

BUTTE miners have decided to go back to work and strike on the job. Why strike in your own time and starve, when you can strike in the bosses' time and get paid for it? --- Let the boss starve for a change!!

Workers
of the
World
Unite!

THE TRUTH

Who is it speaks of Defeat?
I tell you a cause like ours
Is greater than defeat can know
It is the power of powers.

As surely as the earth rolls round
As surely as the glorious sun
Brings the world moon wave,
Must our Cause be won!

VOL. IV. — No. 21

14.

Duluth FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1920

WHOLE No. 152

FIVE CENTS.

GERMAN "REDS" PREPARING FOR ACTION

500,000 Stool Pigeons To Be Fired

COLOGNE, April 17. (By Mail).

—I have just returned from the Ruhr Valley, and must state my belief that the Ruhr is ripe for another workers' uprising, better organized, more united, and more desperate in character than the one overwhelmed by the Reichswehr.

In Munster, Wesel, Dorsten, Essen, Rochum, Rortmund, and half a dozen other industrial centres, the machineguns and bayonets of the Reichswehr maintain a precarious truce. Here and elsewhere the Red Army has ceased to exist as a visible force, but the organization which called it into being in the early days of April is stronger than ever, and beyond the reach of the military. In many small towns south of the Ruhr the workers are to-day practically controlling local government. Their headquarters are at Remscheid, a little town 20 miles east of Dusseldorf, and just outside the area of British occupation. A central committee, with representatives in all the cities of the Ruhr Valley, is functioning here, and biding its time.

There are to-day at least 40,000 Reichswehr concentrated in and around the Ruhr Valley. They are directed in the field by General von Seeckt, formerly Mackensen's chief of staff, yet you Baumbach, the Essen commandant, told me that he considers this force inadequate to cope with the workers in case of a well-directed rising.

Workers Armed.

German military authorities estimate that less than 10 per cent of the weapons in the possession of the workers have been surrendered as the result of this fighting. This estimate is substantiated by individual workers, who told me without hesitation that they have rifles secreted, and that it is only a matter of time before the Red Army will be "mobilised" again. The Reichswehr proclamations demand the turning in, not only of rifles, but also of machineguns, hand grenades, minnenwerfer, and flame throwers. The last proclamation in Esse, signed by con Baumbach, gives notice that any worker found with a weapon after noon today (Sunday) will be liable to summary execution. None of the hidden stores have been disturbed as a result.

The morale of the Reichswehr in the Westphalian cities is bad, and it is doubtful whether another uprising will see discipline maintained. Privates pass their officers in the street without saluting—something almost unbelievable in Germany. A large percentage of the troops are boys still in their teens. They are frankly afraid of the working-class strength and solidarity, and much of the recent White Terror in the Ruhr is due to this fear.

A majority of the workers enrolled in the Red Army could not by any stretch of imagination be called Bolsheviks, and the report to headquarters on the late uprising by the British Military Intelligence at Cologne states flatly, I learn, that not only were all the leaders native Germans, including at least one Burgoemeister, but also that there has been no connection between the Ruhr Valley and Soviet Russia.

Swing to Left

The general complexion of the so-called Reds in the Ruhr is shown by a census of 2,600 of them who retreated into British occupied area before the Reichswehr, and were interned at Dibruck, near Cologne. Of these 2,600, 1,000 were Majority Socialists, 1,400 Independent Socialists, and only 200 Communists. Captain Otto Schwink, former bridgehead officer at Cologne for the German General Staff, told me that, without doubt, the last revolution started merely as a working-class protest against the Kapp-Luttwitz coup.

Since then, however, sentiment among the Ruhr workers has swung far towards the left, partly because of the brutality shown by the Reichswehr in putting down the uprising, partly because of the feebleness shown by the Ebert Government from the right. The feeling that Germany needs a thorough social revolution is growing among the workers. Stern, Eppstein, Meiberg, and other men who won reputations as able leaders in the late rising, are pure Communists, and their present hiding-places are said to be very close to the Ruhr Valley. There is every indication that another Junker coup in Germany will bring that country nearer to real Bolshevism than anything else so far.

NO 'DRUNKS' IN LENIN'S LAND

A BRITISH NURSE AMONG THE BOLSHEVICS

SAW NO ATROCITIES

Much valuable information on conditions in Russia is given in a little book just published by A. C. Fifield, 13 Clifford's Inn, London under the title "A British Nurse in Russia."

The author, Miss Margaret Barber, is a clergyman's daughter who went out to Armenia in April, 1916, as a Red Cross nurse. When Van, where she worked, was taken by the Turks, she joined the Friends' War Victims Committee in Russia. She worked in Samara for two years, having experience both under rule.

In 1918, when the Friends' unit of the old regime and under Bolshevik returned home, she joined the Armenian unit in Moscow, and continued her work under Bolshevik control. After a year in Astrakhan she joined a Red Cross deputation for negotiating the repatriation of Armenians.

A British Officer's Surprise

At Port Alexandrovsk she found herself among Russian officers in British khaki, who refused to allow the deputation to return, and sent Miss Barber to the British Mission. She found an English officer to whom she could speak freely. "I told him of my impressions of the White officers, and asked why the British were helping them to fight the Bolsheviks," she relates. "He replied that they were fighting the Bolsheviks because they committed such atrocities, and seemed surprised at my not having seen or heard

EDITOR'S FOREWORD. In Scotland they have a labor movement, that is possessed of backbone. That is why the Scottish "Worker", the organ of the Workers' Committees of Scotland, can print the following appeal. If this appeal were published in America, the authorities would have you hung, drawn and quartered and Palmer would die of Red-itis.

