

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

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WAR OR SOCIALISM WHICH?

By JOHN McLEAN (Scotland).
(Special to Truth).

Mr. Woodrow Wilson is being lauded in Britain as elsewhere for his League of Nations proposal, but there are those of us who view him and his project with as much loathing and suspicion as we do Mr. Lloyd George and his Industrial "Peace" Conference. How should it be otherwise as long as Wilson and his capitalist masters retain in prison, Mooney, Haywood, Debs and the hundreds of rank and file champions of Labor in the United States. We realize that his League of Nations is but a momentary League of Capitalist Governments for the suppression of Bolshevism and Spartacism in Europe and the further robbery and enslavement of the world's wage-earners, and that if this end can be attained the world once more will become a battle field on which to decide whether America or Britain will dominate the trade and profits of the world.

Estimating that, if capitalism lasts in five years' time these mammoth English-speaking powers will again involve mankind in wholesale murder. I have considered it my duty to warn British workers and to get them to come into closer touch with their fellow-workers of America. As a preliminary, I have all over the country urged the audiences. I have addressed to demand from Wilson the immediate release of the above named comrades as a sign of solidarity with the workers of America, and everywhere the meetings have been unanimous. From all our May Day demonstrations a similar demand has gone forth.

Yet this alone must not suffice. At the earliest moment a conference of delegates from both nations ought to be convened at New York or London to establish a League of Workers, and these delegates ought to be drawn from the various co-operative trade and industrial unions, and Socialist organizations. This League could arrange such a publicity campaign as would arouse the workers to a sense of the impending danger and to the need for vigorous action.

Britain's vast war debt of close on eight thousand million pounds involving an annual interest payment of about four hundred millions, is forcing the capitalists to adopt and improve upon American machinery. Taylorism and trustification for the increase of output for workers. It is clearly stated by the London financial top-notchers, that through increased output the workers' standard may be raised, and yet permit of vast swollen profits from which the Government may directly take the taxes needed to keep Britain going as a solvent concern. These same London bankers have bought up banks and similar institutions all over the world as well as the industrial banks of Ireland, Scotland and England itself, and have united to establish the forthcoming British Overseas Bank, the object being to help the sale of British made goods carried on British made ships. The bankers well know that the greater the volume of goods produced the greater must be the need for imperial and foreign markets; hence their preparations. Industrial and commercial capitalists have been forming associations to mutually aid one another in marketing their goods abroad, and now we learn that the British War Cabinet is in process of overhauling its whole Consular Service. The number of posts held abroad is going to be raised from 299 to 404, and each consular agent is going to be paid such an income as will enable him to devote his whole time to British interests—mainly commercial.

The British capitalists know that the same economic urge towards world markets manifests itself in America. Before the war America was economically dependent; i. e. she had to pay interest to foreign investors, largely British. Now

America is independent, having bought up to a large extent bonds held by Britons and Frenchmen out of her war profits and having lent largely to the Allies. She has seized markets formerly dominated by British and German investors, and intends to keep them. She is still making immense profits, part of which at least must be invested in South America, China, or some other part of the world. But these are the very markets Britain has her eyes upon. Hence there must be the keenest rivalry.

Never a day passes but alarmist references are made to this rivalry in every British daily paper, and the war has already begun despite the honied compliments paid to Lord Reading in New York or to Mr. Daniels in London. We are samples.

The president of the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce at the annual meeting stated that "a grave difficulty which manufacturers and merchants in this country had to face was the ever-growing competition in the markets of the world from America."

At the annual meeting of the London and Brazilian Bank the Chairman stated that "the United States is making strenuous efforts to develop its export trade to Brazil and the River Plate."

At the annual meeting of the Barrow Hematite Steel Company the chairman stated that "if wages and cost of production remained at the present high figure, if we had no tariffs, and competing products came from the United States, we should be wiped out of the steel industry, with few exceptions, in a very short time."

The London letter writer to "The Glasgow Herald," May 5, 1919, says that "America, with all her war-stimulated productive resources in full blast is making a serious bid for a larger slice of world trade. Canada and South America are the immediate objects of attention, but wider fields are coveted."

The Clyde, Britain's greatest ship building center is alarmed at the returns of Lloyd's Register of shipping which shows that out of tonnage under construction of 7,796,266 tons gross, Britain's share is 2,254,845 tons and America's, 4,185,523 tons as compared with 1,722,124 tons and 148,515 tons respectively in 1914. The Clyde capitalists and the British Government fear that America will not only be able to carry her own goods to all ends of the earth very soon but will also be able to bid for the world's carrying trade as well.

The rush to monopolize markets to control raw materials, and to invest capital brings in its train the impulse to seize new lands to build up new empires. This is in process at Paris and we may be sure that the outcome will be the vast extension of the territories ruled by John Bull and Uncle Sam alike; with other lands in view, of course, for later absorption under "mandatory control." But just as Britain and America diverge as to the disposal of the German fleet, so must they to a greater extent diverge as to the disposal of this our little planet. Conflict is thus inevitable in these circumstances.

That explains why each has this year allocated one hundred and fifty million pounds for its navy; that explains the determination of both to retain a large army; that explains the trans-Atlantic aeroplane rivalry and many other phenomena.

The only permanent method of preventing this potential world war with its fifty million victims, is by our united working class overthrowing the existing capitalist system and establishing Socialism in its place. All hail the Social Revolution.

EUROPE PARALYZED, SAYS BANKER

Banker Paints Dark Picture and Warns of the Danger That Our Turn Is Next.—Europe Near Starvation.—Transportation Greatest Difficulty.—Says Britain Is on Verge of Revolution.—Bolshevism Rife in Spain

New York, May 26.—Frank A. Vanderlip, who spoke last night at the Hotel Astor, at a dinner of the Economic Club, which was held for the purpose of hearing his story of conditions in Europe from which he has recently returned, said that England was on the verge of a revolution, which was narrowly averted in February, on the Continent of Europe are appalling beyond anything dreamed of in this country.

He said that the food conditions in Europe would be worse—instead of better for a year ahead, than they have been in the preceding year, because of the dislocation of labor and the destruction of farm animals, and that the industrial and economic outlook, generally, points to a period after the war, which will equal, if not exceed the war period in suffering and misery.

He said that Italy was afraid to disband her army, because she could not employ the men and was afraid of idleness. He said that the differential, which had kept England pre-eminent in international trade, was the underpayment of labor, and that this differential was now being wiped out, forcing England to tremendously serious problems for the future. He quoted a British minister as saying that means would have to be found to send six or seven millions of Englishmen out of the British Isles and closer to the sources of food productions, if continental conditions continued long as at present.

Spain would, he said, be the most promising country in Europe except for the labor situation there which had brought it to the verge of Bolshevism. He said that the most perfect laboratory of Bolshevism in Europe outside of Russia was in Barcelona, Spain, which he said was ruled absolutely by a mysterious secret council, which had censored and fined the newspapers—until they quit publication and had enforced their will in all matters by assassinations, which no one dared to punish.

He said that America alone could save Europe and that its aid must be extended to all countries equally. He said that this was necessary, not only to save Europe, but to prevent an invasion into America of the forces threatening the social overthrow of Europe. His speech was as follows:

Mr. Vanderlip's Address.

"This is a welcome that I am proud of, but I know that it is something that has brought you here because you believe that I may have something to tell you about the most remarkable situation that the world ever saw. I believe I have, and I am going to tell you straight. I am going to tell you some of the things that I have seen, some of the conclusions that I have reached, and I think you will be shocked. I was shocked when I learned as I did within twenty-four hours after I got to the other side that most of my preconceived notions of what had happened to Europe should be thrown into the waste basket, and I should start over again to find out what had happened to Europe."

"I went to Europe on the Lapland, sailing the end of January. That boat was loaded with American manufacturers and representatives of American manufacturers, who were going over to sell goods, who felt that the war had probably so helped European industry that they were going to have to face sharper conditions of competition than they had ever known. Those men had no more conception of the Europe that they were going to than I had, nor I believe than many of you have."

"Now it is fair for you to know something of what I have done before I begin to give you some of my conclusions."

"I was in Europe from the 1st of February to the 9th of May. I spent some time in England first; then I went to France, to Switzerland, to Italy, to Spain, back to Paris again; then to Belgium and Holland and back to London. It is a fair statement to say that I saw the leading men in those countries. I met every Finance Minister. I met many of the Prime Ministers. I met the leading financiers and bankers, great employers of labor labor leaders. And what I have to tell you is not just an opinion of my own snatched out of the blue sky. It is a reflection, perhaps a composite of the opinions of the first minds in Europe. If it were not, I would not dare stand before you and tell you some of the things that I am going to."

Fears a Catastrophe.

"I want to say right at the beginning that however black a background I paint and it will be dark—I would not paint it, I would not

tell the story except that I believe America must know it, must comprehend it, must get it into heart and mind, because we must act; and if we do act, we can save Europe from a catastrophe, a catastrophe that will involve us. That is why I feel moved to tell such an assemblage as this something of the conditions that I saw over there, something of some of the consequences that may flow from those conditions."

"I believe it is possible that there may be let loose in Europe forces that will be more terribly destructive than have been the forces of the great war. I believe we can probably save the situation from anything as fearful as that. If I did not believe it, I would hesitate to say what I shall about conditions."

"If I were to try to put into words what I sum up as the most essential thing to grasp about the situation in Europe, the two words would be 'paralyzed industry.' There is an idleness, there is a lack of production throughout Europe, and indeed in England, that you can hardly comprehend. There is a difficulty about a resumption of work on ordinary peace affairs that I think nobody could be made to comprehend that did not see it on the ground."

"Now, of course, there is a great scar across Europe where there has been devastation. I hardly need to speak of that. You have been told that story. I have seen it from the German border to Zeebrugge; no words can make you comprehend the awfulness of the scar. Complete destruction, insane destruction, destruction that destroyed factories for the purpose of destroying commercial competition. There was a great deal of that. But after all that is only a scar across Northern France and Belgium, destroying a considerable part of the industries of those two countries, it is true, but it is not that devastated district but it is not that devastated district all through the countries where the mailed hand of war has been laid upon industry."

"Now, why should a factory unharmed by the war, in the midst of a continent wanting everything, incidentally be idle? Why should there be 1,000,000 people in England receiving an unemployment weekly dole? Why should there be

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ACTION

By SYLVIA PANKHURST

Our comrades often talk of the unconscious movements of the people, which we who foresee and desire revolution must watch and, as occasion offers, must harness to the Socialist or Communist ideal.

But those who would take a part in moulding events and actions must not wait passively, or they will fail in their attempts to influence. Only they who will act and suffer with the people should be, or will be, accepted in their councils. It may be a comfortable and pleasing exercise to imagine oneself sitting aside, pulling the strings and directing the whirlwind, but in matters revolutionary it does not work.

Moreover, we are the people; our individual acts all help to make up popular movements. Each one of us counts, only as one of course, but still as one.

The duty of action falls on each one of us individually. It would be very pleasant if suddenly, like clockwork, all the workers would begin to act in the mass, without any more uncomfortable propaganda to urge them on than the holding of some great public meetings, in which the speakers would be cheered to the echo. If the social revolution could come about without any violence or imprisonments it would be most pleasant, but life, alas! does not follow the easy working of our desires; the bed of the revolutionary is not made of rose leaves!

We must not wait for the mass to act; by individual action those who are spurred to the need for action must create the atmosphere in which the mass will act.

We are all agreed that mass action is most effective; that what will actually achieve our goals is the general strike and the setting up of Soviets or Councils by large bodies of workers, soldiers, and sailors. We are all agreed on that but how is it to be done?

The sentiment must be created which will make it possible.

People say that the workers of this country will only move when they come to suffer from hunger and privation as the people of us, Germany, and Austria-Hungary are suffering. But will the like condition of want ever come to this country? The Allies have been victorious in the war, the British Empire has tremendous resources, and our rulers, knowing the danger to them which might arise if our people were forced to endure extreme privation, will do all that they can to preserve a minimum standard of comfort to the workers here.

Our rulers may be successful in their effort to prevent actual famine ever reaching this country: are we, then, to endure capitalism forever?

When the question is put in that way, all but the extreme pessimists of the movement will admit that we shall probably obtain Socialism by some other means. But, it is said, we must pursue educational methods until the great day of mass action shall dawn. Precisely; but there are various means of education and the action of the comrade who goes to prison, even though his or her action did not appear to shake the citadel of capitalism by even a hair's breadth and was something done in a very small way, will perhaps have as great an educational effect as the publication of numerous books and pamphlets!

