient and substantial basis.

SOLDIERS WELCOME.

The above appeal is reprinted from the New York Communist.

"DULUTH SHOW CASE CONTROVERSY."

A few days ago, the Duluth Show Case Company told their union cabinet makers to either tear up their union cards or GET. They GOT. "I should say not. We refuse to even discuss the controversy. The men know our position. They must accept our terms." That is what the company stated. Since then the trade unions have been aroused and have decided that unless the employers get down to brass tacks, a general strike will be called. With the inevitable result, "The Duluth Show Case cannot afford to pay the increased wages demanded." Anyone would think that the Duluth Show Case Company was in business to make profit. They are simply in business to keep men employed, so that they can make a living. "Yes laugh!" Did not the company lose over six thousand dollars last year? Laugh again. They said so and you know that honesty is the best policy in business. Of course you insist that we are joking. But when a company loses money by running its business, what are they in business for?

It is a lasting disgrace and an eternal shame to see trade unions, composed of AMERICAN workmen demanding recognition. Only the weak people of the world, those without ability or power, demand recognition. The people with power by the intelligent use of their power, force recognition by their actions. A union that cannot compel a firm to recognize them without begging for recognition has no right to exist.

The Duluth Herald talks about the dear, dear public. The workers and the employers must reason things out etc., etc., etc. Reason with Duluth employers. You might as well expect Rockefeller to reason with Debs. There can be no reason so long as one class enslaves, degrades and brutalizes another. So long as men can make slaves out of children, women and men, reason is out of the question.

The labor movement of Duluth must NOW make a stand for its very existence. They must be prepared to close down every factory, unless the employers come to scratch. To ensure a speedy success to the general strike if called, they must fight as one. While the workers are preparing in such a manner, they might as well remove a few of the barnacles that call themselves "labor leaders." The president of a union that receives the praise of his master is no fit official for any union. We have them here in Duluth. They belong to international unions and engage in foreigner baiting. The workers must act now and like men. They must not for one moment allow the sophistry of the editor of the Herald or of our labor (?) papers to fool them. Justice is on the side of those possessed with power. The workers will get nowhere with begging appeals. Let them strip their sleeves up and go to it. By the power of the strong right arm of labor, the world has been built and by the same power ALL masters can be brought to their knees.

We want to offer a little advice, at this time, to the Duluth trade unionists. Advice that was first offered by the famous French fighter Danton, "Men be daring; more daring and always be daring." Meekness breeds contempt. Audacity compels recognition. Men of Duluth are you men or...? Don't forget Mooney Meetings.

SHRINKING SHRIMPS.

By J. O. BENTALL.

(The Dungeon, Brairerd, Minn.)

Far be it from me to want to aid the shrinking of the shrimps. I only want to mention a few of them.

Gag law and tyranny make wonderful changes. It appears that in the end they are the most potent factors in the revolution.

See what they have made of the workers—a class conscious, wide-awake, clenched-fisted, fighting-mad, victory-bent, irresistible, unconquerable, unified mass. Gag law and tyranny did over night what we have been trying to do for half a century.

See what they did to Debs. They did not make him great—he has always been great because of his great principle, his great mind, his great heart. No, gag law and tyranny could not make Debs great.

But they brought him out. They stood him on a hill and showed him to the world. They intended to hide him—to compress him so they might be able to get him into a dungeon. But they couldn't. They couldn't any more get Debs into a dungeon than they could get the Atlantic Ocean into a wash tub.

The more they pressed and compressed and oppressed, the bigger and larger and greater he grew, until today he stands there high above the rumbling clouds of persecution, smiling in the sunlight of the coming freedom.

And the greater he grows—he, the personification of the awakening working class—the smaller grow the shrinking shrimps of capitalism.

Where and who are the agents of the department of justice who hounded him at that Ohio meeting and who caused his arrest? Get your specks and look again, maybe you can see them. Who is the district attorney that prosecuted him? What's his name? You may find it among the murky records that the clerk of court files away.