Hello! Are You There?

Do you want Capitalism to live for ever? If not, what are you doing to hasten Socialism?

Are you battering at the present system and at those who uphold this system, or are you merely trying to flatten every Comrade who happens to differ with you on some unimportant and petty detail of policy and tactics?

If you are, then you are neither a Revolutionist nor a man—you are only a silly fool. If you want to crack YOUR egg on the narrow end, do it—but let the other chap crack his on the board end if he wants to. If somebody else prefers to suck it—let him.

You'll all get the contents if you break the shell one way or the other. You'll never break the deamned shell as long as you snarl at one another over nothing.

And if you keep at it much longer you'll find the egg rotten one day. This country wants Soviets. Do you think Soviets are a good thing?

If you do, then get on the job make some.

If a pal wants to help you make 'em, don't chase him because he's got a "parliamentary kink." He'll get over it some day—so will you.

Don't bring howitzer along to kill a flea with—keep it for the big job. Capitalism is the common enemy. Never mind what the great Comrade Some body said in 1875. Hes dead. But Capitalism is still alive and kicking. And kicking "something hellish."

Soviets are one of the necessities of the Revolution

Soviets means—Committees at the point of production, and at the point of residence. Whatever else you believe to be necessary at least believe THAT.

And believing it—stop yapping like toy terriers and make a start. This isn't poem in free verse, good people, it's a piece of palpable wisdom.

of any." Miss Barber was detained for some time.

"I was taxed with having seen no Bolshevik atrocities, and as I could think of nothing bad to tell them except shortage of food, I felt myself an object to great suspicion."

In Soviet Russia, Miss Barber writes, she saw no drunkenness, the sale of strong drink being prohibited. Among the Whites she witnessed six naval officers intoxicated while on duty, and two British soldiers, accidentally shot by drunken Russian officers. Churches and theatres were open under both Reds and Whites.

"Red" Children's Lot

Of the children's lot under the Soviets, Miss Barker writes:—

"The children under Bolshevism receive all the privileges of a worker without working, up to the age of 16. All food which is scarce at the present time, such as chocolate, cocoa, milk, and sweets, are obtainable only by children's tickets."

Her final note is on "atrocities." "Terrible atrocities have been committed by Denikin's and Koltchak's armies—the latter witnessed by the Friends' Unit, who went home via Siberia and the former described to me by White peasants. Many atrocities attributed to the Reds were not committed by them at all; e. g., the Petrograd atrocities of the first Revolution and the Odessa atrocities. Atrocities are committed by both sides, and do not in themselves justify the support of either party."

BERLIN, April 26, (by mail).—The newspapers report that an influential commercial circles the conviction prevails that Germany will recognise the Russian Soviet Republic before long. Extensive preparations for resuming trade relations have already been made.

MONEY FOR BLOOD OF BELA KUN

Big Rewards Offered by Budapest

JUDGES TO HURRY

VIENNA.—Two authentic documents of the Hungarian Army Command have just reached Vienna, direct from the headquarters of the Magyar General Staff.

The first document is signed by Colonel Janky, Governor Horthy's brother-in-law, and reads:—

"Order concerning reward for capture or incapacitation of the following active Communists now abroad:

"250,000 crowns for Bela Kun, Joseph Pogany, Franz Gondor.

"Any other former People's Commissary, 100,000 crowns. "Assistant People's Commissary Sallai, alias Holdender, 20,000 crowns.

"The above sums are payable upon fulfillment of the prescribed conditions."

Doubtless this document explains the two attempts upon Bela Kun's life at Stockman and Steinhof, both of which were made by Magyar White officers.

The second document, signed by the Hungarian Public Prosecutor, Vary, is addressed to the judges presiding at the trials of Socialists. Vary requests more haste in passing sentences, and adds: "Whenever possible, sentences should be imposed even in cases where there is insufficient evidence." Both papers are marked "Strictly confidential," and bear the seal of the High Command.

VIENNA'S RED ARMY

Turning To Moscow

VIENNA, April 17.—The workers of Vienna will demonstrate on May 1 in two great groups. The Social Democrats have called for mass meetings in favor of "Socialism and International Brotherhood," while the Communist workers will gather to demand the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

A large section of the Left Social Democrats, notably the members of the Soldiers' Councils, will join the Communists. This decision of the Austrian "Independents" forecasts the definite split which may soon be expected in the ranks of the Social Democrats.

An increasing number of workers have come out vigorously against the Coalition Government, and are refusing to ally themselves any longer with a party adhering to the Second International.

NEW WAR BREWING?

German Arms For Finland.

HELSINGFORS, April 24. (By mail).—Two German ships, the Burgoemeister and the Baltic, have arrived at Helsingfors loaded with ammunition and rifles for the Protective Corps (White Guard).

I have heard that the British authorities have lodged a protest. It is expected that the Finnish Government will claim that the Protective Corps are organisations independent of the Government.