But let us return to the subject of industrial mass action, which, as every one is agreed, is the strongest and most direct power the workers possess. It is important to realize that palliative reformism, which is so widely condemned by Socialists in the Parliamentary field, must be guarded against in the industrial field also. It is quite true that we must welcome every strike, however small its object, because it is an effort of solidarity, an example of revolt; but in our industrial effort, those of us who

have grasped the idea of revolution and who desire the abolition of capitalism must continuously advocate industrial action for that object.

It is essential that we should purge our minds of the pharisaical thought that we are not as others; that we should strip ourselves of the idea that there is an inherent incapacity in the mass of people to grasp the truths that have revealed themselves to us. Above all, we must not follow the example of those who desire to keep the masses in subjection by seeking to gull them with sham reformism in the hope that they will be led by accident further than they can see. No, we must treat them as equal human beings, realizing that as we are today they must be tomorrow, explaining to them frankly our own philosophy and the thoughts which are the motives of our actions. In this Lenin has shown a fine example; his speeches and writings clearly show that he places entire faith in the masses, that he tells them fully what the position is, what are the hopeful features, what the difficulties and dangers.

The great and simple ideal of a society in which all men and women shall be equal, without masters or servants, rich or poor, is not difficult to comprehend. It is easy to understand the idea of the Soviet system, in which every group of workers is entitled to appoint delegates from amongst themselves whom they instruct to speak for them, who must report as to how they have carried out the instructions given to them and who may be changed at any time; also the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the refusal of any share of political power to those who instead of joining the general companionship of workers, employ others to work for them for private gain. The workers' control of industry appeals forcibly to all workers. Any one can grasp these ideals; they are simple in the extreme.

But if we refrain from preaching them, if we waste our energy on details—in protesting, for instance, against the levying of income tax on the better paid workers instead of urging a change in the social system—we can hardly expect to make converts to Communism; we can hardly expect to bring about the Social Revolution.

"It is more important that I should act than that I should remain urging others to action. If I should pass away, others would take my place." This is the standpoint of the real revolutionaries, the standpoint of those who made the Russian Revolution, the first proletarian revolution. To follow in their footsteps needs less courage, less faith than that which animated those pioneers. They did not wait in quietude for events to develop, for the masses to bestir themselves to action. The revolutionaries fought, and toiled, and suffered until they had created the spirit in the masses which at last caused them to rise when circumstances gave the spur.

The growth of all popular movements, for objects whether small or great, has been accelerated by individual action. Plimsol, by his shouts of "murder," could not have secured the fixing of the load line unaided; but Plimsol's cries awoke the public feeling which forced the Government to obey. Plimsol did not wait for the electors to act in the Parliamentary constituencies, for the Trade Union Congress to go on a deputation, or for the Seamen to strike—although, no doubt, many people said that he ought to have done so, declaring with unctuous superiority that only by such large and important action could seamen be protected. The fixing of the load line was but a small palliative: the cries of one man sufficed to create enough public feeling to secure it; the Social Revolution is a thing of vastly greater magnitude: a very mountain of force

THE WINNIPEG GENERAL STRIKE

The demands of the strikers are but two:—

1. The right to engage in collective bargaining.
2. A living wage.

The stories of the Herald and the News Tribune are just the product of the vivid imaginations of their writers.

From Toronto to Vancouver the workers are lining up with their Winnipeg fellow-workers. The Citizens' Committee of one thousand has failed to do anything but TALK. The returned soldiers and the police are heart and soul with the strikers. Unfortunately we cannot obtain complete reports of the strike, but rest assured that CANADIAN LABOR IS STANDING BY WINNIPEG LABOR. In Canada they live solidarity, not talk about it.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF LABOR

is needed to achieve it. But for the Social Revolution also, we have seen the way prepared by individual action, and not alone in the terrorist field. The Russian writers have told us how, again and again, some little group of workers has braved the forces of reaction by marching out with the forbidden flag, incurring thereby both violence and imprisonment, in order to make the masses think. The Spartacists of Germany have made many such demonstrations. We all remember how during the War groups of Berlin Socialist women collected outside the Reichstag and how Karl Liebknecht spoke to them from a window in the Reichstag building. The women were dispersed by the police and soldiers. Karl Liebknecht was punished; but what of that? The movement gained a new impetus: the news spread. It was a method of propaganda—nothing more; but out of it has grown the present serious struggle of the Spartacists to overthrow the established Government; a struggle which at first might have been called hopeless, but which every day brings nearer to success. The Irish Rebellion of Easter week, 1916, was a hopeless effort, its failure was inevitable; it was costly, grievously costly, in precious lives, but it laid the seeds of something bigger something that is growing too strong to be resisted.

The bands of pioneers are calling to us to do something; to do, not waste our lives in dull inaction. Mass action is desirable; mass action alone can succeed, but those who are ready for action must act and thereby cause the mass to move.

How urgent it is! How terribly urgent! We British workers are being used to crush the working-class Governments in other lands. Action that will arouse and startle the people into a recognition of that fact is most imperative; it is imperative that we should hasten. The capitalists are sending a relief force to Archangel, but it is we Socialists who should head the S. O. S. call from the workers overseas. It is we who should play the part of Plimsol, crying "Murder!" for the capitalist armies are murdering our comrades who have set up the Soviets in Russia, Hungary, and Munich; it is the capitalists who have got the Workers' Revolution by the throat and are endeavoring to strangle it.

EUROPE PARALYZED, SAYS BANKER

(Continued from page 1)

In little Belgium 800,000 people receiving a weekly unemployment wage? Now, let me try to give you a picture of the difficulties that a manufacturer is under in Europe today in an attempt to start his factory.

In the first place his labor has been dissipated and he faces the very difficult labor situation, although he is surrounded by idleness. The war has had a bad effect upon the morale of people. That is particularly noticeable in Belgium, where for four and one-half years there has been partial idleness of people supported from the public purse, and the serious effect upon the character for the moment at least, upon the people.

"But now our manufacturer must have raw material. Probably it must come from out of the country. He must have the exchange to pay for it. He must have credit, very likely. Now, I have come to see these nations from a new point of view, from a point of view of what they must have from outside to sustain life and go on in a more normal course, and what they have got to pay for it with.

"Let me picture a pair of balances, into one scale of which you will put all the things that a nation must have. In Italy coal and cotton. In France cotton and wool, most of the metals. Let us put in the other balance everything a nation has got to export. Well obviously, at the moment, these nations, wanting everything, industrially disorganized and nothing to send out—our scales are out of balance.

"Now, what can be done? We cannot take anything out here, because presumably we have reduced these imports as low as they can and have the nation live; put more in here, but you cannot put more if your industries are paralyzed. What other way is there to balance this, and it has got to be balanced? It must be balanced, else things cannot be had that are essential to the nation's life.

"Well, normally we would put gold in there, but of course now there is no gold that these countries

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MISS THOMPSON will also play and
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can spare. What else can we put in? Credit, that is one thing. There are just three things that will go into this balance to balance these necessary things that the nation must have—goods, gold, credit—and so right on the threshold a manufacturer needs a foreign credit. He must have a foreign credit if his raw material is to come from abroad.

"Now, what are some of the other things that are difficult? He is facing a wage situation two or three times what the wages were in pre-war days. He is in a currency situation that is chaotic. Some of these nations have a variety of currency at the present time that is almost laughable except that it is horribly serious.

Finances Disorganized.

"Take the situation in Poland, for example, and Poland was a great manufacturing district about Warsaw. When the present government was formed, this country made out a piece of Germany and a piece of Russia and a piece of Austria; had first a currency of the old Czar rubles and the Korinsky rubles and counterfeit of the Czar rubles and the Korinsky rubles; and there were German marks and an issue of marks that Germany forced the Warsaw district to make; and then worst of all perhaps were the Austrian kronens with three-eighths of one per cent. of gold back of them. That Government had to consolidate in some way this terrific mass of currency and the difficulties that that has thrown upon getting things started there would in themselves be almost enough to bring about the paralysis that is found there. But the currency situation in other countries, while not quite so intricate, is almost equally involved.

"In France there were a little less than 6,000,000,000 banknotes which formed the currency of France prior to the war. Today are 36,000,000,000 franc notes of the Bank of France. Now, 26,000,000,000 franc of paper money is a sum so vast that you could hardly grasp it. Its effect has been to greatly enhance prices. England itself has an enormous issue of what is practically flat money, about \$1,500,000,000 of currency notes, I believe it is, that are secured by a very small amount of gold comparatively, about \$28,000,000.

"In Belgium, the Germans forced a bank there to make a great issue of notes; it flooded the country with marks, and when the Belgian Government got back there they had to take these marks up; had to issue their own notes, or, in part, bonds, against the marks—some 6,000,000,000 marks were so taken up. When France got Alsace-Lorraine, she got about 6,000,000,000 marks along with it, and had to redeem them. It cost France \$1,000,000,000 in her bank note currency. So that currency situation makes a great difficulty.

"And there is another paralysis that affects every manufacturer, that affects the whole life of Europe more than you could imagine, the paralysis of domestic railway

transportation; in some parts of Europe that has become extremely serious. Why, Mr. Hoover, told me that the breakdown in transportation in Central Europe and in the countries east of Germany was so serious that there was bound to be starvation of hundreds of thousands of people simply because the food could not be moved. If ports were full of food, there would still be many, many, many thousands of people starving. Starving people—you know they really starve to death by hundreds of thousands. It is a long way off—we do not get it; we do not understand it.

The Starvation Appalling.

"It is a sort of oratorical expression that people were starving. Why, in Austria, Czechoslovakia, in much of the Balkan country, the starvation has been appalling; will continue to be appalling, and the people will face a year from now a food situation worse than they have faced this Spring, and I say that on the highest possible authority.

"Well, now, why is that? Because Russia has ceased to be a producer for export; because Rumania, which sent 1,000,000,000 bushels of grain into Europe, has been swept clean of her work capital, without seed, and could only plant a part of her fields; and her Premier told me this year she would not raise anything whatever for export. All that she hoped to raise was what would feed her own people.

"This sweeping away of work capital, or work forces, is a very serious thing. I have seen in Belgium men hitched to a drag, starting off across long fields, two pulling an ordinary drag that a horse would draw. I have seen rows of men and women spading their great fields because they did not have the animals to do the plowing.

"Mr. Paderewski told me that in Poland, because of lack of work animals, because of lack of seed, not over one-third of the acreage could be planted this year. So you have got that combination of a lack of production, and of the paralysis of transportation, which, if there was a sufficient amount of food, that the ports could not be moved to the people.

"I was telling you something of the difficulties of the manufacturer, and I got off the track a little. This difficulty of transportation is an extremely real one. It affects the manufacturer in getting his raw material. It prevents him sending his finished products. But what about his market for the finished products? There is the rub. The markets of Europe are ravenous for things, and they have got nothing with which to pay.

"The manufacturer, starting with a disorganized labor situation, a wage scale three times the pre-war scale, a demoralized morale, great difficulty in getting foreign exchange to pay for his raw material, great difficulty in getting bottoms to ship it, great difficulty in getting it transported to him after it arrives at the port, must still produce. But after he produces he has not the market that can pay, a market that will give him the means to go on completing the industrial cycles of buying more raw material—paying his labor.

Not Great In Manufacturing.

"Now that is serious, almost beyond our understanding, because we have not realized at least I hadn't realized, how light a mere great manufacturing community Europe is.

Concession to Coal Miners.

"The coal miners demanded and received a royal commission that should within a very few days examine their claim for higher wages and shorter hours, and that examination did not leave a doubt in the minds in England that the miners had made out a case. The difference were composed with the railroad people, and for the moment the outlook in England is peaceful so far as any revolution is concerned.

"But I would like to examine for you a little the English situation. England has held the premier position in the international industrial markets. America grew faster. So did Germany grow faster. But England had, up to the outbreak of the war, held the premier position. Now how did she hold it? She had little raw material, some iron, and some coal; that was all. I will tell you how she held it. She held it by underpaying labor. That was her differential. That is how she competed. She underpaid labor, until today labor has not a house over its head in England, and the Government is undertaking to build a million houses for working men—a million houses!

"English industry made a red ink overdraft on the future by underpaying labor so that it did not receive enough to live efficiently, and you know that in the mill towns of England there grew up a secondary race there of ill, underfed, uneducated, undeveloped people. Well, England has got to pay the overdraft now. She found that a third of her men of military age were unfit for military service. One of Lloyd George's most famous utterances was that 'You could not make an A-1 nation out of a C-3 population.' They all see it, and that differential that England has had in international trade is gone. But that is not all of it.

"England must maintain her markets if she is to maintain her population. Remember, she is an industrial community, just like an industrial village. She has this vast population that her fields will not sustain. She must bring in raw material, pass it through her factories, sell it abroad, and have margin enough to get more raw material for the food she needs, and she is facing the demoralized markets of Europe.

"I believe all those markets must be rebuilt. I believe that is the real peace treaty now. There cannot be peace when there are idle people, a lack of production, want, and starvation, and those are things that are current in Europe.

