

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.

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DEBS MESSAGE FROM PRISON

CLASS-CONSCIOUS CANADIAN TOILERS SCARE POLITICIANS

OTTAWA, Canada.—Frantic efforts to offset sentiment in favor of a general strike to enforce the 30-hour week in Canada, which is being voted on by labor organizations in Western Canada affiliated with the "One Big Union" recently organized by discontented Federation of Labor unions in convention at Calgary, are being made by the Borden government, which is now endeavoring to rule Canada's political destinies.

Appointment of a commission of five to investigate joint control and operation of certain large Canadian industries by capital and labor, and their immediate taking up of their work of surveying, all industrial problems in all industrial centers of the Dominion was announced in the Canadian Senate by Gideon Robertson, Canada's Minister of Labor.

This committee is to hear evidence and report to the government by May 15, just two weeks before the date set for the general strike in Western Canada to enforce a 36-hour week and to compel release of all political prisoners and complete withdrawal of all censorship of press and speech throughout the Dominion.

Streaming headlines across the pages of Thursday's principal Canadian newspapers, announced the government's plan. It has caused a big sensation throughout the Dominion.

Politician Scared.

While the sweep of industrial union ideals is considered the principal fear of the politicians, the certain growth of Soviet sentiment in the Dominion is also a real cause for fear among those who hold soft jobs on Parliament Hill.

Declaring that various proposals had been made to offset the growth of Soviet principles in Canada, Robertson says the Soviet adherents cannot be fought by drastic regulations or strong action, though some favor this plan.

Recognizing the absolute failure of the government's repressive campaign to stifle free discussion and organization of Canada's toilers, the government evidently feels it best to try the soft pedal on labor.

Following complete failure of its campaign to stifle free discussion and organization of the working class through drastic orders in council passed upon recommendation of C. H. Cahan, a Montreal lawyer, capitalist and company promoter, interested in the Canadian Car & Foundry Company, who was appointed as Director of Public Safety for Canada, the government will now attempt to protect the dying capitalist system by appointment of labor "leaders" on a commission to soften the class struggle.

These orders in council actually make it a crime to bring the works of Plato into Canada in the Charles H. Kerr Company edition, while nearly all of them were passed within six weeks of the signing of the armistice, although Canada had been in the war against Germany ever since its declaration more than four years before. Cahan also had drastic orders passed making it a crime for a Russian, Ukrainian or Finn to have literature in his own language in his possession or to speak at a public meeting in that language.

Even Gompers was brought into Canada to chloroform direct action on labor's part. He failed miserably.

Resulting directly from all these efforts to weaken working class solidarity is the secession movement from the American Federation of Labor on the part of all Canada's unions west of the Great Lakes. With them comes open support of the Soviet form of government and passage of a resolution favoring the Soviet as against the present state form of Canada's administration.

Repressive measures failing, Robertson, a member of the Canadian Senate, whose members are appointed for life, a chamber, considered the most reactionary and useless legislative body in the British empire, announced the government's plan in answer to an interrogation of Senator Michener as

to what steps were being taken to obtain closer co-operation between capital and labor.

Committee Not Announced.

He did not announce the personnel of the committee of five, although two will come from labor unions and two from employers' unions. The fifth, of course, will be appointed to protect the interests of the "dear" public. Their names will be given out soon.

"The situation confronting Canada is an intense and ever-growing desire on the part of workingmen that there should be a greater measure of industrial democracy," the Minister of Labor said. "This means that working men feel that, through some means of organized effort, they shall have some measure of voice in the control and conduct of industries."

"This attitude was largely born of the fact that, whereas in days gone by the vast majority of employers were proprietors of their industries and a measure of co-operation and loyalty existed between employers and employees, today we are confronted by a system which, by virtue of vast centralizations, of capital, makes contact between workingmen and their employers impossible, thus rendering co-operation between and loyalty to one another extremely difficult. The result is that employees are compelled to organize and to strive for fair conditions under which to give their labor; and this, in turn, brings difficulties, disputes, and more frequent strikes."

While declaring the Lemieux industrial disputes act, passed 12 years ago, was legislation "wise and beneficent for some time," he admitted "it did not meet conditions confronting us today."

"Prevention Needed."

The government today feels that what is required is not to much the settlement of disputes the strikes as their prevention before they occur," he continued.

He described a conference between capital and labor held last year, and said that out of support of the government by capital and labor "has come a very wide acceptance of the Whitley and Rockefeller plans for industrial councils, which means the giving to labor of a voice in the control and management of industries. The Imperial Oil Company, the International Harvester Company, the Canadian Shoe Manufacturing Company, and the Toronto Builders' League, have all established industrial councils, and other firms are following their example."

Many employers of labor in Canada favor the government plan of joint control, Robertson said.

Liberal party speakers and newspapers declare the government is stealing their thunder and they indorsed this plan of joint control at recent conventions.

They credit W. L. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labor in Laurier's government, with first bringing the plan before the people. King is known throughout the United States because of his strikebreaking activities while drawing pay from Rockefeller.

King recently has been making speeches in various Canadian cities, outlining his plan to keep labor from demanding all it produces.

Scheme to Fail.

That the scheme to weaken labor and offset its solidification through the "One Big Union" will fail is certain.

Working men and women in Canada recognize they have a commodity, called labor to sell and the

I AM WITH YOU!

By J. O. BENTALL.
(In County Jail, Brainerd, Minn.)

To-day I am looking out thru the bars of my dungeon. It is a glorious day. The birds are already singing the life-song of Spring. The sun is smiling upon the slumbering earth that is just waking from its sleep, unfolding its bosom of enchanting verdure.

Me they have caged in a cage of iron they have locked the gates of steel against me. They tell me I must stay here and eke out the dreary hours of my lonely existence within these prison walls.

But I am not here. They cannot shut in my mind and spirit. They cannot lock up my heart. No, I am not here.

I am with you—the working class—the struggling masses of toil and bitterness and hardship.

I am walking with you thru the chilly mist of early morning to your field and shop. I stand by your side the long workday and look upon your worn and tired body. And I am tired with you.

There are millions of you—worn and tired:

I am walking with you to the shaft, and I slip in with you on the cage that shoots down to the bottom of the mine. I go with you thru the long "entries." You look—with that foreboding look—at those hanging slate beds in the roof. You suspect that timbering. I also. We go to your "room"—that, too, houses the demon of unexpected death. You take off your rags and stand there naked to the skin. You tie that heavy leather apron to your body. It is cold and slimy and sharp with slivers and coal dust since you threw it off when you quit yesterday. For the sweat of your body flowed like a stream of water as you heaved that heavy coal into the car. It's the same today. You drink gallons of water and cold coffee—gallons of tipples of it. Yes, I see how you can do it—that terrible flow of sweat. And millions of you sweat like that.

Poor little things—you were so sleepy this morning. It was so hard for you to be dragged out of bed and be shaken to your senses. Yes, the first whistle just blew and you have to hurry. That crust and black coffee will keep your body and soul together till noon. That sandwich—only some bread—and the banana isn't bad—only started to spoil—you can eat most of it—your brother must have the other one.

Does he work too? You say he is older than you—fourteen? And so slender and pale. That he has slaved in that child labor hell two years already? Coughs like that every morning? And you, too, my little girl—you can't go to work to-day with that cough. Stay home and play with your doll—haven't any? Never mind—don't cry. You'll have one some day—by God you will—if I live. Millions of you will.

Grown people will work in those cotton mills and in those factories. And we shall have proper ventilation, too—so the lint and dust won't strangle and clog your lungs. This child slavery shall cease and these cough breeders shall be fixed.—By God, they shall.

So that hanging slate fell—I knew it would—so did he. But the company would not allow better timbering. That would cut dividends.

Yes he is badly hurt, but don't cry. They are bringing him "home." The boys are all gentle and handle him so carefully and tenderly. And anyhow he may not feel any thing. No, the little baby won't understand—that's good. And the other children are growing fast and will soon be helping to earn. No, I don't think your boy will be allowed to take his place—only twelve? You say lots of boys that age are now in the mine? Thousands of them? So Congress repealed the child labor law—did it?

Try to be strong—there come the neighbors—they'll help you. We'll pull out those chairs so they can lay the board right on them—they carry him on a wide board. I know it is hard for you. He was so good and kind—and always worked hard.

Don't—not yet—no, wait. They are coming to wash him and gather him together and maybe you can see him. No, leave the covers over him.

you and loves your rough caresses. So do all your little ones. Oh—you have six, I see—eight you say? No, I cannot look at them—they are too thin and starved—their little legs are too bare, and bony and scratched—their eyes are bulging out too longingly for that food on the table. And poor mother—pitiable—pitiable mother.

Yes, I'll eat with you—I'll try. Thank you—I thought I'd try—thank you—please pardon me—I am not hungry. Give this to the children—I want to go out a while. There is the old post in the tenement alley. I want to rest against it while I sob. Nobody will see me.

There are millions of you just home to eat—and I wanted to eat with you, but I am not hungry—not while all these children are hungry—and their mothers.

And you at the harbor and on the sea. I can't stay away from you. That dirt—that rain—those cold winter winds—your clothes wet and stiff—your feet clogs of ice. I suffer with you. I never knew the human body could stand such strain and such pace—such strain and pace of labor.

No, I won't go home with you. Your haunts of poverty and suffering are too sacred for outsiders to step into. And you are so many of you—millions—

No, I am not discouraged or downhearted. For the fetters of this dungeon are wonderfully elastic—and generous. They let me out upon the mountains of vision and let me roam over the plains of reality. I go to the Bethlehem stable—to the inn at Petrograd and Moscow—to the hillsides of Riga and Archangel where the Russian shepherds have seen the star and where the hosts of the proletariat are shouting their great hosannas to the new-born Comrade of Peace—the new-born spirit of good will to men—the new-born passion of a new love.

I shout with you in the ecstasy of joy. I clasp you in my arms and cry and shout. I sing and dance and weep and laugh and behave as you do. For we have been bound and oppressed and hounded so long, and we have torn down the throne of the Czar and his tyranny, and hurled capitalism from its citadel into outer darkness where there is gnashing of teeth. We have reared up the monument of liberty and established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

And with you I go into all the world and preach this gospel to every worker—beginning with Germany—then to Italy and France—England and America—to every race and kindred and tongue.

And, behold, the all-conquering power of the new affection shall sweep like a mighty wind over the earth, and the masses shall be stirred to action against every onslaught of the master class.

Unflinching, determined, inspired, victor-proud, resolved to snap our chains—we rush headlong against all the hell and all the demons of tyranny and oppression.

We have won.

We come rejoicing—we have gained the world—we lay it at the feet of a free humanity.

Yes, he tried so hard to get away—how he pulled to get that crushed leg away—and how eagerly he looked at us when we came running to help him—but another block of rock fell—on his head.

No, not much insurance—only enough to cover funeral cost—and the preacher. Just \$9 coming from the company, and you owe the grocer \$13? And no bread in the house when you come back from the —

And there are thousands like that—millions.

Yes I heard them in their secret chambers—I heard them plot the big butcher program. It was capitalism in league with Satan. Sometime I shall tell you the whole story.

Now the boys are coming home. We greet you and cheer you. Your heart was right and you placed your life on the altar of Democracy. You were on the square—but capitalism didn't play square with you. Capitalism aimed at your heart when you went out and capitalism is stabbing you in the back as you return.

I was with you in the camps where you endured the humiliation of slaves under the upish idiosyncrasy of snobs, and in the trenches where you tried to dodge death among the corpses of your comrades.

And I am with you now when you are hunting jobs among your masters and where you are sitting full of sores at the rich man's feet, picking crumbs that perchance may fall from his table, while the profiteering dogs are licking a few more drops of blood from your bleeding bodies.

And there are millions of you—nearly four million of you.

I am not going to the homes that capitalism has wrecked—the hearts it has broken that can never heal. I can't.

No, I am not discouraged or downhearted. For the fetters of this dungeon are wonderfully elastic—and generous. They let me out upon the mountains of vision and let me roam over the plains of reality. I go to the Bethlehem stable—to the inn at Petrograd and Moscow—to the hillsides of Riga and Archangel where the Russian shepherds have seen the star and where the hosts of the proletariat are shouting their great hosannas to the new-born Comrade of Peace—the new-born spirit of good will to men—the new-born passion of a new love.

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"I enter prison as a flaming revolutionist, my head erect, my spirit untamed, and my soul unconquerable," said Debs.

Saturday, April 12th.

Eugene V. Debs will leave Terre Haute at 10 p. m. Saturday for Cleveland, O., on the Big Four.

Debs engaged a berth on this Big Four fast train Saturday morning after he had been informed by the district attorney's office that U. S. marshals would not be sent for him but that he should come voluntarily to Cleveland.

Saturday night Debs will quietly observe his farewell dinner with Mrs. Debs and her mother at the Debs' home.

Mr. Debs hopes to leave Terre Haute as quietly as possible.

United States prosecuting attorney telephoned Mrs. Eugene Victor Debs at nine o'clock Saturday morning to notify Mr. Debs to report at the federal building, Cleveland.

This is the building in which Debs was tried and convicted under the espionage act and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

He will make the trip unattended.

Mr. Debs said, at 9:30 a. m. Saturday, that he would "leave soon."

Not Pirson, But Victory.

Speaking of his case he said:

"As a matter of fact, I am not going to prison, but to victory."

