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THE TRUTH

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DULUTH, MINN., FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1919

WHOLE NUMBER 84

COURT SEALS LIPS OF DEBS FOR MOONEY

Hisses Grec. Judge's Refusal to Allow Debs to Address Chicago Convention.

(By Special Correspondent.)

The reading of a telegram from Judge D. C. Westenhaver of Cleveland, refusing permission to allow Eugene V. Debs to come to Chicago to address the Mooney convention, was received with hisses at today's session. The message read:

"Eugene Debs was released from custody on bail, the conditions of which were fixed in open court in accordance with law, pending review of his conviction by the supreme court. It would not be possible to modify these conditions except in open hearing."

Ed Nolan, chairman of the convention, paid an eloquent tribute to Debs in the talk with which he opened the day's proceedings.

"No man in the American labor movement among the toiling masses of the world is more entitled to be heard before a body of labor men than Eugene V. Debs," he said.

"In the struggle for freedom, in meeting the problems of a new day, he has always been a leading figure in the evening of life he expresses his own opinions without shadow of fear. He stood with courage before an American jury testing the power of his own convictions, testing the power and weighing it, knowing that the freedom of the last days of that good life hung in the balance."

The chairman referred in scathing terms to the manner in which the capitalist newspapers had tried to split the convention by setting up the radical element against the so-called conservatives, and said that instead the effect would be to cement the delegates together. "The time has gone by," he added, "when a man can call another a Bolshevik, an anarchist or a pro-German and crush him down."

Dennis E. Batt, of Detroit, informed newspaper men that he had prepared a resolution calling for a general strike May 1, unless Mooney was released. This will probably come up tomorrow. A collection was taken up for the Mooney defense fund, each delegate contributing \$1.

Score Capitalist Press.

The representatives of the capitalist press came in for a bad quarter of an hour, incensed by the distorted stories which they carried this morning and yesterday afternoon. A delegate suggested that they be taxed \$10 apiece. Chairman Nolan caused a laugh by declaring that he did not believe a taxation without representation. Another delegate proposed that they be barred from the hall.

"I hope you will not force me to deny the right of free press," the chairman commented.

A telegram from the Painters and Paper Hangers' Union of San Francisco urged that all men imprisoned under the Espionage act be freed immediately and that American troops be withdrawn from Russia. Another telegram from a Seattle union stated that an orderly meeting in that city made up of people singing in the rain has been broken up by 50 policemen and 20 military police. Two dozen heads had been smashed, the message stated. "Organized labor will accept the challenge," it ended.

Reports Are Submitted.

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A delegate suggested that in order to give the lie to the stories about the convention printed by capitalist newspapers of Chicago a committee be appointed to draft a resolution on the subject and that the newspapers be requested to print it. This was left in the hands of the publicity committee.

Answering a delegate who proposed holding night sessions, as he was anxious to get back to work, Chairman Nolan said: "The workers have been laboring for the bosses for a long time. It is time they did a little work for themselves. If any delegates are hungry for work, let them go to it."

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question of hearing a delegate explain the objects of the Non-partisan League. Several delegates retorted that they had not come to listen to political spellbinders, and that the Mooney case had no political aspect.

A stirring address was made by Dennis E. Batt, of Detroit, in which he said:

Urges General Strike.

"All legal measures to free Mooney have failed. Now we must resort to extra legal means. There is but one thing that we can do now. There is just one thing that the ruling classes understand, and that is power. (Applause.) It has been said that political action has failed, and as a member of the Socialist party in Detroit I can subscribe to that. The mere dropping of bits of paper into ballot boxes does not end political action. We must call a general strike. (Applause.) Things are not determined in this day and age by questions of right and wrong. We are resolved that Mooney shall be free. But, after that, there are other things to attend to. We must not lose the opportunity for such a body of the American working class to express its opinion upon great questions of the day."

Imperial Delegates Denied.

"The convention did a wonderful thing yesterday. It refused to admit two Italian labor delegates who stood for the imperialists of Italy. The air is a-tremble with the changes that are taking place. The trouble with the American workingman is that he is willing to let some one else change things for him. But the working class should do it themselves. If you wait for some one else to do the thing the working class of America will be the thing that will be done. (Laughter.)"

A resolution extending greetings to our comrades of the Russian Soviet government has been adopted (great applause) in spite of the lies that have been circulated all over the country by the pen prostitutes of the press, the Russian Soviet has entered upon its seventh session. We must brand as a lie the statement that this country does not recognize the Soviet government of Russia. The cases of hundreds of our comrades who have been victims of patriotic hysteria must be taken up. We should go on record as demanding the release of class and political prisoners. The government found it necessary to pass laws of doubtful constitutionality regarding free speech and free press. We must go on record in no uncertain way as being in favor of the repeal of the Espionage act. And we must consider going on record as being in favor of setting up a committee on ways and means to place labor upon an industrial basis."

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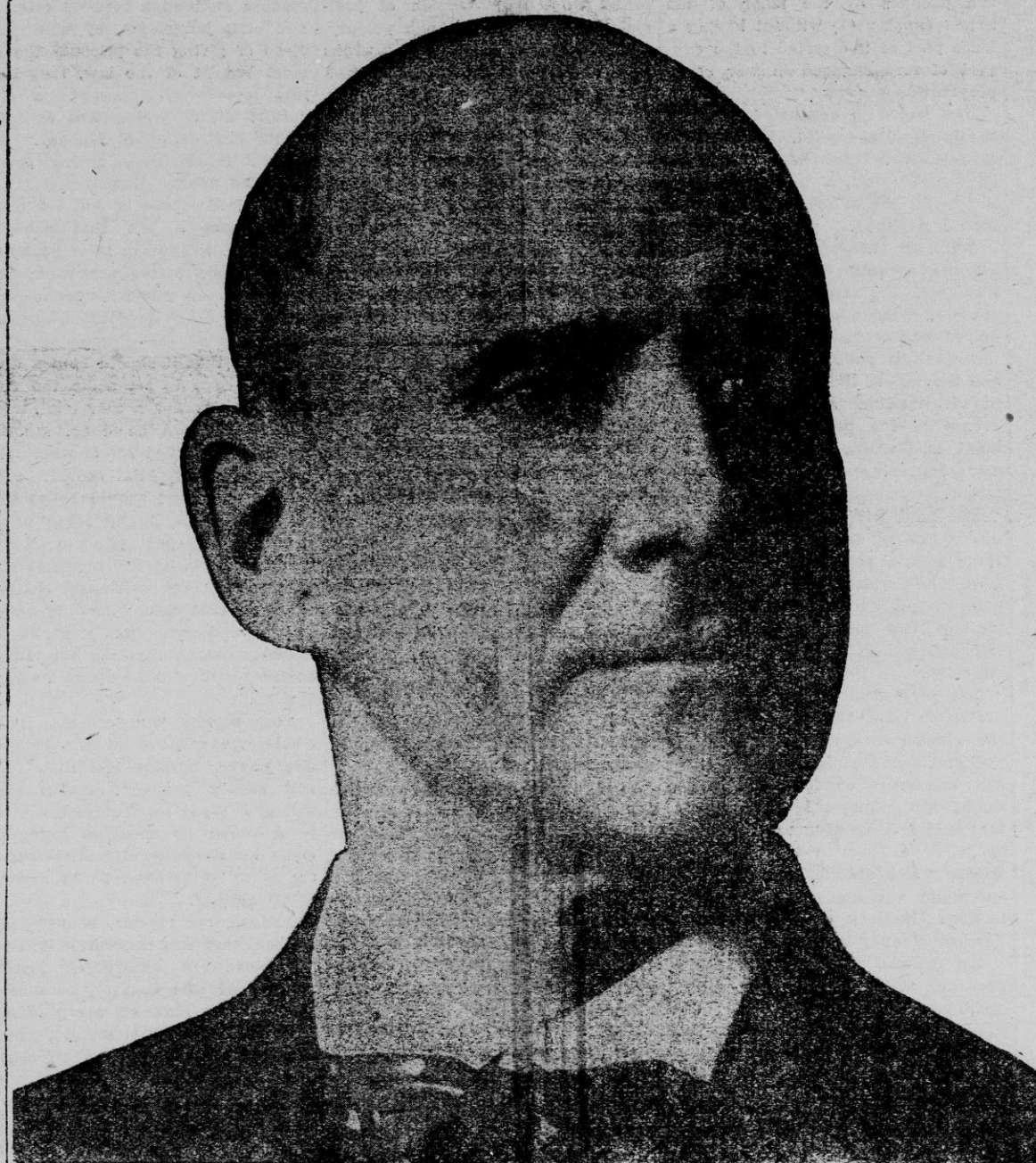
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"All of the leaders of any great movement have of necessity been Bolshevik," said Mr. Debs, explaining the sense in which he used the word. "They have advocated unpopular doctrines and stood for principles which caused an upheaval in old regimes."

Former Bolshevik. "Cromwell was a Bolshevik and in the same sense did I mean that George Washington was the Bolshevik of his time"—referring to speaking of Washington as a Bolshevik, in one of his recent lectures in Cleveland. "He was known as the 'notorious outlaw'; he was shot at because he advocated unpopular principles, because he was true to them and became a leader in movements to put them in force."

Great Characters. "Just so Trotsky and Lenin are the greatest men in present history—they are colossal characters. They are making a heroic fight under awful circumstances. Why, it took America forty years to establish a democracy when she had no great opposition; Russia is trying to do that on an inheritance of national bankruptcy."

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war with Russia, why have we our soldiers there? In doing so, we ally ourselves with despotism.

"And who are the Bolsheviks? They are the people who have governed Russia for the past fourteen months. If they can do that they must be the choice of the majority of the people."

One Idea Man.

"Lenin is a wonderful man. I should say that he has more knowledge of American history than any professor of it in Indiana," said Debs. "He's a one-idea man, true—but one's enough, if it's big enough. And it takes a big man to have only one idea."

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"About my own situation, I have no resentment against those who are unsympathetic with me; I do not blame them—that would be selfish of me."

"But there are those who are staunch friends—"

Mr. Debs read extracts from letters of encouragement from business and professional men and women all over the country, a professor in Wisconsin university and one from Columbia.

"I have letters of congratulation on my stand and sympathy from ministers, doctors, lawyers, business men and women, women of the underworld and vagabonds, and alike treasure them all."

"Why, just last week, I, an undesirable agitator, was a guest at the house of a bishop in Gallion, Ohio—the personal agent of Bishop William Montgomery Brown, who has recently become Socialist."

"My case comes up in Washington before the supreme court January 27. I have made no plans for action of any kind; I can afford to wait and be patient. I have only stood for the things I honestly believe. I have been true to my principles."

Mr. Debs expressed no fear of a penitentiary sentence, saying if he had to serve, he would make the prison "a center of agitation." But he feels that he will not have to serve.

No plans have been made by the local Socialist party in connection

with the Debs case. They are waiting until the trial of Socialist leaders now under way in Chicago is over.

Party plans for the spring will include a subdivision system, according to Mr. Debs. "Each section will be under a captain, who will have a corps of workers. Thus, in case a meeting is called or literature is to be distributed, an organization will be at hand to do it. Such a body of workers is so thoroughly organized in Chicago that within an hour the whole city can be covered."

Mr. Debs predicts "contradictory influences" by spring. He thinks private interest will get the "whip hand" and that the employment problem will be great.

He feels that some real system should be worked out for the placing of returned soldiers.

"The hero of today will be the hobo of tomorrow," said Mr. Debs, "and when he's bumming around from place to place, he will not be met at the station by fine women and given food and cigarettes; he'll be arrested as a vag."

Mr. Debs also forecasts trouble from the expulsion of women from industries which the war almost forced them into.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND DIRECT ACTION

The painters in the employ of J. Sussman, New York, recently gave a unique exhibition of international working class solidarity and of the industrial power of the workers. The foreman, A. A. Avins, who is also secretary of Local No. 261, one of the militant locals of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, happened to see a letter from the Charles H. Brown Paint Co., urging the boss to stock up with paint supplies, on the ground that "the war is not over; when peace is made with Germany the Bolsheviks in all countries will have to be subdued." Instead of waiting for election day to come around, boss Sussman's men informed him that, if he bought any paint from anti-Bolshevik boss Brown, they would refuse to handle the stuff. So boss Brown got no order from boss Sussman.

LUXEMBURG LYNCHED BY BERLIN MOB LIEBKNECHT SHOT IN HEAD

Berlin, Jan. 16 (delayed).—Karl Liebknecht, the most dramatic figure in Germany, was shot dead while trying to escape from a heavy escort of government troops, it was learned today. At the same time his chief lieutenant, Rosa Luxemburg, was lynched by a mob.

The Spartacan leader, who fell just short of overthrowing the new German government by a country-wide revolution, was trapped in his home and taken prisoner with his wife and sons. The latter were taken to a jail. Liebknecht himself was being escorted to military headquarters. The automobile in which he was riding broke down. The party proceeded on foot. Liebknecht suddenly tried to escape.

The guards flung their rifles to their shoulders and fired. Liebknecht fell dead, riddled with bullets.

While Liebknecht was being hunted down, Rosa Luxemburg met death at the hands of a mob.

The details of her death could not be definitely learned as this was written, but it is known that she was beaten into insensibility by a crowd and then thrown into the Landwehr Canal.

The government issued an official statement today announcing that the murderers of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be severely punished. It is known that several persons have been arrested in this connection.

Revolt Revived.

Zurich, Jan. 17.—The Spartacan revolution has been revived on a large scale in Berlin and several of the provinces after the death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, it was reported in a dispatch received here today.

The government is expected to take violent measures in an effort to suppress the new revolt. Five new divisions of government troops have arrived in Berlin. This city gives the impression of being occupied almost entirely by soldiers.

While business is practically at a standstill, save for small shops selling necessities, the public is becoming accustomed to the spasmodic fighting. When shooting begins, the people dart into doorways and peep out apprehensively while soldiers hunt for the snipers. Then they go about their business as though nothing had happened.

Berlin is fairly bristling with machine gun defenses. Government forces hold all strategic points and control the streets, bridges and railway stations. Groups of soldiers are posted at every corner.

Twelve persons were reported to have been killed and 40 wounded in yesterday's outbreak at Dusseldorf.

Deaths Confirmed.

Amsterdam, Jan. 17.—A press dispatch received today from Berlin confirms the reported death of Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and gives details supplied by members of the staff of a German cavalry division. The dispatch says: On Wednesday evening about 9:30 o'clock, Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested at No. 43 Mannheim street, Wilmersdorf, Berlin, and were brought to the headquarters of the staff of the cavalry division guard.

After a short examination to establish their identity, Liebknecht was advised that he must consider himself as being under arrest for the time being and that he would be sent to Moabit prison until such time as the government could reach a decision regarding his case.

The news of the arrest of Liebknecht and his aids spread like wildfire in the neighborhood of the Hotel Eden, which the cavalry division guard was using as its headquarters. A great crowd gathered, a part of the crowd even forcing its way into the place. An order was therefore directed to take Liebknecht through a side door, where he would be unobserved, and escort him to the Moabit prison. Liebknecht was carefully warned by his guards that if he attempted to escape he would be shot.

In the meantime, some of the crowd had gathered at the side door from which the party was to emerge, so his escorts had to use force to clear a way. When the Spartacan leader and his escorts had entered a motor car and were in the point of departure, Liebknecht received a blow on the head from some unidentified spectator, which caused blood to flow profusely. The car was then driven quickly away.