Terrific Cost Since Armistice.

"Now, what shall we do? Before I get to what I want to tell you of some of the other countries a bit. I have told you a little of England. Let me tell you just a word of English finance. The English fiscal year begins on the 1st of April. Now, from the 1st of April to the armistice England's war cost was \$7,500,000 a day, roundly. It was just a little under that. In the months since the armistice her war cost has been \$6,500,000 a day. Why, the cost of this war, after the armistice, is going to amaze the world.

"Now, let me turn to France a little. France is bled white—that is a trite statement; but it is a statement that comes to you with crushing force when you really see France; when you see today women in the railway yards; women on the street cars; women at many things that men should be doing; when you see men well along in the forties still in uniform—you begin to appreciate what has happened in the way of the loss of manpower.

"Of course there, in Northern France, you do not expect to find anything but devastation and idleness, but there is idleness all over France, just as you find in England, just as in Belgium, just as you find in Italy. Here in Italy, with its great army not disbanded, and she cannot disband it without disbanding it into idleness, and she is afraid of idleness—poor Italy.

Italy's Slight Serious.

"Now, Italy under this tremendous debt, and the Italy that has to have a million tons of coal a month, has to have its cotton—has to have everything—this balance of its necessities is weighted away down; the balance of its exports is high in the air.

"They have little to put in. Their situation is very serious.

"I saw something of some of the neutral countries, too, I was in Spain. Spain has been unharmed, has prospered as she never prospered before, and but for a terrible cancer in her, she would be the most promising place in Europe. That cancer is the labor situation. There was presented at Barcelona as perfect a laboratory of Bolshevism as you ever saw, an organization that was the most mysterious, the most terrifying of any organization that I ever encountered. It takes in their whole laboring population there. It is secret to the extent that the members themselves do not know who guides it. It calls general strikes merely for gymnastic exercises. It rules by assassination.

"In the time I was there seventy-two employers and firemen had within a few weeks been assassinated. Not one conviction, no witnesses would testify; they were terrified. No jurors would convict; they were terrified. It terrified the papers. They had told the papers; 'You cannot publish anything that we do not censor.' They censored one paper, for publishing an official order of the Government, fined it 5,000 pesetas; and told them they would destroy their presses if they did not pay. They did pay, but the censorship became so absurd that every paper there stopped publication. There was Bolshevism in the making, aided by Russian money and aided by German men. No question about it whatever.

"Europe has increased its population since the Napoleonic wars from 175,000,000 to 440,000,000. Now just think of those figures—75,000,000 to 440,000,000! Now Europe did not become any more productive. She probably does not raise a very great amount more food than she did a hundred years ago. Now how has she fed these people?

"Why, you can just compare Europe to a New England mill town. If there was no market for the product of that town, if you could not sell, what would happen? Why, you could not continue.

the industrial processes, your people could not earn the wages they must pay to bring the food into the town, and they would go hungry or they would get out.

"The responsible minister of the British Government said to me that you cannot get the industries of Europe started so that Europe in time can make it an effective demand upon the industries of England. The British Government will have to get five or six million Englishmen out of England, and nearer to the source of food supply.

"It is this fact that we must grasp; that these industries must be kept going in these highly industrialized European countries if the people are to live. Take England, the most thickly populated country in the world—700 to the square mile. They have built up that whole island into an industrial community that can only live by selling abroad a great part of the product of its factories, and with the proceeds of that export buying more raw material and the foods for the population.

"Let me tell you a little about England, England as I see it. The England that I saw the first of February was an England on the very verge of revolution. You did not get that over here, but it is a fact generally admitted by all Englishmen. When I arrived in London—I think it was the second of February—the streets were full of army lorries trying to carry the people because there was strikes on the District Railway, and in the tube; the coal miners were threatening an immediate strike, and the supply of coal was so scarce that life there was most uncomfortable.

"Up in Glasgow there were such riots that they had sent military tanks to patrol the streets. The railroad men were threatening a tie-up to all transport service. The electricians were threatening to put London in absolute darkness, and all provided with candles throughout the evening expecting the light any moment to be cut off.

Well, I could go on, put on black paint on this background, but I think I have covered enough. Now is it hopeless, or can we do something about it? We have got to do something about it. If we do not, it will do something about us.

"Well, what can we do? I do not believe that we can furnish the credit to rehabilitate the Governmental credits of Europe. Many of them are too badly involved already. I do believe that we must furnish those things that are essential to the re-starting of industry in Europe, and I believe that we must furnish those things to all Europe. It will not do to use the usual methods of money-lenders, pick out the best security and say we will take a chance on this and let the rest go. We have got to loan in the measure of the necessity rather than in the measure of the security, because there is no security anywhere as long as you will have part of Europe idle, in want and hunger, ready for Bolshevism, ready for some uprising, something that will better their condition, and I want to tell you that there is a minority in every country in Europe, active minority that believe in a program for the upsetting of social order.

The Question of Property Rights.

"In England, employers estimated to me that that minority was 10 or 15 per cent, a minority that actually believes the whole theory of property rights should be abandoned that we should go into a communistic state of society. Now there is this inflammable material in every country in Europe. You leave any part of it unprotected, starving any part of it idle, hungry, starving and there is going to be social disorder that will be a plague spot, that is infectious, that is likely to spread. And so I believe that if we are to tackle this subject of rehabilitating the industry of Europe, we have got to make a comprehensive job of it. We have got to furnish the raw material, the machinery, a certain amount of foods, and the equipment for railroads to make a start at getting this industrial cycle going again all over Europe.

"Now a lot of you may say that Vanderlip is excited; he has got too imaginative a brain in looking at this thing; that the war is over and this tangle is going to work out in the long run; always has—there has been tangle before, there have been wars before, and in the long run this will work out. Don't get excited; let us take care of us at home; let us not get involved in too many foreign financial entanglements. You know that a hungry stomach cannot wait for the economics in the long run; he starves to death. Before he will do that he will go into revolution. This thing would work out in the long run if it were one country, but it is all the European continent. The whole international reaction of one industry is broken up; the whole machine is disorganized, and it won't work out in the long run unless we help it work out.

"Now Europe has got to save itself. It cannot do it by charity, but we have got to get a little priming in the pump to get the thing started. I do not believe in charity for Europe exactly—money charity—we have done a great deal of that, but I do believe in the charity of mind toward Europe. I am no longer critical of any fool thing that Europe does. They are entitled to do fool things. They are in a state of mind, they are in a nervous tension, they are taken in morale, they are oppressed by the most harassing situations, and why should they not readily grasp for anything in this Peace Conference that would staunch their wounds?

"Let us be sympathetic with them. But I do not think we need to be charitable to the extent of trying to support them, because we can not do it. That would only postpone the days of their trouble. They have got to go to work and we must help put them at work. I think there should be a group of nations that can furnish the things that Europe needs, make an international loan to those countries, not of money; I would not put any money into those treasuries at the present time, but a loan of the credits that pay for the things that must be had to start the wheels of industry. I would send Europe machinery, equipment for the railroads, raw material; send it on time; have the payments secured by the very best security that they can give, and that means special security.

"I would make this comprehensive attempt to restart the industries and I think we could do it, and I think Europe would start on toward a normal life. And along with that duty is the greatest opportunity that ever came to a people. We are the darling of the gods. No nation in all time was ever so placed, if civilization will really move on once more over there. Here we are the reservoir of the world's capital, and at the same time the reservoir of raw material. We can finance the world, and feed the world's industry with its raw material, and no nation was ever before so placed.

"There have been nations that were the financial reservoirs, but they were not also the reservoirs of raw materials."

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PARIS AND BREST LITOVSK

It is not so very long ago—not much more than a year—since one concerted howl of wrath and indignation went up from the press and public of Allied countries over trampling on a fallen foe! Rattling the saber!—such were the crimes of the sabre being rattled now—not by Hoffman, but by Foch. The Allies are behaving as badly in victory as did the Germans.

As badly? They are behaving worse. At Brest-Litovsk there was at least preserved the formula of negotiation. The fact of dictation was there, but the insolence, the brutality, the parade of dictation were lacking. The militarists rattled the saber, but the civilian statesmen took a different tone. And the German Socialists protested (how bitterly we all blamed them for not protesting more loudly and effectively!). Now, in the Allied countries, it is the civilians, the politicians and penmen, who clamor loudest for the humiliation of the enemy, who gloat most indecently over the abjection of a beaten foe. And where are the "loud and effective" protests of labor?

"Never hit a man when he is down, we were taught at school. But our rulers have not left us even the honor of a schoolboy."

The Germans concluded the armistice on a definite basis of agreement. That basis was peace on the 14 points. On that basis they gave up their arms, abandoned their positions, surrendered their navy, put themselves helpless in our hands. We proceeded to tear up the 14 points—the 14 scraps of paper! Having tricked our enemy into impotence, we took full advantage of the trick. We starved his women and children. We gloated, we insulted, we did violence to the memory of our dead—who died in a different spirit and for a different kind of peace from this!

The argument that we should have beaten the Germans more completely if we had not signed an armistice on the basis of the 14 points at all is an irrelevant argument, and we have broken it. That is the only point that matters to a man of honor. But we are dishonored.

It may be said: "We send plenipotentiaries, not delegates, to the peace conference. Our representatives never refer anything to us. Why is not the same arrangement good enough for the Germans?"

The answer is twofold. A plenipotentiary means someone possessed of full powers who are insisting on the Germans sending people with no power at all. In 1871 the Germans discussed with beaten France, and actually yielded about Belfort. We are not going to allow the German "plenipotentiaries" to discuss. We are going to say to them: "Sign—or the sabre will come into play."

Secondly, it is all very well for the sham democracies of France and Great Britain to allow their "representatives to make peace behind their backs, and merely announce the accomplished fact when it is too late for any evil to be remedied. But Germany has become a real democracy. It foolishly took us at our word when we said (as even our Jingo papers did say, over and over again, with every circumstance of unctuous hypocrisy) that we were fighting for democracy, fighting on behalf of the German people themselves against their militarist masters. They have demilitarized, they have democratized, themselves. They think the people have a right to know what is being decided about the destinies of the people. They think the people have a right to say "yes" or "no." We shall soon teach them better than that.

Over and over again did we all say, over and over again did the governments say, that a democratized Germany would have better terms of peace than we could grant to the Kaiser. Yet to the Kaiser, less than a year ago, Mr. Lloyd George offered peace on President Wilson's terms. It is those terms we are now refusing to the German democracy.

The first of the Fourteen Points was—"open covenants, openly arrived at." But the doings of the Paris Conference, the "covenant" to be made, are shrouded in darkness and secrecy.

Brest-Litovsk left to Germany its legacy of pain and loss. So will Paris to the Allies.—The London Daily Herald.

A PEN PICTURE OF MOONEY

By A LABOR REPORTER.

Tom's voice fell upon my ears for the first time some six months ago. It may have been more than six years. I was a labor reporter at that time for an evening newspaper. I heard Tom Mooney make an appeal for miners on strike somewhere in the west. I don't remember just where that strike was, but if I were to go to the County Jail this afternoon and ask Tom, he would be able to tell me. He remembers all the troubles of the working people. I haven't got time to go up to the prison today however. Besides it doesn't really matter just where that miners' strike took place. It was only one of the many struggles the miners of the West have had to take up for—I was going to say a place in the sun—for a little of the brightness and deencies of life.

I remember very clearly the speech Tom made for those miners and their women and children. The scene was at the weekly meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council. Mooney was a delegate from the Molders' Union. The hall was packed with men of all trades, men who built the city, men who fed the city, men who clothed the city, men who labored with hammers far up in the clouds, men who sweated in the sombre depths of steamers, men who drove great drays through the streets, men who worked naked in the furnace-like kitchens of restaurants, men who went down to the sea in ships. Women were there, too—laundry girls, waitresses, garment workers. In the center of the floor was a long table for the newspaper reporters, among whom was yours truly in all the blush and bloom of youth and beauty.

Everybody listened to the secretary, who was reading aloud communications. He came to a letter from the miners. It was a request for financial aid. The company had driven them out of their homes, which belonged to the company. The miners and their families were camping on the hill-sides. Money was wanted for tents and food.

It was not a long letter. It was not brilliantly written. No attempt was made to play on the feelings. It was a plain matter-of-fact letter sent by miners. There was no whine in it.

Somebody got up and pointed out that the Council's treasury was very low at this time and he didn't see how he could give anything to these people, though he was in sympathy with them and hoped they would win.

The charity-begins-at-home delegates stood up and had their; very sorry for these brothers; I'm with them all right; but their own state ought to take care of them; we have troubles of our own.

The letter-of-the-law members wanted to know whether these miners were properly affiliated. What seal was on that communication, Brother Secretary? Who are these men? Was the strike duly sanctioned by the proper officials?