"I can distinctly hear an echo of my case over 10,000 miles of space in the mutiny of the American soldiers at Archangel. I am wondering how many Americans comprehend the significance of this seemingly unimportant incident."

"If the powers that be imagine they are inflicting punishment on me, they have yet to learn who I am."

"Enumerating the reasons for refusing to recommend clemency, which, by the way, I never asked, Attorney General Palmer charged that I threatened, in event of my incarceration, to call a general strike and paralyze industry. This is absolutely false. I call upon Attorney General Palmer to either produce his authority for making such a statement, or publicly retract it thru the same agencies which gave it circulation."

"There is not a word I have spoken that I would retract, or an act that I would recall."

"I still regard the espionage act, under which I was convicted, as flagrantly unconstitutional and a disgrace to the American republic."

"There is not a nation in the old world that has such an atrociously despotic law."

"The ruling powers that are now filling our prisons with men and women who believe in democracy, since the world has been made safe for democracy, are writing the present chapter of American history with our entire consent. We, the people, will write the next chapter."

It was 24 years ago that 'Gene Debs went to prison for his connection with the big railroad strike which paralyzed the traffic of the country.

"I was a boy then," he said. (He is 63 now.) "I went without the least fear; but not with the fuller understanding, the serenely and the composure that I go now."

He had been talking of his case in general, as tho it might have been the case of some remote person; then, "But really the only concern I have is for those who love me and whom I love; my part is insignificant." There was a slight change in his tone and eyes. "If I could only relieve those who love me of the pain—"

"Mrs. Debs will remain here—to keep the home fires burning." He hesitated and looked up with a singular smile. "She would gladly go with me if she could."

He tilted his chair back. His hands rested on his knees. His face was serious, perhaps a trifle white against the darkness of his new-looking, immaculate suit.

"My house is in order," he said.

"I enter upon my sentence perfectly serene, knowing that I shall be sustained by the loyal devotion

of my comrades, by a clear conscience and an absolutely unconquerable spirit."

J. Louis Engdahl.

Moundsville, West Virginia, April 13.—'Gene Debs is in prison. He is caged in a steel cell, with a door of heavy metal bars, it is cell No. 51, in the South Wing of the West Virginia State Penitentiary here at Moundsville.

This thing happened tonight, at 10 o'clock, on the night of Palm Sunday, with Easter one week distant, and as an admirer of Debs said on his departure from Terre Haute, Indiana, his home, last Saturday, "We are ready for another crucifixion."

"It will never happen. They will never do it. They won't put Debs in 'son."

This is what the millions over the land said for these many months since his indictment, and even since his conviction and sentence. But tonight we said "Good Night" to him thru the bars that constitute the door of his dark hole in this human hive they call tiers of cells.

Debs tonight took his place—a convict—among a thousand other convicts, criminals of all grades, and shades and brands, and the words that he uttered in the court room at Cleveland, Ohio, during his trial, came back to us, we who were with him.

"As long as there is a criminal class, I am of it. As long as there is a slave class, I am in it. As long as there is a soul in prison, I am not free."

Only a few moments before, as they first took him away from us, and conducted him thru the turntable cage door, the latest prison ingenuity to bar the "inside" from the "outside." Arthur Baur, 'Gene's brother-in-law, a brother of Mrs. Debs, who had come with 'Gene all the way from Terre Haute, uttered the anguish of an outraged working-class when he exclaimed:

"My God, how can they do it, why do they do it!"

Yet Debs' last message to the workers of the nation, perhaps best answered why they did it. This message was:

"Tell my comrades that I entered the prison doors a flaming revolutionist, my heart erect, my spirit untamed and my soul unconquerable."

It was on the trip here, at East Liverpool, Ohio, that he remarked that today was April 13th, the anniversary of the Battle of Lexington, the beginning of the American Revolutionary War in 1776, that it is also the anniversary of the Ludlow massacre during the great Colorado coal strike.

For a half century the work has known of 'Gene Debs of Terre Haute, Ind. Now, if this world would reach him thru the mails, it must address him:

'Gene Debs,
181 Jefferson Ave.,
Moundsville, W. Va.

which is the address of the penitentiary of this state.

Workers of many nations have already protested the conviction of this man, who was the center of the little group that arrived on this Palm Sunday night at this bastille, that promises to take a prominent place in American working class history. There were Debs, his brother-in-law Arthur Baur, Alfred Wagenknecht from the National Office of the Socialist Party, David Karsner of "The Call" the New York Socialist Daily, the writer, and of course United States Marshal Charles W. Lapp and U. S. Deputy Marshal Thomas E. Welch, in charge of Debs.

There are no high walls around this prison. But guards sit in turrets at intervals with loaded rifles in their hands ready to frustrate with a deadly bullet any attempt on the part of an inmate to win the open. The grass grows fresh and green and free upon the wide lawn, but

(Continued on page 2)

NIRVANA: THE ISLE OF REST.

How tranquil is the earth to-night
A silence brooding night,
A muffled moon, not overbright,
And azure in the sky.

Blue placid bays with white cloud rimmed,
And clear stars shining there
Each sparkling sweetly, unbedimmed,
Within its setting fair.

One seems to hear a city hum
Its deep, hoarse note afar
Where travellers go and travellers come
And toiling dwellers are.

But here the earth is still to-night,
A silence brooding night,
A muffled moon, a cloudy white,
And azure in the sky.

BRIAN H. MAGILL,
Dublin Ireland.

(WHEN DID YOU WRITE TO
COMRADE BENTALL? Ed.)

Debs' Message From Prison

(Continued from page 1)

the heavy gratings are upon every window.

"Don't think that I hold anything against you for your part in bringing me here," Debs was exclaiming to the United States Marshal as he ascended the steps and entered this place to which a federal judge has sentenced "Our Gene" to spend the next ten years of his life because he made a speech at Canton, Ohio, in June 1918, and so Debs spent his last few moments in "the outside" forgiving everybody, "with malice toward none," as Abraham Lincoln put it.

Warden Joseph Z. Terrell and the prison physician, Dr. O. P. Wilson, were waiting for us. In a moment we were all acquainted, and then—

"Mr. Debs, come with me," said Warden Terrell, and in another moment the threshold that leads from liberty to the tombs of living men had been crossed.

"You're quite a tall man, Mr. Debs," said the warden as he electrically manipulated turntable cage door moved noiselessly, transferring its opening from the "outside world" to this "inside world."

"Yes, six feet," answered Debs, pleasantly, and that was all we heard as they passed on. We went back into the warden's office and waited. Soon the warden returned and signed several papers that the already impatient marshal and his deputy presented to him. Then we began asking questions about Debs, and the treatment he would receive.

"He will be allowed to write all the letters he pleases," said Warden Terrell, "subject of course to the prison censorship. He may receive visitors twice a month, but the understanding seemed to be that visitors coming from some distance would be allowed to see Debs at almost any time."

The Warden wrinkled his brow just a little when it was asked if there would be any restrictions on papers, magazines and books sent to Debs. "No," he said, "not if they are for Debs alone. But he must not pass them out among the other prisoners, some of whom are ignorant, you know, and it might have a bad effect on them." While Debs' activities as a propagandist and agitator may thus be somewhat curtailed, the warden assured us that all letters, no matter how great the number, would be turned over to Debs immediately upon their receipt.

"I am just going to use common sense in my treatment of Debs," said the warden, for which announcement Baur and the rest of us thanked him. Baur then left with the marshal and his deputy for the return trip home. Wagenknecht, Karsner and I lingered, altho midnight was approaching. We readily accepted the warden's invitation to visit Debs and bid the spokesman of American Socialism "Good Night" in his prison cell. One of the jailers led us up an iron staircase and along the corridor of a second tier of lairs for humans. Thru the bars of his cage door we asked him again if there was anything we would do for him.

"No, nothing more," he replied.

"I am going to have a good night's rest. My only hope is that everyone tonight could have as good a couch as mine. Don't worry about me, comrades, I am all right. Everything is fine," and with that he stretched out both his hands to each of us in turn, said "Well, good night" again and promised to be back again on the morrow if the warden would let us in. Then we returned to the warden's office where we sat down and asked more questions. Both the warden and the prison physician insisted that the "flu" epidemic that has been raging in the prison, resulting in several deaths, is now a thing of the past. They stated that the wing in which Debs' cell is located has been thoroughly fumigated, and that they had the "flu bug" whipped out.

Debs is bald-headed, just like the warden, so he will not have his hair cut. Upon entering the prison, Debs was not subjected to the usual shower bath and the usual change of clothing because the warden said he felt that Debs didn't need it. Altho the warden praised the prison fare in high terms, he said prisoner might send out for any delicacies he wanted, or that they might be sent to him. He said prisoners spend about \$1,000 monthly in such purchases, which they were free to buy anything they wanted.

He said Debs would not be asked to do any prison labor, because of his advanced age. Debs is 64 years old. The color of the prison uniform has been a cabot gray. Striped suits are not used except for escaped prisoners, who have been caught and brought back. We were shown the "solitary" cells, but it was claimed these were not used except in rare instances, while the "shackles" were brought into use in only very extreme cases, it was claimed.

While we were talking a reporter from one of the Wheeling papers came out and Karsner gave him Debs' statement about his entering prison as a flaming revolutionist. The warden pricked up his ears and insisted that Debs must not start a revolution in his prison. He was assured that he had nothing to fear.

The sudden and mysterious manner in which Debs was spirited off to prison, when it was thought that he would be at liberty at least until May 1st, took the entire nation by surprise. The manner in which Debs was whisked away from his friends is looked upon by some of those closest him as a polite form of kidnapping. While Kate Richards O'Hare was given one month to prepare for her five years' incarceration in the state penitentiary at Jefferson City, Mo., Debs was given only a few hours.

"We have come to get Mr. Debs and take him to the Marshal's office," said Deputy Gaucha. "All right, I am ready," replied Debs, and accompanied the deputy marshals down to their automobile and was taken to the marshal's office in the Federal Building.

During this last lap of our journey, Debs turned to us for a moment, with just the flicker of a tired feeling in his eyes. Yet he was smiling the old familiar Debs smile as he said:

"If I were to engage in satire I would say how strange it is that I have been organizing labor for half a century, and now I am being taken to prison by organized workers, most of them wearing the button of their craft in their hats. It was literally true. The conductors, the brakemen, the firemen, the engineers, the motormen, all union men, helped take Debs to prison." As we ascended the incline that leads up to the sleepy hamlet of Moundsville, and to the state prison, Debs gave us his last words to his comrades everywhere. He said:

"As I am about to enter the prison doors I wish to send to the Socialists of America who have so loyally stood by me since my first arrest, this little message of love and cheer. These are pregnant days and promising ones. We are all on the threshold of tremendous changes. The workers of the world are awakening and bestirring themselves as never before. All the forces that are playing upon the modern world are making for the overthrow of despotism in all its forms and for the emancipation of the masses of mankind. I shall be in prison in the days to come, but my revolutionary spirit will be abroad and I shall not be inactive. Let us all in this supreme hour measure up to our full stature and work together for the great cause that means emancipation for us all. Love to my comrades and hail to the revolution!"

As Debs' body was locked away in West Virginia's bastille, his mind did not concern itself with the question of any presidential pardon that might come offering him release.

"Suppose," we had asked him, before he was separated from us, "suppose President Wilson should cable a pardon for you without any strings attached to it, an unconditional pardon, what would you do, what would be your attitude?"

Debs' answer came without a moment's hesitation.

"I shall refuse to accept it unless the same pardon is extended to every man and woman in prison under the Espionage Law. THEY MUST LET THEM ALL OUT—I, W. W. S. AND ALL—OR I WON'T COME OUT. I do not want any special dispensation of justice in my case. It is perfectly clear, I have always taken that position, and I cannot too strongly assert it now."

The reply must come from America's toiling millions. Get them all out thru your organized power and protest.

(We trust all workers will take a holiday on May 1st and let the capitalist understand what's what.—Ed. Truth.)

The New Revolution.

By Jean Longuet in Le Populaire
March 5, 1919.

From the Department of Labor Research, Rand School of Social Science.

The tragic events at Munich, the seizing of power by the people in revolution, the institution of a purely Socialist government in Bavaria, should produce a profound reaction all over Germany.

With Kurt Eisner assassinated, his ideas never have had such good force and influence over the whole German proletariat. Now they know with what power that glorious martyr denounced the shameful "holy union," agreed upon in Berlin by the Majority Socialists and the men of the old regime. In the collection of his speeches delivered before the Soviets and now collected in a volume under the title, "The New Day," he attacks with bitter eloquence the supremacy achieved by the counter-revolution, brands the ignominious intercourse to which he had to submit in Berlin with the Erzbergers, the Solfs and their like, stigmatizes the caricature of a revolutionary government created by Ebert and Scheidemann against the "renewal of the criminal game of July and August, 1914."

By its cowardly attack Bavarian reaction believed that it could stop the spread of these revolutionary truths. It has served only to scatter them like a trail of powder across the whole of Germany. At Berlin, where gloomy apathy succeeded the assassination of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and the repulse of the Spartacan movement, union has at last been accomplished between the two minority factions. The municipal elections of a few days ago, by giving the Independent party candidates a strong majority over the Scheidemann group, have already marked a reversal of the former situation.

The general strike which has just been declared, and which is stopping all activity in the capital, following the important demonstration taking place from one end of the "empire" to the

other, indicates forcefully the awakening of the German proletariat, its determination to submit no longer to the bastard compromise of Weimar.