In order to avoid further demonstrations, the machine was driven by a devious route through the Tiergarten. Near a pond in the Tiergarten the machine broke down. The chauffeur said it would take some time to repair it, so the commander of the escort asked Liebknecht if he felt strong enough to go to Charlottenburger Boulevard on foot. Here it was intended to hail a cab.

When Liebknecht and his escort had proceeded a short distance, he broke away from them and ran swiftly ahead. Repeated orders were given to Liebknecht to halt, but he paid no heed and he was fired on by several of the guards and killed.

Several versions have been received regarding the death of Rosa Luxemburg. One report says that while being conducted from the Hotel Eden she was dragged from a carriage by a furious crowd and killed. Another report says she was killed in a motor car in which she was being taken to prison. Infuriated crowds attacked the car and almost succeeded in lynching her, despite efforts of the guards to protect her. When almost torn to pieces, some unidentified man lifted himself into the car and shot her dead.

Telegrams from Berlin late today says the German government has promised the people that persons responsible for the deaths of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be punished severely. Officers in command of the escorts of the two slain Spartacan leaders have been provisionally arrested, it was learned tonight.

Liebknecht Was 47.

Karl Liebknecht was a little over 47; Rosa Luxemburg was about 55. Both of them were devoted heart and soul to the Socialist movement.

Liebknecht was the youngest of four brothers, all Socialist party workers in Germany. His father was William Liebknecht, the pioneer Socialist statesman of Germany, who died in 1899 at the age of 74. The father was one of the revolutionists of 1848. After the defeat of the workers in that uprising he fled to England and lived in exile in close association with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels for many years.

Returning to Germany, he was one of the three Socialists elected to the North German Parliament in 1867, the other two being August Bebel and Hasendorfer. He remained a member of the Reichstag to the time of his death. He was a notable writer of a great philologist, and one of the greatest orators of his time.

Liebknecht Born in 1871.

Karl Paul August Friedrich Liebknecht was born in 1871. In his youth he was active in the young Socialists' movement in Germany, having at one time been national organizer of that part of the Social Democratic party.

Endowed with a brilliant mind, he was the only one of four brothers to enter the Socialist movement as his chief activity. He was graduated from the University of Jena as a doctor of philosophy in law. Liebknecht's first noteworthy piece of work that attracted wide attention was the publication in 1907 of an attack upon militarism. This book was translated into English and published in America in 1917. It was a controversial booklet, but it was well reasoned and excellently written. For this work he received his first jail sentence, on the ground that he had impeached the honor and the dignity of the nation.

Elected to Landtag.

In 1910 he was elected to the Prussian Landtag from Spandau. In the summer of that year he came to America for a speaking tour under the direction of the Socialist party. He spoke in cities as far west as Denver and as far south as Galveston.

Those who saw and heard him then remember a short, stocky man with a wide forehead, frank eyes, and a little moustache. He was warmly received by the Socialists here, who hailed him both for his father's memory and for his own sake.

In January, 1912, at the general elections, Liebknecht was a candidate in Potsdam and was elected. His work having dealt with militarism, he felt he had been voted for largely upon his peace platform.

Exposed Krupp Plots.

The year before Liebknecht made his famous Krupp investigations, and the revelations created a universal sensation. It was the first of the investigations in various lands that showed the world the crooked connection between munition manufacturers and the war provoking policies of the governments.

As a result of these revelations, several army officers were tried and found guilty. They received extremely light sentences, however. In Parliament Liebknecht took his place with the 110 other Socialist Deputies, fighting for the workers, fighting against militarism, refusing to give "Drei Mal Heil" for the Kaiser, and in other ways doing his yeoman's work for his cause.

On August 4, 1914, the vote on the new credits came up in the Reichstag. It was soon learned the 111 Socialists had voted for the war credits.

(Continued on page 2)

Mrs. JACK CARNEY
WILL SPEAK AT
WOODMAN HALL, SUNDAY, JAN. 26th
2:30 P. M.
— ON: —
"IMPRESSIONS OF THE N. E. C."
Admission Free.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

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Maurer Raps Autocrats.

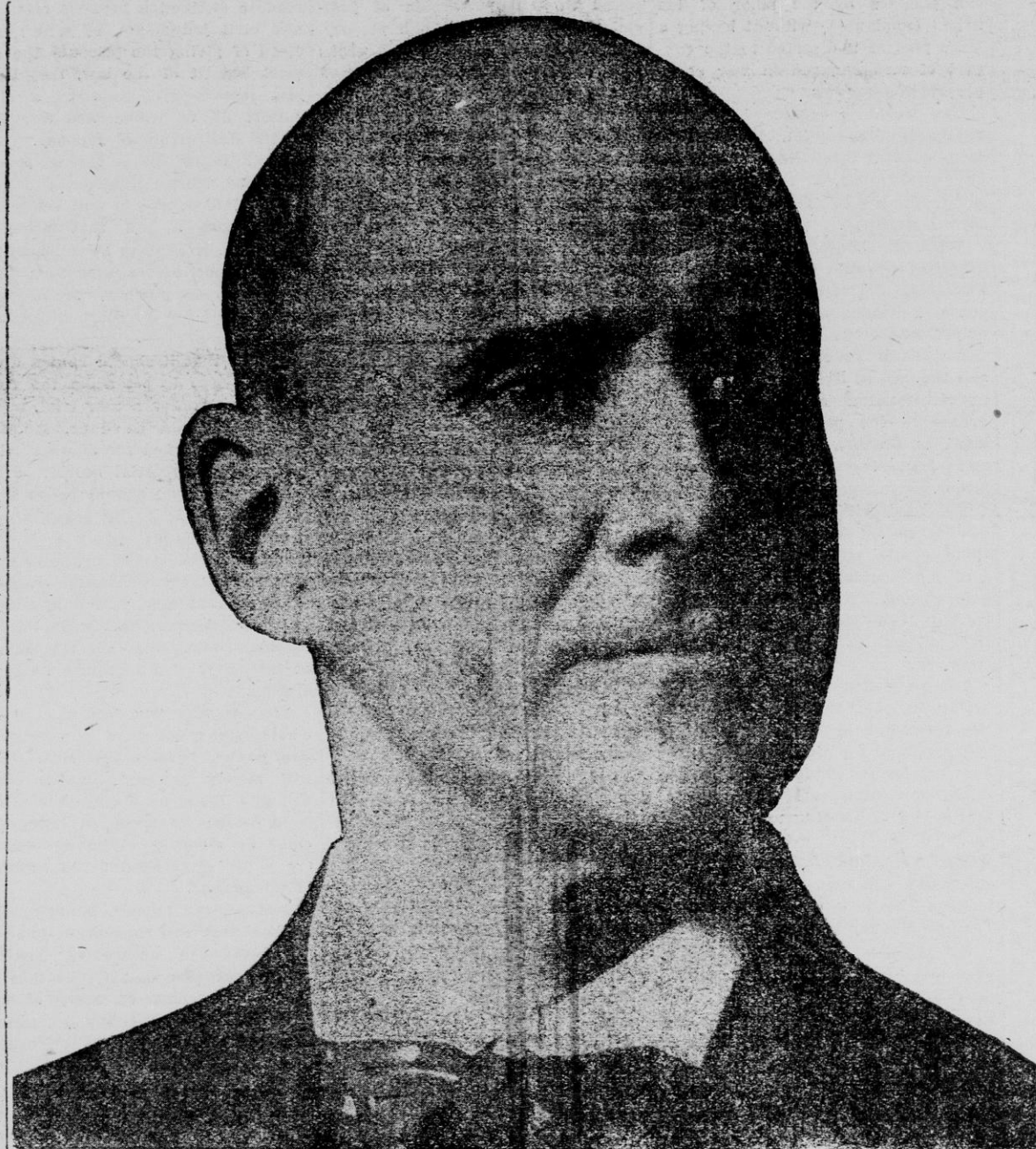
Letters were read from the acting secretary-treasurer of the I. W. W., Peter Stone, and from the Cincinnati migratory workers pledging support if a general strike was necessary to free Mooney. Another stirring address was made by the vice chairman, James H. Maurer. He protested against the refusal of Judge Westenhaver to allow Eugene V. Debs to come to Chicago, remarking, "We have here an autocracy on all sides compared with which the Hohenzollerns of the old world were mild. A member of the cabinet may abuse his authority, as the Postmaster General has done (hisses) and no one can remove him but the President."

Japan Workers Pledge Support.

A long debate took place over the question brought up by a resolution which suggested sending a delegate to the labor council at Versailles. It was finally agreed that the handling of the Mooney question at the council be left in the hands of Andrew Furuseth, president of the Seamen's Union. It was the feeling of the meeting that before a passport could be obtained for a delegate the council would be over.

"I do not want to see any delegate from the labor movement crawling in his belly before the slimy Arthur Balfour of England, Clemenceau, the Tiger, nor the imperialists of any other country," observed Delegate Dunn of Butte.

An international aspect was lent to the convention by the appearance of a delegate from Japan, who pledged the support of the Japanese workers in freeing Mooney. The principal resolution will be considered tomorrow morning.



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"But there are those who are staunch friends—"

Mr. Debs read extracts from letters of encouragement from business and professional men and women all over the country, a professor in Wisconsin university and one from Columbia.

"I have letters of congratulation on my stand and sympathy from ministers, doctors, lawyers, business men and women, women of the underworld and vagabonds, and alike treasure them all."

"Why, just last week, I, an undesirable agitator, was a guest at the house of a bishop in Gallion, Ohio—the personal agent of Bishop William Montgomery Brown, who has recently become Socialist."

"My case comes up in Washington before the supreme court January 27. I have made no plans for action of any kind; I can afford to wait and be patient. I have only stood for the things I honestly believe. I have been true to my principles."

Mr. Debs expressed no fear of a penitentiary sentence, saying if he had to serve, he would make the prison "a center of agitation." But he feels that he will not have to serve.

No plans have been made by the local Socialist party in connection with the Debs case. They are waiting until the trial of Socialist leaders now under way in Chicago is over.

Party plans for the spring will include a subdivision system, according to Mr. Debs. "Each section will be under a captain, who will have a corps of workers. Thus, in case a meeting is called or literature is to be distributed, an organization will be at hand to do it. Such a body of workers is so thoroughly organized in Chicago that within an hour the whole city can be covered."

Mr. Debs predicts "contradictory influences" by spring. He thinks private interest will get the "whip hand" and that the employment problem will be great.

He feels that some real system should be worked out for the placing of returned soldiers.

"The hero of today will be the hero of tomorrow," said Mr. Debs, "and when he's bumming around from place to place, he will not be met at the station by fine women and given food and cigarettes; he'll be arrested as a vag."

Mr. Debs also forecasts trouble from the expulsion of women from industries which the war almost forced them into.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY AND DIRECT ACTION

The painters in the employ of J. Sussman, New York, recently gave a unique exhibition of international working class solidarity and of the industrial power of the workers.

The foreman, A. A. Avins, who is also secretary of Local No. 261, one of the militant locals of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, happened to see a letter from the Charles H. Brown Paint Co., urging the boss to stock up with paint supplies, on the ground that "the war is not over; when peace is made with Germany the Bolsheviks in all countries will have to be subdued." Instead of waiting for election day to come around, boss Sussman's men informed him that, if he bought any paint from anti-Bolshevik boss Brown, they would refuse to handle the stuff. So boss Brown got no order from boss Sussman.

LUXEMBURG LYNCHED BY BERLIN MOB LIEBKNECHT SHOT IN HEAD

Berlin, Jan. 16 (delayed).—Karl Liebknecht, the most dramatic figure in Germany, was shot dead while trying to escape from a heavy escort of government troops, it was learned today. At the same time his chief lieutenant, Rosa Luxemburg, was lynched by a mob.

The Spartacan leader, who fell just short of overthrowing the new German government by a country-wide revolution, was trapped in his home and taken prisoner with his wife and sons. The latter were taken to a jail. Liebknecht himself was being escorted to military headquarters. The automobile in which he was riding broke down. The party proceeded on foot. Liebknecht suddenly tried to escape.

The guards flung their rifles to their shoulders and fired. Liebknecht fell dead, riddled with bullets.

While Liebknecht was being hunted down, Rosa Luxemburg met death at the hands of a mob.

The details of her death could not be definitely learned as this was written, but it is known that she was beaten into insensibility by a crowd and then thrown into the Landwehr Canal.

The government issued an official statement today announcing that the murderers of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be severely punished. It is known that several persons have been arrested in this connection.

Revolt Revived.

Zurich, Jan. 17.—The Spartacan revolution has been revived on a large scale in Berlin and several of the provinces after the death of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, it was reported in a dispatch received here today.

The government is expected to take violent measures in an effort to suppress the new revolt. Five new divisions of government troops have arrived in Berlin. This city gives the impression of being occupied almost entirely by soldiery.

While business is practically at a standstill, save for small shops selling necessities, the public is becoming accustomed to the spasmodic fighting. When shooting begins, the people dart into doorways and peep out apprehensively while soldiers hunt for the snipers. Then they go about their business as though nothing had happened.

Berlin is fairly bristling with machine gun defenses. Government forces hold all strategic points and control the streets, bridges and railway stations. Groups of soldiers are posted at every corner.

Twelve persons were reported to have been killed and 40 wounded in yesterday's outbreak at Dusseldorf.

Deaths Confirmed.

Amsterdam, Jan. 17.—A press dispatch received today from Berlin confirms the reported death of Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg and gives details supplied by members of the staff of a German cavalry division. The dispatch says: "On Wednesday evening about 7:30 o'clock, Dr. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were arrested at No. 42 Mannheim street, Wilmersdorf, Berlin, and were brought to the headquarters of the staff of the cavalry division guard."

After a short examination to establish their identity, Liebknecht was advised that he must consider himself as being under arrest for the time being and that he would be sent to Moabit prison until such time as the government could reach a decision regarding his case.

The news of the arrest of Liebknecht and his aids spread like wildfire in the neighborhood of the Hotel Eden, which the cavalry division guard was using as its headquarters. A great crowd gathered, a part of the crowd even forcing its way into the place. An order was therefore directed to take Liebknecht through a side door, where he would be unobserved, and escort him to the Moabit prison. Liebknecht was carefully warned by his guards that if he attempted to escape he would be shot.

In the meantime, some of the crowd had gathered at the side door from which the party was to emerge, so his escorts had to use force to clear a way. When the Spartacan leader and his escorts had entered a motor car and were in the point of departure, Liebknecht received a blow on the head from some unidentified spectator, which caused blood to flow profusely. The car was then driven quickly away.

In order to avoid further demonstrations, the machine was driven by a devious route through the Tiergarten. Near a pond in the Tiergarten the machine broke down. The chauffeur said it would take some time to repair it, so the commander of the escort asked Liebknecht if he felt strong enough to go to Charlottenburger Boulevard on foot. Here it was intended to hail a cab.

When Liebknecht and his escort had proceeded a short distance, he broke away from them and ran swiftly ahead. Repeated orders were given to Liebknecht to halt, but he paid no heed and he was fired on by several of the guards and killed.

Several versions have been received regarding the death of Rosa Luxemburg. One report says that while being conducted from the Hotel Eden she was dragged from a carriage by a furious crowd and killed. Another report says she was killed in a motor car in which she was being taken to prison. Infuriated crowds attacked the car and almost succeeded in lynching her, despite efforts of the guards to protect her. When almost torn to pieces, some unidentified man lifted himself into the car and shot her dead.

