

THERE IS NEVER A WORKER JAILED BUT WHAT A FELLOW-WORKER BUILDS THE PRISON;
THERE IS NEVER A WORKER SHOT BUT WHAT A FELLOW-WORKER FIRES THE GUN

We 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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SOCIETY

WHOLE NO. 75

BOLSHEVISM

Has the Whole World in its Grip

President Wilson will send support to Germany, via Scheidemann, in order to counteract the work of Karl Liebknecht. Scheidemann, the "Kaiser" Socialist is now the hero of the hour, according to the European and American Press. Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Holland and the Allied countries are seething with Bolshevism. The issue is now made clear. Which shall it be "Workingclass Rule or the Iron Heel?"

The Mooney Tragedy

The Supreme Court has declared that Mooney is not entitled to a new trial. The fate of Tom Mooney is now in the hands of Governor Stephens. Do not write any more letters to Governor Stephens, but go to your union meetings and demand that definite action be taken by your local union. Let it be such action that every person in the United States has it brought home to him or her that Tom Mooney is about to die. Never mind if you have to stop every factory & workshop in America. Let us compel the capitalist class to give Tom Mooney a new trial. Mooney does not want a pardon, neither does he want charity, he wants Justice and you the workers can grant him that justice. Go back to your job and make Mooney's name as widely known as Pershing's. Do more than that make every person you know of, acquainted with the facts of the Mooney case.

MEN AND WOMEN MOONEY MUST NOT DIE. NEVER MIND THE GERMAN REVOLUTION LIEBKNECHT AND HIS COMRADES WILL LOOK AFTER THAT—YOU LOOK AFTER MOONEY.

SOCIALISTS BRING PROLETARIAN RULE TO MIDDLE EUROPE

Washington. Swept from end to end by Socialism, Germany has realized the worst fears of conventional statesmen by bringing proletarian rule to Middle Europe.

With all the telegraph and radio apparatus in its hands, the Socialist government of Germany is expected to send broadcast approvals for sympathy and co-operation.

There were rumors abroad to night that President Wilson might shortly attempt to clarify the situation by addressing the

world with a reasoned appeal for it to recognize the birth of a new epoch in the economic and political relations of mankind.

This appeal would pave the way for frank cooperation between the conservative statesmen of entente countries and the moderate Socialists of all Europe in the most peaceful establishment of a social democracy that may still be possible.

Although the question of who shall sign the military armistice

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DEBS CHALLENGES CHAS. MOYER

ECHOES OF THE RECENT PAN-AMERICAN LABOR CONFERENCE

"An untruth so flagrant that it should have stuck in your throat and made you blush scarlet with shame," says Debs of Moyer's statement.

(Special to Truth.)
(Copy.)

Terre Haute, Ind., November 16th, 1918.

Chas. H. Moyer,

President Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers,
Denver, Colo.

Dear Sir:

In the press dispatch in this morning's papers reporting the proceedings of the Pan-American Labor Conference now being held at Laredo you are reported as having said that the A. F. of L. saved your life and the lives of Haywood and Pettibone twelve years ago, that you are now endeavoring to repay that organization for having saved your life and that Pettibone on his death-bed acknowledged his gratitude to said organization.

Upon reading this statement by you which contains other matter along the same line I at once sent the following telegram to Laredo:

"Louis N. Morones,

Vice Chairman Pan-American Labor Conference,
Laredo, Texas.

Be not deceived by Moyer's statement. He is now training with the Federation fakirs that wanted him hung twelve years ago and maligning the men that saved his life. If you want the truth I can furnish it and I dare Gompers to face me and deny it. Eugene V. Debs.

I now write to you direct to ask if you made this statement and if you did I want to brand it for what you know it to be, as an absolute falsehood. But before passing final judgment I wish to give you full opportunity to say what you have to say in your defense. If you have been misrepresented I shall be glad to know it but if you have been truthfully reported I want you known for what you are in the labor movement.

Time was when I had full confidence in you and held you in respect, but I confess to have some doubt as to your integrity after hearing reports concerning you and your performances as a union leader from apparently trustworthy sources. Still, I would give you the benefit of every doubt and it would afford me far greater satisfaction to have you clear yourself and stand forth as the man I have believed you to be than to see you, like so many others with whom you are now in close affiliation, accepted and dishonored for the sake of

hanging on to an official job and selling your very soul for a mess of pottage.

If you stood before that conference at Laredo and made the statement above quoted you know that you uttered a deliberate untruth, an untruth so flagrant that it should have stuck in your throat and made you blush scarlet with shame.

You know as well as I do what influences saved your life and you know it was not the A. F. of L. You know that Gompers and his gang wanted you and Haywood and Pettibone hung twelve years ago just as the same gang wants Haywood to be kept in the penitentiary today. You know that this gang, this Gompers gang that you are now cheek by jowl with, never lifted a finger to help you but on the contrary did everything they could in a sneaking and underhanded way to send you to the gallows until the socialists and the loyal men in the labor movement had stirred up the country and made your acquittal practically certain and then only did they allow themselves to drift with the current and reluctantly concede—and it strained them not a little to make the concession—that you were really entitled to a fair trial.

You know this to be the fact as well as I do. John M. O'Neil your official associate and editor of your magazine fiercely denounced Gompers and his crowd for their perfidy and cowardice. You know this too and you also know that at your official headquarters there was not a day that passed that Gompers and his pals whom you are now currying favor with were not roundly denounced as a corporation tools and traitors to union labor for their cowardly and contemptible attitude in the Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone affair at the time the socialists stood almost alone in fighting their battle and the general belief was that they would be hanged as murderers.

And now, if this report is true, you have the hardihood to stand before a body of labor delegates and tell them that it was the A. F. of L. that saved your life and to take the message back to their constituents and spread the lie in the Mexican labor movement so that it might be misled and betrayed into believing that the A. F. of L. is the only tried and trusted champion of the working class while the I. W. W. is the traitorous conspiracy against labor which should be wiped from the earth.

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WILSON IS FIGHTING BOLSHEVISM'S RISE IN HUNGRY EUROPE

Wilson Speech to Congress Shows That He Has Returned to His Original Policy of Proffering Breads, Not Bayonets.

Switzerland, Sweden, Holland and Other Countries Besides Germany Infected by General Spread of Bolshevism.

William Hard, Washington Correspondent for Chicago Daily News.

Washington, D. C.—Now that kaiserism is gone we stand face to face with bolshevism not only in Russia and in Germany and at Budapest and at Vienna, but in much of the population of Italy and in certain streaks of the population of France and of Great Britain. And the big point in the president's speech to congress on Monday is his call upon the whole civilized world to help to raise a dam against bolshevism in central Europe and keep it rolled back toward Asia.

This point is not expressed openly and flatly in the speech, but it becomes clear at once if we consider the speech and then also consider certain European political facts which have been telegraphed from Europe to the American newspapers and to various officials in the American government at Washington.