Tom Mooney took the floor. I didn't know his name at that time. He was a new delegate. We looked around when he raised his voice and saw a clean-cut young fellow, broad in the shoulders, with black, flashing Irish eyes. He had washed his hands as hard as he could after his day's work, but still they were not clean. An ironworker, especially a molder, finds it mighty hard to get all the dirt off his hands, unless he is thrown into jail, where times wear it off. He used his hands while he spoke. Sometimes the fists were clenched; sometimes the palms were spread out in appeal.

For fifteen minutes Tom Mooney spoke. Behold, that far-off mining country rose before us under his toil-stained hands! His voice was a cry from the wilderness. The anguish of the women, the woe of the children, the deep purple anxiety of the miners, all this we found in the young molder's voice. We heard the tramp of the gunmen in the little homes. We saw the miners and their families driven into the roads. We heard the sobbings of the women, the whimpering of the little ones, the mutterings of the workers the yells of the armed agents of the mine barons.

We saw the highways littered with the poor belongings of these families. We saw the frayed household things, looking so sorry in the broad light of noon. We saw the tattered bedroom articles of which the good wife was ashamed, the used-up furniture, so miserable in

the open roadway, the worn-out effects she had hoped the neighbors would never see.

We saw the outcasts struggling out to the hillsides.

We saw them putting up their rude shelters on the bleak sweep of the mountains, the men shouting brave words of cheer, the women frightened before the fist of calamity. We saw them in the dusk out there on the hills, looking down on their resolated homes—the raw earth their fireside now, the cold sky their roof, and bitter winds to whistle lullabies for their young.

Pariahs all! Wives, babies, grandmothers with silver hair thin youngsters of frail health, men, tired and careworn, sitting besides the old women who bore them—all pariahs, all homeless.

We saw, through Tom Mooney's eyes, the night come down upon these people. Then, out of the lack bulk of the mine properties, searchlights flared! The powerful lamps cut through the gloom, swift moving swords of light. Far and near the searchlights hunted, quick, alert, weird, menacing, the cruel eyes of the masters, the glaring eyes of Creed!

We saw the searchlights hesitating on the hillside camps, on the white faces of the women, on the blanched faces of the children, on the angry faces of the miners, on all the tattered, frayed, snaky household things of the outcasts. The flashing, reaching, pointing searchlights gave the scene a war aspect.

War it was, cried Mooney. War upon our people! War upon me and mine! War upon the family of toil of which we, you and I, all of us are members. War upon our women, upon our brothers in travail! These be our brothers, our sisters, our little ones, though we are separated by mountain ranges! Their fight is our fight, their enemies ours, their sorrows, ours, their pains yours and mine!

This ironworker's voice reached into our hearts and played upon the harp of our sympathies. There was a lump in my throat I couldn't swallow. My eyes got full, and I was wishing the Council hall was dark, as in a movie show; where your neighbor can't see when you're stirred by some deep trouble on the screen.

What the outcome of that strike was I do not know. But the next time I go up to the County Jail, I will ask Tom. He will tell me through the bars how those miners made out. He keeps track of such things. He cuts them out and pastes them in scrapbooks. If he had not given so much attention to other people's troubles, he would not be locked up in a steel cage today for something he had no more to do with than any infant that may have been born in that hillside camp of miners.

When Tom had finished speaking the request of those miners for financial help was not tabled. Money was voted to them, and a good round sum at that.

Now, I don't mean to say that Tom got off any fancy oratory like a lawyer or a politician. He isn't built that way. The talk of a lawyer or a politician comes, as a rule from the head. They say things which they do not feel at all. Tom's speech came from his heart. At times it was not smooth; he stumbled for words because there was so much surging in him. But he didn't stumble often. His sympathetic imagination showed him that community of troubled miners just as clear as if he were on the spot. He felt their problems as if he were living in them. When he said these are my people, O, the understanding in his voice! When he said their pains are ours, O, the depth of feeling, the breadth of sympathy he put into that!

I said to myself there and then, I don't know who you are, old chap, but you've got altogether too much soul for a workingman. Men like you have been jailed, crucified, shot and hanged throughout the ages by the masters.

I got very well acquainted with Tom Mooney after that. I have seen him in many aspects.

Mooney in the foundry, in the dust and gloom and smoke, almost naked to the waist, carrying the long ladle full of liquid metal, which sizzled and spluttered and sent out showers of sparks like miniature fireworks. "Pouring off," the molders call it.

Mooney during the noon hour, eating his lunch on a pile of burnt wooden moldings outside the

Mooney trudging home from work at night, just, one of the homeward-bound army of toilers, his through the smudge, his clothing face blackened, little sweat streaks saged and scared from metal sparks.

Mooney, the student, bent over books at night, his eyes aglow with visions, happy visions of Labor's future, visions of Labor enlightened, Labor brave with consciousness of its importance and power in the world, Labor no longer groping in the dark, Labor with its head in the sun, Labor all-powerful, Labor almighty, Labor the Master of the House of the world and no more the beggar at the gate.

Mooney, the speaker on public platforms, in the halls of Labor, at national conventions, on street corners during strikes, at defense leagues for working men; Mooney, speaking for John Lawson the miner; Mooney crying out against the Ludlow massacre, against Calumet, the Cherry mine disaster, the Triangle shirtwaist fire, the robbery of the Danbury hatters, the shooting of Joe Hill, the Lawrence mill strike prosecutions, the imprisonment of Ford and Suhr, the West Virginia mine injustices, the Coal and Iron Cossacks of Pennsylvania.

Mooney, the industrial outlaw, the foundry doors closed to him, walking the streets a marked man, blacklisted, feared, hatred, turned away from door after door.

Mooney the son, cuddling his aged mother, soothing her fears, joshing, lighing, rollicking, cutting capers around her, sporting with her at picnics, springing jokes at her in halls, packing her off to movie shows.

Mooney the husband, his wife, a little musician, sharing his ideals, his hopes, his enthusiasm, working at his side for the betterment of workingmen and women, and meanwhile teaching music to the children of the poor.

Mooney the strike organizer, attempting to organize the underpaid platform men of the United Railroads, the most powerful financial and political force in San Francisco.

Mooney and his wife arrested on the principal street, after having tied up the cars by calling off the motormen.

Mooney and his wife and three other union men, a few days after the failure of the car strike, charged by a United Railroads detective with being responsible for the Preparedness bomb outrage.

Mooney, convicted by a shady jury and by perjured testimony, receiving the death sentence, fearless, defiant, scornful, a smile of contempt on his lips.

Tom had never looked so splendid as on the day when he stood up in the dock and heard his life read away by twelve men who, since the Oxman perjury plot was exposed have been sneaking through the streets of San Francisco like thieves. One long, burning look of scorn Tom leveled at them, and then he gave his strong arms to the miner's widow who is his mother—brave old Mother Mooney.

She wept, but she didn't grow hysterical. That old lady hasn't been off her feet one single day during all this trouble; while younger women have spent many a day sick in bed. Every day, since the first week Tom and Rena and the rest were locked up, the old lady has visited the County Jail, rain or shine.

I asked her one day how in the world she managed to keep up so well.

"Sure I don't know," said she, with her south Ireland brogue. "I got to stand up under it. I've seen lots of trouble before this. Tom's father was a good deal like Tom is now, always in labor troubles. I lost him early on account of a bullet they put into him during a mine strike."

One day I got the story of Tom's father out of her. She told it to me while she was putting up a lunch for her son John. John is also a molder by trade, but like Tom, was driven out of the iron trades. He is now working on certain street cars which do not belong to the United Railroads. He works nights. In the early evening the old lady goes out with John's lunch to a certain street corner and waits for his car to come along. Then she hands his bundle of lunch. She told me this story while she was warming John's coffee.

Bryan Mooney was the name of Tom's father. He was a coal miner.

During his life, which was not long, he worked in three states—Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania.

He died in the coal region of Indiana when Tom and John and Anna were little toddlers.

Bryan Mooney worked most of his time in and about Davis County, Indiana. It was there during a mine strike that he was shot by a strikebreaker. That bullet was what shortened his life, thinks old Mrs. Mooney, though Bryan did not pass out till quite a bit later.

Bryan Mooney was unarmed when he was shot. He and his brother were approaching the strikebreakers, intending to argue with him peaceably, when the fellow drew a weapon and shot Bryan down. Before he could fire again, Bryan's brother felled him with his naked fist and kicked the gun out of his hand. While the brother was scrambling for the gun, the scab got up and ran. The brother fired at him, and the fellow toppled over into a ditch.

He hadn't been hit at all, but both Bryan and his brother thought he was dead. So poor Bryan Mooney, with a bullet in him, had to go hiding in the hills, he and his brother. The affair had been witnessed from a distance by mine agents, and the father knew that the company would have the law upon the Mooney household.

Sure enough the authorities walked in upon Mrs. Mooney and her children, bringing the first information of Bryan's trouble.

His reputation for peace and quiet was not at all good with the bosses. They didn't let him remain in one place very long. The family was constantly shifting from place to place. He worked through the coal regions of three states, and it was not because he liked traveling. No man, she says, liked a bit of comfort and peace better than Bryan Mooney.

"But sure, the wages in them days was terrible low and in some places the miners had to live all week in the company's boarding houses and at the same time keep their families in other places."

Bryan Mooney did not remain silent nor inactive under the harsh conditions. There was no American Federation of Labor at that time. But the Knights of Labor movement came into the coal regions, and Bryan Mooney threw himself into this, heart and soul.

"Poor Bryan Mooney, God rest his soul," says the old lady, "might have done better to keep his tongue in his cheek. The bosses made his life a burden to him, giving him the worst end of the work when they give any at all. They kept us moving from place to place like Gypsies."

During the last month of his life, there were two miners at his bedside every night, the miners selecting a committee of two to sit with their passing comrade night by night, at Cannelburg, Ind., where he died.

He was laid in a plain wooden coffin and carried to his last resting place in a common wagon used for carting freight. He was buried in the coal regions that had drunk his sweat during his troubled existence. Coal miners lowered Bryan Mooney down, down to his last shift, the shift that was to have no ending, the shift from which he would never return, but a shift that would not be disturbed by the clink of drills and the thrump of hammers. And that poor grave, in the midst of the Indiana coal regions, was dampened, let us hope, by the tears of miners, for even miners have been known to weep.

Coal miners guided Bryan Mooney's widow away from the grave at Montgomery, Ind., sharing her grief, and they gave their honest hands to his little children—John, Anna and Tom. The miners chiseled Bryan Mooney's tombstone out of a huge chunk of slate coal to mark his last resting place.

It is fitting, I think, that the son of that coal miner should be standing in the shadow of the gallows, bold, undaunted, defiant, splendid, a champion of the rights of labor, a fighter for justice, a herald, a singer of a better day, willing to die that his people may have a fuller measure of life and liberty.

Little did those miners think, as they guided Tom Mooney from his father's last resting place, that he was to develop into a man after Bryan Mooney's heart.

The fact that Tom was a coal miner's son was held up by a San Francisco newspaper as proof of his

criminality. The San Francisco Call, August 4, 1916, referred to Mooney as—

"A creature from which the coal black has never been cleansed."

Which means that Tom Mooney's father got coal dust in his blood during his life in the back regions, and this coal black transmitted into Tom's veins.

As if there were anything criminal in the honest coal that Bryan Mooney dug, the coal he sent up to bring cheer to the human family, the coal he dug to bring light and warmth to humanity, the coal he brought out in the sweat of his face to give comfort to men, women, and children. The coal he mined to put a happy glow on the walls of hospitals, where the sick and the maimed lay. The coal he produced to sing and dance in merry blaze on the hearths of poor-houses, warming the hearts of the aged and friendless. The coal he brought out, in pain and in sweat, to put the red glow of happiness in thousands of fire-sides throughout the land. Coal, that great boon to humanity, Bryan Mooney may have got the black of it into his system as he toiled in the bowels of the earth, he may have put that coal black into his child, and if so, Tom Mooney was a criminal beyond all doubt, and the jury should not hesitate a moment in hanging him.

Tom made answer through the bars of the County Jail.

"If there is coal dust in my blood in my veins," he said, "I am not ashamed of it. I was born in a coal miner's shanty, that is true enough. But I am not hanging my head. It is my boast that I come out of the loins of honest labor. I'm proud I'm a coal miner's son."

Some Thoughts of a Russian Woman

We Russians are often reproached for lack of patriotism. I wish to explain my conception of patriotism, and to appeal to the world-renowned English sense of fair play. I want to have a heart to heart talk with the English woman in order that she may understand how I and many other Russians see things. If I can do that, I believe that, though she may disagree with me, she will not be knowingly unjust. It is of vital importance to both of us that we should understand each other.