Telegrams from Berlin late today says the German government has promised the people that persons responsible for the deaths of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg will be punished severely. Officers in command of the escorts of the two slain Spartacan leaders have been provisionally arrested, it was learned tonight.

Liebknecht Was 47.

Karl Liebknecht was a little over 47; Rosa Luxemburg was about 55. Both of them were devoted heart and soul to the Socialist movement.

Liebknecht was the youngest of four brothers, all Socialist party workers in Germany. His father was William Liebknecht, the pioneer Socialist statesman of Germany, who died in 1893 at the age of 74. The father was one of the revolutionists of 1848. After the defeat of the workers in that uprising he fled to England and lived in exile in close association with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels for many years.

Returning to Germany, he was one of the three Socialists elected to the North German Parliament in 1867, the other two being August Bebel and Hasendorfer. He remained a member of the Reichstag to the time of his death. He was a notable writer, a great philologist, and one of the greatest orators of his time.

Liebknecht Born in 1871.
Karl Paul August Friedrich Liebknecht was born in 1871. In his youth he was active in the young Socialists' movement in Germany, having at one time been national organizer of that part of the Social Democratic party.

Endowed with a brilliant mind, he was the only one of four brothers to enter the Socialist movement as his chief activity. He was graduated from the University of Jena as a doctor of philosophy in law. Liebknecht's first noteworthy piece of work that attracted wide attention was the publication in 1907 of an attack upon militarism. This book was translated into English and published in America in 1917. It was a controversial booklet, but it was well reasoned and excellently written. For this work he received his first jail sentence, on the ground that it had impeached the honor and the dignity of the nation.

Elected to Landtag.

In 1910 he was elected to the Prussian Landtag from Spandau. In the summer of that year he came to America for a speaking tour under the direction of the Socialist party. He spoke in cities as far west as Denver and as far south as Galveston. Those who saw and heard him then remember a short, stocky man with a wide forehead, frank eyes, and a little moustache. He was warmly received by the Socialists here, who hailed him both for his father's memory and for his own sake.

In January, 1912, at the general elections, Liebknecht was a candidate in Potsdam and was elected. His work having dealt with militarism, he felt he had been voted for largely upon his peace platform.

Exposed Krupp Plots.

The year before Liebknecht made his famous Krupp investigations, and the revelations created a universal sensation. It was the first of the investigations in various lands that showed the world the crooked connection between munition manufacturers and the war provoking policies of the governments.

As a result of these revelations, several army officers were tried and found guilty. They received extremely light sentences, however. In Parliament Liebknecht took his place with the 110 other Socialist Deputies, fighting for the workers, fighting against militarism, refusing to give "Drei Mal Hoch" for the Kaiser, and in other ways doing his yeoman's work for his cause.

On August 4, 1914, the vote on the new credits came up in the Reichstag. It was soon learned the 111 Socialists had voted for the war credits.

(Continued on page 2)

Mrs. JACK CARNEY

WILL SPEAK AT

WOODMAN HALL, SUNDAY, JAN. 26th

2:30 P. M.

— ON: —

"IMPRESSIONS OF THE N. E. C."

Admission Free.

INTENTIONAL DUPLICATE EXPOSURE

DEFECTIVE PAGE

BOURKE COCKRAN ADDRESSES DELEGATES

Ed. Nolan, whom I prefer to address in the language of familiar friendship, rather than that of formality, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention: This gathering has been lent a new, a very portentous significance by the latest message received in this country from the President of the United States. We read in the papers this morning that he has asked for an appropriation of money to stay the advance of Bolshevism, which he says can be stayed by food, but not by force. (Cries of "Hear, hear" and applause.)

I entirely agree with that sentiment, but I don't think it goes far enough. I don't think that food alone will stay—I don't think it can be stayed by anything but justice. (Applause.)

And, my friends, because I hold that belief, I am here to show if I can—and if I cannot, the fault will be mine and not the correctness of the principles—that the most powerful propaganda of anarchism and Bolshevism ever let loose upon this earth is the condemnation of Thomas Mooney and his continued imprisonment under a conviction obtained by methods so abhorrent to justice that the conscience of Christendom is shocked by it. (Applause.)

Now I am not one of those who is in the habit myself of throwing fits at a word, even though it be "Bolshevik," and its significance may not be quite clear to me.

And when we consider what may lead to the growth of anarchism or Bolshevism, it is well that we should understand just what is meant by either term. I don't quite know what Bolshevism is. But if it be what the word signifies—if it be a movement of the majority, then I am not afraid of it. (Cries of "That is what it is" and applause.) Because I have read history to some extent, and I have endeavored to study it in the light of a philosophic principle, I know that among masses of men, as among individuals, every movement is traceable to a cause.

And if history teaches me anything, it is that in the whole course of human existence, the masses have never been vicious, and the classes have seldom failed to be.

There has never been at any human gathering at any period of the world's history that the masses could be moved by an appeal to their depravities, even in the most depraved and dissolute Roman period before the fall of the empire, when the public appetite was gratified by the spectacle of men destroying each other, the bruised and conquered gladiators turning around for that look of sympathy from his audience, which would mean the safety of his life, he never received it from the boxes where the rich sat, but always from the masses that surrounded him. (Applause.)

Everywhere where I have known human beings to be in action, I have never yet known the masses of men to be swayed by anything but passionate love of justice. (Applause.) And the Bolshevik, whatever they are, if they are a majority of any human beings of any country, or of any mass of human beings, I am not one bit afraid of them.

Now, as to anarchism, we understand that; we know what the anarchist professes. The anarchist thinks and believes that government, instead of being an agency to produce peace, is a force to disturb peace; that government, while organized with the intent to maintain justice, in operation is found violating justice.

Now, I don't believe that to be true, but I do believe that it often happens, and that it has happened here in the case of Thomas Mooney. (Applause.)

Consider what that case is and then tell me if a stronger confirmation of the anarchists' theory could be conceived than that which the courts and the government of California have furnished you in this particular case. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, because I believe in democracy, I ask you to consider the significance of this spectacle now in the present condition of the world.

It is a commonplace of speech to say that we live in extraordinary times. But I don't think that very many who use that phrase appreciate its full import and its full significance.

You hear men now quoting previous experiences as throwing sunlight upon the conditions through which we are passing. Well, I think nothing is more misleading than to search for precedents in the present emergency. There are no precedents except those that are misleading.

The whole world is today in a condition where despotism is over-

thrown. There is not a single autocratic government left.

Strange to say, the nations that are emancipated from autocracy and imperialism are not turning to democracy. They seem, according to the President's telegram today and according to all the information we can gather, that they are turning their backs to the form of government embodied in this country, and they are reaching out for new experiments variously described as anarchy and Bolshevism.

Now, here is the difference between our present condition and anything that ever preceded it.

A hundred years ago the fall of the Napoleonic empire brought to the nations of Europe the task of reorganizing society just as the fall of the Teutonic empires has brought it to society today. But the men assembled in Vienna were rulers and autocrats whose scheme of organization was to make the world safe for autocracy.

The Holy Alliance was the outcome of their deliberations, and while nominally, it was a mere declaration that the world should be governed according to the principles of the Christian revelation, it was, in fact, a compact between the three autocratic rulers at that time, the emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia, that they would extirpate forever any trace of the republican idea throughout the world, and seems to have met with tremendous success.

Aristocratic government existed in England and autocratic government prevailed throughout the rest of the world.

But today there is only one form of government, which the Council at Versailles can establish. Monarchy has disappeared forever, by which I mean authority concentrated in the hands of a single despot, a passing on succession to his successor or to his heir.

There are forms of monarchy still extant, but these are where the monarch is said to reign, not to rule.

Now, the business of government is to govern; and when you have a king who reigns, but does not rule, you have a king who is not a king, who is not a monarch, who is a mere article of furniture in the general political establishment.

That is the present government in England.

They are now governed by universal suffrage. Government by land owners, government by a class, has disappeared, been overthrown never to return.

There is just one form of government left, then, and that is the republican form. This peace conference must produce a republic the world over. The choice, then, is between democracy and chaos. With such a choice, isn't it wonderful that the world does not declare at once for democracy? Why is it, why is it? Why is it that the human family has changed?

Why, in my own recollection—my memory goes back to the time when France was still an empire; I was a boy, not more than a child in France, in the closing days of the empire, and I can remember in the big cities when a demonstration of freedom occurred, the workmen marched through with bands on their caps, shouting, "Vive le republic!"—give them but the republic and they will all be happy. Just as Carlyle describes in the book of the French Revolution—he describes them there, hungry, outside of bake shops, gazing in but not breaking in, with respect for law and justice—asking them that the constitution give them justice—give them but a constitution and all would be well, their miseries would be ended, happiness would descend on the world.

And the model before their eyes was this republic with its constitution.

Down even to the close of the last century, whenever an empire was overthrown, whenever an empire had become liberated, as Portugal was liberated from the House of Braganza, as Spain was liberated from the dominion of the Bourbons, it was always a republic—a republic—the dream of it, actuated and strengthened the patriots; the possession of it they believed would be the solution of every trouble. And the republic came and they would not be disappointed.

The republic is here. Now, why aren't they turning to it? Why, instead of turning their eyes eagerly to it, straining to it, straining towards it with every muscle and energy, why are they averting their faces and worshipping these new gods, these new experiments.

Aye, the reason is not hard to see. It is because this republic has lost that respect, that amount of veneration which was the cause of. (Applause and cheers.)

My friends, why is this? Can it be explained? It is not far to seek.

That, my friends, as put in another way, as I pointed out last August, a proposition or proposal that the laborer shall be put in possession of his home, that he shall be empowered and authorized to place in his own mouth and in the mouths of his wife and his children all he can produce by the labor of his hands (applause), without having a large part of it diverted to the support of men engaged in war or in preparation for war.

The world is exhausted of practically all of its capital. If the world is to emerge from this war and be an armed world, a world armed to the teeth, the future of the human race is destined.

With all the capital intact, with all the accumulation of centuries available, the armaments were a crushing burden on labor, and was before war broke out. The cost of commodities suddenly went rising and the cost of living was increased, notwithstanding a continuous increase in the production of commodities, because the preparation of war kept increasing larger and larger.

But now, with all the waste and destruction of this war, if the nations should continue arming, the future of the laborer is not merely painful, but desperate—every man, perhaps two men, not merely in idleness, but in an attempt at destruction.

The very elements that are combining to hold Mooney in jail are the elements that are sneering at the President's policies, which they dare not openly condemn. It is the same opposition—the same thing that held this meeting together that appealed to that wonderful conscience which did stay the hangman and which will soon force the jailer to turn the lock outward and set Thomas Mooney out, at liberty.

My friends, there is one thing over and above it all. We cannot take any attitude for justice—we cannot come before the world as champions of justice, advocating justice everywhere, until we enthrone justice at home, supreme everywhere. That is the character of the demand which this convention is contemplating today. This is a most wonderful gathering. I have spoken to a great many conventions in my time, but I don't believe that I ever faced one so impressive as this; and the reason that I find it so impressive is the unity of its purpose and the unanimity of its demands for the great end in view, notwithstanding wide divergence of opinion that prevails among its members on all other subjects.

I understand there are representatives here with different views on the manner in which a labor movement should be conducted. But they are here as one in demanding that justice should prevail throughout the world, that justice should be done here. (Applause.)

They say that the easily moved, vulgar crowd have got better sense, better capacity for government, as they have always shown, than those who are themselves their betters; that it is not the best ruled who are the best behaved or the best informed, that the man who works with his hands has an instinct for justice which can be trusted more implicitly than the trained intellects of those who live by the labor of others. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, we are assembled here for one purpose, it is a sublime one—that justice be done for this one person, this one individual, this single unit in our population, but who, although confined in jail within the narrow confines of a single cell, by reason of the great issues embodied, has swelled to portentous size, so that his shadow has passed over the whole country and projected to the utmost ends of the earth. For the Mooney case now is an international issue, it is an international question. It is a test as to whether this is really a democracy, whether this republic in its forms is actually a democracy in its operations.

If this country cannot satisfy the world that democracy means justice to all, then the whole future of the human family is clouded in the deepest gloom.

If democracy does not show itself to be the champion of all justice, it cannot expect itself to be accepted as the form and system by nations who, just emancipated from the thrall and dominion of autocracy, are struggling patiently for justice, demanding institutions where justice shall not be denied to any, the humble, but shall be made the property and possession of all.

What is it we ask for Thomas Mooney? What do we ask for him? We are not here asking indulgence for a guilty man. If he be guilty of the crime charged against him, we believe that no penalty would be excessive or even adequate that a

civilized society could inflict.

But we are here to protest against subjecting a man to the infamy of conviction for such a crime upon evidence that would not be sufficient, as I said, to hang a rich man's dog on, or even to muzzle him. (Laughter and applause.)

No man now defends his conviction. Everybody admits that it was found through perversion of judicial processes and through perjury.

But they say he is a dangerous man, somebody is an anarchist, and I have heard some say that he is a blasphemer.

Fickert's apology is that "I consider him a blasphemer."

Because a man commits blasphemy, is that the reason he should be hanged for murder? If a man is wicked enough or short-sighted enough to commit blasphemy, I think that every one will agree that blasphemy is unbecoming the lips of an upright man. But to hang him because he committed blasphemy! By doing that, I would show myself to be worse than the blasphemer, because I would be a murderer.

We are protesting here against the most awful spectacle ever presented, where a deliberate murder is attempted, where it has been decreed, not by some wretch violating the law and defying it, but by the law itself, by its own agencies, by the agencies that are peculiarly consecrated to the protection and enforcement of the law, and that is by the judges themselves.

This conviction of Thomas Mooney was a judicial error, or may be considered such until the discovery of Oxnian's perjury.

Today the Supreme Court declared that it had no power to set aside a conviction, that no judge in California had a conviction procured by conspiracy and accomplished through perjury. Then it became a judicial crime (applause), and a judicial crime has never been left unredressed without injury and generally ruin to the community that tolerates it.

Now, we are here to ask, what? Not that Mooney be liberated. We have not even expressed an opinion on his guilt or innocence, though on that subject I have no doubt whatever.

But we ask that he be tried again in the light of the discoveries that have been made; in other words, in the light of all the truth. If he is acquitted, that would be the end of the prosecution; if convicted on a fair trial, nobody would ask clemency for him.

How is that to be accomplished?

Last July, when the hour of his execution was imminent, there seemed to be no remedy except through the Governor of California. The President of the United States asked him to order a new trial and hold the present conviction in suspense, and if on a new trial he was acquitted there would be full pardon; if he was convicted, leaving him to his fate.

The answer to that, in the light of all this evidence if impeaching documents, was not a new trial, but it was to condemn the unfortunate victim of injustice to a harsher fate. Instead of giving him a felon's death upon the scaffold, they sentenced him to a felon's life in a prison cell. And the cry that arose from his lips attested his character, when he asked as a privilege to die rather than live under the burden of such infamy.

Now, we are here to ask what about it. The legislature is in session. All that this convention need ask is that the legislature of California pass a law which will conform to the amendment to its penal law which will conform its criminal statutes and criminal procedure to the system prevailing in every state of this Union, practically, and according to the common law.

According to the common law, wherever a conviction or a judgment in civil or criminal action was obtained through fraud interposed by perjury, or even by mistake, the power always resided in the court, upon a proper case being presented to it, to strike that judgment from the record. Otherwise, the court would be making itself an agent for the perpetration of injustice, after it was shown the original decree and it was found that there was an error or mistake resulting in the conviction of a crime.