The program decided upon by the two minority factions—Independents and Spartacans—which the leading papers report with apparent accuracy, is excellent. It includes the following demands:

"Recognition of the Councils without reserve or limit.

"Liberation of all the political prisoners notably Ledebour and Radek.

"Recall of the war councils.

"Restoration of political and economic relations with Russia.

"Dissolution of the corps of governmental volunteers.

"Transforming of existing tribunals into tribunals of the people.

"Condemnation of the Hohenzollerns and their two acolytes, Hindenburg and Ludendorff.

"For Ebert, Scheidemann, Noske, not condemnation, but the door.

"Trial by a revolutionary tribunal of the assassins of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

By its revolutionary action, by pressure of the masses upon the old Social Democratic party—which, in spite of all, still contains millions of sincere Socialists, and where the supreme command of Scheidemann and Davis is being strongly fought—German Socialism is going to recover itself. It will re-enter the glorious road where Marx and Engels and Bebel and William Liebknecht led it a half-century ago. It is with passionate concern that the universal proletariat will follow its effort.

STEFFENS SAYS U. S. SOLDIERS LIKE IT AS RUSSIAN CAPTIVES.

(By United Press.)

Paris.—Lincoln Steffens, writer and personal investigator, who recently returned from Russia, told the United Press that some American soldiers captured by the Russians informed him they were "better off than those not yet captured."

"I do not believe the capture of American or British soldiers means the untold horrors that have been hinted at," said Steffens.

"I saw several American prisoners taken on the Archangel front when I was in Moscow, week before last. I asked them how they were being treated, and they said they had no complaint. I talked with them privately, which was easy, since they have full freedom of the city, being required only to return to their barracks by 9 p. m.

"They said they had not received enough food, but that they got as much as their guards got, and when the guards got an extra allowance, they, likewise, got more to eat. Some of them said: 'We are better off than the fellows who have not yet been captured.'"

Under Socialism Bankers Go to Work.

BUDAPEST, April 5.—The Soviet government of Hungary now has control of the banking system of the country, and as a result some of the most prominent financiers under the old regime are now acting in subordinate positions to Communist directors.

Simon Strauss, former director general of the Great Magyar Bank, has offered his services to the Soviet government and been accepted as a bookkeeper. Baron Satvan, one of Hungary's richest citizens, is now a clerk in this city.

Hungarian Soviets Seize Standard Oil.

VIENNA, April 4 (delayed).—The Soviet republic of Hungary has nationalized the Standard Oil Company.

The company had oilfield offices in Budapest and a refinery. A million dollars of the Standard Oil stock is said to be deposited in

KEEP YOUR EYE ON PARIS

Arthur Ponsonby,
In Labor Leader, England.

It is unfortunate that industrial trouble and after-war problems should distract public attention from the framing of peace. Because there is nothing, not even a general strike, which will permanently affect our national life for good or ill to the same extent as a just or an unjust peace.

It is true our information is meager. But little by little it is beginning to dawn on us what the main principles of the final settlement are going to be. Armistice conditions are renewed in such a way as to make the delays in Paris operate for the benefit of the Allies. Armistice conditions are not discussed they are enforced. At the negotiations renewed at Brussels, after being broken off at Spa, we read: "The Germans will be allowed to ask questions, but no discussion will be permitted."

In this going to be regulation for the peace conference when the German representatives are called in? Very probably.

No precedent can be found for peace negotiations being conducted, and the peace treaty being drawn up one set of belligerents without consultation and discussion with their opponents. It discloses a barefaced intention to dictate which is without any parallel.

The selection of Paris, moreover, as the enter in which these one-sided deliberations were to be held was exceedingly unwise. With the French Premier in the chair, representing as he does the most extreme policy of revenge and compensation, the whole atmosphere has been vitiated, and the remotest semblance of any spirit of impartial justice has been removed. It is difficult for victors to be just in any case. But they have adopted a method which precludes any idea of equitable treatment of the enemy is to prevent each other, and their only preoccupation from securing too large a share of the spoils.

Germany is to be crippled for generation to come. Germany is to be deprived of territory. Germany is to lose all her colonies. Germany is to be disarmed. Germany is to be drained financially and handicapped economically. Austria-Hungary has been dismembered. Turkey is to be broken up.

All this can be done quite easily, because we are in a position to issue decrees and carry them out by force. But does any one who is not halfwitted suppose that a permanent peace is going to be the final result? One can almost hear the curses of posterity which will be showered on the memory of these blind and selfish statesmen. As Scheidemann said in the National Assembly last month:

"If they can bring sufficient influence on the decision, these politicians of force my compel us to make a peace, but they can never compel 70 millions of human beings to acknowledge in their inmost hearts that such a peace is honest and just. They will never be thus able to establish a true League of Peace among the nations which rests on the free will of universal conviction."

Of course, they won't. But they do not care tuppence about future peace.

They want their own triumph and the public humiliation of their enemies, their own aggrandisement and the effective crippling of their enemies, their own permanent domination and

banks under the name of "Vacuum Oil Company."

The former managers of the company are mere onlookers, the Soviet doing the business.

the continued subservience of their enemies.

Starvation the Chosen Weapon.

Starvation was obviously the most direct method of reaching these high aims. The starvation of the German people has, therefore, been the deliberate policy of the Allies.

It has been pursued ruthlessly, while the press has been instructed to announce that all protests from Germany were frauds and shams. Accurate reports of the real state of the population have been deliberately censored and stopped. At last, but we fear too late, a telegram from a soldier, General Plumer, brought the truth home to the Paris conference, and even that cynical assembly of grasping ninisters could not disregard such a sharp reminder of the actual consequences of this criminal policy.

The immediate effect has been the strengthening of the Spartacist activities, the recrudescence of reactionary militarism, and the imposition on the new German government of the exceedingly difficult task of preventing general anarchy. It is a matter of wonder that Ebert and Scheidemann have been able to retain control.

In the meanwhile, Germany has agreed to the surrender of her mercantile fleet, which is roughly estimated at 3,500,000 tons, and in return 370,000 tons of foodstuffs per month are to be dispatched until the next harvest. She had no alternative.

Neutral opinion, which was favorable to us during the war, adopts a very different tone now. Do not let us imagine that the lack of chivalry, the absence of generosity and humane feeling, the inordinate folly and short-sightedness, and the cool, cruel calculating barbarity of the policy which is being envolved by the great men in Paris is passing unnoticed. The reports of the various commissions are coming in, and the end is in sight. It seems that the Kaiser is not going to be tried, and some doubt seems to exist as to who can be tried. A list of war crimes has been drawn up.

Among them we note "starvation of civilians." Are we seriously going to condemn any individuals for starving a few hundred civilians when we have been starving millions of them by our blockade?

And as to the other crimes, are we quite sure that the Allies which comprised Russians, Serbs, Arabs, Gourkas, Portuguese, Senegalese and Turose were not guilty of any of them?

The decision with regard to the western frontier of Germany is the question which overshadows almost every other problem in importance.

Are the French going to claim the Rhine frontier? Is a buffer state, under French protection, going to be created on the western bank of the Rhine? Are the bridge heads and territory on both sides of the river to be guarded by an army of occupation for years to come? All these alternatives are absolutely fatal to future peace, but we do not hear of any more equitable suggestions.

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As to other items we gather that Italy is still at loggerheads with the Jugo-Slavs, she claims Fiume and Dalmatia, and has gone so far as to publish all her claims officially in Rome. Her Allies, in fact are finding her a very troublesome colleague.

Danzig is to go to Poland with "a corridor." It is only a German town, so it can be disposed of quite easily. A drastic reduction of the German army and all war material has been arranged and strengthened beyond the suggestions of the military authorities by Mr. Lloyd George who, as the Times rightly says, "is really against conscription at heart." The International Labor Commission has practically come to a decision on the British Draft Convention, and is recommending that an International Labor Conference shall be held in October at Washington.

President Wilson has returned. Will he stand up to the great imperialists? The events of the next few days alone can answer that question.

BELA KUN INVITES ALL HUNGARIANS TO SOVIET FATHERLAND.

By EDWARD BING.

BUDAPEST, April 1 (delayed).—The new Hungarian Soviet government, through Foreign Minister Bela Kun, today issued an invitation to Hungarians in America to return and enjoy the fruits of the communistic revolution. He said they would find here a "socialistic fatherland."

Bela Kun also declared that Hungary wants peace with the world and will fight to maintain it.

"Our foreign policy is one of peace," said the Foreign Minister. "We mean this sincerely. But, as we have done away with imperialism, we shall not bow to it again."

"Our internal policy, which relies for our foreign policy, which relies entirely upon international solidarity of the working classes.

"We have the friendliest feeling toward all nations, especially America, which is showing the most impartial and just attitude toward every country. To the Hungarians living in America I send this message through the United Press:

"The circumstances which forced you to emigrate have disappeared. You will find here a socialistic fatherland, offering a home to workers, while the old Hungary had a home for no workers."

"We have the warmest feeling for the German proletariat, who taught us the theory we have put in practice. Nothing binds us to Russia, except the international solidarity of the working classes."

"I sincerely hope all pending questions with the Entente will be settled peaceably. But if the Allies entertain a spirit like that of General Hoffman at Brest-Litovsk—basing their action on the power of the sword—the population will rise in arms, just as the Americans did in Washington's time."

"Every workman in Hungary now enjoys the greatest freedom. There is no exploitation of men by men. You ask whether establishment of our system may not be interpreted as a political maneuver against the Allies. I reply we were enthusiastically working for the system long before the Allies started their political maneuvers against us."

"Our program provides for monopolization of internal commerce by the state. Internationally, it is free trade; the exchange of goods on a compensational basis."

"The misery in Russia has deliberately been greatly exaggerated. Col. Robins of the American Army, whom I met there, can corroborate this."

"We will try soon to send our representatives to all foreign governments, including the Allies."

PHILOSOPHY OF A FOOL

IN A CRIMINAL COURT.

"Those that are Fools, let them use their talents."—
Twelfth Night.

Have not much respect for what is known as the Law. No Fool has. If he held the Law in honor there'd be something sadly lacking in his Foolishness. The Law embodies the brutality of the ruling faction and the stupidity of the subject people. It is the assertion of class supremacy and the admission of mass servility. The Fool hates Capitalism with all the power of his mind and all the passion of his heart; and the Law by precept and prohibition enforces the capitalistic system, and invests it with a solemnity that deludes the unthinking.

Capitalism and what is known as the Law are inseparable. They exist together. They will perish together. They speak with the same weapons. What Capitalism desires, the Law decrees. What Capitalism dislikes, the Law denounces.

The Fool is Law-abiding, but also he is Law-deriding. He obeys the Law, but only that he may remain at liberty to undermine the Law's foundations, and ultimately bring it crashing to the ground, and laugh above its ruins.

This does not mean that Foolishness and Anarchy are identical. It does not mean that when the Law is gone everyone shall do what he pleases, without regard to the welfare of his neighbor; that rights shall not be defined and defended, nor principles laid down to govern the relations of men.

We are taught at All Fools' College to differentiate between the Law of Capitalism and the Will of the People. The one expresses the commands of tyranny. The other declares the counsels of freedom.

I remember asking my Master Fool, when this conception was first disclosed to me, "Will there be no Law when the People come into their own?"

He smiled at the note of mingled surprise and alarm in my question.

"There will be no Law," he said, "for Law has its roots in fear. There will be an Understanding blossoming in the soil of love."

I didn't realize what his words meant at the time, as the ground doesn't grasp the meaning of the seed that the gardener sows till one day the plant thrusts through the earth and makes the purpose clear.

It happened in my case just like that. I needn't, however, relate the incident that revealed to me the truth that was hidden in the Master's cryptic statement. Enough to state that I now rejoice in the contemplation of a social order in which the Law will figure only as a mummified monster, eloquent of a done-with-past.

Last week I was in a criminal court. It gave me the sensation of being in the lair of a wild beast. Outside, the world was a jungle of beauty and terror fantastically blended. Inside, the Law crouched like a tiger about to spring upon its prey.

Who was the prey to be? Not me. Not any of the people round about me. Not any of the crowd at the back of the court, not up there in the gallery.

A young man sat in front of the dock. His face was pale, though in his manner there was no trace of nervousness. It was he whom the tiger watched, its eyes blazing, its jaws slaving.

Who was he?

One of the working class. One who voiced the aspirations of that class. One who helped them to feel the baseness of their servitude and thrill to ideals only vaguely sensed.

And why was he there, gazing so calmly into the tiger's eyes? Brother, he had offended against the Law.

I shall not tell you what was his offense, lest in doing so I too should arouse the Law's anger, and have to look into the eyes of the tiger.

It is not necessary here to refer to the charge on which the young man stood indicted, or make any comment on the evidence produced for his condemnation.

Enough to say that he had attacked the capitalistic system, had encouraged the workers to regard it with aversion, and combine to defeat it and destroy it.

Nor did he exhibit any sign of contrition for what he had done. He was sure of himself and of his faith. Even proud, I fancied.

While the Crown Prosecutor was impressing upon the jury the enormity of his crime, the young man leaned over a sheet of paper, taking notes with an impassive care, and in due course went into the witness-box and addressed the court in reply.

It was a masterly utterance of over three hours' duration, and its object was not to extenuate but to justify what the young man had done to excite the fury of the Law.