Russia is down-trodden and humiliated. Russia is starving, much more so than Germany in some districts. Russia is said to be the centre of Anarchy; but English papers hardly ever mention the new forces that are at work there, reconstructing the morals of the country, building up a new, a nobler, and higher form of patriotism than has ever been known in the world before. And Russia is doing this under most unfavorable conditions. She is thinking and setting up new standards of life to the accompaniment of all the horrors of civil war. Seventy per cent illiterate, she is struggling for the new truth with hardly any help from her educated classes, who are so scared and blinded by the catastrophe which befell the country that they cannot see their way at all. Most of her intellectuals recall to me the words of an Irish poet to his beloved one: "Tread gently, for you are treading on my dreams." Because they see some of their dreams broken by the heavy steps and rough hands, they refuse to see the eternal, growing living things that have survived and are building up a new life and a new hope. No one in England can imagine the difficulties that this situation produces, the forces that in Russia are pulling in different ways. But there are two other difficulties with which Russia must cope now. One of them is common to all the countries who sent their sons to the war. Sons of all nations have come back mutilated, brutalized, never to be the same boys that they once were. Another difficulty belongs to the old political conditions of Russia: here powers of organization and initiative were suppressed for so long that now they seem stiff like the limbs of a prisoner. Russia has had to start life, going on unprecedented lines almost at a moment's notice. And my country is doing this, in spite of everything.

I hope I have said enough to make quite clear why I am proud to be a Russian, born and bred, with an unmistakable Russian peasant ancestry for at least three centuries to back me up. I hope that the English will understand my reason for writing to them in this strain: there are not many working class Russians who can speak English at all, so I am taking the opportunity to speak for them. I hope you will listen to me patiently since you have given that opportunity to so many of the Russian nobility and intellectuals.

My conception of patriotism is this: love your own people better than you love yourself; fight for its birthright, its right to build its own life; and give the same opportunity to other peoples; unless you do, you will have to fight for ever. I wonder if this is your conception of patriotism also.

Russia is starving: your British shops are stuffed with food, because you have taken possession of the means of transport, and are using them for your own advantage only. Do it as long as you can with a clear conscience; but remember that your muscle, blood and bone are being built with material taken away from the Russian children.

Russia is humiliated. Have you given her the opportunity to speak for herself? How can you be so unjust to her? Do it, if you insist, as long as you can, but remember that we hate you for it, and we shall always hate your system of repression.

Russia is said to be the center of Anarchy. You are sending your boys to set matters right for her. What would you, who call yourself patriotic, say if the position were reversed, and some other country were to send troops to help you to settle your difficulties? Would not you tell that nation to mind its own business? Are you not too cocksure in your assumption that you know what is best for Russia, even though you are allowed to have very imperfect information regarding affairs? Send your boys over to Russia if you are quite sure you are right in doing so. But do not be afraid to tell them first all that I have told you; it is better that they should know what they are in for before going, than that they should learn it when the mischief has been done, and the hatred of half-inarticulate people, who are just awakened to the new life, breaks loose on those who are ignorantly trying to turn the wheels back again into the bad old ways.

Enough of hatred, enough of injustice and bloodshed. Leave us alone to build our new life for ourselves. The burden is almost too heavy. At least refrain from adding to it, if you will not help us.

There is still time—let us be friends. We are hungry for your friendship. If you prefer to try to kill us as a nation, you will see what we can do when we are driven to bay.

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DESPERATE CONDITIONS IN INDIA

HUNGER, DEATH AND PESTILENCE RAVAGING INDIA; 32 MILLIONS DEAD.

Censorship Lid Raised By Appeal For Help—Crops Failed, People Eat Roots.

England, Which "Exposed" Conditions in Russia, Suppressed Pleadings for Relief.

By PAUL WALLACE HANNA.

Washington.—Behind an official censorship which controls all cables and does not permit even a public appeal for instance, a human horror exists in India "unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the world."

This statement is made on authority of the India Famine Fund committee, of which Donald A. Cameron, manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, is honorary treasurer. A full statement of "the indescribable and ghastly conditions" was recently prepared by the famine committee. Summaries of the report appeared in April in two Toronto newspapers the Times and the Mail and Empire, after which the gag was applied so universally that the world had remained in ignorance of a tragedy so complete that in India "traffic has ceased, mails are undelivered, and business is at a standstill."

The formal appeal (now suppressed), of the famine committee reads as follows:

"Appalling conditions prevail throughout India. Thirty-two million deaths have occurred already; 150,000,000 are on the verge of starvation. Plague and famine are rampant. Death stalks through the land, taking its toll. The existing conditions are unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the world."

"This awful catastrophe is due to plagues and the failure of the crops. There has been no rain since May last, (1918), and consequently the country is literally burned up by the tropical heat."

Living Skeletons.
"The poor have eaten all their food and thousands upon thousands are reduced to such a state that they are nothing but living skeletons. The conditions are indescribable and ghastly."

"The cities are peopled by emaciated huxianity. Traffic has ceased, mails are undelivered and business is at a standstill. One hundred and fifty million loyal British subjects go hungry morning, noon and night, while a vast multitude endeavor to maintain life by eating roots, leaves and kernels of old nuts."

"Immediate help is essential. Unless the peoples of the world and governments pour help into India, by immediately cabling relief millions more British subjects will die and the world will be shocked to know the terrible results of their procrastination and selfishness."

"You who have plenty to eat and know not what starvation means—heed the call! Open your purse strings and give liberally, for the cause is worthy of your greatest efforts."

"Help them who helped us! When the great war sent forth its call to sacrifice, India answered unstintingly. She gave men and treasure sending three times as many soldiers to the front as Canada."

"The call is addressed personally to you. Don't procrastinate! Send your donations today to Donald A. Cameron, manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, corner King and Jordan streets, Toronto. The need is so urgent the funds will be cabled."

Attached to the appeal are the names of 29 representatives of religious, philanthropic and commercial institutions who compose the famine fund committee. The funds were to be distributed through the interdenominational church missions in India, whose staffs are on the ground and familiar with the shocking conditions described.

Appeal Suppressed.

The appeal was no sooner prepared and made public in Canada than it was suppressed by the authorities. No denial is made that 32,000,000 persons have died and 150,000,000 are threatened with death by starvation and plague, and Treasurer Cameron is prepared

The triple Alliance of Mines, Railwaymen, and Transport Workers are calling upon the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Unions Congress to immediately convene a great national Labor Convention to decide what action should be taken to compel the Government to comply with the terms of the resolution passed at the recent Labor League of Nations Conference, which are:—

The withdrawal of the Conscription Bill now before Parliament.

The withdrawal of all British troops now in Russia.

The release of all C. O.'s now in prison.

The raising of the Blockade.

We heartily support that demand, and we urge all members of the British Socialist Party, in their general propaganda and in their Trades Unions, Trades Councils, local Labor Parties, and other working class organizations to strive with all their might to ensure that the Convention is held and its resolutions carried into effect.

But that is not all.

Not only must the workers act one the defensive as well.

Conditions, economic, political, and social, must now be made safe for democracy. The workers cannot, dare not—if either chaos or ruthless capitalist oppression is to be avoided—wait!

What about the unemployed?

What about the widows and orphans made husbandless and fatherless by the war?

What about the hundreds of thousands of crippled men?

What about the housing problem, the pensions problems, the transport problem, and the multitude of other problems?

What about the vast schemes of social reconstruction, which, if left to the ruling class, will remain but airy dreams?

These questions, these problems, these tremendous undertakings, affecting as they do the lives and well-being of the workers, can only be satisfactorily settled, solved accomplished, by the workers themselves.

Nor is that all. The fabric of the old capitalist order has been considerably blasted and shattered, and is tottering to collapse. The old society is hovering over the abyss of bankruptcy. Dark discontents are growing and festering under the surface, though, apparently, we are still basking in the false sunshine of a fictitious Peace.

The Prime Minister talks of curbing, checking, the lava of Bolshevism. As well may Canute have pushed back the sea. Why, the tide of Bolshevism has hardly started to run yet; the rebound from the catastrophic horror of the war hardly set in. And, did our rulers rightly comprehend, it is not so much Bolshevism, while destroying their power to plunder, would still spare them from a bloody vengeance. Bolshevism is light and understanding; the new civilization in its birth struggles. Bolshevism makes for order, the elimination of ignorance, the disciplined organization of society, and the conservation of human life. Our rulers have more to fear from the creatures of their own creating, the creatures of the depths, the ignorant unfortunates who have been fed on the lies of the capitalist press. Once the tide of Revolution spreads to this country—as it most assuredly will do—and the non-Socialist proletariat—the lumpen proletariat—rise, then both the old order and the new will be equally menaced by anarchy.

Such is the situation. To substantiate the printed report. It is deemed unwise, however, to let the world know that traffic and business are at a standstill in a British dominion because of plague and famine vastly imaginative press agent has attributed to Soviet Russia.

A hint is given that Britain will succor the dying without resorting to tactless publicity. But the committee of patriotic British subjects clearly tell us that unless "peoples and governments pour help into India" millions will die and the world will be shocked "by their procrastination and selfishness."

Persons familiar with this smothered cry for help recall that the rulers of India are the same who recently published an entire volume to prove that conditions were so bad in Russia that generous nations could have no dealing with the Soviet republic. The pot still frowns on the kettle. The beam still seesaws at the mote.

Reprinted From London Call.

The mere calling together of a national Labor Convention; under the auspices of the Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee, which, of the three central Labor bodies, has proved the most effective and lacking in understanding, is inadequate.

The working-class movement requires central reorganization if the critical period through which we are passing is to be successfully voyaged. A new body, possessed of courage and audacity, fully conscious of the trend of events and the historical mission of the working class, and able to give light and leading and Socialist purpose to the entire organized mass of workers, is the pressing and essential need. The functions of this body should primarily be to unite the industrial, political, and co-operative movements in such manner as will render the whole mobile and militant, and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the rank and file.

The working-class movement possesses organization enough, power enough, to take over the country and run it in the interests of the whole people. All that is required is the right and courageous use of its organization, numbers, and power.

From certain evidence which I received from two friends, this same O. C. practised the most diabolical tyranny on two Russians in the town over which he held command. The Government owed both these men big sums on large contracts, and for no other reason, apparently, these men found themselves accused of being Bolsheviks. It was made so hot for one man, a Russian officer with our forces, that he had to leave the place without the money owing to him ever being paid; his wife, to raise money to go and join him, had to sell her personal effects. The other man is still in town, and so far as I know, still pressing his claim for payment of money sold to the English Government.

There is an amount of high feeling existing between the English and the bodies of Allied troops working under English command.

One mean bit of small jealousy cropped out in the friction between the American Y. M. C. A. men and the Army in the Murnansk district. It may have been felt that these American Y. M. C. A. workers had no place there where there were no American troops at the time, but certainly the trouble arose from another cause. The Americans were accused of doing propaganda work among the Russians; that is, their relief and educational labors, among the Russians had the effect, intended or not, of making the Americans seem more the friend of the Russian than the English, who had the job of giving more or less necessary orders that the population did not relish. The Y. M. C. A. gave way, of course, and most of their representatives left the district, jurisdiction being given over to members of the British Y. M. C. A., who, so a high American Y. M. C. A. official tells me are expected to do the proper propaganda work.

These petty tyrannies and jealousies are small matters, perhaps, but the growing hostility of the Russians to the whole expedition is a most signal evidence of its failure. The natives are not only blamed for all the thefts, but also for the deaths of a few officers. The shooting of those officers about Christmas time stirred up a great feeling, but the nature of the whole episode in each case was so little to the credit of the officers concerned that the matter was hushed up. Three Russians were sentenced by an unwilling judge to be shot for one offence, and several others given long prison terms. It is needless to say that all these Russians who get into any such trouble are called Bolsheviks, even though they are nothing but plain thieves and prostitutes. The out-and-out Bolsheviks were put under arrest sometime after our "invitation" and occupation. The officer in charge of them told me all about them. They are maintained as a gang of workmen-prisoners to do the hardest labor on the Murnansk quay. An Allied soldier goes beside each prisoner and sees to it that he "works."

"Such a waste of labor, almost slave-driving, too," I ventured to suggest; "why couldn't our own soldiers do some of the work themselves?" "Why, the Tommy wouldn't do that heavy work," he assured me promptly, "they come out here as soldiers, not as a labor battalion."