Now, that judgment was in California and the judges say there is no power on earth in a court to save itself from becoming the instrument of murder. When the court is informed before a man is executed that there is overwhelming proof that the conviction was obtained by fraud, and the court realizes it, and refuses to set aside the judgment and sentences him, the court itself places the noose around the neck of a man improperly convicted, that is to say, the court becomes an agent for the perpetration of the very

murder it is organized to prevent.

Now, we are here, not only for the sake of Mooney, but for the sake of improving the body of the law in California perhaps—that the legislature pass a bill providing that the rules that prevail in other states, the common law rules, prevailing in California, even in civil cases, by some extraordinary process the court made a distinction between criminal and civil judgments, by which, instead of giving the prisoner the utmost benefit of the law, they gave him less benefit than to a civil suitor; all of which was essential to the destruction of Mooney.

But, thank God, strong forces prevailed against him.

Now, all we ask is that the legislature pass a bill that provides whenever, it appears after sentence, at any time before execution, that by fraud or perjury, or mistake which could not be guarded against, by reason of the circumstances at the trial, that it should be the duty of the judge to set aside the conviction and order a new trial.

If that could be done, Mooney would be returned for another trial before an impartial court, even though the court should be packed, as brought about the acquittal of Oxnian—the eyes of the world would be upon it; and in the second trial of another celebrated case—if, as in that case, it should result in a second conviction, it would be palpably wrong that the conscience of the world would require its reparation.

That is what we require. By a wholesome exercise of the legislative power, nothing less than that will satisfy justice; nothing else will give Woodrow Wilson the platform which he needs in order to make his advocacy of justice before the world effective for the benefit of all nations.

And so, my friends, believing in my soul that this convention will be the means of enthroning justice throughout this country, because I believe that men of every stamp here, no matter what they are, whatever their ideas may be on other questions, it will sink—they will sink them all and all be of one purpose; that is, whatever branch of their organizations they may belong to, whatever system of labor organizations they believe in, whatever may be your differences on matters of leadership administration or organization, they are all—all—all sunk, forgotten for the moment, while we unite in the one purpose of demanding justice—justice for Mooney, justice for this country, for the whole world, through the medium of that championship that will be established by the leader through the completeness with which we establish it at home. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Every year, as regularly as Christmas comes around, we see the full horror of Capitalism exposed to all the inhabitants of New York, exposed alike to class-conscious slaves, to ordinary slaves and to class-conscious plutocrats, by Capital's staunchest, tried-and-truest retainers and boot-licking lackeys, the New York Times.

Verily, the Times should turn pink with shame (red would never do!) After assuring all the world that it gives only "all the news that's fit to print," it shows up the scandals and smirches on the fair name of this profit-making country in a way that any decent, self-respecting capitalist should blush to tell of. The Times has taken the lid off the whole dirty, hypocritical game game. The editor should be arrested for indecent exposure!

And just at Christmas time, too, when the whole capitalist world reeks with unctuous calls to be cheerful and happy, whether you have a dollar in your pocket or not, or two good legs under your trunk. "We have culled for you," explains the Times, with naive cynicism, "the choicest bits of misery in all New York, one hundred of them, only a hundred; there are thousands, but we will trouble you about only the worst ones, the most destitute and deserving. Come now, gentle reader, and get a delicious Christmas thrill over these 'cases.'"

And so the bosses and backers of the Times hasten to send the office boy with a dole from the billions they have extorted from the workers now so "destitute and deserving." And the benevolent Times receives exquisitely pink and perfumed notes from the bosses' women, legal and illegal, containing buckets of sentimental slop and a pittance from their liege lords and masters.

Day after day throughout the holidays weeks did the Times glow and almost grow tender-hearted over the "father of six little ones, who can not earn enough to set anything aside for a rainy day," over "widow Dominica, who supports four chil-



ROSA LUXEBURG LYNCHED BY BERLIN MOB.—KARL LIEBKNECHT SHOT TO DEATH

(Continued from page 1)

Opposed War Credits.

At the time of the second war credit, in December, 1914, Liebknecht and Otto Ruehle were the only ones to vote "no" against the wishes of the caucus. On later votes, however, the opposition went up to 35 and 40, as a result of the resolute stand of Liebknecht.

In 1915, after repeatedly attacking the war, he was drafted into the army. It is said he was compelled to do kitchen duty, washing dishes, as a mark of humiliation.

In 1915, the agitation by the Socialists to end the war began. By May Day, 1916, it was strong enough to make possible a great anti-war May Day, 1916, it was strong enough Liebknecht shouted "Down with the war."

Previously, for refusal to subject himself to party discipline, he had been expelled from the Socialist caucus, although the Independent group was forming.

Arrested and placed on charges for his May Day speech, the Reichstag voted, with the 110 Socialist votes and one other in the negative, to suspend his parliamentary immunity from prosecution.

Found Guilty.

He was found guilty and sentenced to jail for 4 1/2 months. This sentence resulted in a case riots, a 1 anti-government demonstrations, the populace rising in great indignation at the hideousness of giving a war deserter such a severe sentence.

Released from jail at the end of last October, Liebknecht's first speech to the vast assemblage that had come to greet him was "The people's hour has come!"

While in jail he wrote letters to the Socialist press, as well as Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring and others, signing them "Spartacus," referring to the leader of the Roman slave revolt. This nom-de-plume gave the name to the "Spartacus-bund," the organization of Socialists

who sought to establish a Socialist council government at once, instead of waiting for an Assembly. He was in the midst of his work for the setting aside of the Assembly and the declaration of a council republic when the agitation flared up into an armed revolt. The result was his death. But it is certain it will by no means end the movement.

A direct descendant of Martin Luther, he was frequently taunted with being a Jew. He was married to a Jewess, his second wife, his first having died. He had several children.

Rosa Luxemburg, About 55. Rosa Luxemburg was one of the most remarkable women in the world. A Pole by birth, she came to Germany about 30 years ago and remained there until her death.

She was about 55, and represented one of the two Polish Socialist parties in the International Socialist Bureau for over 15 years.

Rosa Luxemburg was a brilliant writer and a wonderful orator. For the past three decades she was a paid party worker, earning her living as a party secretary, editor, writer or organizer. For a while she was editor of the Leipzig Volkszeitung. In addition, she was one of the contributors to Die Neue Zeit, the theoretical weekly of the German party, edited by Karl Kautsky. She also wrote several books on Socialist problems.

Always a stormy petrel, she grew more and more intense in her activity with the war. She was arrested and spent a year in jail for "lese majesty," and afterwards was always under surveillance. One of the original Spartacus writers, with the development of the German revolution, she threw herself into the fight of her group for the past two months. Rosa was known as one of the ablest party workers in Germany. The New York Socialists already are planning a series of memorial meetings in honor of the memory of the two Socialists.

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The New York Socialists already are planning a series of memorial meetings in honor of the memory of the two Socialists.

A slick spokesman, indeed, you are for our masters. You whine and blubber to these vultures to "stop right up and get a rare Christmas bargain!" "Only \$298, Mr. Capitalist, to save your conscience for a year. We are only asking for a 'mere existence' and 'bare necessities'; the recipients are hard working and 'industrious'; it's cheap at \$285. Come in and get a genuine Christmas thrill at a marked-down price."

And you beg us in big black headlines to "take this to heart," and we "beg" to serve notice on you that we do, and more deeply than your bloated financiers, gorged with the product of the workers' lives of fruitless toil. We take it so to heart, in fact, that we intend to establish a "constructive program" and a "lasting benefit" and a "permanent good" which will not be hollow phrases of slobbering hypocrites, but which shall be the establishment of a society where it will be forever impossible for any human being to have to accept "bare necessities" from the snugg superiority of a gang of heartless blood-suckers.

And, at the same time you are saying all this, you have the impudence to assure us that you have the one and only "constructive program for the poor," that it is "of lasting benefit and permanent good," and you assert this in the same breath with raw bald statements like this: "\$348 will help until this mother can again earn an existence," "Only \$208 is necessary until the broken-down father can again return to work," "In the year facing them, \$490 is needed for bare necessities."



MY HEART IS WITH MOONEY

By EUGENE V. DEBS.

Eugene V. Debs has been invited, by practically a unanimous vote, to address the Mooney Labor Conference now being held in this city. Whether his parole will allow him to come to Chicago to appear before the conference is not known. The Chicago Socialist has just received a letter, however, written by Debs to Arthur E. Elmgreen, of the Twenty-third ward branch of the Socialist Party, in which he gives his views on the Mooney case as follows:

Terre Haute, Ind., Jan. 11, 1919.
Brother Almgreen: There is nothing in my power that I would not gladly do to free Tom Mooney. He is absolutely innocent. There is not a question about it. He is the victim of the most infamous conspiracy in American history, and his conviction was and is a burning disgrace to our courts and a damning crime against justice.

I know Tom Mooney intimately. He is clean and true to the core of his big heart. There is not a blot on his manhood. And that is precisely the cause of his shameless persecution by the political big game hunters of the plundering plutocracy of the Pacific coast, every one of whom, if justice were done, would be keeping the lockstep in penitentiary.

But fouler and more treacherous and degenerate than even these are the so-called labor leaders and trade unionists in California and elsewhere who for the paltry pelf there is in it for them, are in alliance, openly or otherwise, with the profiteering pirates and the political and judicial hirelings, to render their hands and blacken their souls in the blood of a fellow unionist who is too rigidly honest to betray the working class and too courageous and conscientious to yield to threat and intimidation.

I shall not be able to attend the national labor congress to be held at Chicago in behalf of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, beginning January 14, but my heart will be there, and if the labor movement of the United States is true to itself and as true to Mooney and Billings as they have been to it, no effort will be spared to secure the unconditional freedom of these tried and trusted union men. The labor

movement can afford to go to any length to accomplish this end. It cannot afford to stop short of it. The labor movement is itself on trial in this case, and if it proves cowardly and craven in the presence of its supreme task it ought to perish, for it is not fit to live. If the American labor movement cannot or will not defend its bravest defenders, it brands itself with cowardice and infamy and cannot escape its self-imposed ignominious fate.

But I shall believe otherwise. I shall have faith that the delegates assembled at Chicago will rise to complete the stature of union men and demand and insist upon the unconditional release of the innocent victims of the California conspiracy of the silk-hated would-be murderers, and if all entreaties are in vain and all measures fail, then as a last resort let a general strike be ordered and the industries of the nation paralyzed from end to end by an outraged working class determined upon rebuking crime and securing justice.

The cowardly Governor of California, too, of the corporations that he is, will do nothing. The courts of California, debauched to the last degree, will do nothing. Therefore the working class and the common people and all who sympathize with them must take this matter into their own hands and fearlessly meet the issue by stopping the wheels of industry long enough to compel the financial bandits and their mercenaries to realize that the honest workers have some rights they are bound to respect.

The life of Tom Mooney and his equally innocent associates are more to us and to humanity than all the industrial profits of the ruling class.

At this convention let the capitalists of America be reminded in terms they will not misunderstand that the working people are not forgetting that the late war, from beginning to end, according to the capitalists themselves who shouted it from the housetops, was waged for the purpose of putting an end to barbarism and brutality, promoting the cause of humanity and a higher civilization, and making the world safe for democracy and justice.

Soochanov was the president of the Soviet, a student, 24 years of age, son of a high official of the czar, and a hero in a revolution that is not given to hero-worship.

While some were affirming his coming and others were denying it, he himself appeared. He was quickly passed along upon the shoulders of the sailors. In a storm of cheers he climbed the ladder and came out upon the platform-top, smiling.

Twice his eyes swept across that field of upturned faces, filled with trust and love and hungrily awaiting the words of their young leader. As if to avert the flood of tragedy and pathos that beat suddenly upon him from every side, he turned his head away. His eyes fell for the first time upon the red coffins of the men who had been slain in defense of his Soviet and upon the mothers, wives and children of the men who lay within them. That was too much for him. A shudder passed through his frame, he threw up his hands, staggered and would have fallen headlong into the crowd, but a friend caught him. With both hands pressed to his face, Soochanov, in the arms of his comrades, sobbed like a child. We could see his breath come and go and the tears raining down his cheeks. The Russians are little given to tears. But that day there were 17,000 Russians who sobbed with their young leader on the public square of Vladivostok.

But Soochanov knew that many tears were an indulgence and that he had a big and serious task to perform. Fifty feet behind him, behind the English consulate and 50 rods before him were the waters of the Golden Horn, with the frowning guns of the Allied fleet. He wrenched himself away from his grief and, gathering himself together, began his message. With an ever-mounting passion of earnestness, he spoke, closing with the words which shall henceforth be the rallying cry for the workers of Vladivostok and the Far East:

"Here before the Red Staff building, where our comrades gruzhchiki were slain, we swear by these red coffins that hold them, by their wives and children that weep for them, by the red banners which float over them, that the Soviet for which they died shall be the thing for which we live—or, if need be—like them, die. Henceforth, the return of the Soviet shall be the goal of all our sacrifice and devotion. To that end we shall fight with every means. The bayonets have been wrested from our hands, but when the day comes and we have no guns we shall fight with sticks and clubs, and, when these are gone, with our bare fists and bodies. Now it is for us to fight with our minds and spirits. Let us make them hard and strong and unyielding. The Soviet is dead. Long live the Soviet!"

The crowd caught up the closing words in a tremendous demonstration mingled with the strains of the "International."

"Arise ye prisoners of starvation, Arise ye wretched of the earth, For justice thunders condemnation, A better world's in birth—"

The resolution proclaiming the restoration of the Soviet, the objective of all future struggles of the revolutionary proletariat and peasants of the Far East was read. At the call for the vote 17,000 hands shot into the air. They were the hands which had built the cars and paved the streets, forged the iron, held the plow and swung the hammer. All kinds of hands they were—the big, rough hands of the old gruzhchiki, the artisans' deft and sinewy, the knotted hands of the peasants, thick with callouses, and thousands of the frail, whiter hands of the working women. By these hands the riches of the Far East had been wrought. They were no different from the scarred, stained hands of labor anywhere in all the world. Except in this regard: For a time they had held the power. The government had been within their grasp. Four days ago it had been wrested from their grasp, but the feel of it was still within their hands—these hands raised now in solemn pledge to take that power again.

A sailor, striding from the hilltop, pushed through the crowd and climbed upon the platform. "Comrades! Comrades!" he cried joyously. "We are not alone. We are not alone. I ask you to look away to the flags flying over them on the American battleships. But you cannot see them down there where you stand. But they are there. And with the flags of all the other nations there is no red flag of our Russian republic. No, comrades, we are not alone today in our grief. The Americans understand and they are with us."

It was a mistake, of course. Those flags had been hung out in celebration of our Day of Independence. But the crowd did not know that. To them it was like a sudden touch of a friend's hand upon a lonely traveler in a foreign land. With enthusiasm they caught up the cry of

the sailor: "The Americans are with us!" And the vast conclave, lifting up their coffins, wreaths and banners, was once more in motion. They were going to the cemetery, but not directly. Tired as they were from long standing in the sun, they made a wide detour to reach the street that runs up the steep hill to the American consulate. Then straight up the sharp slope they toiled in a cloud of dust, still singing as they marched, until they came before the Stars and Stripes floating from the flagstaff. And there they stopped and laid the coffins of their dead beneath the flag of the great western democracy.

They stretched out their hands, crying: "Speak to us a word!" They sent delegates within to implore that word. On the day the great republic of the west celebrated its independence the poor and disinherited of Russia came asking sympathy and understanding in the struggle for their independence. Afterwards I heard a Bolshevik leader bitterly resentful at this "compromise with revolutionary honor and integrity."