Reuter, it is interesting to note, announces that the Russo-Finnish negotiations have been "temporarily suspended."

HALF MILLION IN U. S. SPIES TO LOSE JOBS BY JULY FIRST

House Makes Cut in Snooping Appropriation for Atty. Gen. Palmer.

STEAK ADVICE IS SCORED

By PAUL HANNA.

WASHINGTON—One-half million dollars' worth of spies now drawing salaries from the department of justice will lose their jobs on June 30. The house of representatives cut that much off the snooping appropriation on May 10.

Atty. Gen. Palmer had asked for a total of \$2,500,000, saying he needed \$1,000,000 to run down radicals, \$500,000 to chase profiteers, and another million for miscellaneous purposes. Byrnie, Tennessee, was making the fight for Palmer.

"Can you tell us," asked MacGrate, New York, "how many anarchists Palmer arrested as a result of his May Day plot?" Byrnie said he could not. "Have you any idea that even one was arrested?" persisted MacGrate. "I do not know that any were taken," Byrnie confessed.

Blanton To Rescued.

Then Blanton of Texas, came to Palmer's regime, declaring that while the attorney general had arrested 6,000 anarchists within the past three months, "London F. Post, assistant secretary of labor, has turned most of them loose on the American people."

"Well," retorted MacGrate, "if those 6,000 anarchists existed in the same place that the bomb throwers of May 1 existed, then they never had any existence outside Mr. Palmer's mind."

"Between January and June, 1919, Mr. Palmer did not prosecute a single profiteer, yet during that very time he was crying out that the republic was in danger from radicals. He has aroused more class antagonism than any preacher of class hatred. This bill carries an appropriation for books for the department of justice. The book most needed in that department is a copy of the constitution of the United States, for nowhere outside Mr. Palmer's office does such ignorance exist of the law and the limitations of his office. He borrows the bitterest terms of denunciation and hurls them indiscriminately against the people."

Palmer As David.

"In 1919, at Albany, Palmer proclaimed himself the David ready to slay the Goliath who threatened the American table, saying the 'wrath of the people would compel the conviction of the packers.' Yet in 1920 he closted himself with those same packers and helped them to escape unharmed from the criminal service."

"Have constitutional guarantees become 'obsolete' continued MacGrate. "Is suspicion to supplant facts in the conduct of government? There are and always have been bad men among us. If the attorney general will get them and rightly

put them in jail we will be able to count them with certainty, but we will never know their number so long as their only place of confinement is in the mind of Mr. Palmer.

Advices On Chuck Steak.

"He tells our wives and mothers how to make chuck steak taste like sirloin, and how to be satisfied with gingham instead of silk. From the top of the head to the sole of the feet, Palmer has a daily suggestion to make. Where in the revised statutes does our learned attorney general read that he should advise as to the food, the drink and the clothing of the American people? If we are going to convert the department of justice into a department of household economy, let us put at its head one of the millions of American mothers who have been transforming dad's trousers into son's pants."

eral has been trying mightily to make Presidential garments out of the official clothes he now wears."

It is especially significant that Chairman Johnson, of the immigration committee, interrupted to ask: "What is the use of employing more special agents to arrest aliens on information and belief evidence when the law does not provide for their deportation? The organizer of these department of justice raids should have known that the number of prisoners would soon go beyond the capacity of the labor department quickly to investigate the arrests. The overloading of jails is never good." Johnson has evidently learned something since he started the movement to impeach the assistant secretary of labor, at the exident instigation of Palmer.

PREMIER ORDERS STRIKE LEADERS PLACED IN JAIL

Order Follows Calling Out of Electrical and Water Works Workers.

PARIS—Premier Millerand has decided to accept the gauge of battle flung down by the unions. He has ordered the issuance of warrants for the arrest of the radical labor heads and virtually challenged their worst.

The situation was brought to a climax by L. J. Jouhaux's order Tuesday night for a general strike of the electrical and water works employes, which if obeyed, would plunge this capital into darkness, deprive it of its water supply, hold up all transportation.

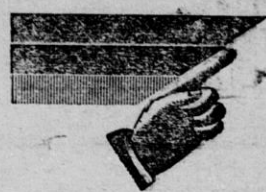
STRIKERS STAND PAT.

PARIS—The Federation of Labor has replied to the government's decision to dissolve it in a manifesto saying that the government's action amounts to admission of the importance of the movement and shows that the government is "at its wit's end" because the federation has a legal existence.

Th manifesto concludes by affirming that the federation will continue to direct the strike until its ends are attained.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

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Bricklayers Hall

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—on—
Sunday Eve., May 23rd

Music & Refreshments

Admission Free! Everybody Welcome!—

Men of the Mines

Strike Committee, Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 800, Industrial Workers of the World, Butte Branch

The strike of metal miners in this camp has not been called off; it has been transferred to the job.

Go back on the job and carry your demands and your strike back on the job with you. Strike on the job by withdrawing your efficiency—by slowing down.

When you go on the job and speed up your tired bodies, working under a "contract" or for a "bonus" you are only producing more wealth for the 6th floor and landing yourselves down in the graveyard on the Flat.

The surplus wealth you produce for the masters by speeding up under these various "systems" of the 6th floor is taken away from you; it goes to the masters and they use it to live in luxury, while you are unable to enjoy even the bare necessities of a decent life; and they use it to hire more gunmen and the Sheriff and his deputies to shoot you down when you are on strike.