How strange it was to sit there and listen to that advocate of the working class giving voice to principles and purposes so alien to the atmosphere of the place.

It came upon me then, amidst those surroundings, with a force I had never met before, that the Labor Movement in the hour of its triumph will accomplish the most astounding revolution of all time.

Institutions will go, bringing down with them, to cover their ruins, the dust of ages. Traditions too long venerated will be swept away. Poms and ceremonies behind which tyranny concealed its ugliness will come to a sudden end.

All that is a matter of course. It has happened over and over again, for revolution is an established method of progress, and its operations can be traced right down the centuries with a scientific precision.

But it flashed upon me in that court, in the presence of the Law, while the young worker delivered with unflinching fluency the gospel of his class, that the Revolution which the Labor Movement is destined to bring will go infinitely farther than any of its predecessors.

It will annihilate ideas which have survived the fall of empires, and persisted amidst scenes of universal devastation when social fabrics collapsed and gods expired upon their altars.

Capitalism is a thing of comparatively recent creation, but the ideas upon which it is based can be traced away back to the forest primeval, originating in the brain of the Beast, to be transmitted to Man.

Selfishness is the core of savagery. And selfishness is the creed of Capitalism.

And it is selfishness which Labor's Revolution is going to destroy, or at any rate so purify in the flame of the ideal as to render precious that which before was pernicious.

In the heart of every Socialist this faith is cherished. I held it

in my own. But listening to that representative of the working class answering his accusers in the presence of the Law, I became so vividly aware of it that it was like a new revelation, imparting to the familiar an unsuspected significance, and to the unknown the beaconing splendor of a great light.

I have asked myself since what the court thought of the drama that was being enacted in that shadowy chamber.

But I have no answer to the question.

The face of the Judge was inscrutable. It was a good face; human kindness commingling in it with, legal austerity. Yet search it how I would, no clue did it afford me of the Judge's thoughts, as the working-class advocate whom the Crown sought to brand as a criminal proceeded with an address quiet in manner, but in matter vibrant with the challenge of a bugle note.

Nor could I penetrate the masks of the jurymen, bent upon him while they gave to his words the gravest attention.

I looked at the barristers sitting at the table, only to realize how complete is the disguise with which Nature has provided human beings.

I turned to the public, to the attendants, to the police—studied a hundred countenances, seeking for a thought to match my own.

What is the flesh but a veil for a mystery? What is civilization but a house with drawn blinds?

In spite of this unresponsive environment, it was inspiring to listen to the accents of the Labor Movement, echoing in the lair of the Law.

It brought forward the Future, radiant with the triumph of the working class. It thrust back the Past, still lurking in our midst to serve the ends of tyranny.

BRITISH LABOR IS FIRM IN DEMAND FOR BETTER LIFE

WORKERS RESHAPING ENGLAND TO THEIR PURPOSE, SAYS CHICAGO BUSINESS MAN.

WASHINGTON.—British labor is demonstrating no uncertain manner its determination to reshape England along lines which will give fair play to the working classes. The recent general strikes in London, Glasgow and Belfast were lessons to the government of what may be expected if radical reforms are not adopted quickly.

This interpretation of the present industrial crisis in the British Isles was made by E. T. Gundlach, wealthy Chicago business man, who headed the Employers' Industrial Commission sent to England three months ago by Secretary of Labor Wilson. Gundlach has just returned to lay his report before the secretary, leaving four members of his commission aboard for further observations.

What seems to have impressed Gundlach above all else is the manner in which the English government and prominent employers in that country are backing up the trade union organizations in order that the workers may be kept from revolutionary activities. He believes this fact carries a very salutary lesson for American employers.

"The industrial problems which confront Great Britain are of the first importance for management in this country," Gundlach said. "Whatever crises occur in England will occur in this country a little later. The history of the two countries since the industrial revolutions proves that. The effect of the war

on the industrial life of the two countries proves it."

Nation Warned. Gundlach said the thing which had caused him most concern on returning to this country after two months abroad was the news that Congress had refused all further appropriations to the United States Employment Service, and that this organization is now being virtually kept alive by charity.

"Americans should realize," he said, "that unemployment is the mother of revolutions. The question of unemployment is the basis of all serious fears felt by the government officials and business men of Great Britain today. They feel that assumption by labor of a larger share of profits will never threaten the stability of business, but they know that the privation resulting from protracted unemployment may well lead to very serious results."

For this reason, Gundlach explained, the British government is devoting the greatest attention to the development of its public employment system. Between the Labor and War Ministries there is the closest possible co-operation, demobilization being carried out on a basis of civilian occupations, so as to avoid the throwing of workers into fields where there is no demand for work.

The Labor Department in Washington recently has criticised bitterly the general staff for its disregard of employment conditions in this country in demobilizing. The War Department throughout has insisted on demobilizing on a basis of military units, rather than by occupations.

Criticisms Belittled.

Most of the criticisms leveled at the employment service in this country, Gundlach said, he regarded as either exaggerated or untrue. There had been many similar criticisms in England, he said, but instead of knocking down the bulkhead because it leaked, every one over there had chipped into make the service more efficient.

The chairman of the employers' commission told of a long interview he had had with Sir Robert Hadfield, an English steel magnate, who is popularly known as "the Carnegie of England." Hadfield, he said, strongly took the attitude "that the best thing to do at this time is to anticipate the demands of labor. When I asked him his attitude on the 8-hour day, he told me he had adopted it many years ago and was now confronted with 44-hour-week demands."

Gundlach then commented on the large number of important employers in England who are now open advocates of radical reforms in working conditions. Lord Leverhulme, the soap magnate, he said, is publicly in favor of a 36-hour week. "More than has ever been yielded to English labor in the past must be given now to prevent industrial unrest," Gundlach said. "I talked with the workers in many industries and all told me frankly they were making a start towards a better state of society, and were prepared to use industrial force if opposition was of a nature to keep them in a servile state."

Little Hysteria Seen.

"Bolshevism" in England, if that is taken to mean an industrial dictatorship, is not a menace, Gundlach said. He observed there was little hysteria from press or public about so-called "Bolshevism," and no parliamentary inquiries as to whether or not it had a foothold in the country. Every one, he said, realized the time had come for a readjustment of the industrial relationship.

Sentiment for the socialization of industries and public utilities has not spread beyond a few of the more important units, such as the mines and the railroads, he said.

"The aim of the workers as a whole is an improvement in their general status, in which an adjustment of wages and hours and control by the workers of minor points in industrial management is likely to suffice," he declared.

The workers of Great Britain, Gundlach thinks, would very hesitantly resist any attempt to dictate to the Russian, Hungarian or any other revolutionary government by force of arms.

"They are sick and tired of war of any sort," he said, "and anxious only to resume life on a better basis than was afforded them hitherto."

The recent general strikes in London, Glasgow and Belfast, Gundlach said, were revolutionary in nature inasmuch as they were called contrary to the dictates of the properly constituted labor leaders.

"To meet this danger, the general attitude is that increased and better organization of labor should be encouraged. We did not hear an intimation from any source, whether from government officials or business men, that it would be desirable to break up or weaken the trade unions."

Millions of Workers To Attend 5,000 Meetings On International May Day.

Chicago, Ill., April.—Five thousand meetings-attended by at least 1,000,000 working men and women on the same day, to help keep 'Gene Debs from going to prison for ten years!

This is the great undertaking planned for International May Day, May 1st, by the national Socialist party, that is meeting with a hearty response from the 100,000 dues paying members of the Socialist Party.

Great Machine on the Move. "This is really the first time in the history of the Socialist Party of the United States that the entire organization has attempted to function on the same day for the same purpose," declares Alfred Wagenknecht, director of Organization and Propaganda in the national office of the Socialist Party who is directing this effort.

"Every Socialist and every Socialist local will function in an organized way on this day. The great machinery of the Socialist movement will work in harmony everywhere, in response to the greatest appeal ever made to it. The struggle to keep Debs from going to prison is making history in the onward march of American Socialism. The thought and energy of the party have been crystallized into united action by the great danger that threatens the movement's most beloved spokesman."

The official call for the meetings was sent out in 10,000 letters to Socialist locals and branches throughout the country. It was also published in 10,000 copies of "The Bulletin," the official monthly publication of the party. Even the smallest and most obscure local is urged to hold a protest meeting.

"Under no consideration should you fail to hold a meeting," says the call, "even if it is only a meeting of the members of the party. Get a hall if you can, and in most instances you can. But if you cannot get a hall, then hold a meeting in the home of a comrade. Have a meeting, no matter where it is held. Have a meeting!"

The task of rallying at least 5,000 speakers for this day is one of the most stupendous problems the party has ever confronted. All of the nationally prominent socialist speakers will be called upon, to be sure. But these will be supplemented by speakers at the command of state and local organizations. Every man or woman Socialist who can talk will be on the platform that day.

"In order to make every program a rousing success, however," announces Director Wagenknecht, "we are preparing and sending out a special program of speeches by convicted Socialists. These comrades cannot be present, of course, at these meetings, so some good reader among the local comrades will read the speeches."

Director Wagenknecht announces that such May Day speeches have already been secured from 'Gene Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, Rose Pastor Stokes, Adolph Germer, J. Louis Engdahl, William F. Kruse, and Irwin St. John Tucker. Efforts are being made to get others. An attempt will also be made to get telegrams from Socialists already in prison, Amos L. Hitchcock, former Socialist member of the Cleveland, Ohio, school board, in the Atlanta, Pa. Prison; Emil Herman, member of the party national executive committee, in the McNeill's Island prison, Puget sound, Wash.; and J. O. Bentall, former candidate for governor of Minnesota, now in the Crow Wing, Minn., county jail.

Debs Makes Membership Appeal.

In addition to the speeches, telegrams and resolutions, it is planned to have an organization talk at every meeting, with a special appeal for membership. The special application blank provided for the occasion contains a plea from Debs, himself.

There will also be a special collection taken up, to be sent to the national office of the party to meet the cost of an immense publicity campaign which is intended to play its part in releasing all political and industrial prisoners.

"If we are to be successful in gaining freedom for our comrades declares Wagenknecht, "we must tell the world about the righteousness of our cause."

In order to give local publicity to the 5,000 meetings the national office of the party is sending out tens of thousands of two different posters for local use.

One contains a big picture of Debs, while the feature of the other is a cartoon showing the necessity of organization of secure the release of the nation's political prisoners. Millions of Debs' protest post cards are also being sent out for

Diary of Social Revolution in Germany

Sunday, Jan. 19, 1919.—Day of elections to the National Constituent Assembly. In Berlin, the town is garrisoned, under Noske's orders, on both banks of the Spree by the Volunteer troops; and guns are trained on to the Northern quarter. Fresh arrests of leaders of the Independents reported. Post-mortem on the body of Carl Liebknecht in the presence of his brother and of Haase. It appears that the shots have been fired at a distance and from behind. A reward of 10,000 Mks. placarded for the body of Rosa Luxemburg. Reported arrest of Radek. At Cologne the Kölnische Zeitung, appearing under British Military censorship, publishes a violent attack on Spartacus, demanding that the "cancer" should be rooted out by the 'bloody application' of 'cautery and knife.' Bremen and Braunschweig reported still in hands of Spartacus. In Bremen the Workers disarm the garrison and seize the telephone and telegraph stations. Hamburg: The municipal and other civil servants of Cuxhaven are on strike against the W. and S. C. After negotiation the proclamation of Cuxhaven as a Republic is cancelled. Dresden: The Wends proclaim an independent Republic and are supported by advance of Czecho-Slovak troops to the Saxon-Bohemian frontier. Protests by the German population. Ruhr Valley: Fresh pit strikes. The elections pass off quietly in the principal big towns. The Spartacus, and in certain places the Independents, abstain from voting. The polling everywhere is heavy. The voting is on the proportional system and by party ticket. The whole of Germany, excepting Alsace-Lorraine) is divided into 37 electoral areas, with 421 members in all.

Jan. 20.—Berlin: Renewed skirmishing between troops and Spartacus round the Anhalt railway station. Central streets and stations and N. & W. quarters of town in darkness in consequence of strike of electrical engineers. 173,460 persons in Great Berlin are in receipt of out-of-work pay. Braunschweig: Hostile communications with Government at Berlin. General strike declared.

Jan. 21.—Railway, mining, or general strikes reported from Braunschweig, Danzig, Essen, Halle, and Upper Silesia.

Jan. 22.—Results of the elections to National Constituent Assembly now known: Soc. Dem. Party (Majority Socialists), 164; Christian People's Party (Catholic Centre), 88; Democratic Party Radicals and Progressives), 77; National and People's Parties (Whig and Conservative) together, 57; Independent Socialists, 24; various small parties, 11. Place of meeting of Nat. Ass. on Feb. 6 definitely fixed at Weimar to great discontent of Prussia and Berlin. Berlin: Electrical Engineer's strike continues, causing great complaints by the medical faculty who threaten to strike against the workers. The volunteer troops are, with exception of a small infantry and naval guard, withdrawn from the city, and the citizen guard provisionally disbanded.

Jan. 23.—In consequence of scarcity of locomotives and worn out state of engines available the number of express trains in all Germany is reduced to 12. Berlin: Compromise reached in electrical strike.