"How stupid of them," he said. "How insane of them! Have we not told them that all countries are alike—all imperialists? Was this not repeated to them over and over again by their leaders?"

Truly it had been. But with this demonstration of the Fourth of July the leaders had little to do. They were in prison. The affair was in the hands of the people themselves. And, however cynical any leaders were about the professions of America, the people were not so. In the hour of their affliction these simple, trusting folk, makers of the new democracy of the East, came, stretching forth their hands to the great strong democracy of the West.

They knew that President Wilson had given his assurance of help and loyalty to the "people of Russia." They reasoned, "We are the workers and peasants, the vast majority here in Vladivostok; are we not the people? Today in our trouble we come to claim the promised help. Our enemies have taken away our Soviet. They have killed our comrades. We are alone and in distress, and you alone of all the nations of the earth can understand." No finer tribute could they offer than thus to come bringing their dead with the faith that out of America would come compassion and understanding. America, their only friend and refuge.

But America did not understand. The American people did not even hear about it. But these Russian folk did not know that the American people never heard about it. All they know is that a few weeks after the appeal came the landing of the American troops.

And now they say to one another: "How stupid we were to stand there in the heat and the dust, stretching out our hands like beggars!"

ALLIES DECLINE TO SEND ARMY TO CRUSH SOVIETS

If Counter-Revolutionaries Need Outside Help, They Must be Weak Minority.

By J. W. T. MASON.
Written for the United Press.
Refusal by the Allies to agree to send an army into Russia to subdue

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The Bolshevik is in accord with the principle of the Monroe Doctrine under which the United States has persistently declined to sanction the collection of Latin-American debts to Europe by means of warships.

The efforts of Prince Lvoff, Professor Milukoff and other Russians to persuade the Allies to change their decision in this matter will be unavailing. Democratic opinion in Europe is indorsing the American viewpoint, and will not sanction the use of foreign mercenaries to come to the relief of any faction in Russia.

The plea of the Russian counter-revolutionaries for armed resistance from the western democracies is in itself a strong criticism of their influence in Russia. If they cannot overthrow the Bolsheviks without the aid of alien help, the implication is very strong that the moderates are in a minority. It follows from this fact that the Allies may soon begin to consider the question of formally recognizing the Bolshevik administration as the real government of Russia.

At present Russia is considered to be in a state of revolution. No Russian political party has official relations with the outside world. This artificial condition cannot continue indefinitely. The Bolsheviks cannot be officially ignored, if there is no other faction in Russia strong enough to overthrow them. The situation in Russia is similar to that which prevailed in Mexico before the United States recognized Carranza's government. The refusal of the great powers to recognize any government in a disturbed country is always in itself an incentive to increased disorder. With recognition comes a more stable regime.

Because the Bolsheviks have criticized the western democracies and are advocating new doctrines in government cannot be sufficient to justify their indefinite isolation. If the majority of the Russian people want the Bolsheviks in office, then the Bolshevik regime is the de facto government of Russia. The actual test as to whether the Bolsheviks really are the majority party is the continued inability of the other parties to take over the government themselves.

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The Red Funeral of Vladivostok

By ALBERT RHY'S WILLIAMS
in "The New Republic."

It was the Fourth of July. I was standing on the Kitaiskaya, looking down upon the holiday flags on the American battleship in Vladivostok bay. Suddenly I heard a far-away sound. Listening, I caught the strains of the Revolutionary hymn:

With hearts heavy and sad we bring our dead

Who shed their blood in the fight for freedom.

Looking up, I saw on the crest of the hill the first lines of the funeral procession of the gruzhchiki.

Four days before, when the Czech-Slovaks, aided by Japanese and English troops, suddenly seized the Soviet and its officials, throwing confusion and terror into the ranks of the workers, the gruzhchiki (longshoremen) rushed into the Red Staff building, and, though outnumbered 40 to 1, refused to surrender until the building was fired by an incendiary bomb.

Today their people were burying the defenders of the fallen Soviet. Out of the workmen's quarters they streamed, jamming the street, not from curb to curb, but from wall to wall. They came billowing over the hilltop by thousands, until the whole long slope was choked with the dense slow-moving throng, keeping time to the funeral march of the revolutionists.

Up through the gray and black mass of men and women ran two lines of white-bloused sailors of the Bolshevik fleet. Above their heads tossed a cloud of crimson standards with silver cords and tassels. In the vanguard four men carried a huge red banner with the words: "Long live the Soviet of Workmen and Peasants' Deputies! Hail to the International Brotherhood of the Toilers!"

A hundred girls in white, carrying the green wreaths from forty-four unions of the city, formed a guard of honor for the coffins of the gruzhchiki, which, with the red paint still wet upon them, were borne upon the shoulders of their comrades. The music crashed out by the Red Fleet band was lost in the volume of song that rose from the 17,000 singers.

Here was color, and sound, and motion—but there was a something else, a something which compelled fear and awe. I have seen a score of the great processions of Petrograd and Moscow, peace and victory and protest and memorial parades, military and civilian. They were all vast and impressive, because the Russians have a genius for this kind of thing.

But this was different. From these defenseless poor, stripped of their arms and with sorrowful songs bearing off their dead, there came a threat more menacing than that which frowned from the 12-inch guns of the Allied fleet riding in the harbor below. It was impossible not to feel it. It was so simple, so spontaneous, and so elemental. It came straight out of the hearts of the people. It was the people, leaderless, isolated, beaten to earth, thrown upon its own resources, and yet out of its grief rising magnificently to take command of itself.

The dissolution of the Soviet, instead of plunging the people into inactive grief and dissipating their forces, begot a strong, unifying spirit. Seventeen thousand sepa-

rate souls were welded into one. Seventeen thousand people singing in unison found themselves thinking in unison. With a common mass will and mass consciousness they formulated their decisions from their class standpoint—the determined standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Czech-Slovaks came, offering a guard of honor. "No nozhna!" (It is not necessary!) they replied. "You killed our comrades. Forty to one you fought against them. They died for the Soviet, and we are proud of them. We thank you, but we cannot let the guns which shot them down guard them in their death!"

"But there may be danger for you in this city," said the authorities. "Never," they answered. "We, too, are afraid of death. And what better way to die than beside the bodies of our comrades!"

Some bourgeois societies came, presenting memorial wreaths. (The Cadets officially denied that these wreaths came from them.) "No nozhna" (it is not necessary), the people answered. "Our comrades died in a struggle against the bourgeoisie. They died fighting clean. We must keep their memory clean. We thank you, but we dare not lay your wreaths upon their coffins."

The procession poured down the Aleutskaya hill, filled the large, open space at the bottom, and faced up toward the English consulate. Near by was a work car with a tower for repairing electric wires. Whether it was there by design or accident, I do not know. Presently it was to serve as a speaker's rostrum. But there seemed to be no speaker and no program. There was only a crowd and stillness.

The band played a solemn dirge. The men bared their heads. The women bowed. The music ceased, and there was a silence. The band played a second time. Again there was the bowing and baring of heads, and again the long silence. And yet there was no speaker. It was like a huge Quaker meeting in the open air. And, just as a sermon had no place in Russian public worship, so here a speech was not essential to this act of public devotion. But, should some one from the people feel the impulse to speak, there was the platform awaiting him. It was as if in the pause the people were generating a voice.

At last out of the crowd one came and climbed upon the high platform. He had not the gift of oratory, but his frequent iteration, "They died for us," "They died for us," touched others to utterance.

Most eloquent of all was a lad of 17, the secretary of a league of young Socialists.

"We were students and artists and such kind of people. We held ourselves aloof from the Soviet," he said. "It seemed to us foolish for workmen to govern without the wisdom of the wise. But now we know that you were right and we were wrong. From now on we shall stand with you. What you do, we will do. We pledge our tongues and pens to make known the wrongs that you have suffered the length and breadth of Russia and throughout the world."

Suddenly the word went through the throng that Constantin Soochanov had been paroled until 5 o'clock and that he was coming with consels of peace and moderation.

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Whose Who in the German Revolution.

By Adolf Dreifuss.

From "Young Socialists' Magazine." The uprising of the German people, under the banners of the Socialists, has thrown a large number of new names and personalities upon the screen of popular interest. And, as in Russia, it has elevated hitherto ignored questions of party tactics and policy into that realm of importance which usurps the front page of great capitalistic newspapers.

We find distinctions made between different kinds of Socialists, we hear discussions of the "Right" versus the "Left," and the "tendencies" of "The Center," "Spartacus Group," "Zimmerwaldist," "Proletariat Dictatorship," "Social Revolutionary," and many other words have been added to the vocabulary, not only of the well-read, thoughtful Socialist, but even of the average man on the street. Socialist offices have been overwhelmed with requests for biographies and photographs of European Socialist leaders. It may soon be necessary for the International to publish a "Red Book" of "Who's Who in Socialism," to rival the "Blue Books" of the 400, or "Burke's Peerage."

We cannot in these few pages, go into an exhaustive treatment of this subject, nor is the material for that hand. Many of the names prominently mentioned are new names to most Americans, or even Socialists of German birth, and many of these names may disappear from the scene as suddenly as they came up. More important than any of the persons involved, are the tendencies and tactics that they represent, for no matter how personalities may change, these tendencies that today concern principally the Socialist movement, will develop into the greater politics of tomorrow.

Socialist Tactical Divisions.

In every Socialist Party, as in every government, though in both cases it may at times be more or less veiled, there are found three



LUXEMBURG

camp, three trends of opinion, "The Right," "The Left" and "The Center." These draw their designation from the custom, in European parliaments, of the extreme conservatives to sit on the right hand side of the chamber, and the extreme radicals to sit on the left, while in between them is a gradation of opinion from one to the other. Naturally, the "Center" is supposed to represent the middle of the road policy, and most administrations try to keep the confidence of as large a center block as they can, for on this confidence depends their tenure of office.

In the German Social-Democracy the present extreme Right is made up of the so-called patriotic party leaders like Scheidemann, Ebert, David, Heine, Cunow and many others.

The Center is made up of so-called "Independents" who did not support the Kaiser's war making to anything like the same extent, but neither did they go to the extreme anti-nationalistic activity indulged in by the "Left." Representatives of this "Center" group of Independents are Haase, Kautsky, Bernstein, Ledebour, Geyer.

The extreme "Left" is made up of the German "Bolsheviks," internationalists who opposed the beginning of the war, and who fought for its ending in and out of jail, from beginning to end. Now that the war is over and political democracy about to be established, they demand that industrial autocracy be likewise swept away and a Socialist Commonwealth immediately inaugurated. This movement is headed by Karl Liebknecht and Franz Mehring and other well known names are those of Rosa Luxemburg and Clara Zetkin.

The Left "Spartacus Group." These make up the well-known "Spartacus" group, taking their name, no doubt, from that of the Roman gladiator slave who led his fellow slaves out of the arena with swords in their hands and inspired them to die for their own freedom instead of for the amusement of their



NIKOLAI LENINE.

masters. The story of Spartacus has something of an unpleasant sequel, however, for after defeating three Roman armies, discord began to prevail among his force, and the next army overwhelmed them. Spartacus died in battle, but his captured followers, 5,000 of them, had to make their own crosses on which they were crucified and allowed to hang until they died of hunger and thirst, their bodies devoured by vultures and ravens, and finally their bleached, unburied bones blended into the dust. Thus the ancient masters of Rome taught their slaves a lesson, but no doubt they have taught a lesson to the modern revolutionists who fight under the rebel slave's banner—taught them to avoid his mistakes and weaknesses.

The head of this group is Karl Liebknecht, world renowned son of an illustrious father, who alone voted against the declaration of war in 1914, and who went to prison for his anti-war activities a year later. He was born in Leipzig, August 13, 1871, is a lawyer by profession, and was a member of parliament, legislature and city council at the same time. A prominent Frenchman called him "the bravest man in Europe" and even American officialdom was favorably impressed by him, though of late the tone has been decidedly changed. And on the other hand the same Scheidemann who was denounced by every conservative as a Kaiser boaster in now being looked to for the establishment of a "stable government," Liebknecht, the anti-Kaiser revolutionist, and Liebknecht, the anti-capitalist revolutionist, are looked upon with very different eyes.

While Liebknecht is the standard bearer of this group, Franz Mehring is its intellectual leader. He is over twenty years the senior of Liebknecht, and has a long record of useful party work. He is the historian of the German Social Democracy and an intellectual and spiritual giant. Many years ago, Mehring was one of Socialism's bitterest and ablest foes. This was when the anti-socialist persecution was at its height and scores of "intellectuals" left the party because they could not stand the test. As editor of the Berliner Volkszeitung, the leading liberal paper of the land, he gave important aid to the party movement, and later rejoined its ranks, where he has remained ever since. When Liebknecht went to jail, Mehring was elected to his seat in the Prussian legislature.

Rosa Luxemburg is a Polish woman who left her own native land with a price upon her head, and avoided deportation from Germany into the hands of her enemies only by means of a formal marriage to attain German citizenship. She is a brilliant pamphleteer, tactician and speaker for the Left, and has spent much of her time recently in jail. Her intended trip to America, shortly before the outbreak of the war, was prevented by a jail sentence for "lese-majeste"—insulting the Kaiser.

Very much of the same type is Clara Zetkin, an elderly German woman, active in party circles all her life, who for years was editor of the party's women's paper, Die Gleichheit, but was discharged shortly after the beginning of the war for her radicalism.

William Dittman, The Left Center, seems to be the connecting link between the Left and the Center, since he consented to become Minister of Demobilization, Transport, Justice and Health in the Ebert government. He was born November 13, 1874, in Liebeck, is a cabinet maker by trade, and has been editor of several Socialist papers in

Brerhaven and Solingen, later being elected Party Secretary in Frankfurt am Main, where he was also elected Alderman. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on charges of fomenting the naval mutiny in Kiel in 1917, but was freed at the outbreak of the revolution. He is reported to have had charge of organizing the Soviet at Bremen.

Hugo Haase is one of the most noteworthy of the Center group of Independents; he also leans toward the Left. He is named as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ebert government. Was born June 29, 1863, at Allenstein, is an attorney by profession, and a member of parliament who frequently throws that body into uproar with his radical speeches.

George Ledebour is another of the Center Independents with leanings toward the Left. He is a journalist by profession, one of the most intellectual and radical men in the Reichstag, a deep student of foreign affairs, and has lived for some time in England. He was editor of "Vorwaerts" 1895-96; of the "Saechs" as the personification of the Center, from which time he has been a member of the Reichstag.

The Center Proper.

Karl Kautsky may be looked upon as the personification of the Center. For many years he was editor of Die Neue Zeit (The New Era), a radical, scientific weekly conducted strictly on Marxist lines, but at the outbreak of the war his radicalism cost him his job, his place was taken by Heinrich Cunow, now prominent as a member of the Right. Kautsky was not a member of parliament, but was always consulted in the Party caucuses. In the unfortunate historic gathering that formulated the Party's policy toward the war in 1914 he tried desperately to bridge the gap between the Right and the Left, with the result that he was misunderstood and mistrusted by both sides.