No Time Now to Hate Germany.
The personal information of these

officials seems to indicate that the statesmen of London and of Paris and of Rome are not spending much of their time simply hating Germany and planning to make it as weak as possible. On the contrary, they are spending a good deal of their time trying to find a way in which they can make a reasonably strong and stable Germany. Kaiserism, after all, could never produce civil war between fellow citizens in France and in Great Britain. Bolshevism might. And in order to stop Bolshevism it is necessary to co-operate with certain Germans. And then we see wonder piling on wonder and weirdness on weirdness. These Germans with whom Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Milner and Lord Curzon must co-operate are Socialists.

In Germany, according to the best advices received by the state department at Washington, all upper class parties have utterly collapsed. The conservatives and the national

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URGENT MESSAGE

We personally desire to meet every member of the following committees on Monday evening at 8 P. M.

**Directors of Truth.
Executive Committee Scandinavian Local.
Folk Hus.**

Other members who can call are also invited. Important matters will be laid before the above comrades. It is absolutely essential that you ALL attend.

This is extremely urgent.

JACK CARNEY,
Editor.

WILSON IS FIGHTING BOLSEHEVISM'S RISE IN HUNGRY EUROPE

(Continued on Page 1.)

liberals have no power. Only two parties are strong in Germany today. These two are the center party and the Socialist party. But at least half the members of the center party are really Socialists. They remained in the center party only because they are Catholic in their attitude toward the religious side of life. The religious side of life is not important politically in Germany just now. It is in the background, forgotten for the moment. And, therefore, at least half the members of the center party are co-operating with the Socialist party. And Germany becomes in effect,

and at least for the time being, a Socialist country. And the Allies have to begin to distinguish between different sorts of Socialism. In Germany during the war there were three sorts of Socialists. There were majority socialists and minority Socialists and Liebknecht Socialists. The majority Socialists were usually regarded by the Allies as being pro-kaiser Socialists. They were therefore especially hated by the Allies. But it is precisely these pro-kaiser Socialists with whom the Allies must now apparently deal on terms of common understanding. They are relatively conservative. They are anti-Bolshevik. The Liebknecht Socialists, at the other extreme, are pro-Bolshevik. Liebknecht himself, for resisting the kaiser, went to jail and was therefore regarded by the Allies with a certain considerable respect and admiration. But it is precisely Liebknecht who will now have to be resisted by the Allies. He has become the leader of Bolshevism on German soil.

Scheidemann and Liebknecht. Liebknecht believes that all power should be given to the councils of workmen's soldiers and peasants' deputies. He believes in the "dictatorship of the proletariat," like Lenin. The majority Socialists, on the other hand, led still by men like Scheidemann and Ebert and David, are holding out for the idea that people of all social classes should be allowed to vote and to have voice, according to their numbers, in the government. They are holding out for majority rule.

In the meantime the minority Socialists, standing between Scheidemann on the one hand and Liebknecht on the other, are apparently divided. Some of them tend toward "the dictatorship of the proletariat" and some of them tend toward majority rule and what we in America understand by democracy. And it is nip and tuck between these two ideas in Germany today. The Socialists who want a government by all the people may win, or the Socialists who want a government by only the working class may win. And at this point we may begin to perceive what the president really meant when he talked to Congress on Monday about sending food to Germany.

Washington officials who are in closest touch with German affairs believe today that if Germany is hungry this winter the Liebknecht Socialists will be enormously strengthened. There will be hunger riots. The councils of workmen's, soldiers' and peasants' deputies will try to feed themselves by stripping and destroying the rich. In the course of doing this they will destroy all existing society and Bolshevism will be triumphant in Germany. And it will triumph elsewhere.

It will triumph in the Ukraine. The conservative government in the Ukraine has remained in existence only through German help. If German conservative help is withdrawn the Ukraine is likely to be at least as Bolshevik as Russia itself. And Bolshevism will also triumph in certain parts of Hungary and in Austria if in those parts as in Germany there should be hunger and starva-

tion and frenzy. And then we shall have Bolshevism among 250,000,000 people from the Urals to the Alps. It is hopeless to talk of policing and garrisoning 250,000,000 people.

Food Must be Provided.

More than this, the French Socialists, now led by Louquet, and the extreme wing of the British trade union movement, led by men like Smillie of the Miners' union, would go on instant strikes against it. It was hard enough to get them to vote and to dig coal for a war against the Hohenzollerns. Not for a moment will they vote and dig coal for a war against the working class of Germany and of eastern Europe. There would be great strikes and there would be immediate outbursts of revolutionary Socialism on the banks of the Seine and of the Thames.

It was therefore no mere sentimentality that led the Allies at Versailles the other day to resolve publicly that they would send food to the peoples of the central empires. And it was no mere humanitarianism that brought the president to the practical working sentence of his speech on Monday and made him say that "by the use of the idle tonnage of the central empires it ought to be possible to lift the fear of utter misery from their oppressed populations."

We are not going to engage simply in a lot of promiscuous charity. We are going to try to help the conservative Socialists of Germany to make a stable democratic republic and we are going to try to do it by providing them with food supplies with which to keep the mass of the German people reasonably contented personally and politically.

Therefore the president goes back to his original policy with regard to Bolshevism. He showed it in Russia. His first intention about Russia was to intervene there with food and other economic help and not with bayonets. He broke away from that intention under pressure from the Allies. The Allies insisted on keeping the Czechoslovaks in Russia and on sending armies of allied soldiers to support them. And what have those armies done? They have not even supported the Czechoslovaks successfully. By themselves, those wonderful Czechoslovak regiments are still resisting the red guards, but are now obliged to fall back and retreat from Perm to Ekaterinburg because they have had no reinforcements. We have failed to give real succor to the Czechoslovaks and Lenin is still on top in Moscow. Those are the net results of military intervention against Bolshevism after four months.

The president now returns to his original idea about Bolshevism and proposes to fight it by bringing economic relief to populations which are harassed and maddened by economic distress. It is a policy which the Daily News has advocated instead of sending masses of foreign soldiers into eastern and central Europe to tell the natives what sort of political government they must have, thereby irritating them further to frenzy, we try to help them get something to eat and something to wear, hoping that the calmness which comes with a certain degree of decent comfort will lead to calmness and a certain degree of decent conservatism in their political life.

It is a policy simply of common sense based on facts. A starving Germany, according to the best information at Washington, may be next spring a fountain of Bolshevism immensely more dangerous than Lenin's, because the Germans are immensely more capable and energetic than the Russians. To stop it the president will co-operate with the Scheidemann sort of German against the Liebknecht sort of German, through shipments of food and other necessities. That is the practical politics of his speech on Monday. It must not be considered an essay in idealism. It was a grasping of our only possible practical weapon against the world's greatest practical danger.

BOLSHEVISM INFESTS EUROPE.

(By the Associated Press.)

London, England.—The most serious question of the hour, in the opinion of some newspapers here, is how far Europe is infested with Bolshevism.