Jan. 25.—The Central Council (of the German Soc. Rep.) issues manifesto re-enunciating the liberty of press and opinion as a political principle of the Revolution; and calling on all W. and S. Councils to abstain from any interference with the press. Session of the Imperial and Prussian Ministers and delegates of the Free States to consider Dr. Preuss's Draft-Constitution.

local use. These cards will be mailed to congressmen, newspapers, labor unions, and also friends, relatives and shop mates of the writer. Each card carries the statement that "Millions of these post cards are being mailed to millions of people by a million friends and comrades of Eugene V. Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare and others imprisoned and convicted for their war views."

"Those who are unable to attend any of these May 1st meetings should send a contribution direct to the national office to help in this campaign," announces Director Wagenknecht. "Also send to the national office for May 1st literature."

Address all communications regarding the May 1st meetings to the Socialist Party Department of organization and Propaganda, Room 405, 803 W. Madison St., Chicago, Illinois.

tution to be submitted to the Nat. Ass. Braunschweig: Conference to found a Federated Republic of N. W. Germany on Soviet lines.

Jan. 30.—Berlin: At meeting of Municipal servants, both Soc. groups, protest against Weimar as place of meeting for Nat. Ass. All parties condemn the proposed dismemberment of Prussia under Clause XI of Draft Constitution. Meeting of W. and S. Councils condemn Nat. Ass. as a means used to overthrow the rule of the Soviets, and demand a W. and S. Conference for all Germany. Central Soldiers' Council of East Front passes similar resolutions. Bremen: The Government troops (Gerstenberg Div.) are closing in on Bremen. The workers are arming and fortifying town for resistance. The Indep. Soc. attempt to negotiate between workers and troops. Dusseldorf: Disturbances increased by enforced closing down of hardware, and machine factories due to shortage of material (of 1,500 hands only a few (1,000) can be kept in no adedecidedsocialisation of these industries. There is a milk famine in the town: communication with the surrounding country being forbidden by the foreign military authorities, who have also commandeered the cattle from the environs. Ruhr District: The output of coal in this district has sunk from 8.45 million tons in month of Oct. to 5.77 mill. in December. The daily number of trucks available for transport has diminished from 20,000 in Oct. to 8,500 in Jan.

Jan. 31.—Vorwärts published an article supporting Noske's recent decision to abolish Soldiers' Councils; and delegates the Workers' Councils to the sphere of production and factory organisation within the lines of a democratic state.

Feb. 1.—Hamburg: The Ninth Army Corps declares itself in sympathy with the proletariat of Bremen, and is called upon by the Workers' Council to occupy the harbour, etc., and to arm the workers. The Majority Socialists of Bremen and Hamburg try to mediate between the workers and the Gestenberg Division. Weimar: Reports from Eisenach and Thuringen that the XI. and XV. Army Corps have declared themselves against the National Assembly and the Government, and that Spartacists have a plot to blow up the Assembly. Measures are being taken to exclude visitors from Weimar. Ruhr District: The press continues to be full of the alarming shortage of coal and trucks. The number of coal trucks in daily use in the Ruhr district has sunk from 20,000 in October to 8,500 in January.

Feb. 3.—Reappearance of the Rote Fahne, with a manifesto of the Communist party, warning the workers to abstain from throwing away their lives in risings until the right moment comes for seizing hold of the dictatorship. Adolf Hoffmann is now the leader of the Spartacist movement in Berlin. Hamburg: Sympathetic strike in the Vulcan works, where two-thirds of the hands have been dismissed owing to the coal shortage. Armed workers guard the harbour and approaches. The W. and S. Council have commandeered several hundred thousand pounds worth of provisions lying in the harbour. Bremen: The Gerstenburg Div. is at the gates of the city; fighting between the outposts and the Communists. The Socialists and local troops negotiate with the Imperial Government.

Feb. 4.—Berlin: A conference of delegates from Soldiers' Councils of all the Army Corps protests against Noske's new Army Order and the proposed dissolution of the Soldiers' Councils. They also protest emphatically against the military advance on Bremen, and demand Noske's resignation. Bremen is completely surrounded by Government troops. The town is bombarded with heavy loss of life. At 6 p. m. the Government troops force the defences and enter the town. Erzberger has started for Weimar. Air postal service opened between Weimar and Berlin.

Feb. 5.—Weimar: Preliminary meeting of the Social Democratic fraction.

Thursday, Feb. 6.—Opening of the National Constituent Assembly at Weimar.

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Deportation--Where?

By JOHN REED

The most modern and most fashionable method employed by tyrants to get rid of their rebellious subjects is to "deport" them.

This new weapon of autocracy was invented by the Turkish government in 1915, when the whole Armenian nation was removed from its ancient home and driven by a murderous soldiery into the deserts of Asia Minor to starve or be butchered by bandits. Kaiser Wilhelm employed the same tactics in Belgium in 1916-17, when the Belgian working class was deported en masse to work for its conquerors in Germany.

The American capitalist class immediately saw the advantages of deportation as a means to make war upon American workers. In the summer of 1917, the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, operating mines in Arizona, was faced by a strike. In Bisbee, and several other towns, the officials and retainers of the Phelps-Dodge Corporation, together with the business men of the place, armed themselves with rifles, rounded up the strikers and their friends, commandeered a railroad train and deported 1200 men into the desert.

This action proved a great success. Of course, there was no warrant of law in this picking up innocent men and shipping them out of town without a trial, nor was it in accordance with the statutes to hold up American citizens at the point of a gun, tear them away from their families and exile them. But the law of the capitalist class acquiesced. The indictment formally brought against the Phelps-Dodge officials and their accomplices were dismissed in the Federal courts.

Since then, deportation, lawless or lawful, has risen rapidly in public esteem. Recently, the newspapers told of the deportation of several hundred negroes from Coatesville, Pa. These negroes had been lured from their homes in the South to help win the war for democracy by doing war-work in the factories of the North. The war is over now, and democracy is assured—in Germany, anyway. There is no more work for the Negroes in Coatesville—and, besides, they insist upon living wages—and, moreover, the South needs her slave-labor back again. What to do? The question was solved very simply in Coatesville. The Negroes were simply driven to the southern limits of the town by armed men and told "to go home."

Deportation is now the recognized means for dealing with class-conscious workers of foreign birth. The immigration law provides for the deportation of foreigners in this country who "advocate the overthrow of the government by force." Naturally, therefore, when a foreign worker participates in a strike, or is found endeavoring to organize the workers, he is discovered to be "affiliated with an organization which stands for the overthrow of the government by force"—and he is promptly deported.

A few weeks ago we were startled by the arrival in New York of a train-load of such "anarchists", whom the newspapers announced were picked up along the Pacific Coast, several of them in the ranks of the Seattle strikers, and, after a hasty hearing, bundled off to New York under guard, "the courts co-operating." At this moment there are several hundred Socialists, I. W. W. and other "malcontents" held in prison on Ellis Island, awaiting deportation to the lands of their birth. And all over the country others are being quickly arrested.

Among these are many political refugees from their own countries, whose return there means long prison sentences, and probably worse. There are also many Russians. It is now fairly well known that there is a war in Russia—a war between the remnants of the Russian propertied classes, supported by government. The vast majority of foreign bayonets, and the Russian people, rallied around the Soviet the Russians whom the United States government is now attempting to deport are Bolsheviks. If they are deported to any part of Russia, except Soviet Russia, they are doomed to certain death, either at the hands of their own master-class, the Finnish White Guards, or the Allied troops, whose record of brutalities in the parts of Russia which they occupy is scarcely surpassed by the record of the Germans in Belgium.

Where is the American government going to send the Russian workers? To questions addressed to the United States Department of Labor no answer is returned to this vital question. We do not believe that American labor is going to allow our Russian comrades to be murdered in this way.

We happen to know that the Scandinavian countries have closed their frontiers to Russia. And, even were the borders of Sweden open, it would be impossible for a Soviet sympathizer to pass through White Finland. The Allies and the Russian renegades hold all ports of entry to Russia—the Black Sea ports, Archangel, Vladivostok and Harbin. There is only one way by which the deportees can be safely sent to Russia—and that is, via the Baltic Sea, direct to some port held by Soviet Russia...

For a year and a half, tens of thousands of Russian workers in this country have clamored for permission to go home. They have not been allowed to go. By what right does the American government refuse these Russian citizens the right to return to Free Russia? Thousands, tens of thousands, want to be deported—if they are deported to Soviet Russia, and not into the hands of their enemies. President Roosevelt, in 1910, deported Mexican revolutionists across the Rio Grande, where they were captured and shot by the butchers of Porfirio Diaz. Let us not permit the Russian comrades to be delivered over to the tender mercies of Kolchak, Semenov, Tchaikovsky, Denikin and the Tchekho-Slovaks.

If the United States government will open our frontiers to those foreigners who want to leave this monstrous industrial tyranny of ours, where the laws are seemingly made to be obeyed by workmen only, the "alien agitators" will go home, and there will be such a rush for the seaports that there won't be enough ships to carry them.

Do Secretary of Labor Wilson and the Department of Justice imagine that with these revolutionists they are deporting the revolution? If so, they are mistaken. The revolution is not a person, or a thousand persons; it is an idea, and ideas cannot be deported.

Upon What Foundation?

By JENNIE McGEHE.

"I pierce through the upper stratum of occasional and shifting circumstances to bottom and base on the rock below."

James Finton Lalor.

The surging torrents of the world's affairs have lately washed away the soil and turf of social systems and bared the rugged rocks which we call fundamentals.

Sixty years ago Karl Marx said that the very hour in which the workers gained control of society the political state as then known would perish, and Engels remarked that the machinery of the political state would be thrown on the junk pile because a government of and for the workers could not function through it.

The revolution in Russia demonstrates the truth of this. The revolution in Hungary is another illustration of it. The Sinn Fein in Ireland recognize it by refusing to enter the English parliament.

The "rock below" is this fact: The political machinery of capitalism, of the capitalistic state, cannot under any circumstances whatsoever, function as the governmental machinery of the working class. It cannot even favor the worker. It cannot effectively legislate in his interest, because if one of its branches should favor him, another branch would almost automatically cut him off from that favor. When we ask him to take part in it, when we ask him to help him, he could thereby benefit himself, we but blind and betray him.

What attitude, then, should the Socialist Party here in America adopt toward the machinery of Capitalistic government, in the light of present events? Should it not be one of "no compromise"? And the words "no compromise" are beginning to mean much more, too, than has been generally conveyed by that term. The idea generally expressed by the term is that there shall be no union or alliance with any other party or movement. But the hour has come to go further. We must dig away the obscuring soil and lay our foundation upon the solid rock. WE SHOULD REFUSE TO TAKE ANY PART IN THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT. Its machinery can no more serve our purpose than the housewife could do a washing on a threshing machine. Why spend the energy of the working class organizing a force to send a man or set of men to Congress to pass some law, after years of effort, which a supreme court appointed by the ruling class, to do the bidding of the ruling class, can set aside in an hour, when the same energy spent in organizing the workers into a Congress of their own would succeed in building a machine, a

power, that could dictate to the Congress at Washington what laws to pass, and backed by their economic power on the job they could defy the supreme court and all the machinery of Capitalistic government.

Instead of urging workers to go to the polls to try to elect workers to that Machine in which any even the workers cannot manipulate, and which, because of its very nature, cannot function in their interest, the leaders of radical thought should teach them to shun it as they would a pestilence!

The workers have already, to a great measure, lost confidence in Congress, and in the efficacy of the ballot, and have lost hope of ever being able to get anything thru the act of Congress. Our agitation would strengthen that feeling of distrust. And since the working class cannot gain its freedom thru this medium why not teach it to distrust and to refuse to participate. Since the struggle between the classes must come, why not precipitate it? What can be gained by covering up the truth from the masses? When the workers pursue this course gradually the Congress of the masters will lose its power, gradually, and rapidly at last, it will become more and more of a figure head, until finally in some crisis it will disappear entirely. This process can be seen going on now in Germany where the Ebert Government daily grows more and more of a figurehead as the Soviets one by one are formed in the industries. We are beginning to see the same tendency in England, as the people stay away from the polls and the big unions dictate to the government. The mile stones along this new way are as plain as the day, the other nations are traveling fearlessly down the newly made road. Why do we lag eternally behind—and worship at the shrine of the old and the discredited?

There are those in the Socialist ranks who lay stress on "the opportunity for propaganda" that taking part in capitalist election, gives us. But the very fact that we refuse to take part would give us ten thousand times more opportunity for propaganda. Being then, what is in America called "non-political" we could go to the workers in their Unions, and all their organizations, in every city and village and hamlet, to the A. F. of L. and to the I. W. W. and urge them to organize a government within a government. To organize what would virtually be a SOVIET whether it was called that or not, to organize a governmental machine of their own that would have power. POWER, that is what the workers need, what they are looking for, what they must and will have! The rank and file in organized labor are ready for it, the great body of farmers who rent, American peasants, are ready for it—why keep up this farce? Why take part in a worse than worthless parliamentary machine? It is only an instrument for administering an anaesthesia to the working class and the great mass of our people in general.

The present parliamentary machine, the Congress and the courts and all their ramifications and Departments, is the machinery for ruling the masses in the interests of the classes. It was organized by the rulers for the rulers. Why not organize a Labor Congress that will be a Labor Congress? Let it sit at the same time as the master's congress—and issue commands in the name of the people—backed by the power of the people in the mill and mine and factory, on the rail road and in the field.