Edward Bernstein is next in the line of the "Independents," over 60 years old, and one of the literary exponents of Marx. He was exiled from Germany and at first went to Switzerland, where he served as editor of "Der Sozial-Demokrat," a paper secretly published and smuggled into Germany during the exclusion laws. This paper was supplied in packages of "shoes, clothing, machinery" and many other ingenious ways in order to escape detection by the censors and customs officials. He later went to England, where, through contact with reactionary labor men, he became quite conservative himself, being the head of the revisionist, opportunistic, politician faction of the party in Germany. His debates against Bebel in the Party conventions are masterpieces of tactical discussion, although Bernstein was uniformly defeated in them. In the face of this, however, his thorough understanding of scientific Socialism kept him from going over to the reactionary Right as did so many of his followers, and his position among the Independents is due probably to a different process of reasoning than that of his colleagues of the Center.

The Right—Majority Faction.

Coming now to the avowed Right, we have as its leader and standard-bearer, in a position very similar to that of Liebknecht for the Left, Philipp Scheidemann. He is a tall, thin, blonde type, a printer by trade, born July 26, 1865, is Vice President of the Reichstag, and since 1911 Secretary of the Party Executive Committee. In 1895 we find him a Socialist editor in Glessen, in 1900 in a similar post in Nuernberg, and later in Offenbach and Kassel. Scheidemann may well be called a self-made man, and his strength is a mystery to most of his opponents. He is a poor public speaker, though skillful in parliamentary debates, and lacks the knack of making himself popular with the masses. Solingen, the very district he represents in the Reichstag, is violently opposed to him, has frequently called upon him to resign, so that some more radical Socialist could be elected in his place. His American lecture tour, several years back, did not win him many friends either, because of the lack of warmth and humanity in both his speeches and personal dealings. He was the first German Socialist ever to enter a bourgeois cabinet, serving as Secretary of State without portfolio under Prince Max, and held the Ministry of Finance and the Colonies in the Ebert cabinet.

Friedrich Ebert, President and Minister of the Interior and of Military Affairs, is also of the Right. He is a harness maker by trade, and was born February 4, 1871, at Heidelberg. His last position of power is probably the result of his holding chairmanship of the Reichstag Main Committee, and chairmanship of the Party in Berlin, which he attained on the death of August Bebel. In 1892 he was editor of the "Bremer Burger-Zeitung," and Party Secre-

WIRES REGRETS AND SUGGEST ACTION

It is impossible to attend Mooney convention on account of being in midst of Marine Workers' cases before National War Labor Board. Please present my deep regret to convention.

May I be permitted to suggest that in view of the fact that it was plainly manifest for something more than two years prior to the last date set for the hanging of Tom Mooney that he had been convicted upon perjured evidence, and in view of the fact that the courts have held that there was no law in the State of California to prevent the execution of an innocent man, under such circumstances, I think a part of a constructive program would be to create a legislative committee to have the laws of California changed so that such an outrage on Justice and Humanity will be made impossible.

This is due not only to the people of California, but to the countless thousands from other states and countries who resort to it annually for health and vacation purposes. With the laws of California in the condition disclosed by the Mooney case the lives of these people are menaced.

Another constructive suggestion might be to call upon the President of the United States to appoint a special attorney general with power to call a federal grand jury to find out the individual or individuals who committed the abominable outrage on Preparedness Day in San Francisco for which Mooney was falsely convicted.

In view of the fact that at the trial of the German conspirators the evidence showed that one of the dynamiters was introduced to the representatives of the Imperial German government by the prosecutor of Mooney and that this dynamiter employed others to commit dynamite outrages on the Pacific coast and elsewhere, it would seem logical for the government to proceed along this line of inquiry with all possible vigor and promptness.

Hoping that the result of your convention will be the liberation of Mooney and Billings, such changes in the criminal laws of our country as will furnish complete protection to innocent and falsely accused, and the apprehension and proper punishment of the miscreants who committed the preparedness outrage, I am, faithfully yours,

Frank P. Walsh.

THE OLD ORDER SWITCHETH

By Thomas Thursday.

It begins to look as if the royal business is skidding on a flat tire caused by running over a mound of Bolshevik glass.

The halcyon days, when treaties were signed and sealed by a gang of royal roughnecks and pancake-headed swizzlers, are nearly exterminated. It's getting just as hard for a royal tramp to glue himself to his throne as it is to balance an eel on your nose. It sure is, kiddo. The sparrows who invest in royal securities now are going to miss more than one dividend. 'Twas different in the old days. For a thousand years or more a bunch of pretzelized royal rummies could start and end wars at their will. No trouble at all. Yep; in those times it was just as easy to start a war in motion as it now is to straphang in the subway. For instance, if the subjects of King Half-off, of Broko-Bento, began to howl, the royal fish would inform them

tary in Bremen 1900-1905. He was Secretary of the Party Executive 1905-1911.

Otto Landsberg, Minister of Propaganda, Art and Literature, was born in Rybnik, December 4, 1869. He was an Alderman in Magdeburg 1904-1910, and since then had been in parliament. He is one of the extreme reactionaries, and is a lawyer by profession.

Karl Legien is not mentioned as a member of the new cabinet, to some surprise here, since he was always an old-time Party man, with a great influence on the labor unions, whose support would be valuable to

that their poverty was due to the actions of King Semioff, of Bunko-Blinko.

"Why pick on me, your true and noble sovereign? Have you forgotten that the Lord has sprinkled my bean with the heavenly flock-nurser?" glozzled the gent, casting his glimmers towards the clouds. Then he would instruct Baron de Halfshot, Minister of War, to deliver an impassioned address from the royal balcony, telling them that their plight was due to the autocratic actions of King Semioff, and implore them to take a shot at Bunko-Blinko.

Now, in the mean time, King Semioff was having a certain amount of trouble with his own subjects. It seems that the ungrateful citizens were dissatisfied with feasting on one soda cracker a day. Besides the food proposition they felt that they were also entitled to more than one suit of shoes every five years. Consequently, they began to howl to King Semioff to better their conditions.

"For the love of Mike," glizzled his highness, "can't you tramps see that it's all the fault of King Half-off? Why pick on me? I'm only getting 18 meals a day myself. My! How ungrateful!" His next move would be to get Count Swunko, of Fizzle-Fizzle, the Minister of War, to slip the subjects an awful of crimes committed against them by Broko-Bento. The next thing on the calendar was a neat little war between Broko-Bento and Bunko-Blinko. Said war would generally last until either King became a victim of ennui and needed some other fad to bolster up his fast waning interest in life. Suddenly, one of the kingdoms would call it a day and quit cold. The victorious army would return home (what was left of 'em, which wasn't very much), and then climb 10 flights of stairs to the employment agencies of the day.

In the mean time the rival Kings would sober up long enough to frame up a little peace treaty. The peace treaties of those days were jovial affairs, because both sides were happy in the thought that they had settled the labor question for a few years at least.

Of course, the common cooties didn't have a chance of getting mixed up in the peace conferences in those days. Certainly not. And so the royal gents would play pinochle for a while, sample the best brew of the day, and then adjourn. Nothing to it.

But the old order switcheth, kiddo. When a peace treaty comes before the bar nowadays, the subjects desire to see the show from the orchestra. Yep; no peace conference is complete these days without friend Bolshevik sticking his beak through the keyhole.

The old style peace farce has run out of gas.

The following manifesto was issued by Irish Labor stating its reasons for not entering the fight.

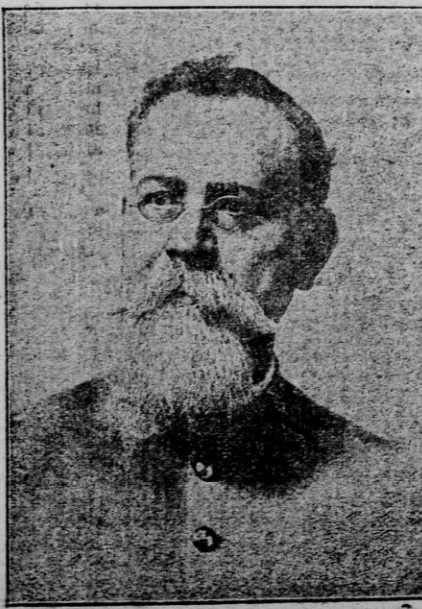
LABOUR CLEARS THE DECKS.

The Irish Labour Congress calls for unity on the issue of self-determination and withdraws its candidates as a practical step towards unity. Are the Politicians willing for like sacrifices? Watch them!

The following is the National Executive's statement on the election policy of the Irish Labour Party as adopted by 96 votes to 23 off, at the Special Congress on November 1.

the new regime. He was a wood turner by trade, has always been active in the labor movement, and head of the International Labor Secretariat. Since 1891 he has been chairman of the General Commission of Trade Unions. He is the author of several organization pamphlets extensively used by the unions.

This description of some of the principal personalities involved, together with the tendencies they have heretofore represented should help our reader get a little more light on the happenings on the other side of the water.



FRANK MEHRING

Six weeks ago, when the National Executive decided that it was for the best interest of Ireland and Labour that a number of constituencies should be fought by Labour Candidates at the forthcoming General Election, there was little sign of an early peace. The prospect before us was that the election then expected would be a "war election," to be followed at the end of the war by a dissolution and a second election.

The unexpected call for an armistice on the part of the Central Powers has brought us face to face with the crisis which was not expected to develop until the "peace election" was at hand.

We had hoped to use the period between the two elections for an active educational propaganda directed towards ensuring that the building of the new Ireland shall be in the hands of men and women who view the problems of political and social development from the standpoint of the working-class, to determine, as far as our means and abilities allowed, that the Irish Republic—if such were to be the form of government determined upon by a people guaranteed the right to choose its own sovereignty—should be a Workers' Republic, not an imitation of those republics of Europe and America, where political democracy is but a cloak for capitalist oligarchy.

But circumstances have decided that the election now upon us is to be the "peace election," not the "war election." The Grand Inquest about to be opened has for a jury the nations of the world. The verdict will be given according to the weight of evidence adduced, and that will depend upon the degree of unanimity marked at the polls on the demand for self-determination.

A call comes from all parts of Ireland for a demonstration of unity on this question, such as was witnessed on the Conscription issue. Your Executive believes that the workers of Ireland join earnestly in this desire, that they would willingly sacrifice for a brief period their aspirations towards political power if thereby the fortunes of the nation can be enhanced.

In the light of these new circumstances the National Executive has reviewed the position, and has decided to recommend the withdrawal from this election of all Labour candidates. They do so in the hope that the democratic demand for self-determination to which the Irish Labour Party and its candidates give its unqualified adherence will thereby obtain the greatest chance of expression at the polls. We shall show by this action that while each of the other political parties is prepared to divide the people in their effort to obtain power, the Labour Party is the only party which is prepared to sacrifice party in the interest of the nation in this important crisis of the history of Ireland. We shall also thereby demonstrate to the peoples of all nations as emphatically as peaceful means allow that at this hour, when other small nations of Europe are asserting their freedom, Ireland, too, demands all the rights of a free nation.

By COVINGTON AMI.

Dispatches in the daily papers of even date (1-6-9) state, first, that the California legislature's most important business at its coming session will be to pass bills prohibiting the sale of liquors and to make it unlawful for anyone to belong to the I. W. W.; second, that at a Socialist meeting in Chicago there were present 300 United States officers and plain-clothes men, evidently, judging by the way the dispatch read, to stop the cheering for the Bolsheviks.

Now the experience of Diazism in Mexico, the Mings in China, the Romanoffs in Russia and the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs in Germany would seem to indicate that evolution cannot be outlawed; and one would think that the super "brains" now running this nation, being on their own confession, the finest the race ever produced, would scheme up some other scheme of killing ideas than paper statutes, jails and gallows, for all these means were long ago tried and long ago found of no avail.

But, ruling classes work in a mysterious way their blunders to perform, and it is not for me to

question the omnipotent power and omniscience of our plutocrats and politicians, except that I will remark that, the Democratic party was born in a fight on "alien and sedition laws" and that, unless all signs fail, it will perish in a fight on "alien and sedition laws," just as the Republican party was born in a fight on slavery and seems destined to perish in a fight on slavery. How quick men and organizations forget their own history!

However that may be, the I. W. W. and the Socialists are to be "out-lawed"; the plutopolities, like King Canute of old, are to say to the ocean tides: "Roll back!" and, of course, the tides, now as then, will obey without a murmur.

Evolution is to stop evolving, and just because the California lawyer-lure orders it so to do. What wonderful men lawyers are, anyhow!

Not only must evolution stop evolving, however, but the human brain must stop thinking if these acts are to stand, for else this nation will no longer know the blessings of "lawanorder." And where would we be without "lawanorder"? Just look at Russia! She overthrew "lawanorder" and now she's thinking so fast she's quit dying!

But that is not all. If the I. W. W. is to be outlawed and Socialism, what becomes of the jihad to "Make the world safe for democracy"? For in the outlawing of Socialism and Industrialism, the labor movement is condemned to stop growing; for if it be a crime to join the I. W. W. it will be equally a crime to advocate one big union, equally a crime to criticize Capitalism, equally a crime to sass Gomerism, equally a crime for even the present unions to act in concert for a common aim. In cold language, it will be a crime for the workers to either speak or act or organize in any way except such as the Caste Oligarchy permits, and that will be "some" heluva "democracy."

Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Patrick Henry, Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln must be turning over in their tombs! Don't turn, O great and splendid dead!—you might come back to life and get twenty years for thinking! Sleep on! Sleep on! as your sons sleep on today.

But—Diaz is gone, the Romanoffs are gone, the Mings are gone, the Hohenzollerns are gone, the Hapsburgs are gone and the royal houses of Rockefeller, Krupp, Rothschilds, Cunard, Weyerhaeuser, Beit and Morgan are—Gone, Gone, Gone! Hall Liberty! Earth's chosen ones! Are thy imprisoned, outlawed sons!

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MODERN REPAIRING DEPARTMENT.

THE RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION

The following translation of the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic is made from an official printed text embodying the latest revisions, and required by law to be posted in all public places in Russia.

Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Resolution of the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, adopted on July 10, 1918.

The declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people (approved by the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918), together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, approved by the Fifth Congress, constitutes a single fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

This fundamental law becomes effective upon the publication of the same in its entirety in the "Izvestia of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee." It must be published by all organs of the Soviet Government and must be posted in a prominent place in every Soviet institution.

The Fifth Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce in all schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this Constitution.

ARTICLE I. Declaration of Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People.

Chapter One.

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national Republics.

Chapter Two.

3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental principle the abolition of the exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

a. For the purpose of realizing the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among husbandmen without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

b. All forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all implements whether animal or inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises, are declared to be national property.

c. As a first step towards complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic, all factories, mills, mines, railways and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the control by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to assure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

d. With reference to international banking and finance, the Third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the government of the czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

e. The transfer of all banks into the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, as one of the

conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

f. Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.

g. For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the property of the class be disarmed.

Chapter Three.

4. Expressing its absolute resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in this present most criminal of all wars, the Third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of breaking secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of the peoples.

5. It is also to this end that the Third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to enslave hundreds of millions of the toiling population of Asia, of the colonies and of small countries generally.

6. The Third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

Chapter Four.

7. The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters cannot hold a position in any branch of the Soviet government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its efforts to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working class of all the peoples of Russia, the Third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide the following question at their plenary sessions of their Soviets: whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the federal government and other federal Soviet institutions.

ARTICLE II.

General Provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chapter Five.

9. The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period, the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of man by man and of introducing socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, belongs to all the work-

ing people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of those regions which differentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic upon the basis of a federation.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the toilers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing the freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and guarantees their free circulation throughout the country.

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants, offers assistance, material and other, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize.

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers and the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defense of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. "The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in toil and who belong to the toiling class. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formalities.

21. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers shelter to all foreigners who seek refuge from political or religious persecution.

22. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing

equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national conditions, proclaims as its principle on this ground, as nations respectively.

ARTICLE IV. The Right to Vote.

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets is enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

a. All who have acquired the means of living through labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in house-keeping, which enables the former to do productive work, i. e., laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc.; and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

b. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

c. Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note. 1: Local Soviets may, upon approval of the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2: Noncitizens mentioned in Paragraph 20 (Article 2, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even though they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

a. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

b. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

c. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

d. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Okhrana (Czar's secret police), also members of the former reigning dynasty.

f. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

g. Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offenses, for the period fixed by the sentence.

ARTICLE VI. The Coat of Arms and Flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chapter Seven.

89. The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red background on which a golden scythe and a hammer are placed (crosswise, handles rounded by a wreath, inscribed: Russian Socialist Federated Soviet

Republic—Workers of the World, Unite!

90. The commercial, naval and arm flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red cloth, in the left corner of which (on top, near the pole) there are in golden characters the letters R. S. F. S. R., or the inscription: Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets and of the All-Russian Executive Committee—J. Sverdloff.

Executive Officers—All-Russian Central Executive Committee: T. I. Teodorowitch, F. A. Rosin, A. P. Rosenholz, A. C. Mitrofanoff, K. G. Maimoff.

Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—V. A. Avanessoff.



JAMES MAURER, Vice Chairman Mooney Convention.

She was asked to take the stage, but stood on a chair instead. In a fiery speech she protested against waiting until July 1 before declaring a strike. We have arrived at the most momentous time in the history of the labor movement," she declared. "We approach it with a great responsibility. The President has said that the Mooney case was an international matter. It has become an issue around which everything seems to revolve. May 1 seems to me to be the psychological time when the strike can be pulled, and pulled with effect. Delay spells death to the working class. Demobilization is taking place. Serve the date of July 4 upon your masters and they will have months and months to intrench and prepare themselves. (Applause.) This is the only civilized country in which the jail doors are still swinging inward and the courts are still exercising their powers over the men and women who toil. Mooney is but one case. Already he is using the soldiers in Seattle upon the heads of the working class. Already the workers of Seattle have decided on a strike next Tuesday on a matter of wages. How do you know that the strike will not spread from the Pacific to the Atlantic? Some soldiers are bogging in the streets. I am strongly opposed to sending a commission to Washington to crawl on their hands and knees."

Another picturesque figure who addressed the convention on the subject of the proposed strike was a colored delegate, R. T. Sims, of the Municipal Janitors' Union, Chicago. He spoke with astonishing eloquence, using pure English and well rounded periods. "The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution," he said, "has had so many holes kicked through it that it looked like a sieve. 'Any man who has no knowledge of the Mooney case,' he continued, 'has no right to carry a union card. We don't want publicity. We want action. You will find the negroes lined up solidly behind you. Don't think that the capitalist class is not awake. You will find thousands that never carried a union card lining up with you. Danger is in compromise, and sending a commission to Washington is just a waste of money. A worker who thinks he can put up his dime against the millions in the coffers of the capitalists has something to learn. I am in favor of calling the strike May 1.'

At the conclusion of his speech the colored delegate was greeted with cheers. "Don't ask for redress," said J. W. Hunter, of the Central Trades Union of Clovis, N. M. "Demand it. Some of the workers have got so accustomed to crawling to the capitalist class that they can't get away from it."

Delegate Morton drafted the resolution committee's report that all means toward federal intervention be exhausted before calling a strike. Finally the report was put to the convention and drafted in toto. To Attend A. F. of L. Convention.

Other provisions of the report are that the five delegates are to visit the A. F. of L. convention and explain the position of labor on the Mooney case, and that a vote is to be taken on the question of a strike, to be tabulated July 1.

A number of other important resolutions were to be considered, one of which proposed immediate action by the Metal Trades Council, Seattle, to raise funds for the relief of soldiers and sailors thrown upon the labor market with empty pockets, and the organization of soldiers, sailors and workmen's councils.

President Wilson has acted in the Mooney case," Johansen went on, "and he did more than a great many of our friends as well as a great many of our enemies anticipated. The President may not have made his last appeal. Secretary of Labor Wilson may not have played his last card. We are informed that a bill is now before the California Legislature which would rectify the wrong done to Mooney and prevent a repetition, if it goes through. Those who are opposing that bill are the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Fickert and his gang, and all the rotten politicians in our own ranks. Labor leaders have never had a single public statement in favor of the defense or against the prosecution. We don't want a general strike just for fun."

Delegate Perry, representing the shipyard laborers of Oakland, Cal., contended that Mooney was in bad health and should be released at the earliest possible moment. He was in favor of making May 1 the date for a strike.

W. J. Patterson, of Oakland, Cal., said that Mooney's physical condition was as good as ever; it was and urged delegates not to be carried away by orators who meant well but misunderstood the situation.

Womán Hits at D. Lay. Kate Greenbald, of Seattle, a Socialist, and one of the most eloquent speakers sent to the convention from the Pacific coast, then asked for the floor. There were cries of "Give the lady a hearing."

as it were, laughing aloud in the public square of Hackensack while reading the dispatch. He was sentenced to 20 years under the sedition law. It was not long, however, before the more responsible citizens realized that the Bolsheviks had let loose a force that menaced the very foundation of all law and order.

The Apple Growers' Association of Central New York was among the first to come forward with a resolution in which it claimed a sort of vested interest in gravitation owing to the well-known fact that it was an apple falling upon the head of some defective person which had established the law. The apple growers expressed a willingness for others to use gravitation, but solemnly objected to any misuse of it. The core of the apple resolution was contained in the statement "that, owing to the impending rise in apples, our prices will advance \$3 per barrel."

The Rotary Club of Bovina, a dairymaking center, promptly followed suit with a series of resolutions printed in the Weekly Bull of that town. These outbursts of cows had been informed by a Russian refugee of noble family that upon a certain occasion, date unmentioned, a cow had jumped over the moon. This utter defiance of gravitation was accompanied by the strange aberration of a cat playing a fiddle and a little dog which laughed. The noble Russian sadly declared that Bolshevism had taken the romance out of the cow industry in that country. The picturesque detail of bringing the cows home through sweet-smelling fields was now replaced by a struggle involving up with airplanes, and the location of the lost life, was a matter of telescopes, searchlights and trigonometry. The dairymen were so impressed by these cries that they immediately raised the price of milk 3 cents per quart.

Details of the horror of this edict of the Bolsheviks began to seep through from Russia. A returned traveler, Baron Munchausen, related that one evening, after partaking of three or four quarts of champagne, he found himself becoming light-headed, and finally hit the ceiling. He remained in that position for an indefinite period of time. He believes the only thing saved him from going through the ceiling was a heavy iron pipe given to him by the late czar. While in this uncomfortable position, the persecuted baron evilly asked a Red Guard what he should do, and was rudely told to go to bed.

The baron relates a pathetic and rather involved story of the chess player, Bledov, who refused to wash Lenin's socks, whereupon a Red Guard threw a bomb at her. The bomb remained suspended in air. The next day this same Red Guard happened to pass underneath the suspended bomb, and at this exact moment Lenin temporarily raised the edict in order to go across the street for lunch. The bomb fell upon the head of the Red Guard, and thus was the brave duchess avenged.

Lenine and Trotzky, according to the baron, claim that the edict has removed the last restriction to the uplift of the working class. The hypocrisy of this statement, says the baron, is shown by the fact that it is the nobility and capitalists who are up in the air. A most heart-breaking spectacle, that will always remain in the baron's memory, was that of a landlord suspended several hundred feet above his domain, vainly trying to collect his rightful rents and taxes.

It was curious, however, how quickly the agitation caused by this startling news subsided. No doubt, this is due to the brave stand taken by ex-President Taft, who, in a statement to the press, gave comfort to a somewhat shaken people. He said: "Let the Bolsheviks do their worst. I defy any suspension of gravitation."

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BRITISH WORKERS SPEAK TO WILSON

John McLean, member of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, was sentenced to five years penal servitude for his activities in the great munitions strike last year. He served nine months of his sentence and was then released owing to the demand of the Scottish and English workers. McLean was appointed some time ago by the Soviet government to be its ambassador in Great Britain.

Upon his release he addressed the following letter to President Wilson:

Woodrow Wilson,
President, U. S. A.
Sir: You are here in Europe to negotiate a "Democratic Peace" as a Democrat. If so, I wish you to prove your sincerity by releasing Tom Mooney, Billings, Debs, Haywood and all others at present in prison as a consequence of their fight for Working Class Democracy since the United States participated in the war.

The Working Class Democracy of Britain forced the cabinet to release me from Peterhead prison, where I was undergoing five years' sentence under D. O. R. A. (Defense of the Realm Act).

I therefore write as an ease to my conscience and a repayment to the World's Working Class Democracy to release my above-mentioned friends and comrades.

The Clyde Workers will send me as one of their delegates to the coming peace conference, and there, inside or outside the conference hall, I shall challenge your U. S. A. delegates if my friends are not released.

After that I shall tour America until you do justice to the real American champions of Democracy.

Yours in deadly earnest,
John McLean,
42 Auldhouse Road,
Newlands, Glasgow, Scotland.

The following letter was sent to Miss Eleanor Fitzgerald, secretary of the New York Council of the International Workers' Defense League:

Dear Madam:
I am directed by the Glasgow Trades and Labor Council to inform you that the undernoted resolution was unanimously passed by the Council on Wednesday, December 11:

"The Glasgow Trades and Labor Council joins in protesting against the continued imprisonment of T. J. Mooney and others, and demands new trials or immediate release. One hundred thousand trades unionists in this city protest against the unscrupulous methods of tramping up evidence, and ask you to convey to America's President our demand for justice."

I was accordingly instructed to cable to you the foregoing resolution, which I hope you have received, and I shall be pleased to have an acknowledgment of the resolution from you.

I have to inform you, also, that a large demonstration in the interests of labor was held in the St. Andrew's Halls and the overflow meetings outside. These meetings represented rather more than ten thousand workers, and the resolution referred to, and which was unanimously carried, was moved by Mr. Robert Smilie, president of the British Miners' Federation, as follows:

"Resolved that this meeting in the St. Andrew's Halls, numbering, with the overflow meeting, ten thousand workers, protest against the life sentence on Tom Mooney, and desire to associate ourselves with the American Federation of Labor in respect to a compromise of penal servitude, and further declare that Tom Mooney is either guilty, or he is innocent, and it therefore resolved that the workers of Scotland demand the release of Tom Mooney, or we shall judge the American democracies by the final outcome of the fate of Tom Mooney."

You may take it that the labor movement in Britain is with the labor movement in America in their demand that Mooney and his fellow trade unionists must not be allowed to rot in prison, and will continue to agitate and demonstrate until they are released.

Yours truly,
William Thaw.



GENERAL STRIKE TO FREE MOONEY SET FOR JULY 4

After ordering a general strike for the Fourth of July, unless Tom Mooney is freed before that date, the Mooney convention adjourned sine die shortly before 6 o'clock tonight, after the radical element had been steam-rolled without warning. Socialist delegates, who were indignant because of the refusal of the controlling faction to permit them to thresh out many other resolutions, went from the convention hall directly into indignation meetings in various parts of the city. The outcome of these meetings was in doubt at a late hour tonight.

The decision for a general strike, which was recommended by the Committee on Resolutions, was made this afternoon. Just before the final adjournment Chairman Ed Nolan named as a committee to intercede with Congress for legal release the following: John Fitzgerald, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor; Alexander Howatt of Pittsburgh; Kan. president of the Kansas district of the United Mine Workers of America; Martin J. Flyzik, president of the Washington district of the same organization; J. F. Anderson of Washington, L. C. vice president of the International Association of Machinists, and Andrew Furuseth, president of the International Seamen's Union.

The convention insisted that Chairman Nolan be made the sixth member of the committee, which was done.

Before adjourning the convention unanimously adopted a resolution providing for a million dollar fund to finance the general strike. An adequate publicity campaign was also

arranged for, and the report of the organization committee, which was put through as the last bit of business, provided for thorough organization of the general strike through the American Federation of Labor locals and by other means.

Proceedings Rushed.

It was quite evident as the hour of 5 o'clock approached that an effort was being made to rush the proceedings. Chairman Nolan very often neglected to recognize the radical leaders, presenting instead the various committee chairmen. A motion to adjourn until tomorrow morning was repeated a dozen times or more from various sections of the hall, but it received no notice, except once. Then the chairman looked in the direction of his adherents and shouted, "Do the delegates wish to adjourn?"

"No," was the response. "There is your answer," Chairman Nolan smiled at the radicals and proceeded to recognize another committee chairman, without giving them a chance to be heard.

As soon as the organization report was out of the way the Resolutions Committee presented a supplemental report, which was to the effect that all Mooney and international resolutions having been acted upon, they would recommend the rejection of the other resolutions as foreign to the purpose of this convention. The motion was put and carried, whereupon Nolan declared the convention adjourned sine die, amid the utmost confusion.

All for Strike. There was no doubt in the minds of the delegates as to the necessity

of calling a strike, provided other attempts to free Mooney and his fellow defendants failed. The only points debated were the date and the advisability of sending five delegates to Washington to take the Mooney matter up with the labor representatives in Congress, as suggested by the resolutions committee. It was finally decided to send the delegates.

Williams Kobs, assistant secretary of the Boston Central Labor Union, spoke in support of July 4 as the most logical date for calling the strike. He was supported by Jim Landsbury, of the Seattle Boiler Makers' Union, who said that strikes had been muddled in the past, and they must be sure this time. "We have got to get organized labor out from the Pacific to the Atlantic coast," he said. "Seattle is going out Tuesday, anyhow."

W. F. Dunn, of Butte, Mont., leader of the extreme radical delegates, said he had no quarrel with the time fixed by the resolutions committee, but he objected to sending a commission to Washington. "I believe that every legal means has been exhausted," he added. "No further consideration will be given by the various channels through which legal decision is made. The A. F. of L. maintains a lobby in Washington. Let them take up the legal end of the proposition. But let the International Workers' Defense League devote all their energies to educating the people."

Need Time to Prepare.

"Many of them do not understand that one of their class cannot be in jail and the rest go free. Many delegates are in favor of a strike May 1. Personally, I was in favor of that date to start with. But 90 days is too short a time. In the West it could probably be done. But east of the Mississippi there are hundreds and thousands of men who do not know the name of Tom Mooney. Not a dime should be spent appealing to

the legislatures of this country who, after two and a half years, have failed to show any sense of justice."

Delegate Johansen, secretary of the resolutions committee, said he hoped there would be no squabble about the date. The principal thing was to set the machinery in motion, he said. Great care should be taken, he contended, so that reasonable time should be allowed and proper procedure taken.

President Wilson has acted in the Mooney case," Johansen went on, "and he did more than a great many of our friends as well as a great many of our enemies anticipated. The President may not have made his last appeal. Secretary of Labor Wilson may not have played his last card. We are informed that a bill is now before the California Legislature which would rectify the wrong done to Mooney and prevent a repetition, if it goes

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THE GERMAN SITUATION.

The situation in Germany is one that does not, on the surface, offer much hope to the workers of the world. Daily, since that memorable day in November, when the Kaiser of Germany received his marching orders, we have been regaled with press stories, manufactured in the intellectual brothels of the Metropolitan Press and published with no other object than to discredit the very people to whom these mental prostitutes were appealing, to engage in a revolution that would overthrow the autocrats of Germany.