Who is the judge that tried him? Search me. For a few days he floundered around in borrowed light—borrowed from Debs—and then disappeared. Better get some stronger spectacles. You'll have a job to find that shrinking shrimp.

And the supreme court. You couldn't find two university presidents in the United States who could name the gentlemen that gave their unanimous opinion that Debs should go to the pen. Shrinking shrimps. Only with a high-powered microscope will the world be able to discover them.

And Congress—the Congress that concocted the scandalous espionage law—it crawled out through the key hole and got lost. The attorney general, too, who swelled up like a toy balloon and bobbed about for a day, wheezed out something about the dignity of the law and collapsed.

But the world has one more Socrates, who gave his life for truth and light; one more Jesus of Nazareth, who cast his lot with the under dog; one more Galileo, who pulled the veil from the smiling face of heaven; one more Lincoln, who lived and died for the undying ideal of Liberty.

There he stands like a Colossus, under his feet the broken chains of slaves and the crumbled ruins of prison, round about him a host of comrades and the throng made up of all the world's oppressed.

While the shrinking shrimps of persecution fade away in the shadows of oblivion.

"FOREVER."

The same old weary struggle, the same old tale of crime,
The same old masses wallowing in the same old slime;
The same old dread of justice, the same old fear of truth,
The same old War Lords ruling the races without ruth.

The same old pirates raiding the same old Seven Seas,
The same old bankers taking the same old usuries;
The same old politician, the same old sycophant,
The same old preachers droning the same old cant.

The same old Roman powers, the same old humble slaves,
The same old meeklings filling the same old barren graves;
The same old Caesars holding the same old mobs in awe,
The same old legal lynchings heart-broken Mary saw.

AND—

The same old deathless longing, the same old love-lorn urge,
The same old flaming spirit, the same old lightward sure;
The same old Rebels making the same old splendid fight,
For the age-old dream of freedom, the age-old cause of right.

COVINGTON AMI.

BLOOD AND IRON

(Written during the War.)

That which has been accomplished during the last four years in giving to the world the supreme message of Capital and its rule over the affairs of men, ought to bring a pleasing satisfaction to the dirty souls of all military devotees and other worshippers at the shrine of ruling class blood-lust, debauchery and rapine. With 20,000,000 men under arms and thirsting for gore; with hundreds of thousands already slain, a multitude of whom were unarmed non-combatants of both sexes; with a lengthy list of children slaughtered and women raped; with vast territories laid waste under the most reckless and wanton vandalism that the world has ever known, the gospel of "peace on earth, good will toward all men," is being written with pen of iron and ink of blood, so plainly that even the heretic and the heathen may grasp and comprehend.

With the exception of Japan, all of the nations engaged in this delectable exemplification of Christian civilization and brotherly love are real Christian nations, and their respective Kaisers, Czars, Kings, Emperors, have "announced a special partnership with Almighty God." The Emperor of Japan, not being Christian, has set about grabbing his pro rata out of the general mixup, without resorting to such hypocrisy. The same is true of Turkey.

The rule of Capital is predicted upon the exploitation of labor. Capital springs from the "surplus value" wrung from an enslaved working class. Such portion of this "surplus value" as cannot be consumed by the capitalists themselves and their toadies, lickspittles, apologists and other defenders, must be disposed of by being put out as new or additional capital. This is commonly effected by way of foreign trade, or the supplying of foreign markets.

The world markets are, however, limited. With many nations seeking these markets in order to find an outlet for the "surplus" stolen from their workers, by the capitalists of these nations, the opportunity for serious quarrels is ever present. No nation can secure sufficient of these markets to satisfy the needs of its capitalists without depriving some other nation, or nations, of the opportunity. Hence, there is always friction which at any moment is liable to break out into open warfare. In order to protect themselves against each others' enroachments and thus hold such markets as they require, huge military and naval armaments are required. Each must be prepared to defend its territories and markets against the aggressions of others. This alone accounts for the huge military and naval establishments that have already all but bankrupted many of the great commercial nations of the earth.