This Congress could preserve the lives of the workers. It could rescue them from the vile clutches of the organized assassins of the masters. Dare the Congress at Washington, and in the states, to refuse to obey our command? *The folded arms of the workers cannot be resisted!* Do the workers of the nation lack solidarity? This will teach them solidarity.

But, some will contend, this thing is impractical. Is, then, a plan that never benefits us—a plan that never can benefit us, a plan that makes slaves and beggars of us, so practicable? Should we go on for years and years with our leaders being jailed, our organizers hung or mobbed, our literature destroyed by the Postal Department of a Robber class, our offices looted, our defenses rendered useless by capitalistic courts, and still court that vampire class by pretended respect for their parliamentary machinery, and participation in it? Thus, in reality, making ourselves *participes criminis*?

Suppose that now we had a machine such as I have described. Would we need to go crawling on our knees to Washington once more—begging like slaves for the life and liberty of an innocent brother, Tom Mooney? When we are in a position to dictate to the legislature we

WILLING TO DIE ON GALLOWS FOR MASSES, DEBS SAYS.

Would Go With a Smile on His Face so Long as He Has Love of Common People and Has Earned It, and Because He Has Done Something to Lift Them to a Higher Plane.

Cheered to the echo, kissed by men and women, Eugene V. Debs, sentenced to serve 10 years in a Federal prison, appeared before an audience that taxed Slavonian Hall in Girard beyond capacity. The audience repeatedly cried as if in one voice, "If you go to jail, we go with you."

A kindly light shown in his eyes as he said: "I can go to the gallows with a smile on my face, go to the gallows hated, loathed and despised by the capitalist class for anything I may say, as long as I know I have the love of the common people, and have earned it, because I have done something to lift them to a higher plane."

And in that same kindly voice he continued: "What do I care for 10 years in a penitentiary, when I know I am right and when I know I am helping you to a place that is higher and better—to a plane that will bring to you the fruits of the earth that are yours."

To show that all new movements are bitterly assailed he said: "When Lincoln made his first speech in New York City against slavery he was bitterly attacked and denounced by every newspaper in the metropolis but one." Again referring to Lincoln he quoted him as saying: "The man who refuses to listen to both sides of an argument is a dishonest man," and, "A man should receive as near as is possible that which he earns."

Is Not For Bloodshed, Chaos or Force.

Continuing Debs said: "I am not for chaos, not for bloodshed, nor for force. I wouldn't, if I could, harm a hair of any man's head. I wouldn't silence a man who slanders or defames me. I have probably been lied more about, misquoted more than any other man in public life. But the

will also be in a position to dictate to their courts. It would not then be, 'please gentlemen, free Tom Mooney because he is innocent.' Rather would it be, 'Our brother, Tom Mooney, we found to be innocent of the crime with which you charged him. FREE HIM OR—!'

The rank and file of organized labor in growing very radical. It is ready for a change. It is, in deed, seeking a change. But it does not seek the Socialist Party of America. Why? Simply because so long as the party adheres to its present policies and tactics it does not present anything that constitutes a fundamental change. The worker senses that. He feels it instinctively whether he voices it or not. So long as the party seeks to gain a place in the capitalistic government, just that long it is necessarily a part of that government. Can we not, then, muster up courage sufficient to break with capitalism? Let those who have ambitions to go to Congress at Washington, get into one of the old parties to go there, for after all, a capitalist congress is a capitalist congress, just as a threshing machine is a threshing machine. It cannot under any circumstances effectively disguise itself as a washing machine.

Let the party learn the lesson that Europe teaches. Let us apply our strength thru a medium that will transmit that strength. Let us consecrate ourselves anew and give up the vain dream of "capturing" something that isn't worth capturing and that we could not use to any advantage after we had "captured" it. We shall build a machine of our own. One that can function in an industrial democracy. And as did our fathers of old for their Declaration of Independence, so let us to this new living expression of our hopes and ideals, pledge our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor.

man who lied about me didn't hurt me and didn't help himself. I am not for bloodshed, as I said, but I am for a revolution, a new birth of society; the coming of a new era that puts the man who works in a position to get what he earns, what is his by right of production. I want it to come in a peaceful and orderly way and in this way it is coming. Nothing will stop it. A new order of things is about to be born in the world."

Speaking of the soldiers, Debs said: "We're the only friends the soldiers have. They are coming home. There are no jobs for them. We are their only friends for if we had our way there would have been no soldiers. They have made the world safe for democracy, but they can't eat democracy. History proves that if it were not for the system of the few set up in the world there would be no wars."

Great Change Coming.

"All the masses ever get out of wars are broken lives. Your masters don't go to war; you go. You go to war for your country, they say. Remember, that two per cent. of the people of the United States control this country. They can stop the wheels of industry or keep them going. This two per cent. don't go to war. They take no chances. They send you. And what is true of America applies to the world. A change as a result is impending. You are to have a great part in it. No longer are you going to be exploited in some form of servitude. Some people are foolish enough to think they can arrest its conquering march by putting some of the leaders in jail. The plutocrats wonder at this movement. They wonder at this Bolshevik movement. They do not seem to understand it is their own offspring. The impoverished methods and cruel grind they have subjected the masses to have brought it about.

"They try every way to discredit us in this movement. They call us Godless. Let me warn you, comrades, when the capitalists become concerned about your soul, look out. Tell me who owns your job and I will tell you who hires your preacher."

Union Men: 45 Years Ago.

"Only 45 years ago, the capitalists fought the union labor movement. They called it a Bolshevik movement. Mark Hanna said the union was a blot on society. Today the union is recognized because the masters have learned how to control it. Samuel Gompers and his union must go. It will be swept aside by the new movement."

Debs styled the chambers of commerce of the country as representing the masters. He said all patriotism was found in these organizations. But strangely enough, all members were too old to fight. They remained home when wars came. Their patriotism, he said, should be spelled "patriotism."

Debs said the duty that every man owes to himself and society is to develop his mind and do his own thinking. "I ask no one," he said, "to blindly follow me, but to think for himself. It is not my purpose to incite your hatred toward anyone. You are the working class that is slowly awakening to your power. The workers of the world are clashing hands. There has been a marvelous change in the world the past year. The old world and the old order of things are gone forever. A new world is being created before your eyes. The workers are now

didn't declare war, your kind the determining factor. You didn't make peace. You were simply treated as inferiors and did the work. You were not born to be slaves but men.

Forefathers Opposed Government

"Washington, Jefferson, Adams—they were opposed to the government under which they lived. But if we oppose it we are persecuted. I stand for the flags as long as it symbolizes the things in life that are dear and worth while to me. We must not forget Washington won undying fame by shooting the flag under which he lived full of holes.

"They fail to tell you the truth about the Bolshevik movement. If it works out as it has started it will prove the real democracy. It will sweep Europe and cross the Atlantic."

Debs predicted that the Spartacists would triumph eventually in Germany. He stated that the economic masters are always the leaders of the people while the masses do the work, day and night sacrificing health, life and limb for the masters and are invariably abjectly poor because of the present system.

Debs Presented Roses.

As Debs reached the platform amid a deafening din of cheers, the audience rising to its feet to roar their welcoming shout at their leader, a huge bunch of red roses was presented to him. He hung his head, wiped away tears of gratitude, and began his address. At the close, the audience, which contained many women with babies in arms, flocked about him. The remark passed frequently from those who greeted him: "We'll go with you to jail, comrade, if necessary."

Free Speech or Bolshevism Bars Warns Ruling Class.

the Rights of Property Gaging of People Like Tying Down Safety Valve, Big Biz Menton Says.

During the past year I have been helping the Secretary of Labor at Washington to handle the publicity of the Department of Labor. The position was technically known as director-general of information and education. Whether or not I have succeeded in teaching a few fundamental principles to the people of this country only time can tell, but I am sure that these millions have taught me something.

During the war my job was to interest industry in the war, urging labor to wake up and apital to loosen up; and urging both to unite in increasing production to a maximum with the least possible cost to the government. Since the armistice was signed my work has been to offset the evils of Bolshevism and prevent a harmful re-action which would naturally follow such a world conflict. It is in connection with this latter work that I wish now to say a word.

Freedom of Discussion Must be Permitted.

Two things must absolutely be insisted upon in a discussion of Bolshevism. (1) Free speech must be permitted. (2) Direct action by force must be forbidden. There must be no suppression of opinion, so long as this discussion relates to the end desired, and does not encourage direct action. Every man should be protected in the statement of his honest opinions, whether he favors a Socialist government, a democratic government, a monarchical government, or a Soviet government.

Everyone should be free to tell of the good or bad qualities of any one or all of these forms of government. He should be free to tell his story on say platform, from street corners or from public halls. For those of us who are interested in preserving property rights to suppress such discussion is utterly foolish and can be compared only to tying down the safety valve of a boiler under your own office.

All talk advising direct action, or the use of force in bringing about changes, should be forbidden in this country. In Russia and any other countries which have not the ballot, people may be justified in bringing about reforms with bullets. Where, however, ballots exist there is no excuse for bullets, and this point should be driven home to every man, woman and child in this country. Instead of attempting to suppress their opinions, tell them frankly that they are free to preach their doctrines, and when they get 51 per cent. of the people to agree with them, they can have the change.

This is the way to handle the problem. This argument appeals to sensible radicals and even the impossible radicals can be made to see the reason. Any attempt, however, by the property owning classes to prevent the preaching of radical doctrines, as such, where there is no appeal to direct action, will only be followed by a much more radical reaction to the detriment of all.

"I, therefore, say: 'Permit and encourage all to state their opinions and preach Socialism or any other kind of 'ism,' but insist that they make clear to their audience that the change can be brought about only by political action and by convincing 51 per cent. of the people of this country that such action should be taken."

Cause and Cure of Bolshevism.

I have learned another thing in Washington which is of more direct interest to clients. It is that people are not opposed to property as such. They are rather opposed to the small groups who are not content to control their own property, but who wish to control the property of everybody else. It is well enough to storm against Bolshevism, but such scolding will never prevent its spread. The real cause of Bolshevism, as brought out in the recent governors' and mayors' conference in Washington, is the fact that properties are being operated by small groups for their own benefit rather than for the benefit of the owners, the employees or the public.

It is not a fight against property, for everyone is more or less of a property owner. The fight is against the few individuals who attempt to control not only their own property, but the property of everyone else. If the lawyers and bankers would only retire from our prominent corporations and seek to have them managed by the real owners and the employees this Bolshevik craze would soon disappear or would at least be postponed for another generation. If, however, these interests continue to hang like grim death to such properties, as they are now doing, they will ultimately pull the structure down on their own heads.

ROGER W. BABSON.

Subscribe for the TRUTH!



JAMES CONNOLLY

Murdered by the British Government May 1916.

By WILLIAM E. BOHN.

It was in a western university town that I first met James Connolly. He had had hard luck. Arrangements for a promising speaking tour had been given up. He had abundant debts and little hope. But he made a wonderful speech. As a combination of simple logic and commanding emotional power, that speech stands out in my mind as the best I ever heard.

We returned from the Socialist hall across the university campus. There was some sort of celebration going on, and the boys were surging back and forth, singing their songs and playing the usual college pranks.

Jim was silent for a while. Finally he said, "I went to a university once."

"Did you?" I asked in surprise. "Yes, I carried in cement."

The next day we went into the library. When we came to the section devoted to Irish history I had a revelation. This hod-carrier ran his eye over the shelves with the eye of a trained scholar. His commentary on authors, books and historical characters would be valuable to me now if I were able to reproduce it. One volume after another he took down. With unerring memory he turned to chapter and page to point out something applicable to the argument we had been having. There were a few old chronicles which he happened not to have seen, but he knew just what they were and what he could get out of them. Like a trained literary craftsman he leafed them over and took what he needed. To one who had spent years trying to teach students to use books this man's mastery was astounding.

So I was prepared for the quality of the "History of Irish Labor" when it came. I am not even surprised to hear a university man say that it is the best piece of historical work ever done by a workingman. Perhaps the only other study which may be thought to contest this honor with it is Bebel's "History of Woman."

I may be wrong in laying such stress on the fact that this man was a scholar. I know that he wrote some of our best pamphlets, that he labored for many years as an agitator, that he kept his paper going under all but impossible conditions, and that in the end he was willing to give "the last full measure of devotion." But it seems to me that the great lesson of his life is that a workingman can learn to study and to think for himself.

There has been a good deal of bluff about this matter of the intellectual independence of the working class. Thinking is the most difficult trade in the world. The vast majority of those who have been technically trained for it merely go through the motions. The number of those who do really good intellectual work in any age or any class is extremely small. And the conditions of the working class are so bad that proletarians are practically barred from entrance into this circle of the elect. Those among them endowed with fine powers can usually do little more than accept the conclusions of some thinker like Marx and support them or revitalize them with materials drawn from the rich and terrible experiences of working-class life. The ordinary mind merely grasps a few notions from some pamphlet, bundles them helter-skelter into some sort of scheme and spends the remaining years of life vociferously defending them against attack.

But he wrote one book which proves that a hod-carrier can be a scholar. His name stands as an eternal rebuke to all of us who are blatant and loud rather than serious and true.

ALLIES MUST LEAVE RUSSIA OUT OR BE TAKEN IN AT PEACE

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

(Special Correspondence to The New York Call.)

WORKSHOP TALKS

By JAMES CONNOLLY

Well, you won't get the Irish to help you. Our Irish-American leaders tell us that all we Irish in this country ought to stand together and use our votes to free Ireland.