German newspapers and some in neutral countries continue to warn the Allies not to push Germany too far to the wall lest she be driven into anarchy. Some English newspapers consider this as German propaganda to gain leniency. The general British view appears to be summarized in the question whether the cost of the rehabilitation of Europe should be borne by the victims of devastation or by its authors, and in the declaration that the German armies should be deprived of all arms in the interest of Germany herself, thus making internal fight-

Debs Challenges Moyer

(Continued from Page 1.)

I have had very positive differences with Haywood as you well know but if you made this statement to deceive the Mexican delegates then I would rather a thousand times be Haywood in penitentiary for the rest of my days than to be Moyer with a life tenure of the presidency of the western miners or even the presidency of the United States.

You are quoted in your statement as having used the following language:

"Pettibone died, and on his death-bed he gave thanks to the American Federation of Labor for the help it had given him."

Who was present at his death-bed scene? Who was it that heard him express these thanks? I want to know and I insist on your telling me. I know exactly how Pettibone felt toward Gompers and his crew in the A. F. of L. and I would be willing to stake my life that he never expressed his thanks to them for anything unless it might be for having earned his profound contempt.

Gompers and his A. F. of L. bunch helped to save your life and the lives of Haywood and Pettibone just as the same gentry helped to win the A. R. U. strike in 1894. They did not raise a finger in support of the strike but in their characteristic cowardly and underhand way they did all they could to discourage and defeat it and not until they were virtually dragged to Chicago by the angry and threatening rank and file of their organization did they make a move and then only in the nature of a pretense of sympathy which they were compelled to make and which but masked their perfidy.

And that is precisely the kind of help they rendered Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone when their lives were at stake and the bones of the three of you would long since have been consumed in

quicklime had you depended upon them to save you from the gallows.

It is quite true that some of the rank and file of the A. F. of L. joined in the movement to save you from being hanged but they were mostly socialists and they above all others denounced Gompers and the high officials for their cowardly and disgraceful attitude. You do not give these socialists any credit however, to whom you actually owe your life, and you know that most of those who led in the movement in your behalf, especially at the beginning when you were branded by the capitalist press as murderers and assassins, did not belong to the A. F. of L. at all. You owe all your gratitude, according to yourself, to the Gompers administration which in its heart wanted you hanged as high as Haman and well do you remember it from your own mouth have I heard your honest opinion of Gompers and his official associates.

I have stood up for you, Charlie Moyer, in Butte and other places when you were attacked, charged with being a weakling, a fakir and a corporation tool. On my last trip out there I was warned at Butte not to attempt to defend you but I did it nevertheless in a packed meeting I addressed, and I told your accusers to their faces that their charges against you could not go unchallenged while I was there.

And am I now to have to confess to these men that they knew you better than I did and apologize to them for the wrong I did them and the cause of labor in defending you? This will depend entirely upon yourself.

In your statement to the Laredo conference a deliberate and damning falsehood was put into the labor record and it shall not remain there if I can help it and I think I can.

Awaiting your reply, I am,
Respectfully Yours,
EUGENE V. DEBS.

ing less possible when the armies are repatriated.

Newspapers in Spain, Sweden, Holland and even Norway express apprehension over the spread of the red flag movement. The troubles in Switzerland also cause uneasiness.

Swiss Strike Revolutionary.

Washington.—Switzerland's general strike, which commenced this week, has objects which are revolutionary and political rather than economic, and has had direct incitement from the Bolshevik organization in Russia, according to Hans Sulzer, Swiss minister to the United States.

Mr. Sulzer sketched circumstances leading up to the strike today for the Associated Press. Though without information as to the progress of the movement, he expressed complete confidence that it would fail to break down the present Swiss government, which he said had the support of the overwhelming proportion of the population.

"For some time there has been great industrial unrest and unemployment in Switzerland, due to general world conditions and intensified by our general location," Minister Sulzer said. "Food has been insufficient and raw material has not been obtainable with which to keep all plants employed. Then there are 30,000 deserters and undesirable aliens from belligerent countries harbored in and around Zurich, where the trouble has centered."

Agitation by Bolshevik Agent.

The Russian bolshevik government, though not recognized, has had a representative in the country, who was tolerated upon his agreement to refrain from propaganda against our democratic form of government. This promise he did not keep, but instead engaged more or less openly in agitation.

"Affairs culminated when the Swiss government ordered troops into Zurich to maintain order, which was done last week. The Socialist committee which controls the central labor organizations ordered the government to remove the soldiers or face a general strike, to begin on Sunday. Naturally the government would not be dictated to in any such fashion. The strike followed."

"The Swiss parliament has now been called to meet immediately."

Minister Sulzer has received a copy of the manifesto addressed to the Swiss people by the federal council on Nov. 8, when troops were ordered out, explaining the step necessary to cope with the situation created "by certain groups of newspapers which openly and secretly threaten to repeat in Switzerland the revolutionary experiments of Russia."

Holland in Fear of Bolshevism.

(By the Associated Press.) Amsterdam, Holland.—Joy in Holland over the end of the war is overshadowed by indefinite apprehensions of Bolshevik troubles and

doubts whether a partial demobilization of the army, with an increase in the bread ration, will suffice to stave off subversive infection. The revolutionary Socialist party has already issued a manifesto advocating Russian methods. Moreover, a new republican party has arisen, aiming at the abolition of the court, army, navy and diplomacy.

While there are no immediate prospects of trouble there is plenty of combustible material. For the moment, however, joy reigns supreme, especially at the Hague.

Swedish Revolution is Urged.

Stockholm, Sweden.—Politiken, the Swedish Bolshevik organ, publishes a rousing appeal from the left Socialists' league of soldiers' and workmen's councils for an immediate revolution in Sweden. It prints a program for mass action and promises the expropriation of lands for the benefit of the lumber workers, who are the chief rural supporters of the league. In its appeal the paper asks: "When is the Bernadotte dynasty ready to go?" The article concludes by saying: "Round about us crowns are falling into the streets. When is the golden crown of Sweden going to fall?"

(Sweden's Royal house was established by Jean Baptiste Jules Bernadotte, marshal of France under Napoleon I, who was elected crown prince of Sweden in 1810, commanded the army of the north against Napoleon in 1813 and became Charles XIV. of Sweden in 1818.)

Soviets Working for Republic.

(By the Associated Press.)

London.—The revolution in Germany has made an impression in Sweden, where organs of the independent Socialists publish a manifesto urging the establishment of soldiers' and workmen's councils everywhere in order to establish a Socialist government and republic, according to Copenhagen advices to the Exchange Telegraph company. General demobilization of the army and an eight hour working day are also demanded.

SOCIALISTS BRING PROLETARIAN RULE TO ALL MIDDLE EUROPE

(Continued from page 1)

for Germany was troubling academic minds here tonight, the anxiety of wiser men is based upon knowledge that every hour of delay for any cause must fan the flames of Socialism, which have already devoured three military autocracies.