The revolution took place and with a greater venom than that with which they pursued the Kaiser, the press of this country pursued Karl Liebknecht, the man they idolized before the signing of the armistice. Consequently the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg lies at the doors of the imperialists of the world and their blind tools, the capitalist press.

The campaign of foul and dirty abuse that has been carried on against the Bolsheviks and the Spartacus group of Germany, assiduously and unscrupulously, has succeeded only too well. The reactionaries of Germany had their hands strengthened by the Allied intervention in Russia. They clearly foresaw that if help was required to crush the Spartacus group, they could with much assurance depend upon the Allies, in the same way that the dirty, degenerate, soulless and slimy reactionaries of the Czarist regime depended upon the Allies and received the "necessary" support.

The truth about Russia has only been allowed to percolate through at long and varied intervals, and even then generally in twisted and distorted forms, from the pens of but a few writers who loved human liberty more than their job. Writers who refused to sell their souls, intellects and conscience for a few paltry dollars, to an international gang of cold-blooded pirates who are flocking together like vultures to feast upon the carcass of liberty.

The campaign of falsehood, calumny and intriguing has had its effect. The people of the Allied countries believing that the Bolsheviks, to be followed by the Spartacus group in Germany, had established a reign of demonic terror, acquiesced, or, at least, failed to effectively protest against armed intervention, which could not fail to be bitterly resented by the vast majority of the Russian people, and to arouse the most active hostility on their part. Through the barrage of lies comes sufficient information that indicates that the situation in Germany is a desperate one. To the horrors of Allied intriguing and intervention, there comes the added misery of hunger. King Hunger supplants the Kaiser and his victims will be more numerous than those of the Kaiser and their end more terrifying. Hunger compels attention, you cannot escape him, when once he places his sceptre in your land, as witness the following appeal sent to Ellen Key, the well-known Scandinavian feminist:

Another German Women's Appeal.

Stockholm's Dagblad (Cons.), Nov. 15, contains an appeal addressed to Ellen Key from the women of Germany, signed by Anselma Heine, Clara Viebig, Dr. Elizabeth Rotten (who has organized relief of British in Germany), and others:

"Dear Ellen Key—To you, who enjoy respect and confidence among all nations, we, who in Imperialist Germany steadfastly combated hatred and enmity . . . now . . . in liberated, Socialist Germany, address the following request: Speak from the fulness of your warm heart to all the women of Europe. Speak to the mothers, who, like ours, had to part from their sons, to the wives, who, like ours, lamented their husbands, to the sisters and betrothed . . . to the guardians of the rising generation, that they may oppose the inhuman demands of a party avid of power which desires the annihilation of our people, for the armistice terms bear the imprint of the will to destruction. . . .

Harmless citizens, defenseless women, and growing children are now to fall a prey to hunger and the chaotic invasion of an utterly exhausted army which is suddenly being driven back into its own country. . . . If anyone in the world believes in the possibility of a League of Nations . . . in which liberty and fraternity prevail, it is we women. Before anyone else, the women of Europe ought to rise up in revolt against the dissemination of fresh hatred instead of the first step being taken towards this shining goal, and refuse to allow the ideals of national freedom, self-determination, and fraternization, which were inscribed upon the banners of the whole world in the fight against our rulers to be distorted into a travesty now when it is essential for one nation to recognize another. Women of Europe! You are not powerless. Your hands can help in building up the kingdom of love on earth. Stretch out your hands towards us, so that together we may avert the overthrow of a nation by violence and lust of power, until it pulls itself together once more, again resorts to arms, and a new war frenzy possesses those who today, all unknowing, play at your feet and ripen towards the future under your heart. . . . Women of Europe. Help the women and children of Germany. Protect your own future in ours."

Whatever mistakes, and who is there that never made a mistake, may have been made by our martyred comrades, this we do know, that they were honest, brave and real comrades. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg kept the faith. They tried honestly and unflinchingly to erect upon the ruins of capitalism, a newer, better and juster order of society. Their failure is the

failure of the German workers to appreciate the task that lies before them.

Even if the German revolution goes down in seas of blood and every street in Germany is piled high with the workers' dead, we know that it will never be crushed for all time, but will rise again with greater force and with a more determined effort, profiting by any mistakes it may have made in the past. The revolution in Germany has been more than justified and godspeed the day when it will be victorious.

It cannot be killed. It must of necessity triumph. It may not even temporarily be eclipsed.

"What of its Leaders?"

"Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg murdered!"

These words flashed round the world followed by the jackal howl of the prostitute press eager to gloat over the corpses of the dead leaders of the working class.

Murder, assassination and rape have now suddenly become cardinal virtues, because they suit the dirty ends of the capitalist class. The cant of it all, ye Christians! Oh workers of America cast your eyes towards that land of Germany and try and let your souls surge forth with a feeling that these comrades died for you. Your degenerate masters feared them. All the more reason why you should love them. The laughing of a jackal press will soon give way to tears. Upon the graves of our murdered comrades many comrades will pledge anew their faith in the self-same cause for which these brave comrades died. Right now masters we take up your challenge. Laugh, whilst the laughing is good, for remember that in the hour you aided and abetted in the murder of our beloved comrades, you sealed your own death warrant. We shall write your end in the blood of our martyred comrades. Their blood will be as seed in the soil. From out of the grave their spirit urges us on and we will go on. You can kill individuals, but you can never kill movements. Let your heart shriek of joy sound like the mad laugh of a harlot. To you, our masters, with your physical, mental and moral assassins, of the bomb, the revolver and the still more cowardly pen, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were traitors. The dictatorship of the workers for which they fought will some day be an accomplished fact. In that day we shall wipe away our tears of today. We shall wipe away the deaths of our martyred comrades. We shall wipe away many things. We shall wipe away the hideous system that allows you to sweat, slave, oppress, rob and starve us. We shall let our children sing and our women rejoice. And you will be powerless to stop us.

Comrades Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, you have not died in vain. May we answer the great call with the same devotion that you answered. We have many things to remember. Germany is not alone, we have our Frank Littles and Kinkhonnens here. Away to your last sleep, from which there is no awakening. Let Mother Earth fondle you to her bosom as worthy guardians of her bounteousness. As the sun sinks in the West tonight, comrades we shall be there. Through our blinding tears we see the dawn of a new and brighter day. Comrades we salute you. Goodbye. Where you left off we start.

EDUCATION THE NEED OF THE HOUR.

We must now resume the real work of education, which is absolutely necessary. Necessary because many of those who claim to understand the philosophy of Socialism, somehow or another, they always manage to get lost in a political fog, about this time of the year. It is also necessary for us to educate the workers, so that those Socialists who know better will not be able to camouflage them. Once the worker is educated, you can neither bamboozle him or lead him astray.

The education that must be taught the worker is not one that will compel him to fit himself into a certain groove, but rather to study the developments that are taking place. We must point them out to him and show him how he can master the positions that arise and utilize them to his own personal advantage. There is no writer who is more ready to acknowledge the brilliance of Marx than we are. Marx was of such a character that today bourgeois economists find themselves lost for words, when it comes to even criticising his works. Marx will live when Kings, Kaisers, Presidents and Czars have been forgotten and the rattlesnakes sleep in their skulls. Therefore in criticising those who style themselves Marxians, please remember we are not criticising Marx. The fault we find with so many Marxian students, similar to those of the Socialist Party of Canada and the Socialist Party of North America, is that they are endeavoring to stand still and mould the workers into their particular groove. They forget that there is an industrial machine at work. Each advance the machine makes reflects itself in a change in the modes and habits of the workers. Greater than all governments, in fact the basis of all governments, the machine stands today triumphant. Therefore our propaganda must be framed in such a way that its adoption by the workers will assist them in controlling that machine. To stand on one side and say that the worker must be educated is not enough, and furthermore, to state in which way the worker shall be educated is not enough. You must get down to the worker. Come from off that high pedestal and let your feet touch the ground. Come into contact with him; if he is stupid do not get excited, but keep on pegging at him. EVERY WORKER IS A POTENTIAL REBEL. You meet men who are dissatisfied with social conditions, but they lack expression. The first place you have got

to arouse the social consciousness of that worker. You have not got to move his heart by pitying stories of the social evils that exist in our midst, you have got to make him feel that he is a man. You must make him feel like the Irishman who was once asked, what was the Irish question? The Irishman stated that he wanted to be able to get up in Ireland and say, "By God, I'm Irish!" We want to hear every worker say that "I am a worker and furthermore I am the man that counts." Make him feel that HE is the man that moves the world. Let him once get a real knowledge of who he is, and then he will quickly realize his position in society. You can never plant flowers in a garden until the soil has been broken. Break the soil first. That has been the method adopted by Truth.

You can understand what we are driving at when we tell you that one of our readers was afraid that we were going to lose our life because we criticised McKercher. We want to drive away that fear that exists in the minds of the workers of Minnesota. Not one of the Public Safety Commission or Burnquist or any of the stool pigeons that infest our city are fit to fasten the shoes of the workers. Yet this miserable bunch of ne'er-do-wells, never-works and parasites can threaten all and sundry. They only organize their Knights of Liberty gangs of murderers because they know the people are afraid. So we want to hear all of you stand up and say that you are not afraid. Stand up and say, by God, we are men, and then all get together and say it. Then organize and assert yourselves and then you will be able to place Burnquist and the rest of the bunch in their right place. Be men and at all times assert yourselves like men.

It is no use being educated, if you have not got the manhood to rise and protest against the innumerable tyrannies that go on in your midst. So long as you are prepared to allow another man to walk over you, it does not matter whether you can recite Marx from the beginning to the end, you are of no use to the workers. Give us the illiterate lumberjack, who has the guts to protest, than the radical who feels "that the time is not opportune," "suppose we wait for a while, comrades."

So comrades, just get busy with the man next door. Urge him to throw off his lethargic spirit and assert himself. Then bring him to our meetings and we will do the rest.

"A WONDERFUL DAY IS COMING."

Today the world is in the throes of immense upheavals.

In Russia the Bolsheviks are in complete control, despite the ravings of the servile press of all "civilized" nations. In every land the economic position of society is uncertain. Systems are going into the melting pot; dynasties are tottering; new schemes of government are appearing out of the rough as a statuette emerges out of the clay mass under the dexterous fingers of the sculptor.

In Ireland, England, Scotland, Wales and Australia the labor movement come out for an industrial union organization of the whole working class. As soon as the national organization of each country is completed they are going to link up with each other and form one international organization of the working class of all countries.

The capitalist press never lets a day pass without warning the workers of the menace of Bolshevism.

The Socialist movement has been, and always will be, until the end of capitalism, the pioneer blazing the trail. The labor movements of all countries follow on after the Socialists. The labor movement is where it is today only by reason of the intense struggle and bitter fight waged by the Socialists. It was the Socialists who first came out and pointed the way to the workers. Wherever the Socialists have been able to influence the labor movement, that labor movement has progressed. It is only in America that the labor movement has fell behind. Read the utterances of other labor movements and compare them with the utterances of the spokesmen of the A. F. of L. and you will then understand how much the labor movement has lost by attacking the Socialists instead of co-operating with them. Those unions which have the sense to recognize the truth of the Socialist philosophy, together with the revolutionary activities of the I. W. W., will force the A. F. of L. to take a revolutionary stand on all matters of reconstruction.

The Socialist movement has evolved to its present position, and it will continue the process far into the future, whether the pace be that of a Soo passenger train or that of a cyclone, until it reaches the glorious idea and ideal that is the beacon light of its progress. So comrades, never mind what the labor fakir says, so long as we have men like Debs, we will always be able to deal with them. Let us keep on with our movement, increase our strength and with the coming of the dawn, we shall not have been found wanting.

ABOLISH THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

The capitalists, when they read the above heading, really believe that some bright morning they are going to be all hung, drawn and quartered. Were the negroes of the South murdered when they were released from chattel slavery? If a man is made a prohibitionist, out of a drunkard, do we kill him? If we make the capitalists honest working members of society is that murder? Think this over, too.

BOLSHEVIKISM.

The capitalist press states that many have been killed with the coming of Bolshevism in Russia. It is to be expected that someone would be killed. It cannot be avoided. The capitalist class refused to listen to the Bolsheviks, when they asked for peace. They shot down in cold blood many workers. Now that the capitalists are underneath they howl for mercy. They are entitled to as much mercy as the workers of Colorado got from John D. Rockefeller. Figure it out for yourself!

SOCIALISM AND THE RED FLAG.

The capitalist class have decreed that the Red Flag must be suppressed and they think that by so doing that the Socialist movement will be crushed. Was it the Stars and Stripes that beat the Germans, or the men who fought under it? Think this over.

EVERY AMERICAN BOY CAN BECOME PRESIDENT.

There are twenty million American boys in America. If they all become industrious and work hard, how much would you bet on your boy becoming President of America? Think this over also.

Do you buy Truth or read some one else's copy? Think this over twice.

Dear Comrades, we have just arrived back from Chicago, and so it makes it impossible to write a full account of the Mooney convention. In our next issue we shall deal with it at great length and we can promise you some very interesting news. Mrs. Jack Carney will speak at the Woodman Hall on Sunday afternoon at the English local, and she will be able to tell you a whole host of things that transpired at that convention. Also Mrs. Jack will give her impressions of the N. E. C. of the Socialist Party whilst in session. Personally we have every faith in our young comrade and feel sure that she will make good. This meeting should be well attended.

To the James Connelly Club we thank you for your donation to our defense and will write on Sinn Feinism next week, as we have received some very interesting data from Dublin, Ireland.

Pardon our omissions. On the top of all our troubles the landlord has made us quit our office. But you know the old saying, a boil in the pot is worth a dozen on your neck.

Comrade Mellin has forwarded us the following letter:

When Roses and Poppies Discard Red.

Editor Daily News: An inflammatory anarchist of my acquaintance becomes so incensed upon reading Governor Burnquist's address to the legislature that he sat down at once and produced the inclosed song. I consider it a very dangerous piece of literature:

The Wearing of the Red.

I met with Neighbor Johnson and I looked him in the eye;
"If you'll do what Bourbon-Burnquist wants you'll best take off that tie.
You're dressed too gay," says I to him, "you've got on too much red;
The gov'nor says they'll beat you up or hang you till you're dead.

"For they're jailing men and women here, and lynching them outright
Because they dare to speak the truth and wave their banners bright.
'Tis the most distressful country that ever has been bled,
And thousands more will spill their blood for the right to wear the red!

"When the law commands the rose to blossom in shades of ashen gray,
And when the poppy blows in black instead of crimson gray,
Oh, when we'll kiss the Stars and Stripes and burn our ruddy flag,
But till that day we'll follow him who bears our scarlet rag!

"When the law can stop the warm heart beats from pulsing in our veins,
And when our love for Liberty shall free all men from chains,
Then we will dull the fiery glow that our loved banners shed,
But till that day we'll fight and die for the wearing of the red!"

The name of this I. W. W. is Tim Murphy. You will note that in the poem he is supposed to be addressing one Mr. Johnson. One shudders to think what might be the result in Minnesota if the Irish and the Scandinavians, both great lovers of liberty, the one volatile and fiery, the other, tenacious and slow-smoldering, should break loose at the same time and start a revolution!

By all means use your influence to keep the legislature from passing any more provocative measures. If flying the red flag helps these agitators to "let off steam" they should be encouraged to fly them on all occasions. For my part, I'd like to see them fairly sizzle with red flags—oozing out with them at every buttonhole. I think red is a pretty color, anyway.

READER.