Sure, let us free Ireland! Never mind such base, carnal thoughts as concern work and wages, healthy homes, or lives unclouded by poverty.

Let us free Ireland! The rackrenting landlord; is he not also an Irishman, and wherefore should we hate him? Nay, let us not speak harshly of our brother—yea, even when he raises our rent.

Let us free Ireland! The profit-grinding capitalist, who robs us of three-fourths of the fruits of our labor, who sucks the very marrow of our bones when we are young, and then throws us out in the street, like a worn-out tool, when we are grown prematurely old in his service, is he not an Irishman, and mayhap a patriot, and wherefore should we think harshly of him?

Let us free Ireland! "The land that bred and bore us." And the landlord who makes us pay for permission to live upon it.

Whoop it up for liberty! "Let us free Ireland," says the patriot who won't touch Socialism. Let us all join together and cr-r-rush the br-r-rutal Saxon. Let us all join together, says he, all classes and creeds.

And, says the town worker, after we have crushed the Saxon and freed Ireland, what will we do? Oh, then you can go back to your slums, same as before.

Whoop it up for liberty! And, says the agricultural workers, after we have freed Ireland, what then?

Oh, then you can go scraping around for the landlord's rent or the moneylenders' interests same as before.

Whoop it up for liberty! After Ireland is free, says the patriot who won't touch Socialism, we will protect all classes, and if you won't pay your rent you will be evicted same as now. But the evicting party, under command of the sheriff, will wear green uniforms and the Harp without the Crown, and the warrant turning you out on the roadside will be stamped with the arms of the Irish Republic.

Now, isn't that worth fighting for? And when you cannot find employment, and, giving up the struggle of life in despair, enter the Poorhouse, the band of the nearest regiment of the Irish army will escort you to the Poorhouse door to the tune of "St. Patrick's Day."

Oh, it will be nice to live in those days! "With the Green Flag flooding o'r us" and an ever-increasing army of unemployed workers walking about under the Green Flag, wishing they had something to eat. Same as now!

Whoop it up for liberty! Now, my friend, I am also Irish, but I'm a bit more logical. The capitalist, I say, is a parasite on industry; as useless in the present stage of our industrial development as any other parasite in the animal or vegetable world is to the life of the animal or vegetable upon which it feeds.

The working class is the victim of this parasite, this human leech, and it is the duty and interest of the working class to use every means in its power to oust this parasite class from the position which enables it to thus prey upon the vitals of Labor.

Therefore, I say, let us organize as a class to meet our masters and destroy their mastership; organize to drive them from their hold upon public life through their political power; organize to wrench from their robber clutch the land and workshops on and in which they enslave us; organize to cleanse our social life from the stain of social cannibalism, from the preying of man upon his fellow man.

Organize for a full, free and happy life FOR ALL OR FOR NONE.

Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, Rumania, Georgia and the kaleidoscopic Siberian "government" are all proteges of the Entente. Each of them is a next-door neighbor of Soviet Russia and has boundary claims against the latter. There cannot be even a temporary settlement of these violent disputes, which affect one-third of the white residents of Europe and Asia, until Soviet Russia is either destroyed or recognized and negotiated with.

Recognition would make destruction almost impossible, but even with recognition denied, the hope of destroying the Soviets has faded like an African mirage from most minds in Europe. The vision could not be preserved even by the steady flow of lies about Bolshevik routs on the battlefield, universal famine and anti-Soviet uprisings.

Three weeks ago we were told that General Denikene had smashed the Bolsheviks on the Don front, capturing all their supplies and 30,000 prisoners. "In reality," says a special dispatch from Bucharest to the Chicago Tribune, "before and since the date of the alleged triumph Denikene has been retiring before the Red Guard."

French occupation of Odessa was to be the beginning of a great campaign to recover first the Ukraine and then the whole of Russia from the Soviets. Even when the French landed at Odessa, lately arrived bourgeois exiles as Paris told me the situation was hopeless from their standpoint, the Ukrainian peasantry being enthusiastic advocates of Soviet rule. The Czar's former Foreign Minister, Sazanoff, made the same confession.

Yesterday's dispatch from Bucharest declares that "the Red Guard finds enthusiastic support among the peasant masses," while London confesses "nearly all the Ukraine is now in the hands of the Bolsheviks, and that the French army was driven into the Black Sea and had to retire by boats to Odessa."

These events do not represent sudden turns of the wheel of Bolshevik fortune. Paris knew three months ago that the twin objectives of the Soviet government were to penetrate the great grain regions of the Ukraine and to open the road to a possible union with the German Spartacans. To meet and defeat these plans, the Entente took every step possible. The January mutinies in England and France checked the dispatching of large armies, the French expedition to Odessa being left to its fate.

Refugees from Poland reported at Paris in January that the Bolsheviks were shipping trainloads of food were already far into the south and northward every day to relieve the famine in the cities. They also reported that, while the population of Petrograd and other cities had been reduced to one-half or one-third of their normal figures, it did not mean that the others had died. They had simply made their way into the rural regions, where food is father plentiful.

The fact is, that the military campaigns and the diplomacy of the anti-Bolsheviks are both at a standstill, while the Soviet armies and ideas are both advancing toward their goals. While Trotsky's reorganized Red Guard of some million men lays hold upon fresh food stores and strategic points. Lenin urges the masses to greater productivity, and Tschitcherine holds out the olive branch to the Entente in statements which reveal the soul of Soviet theory.

When the Princes' Island conference was planned and invitations

were sent out to all Russian factions, the Soviet government received no copy of the proposal, but, "learning again through press communications that the lack of an answer is considered as a refusal," and "being desirous of avoiding any wrong interpretation," it made a formal reply, in which the following passages occur:

"In spite of the more and more favorable situation in which it finds itself, military as well as internally, the Russian Soviet government attaches such a high value of the conclusion of an understanding which would bring all hostilities to an end that it is ready to enter immediately into conversations for that purpose, and even, as it has often declared, to buy this understanding by means of serious sacrifice."

"Owing to the special importance which representatives of the Entente governments attach to the loan problem, as stated in their repeated declarations, the Soviet government, first of all, declares itself ready to comply with the demands of the Entente powers. Because of the vast interest which foreign capital always has shown in the exploitation for its own benefit of the natural resources of Russia, the Soviet government is ready to grant mineral, forest and other concessions to representatives of the Entente powers, in agreement, with provisions to be carefully determined, that the economic and social regime of Soviet Russia shall not suffer from the exploitation of such concessions."

Will Stoop to Conquer.

Many interpretations have been placed upon this response, which comprised about 1,000 words and was signed by Tschitcherine. Only one interpretation, however, appears justified by what is known of Soviet policy.

The Soviet is ready to sign another Brest-Litovsk treaty.

One year ago this month the Soviets "surrendered" to the Central Empires. Today the Central Empires have vanished from the face of the earth. The Soviets are now ready to make another "Brest-Litovsk" peace with all their remaining enemies. But their remaining enemies hesitate to accept the craven challenge. They have heard the ex-Kaiser's agent at Brest-Litovsk, General Hoffman, declare that "Germany was beaten by an upstart named Lenin," that peace with a "stable" Russia would have been a victory, but that peace with revolutionary Russia was disastrous.

Permeated, saturated, demoralized and delirious with freedom, Soviet Russia stands today a menace to what we call civilization. To clasp her hand or stab her in the back is to risk contamination. So we are to have a peace which leaves Russia out!



IRISH QUESTION

By James Connolly.

As we have again and again pointed out, the Irish question is a social question, the whole age—long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production, in Ireland. Who would own and control the land? The people or the invaders; and if the invaders, which set of them—the most recent swarm of land thieves, or the sons of the "die" of a former generation? These were the bottom questions of Irish politics, and all other questions were valued or deprecated in the proportion to which they contributed to serve the interests of some of the factions who had already taken their stand in this fight around property interests. Without this key to the meaning of events, this clue to unravel the actions of "great men," Irish history is but a welter of unrelated facts, a hopeless chaos of sporadic outbreaks, treacheries, intrigues, massacres, murders, and purposeless warfare. With this key all things become understandable and traceable to their primary origin; without this key the lost opportunities of Ireland seem such as to bring a blush to the cheek of the Irish worker; with this key Irish history is a lamp to his feet in the stormy paths of to-day. Yet plain as this is to us to-day, it is undeniable that for two hundred years at least all Irish political movements ignored the fact, and were conducted by men who did not look below the political surface. These men to arouse the passions of the people invoked the memory of social wrongs, such as evictions and famines, but for these wrongs proposed only political remedies, such as changes in taxation or transference of the seat of Government (class rule) from one country to another. Hence they accomplished nothing, because the political remedies proposed were unrelated to the social subjection at the root of the matter. The revolutionists of the past were wiser, the Irish Socialists are wiser to-day. In their movement the North and the South will again clasp hands, again will it be demonstrated, as in '98 that the pressure of a common exploitation can make enthusiastic rebels out of a Protestant working class, earnest champions of civil and religious liberty out of Catholics, and out of both a united Social democracy.



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EDITOR & BUSINESS MANAGER JACK CARNEY

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

WEST END LABOR ASSN.

In Memoriam

1916--Trish Revolution--1919

Easter Sunday 1916

*But whether on the scaffold high
Or in the battle's van—
The fittest place for man to die
Is where he dies for man.*

The world has become so used to bloodshed and murder, that the sacrifice of a few men's lives will not cause any commotion in the public mind. Yet this week, duty compels us to discuss such a sacrifice, made April 24th, 1916, in the city of Dublin, Ireland.

The men and women, who died during that revolution were men and women, imbued with the ideals of human liberty. They knew well enough, that when they marched out on that Easter Sunday morn, that they were marching to a certain death. But rather than allow their sons to be sacrificed upon the altar of Mars, they sacrificed all that was humanly possible, their very lives.

Many in this country have condemned them as foolish sentimentalists and nationalists, but we who have worked with them, knew them to be honest, sincere and level-headed men and women. They were not nationalists, in the sense that nationalism is understood nowadays. They believed and rightly believed, that before you can have the freedom of the whole world, nations must gain their freedom.

THE CALL IS COMING AGAIN, and it will be answered in the same spirit and with the same devotion it was answered, three years ago. The streets of Dublin and the cities and villages of Ireland, will run with blood, before the Irish workmen and working-women will betray the cause for which the brave men and women died so nobly for, during Easter Week, 1916.

As John Brown's body was lowered in the grave, it did not take with it, the spirit of John Brown. Neither did the cause for which John Brown died, die with his death. So with James Connolly and those that died with him. Although they lie dead in their graves, the Cause of Irish Freedom goes marching on. The blow these brave men and women struck for their class, will preserve their memory. In the great struggle for the emancipation of the workers from economic thralldom, they have nobly done their share and the history of that struggle cannot be written without mentioning their names.

*Not a grave of the murder'd for freedom, but grows
seed for freedom, in its turn to bear seed.
Which the winds carry afar and re-sow, and the winds
and the snows nourish.*

—Walt Whitman.

"THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS."

At the present time we are listening to many nice speeches and reading many fine editorials on the glories of the League of Nations. They remind one of the fine graves that we see. Fine handsome monuments on the outside, inside decayed bodies.

The Allies at the present moment are carrying out a policy that must bring the blush of shame to the cheeks of every honest minded American. The war is over and Germany has had her army disbanded and her fleet taken away from her. Yet the Allies are not satisfied. They are now starving the German people. For what reason, it is hard to discover. Why should the millions of German workers be starving to death, and above all why make poor innocent children suffer? *The war is over, they tell us.*

The following extract is taken from the *Deutsche Allgemeine Ztg.*, Feb. 23rd:-

"Nevertheless, our adversaries are still employing the most murderous of all modes of warfare, worse than hand-grenades and poison-gas—the blockade; 'worse' because it does not affect the soldier, but thousands upon thousands of innocent persons, women and children. Professional doctors, especially the President of the Ministry of Health, Privy Councillor Bumm and Prof. Rubner, have clearly demonstrated its devastating effects. An alarming increase of infantile mortality, severe detriment to the health of young mothers, who in enormous numbers had to pay with their death for malnutrition at the most crucial hour of their lives. But not only that. Tuberculosis of the lungs, too, has assumed dimensions in Germany which have not been known for decades. Germany was well on the way to checking this disease almost entirely... Four years of blockade have sufficed to throw to the winds all the results of our medical research. In our diet, frequently not even half the minimum amount of calories was available..." (Article describes 'catastrophic results' in disease and death due to (1) food shortage; (2) lack of soap; (3) of medicaments, disinfectants, etc.)... But all this has hitherto made no impression on our enemies. Apparently the ideal which still animates them is the condition which prevailed in the Transvaal concentration camps, where nearly 30,000 women and children were exposed to death by starvation accompanied by the greatest torments. The number of German women and children who have lost their lives as a result of the blockade is many times that of the others... When will the spirit of reconciliation, which Wilson is always preaching, come over the nations? And lastly when will Wilson's phrase of Sept. 27, 1918, be vindicated, that 'impartial justice plays no favourites and

knows no standards but the 'equal rights of the peoples'. ... Is this path still to lean over the corpses of nursing mothers and infants."

GENE DEBS TO PRISON.