An authority on Scandinavian sentiment with whom I talked today does not give the king of Denmark another month to wear his crown. Denmark's lost provinces of Schleswig-Holstein has been conquered by the Socialists and declared a republic, to insure their recovery the whole of

Denmark is expected to go republican.

Soviet Russia has been conducting an intense propaganda in Sweden and Norway and the feeling is general here that both these countries will proclaim themselves social democracies unless some unexpected reaction occurs within their big neighbors. The old Germany was a bulwark of obedient discipline for all of continental Europe. That bulwark is now destroyed.

CALL GENERAL STRIKE

Soviet Backed by Machine Guns; Keep Order.

Berlin, Nov. (via Wireless).—(By the Associated Press.)—In an extra edition of the Vorwarts, the central organ of the Social Democratic party in Germany, the following call for a general strike was published:

"The Workmen and Soldiers' Council of Berlin has decided upon a general strike. All the factories are at a standstill.

"The necessary administration of the people will be maintained. A large part of the garrison has been closed and bodies of troops and machine guns have been placed at the disposal of the Workmen and Soldiers' Council.

"The movement will be guided in common by the Soc. Dem. party of Germany. The Workmen and Soldiers' Council will take charge of the maintenance of quiet and order. Long live the social republic!

"Signed)
"WORKMEN AND SOLDIERS' COUNCIL."

SCHLESWIG REPUBLIC

Workers' Council to "Put Down Any Resistance."

Amsterdam, Nov. —The workers' and soldiers' council, in a proclamation to the people of Schleswig-Holstein, says:

"A provisional provincial government is being formed, which will co-operate with the existing authorities in establishing a new order. Our aim is a free social people's republic. The main task is to secure peace.

"Questions beyond the limit of the provincial administration still belong to the dominion of the state and imperial legislatures. We are willing to co-operate with the present officials so far as they submit to the new course. We are resolved to put down any resistance with the forces at our disposal."

Industrial districts have been established in the various cities under the same general plan.

The complete triumph of Socialism would mean the abolition of class rule and of the economic dependence of one class of society upon another class

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EDITOR ANSWERS ALL QUESTIONS.

"What is historical materialism?" asks a comrade.

Historical materialism puts forward the viewpoint that the way in which society produces its means of support (food, clothing, shelter and tools, etc.), and exchanges its products, is the basis of every historical epoch, and is the means alone, whereby we can understand and explain its history.

The necessary economic relations into which men enter with each other, in the process of production of the means of subsistence and production, constitutes the economic structure of society; "the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness."

With the dissolution of the Indian form of society, the mode of production, or in other words the economic relations into which men enter in order to gain their livelihood (determining as it does, the distribution of wealth, the amount of the social product which each individual is able to appropriate) determines the division of society into classes, and the conflict of these classes. With this advent begins the history of the political state and its correlatives, law and order. The political state is the means whereby the possessing class co-ordinates and concentrates its powers, consolidates its entrenchments, and oppresses the dispossessed class, thus ever tightening the bonds of their subjection. It is only when society is rent in twain by possessors and non-possessors, exploiters and exploited, that there occurs a division of society into classes: Master and Slave, Lord and Serf, Capitalist and Wage-slave.

The particular form in which the service of the oppressed class is rendered to the master class, the way in which the unpaid labor is filched from it, gives to the different historic epochs their specific economic form, slavery, serfdom, wage labor. The specific economic form in which unpaid surplus labor is pumped out of the direct producers, determines the relation of rulers and ruled, as it grows immediately out of production itself, and reacts upon it as a determining element. Upon this is founded the entire formation of the economic community which grows up out of the conditions of production itself, and this also determines its specific political shape. It is always the direct relation of the owners of the conditions of production, to the direct producers which reveals the innermost secret, the hidden foundation of the entire political form of the relations of sovereignty and dependence, in short, the corresponding form of the State.

The form of this relation between rulers and ruled, naturally corresponds always with a definite stage in the development of the methods of labor, and of its productive social power. This does not prevent the same economic basis from showing infinite variations and gradations in its appearance, even though its principal conditions are everywhere the same. This is due to innumerable outside circumstances, natural environment, race peculiarities, outside historical influences, and so forth, all of which must be ascertained by careful analysis."

The economic structure of society under slavery presents itself as the sum total of industrial relations existing between master and slave; those relations of production in which the one was possessed by the other, and worked and utilized the means of production for the benefit of his possessor.

The economic structure of Capitalism comprises all those relations of production existing between the owner of the means of production and the wage-laborer. The inter-relations of production which stamp these two classes as wage-laborer and capitalist arise from the fact that on the one hand we have a class possessed of the means of production and subsistence, and on the other a class—the working class, dispossessed of these means, and possessing only their labor power. It is only in definite inter-relations of production that the individual assumes a definite social character. This character changes with changes in these inter-relations. These inter-relations of production, of course, require a definite degree of development of the technique. One could not expect chattel slavery, or wage-slavery, to exist where the social labor resulted in no surplus produce over and above the subsistence of the producers.

Likewise one could not expect capitalism, with its great ramifications of commerce, transportation and communication, and its corresponding development of modern industry, at such a stage of development of the productive forces, as corresponded to slavery. Just as each social form, every mode of production needs a certain degree of development of the productive forces, likewise does it imply a certain degree of development of man himself (his labor-power), corresponding to the development of the technique; subjective as well as objective facts. These psychological conditions, necessary for the realization of a certain mode of production, will depend upon the tasks and the wants of that mode of production. In fact they will arise and develop, with the material conditions necessary for the new social form.

The ideas, the development of the sciences and philosophy of one epoch, cannot be completely separated from those of another epoch. The different social forms cannot be shut off in separate compartments by themselves, but exist only in their inter-relations. The basis, the economic structure, the modes of production upon which the social forms rest, are essentially different from each other, even if flowing from each other. It is these different economic structures of society that bring forth new social needs, new technical wants, occasioning new viewpoints, moral codes, religious conceptions, and the further development of the sciences.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Duluth Herald is now advocating a League of Nations. The editorial goes on to state that peace will come from such an organization, due to the fact that all nations will work together, etc., etc., etc. Of course the reason why the Herald supports such a League is due to the fact, that our most "worthy and beloved" President gives his support to it. Because President Wilson says the League is a good thing, it must be so. This blind following of the policy of President Wilson, is one of the tragedies of the war. It takes the people back to the days, when it was not possible to think, when they were savages and did not understand the why and wherefore of things.

Many pacifists, radicals (?) etc. are lending their support to this latest product of the minds of the intellectual high-brows, who seek to guide the wayward members of the workingclass into a peaceful and harmonious way of working.

They propose to bring all nations into a league and so enforce peace. If any of the nations in the league seeks to engage in war, the rest of the nations will get together and compel it to live in peace. Sound nice and looks fine. It looks as nice and sounds as fine as the statement that the interests of Labor and Capital are identical. Let us examine this project and see if it agrees with the facts of everyday life. We are forced to examine capitalist production, which is the basis of all nations. To understand capitalist production, we must understand Socialist economics.