The differences existing in Europe and which are causing the terrific slaughter now going on, are not racial. They are territorial and commercial. Slav, Teuton, Saxon and Latin live side by side in peace and quiet once they gather upon this western continent. A generation or so later and all racial difference is lost. The cry put up, for instance, by Germany against Slav invasion is purely for the purpose of enabling the German ruling class to use their workers for the purpose of either preventing the Russian ruling class from interfering with the expansion of German territory and markets, or forcing some em-

croachment upon the territory and market of the Russian, or some other, ruling class. And the same thing holds true in regard to all the other principals in this European horror. While some of the lesser nations may not have taken part in forcing the issue, they have been pulled into it for the same reason that has driven the others to act.

It is alleged that Germany has been the most arrogant, unscrupulous and brutal of all, in the conduct of the war, as well as in regard to diplomatic flubdub preceding the outbreak. If this be so, it only vouches that she has reached a somewhat higher stage is capitalist development and culture than the rest. The highest, noblest expression of capitalist rule, war. War in its perfect flower can mean nothing short of the complete annihilation of an enemy, utterly regardless of the means necessary to that end.

Presumably the various combatants in this delightful display of capitalist civilization will indulge in atrocities. And why should they not do so? What else can they do, for is not war itself an atrocious thing? What could possibly be more atrocious, more brutal, more cowardly, more vicious, more contemptible and vulgar, than the actions of these European ruling class ruffians and their puppets in deluding, cajoling or forcing these millions of otherwise peaceful and decent people to go forth to kill and destroy?

Before this tragedy of "blood and iron" is closed millions will have been slain, and millions more maimed and crippled. Other millions will no doubt starve to death, to add still further glory to capitalist rule and laurel wreaths to military chieftains. But whatever atrocities may be committed; no matter how many children may be butchered; no matter how women combatants may be killed; no matter how many cities and villages are destroyed and fields laid waste, let no disciple, supporter or defender of Capital and its rule, dare to lift voice in protest. The rule of Capital is the rule of the sword. That is the court of last resort. Against whatever atrocities war may practice in its triumphal march there is no appeal. War, with all of its awful atrocities is the final and supreme message of capitalism to world. When Capital so orders—to kill, to maim, to destroy—becomes the noblest calling and the supreme duty of every man, Christian, heathen or heretic.

Let us have no more silly twaddle about, "this will be the last war," and the "letting up on naval and military armaments." We have had a surfeit of that sort of rot. The present system of slavery, just like its predecessors, is absolutely unthinkable without a powerful military establishment; first to hold the slaves in subjection, and secondly, to gain and hold markets on behalf of contending bands (nations) of slave masters. So long as capitalist property remains, so long will the military establishment be with us and the world's policy be that of "blood and iron," and that, too, in spite of the sickly sentiment and sloppily platitudes of prayerful hypocrites, shallow-pated oratorical acrobats and penny-almsmen. "Blood and iron." That is the policy. In a slave society nothing else goes. Do you get that?—Socialist Party of Canada.

SHERWOOD WORKS FOR DEBS' RELEASE.

Rep. Isaac R. Sherwood, of Ohio, has written C. V. Ulrich, of Akron, Ohio, that he will bring the question of Debs' release to the attention of President Wilson. He wrote:

"I want to do everything possible to procure the pardon of Eugene Debs. I have known him long and well, and I am of the opinion, without seeing the so-called disloyal words he uttered, that his conviction was the result of prejudice.

"I am willing to call on the President and urge his pardon in fact I have, since the decision of the Supreme Court, intended to see the President, and ask for a pardon."

Truly yours, (Signed).

ISAAC R. SHERWOOD."