'Gene Debs has gone to prison. Think on comrades that 'Gene refuses to come out of the prison cell until every other class war prisoner is released. So it is up to you. Go to your labor union, and demand that they take up the question of the release of ALL political prisoners. Never mind passing your resolutions. Theodore Debs is too busy to answer them. Get busy and DO something. May 1st will soon be here. Would you like Debs to speak at your meeting? Then hustle and get him out.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

The Peace Conference has not yet restored Peace in Paris. The delegates in the conference are very undecided. President Wilson has called for his ship to take him home unless —. Lloyd George is explaining how he loves France. Poland wants Dantzig and the Germans are making up with the Bolsheviks and daring the Allies to let Poland have Dantzig. Some Peace Conference!

The French, British, Italian and American delegates it is rumoured are bent upon making an alliance, which is being called by the euphonious name, a League of Nations. The imperialists of these nations are under the impression that they are going to rule the world. On the other hand it is hourly expected that Russia, Germany, Austria and Hungary will form an alliance also.

Strike up the Internationale. The fight is about to commence. Soon comrades the glorious Red Flag will wave o'er all the earth. Stop it masters! If you can!

FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

Our local newspaper scribes are very much perturbed over the one point in the famous(?) fourteen points enunciated by President Wilson. The one we refer to, is the one wherein the President has the cool effrontery to mention the freedom of the seas. There is no other point causing so much mental unrest, except it be the self-determination of small nations.

By mists of mutual misunderstandings and deliberate misrepresentation, the question of the freedom of the seas has been obscured. The question of the freedom of the seas is to be distrusted and feared by all those who seek to bring about a sane order of human society.

The freedom of the seas is as big a menace as the late submarine warfare of the Germans. Unfortunately the results of the former do not present themselves with such dramatic effect, as those of the latter. The feeling of revulsion that came over the world, when the Lusitania was sunk, was due to the fact that men, women and children were drowned like rats in the open sea, with no possible chance of being saved. On the other hand we are so used to hearing of people dying from starvation, that the atrocities committed by England, when she placed the blockade around German seaports and so prevented food from going in and the consequent death from starvation of the many German children, fail to move us.

The results of the blockade of England, according to an English doctor Dr. Saleeby, will be seen for many generations to come.

Without endeavoring to trace the footsteps of diplomats through the labyrinths of secret diplomacy, the workers are fast coming to the conclusion that the murder of children, whether by starvation or drowning, must cease. If men in command are so far remote from the ordinary decencies of civilisation, that they must revert to the ethics of the wild beasts of the jungle in order to settle their disputes, then it is high time that the people who perform the essential work of society, take hold of the whole business and show diplomats etc. how to run things.

The basis of England's sea-power lies in the exploitation of her workingclass. The speeding up and the excessive profits produced by her workingclass, has compelled England to seek for markets, wherein she might dispose of her goods. Wherever England has set her foot, she has met the resentment of the people she has invaded. The result being that England found it necessary to obtain her markets through the mouth of the cannon. If tomorrow the workers of England would step into power, there would be no need for big navies to patrol the high seas. Only when nations cease to exploit their workers, will there ever be freedom of the seas. In other words when the workers join hands and take over the means of life, then and only then will we have freedom.

"Freedom of the Seas" is but navalism, that has a twin brother in militarism. We must organize into one international organization of the workers and render both evils impotent.

FOR LABOR LEADERS IN GENERAL.

The worker who takes the time to study economics and listens to the outpourings of certain labor leaders(?), must feel pained at the ignorance displayed by men who are supposed to guide the rank and file. It must be said to the tattered credit of the European labor movement, that the leaders endeavor to educate themselves. It seems that locally the labor leaders have never exhibited any real sign of workingclass intelligence, just content to merely reiterate the pious platitudes that are worn out with age.

Read the editorials—columns of the Labor World and you

will obtain the impression that the editor desires the workers to be more contented and less daring. Rather he would have the workers contented, than free. Yet we believe that the editor is sincere. But his sincerity is no excuse for his ignorance. A study of economics should be engaged in by all those who are in the labor movement, more especially so with those that are in official positions. Because if a captain of a ship is not possessed of a knowledge of the compass, etc. how can he direct the ship? Similarly if a leader is not aware of the what constitutes the basis of the workingclass movement, if he cannot correctly explain the trend of development of modern society, how can he be fitted to guide the workingclass movement?

The vital thing of the day. The one that irritates the average worker, more than a boil on the neck, is the high cost of living. Yet it is surprising how little understood this question is, by labor leaders. One suggests that we protest against a fee being charged by the State, to all those who sell oleomargarine. His opinion was that if we can keep the price of Oleomargarine down, it will serve as a break upon the price of butter.

The rise in the prices of commodities has been of invaluable assistance to our orators. How they have denounced the profiteers etc, etc, etc. Yet whilst denouncing the profiteers they have directly played into their hands by counselling the workers not to strike. Clearly proving that they are merely negative philosophers. It does not require the colossal wisdom of a Solomon or the patience of a Job, to find out that the owner of a commodity sells it at the highest price he can obtain, and that the 'price of a commodity is controlled, to a very large extent, by the ruling market prices. Competition in society has been eliminated by the Trust. Therefore it has been easy to raise prices. Prices have taken the only course possible under capitalism. What the labor leaders should tell the workers is not that the profiteer is too blame, but that the worker is to blame for not demanding higher wages in order to meet the high cost of living.

When butter goes up to 75 cents per pound and shoes go up to ten dollars per pair etc, it proves that the value of Labor has increased. Because the value of a commodity is determined by the necessary amount of social labor power that it takes to produce it. Therefore if shoes sell at five dollars per pair, that must be the value of the social labor expended. So that when shoes rise to ten dollars per pair, the value of labor has increased one hundred per cent. Therefore the workingclass who make shoes are entitled to an increase in wages of 100 per cent. Unfortunately the workers are so organized that they have not got the necessary power to enforce their demands. If labor would organize as a class and demand an increase in wages equal to the increase in the cost of living, they would be doing something. If they would go further and organize for the control of industry, they would not be worried by the high cost of living. The control of industry by the workers is the highest price that labor can obtain for its labor power, therefore it naturally follows that a labor union that has not got that objective in view, is behind the times. Do you belong to a union of that kind? If so, did you ever explain the above theory to your union men? If not, why not? It is up to you.

WHO SAID KING CANUTE WAS DEAD?

Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labor recently arrived from Europe, where he has been representing Mr. Sammy Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and upon his arrival he spoke at a banquet that was given to him by members of the I. W. W. no, members of the A. F. of L. no, members of the Socialist Party, no, members of the Socialist Labor Party, no, members of the Y. P. S. L., no. It was before members of the UPPER CLAWSS. On the platform there were such heroic members of the revolutionary movement of labor as, Otto Kahn, Irving T. Bush, Dr. Henry Wise Wood, Lieut Col. Theodore Roosevelt. The chairman of the evening was that valiant strike-leader, W. H. Taft, the man with more stomach than brains. Also the man that said that a scab was a hero, Nicholas Butler, President of Columbia University, he was there on the platform also. It was a g-g-grand and g-g-glorious meeting. Samuel stated that the German revolution was a fake, well Sammy ought to know, because he is the biggest labor fakir we have got in this country. He also stated that we, the men of labor, wonder how Taft felt when he heard that, will stem the tide of Bolshevism. Did not old Canute try to stem a tide once upon a time? Poor Gompers. We view the old man with a pitying contempt. At all times opposed to progress, he now must go before the "enemy" in order to tell labor what it shall do. Gompers never told the meeting about his experiences in Europe. He never told the meeting that he was opposed to women being allowed to assist in the drafting of a labor charter and that finally, GOMPERS HAD TO CLIMB DOWN FROM OFF HIS PEDESTAL. He never told the meeting, that out of the eleven hundred trade unions in Great Britain, that he could not secure a hearing at a dozen of them. He did not tell that meeting that he was the joke of the Labor movements of Europe. He did not tell that meeting that he was hissed and laughed out of Italy. Oh no, Sammy is too artful.

Poor Sammy, his days are numbered. The sun is beginning to shine and when the sun shines, we see many things that we never see in the dark. Sammy reminds one of a Samuel of Biblical fame, who said, "Speak Lord for THY servant heareth."

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

By JAMES CONNOLLY

The Known and the Unknowable. Perhaps upon no point are the doctrines of Socialism so much misunderstood, and so much misrepresented, as in their relation to Religion. When driven into a corner upon every other point at issue; when from the point of view of economics, of politics, or of morality, he is worsted in argument, this question of Religion invariably forms the final entrenchment of the enemy of Socialism—especially in Ireland.

"But it is opposed to Religion," constitutes the last word, the ultimate shift, of the supporters of capitalism, driven from every other line of defence but stubbornly refusing to yield. "Socialism is Atheism, and all Socialists are Atheists," or "Your Socialism is but a fine name to cover your Atheism in its attacks upon the Church;" all these phrases are so commonly heard in the course of every dispute upon the merits or demerits of the Socialist doctrine that we require no apology for introducing them here in order to point out their illogical character. So far from it being true that Socialism and Atheism are synonymous terms, it is curious and instructive fact that almost all the prominent propagandists of Free-thought in our generation have been, and are, most determined enemies of Socialism. The late Charles Bradlaugh, in his time the most aggressive Freethinker in England, was to the last resolute and uncompromising in his hatred of Socialism; G. W. Foote, the late editor of the "Freethinker", the national organ of English Secularism, was a bitter enemy of Socialism, and the late Colonel Bob Ingersoll, the chief apostle of Freethought doctrine in the United States, was well known as an apologist of capitalism.

On the continent of Europe many other quite similar cases might be recorded, but those already quoted will suffice, as being those most easily verified by our readers. It is a suggestive and amusing fact that in the motley ranks of the defenders of Capitalism the professional propagandists of Free-thought are comrades-in-arms of His Holiness the Pope; the ill-reasoned and inconclusive Encyclicals lately issued against Socialism make of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church belated camp followers in the armies marching under the banners raised by the agnostic exponents of the individualist philosophy. Obviously, even the meanest intelligence can see that there need be no identity of thought between the Freethinker as such, and the Socialist as a Socialist. From what then does the popular misconception arise? In the first instance from the interested attempt of the propertied classes to create such a prejudice against Socialism as might deter the working class from giving ear to its doctrines—an attempt too often successful; and in the second instance, from a misconception of the attitude of the Socialist party towards the theological dogma in general. The Socialist Party of Ireland prohibits the discussion of theological or anti-theological questions at its meetings, public or private. This is in conformity with the practice of the chief Socialist parties of the world, which have frequently, in

Germany for example, declared Religion to be a private matter, and outside the scope of Socialist action. Modern Socialism, in fact, as it exists in the minds of its leading exponents, and as it is held and worked for by an increasing number of enthusiastic adherents throughout the civilised world, has an essentially material, matter-of-fact foundation. We do not mean that its supporters are necessarily materialists in the vulgar, and merely anti-theological, sense of the term, but that they do not base their Socialism upon any interpretation of the language or meaning of Scripture, nor upon the real or supposed intentions of a beneficent Deity. They as a party neither affirm or deny those things, but leave it to the individual conscience of each member to determine what beliefs on such questions they shall hold. As a political party they wisely prefer to take their stand upon the actual phenomena of social life as they can be observed in operation amongst us to-day, or as they can be traced in the recorded facts of history. If any special interpretation of the meanings of Scripture tends to influence human thought in the direction of Socialism, or is found to be on a plane with the postulates of Socialist doctrine, then the scientific Socialist considers that the said interpretation is stronger because of its identity with the teaching of Socialism, but he does not necessarily believe that Socialism is stronger, or its position more impregnable, because of its theological ally. He realises that the facts upon which his Socialist faith are based are strong enough in themselves to withstand every shock, and attacks from every quarter, and therefore, while he is at all times willing to accept help from every extraneous source, he will only accept it on the condition, viz., that he is not to be required to return to identify his cause with any other whose discomfiture might also involve Socialism in discredit. This is the main reason why Socialist fight shy of theological dogmas and religions generally; because we feel that Socialism is based upon a series of facts requiring only unassisted human reason to grasp and master all their details, whereas Religion of every kind is admittedly based upon "faith" in the occurrence in past ages of a series of phenomena inexplicable by any process of mere human reasoning. Obviously, therefore, to identify Socialism with Religion would be to abandon at once that universal, non-sectarian character which to-day we find indispensable to working-class unity, as it would mean that our members would be required to conform to one religious creed, as well as to one specific economic faith—a course of action we have no intention of entering upon as it would inevitably entangle us in the disputes of the warring sects of the world, and thus lead to the disintegration of the Socialist Party.

Socialism, as a party, bases itself upon its knowledge of facts, of economic truths, and leaves the building up of religious ideals or faiths to the outside public, or to its individual members if they so will. It is neither Freethinker nor Christian, Turk nor Jew, Buddhist nor Idolater, Mahomedan nor Parsee—it is only HUMAN.

SONNET OF LIBERTY

By OSCAR WILDE.

*NOT that I love thy children, whose dull eyes
See nothing save their own unlovely woe,
Whose minds know nothing, nothing care to know,—
But that the roar of Democracies,
They reigns of Terror, thy great Anarchies,
Mirror thy wildest passions like the sea
And give my rage a brother—! Liberty!
For this sake only do thy dissonant cries
Delight my discreet soul, else might all kings
By bloody knout or treacherous cannonades
Rob nations of their rights inviolate
And I remained unmoved—and yet, and yet,
These Christs that die upon the barricades,
God knows it I am with them, in some things.*