The capitalists are possessed of capital, how they obtained this capital need not be explained here. With this capital they buy machinery, etc., and hire workmen. The capital and the labor of the workmen, produces wealth. When the heatless Mondays were first instituted, Senator Reed of Missouri stated that the loss in wages was three million dollars and the loss in wealth fifteen millions. Now it does not require much study to learn from the statement of Senator Reed, that labor receives one-fifth of the wealth produced in America. The other four-fifths goes to the boss. Now the workers can only buy back as many of the goods they have produced, as their wages will allow them. If you receive fifteen dollars, you cannot buy twenty dollars worth of goods, you can only buy fifteen dollars' worth. Well, the worker receives one-fifth of the wealth he produces and consequently he can only buy back from his boss one-fifth of the wealth produced. So consequently out of the four fifths left after the workers receives his wages, there are three fifths left over. Now we will suppose that the boss consumes one fifth, which is a fairly reasonable estimate, because there are hundreds more workers than masters. What is going to become of the other two fifths? It cannot be disposed of in America, because the wants of the worker have been supplied. It must be sold to outsiders. Now remember also, that the same operation takes place in other countries. Therefore all other countries have a surplus to dispose of. Now how in the name of commonsense can a League of Nations get together and dispose of the surplus they have on hand? You cannot dump the whole of the surpluses on to China and other undeveloped countries. Simply because there is too big a surplus.

Can you for one moment imagine all the merchants in this city getting together and agreeing to pool their goods and sell them. Do they not cut and cut down prices and intrigue in order to get the business? Is that not the reason why some of them have fires or go bankrupt?

The disposal of the surplus wealth produced by the workers is the main interest of each nation and each nation's interest is opposed to the other, except when it comes to putting down the Bolsheviks and the Germans. It is the disposal of that surplus that causes nations to go to war, despite the loose way we talk of making the world safe for democracy. There can only be a League of Nations in one respect and that is to keep down the workingclass.

The workingclass must not allow any one outside of its ranks to lead them astray, by suggesting that the march to the Industrial Commonwealth is lined with roses and tea gardens. The workingclass must organize and by the strength of their organization overthrow capitalism. Power is the magic word that expresses the way out of capitalism into Socialism. Power will win the day, if you lack power you will be the slaves of tyrants. Power means progress, belief in the wisdom of others means stagnation. Stagnation means death, progress means life. So do not be fooled by the League of Nations, but prepare yourselves for an International Organization of the workingclass. Let the red blood that flows through your veins express itself in international solidarity.

Our reply to a League of Nations is an International organization of the workingclass.

STOP IT IF YOU CAN!

"WORKERS BETTER OFF WITH LOWER WAGES."

WORKERS MUST BE EDUCATED TO THAT FACT, STATES CHICAGO BANKER.

Ralph Van Vechten, Vice-President of the Chicago Continental and Commercial Bank of Chicago, in a speech delivered on November 14th, states:

"I am not disturbed about Socialism in America," said Mr. Van Vechten, speaking at a dinner given by Armour & Co., "but I am disturbed about the labor situation to follow the war. It is up to you men to show the laboring man he is going to be better off under decreased wages and declining prices, than he is under wages of wartime. The value of his dollar will increase from now on and the price of commodities and labor will go down. That is your problem. If it is

not clearly brought out, we are bound to have more or less trouble."

Suppose we take it for granted that such is the case, as stated by this Chicago banker, then why are the employers of America preparing their forces, in order to lower wages, etc., if such lowering assists the workers?

Any sane worker knows that only a fool or an interested profiteer would believe such a statement. Wages are what the worker receives as his share of the wealth he has produced. The less he gets the more the boss gets and so on. The sensible worker organizes in order to obtain a greater share of the wealth he has produced. Only by continually demanding and obtaining more of the wealth produced, will the worker ever obtain his freedom.

The banker states that prices will go down, and so wages will be lowered to equalize with the lowering of prices. Sounds nice, if only bankers and the rest of the parasitical class knew anything about economics. Prices will not go down, the tendency is always for prices to increase. Not because the capitalists raise these prices at their own sweet will, but due to the cheapening in the cost of gold production. New inventions have eliminated a whole lot of labor and also increased efficiency has resulted from the use of same. From the old slow method of washing gold by the use of the pan and a stream of water, we have the chemical processes that will wash gold a thousand times quicker and with the use of less labor.

Why does cheap gold mean high prices?

In simple commodity production, a tailor would make a suit and exchange it for a sack of flour. So the process of exchange went on. Each man produced sufficient to live on. But with the invention of science, the discovery of steam, etc., men were able to produce more than they really required. Owing to the complications that set in, it was found advisable to introduce some medium of exchange. Gold, after many commodities had been tried, was found to be the most suitable means of exchange.

From a study of Socialist economics we find, that all commodities exchange on a common basis. The common basis is the amount of necessary social labor contained in each commodity. Gold being a commodity, its exchange value is also determined by the amount of social labor it takes to produce it.

Now suppose that in 1910 we received ten yards of cloth for one ounce of gold. In other words the amount of social labor necessary to produce ten yards of cloth was equal to the amount of social labor required to produce one ounce of gold. Now since 1910, the cost of producing gold has been lowered, therefore more gold will be required in exchange for ten yards of cloth. In other words, the price of ten yards of cloth has increased.

So you see that the cheapening of the cost of production of gold is the cause of high prices. As we know that more labor-saving inventions are introduced each year, it logically follows that prices must go higher and higher.

The worker must be educated to a thorough understanding of Socialist economics and when he does understand same, no banker will be able to fool him. He will then have the sense to know that confidence in himself and his class is what he requires, so that he will come together with his class and by the strength of their economic power they will take control of industry.

The control of industry is the most effective answer to the increased cost of living. So organize and educate yourselves.

READ THE LAST NUMBER OF THE RADICAL REVIEW. 25c FROM TRUTH OFFICE.

WHO SAID PEACE?

Everybody talks of Peace and seem to think that because the fire is nearly out in Europe that the rest of the world is alright. Jesus Christ said many years ago, "Peace, Peace, when there can be no Peace." We say the same as fellow-worker Jesus said, there can be no peace, not yet awhile. Not because we do not desire peace, but because the facts of life are against peace, that is all and that is enough to go on with.

You wake up in the morning and what will you find, especially so when the war is over. You will find workers FIGHTING for jobs and masters FIGHTING for profits. The workers FIGHT amongst themselves to get better jobs and the masters join the Republican and Democratic parties, in order that they might FIGHT each other for the revenue that comes from the work of the workers. The workers FIGHT their masters for higher wages and shorter hours; and the masters FIGHT them back in order to make them work longer hours for smaller wages.