The 6th floor through its prostituted press tells us that the "I. W. is to be cast out." The I. W. W. has come to the state of Montana to stay, and all the powers of the 6th floor and their puppets in political office will never drive us out.

The I. W. W. has come to the state of Montana to make this state a decent place in which to live, and we are going to stay right here until the job is finished.

The I. W. W. miners create the wealth that supports every bourgeois parasite in this camp, including the red-handed murderers of the 6th floor.

If the I. W. W. miners should leave this camp, grass would grow in its streets.

The metal mines of Butte and the entire west are dependent on the I. W. W. miners for their labor power, and these assassins of the 6th floor and all their prostitute editorial staff know this, and you workers know it.

Stand firm, you men of the metal mines!

Avenge the death of your martyred dead—Tom Manning and Frank Little—by slowing down on the job and refusing longer to produce wealth that gluts to overflowing the coffers of the A. C. M. Co.

Slow down on the job and save your tired bodies from the "con" ward and the undertaker!

Slow down on the job and force the masters to give you more of the wealth you alone produce!

Slow down on the job and force the six-hour day, and freedom for the prisoners of the class-war!

Slow down on the job and make Montana "safe for democracy"—safe for the workers!

Slow down on the job and destroy the "contract system," the "bonus system" and the "efficiency system"!
SLOW DOWN!

WORKERS IN THE RANKS

HOW RED ARMY GOT THROUGH TO ARCHANGEL
"HOUSE OF CARDS"

The Moscow wireless transmits an article, which appeared in the Moscow "Pravda," regarding the Sixth Red Army (the one opposed to the British Northern Expeditionary Force):—

"During the year and a half this army struggled on a front of 300 versts, with the troops flung far from the railways. The transport of provisions was difficult, and the troops were often starved. For months the soldiers did not see a roof; they lived in dug-outs and warmed themselves at camp fires. Often, owing to the absence of drinking water, they were obliged to melt the snow, and from this make food and tea.

"In spite of all privations and severe conditions, the army bravely quickly they dealt with their enemies held its ground. Severely and in the North, but no less severely dealt with those who, calling themselves 'Communists,' by their drunkenness or lack of education dragged the party flag in the dirt.

"At every army undertaking there laboured, in addition to a few former army officers, Moscow and Petrograd workmen. At the head of nearly all important posts were the Moscow or Petrograd proletariat. Until they came, the Sixth Army had stood in the one place, but by their courage they caused it to see and understand the uselessness of it. They transferred many regiments to other fronts when things were

going badly there. Under such conditions the Sixth Army was unable to advance, but could merely contract and fortify itself.

Enemy's Collapse

"But when the moment arrived the Army was ready and started to advance. After a fierce seven days' battle the enemy's front was pierced, and he collapsed like a house of cards.

"Archangel has been taken. The Red Flag waves over Murmansk. The Northern Front has been liquidated. There are other war problems, however, before the Sixth Army. In the far North, on the shores of the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean, are the advanced trenches of the Third International, trenches of the Third International, Sixth Red Army."

Maurer For Radical; 'Damns' Conservatism

Pennsylvania Labor Federation Convention Calls Legion Unfair to Labor.

ALTOONA, Pa., May 12.—At today's session of the convention of the State Federation of Labor the endorsement of the convention of the Rank and File Veterans' Association and the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion was discussed. The endorsement was given, but the American Legion was criticised as being unfair to labor.

In speaking of the killing of Fannie Sellers in the Western mining district in August, 1919, President Maurer said:

"In times like this we need the radical. Damn the conservatives."

BUTTE STRIKERS' STATEMENT

On Wednesday morning, the 21st of April, the miners' pickets went to different points leading to the mines and were peacefully appealing to the few who still desired to work in the mines. At Park and Broadway, points leading to the Pennsylvania Mine, gunmen and city police assaulted the pickets, beating eight or nine of them badly with clubs. At Centerville and on the Anaconda Road the same brutalities occurred, the gunmen riding from place to place in high-powered cars. Similar assaults on pickets were reported from various points, including one at Wyoming and Granite on a citizen who was not engaged in picketing.

At the strikers' meeting Wednesday afternoon, this was taken into consideration and it was decided to proceed from the meeting to one point, and for all pickets to remain at that point in one body. The Anaconda Road where it passes the Nevadawest Mine was selected and the pickets went there, arriving at about 4:15 in the afternoon.

Shortly after reaching this point, cars containing gunmen, six and seven in the car, came up the road. They were allowed free passage through the picket lines and one after the other parked at a point about one hundred and fifty yards farther up the hill. Sheriff O'Rourke also passed through with deputies or gunmen in the car with him. City police, both plain clothes men and uniformed, came after. No attempts were made to interfere with them in passing.

After the cars were all parked, the police deputies and gunmen, to the total number of between fifty and sixty, marched down on the strikers. Sheriff O'Rourke requested the pickets to move off the company property, claiming the railroad tracks crossing the road were company property. The pickets consented and moved down on one side of the county road below the tracks. Then the police and gunmen attempted to push the pickets along farther down the hill. The pickets protested that picketing was legal and that they were on the county road. In a conversation he had with several of our pickets, Sheriff O'Rourke admitted that picketing was legal and stated that the reason for his failure to afford protection to the pickets who had been beaten up by the gunmen at the different properties Wednesday morning was owing to his being in Helena at the time, where he had gone to attend a fight and knew nothing of what was happening. The sheriff also told the pickets that he was there to protect them in their constitutional rights as pickets.