Even among the anti-Bolshevik

bourgeoisie there is a growing dislike and disgust for the methods pursued by us in North Russia. Frazer Hunt, Russian correspondent for The Chicago Tribune, during the two months that he was in North Russia was complaining bitterly because the facts of the situation as he saw them could not get past the rigid political censorship-lines. In a recent article in his paper he quotes "one of the sincerest Russian Revolutionists in Archangel, who gave years of his life to bring about the original Revolution," as follows:—

"The thousands of honest anti-Bolshevik radicals throughout Russia are fearing the course that the intervention may take more than they fear the Bolsheviks. We prefer the present Moscow Government to the return of the terrible reaction. As far as we can judge certain of the Allies now are working toward breaking the heart of the whole spirit of advancement in Russia, and want a heavy-handed dictatorship established, so that life and business can go on under the old imperialistic conditions."

Most of the Russians in Archangel and Murnansk are coming to believe what the Bolsheviks have said from the beginning, "that the Allies are intervening for some other purpose than to help the Russian people." And, on the whole, considering what has been our attitude under the present British military and political leaders, such a belief is logical enough. For the

Hitherto the chief function of the central Labor bodies appears to have been to assist the ruling class in transforming mediocre Labor "leaders" into "great" statesmen to aid in maintaining and patching together the rotten capitalist system. Now, however, the workers expect something more, and something better.

During the stormy days of the French Revolution they gathered together the representatives of the Third Estate; during these days of the world social revolution the representatives of the Fourth Estate—the workers—of this country must assemble together in Convention. And they should choose the most able and audacious from their number to sit in constant session as a Central Directing Authority.

We conceive of a Central Authority which will act firstly as a General Staff for all the forces of Labour and, secondly, as a Shadow Government: conducting the proletarian struggles of today and preparing for the dictatorship of the workers tomorrow.

Such a Central Authority would strive to bring about a condition of conscious solidarity so that all strikes, political struggles, and efforts made by the genuine co-operative organizations are mutually supported by all sections of the movement.

How many strikes have failed in the past through lack of the material support which—as the great Dublin transport workers' strike demonstrated—might have been rendered by the working-class co-operatives?

How many political demands have been "turned down" by capitalist Governments which might have been secured had the demands been backed by militant industrial action?

How many concessions which have been won by sections of the working class—such as the recent partial victories of the miners and railwaymen—might have been won for the workers as a class had the powerful industrial unions, supported by the political and co-operative forces, concentrated their power on class action instead of fighting sectionally?

Such a Central Authority, functioning as a Shadow Government, would prepare for the morrow of the revolution—when it would issue forth as the Government—by elaborating plans, carrying out investigations regarding the wealth and resources of the country, the ramification of the high finance and big capitalism and so on.

The assumption of power would compel the workers' Central Authority to undertake the task of social reconstruction in a national sense. The people would require food. The people would require fuel. It would be essential that the vital industries of the country continued working without interruption. The Central Authority would be immediately compelled to make such alterations and improvements in the lot of the workers as to retain their undivided support. It would have to curb sanguinary vengeance of the anti-Bolshevik dark monarchists.

MASS MEETING

Will be held in the
WORKERS' OPERA HOUSE

14 N. 6th Avenue West,

Thursday June 12th, 1919 8 P. M.

This meeting will be for the purpose of a shorter working day.

SPEAKERS:—

English W. E. TOWNE and Jack Carney

Austrian F. W. Brosiko.

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DULUTH, MINN.

Such are but a few of the problems which will at once confront the central organ of the social revolution.

Society is in a molten condition. So also are the organizations of the workers. Change is necessary, drastic reformation, to meet the new needs. The existing central bodies are the casual creations of yesterday and years before brought into being to satisfy the requirements of those times. Let us have boldness and courage and searching vision in getting rid of old forms, old methods, old traditions, where they hamper progress. Let the coming convention witness the formation of the Shadow Government.

THE REWARD OF THE HERO

Today, in the French army, men are made to endure rigid discipline, ine, indifferent billets, dirty ration-bags, the mud of the camps, compulsory filth, and days in prison with hair cropped short. When they go home they find taxes to pay, a grumbling landlord, the land lying waste, no work. Whether they have or have not the "Croix de Guerre" stuck in the coat, they have bronchitis in the lungs, rheumatism in the limbs, and nerves ruined by days and night spent at high tension.

An army of poor fellows, wounded, ill, and in pain, an army of sufferers falling from one misery to another. Humble and unknown, they formed with their own bodies the bloody rampart; they have need now to be cared for, consoled, and healed. But now, after the battle, they find hunger, unemployment, and the self-satisfied smile of the "victors."

Jesus, agonizing upon his cross of pain, asked for a little water to quench his thirst: he was given a sponge dipped in vinegar. To the soldiers of the armies, who would fain have some small share of the pure water of well-being and joy, they give the bitter gall of misery, of humiliation, of servile labor.

There is talk of having a glorious procession under triumphal arches. Alas! ever since human blood has flowed it is the Golgotha of pain that is climbed by the grave sons whom their mothers nursed so tenderly in their infancy, whom they had petted, "spoiled," and cherished. If the child coughed the poor mother denied herself to buy him cough mixture. She trembled at the slightest sign of a cold. What have they

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done with the mothers' sons, the "Heroes," caught in the red deluge, poor penniless fellows, emaciated, without clean clothes, and covered with vermin?

The soldier of the heroic armies, sad and broken weeps for his youth, his lost health and vanished liberty.

Joseph Tommasini of the 173rd Infantry Regiment was condemned to death and was shot on November 19th, 1914. On September 12th, 1918, the "Cour de Cassation" recognized his innocence. Just lately a commandant of the gendarmes, in the name of the President of the Republic and the War Minister, called on the widow at her house in Corsica to express regret! But what is to be done with the murderers? What is to be done with the criminal judge who condemned to death an innocent man, and with those who had the "courage" to give the word to fire on him?

Julien Leroux of the 3rd Infantry Regiment, sector 137, was condemned to five years' hard labor for having gone home to look after his sick wife and children. He could not endure the idea that they were in danger, and so he went home. But he returned to his regiment and the authorities allowed him to go back to fight again in the bloody trenches. Now they have put him under lock and key for five years' hard labor.

Another soldier, Silvestra of Marseilles, four months after the armistice, obtained 24 hours' leave to go and see his wife. He found her ill in bed with the "flu" and without a penny. He overstayed his leave, went to work for eleven days to get a little money to pay for medicines. He could not let her die there like a dog. She was his wife you see. He worked hard, and when she began to recover he went back to his depot. He was sentenced to five years' imprisonment. The poor fellow is at this moment a prisoner in Fort St. Nicholas at Marseilles.

MARCELLE CAPY in La Vague.

AMERICANS

What Is Your Answer?

READ THESE FACTS ABOUT THE JEWISH MASSACRES IN POLAND--
A TERRIBLE INDICTMENT--A BLOT ON THE FACE OF ALL CIVILIZATION!

A series of massacres and excesses unparalleled for brutality and savagery have taken place during the past seven months against Jews in more than 120 cities, towns and villages in Poland; pogroms in which Jewish men, women and children, in every walk and station of life, were tortured killed and burned alive, in which thousands of Jews were wounded, scores of women and young girls ravaged, in which countless Jewish homes were pillaged, their houses ruined, their business and property destroyed; wild and bestial orgies in which not even the sanctuaries of the Jews were spared, dozens of Synagogues were burned down, and their worshipers mercilessly shot. These outrages were committed not only by violent and uncontrollable mobs, but were instigated and organized by Agencies acting openly in face of the existing Polish Authorities, and the pogrom propaganda and pogrom activities were countenanced and in many cases directly encouraged by representatives of the Polish Government.

Come to the

Mass Meeting Sunday Evening, Shrine Auditorium

(Second Avenue East and First Street)

at 8 o'clock and Voice Your Sentiment By Your Presence.

Prominent speakers will address the meeting against these acts so shockingly at variance with the great vision held out by the President of the United States and the Allied statesmen and to the realization of which Jews spilled their blood in every Allied Army and on every battlefield on the Great War for Justice and Liberty—Come. NO COLLECTIONS or DONATIONS—Just Your Moral Support.

DULUTH COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF JEWS IN POLAND

Prepared and Written by H. Brunswick, from Data Supplied by Committee for Defense of Jews in Poland and Zionist Organization of America.

DULUTH LABOR WORLD

At the outset, we apologize to our readers for again troubling them with our local affairs, especially when we have to deal with a labor editor.

The editor of the Duluth Labor World, smarting under our recent attack, has stated that "he will drive every radical out of town." We advise him to commence at once, because, unless he is prepared to drive the radicals out of town, the radicals will drive him out, or allow him to remain as a looker-on in the labor movement.

The Duluth Labor World has for a long time received the support of the labor movement. Today it no longer receives that support, due to the fact that it has failed to even keep in step with the labor movement. The Labor World is labor in name only. We defy any of its readers to show us one single feature of the paper that justifies it being called the Labor World. On the other hand we can point out many things that prove absolutely the truth of our previous statement, that the Labor World renders better service to the business element of this community, than it does to the Labor Movement. It has been stated by a member of the Trades Assembly, that McEwen has to either make his living with the workers or his advertisers. Granting that this is so, why does not McEwen admit that he is losing out in the Labor Movement and so act the part of a MAN? Simply because McEwen fools his advertisers by telling them that HIS is the official labor paper, that if they advertise in his paper they will receive the support of labor. In other words, McEwen is capitalizing the labor movement and fooling the business men of this city. We congratulate him on his latter work, but we can only offer our emphatic protest at the manner in which he is prostituting the labor movement. The Trades Assembly has placed Marshall Wells & Co., on the unfair list. At the last meeting of the Trades' Assembly, delegates denounced this firm and one delegate stated that "it was the cheapest outfit in the country." Another delegate told a touching story of the inhuman manner they had treated an old employee. **STILL MARSHALL WELLS ARE ALLOWED TO ADVERTISE IN THE LABOR WORLD.**

We again repeat our question of two weeks ago, **WHO PAID FOR THE LABOR WORLD SPECIAL EDITION THAT WAS SCATTERED BROADCAST THROUGHOUT THE TWIN CITIES?** Why was it well nigh impossible to obtain a copy in this city? Why the need for so much secrecy about it?

We are not attacking the editor of Labor World because we bear any dislike to him, socially. Far from it. We have refused many offers of information, because we are not going to use the muck-rake. We attack the Labor World for not acting square. We believe that the Labor Movement, which has been built up by the blood and tears of brave workmen and women, should be the object of devotion and sacrifice on the part of those that seek to represent it; either in the press or the legislative assemblies of labor. To us, the Labor Movement carries with it the hopes, the aspirations and the ideals, to which we have worked for the attainment of, for the last thirteen years. During that time, we have been inspired by the deeds of our class, we shall always defend them against those that seek to prostitute its movements. We have seen men and women, in the cold winter's snow, standing out in the picket line, only to contract consumption and then to die gamely, happy in the fact that they died for labor. We have seen homes broken up, but the husbands, mothers and children

have borne it all and gone elsewhere, there to take up the fight once more. We could describe many scenes, which would bring tears to the eyes of strong men. They all tell of the unbounded devotion of the unknown men and women who have built up the labor movement and given men like McEwen soft jobs. So when McEwen states, that he will drive every radical out of town, he makes a threat that he will never carry out. If we have got to sleep out and eat dry bread, we shall use every ounce of energy and either McEwen or ourselves will have to admit defeat. And we know it will not be ourselves.

The time has arrived and none too soon, when the Labor Movements need to be cleaned out, like a gardener cleans out his garden and removes the weeds. Read this list:—

President Locomotive Engineers	\$10,000
President Railroad Trainmen	7,500
President A. F. of L.	7,500
President United Mine Workers	5,000

and there are OTHERS. Look the above list over and then contrast it with the wages paid to the members of the unions who pay the dues that gives the officials of the international unions their salaries. Can you expect a man who is drawing over \$100.00 per week, to understand the position of the worker who is receiving from \$20.00 to \$25.00 per week? Certainly not! The international officers of the labor movement, live in an atmosphere that breeds conservatism. They ape the master class in every way. They go out for their applause and then they have the cool cheek to condemn movements like the Seattle movement. Then when men rise up in their unions and appeal to their fellow-members to alter this state of affairs, men like McEwen talk about driving them out of town. Go to it William!

The day is fast approaching, if it has not already arrived, when the labor unions of this country must adopt the shop steward system. It has been found essential for the well-being of the British trade union movement, to oust its officials and to reorganize upon the shop-steward basis. To bring the employers directly in contact with the rank and file elected shop delegates of labor. This method leaves no room for betrayals and it bars out the pie-card artist. By compelling the boss to meet with the workers, on the job in the bosses' time, if you please, the labor movement in Britain and Ireland has gained strength. It has made workers feel that there is nothing like trusting in yourselves. The American Labor movement must awaken and adopt the shop steward system of the British movement or the job delegate system of the despised I. W. W. Labor must learn to fight its own battles. To stand up and elect its own delegates from the rank and file. It is no use being fooled by the sophistry of general organizers, who tell you that the rank and file elects its international officers. They know and we know, that the jobs of the well-paid officials are protected by a machine and the machine in many towns employs gunmen, so that they can intimidate the radical who dares to question the leaders.