In the slums are little children FIGHTING for their very lives, being slowly suffocated by the fetid atmosphere that engulfs them. In the factories are little children FIGHTING for a meagre existence. In your big cities are girls selling their bodies and souls, they too are FIGHTING for the necessities of life.

Picture the scene that takes place every day of our lives and then talk of Peace. Picture the child in the slums. Picture the prostitute dragging her feet along the pavement, faced with a fear of the police and the fear of disease. The system produces enough, but surfeiting by one class means poverty for the other. The gentle, the good and the peaceful die in the struggle. Get the dough and do not worry how you got it, that is what we are told today is SUCCESS.

The Socialist is the only one who has the manhood to rise and fight against the rotten conditions of today, that is why he knows that there can be no peace so long as the conditions exist that he fights against. The Socialists and the members of the I. W. W. in prison are there because they were possessed of the moral courage

to rise up and protest against the social injustices of today.

When the millionaire and the pauper have vanished, when slums are no more, when no man lives on the sweat of another's labor, when things are produced for use and not for profit, then you can talk of Peace. In those days, the savage vices that are in our midst will disappear and the kindly virtues that lie dormant will bloom and blossom. No child will go hungry. No tired mother need sit until midnight sewing pants at ten cents a pair. In the words of Karl Marx, man will have definitely passed out of the animal kingdom. The ape and the tiger in man will have died. Man will walk free.

Whether a man comes to our movement, because he is a student of economics or a victim of the system, matters not, for this we know that someday the workers are going to get together and THEN we will talk of Peace.

DID YOU SEND THAT 50 CENTS OR MORE FOR COMRADE DODGE?

DO NOT FORGET THE CASE OF COM. DODGE!

LEST WE FORGET.

It is all well and good to go in hysterics over the revolution in Germany, but what about ourselves? Whilst we are applauding the abdication of the Kaiser, let us not forget the Public Safety Commission is still in existence in Minnesota. The powers of the late Kaiser of Germany were only greater than the powers of Kaiser McGee, in the sense that they applied to a greater number of people. Until Judge McGee and the Public Safety Commission of Minnesota are removed, let us for decency's sake postpone all celebrations over the revolution in Germany.

Let us also not forget that fact, that whilst men have been tarred and feathered and lynched in Duluth, there have been no such cases reported in Germany.

Let us not forget that whilst the people of Germany are giving their praises to Karl Liebknecht, American plutocrats have decreed that Eugene Debs must go to prison for ten years.

Let us not forget that whilst we have revolution in Germany, John D. Rockefeller still holds sway in Ludlow, Colorado.

Let us not forget that the Steel Trust is still in Duluth and still wields the same power that it wielded before the war.

Let us not forget that revolutions in one part of the world lose their strength, so long as plutocracy reigns supreme in the other parts.

Let us not forget the many who are in prison for daring to suggest that revolution is a good thing.

We want this world for all who work—a heritage by birth;

We want as "pay" the fullest joy that Human Life is worth;

We therefore start the New Crusade the Conquest of the Earth.

From out the reeking hells of greed where we have deigned and spun,

We'll stream forth with a ringing song, the Final Battle won,

To find upon the fair green earth our place within the sun!

The War is on—a howling storm—against your fastness hurried.

Our battle-line now girts the globe, the death-flag is unfurled.

We, who have slaved and slept and bled, shall soon possess the world.

—Ralph Chaplin.

"There is no reason why boys of the same generation should find pleasure in doing the cat to death and fixing the old instinct into a brutal habit when these activities may as easily be diverted to the baseball field or into other healthful games."—Mary E. Marey.

"The mode of production obtaining in material life determines, generally speaking, the social, political and intellectual processes of life."—Karl Marx.

"Without an ideal, neither an individual nor a collectivity can live, without it humanity is dead or dying. For it is the fire of an ideal which renders the life of each one of us possible, useful and fertile. And only by its help can each one of us, in the longer or shorter course of his or her existence, leave behind traces for the benefit of fellow-beings."—Enrico Ferri.

"I have no respect for popular morality."—G. B. S.

A few weeks ago, a workingman who had been listening to a stereotyped sentimental harangue emitted by one of our amiable utopian comrades, showed me the palms of his hands, which were thickly studded with callouses, and asked me, "What the hell has a fellow with a pair of mitts like those to do with morality? What I want is the goods."—La Monte.

Failure on failure may seem defeat to us; ultimate failure is impossible.

The "Truth" desires to extend congratulations to Chief McKercher on his obtaining a new position. We feel sure he realizes that he is leaving Duluth for Duluth's good. McKercher is well fitted to investigate cruelty cases, as fit as the Kaiser was to be a leader of militarists.

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(EDITOR RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL UNSIGNED ARTICLES)

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THE BLESSINGS OF SCIENCE!!

Science, what a magic word. Science has given us so much and we thank whatever the gods that be, that we are not like the savages, who do not understand science and its discoveries.

Looking back over the last hundred years, we find that science has developed and extended its domain of practical application far beyond the wildest dreams that ever emanated from the overwrought imagination of a medieval necromancer. The most primal forces of nature have been made subject to the will of man. The fecundity of the earth and the productivity of human labor power have been increased a thousandfold.

Yes despite all the great advantages given to mankind by scientific investigation, poverty and disease coupled with a physical and mental degeneration is the unhappy lot enjoyed by the majority of the workers in capitalist countries.

The application of science to industry, which under a sane system of society would have meant the emancipation of the workingclass, has under capitalism proved to be the greatest tyrant of all. Today men are slaves of the worst type and the degradation of today never had its equal, even in the early days of slavery. **The machine today employs man and sweats him and also throws him out of work and starves him.**

The discovery and the application of steam-power, with the consequent concentration and development of the machine in the place of the handicraft worker, marked the birth of extensive capitalism, and the inception of what is known as the Industrial Revolution. The introduction of steam into England gave birth to the factory system. Anyone who has studied the effect of the factory system in England, cannot but feel that science instead of assisting the workers only made them greater slaves. The child slavery of those days has never been equalled. So rotten were they, that men like Lord Shaftesbury admitted that they could not sleep soundly in their beds, when they thought of the conditions in the English factories.

During those times, the misery of the people became so acute that they banded themselves together with the sole purpose of destroying the machines that had, as they imagined, occasioned them so much misery. The replacement of their skilled hand labor by the machine was the cause of their inhuman conditions, and in their lack of knowledge they wildly hoped that the destruction of the machines would be the means of their deliverance from the mire of starvation and poverty that engulfed them.