At one point in the conversation Sheriff O'Rourke had with the pickets, one of our members offered to allow himself to be placed under arrest if the sheriff considered he was violating any law; the sheriff started with him to a waiting automobile when the entire force of pickets asked to be taken to jail along with their fellow worker; the sheriff then thrust the arrested picket back into the ranks of the other pickets, saying, "Get back there with you." The sheriff gave the pickets his word that he would see it that there would be no more pickets beaten up; he then went back to the railroad tracks and stood in front of the gunmen, deputies and police. Two more cars passed up the hill. The pickets cheered and made no attempt to stop the cars.

Roy Alley, A. C. M. gunman-attorney, came down to the picket line with four other gunmen. He spoke briefly to the sheriff and then took a stand at the extreme right of the force of deputy-gunmen.

The gunmen continued pushing against those in the front of the picket line, trying to force them down the hill. Pickets argued that if they were breaking the law they were ready to go to jail and quoted the sheriff's statement that picketing was legal.

Suddenly Roy Alley raised his hand and called, "Go and get the S...s of B...s." The entire force of deputy-gunmen and police, under the command of Sheriff O'Rourke, immediately leaped upon those in the front line of the pickets and with their clubs, revolvers and rifle butts hammered the heads of the strikers.

Almost immediately shots came from the ranks of the armed deputy-gunmen and police, first a fey and then volley after volley. Men were running down the hill in several directions and nearly a score were hit by bullets and buckshot from the riot guns.

There was a cross-fire apparently from the Parrott Rustling card office, as the men approached that building on their way across the railroad tracks and over ditches toward Granite street.

There was no shooting from any point except from the line of gunmen-deputies and police stationed on the tracks, except reported firing by gunmen from the steps of the rustling card office as the men passed that point. Three men, James Sullivan, Rocco Lavus and Peter Marovich are reported to be dying, and young Tom Manning is dead. James McCarthy, Nelo Falt and De Long are very seriously wounded, about ten more pickets were slightly wounded by bullets from rifles and revolvers and buckshot from the "riot guns." Many were slugged and beaten, some seriously injured.

When a sub-committee of the miners' strike committee have waited on Sheriff O'Rourke and asked for the names of the gunmen to whom he has issued deputy sheriff's commissions and requested that these commissions be revoked, they have been met with a curt refusal. When asked if he was intending to use his force or deputized gunmen to prevent pickets from exercising their constitutional rights by peaceful picketing, he has refused to state his position on the matter either verbally or in writing and instead replied with the usual platitudes about being in the sheriff's office to protect property and maintain "law and order," and stated that he would "act in the future as he had in the past."

The strike is still on and the workers are holding fast with far greater determination as a result of this uncalled for slaughter of their pickets.

The foregoing statement of facts should show to any thinking person that all constitutional laws that are supposed to serve for the protection of the workers have been set aside in Butte and in their stead has been substituted the law of the sawed off shotgun, the rifle and the bludgeon; that instead of being in actual command of the police forces of the county and using those forces for the protection of the constitutional rights of the workers Wednesday afternoon on Anaconda Road, as he had with Judas tongue promised to do, Sheriff O'Rourke was but the pliant tool of Roy Alley and the A. C. M.; that Sheriff O'Rourke was only nominally in command of the forces that are supposed to protect human life and rights in Silver Bow County and that the real one giving orders and having his bloody will executed by the deputized gunmen and police was this drunken degenerate, Roy Alley,

who in turn was doing the will of John D. Ryan and the other industrial overlords who own and control the state of Montana. We submit that the blood of the innocent shed on Anaconda Road last Wednesday afternoon is upon the hands and the souls of Sheriff O'Rourke and the masters of copper whose bloody will he has shown himself so willing to execute.

In the light of the foregoing statement of facts, the charge being made by Sheriff O'Rourke and his masters that the striking miners of Butte are engaged in an attempt to overthrow constitutional government, becomes grimly humorous.

Strike Committee, Butte Branch, Metal Mine Workers Industrial Union No. 800, Industrial Workers of the World.

RUSSIANS TO BE ADMITTED

But Not Litvinoff

PARIS, April 16th, (By Mail)—The Supreme Economic Council has definitely decided to enter into relations for trading purposes with Krassin, head of the Soviet Commission in Copenhagen.

The previous decision was merely to trade with the co-operative. This is a decision to trade directly with the Soviet Government.

At the same time it has decided that the Soviet trade delegations will be admitted to Allied territory, but Great Britain still objects to Litvinoff.

THE SWERDLOV UNIVERSITY

Moscow, 17th March. The Swerdlow University, which serves exclusively for the education of Soviet Government officials, has now more than 1000 students from all parts of Russia, Turkestan and Siberia. The greatest Communist authorities, such as Riazanoff, Bucharin and Tumaschanski, lecture on theoretical subjects. Practical instruction is also given.