The editor of the Labor World can go his way in peace, but when he sets to attack the radicals he is starting on a rough journey.

(To be continued if necessary).

The Duluth Herald still writes funny stories about Russia. They cannot compete with LIFE.

The employers will give time to eat, time to sleep; but they are in terror of time to think.—K. G. Chesterton.

MAX EASTMAN AND THE LEFT WING

THE INTERNATIONAL CLASS STRUGGLE.

In this ultimate exposure of the piratical purpose at the heart of the war for democracy, how happy are all the revolutionists who oppose it—and how humbly penitent, if they ever failed or faltered for a moment in loyalty to the great truth that it was entrusted to them to know! Let there be no more failure and no more faltering. These imperialistic pirates who have ripped open and mutilated the wounded body of the German nation after surrender, are at the same time engaged in the cold blooded murder by starvation of hundreds of thousands of men and women and little children in the towns and cities of European Russia. They are starving them because that is the only way they can prevent the truth that has been demonstrated in Russia from becoming known to the whole world. And while they are starving them, they are supplying arms and ammunition and soldiers to the few remaining minions of the Czar and of Big Business to shoot them down. And they are raiding and slaughtering the people of Hungary in the same deliberate manner and for the same desperate purpose. Remember with what horror we read only a year ago that the Germans were "closing in on Petrograd" and "plunging toward Moscow" in violation of an armistice and of the rights of a defenseless nation? Remember how these Germans were played up in the papers as dishonorable robbers and butchers of men, until even some of us socialists who ought to have known better, were almost ready to enlist against them under the colors of the Allies? And now in the same columns of the same papers we read that the Allies are "closing in on Hungary," the Allies are "plunging toward Budapest," in violation of an armistice and of the rights of a defenseless nation. Do we have to be instructed that the Allied Governments, too, are dishonorable robbers and butchers of men? It is all very plain now even to the mind of a child. The war for democracy, the war that we who love the people of the world and care about their peace and freedom and happiness, have to wage, is the war between the Communist International and the League of Imperialist Nations. The line is so clearly and fearfully drawn that there can be no doubt and no confusion in the heart of any socialist any longer.

We cannot treat with these, the murders of our comrades. We cannot send delegates to them to plead and persuade, to beg for amnesties for our prisoners, to pray for the incorporation of social reform measures in the constitution of their League of Nations, as the Berne conference did. It is time for all pleading and appealing and associating ourselves with these governments to cease. It is time for us, in every press and our platforms, to wage the class war against them.

That is the reason why the entire Socialist Party of Italy, through its executive committee, has withdrawn from the old international which organized the Berne conference of Social Patriots, and affiliated itself with the third international summoned by the Soviet Government in Moscow.

That is the reason why the Socialist parties of Serbia, Rumania, Denmark and Norway refused to send delegates to that conference.

That is why Loriot, the spokesman of the Left Wing of the French movement, denounced the Conference, saying: "You have come together not for the purpose of finding a Socialist solution for the tragic problems that have fol-

lowed in the wake of this greatest of all capitalist crimes, but for the purpose of finding some sort of justification for the governmental, nationalistic, chauvinistic neo-war-Socialism that flourished upon the ruins of the Socialist movement after the outbreak of the war.

"You are here, not in order to give expression to your determination to fulfill your Socialist ideals, but in order to document the agreement of the International with the policies of Wilson, the representative of American multi-millionaires.

"You have met, finally, and above all, to condemn the tremendous struggle for freedom that is spreading out from Russia all over Western Europe."

That is why the socialists of the Left Wing in almost every other country have their own organization and their own spokesmen and their own press, through which they have repudiated the Berne Congress and the old international which organized it.

And that is why at last, even in the United States, we have a Left Wing, with its own organization, and its own spokesmen, and its own press. We know that the international class struggle is being fought to a finish in Europe, with all the weapons and forces of propaganda that are available on either side. There is no middle ground left. Every thinking man and woman there is either for the revolution or against it. And every one here too. And we are for it, and we can not tolerate the silence of the official party in this the most critical hour in all the history of the revolutionary hopes of mankind.

THE INDIANS.

During the last week, at Cass Lake, Minn.; there has been an Indian celebration.

The Indians have set an example in this country, that might well be followed by the white people, to their decided betterment. When the white people came to this country and took it away from the Indians, they found the Indian people far different to the people of many other races. When a nation conquers another nation, they are generally able to subdue the people of the conquered nation. But not so with the Indians. The Indian absolutely refused to become a slave. It was not due to the lack of desire on the part of the New England Puritans, but due to the strong will of the Indian. The New England Puritans divided up the Pequot women and children and massacred the men. They sold the Indian men, who were not murdered, to the Spaniards and they drove them into the mines of Central and South America. There, the Indians refused to work and so they died the most horrible of deaths. The Indian resolved to die, rather than become a slave. During the time of slavery in the Southern States of America, the master-class so feared the Indians, that if it was known that a negro child had one drop of Indian blood coursing through his veins, he was got rid of.

Well might the white workers of the world follow out the example of the Indians! The white workers far outnumber the Indians and with the advantages given to them by modern education and machinery they can make the world free from all kinds of slavery. The spirit of the Indians must be the same spirit that must grip the hearts of the white people, before we can ever hope to be free.

The malice of the world ain't half so dangerous as its flattery.—John Billings.

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CHARGE JURY OUT 3.45 WEDNESDAY 2.15
THURSDAY.

SEATTLE GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

THE END IS NEAR

"In view of the endless crimes committed by the employees of so-called detective agencies, who have been permitted to usurp a function that should belong only to the State, it is suggested that the Commission recommend to Congress either that such of these agencies as may operate in more than one State, or may be engaged by corporations engaged in interstate commerce, or may use the mails, shall be compelled to take out a Federal license, with regulations to ensure the character of their employees and a limitation of their activities to the bona fide business of detecting crime, or that such agencies shall be utterly abolished through the operation of the taxing power or through denying them the use of the mails."

The above is an extract from a report of the Commission on Industrial Relations Report. This Commission, as you all know, was appointed by the United States Government during the first administration of President. The Government refused to act upon the recommendations of the Commission.

Last year the press of this city advertised the dirty, cowardly work of the Knights of Liberty, those soulless human degenerates who once were men. They openly went out of their way to applaud the Knights of Liberty, by writing careful editorials, the placing of a if there and suggesting that "if certain men were given a lesson etc." all would be well. The Knights of Liberty sought to close the mouths of the workers, so all was well.

When that creature, that was once a man, "Holy" Hand-some, of Seattle, suddenly went crazy and toured this country suggesting that all labor agitators should be hung to the nearest post, the press all with one unanimous voice said that Ole was a man. In fact some were so crazy as to suggest him for our next President.

The applauding of violence and the instigation to commit acts of violence has always been the policy of the capitalist press. When the Chicago martyrs were being well supported by the people, a dynamite was suddenly discovered in the cell of one of the martyred comrades. Immediately there was a hue and cry raised against all labor organizations. The finding of dynamite in the cell of Ling, was the main factor in sending those men to the gallows.

When the public had realized that the trial of the I. W. W. was a judicial scandal and a farce, it was easy to be seen, that there was no reason why the I. W. W. members should not be admitted to bail. Then a bomb was planted and the unfortunate members of the I. W. W. were rushed to Leavenworth, under an armed guard.

Today sentiment is in favor of a general strike for Tom Mooney. Seven hundred and fifty unions out of eight hundred and twenty have voted in favor of the general strike. Sentiment is on the side of all class war prisoners. The people are becoming wise to the Anti-Bolshevik propaganda being carried on in this country. Something must be done to stay the flowing tide of popular discontent. The bomb outrages of the First of May were so raw, that they were easily seen through. But this time, the persons responsible made sure that some poor worker was killed. A well gotten up leaflet, cleverly designed, so as to throw the blame upon the workers was distributed. A worker was slain. So the miserable story continues. Some poor innocent worker is going to be framed up. Another life to be sacrificed.

The bomb outrages are but an expression of the soul of capitalism. Capitalism the destroyer of millions of lives. The creator of hideous world wars, lives on and breeds fierce. Today an enlightened workingclass is beginning to organize itself, so that it may step in and upon the ruins of capitalism erect a new order of things. This new society brings with it that law which has such a terror for the capitalist class, IF A MAN SHALL NOT WORK NEITHER SHALL HE EAT. Work is the monster that drives the masterclass into hysterics. It is the dread of being compelled to work that makes them employ gunmen, stool-pigeons or any other inhuman monster, so that they may cow or kill those of the workingclass that dare to call their souls, their own. The frequency of bomb outrages, which always manage to appear at the psychological moment, is but further proof that the beginning of the end has set in. So comrades in this hour be cool and calm. Do not allow the excitement of the day to destroy your effectiveness as a cool enlightened member of the workingclass. Our position is so clear and our future too well assured to warrant our using dynamite bombs. Let the masterclass use them to discredit us. Some day we shall be enlightened and strong enough to take over industry and in that hour we shall make all private detectives, stool-pigeons and the rest of their breed decent men. We shall shew them how to live the lives of honest men. So let us go on with our agitation, organization and education for the end of capitalism is near.

The Russian revolution was caused by prohibition, says Samuel. Duluth is dry. Trades Assembly forms a Labor Party. Something wrong with our kind of prohibition.

Samuel Gompers is not going to retire. Did you ever know a pie-card artist who did?

THE CRISIS WITHIN THE PARTY

The National Executive Committee, with the exception of comrades Katterfield and Wagenknecht, has expelled over 45,000 members from the party. The whole State of Michigan and seven language federations have been expelled. All because they have endorsed the policy of the Left Wing.

Seymour Stadman, John M. Work, Victor L. Berger, and a few more of the N. E. C. seem to think that it is their special duty to lead the rank and file. Now that the rank and file are alive to their policy of opportunism, they are in danger of being ousted at the coming election of a new N. E. C. Therefore in order to ensure their re-election, they expel all those that are in any way opposed to their opportunistic tactics. It is a desperate policy that plainly shows how desperate is the position of the majority of the N. E. C.

4 The expulsion of 45,000 members is no light matter. It is one that must command the attention of every earnest member of the party. Therefore, the Duluth English Local has passed the following motion:

"That we, the members of the Duluth English Local, demand that the action of the National Executive Committee be sent out to the rank and file of the party, for their endorsement or rejection."

If this motion is supported by five locals, the N. E. C. are duty bound to send it out to a referendum of the party. If the action of the N. E. C. is an expression of the rank and file, then we of the Left Wing will abide by it and bend to, with all the energy at our disposal.

The workingclass today stands upon the threshold of the new society. It stands temptingly before us. It can be created, if we are organized and intelligent enough to utilize the advantages that are presented to us. Read the speech of Vanderlip, the famous American banker and then think for one moment and say to yourself, "What am I doing, to make the revolution a success?" The majority of the National Executive Committee are eager for office. They forget the principles of Socialism, all for the sake of getting into office. In Minneapolis they conduct a Van Lear campaign, in Chicago a Cumee campaign, in New York a Hillquist campaign and in Wisconsin a Berger campaign. We defy any comrade to show us in any of the platforms, upon which these men ran, any trace of revolutionary Socialism. "Socialists" elected to office, win by stultifying Socialism. Immediately they taste of the sweets of office their opposition to scientific socialism becomes more and more pronounced. They oppose any measure that seeks to bring them in direct conflict with the office they hold. It naturally follows that if we compromise at every turn, we will lose out, because we will have lost the confidence of the workers who will have become disgusted with our leaders.

The Social Revolution will never be achieved by simply electing a mayor in Dubtown. The revolution will be a success when we have the workers organized and conscious of their strength to run industry. Therefore it naturally follows that the workers must work to set themselves free. That means that there is no room in our movement for lawyers, intellectuals (?), and other unnecessary beings that capitalism has created. The words of Marx still ring in our ears, "that the emancipation of the workers must be brought about by the workers themselves." The rank and file of the party are beginning to realize the truth of what Marx said, that is why they are voting for candidates who are from the workingclass and possessed of a revolutionary workingclass viewpoint. If the Left Wing wins out, then there is no room for Stedman, Hillquist, Berger and their hangers-on. To many of these comrades the movement is their bread and butter. They defend comrades who are arrested. The movement becomes to them a thing that exists to give them a living. Take the movement away from them and they are without a means of living. Let us not be sentimental about this matter, but act like men and women and for the sake of the revolution let us act straight. The surgeon who shoves in the knife and digs down deep, soon heals the wounds. Therefore let us dig down deep. Let us clear the movement of its lawyers etc. Let us make it a real workingclass organization. True it is, that the Left Wing is not free from that element, but the workingclass element within the Left Wing dominates the petty bourgeoisie by about 100 to 1. So let us remove the present N. E. C. and in their place elect a new executive and prepare for the future.