When we gaze down the dim vista of the ages and watch the ever onward march of man, from the time our primeval ancestors roamed the forest in the full glory of their pristine jungle savagery to the present day, we are confronted with this irrefutable fact. In the evolution of human society, each stage of progress contains within itself the germ of its own destruction, which in turn is the pregnant seed from which the succeeding stage of advancement is born. Thus we see that the introduction of the machine made the Capitalist system possible; and so also the extreme development of the machine with the corresponding economic conditions must usher in the Socialist Industrial Republic. **If human society is to survive, the workers will be forced to take the machine and produce the essentials of life for the use of all and not for the sole desire of making profits for the idle few.**

The present system of capitalism has been an age of mechanical inventions. Each invention displacing labor and consequently throwing more on the human scrap heap. This human scrap heap is a menace and a danger to those who are so fortunate (?) as to have a steady job. The throwing out of employment of that labor which is displaced by the machine, is but a phase of the biological law of the "survival of the fittest" applied to industry. Any invention that will lessen the cost of production, no matter if thousands have to starve to death as a result of its adoption, is eagerly welcomed by the capitalist class. Because in the mad competition of today, the less the cost of production, the better able is a firm to compete with its competitors and consequently the more business it obtains and so more profits. The coming of these inventions is used by the big firms to crush out the less fortunate ones and so we see today the trust. Against that Trust no law can stand. The Trust by virtue of its economic strength, stands supreme over all laws, and statesmen who seek to defeat it only go down to oblivion like W. J. Bryan went. **The trust is but the result of the laws of evolution, asserting themselves in industry. Thus the capitalist is blindly and unconsciously following the dictates of the law of social evolution, which insists that only those who are able to adapt themselves to the environment of any given period shall survive in the "struggle for existence."**

The manifold application of electricity to industry is one of the greatest labor-saving inventions of the age, as seen in the wireless telegraphy, the electrical furnace, electric motive power and electric lighting, and countless other uses to which it has been applied. **Electricity is the answer to the oft repeated question, "Who will do the dirty work under Socialism?"**

In the field of physics and mechanics science has created a minor revolution. The mechanical stoker, the steam shovels of the Iron Range, improved methods of

mining and smelting of metals. The revolution can be seen more clearly in the Oil Fields.

"The advance of machinery in the oil industry has been more rapid in the last ten years than in all the previous fifty years of its history. Many oil workers are awakening to the unlimited possibilities of the machine in replacing human labor power in this industry. The majority have not, as yet, taken notice of this great change that is now going on. . . ."

Through the evolution of modern production, the wooden derrick is quickly being superseded by the fabricated steel derrick. Where the wooden derrick was almost unmovable, the fabricated steel structure can be assembled on short notice and taken apart again in the same manner, as the occasion may require. This process is now going on. In the shallow fields there is now being used what is known as the portable steel mast. Therefore, the steel structures coming more and more into use every day means that the wooden rig builders will, in the very near future, be a thing of the past. . . .

The Buckeye and Mahoney pipe laying machines are here to stay. Both machines are in their infancy and their possibilities are almost unlimited. On 6 inch mainline work, with tongs, sixty men with good going could lay about 300 joints a day. The Mahoney machine, with 30 men, has laid 571 joints in a day. These machines will no doubt do away with the lay-tong method of laying pipe. This means that thousands of pipe-liners will be thrown completely out of the industry.

The ditching machine is another modern process which has already played havoc with the ditch diggers. This shows again how the machine will not even allow and unskilled worker to stay with the job. The motor truck has practically supplanted the thousands of teams and teamsters formerly employed to haul material and men to and from the job.

The greatest progress in the oil industry has been made in the refineries. New types of machines are putting in their appearance every year, which means that less men will be needed. Through these new devices the refineries employ less than half the human labor than they did ten years ago. The cry of the refining department is a "maximum of machinery" vs. "a minimum" of human labor power.

—Defense News Bulletin.

In other industries not only has the machine displaced male labor, but it has also caused to be introduced female and child labor. It has so simplified the various operations needed in the manufacture of certain commodities, that female and child labor is replacing a considerable number of men. This form of labor is going to cause havoc amongst the ranks of the workers, when the war is finally concluded. **Under the guise of patriotism the capitalist class have succeeded in replacing men with women and at lower wages. So that when the men return home from the war, it will not be the boss they will fight for their jobs, it will also be the women who took them. Women today see in the machine a deliverer from their bondage and they will not let go without a struggle.**

The machine has completely overthrown the status of the craftsman. In highly organized concerns like Ford's of Detroit, the skilled man is practically unknown. The individual workers perform one certain task and with years of practice they become efficient in that one line of work. It is this efficiency that has resulted in the rapid advance of the Ford factory. **The rapid advance of the Ford factory has meant the annihilation of the craftsman. Today his skill is but a drag on the labor market. He must now take his place in the ranks of the unskilled or die of starvation because of his snobbishness.**

Science that gave us the machine has given us in turn conditions that are worse than those of the old Roman slaves. Instead of science being a blessing, it has proved to be a curse. The reason for it is because the capitalist class today have prostituted science to suit their own sordid ends. The worker can rescue science and make it the redeemer of mankind. **If the worker will but organize into Socialist Industrial Unions and educate himself, so as to be able to know the why and the wherefore of his organizing, then science will give to us all the joys and blessings yet undreamed of.**

BOY PAGE MR. CARSS POLITICAL WISDOM.

"Labor asks no favors, merely demanding justice."

The above piece of wisdom comes from the lips of our next Congressman, Mr. Carss.

The reason why we criticize fellow-worker Carss, is so that our good friends who worked to send him to Congress will not be disappointed with him, when they come to study his work in Washington at the end of 1920. It is quite a tragedy in the labor movement to witness the shock that men receive, when they find that those upon whom they placed their hopes, have failed to come to scratch. You would never dream of asking a plumber to fix your electric lighting, yet comrades will work night and day to send a man to Congress, who is ignorant of the fundamental principles of the radical movement. Send a man to Congress who is a tyrant and a political trickster and you know where he is and you know what to expect, but to send a man to Congress who does NOT understand the labor problem, and you will never know when to depend upon him.

"Labor only asks for justice," states Mr. Carss. What

is the justice that Mr. Carss talks about? Is it something that comes from the sky or is it one of those silly platitudes Mr. Carss is indulging in, that are so much in evidence when politicians seek the vote of the worker? In the first place, the worker is entitled to all he produces, but if you grant him that just right, then you deprive the boss of his profits and according to present day morality, that is unjust, because men like Rockefeller and Harry Thaw are entitled to a fair share of the profits. So long as you view things from that standpoint, all that Carss's statement implies, is that the worker is entitled to what he is getting and the boss is also entitled to his share. Back of that statement of Carss's, is the ignorance that has kept the workers where they are today.

Still because Mr. Carss is a worker, we will, for his own sake, endeavor to educate him to an understanding of the economics of capitalist production. Because Mr. Carss will have to decide upon many questions that affect the lives of the workers.

Mr. Carss is out for justice for all. The reason why he states that to be his position, is because he does not know any different and he is to be excused. Here is a factory, built by labor, the machinery in the factory is built by labor, from the steel made from the ore, that is mined by labor. All through the whole process of obtaining the raw materials from the earth to the erecting that factory, the only labor performed was performed by the workers. **The capitalists did not do one single day's work.** The factory starts to turn out goods, still the capitalist does a work. Yet the capitalist receives a bigger share of the wealth created, than the workers who created it. Now how in the name of common sense can Mr. Carss talk of justice, when at the very point of production where the worker sweats and slaves, he is robbed? Show us if you can, where we are wrong? Tell us of any industry that is even employing capitalists? You can take the Steel Trust, the Oil Trust, the Shipping Trust and the Beef Trust, and you will not find in any one of their thousand and one departments any capitalist working therein.