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RUSSIA, Victories Of Red Troops

Moscow 18th March. On the northern front the town of Kur-giejewskaja, 80 versts west of Kam, has been occupied by the Red troops. In the last few days the following booty has been captured along the railway:—Two armoured cars with 9 guns and 8 machine guns, 1,700 rifles, 28 wagons of war material, 89 locomotives and large stores of provisions of all kinds.

On the eastern front the station of Westkiewitschi, 36 versts west of Sieschitz, was captured. Between Bobruisk and Mosyr, the Beresina was crossed by the Red Troops.

On the South-western front there has been heavy fighting south-east of Rowa Uschitz. On the Caranus front the Red Troops have, after fighting, reached a line 56 versts north-east of Ekaterinodar. In Kuban the station Tifliskaja was occupied. In the district of Stavropol, the Red Soldiers have taken many villages 60 versts west and south of Stavropol. Nowinowynsk on the Wladikaukas Road, Pjazi, zorsk and Mineralny Wody, have been occupied. Georgiejewsk fell into our hands the day before yesterday.

EDUCATION IN RUSSIA

M. Lunacharski, at the recent Soviet Congress at Moscow, gave a detailed report of the position of education amongst the people. We give some points from his speech. "The idea of a uniform workers' school has been abandoned. There are in the Soviet Republic, schools which are accessible to all workers. The schools are of two categories, those of the first category for children of 8-12 years old; those of the second for students from 13 to 16 years old.

"A gigantic programme has been worked out which will involve considerable expenditure. The results already obtained are, in spite of great difficulties very good. The number of schools grows continually and at the present time there are of the first category almost 50,000 and of the second category 2,000.

"The number of scholars in the schools of the first category already reaches 2,618,000; that in the schools of the second category is 200,000. Of 9,000,000 children of obligatory school age, 27 per cent attend school. The Budget is always growing and at the present time each Government receives for educational purposes approximately 140 million roubles yearly. Legal faculties have been replaced by faculties in social science.

"The Commissariat has authorized for the current half-year an expenditure of 400 million roubles for the higher schools. The number of students is about 153,000 and the number of professors about 5,500.

"In Moscow there are nearly 2,000 new students. In a few months there will be sufficiently far advanced to move into the University with the other students. In Petrograd, Moscow, Woronesch, Kasan and Seratow there are numerous "Free Art Schools" attended by nearly 4000 students."

"Internationale JUDENKOR-RESPONRENZ."

Another Communist Is Ordered Released

ROCKFORD, Ill.—Charles Dragunas, arrested in the federal raids here in January, has been ordered released by the department of labor in Washington. Dragunas was charged with being an enemy to the government because he was a member of the Communist Labor party of America. Of about 75 of those arrested here as enemy aliens, about 25 have already been released. Of the total number arrested not more than three or four have been ordered deported.

ITALY AND SECOND

SYMPATHY WITH SECEDERS

ROME.—The meeting of the National Council of the Italian Socialist Party in Milan closed after three days' session. It adopted by a two-thirds majority Cazzamalli's resolution of confidence in the Executive, which states that the proletarian dictatorship is necessary for the realization of Socialism.

The Congress almost unanimously confirmed the last Congress's adhesion to the Third International.

VOTED SOCIALIST TICKET; BRANDED UNFIT FOR JURY

24 Communists' Trial Hinges on Interpretation of Documents.

CHICAGO.—No attempt will be made by the attorneys for the defense, in the trial of the 24 members of the Communist Labor party, now in progress before Judge Oscar Hebel, either to object to the introduction of Communist literature or to evade admission by the defendants that they believe in the Communist philosophy. They will seek to narrow the issue down to whether or not the defendants are seeking by forceful and illegal means to bring about the economic change desired by them. The trials will thus hinge largely on an interpretation of the documents and alleged utterances that will be introduced by the prosecution as evidence.

One sole juror remains as acceptable to both sides, as the net result of two days of continuous grilling of prospective jurors. The only other acceptable candidate, an engineer by the name of Earsman, has been excused on presentation of a doctor's certificate.

One man was excused because he once voted the Socialist ticket. This was enough to brand him as unfit to pass judgment. Another admitted that he had doubts as to the wisdom of America's entry into the world war. This, too, was sufficient to bring about his release from jury duty.

The prosecution is introducing a new question into its series of stock questions asked, in that it is grilling the men concerning the literature that they read.

"RED GUARDS"

A Waterford Soviet.

DUBLIN, April 14 (by mail).—Now that the Irish Labor Executive's double victory over the Castle and the profiteers is a thing of history, the time is opportune to review its results.

Labor and Sinn Fein have so far worked with a fair amount of harmony. But strange events occurred at Waterford during the general strike for the Mountjoy prisoners which are significant for the future. The Irish Transport Workers' Union was in control of the city, and even superseded the authority of the Sinn Fein Lord Mayor. A red flag floated over the Town Hall, and a sort of "Red Guard" was established under three transport leaders. In short, the city was ruled by a Soviet during the time of the strike.

Solidarity Of British Transport Labor Helped Win Dutch Port Strike

LONDON.—The solidarity of the British transport workers was one of the chief factors in the winning of the Dutch port strike, according to Harry Gosling, president of the International Transport Workers' Federation. During the latter part of the strike Gosling went with J. Doering of the German Transport Workers' union and Edo Fimmen of the International Transport Workers' Federation to confer with the employers in Rotterdam.