The evolution of capitalism into its final stage, Imperialism, brings the common workers, the unskilled proletariat, into a position lately occupied by the skilled workers, that of the dominant section within the workingclass. The day has gone by, when the skilled workers can successfully discriminate against the unskilled worker. The demand for industrial unionism by the several craft unions, within the American Federation of Labor, is but the effect of imperialism. In all our agitations we must remember this fact. When the workers in the basic industries of society are industrially organized and are made conscious of their power, then the foundation is laid for a successful social revolution. When the workers, here in Duluth, within the Steel industry, are strong enough to shake the very foundations of that industry then, and not until then, will there be any chance of success. Our economic power must be organized and for that reason, those that will wield that power must dominate the Socialist Party. There can be no room for the man AWAY FROM THE JOB. The movement must be a movement of revolutionary workers. So let us stand firm and make our propaganda worthy of the big things that stand before us. Let us clear the decks and set out for action. Let us quit wasting our time on petty reforms and get down to the real work. It is action that we require. Therefore let us engage in action within the party. Let us remove the barnacles that impede our progress. Let us hoist our sails and sail straight for the co-operative commonwealth. The fight is going to be hard. We shall need men and women with a mind to think and a heart to do and to dare. Come comrades and join hands. With a cleansed movement, our work will be much easier. Do not become pessimistic. Because the split had to come. It is a sign of the growing interest being displayed by members of the party.

"THE FUTURE IS WITH THE COMMON PEOPLE."

A minority of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, consisting of seven members, has acted to expel without trial almost one-half of the membership of the Party.

It has "suspended" in a manner expulsion, the Russian, Polish, Lettish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, Ukrainian and South Slavic Federations of the Socialist Party, comprising about thirty thousand members.

It has approved, by refusing to intervene, all the expulsions of locals and branches in the Socialist Party of New York, refusing to discipline the violators of the Party constitution and approving the violation of the Party members' rights.

The N. E. C., moreover—again the minority of seven—has refused to make public the results of the referendum vote on members of the N. E. C., international delegates and

international secretary; it is preparing to destroy the election.

The clear, uncompromising purpose of these illegal, autocratic actions is to crush revolutionary Socialism in the Party, to retain control for the moderate Socialists, the petty bourgeois reformers who are betraying fundamental Socialism. The N. E. C. is practicing conscious sabotage upon the will of the membership of the Party; they are splitting the Socialist Party in an unscrupulous attempt to retain control of the Party.

This crisis affects the integrity and future of the Socialist Party. The undersigned, accordingly, having the interest of the Party and revolutionary Socialism at heart, issue this call to the membership to act. The facts are a call to action.

I.

The conspiracy to split the Socialist Party, to crush revolutionary Socialism, started with an attack upon the Party in Michigan. The Party there, at its recent state convention, decided to strike out of the platform all legislative reform measures, and to expel any branch or local advocating these measures.

Upon the charge of this measure (which had not yet been ratified by referendum) was a violation of the national Party platform and constitution, the minority of seven on the N. E. C. expelled the Socialist Party of Michigan.

There was no trial, no opportunity for defense offered the Michigan comrades. A motion to allow Michigan an opportunity to interpret their action was voted down by the minority of seven. The right to appear at a trial was denied.

But this expulsion of Michigan comrades voted solid for the Left Wing candidates, that two of the present members of the N. E. C. would be defeated for re-election by two Michigan comrades. Expulsion would throw out about 3,000 Left Wing votes—on with the expulsion of Michigan!

II.

But this expulsion of Michigan, apparently, was not sufficient to decide the elections in favor of the reactionary moderates. As a subsequent session, accordingly, it was decided to destroy the whole election.

The N. E. C. refused to count the votes or make them public. They nullified the referendum vote, destroyed the will of the membership in order to retain control—and practically every member of the minority of seven on the N. E. C. is out for re-election, interested parties.

There were absolutely no valid grounds for this drastic action of sabotage. The majority N. E. C. members realized, in various ways, that the Left Wing had swept the Party, that the old officials and betrayers of Socialism had been beaten, that revolutionary Socialism was conquering the Party. So they crushed the will of the membership. They offered no real proof of irregularity—except the fact, perhaps, that the membership had voted solid against the moderates.

This sabotage of the will of the membership was camouflaged as "an investigation" of the ballots, the investigating committee consisting of three Right Wingers appointed by the Right Wing members of the N. E. C.

This action is a violation of the Party constitution, which prohibits executive officials from interfering with the processes of the membership.

It is a violation of the spirit of the Party, an attempt to isolate the Party from the currents of revolutionary Socialism now vitalizing every Socialist Party in the world.

The N. E. C. action is equivalent to stealing the elections. The party must act sternly to rebuke this official chicanery and sabotage.

III.

The N. E. C. majority decided to refer the whole issue of the votes to the Emergency Party Convention to be held August 30. But this didn't satisfy them. They were not sure of a majority in the convention—so they determined to make certain a majority of reactionary moderate Right Wing delegates at the convention, that would approve their abominable actions.

Accordingly, a motion was made to suspend from the Socialist Party the Russian, Lettish, Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Hungarian and South Slavic Federations of the Party—comprising about 30,000 active members.

The Federations were suspended—in a way that is really expulsion, no arrangements being made to maintain their connection with the Party until a decision—because they were stigmatized as being Left Wing. They were suspended in order that they could not vote for delegates to the convention, thereby assuring control to the Right Wing moderates.

The purpose was clear. It was conscious. It was a deliberate move to crush the revolutionary majority now prevailing in the Socialist Party.

Moreover, the Party constitution makes the action of the N. E. C. absolutely illegal, since the Constitution distinctly provides that only the state organization has the right to suspend or expel language branches.

But determined to control the party, determined to crush revolutionary Socialism, they violated every provision of the constitution and ordinary Socialism decency to wreak their reactionary, vengeful will upon the party.

Party members have the right to propose the principles and tactics of the Left Wing, in an effort to have them accepted by the whole Party. But the N. E. C. says no—we must control!

Destroy the votes of our foreign comrades, prevent them from voting for delegates to the convention—let the moderates rule or ruin the party. That was the policy of the N. E. C. majority.

These desperate tactics of the right wing members of the N. E. C. must not be construed alone as a desperate attempt of defeated officials to retain control of the party. It is part and parcel of the controversy on principles and tactics in the Socialist Party of the struggle between the Right Wing and the Left Wing, between moderate petty bourgeois "Socialism" and revolutionary, proletarian Socialism.

The moderates on the N. E. C. and in the party show no realization of the problems of the international revolution, of the necessity of reconstructing the party policy in accord with our revolutionary comrades in Europe. They want to maintain control for moderate, petty bourgeois "Socialism"—even if it means expelling the majority of the party from the party.

The crisis is serious. It affects the future of Socialism and the proletariat. We are confident that revolutionary Socialism will conquer the party, that it will prevail in spite of the sabotage of the N. E. C.

Protest against the criminal actions of the N. E. C. moderates. Insist that the votes be counted and made public. Insist that the expulsion of Michigan and the Federations shall not prevail.

Rally to the Left Wing, comrades: to the Left Wing belongs the future of revolutionary Socialism.

The slogan of the moderates is: Split the party for moderate, petty bourgeois Socialism!

The slogan of the Left Wing is: Conquer the party for revolutionary Socialism, for the Communist International!

Rally, comrades, to revolutionary Socialism—to the revolutionary Socialist Party now in the making.

L. KATTERFIELD.

A. WAGENKNECHT.

L. C. FRANA.

EUGENE V. DEBS FOR PRESIDENT

We have always admired 'Gene Debs. We have not admired him, simply because he was 'Gene Debs, just because 'Gene stood for all that we stood for. It was 'Gene that sounded the rallying note that united the revolutionists within the party. When other comrades were excusing themselves, Debs was out standing to the fore and telling the people what he knew to be true. No compromise, and always daring. It was for that, we stood by Debs. We shall always stand by Debs, because we know that until the cold grave receives his last remains, Debs will always stand up and speak the truth, without fear or favor. When we think of Debs, we think of the toiling masses. When we read a Debs speech, our whole being is thrilled for Debs coins the thoughts of ours into words that bite into your heart and inspire you to go on ahead. Debs stands up and stretches out his hands, we can see the workers stretching out and taking control of industry. When we hear Debs pay his tribute to the common workers, we see the workers ruling, not the highbrows. Debs is the one big figure that makes men like Stedman, Germer, Berger, Work and Hillquist look like, well you know. So we pay our tribute to Debs, by endeavoring to carry out the ideas that he has gone to prison for. We shall pay our tribute to Debs by taking our place with the unskilled workers and endeavor to make them realize that millionaires, silk-clad women, pampered pets, etc., live only by the strength of labor's right arm. We shall be an admirer of Debs, and prove our admiration by the deeds that we shall do.

Now that Debs has gone to prison, the reactionaries of the Socialist movement, who have stabbed Debs in the back ALL the time, are now capitalizing Debs in order to stem the rising tide of discontent amongst the rank and file of the Socialist Party. DEBS FOR PRESIDENT THEY SAY! They know that their own behavior on the political field has been one long story of rank compromise and a betrayal of the workingclass. They know that there is not one politician of the Socialist Party who can honestly prove to the working class that he has taken a revolutionary stand in any political office they have held. There is one exception, Comrade, E. G. Strand of Two Harbors, go all down the line and produce your next. It is the work of the politicians of the Socialist Party that has retarded our movement. The disgust of the "wobly" can be directly traced to the Londons, Bergers, Lees, and the rest of the party politicians. These politicians know that their record is rotten, so they use 'Gene Debs as a cloak to cover their rottenness.

But comrades we are not discouraged. We have made mistakes in the past, but we have profited by them. We shall let the mistakes of the past be the guide posts of the future. We shall march out and take our place in the THIRD international, placing our hopes in the unskilled workers and with them organized we know that our success is assured. The social revolution will receive its main support from the unskilled workers. We shall organize them and when the time arrives for mass action, we shall be prepared to engage in same. When the time arrives, 'Gene Debs will stand with the workers on the jobs, not leading them but standing and working with them. When the fight takes place watch the politicians of the party. They will be in the coalition governments playing the same game that Ebert and Scheideman are playing today, stabbing the workers in the back.

SYLVIA PANKHURST AND JOHN MACLEAN

It is with great pleasure we introduce to our readers two new contributors to Truth. As often as the censor will allow, the above comrades will contribute to our columns.

Sylvia Pankhurst is the daughter of Mrs. Pankhurst of suffrage "fame." A few years ago Sylvia inaugurated a no-rent campaign in order that working women might get the vote. The rich supporters of the suffragette movement immediately protested against such a policy and Sylvia was repudiated by her own mother. Since then Sylvia has wearied of ever obtaining success to her cause through the ballot. She now stands for the Soviet form of government. More power to Sylvia!

John Maclean is a hardy Scot. He is the Bolshevik Consul in Scotland. He has been to the fore all through the war. In and out of prison all the time. No sooner was he in, then the men struck for his release. No sooner was he out, than he was in. So John has had quite a good time of it.

LEST WE FORGET

You all remember how we cheered J. O. Bentall when he was on his way to prison. We witnessed the women comrades shedding tears. The big comrades just remained quiet. It was a great test, to put one's emotions to, when they sent Bentall to prison. We said that we would never forget Bentall. Shure we would all write to him!

A few days ago a man came out of prison and told us that Bentall was feeling a bit downcast. You have forgotten him for the time being. You did not mean to do so. Bless you all, you have so much to do and to think about, but the good old war-horse is still at CROW WING COUNTY JAIL, BRAINEED, MINNESOTA. He is still behind those bars. Now that the sun is shining and the birds are singing in the trees, it is mighty lonesome for Bentall. It is good for you to be out enjoying yourselves. But men like Bentall had to fight for you to enjoy the little freedom that you now possess. Say you will write that letter to Bentall and we know that you will send a dollar. Think on we are going to ask Bentall how many of you wrote to him. So just drop Bentall a line and if you have any books send them on.

2,500,000 million English workers are lined up against the State of England. They are the transport workers, the miners and many other workers in other branches of industry. Their demands are:—

1. The abandonment of compulsory military service.
2. The cessation of the Russian adventure.
3. The raising of the blockade around the Central Powers.

4. Release of all conscientious objectors. It is said that a strike of such magnitude would paralyze business. How strange!

The British soldiers have stormed the House of Commons and demanded work. Utilizing their training in throwing hand grenades, they threw stones and rushed the police. Sawful.

Secretary Midgley of the Vancouver Federation of Labor states that so far 24,000 members are in favor of the One Big Union and 6,000 against.