But these men have the capital, that makes it possible for them to hire the workers and if they did not have the capital, where would the workers obtain work and if they failed to obtain work, because these men had no capital, they would starve. That is a rather plausible argument. But what is capital? Karl Marx, the greatest and the most brilliant of all economists, states "that capital is an immense aggregation of commodities." Now what is a commodity? A commodity is a thing that contains two properties, use-value and exchange-value. By that we mean that it must be of use to some person, otherwise the manufacturers will not cause it to be manufactured. It must also be in a position to exchange for something else, otherwise if you cannot obtain a value for it, after you have manufactured it, you will go bankrupt by making it. Now who produces the commodities, who transports them to their various places where they are in demand? Labor. And who sells them? Labor. All through the whole transaction from its being in its first stage, raw materials, to its finally being handed over to the consumer, labor performs all the work. Now "capital is an aggregation of commodities," says Marx. Henry Ford's wealth is seen in his automobiles. **Now we have proven that labor produced the commodities, therefore labor is entitled to them.** Therefore if labor produces all commodities and capital is an aggregation of commodities, then labor is the basis of all wealth. Therefore in all questions dealing with industry, Mr. Carss, remember that labor is the producer of wealth and this applies to all industries. Therefore you can only view all, mark you, all, labor problems from the one standpoint and that is the standpoint of labor. If for one moment you give the capitalist any consideration whatsoever, you are standing for those who are idle and you have just as much right to stand for the capitalist, as you have for Mr. Wilhelm Frederick Hohenzollern. Because Ex-Kaiser Bill does as much work as the capitalists of this country are doing.

Justice today means that the capitalists shall continue to rob and sweat the workers. Justice means to the workers that they shall submit to the robbing and the sweating Mr. Carss, you have been honored by the votes of the workers of Duluth. It was not "highbrows" of the democratic party that landed you into office, it was the hard work of your fellow-trade-unionists. In all your doings remember that today the world faces a big upheaval.

Read the words of President Wilson:

"Every sign of these terrible days of war and of revolutionary changes, when economic and social forces are being released upon the world, whose effect no political seer dare venture to conjecture, bids us search our hearts through and through and make them ready for the birth of a new day—a day, we hope and believe, of greater opportunity and greater prosperity for the average mass of struggling men and women and of greater safety and opportunity for children."

"The old party slogans have lost their significance and will mean nothing to the voter of the future, for the war is certain to change the mind of Europe as well as the mind of America. Men everywhere are searching democratic principles to their hearts in order to determine their soundness, their sincerity, their adaptability to the real needs of their life, and every man with any vision must see that the real test of justice and right action is presently to come as it never came before."

"The men in the trenches, who have been freed from the economic serfdom to which some of them have been accustomed will, it is likely, return to their homes with a new view and a new impatience of all mere political phrases, and will demand real thinking and sincere action."

"The days of political and economic reconstruction which are ahead of us no man can now definitely assess, but we know this, that every program must be shot through and through with utter disinterestedness; that no party must try to serve itself, but every party must try to serve humanity, and that the task is a very practical one, meaning that every program, every measure in every program, must be tested by this question, and this question only: Is it just; is it for the benefit of the average man, without influence or privilege; does it embody in real fact the highest conception of social justice and of right dealing without respect of person or class or particular interest?"

"This is a high test. It can be met only by those who have genuine sympathy with the mass of men and real insight into their needs and opportunities, and a purpose which is purged alike of selfish and of partisan intention."

Going is the old aristocracy. Today you stand on the eve of the New Era. You can perform a service in Washington that will ever redound to your credit, that is if you go there as a worker and do not allow people to destroy your effectiveness by false praises. If you go to Washington just for the mere sake of being the errand boy of the old stand-pat politicians, labor will never forget that in the greatest hour of its existence, you failed to come to scratch.

We have argued together and you are under the impression that because we are but a young man in the world, it would not be dignified for you to follow our advice. Let us remind you of the fact that youth does not enter into the discussion of labor problems. **Either we are right or we are wrong?** If we are wrong, our columns are open to you to correct us, but if we are right, then we trust you will accept our ideas and go to Congress, with a belief in the wisdom of your own class. Do not be afraid that you will lose votes at the next election. **The dawn of a new day is being ushered in that will stand forth as one glorious day upon which labor will enter into its own.** Two years from now the world will have changed somewhat and it is up to you to foresee the great social change that is about to take place. So do not be afraid to stand up in Congress and speak the truth, no matter if hell itself lets loose all her furies against you. Fear is death. The fear of speaking the truth, means the keeping back of progress. So Mr. Carss, go to Washington and rest assured that this paper and the thousands of readers will bear witness that you will educate yourself and stand firm by your own class.

THE WOLVES OF CAPITALISM ARE HOWLING.

The N. Y. Tribune presents this cluster of red carnations:

Socialist Soviet republics have been proclaimed in Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Wilhelmshaven and Tilsit. . . . In order to revenge themselves on the authors of the war, they are now ready to hoist the red flag, create mob government and paralyze the empire. . . . The kaiser needs peace at any price. . . . The so-called "democratic" politicians in Berlin need it. . . . The ruling interests in industry and business, the intellectuals and the middle classes need it to save the present political and social order from ruin.

This from the N. Y. Herald:

The world can see a possible justification for the mutiny—but it cannot and will not permit the wedges of anarchy to be entered, even under the specious plea of striking a blow to redress a wrong.

N. Y. Sun spits blood:

It may come to the point where the Ally powers and the United States may be compelled to lend aid to the German government in restraining the whirlwind of popular wrath and preventing too great excesses. . . . There may remain no choice to the Allies, save to pacify the country and turn it over to a sobered and stable popular government inspired by the judgment of the citizens, not by the passions of a mob.

Hell No!

The Journal of Commerce

The only kind of revolution that will count in Germany is one directed and inspired by the elements that in Russia would be scornfully stamped as "bourgeois." It is to the great middle class—the manufacturers, the merchants, the shopkeepers—that we must look for a new Germany with a chastened mind.

Of course Randolph Hearst in the N. Y. American must try to be nice:

Neither can any man say how soon the German armies may declare their adhesion to the Internationals. . . . Now, the tremendous question that will then arise will be whether the armies of Great Britain and of France and of the United States are to attempt to put down the masses of Europe and to police all Europe for an indefinite term of years or whether the British armies and our own armies are to be withdrawn and the peoples of Europe permitted to settle their own problems in their own fashion and to their own liking.

KEEP PACE WITH THE PROFOUND SOCIAL CHANGE AND RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.