"They realized," he said, "that even if they could get strikebreakers, it would be of little avail while the strike remained solid in Great Britain.

"No Dutch ship could be used without British bunker coal, and in the coal areas the men were strong enough and eager to give them assistance. Less than 5 per cent of the usual number required were acting as strikebreakers, and these were not trade unionists, but were recruited from the agricultural areas."

MORE DEMOCRACY?

Swedish Arrested For Distributing Bolshevik Literature.

LEITH, SCOTLAND. (By mail). Two Swedish comrades were recently arrested for distributing Bolshevik pamphlets and sentenced to six months hard labor.

So the fame of American justice spreads!

THE GREAT FLOP

By Robert Minor

Reprinted from the "LIBERATOR"

Oh, dear me! The I. W. W. is no good after all! Harold Lord Varney has left the organization and written for the papers that the I. W. W. is a delusion and a sham and that he now believes in Capitalism. The New York "World" used the first page of its editorial section on Sunday, February 8th, for Varney's confession of new faith under the title, "The I. W. W. Exposed by its Chief Propagandist, Bill Haywood's Counsellor and Aid."

Two or three of Varney's friends protested to me that he could not have written the stuff. This particularly interested me because the same newspaper had once first-paged me as repudiating the cause of the working class in articles on the subject of Russia. Let me now say plainly that the "World", or at least its New York office, was not to blame for distortions of the Russian dispatches. They were altered, and one of them rewritten, on the other side of the Atlantic, and the "World" printed them as received from the cable. But, though it was not to be blamed in that instance, if the New York "World" was becoming for a second time a purveyor of false "peccavits", I wanted to know it and to know why. So I telegraphed to Haywood, asking whether Varney had really written the "World" story:

"I received this reply: 'Varney was indicted recently in Chicago; evidently afraid of the cars.'"

"WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD."

So, for the second time we must say that the "World" editorial office has not been guilty of intentional falsification, whatever we may think of its capitalizing poor Varney's fright without explaining to the reader that Varney had just been indicted for criminal syndicalism and that this change of faith would probably save him from spending twenty years in the penitentiary.

Varney decided that the I. W. W. is just an exciting adventure for young fellows, a sort of "pirate game" for boys, and that when it begins to rain and get dark, and the crickets begin to sing, the bats to flutter and the ghosts to hover in the shadows, it's time for little boys to come to mother and be tucked safely in bed,—with the mangle hand, Capitalism acting the role of "Mother."

The I. W. W. is just an outlet for boys' mischievous emotions, Varney thought, after the indictment. He used to think it was an opportunity for a glorious career. In the "World" he tells how, while he was studying to be a lawyer, he met Haywood. And then, he says, "A lawyer's career became strangely detestable to me. I determined to become a Jean Jaures—a Eugene V. Debs—a Bill Haywood, a glamorous leader of revolution."

They call 'em "careerists" in Europe and count on so many per year flopping over to the side that's safe.

On April 4th comes the New York Times flaunting another half-page from Varney, as though Varney, once started, must take on all comers in his new trade of prostitute journalism. And who will not say that he well apprehends his trade? "One must please all the gentlemen who come."

In this Times article, Varney drops his pose of tolerant disillusionment and turns like an adder upon those who once trusted him. He glorifies the lynching, jailing and deportation of all with social ideals above commercialism. The malignancy and hysteria of it make one wonder whether he is rationalizing a future appearance on the witness stand. Are Varney's new masters exacting that further price before letting him off? It's always that way, Varney.

But it is rather amusing that Varney should flop at this of all moments. I smile as I remember that during a sharp fight in Moscow, the head of the Russian police released me from arrest immediately upon my explaining that my opinions were equivalent to those of the American I. W. W. I feared that all of the careerists would begin to see about this time that even the bread of their dirty self-interest is buttered on the revolutionary side. In fact I think one of the real dangers of the workers' revolution now is that it will get cluttered up with a lot of the kind of "heroes" who always aim to be on the winning side. The more Varneys that flop now, the better. Even a twenty-year prison sentence might ultimately mean more of prestige

than of penal servitude. In Russia it is indeed a mean family that cannot show a rogues' gallery portrait of father.

Passing through Chicago the other day, I stepped into the I. W. W. offices at 1001 West Madison street and asked Haywood what he had to say about the defection of the great Lord Varney.

"Lord who?" asked Bill.

"Varney," said I—"Harold L. Varney."

"Oh," recollected Bill, "didn't I send you a wire about that? Afraid of the cars, Bob, afraid of the cars; that's all. I haven't had time to look into it, and only know what's in the newspapers. I'm busy as hell. Some of the other boys might know something about it."

"Got lots of mail, haven't you?" I observed.

"Yes, I'm answering a lot of letters with contributions to the I. W. W. defense from Cuba and Mexico and South America; and here's a lot from Sweden, Norway and Denmark—\$400, \$1,600, \$500—there's a North American Defense Committee for the I. W. W. in Norway, and they want an I. W. W. charter in Sweden—and here's 6 pounds 15 shillings from Bombay. See if some of the other fellows can tell you what you want, Bob, and then come back later."

I wandered about from desk to desk in the big publishing plant. "Do you know how that article came to be written by Varney?" I asked.

"Who?" said George. George was busy with the scissors over stacks of papers ranging from the "Liberator" of Paris to the "Sczqwvsqjkskwxzprbqskzski", or something like that, published in the city of Somewhere or Other in the Balkans. Everybody else was busy over a thousand other matters, but in wandering around the house I got my conceptions of the I. W. W. considerably dusted off. These people don't seem to be giving as much attention as I had expected to the fifteen-year and twenty-year sentences. And in these days when mere membership in an industrial union is often punished by twenty-year prison sentences, the Wobblies don't worry over the fact that only 50,000 new members have come into the I. W. W. in the past fourteen months. The actual members are only the "shock troops", they say, while the real progress is measured by the spread of industrial union principles in all directions; the permeation of the A. F. of L. for instance. All over the Pacific coast, A. F. of L. unions are tacitly co-operating both in the defense of I. W. W. members and in the economic struggle. The attacks of the White Terror upon the last remaining American liberties have driven even Compers to defensive lobbying in Washington, and from the sacred portals of the Federation in that city has come the actual threat of the General Strike for Political Purpose.

The blood-curdling ferocity of the Wilson Administration's attacks upon Labor and Liberty and upon the I. W. W. in particular, is causing agitation on behalf of the I. W. W. amongst the workers in France, Spain and Italy. The spokesmen for 46,000 workmen in Holland have sent resolutions of protest to Washington.

And the principle of industrial unionism is booming through the breadth of Europe. The convention of the French Confederation Generale du Travail at Lyons last September adopted a program for the taking over of the means of production and distribution by French labor. The Italian Syndicalist Convention, representing 325,000 workers, adopted almost to the letter the American I. W. W. program, the agitation for which centered about Agello Faggi as secretary of the Camera del Lavoro at Piacenza.

Spain's 800,000 revolutionary syndicalists whose Moscow is the city of Barcelona, are cleaving as close to the system of the American I. W. W. as local conditions make feasible.

The Shop Steward movement in England is now a million and a half strong. It is hampered by old craft union lines, still existing, but is struggling toward the industrial union goal, and resolved in its last convention that all industries should be taken over by Labor and run by industrial unions. The Wobblies are proud of this and claim that the vigorous campaign in England of their Chicago I. W. W. man Hardy had something to do with it. The British Socialist party now is calling

for direct action—that is, a world-wide strike in preparation for the dethronement of Private Capital.

An industrial union landslide appears to have begun in Canada some two years ago, and to have spread like the Flu throughout Britain, colonies and all. In the Melbourne convention of January a year ago, one half of Australian labor adopted the One Big Union plan. South Africa is churning with industrial unionism, for which the Independent Socialist League conducts a campaign from Capetown with its official organ, "The Bolshevik." Another newspaper, the "Internationalist", published in Johannesburg, co-operates with the "Bolshevik" and wields a heavy influence with colored labor.

There's an I. W. W. in Germany. The revolution that Noske thought he had shot to pieces in Berlin over a year ago, is creeping up in the coal fields and industrial towns in Westphalia. There are now 1,200,000 organized into One Big Union in Westphalia, and at their convention in Dusseldorf this Fall they adopted word for word the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World of the United States. They even copy the insignia from the American I. W. W.'s stationery, with the initials "I. W. W." which have no significance in the German language. As I had seen the beginnings of this myself in Germany, felt sure that industrial unionism would be the next phase of the German revolution. German gentlemen (ex-Huns) are quoted as deploring the presence in the Westphalian trouble zone of German American agitators!

Nobody is expected to wash his neck or belong to a labor union in the Balkans; at least that has been the uninformed notion over here. But that appears to be somewhat exaggerated, as regards the present time. Sophia, Bulgaria, is the center of the labor movement of the Balkans, and industrial unionism is the center of its thought. On the first of January there came a General Strike that was about the most complete tie-up in history. Nearly 500,000 were out—the railroad workers, telegraph workers and all the bank clerks and state functionaries. The government machinery quit functioning. None of the wage-workers or university students or teachers would take an attitude opposed to the revolutionary strike. In fact among the population none but the "Bashi-Bazooks" (white terrorists) and the "Dombazzi" (whom the Russians call "Kulaks", or landlord peasants) took a definite and conscious stand against the workers.

The strike spread to Greece and Serbia. When it was attempted to bring scabs from Greece and Macedonia, the Greek and Serbian railroad workers struck and prevented their passage. The French General Franchet d'Esperey flooded the country with 100,000 Senegalese, Indo-Chinese and Madagascan colonial troops. The politician Stambouliski brought in hordes of "dark" peasants, paid 100 francs per day, to police the cities. The leaders of the strikers in all of the countries, Syndicalists and Communists, were arrested. 880 railroad workers are now on trial for their lives, many of them in Serbia, which is second to Bulgaria in the Balkan labor move. The strike is still on.

In Romania 100,000 workers are organized along practically I. W. W. lines. They are mostly transport workers in the Black Sea ports and along the Danube River. Christian Rakovsky, a pioneer in the revolutionary labor movement, was engaged in the work in the main industrial town, Braila, until came the time for him to go to Russia, where he is now, I believe, at the head of the Ukrainian Soviet army.

In Greece the ideal of the labor movement is the One Big Union and the declared purpose is to take over into industrial union hands all means of production and distribution.

It seems that Barcelona, Spain, is not only the Moscow of Spanish labor, but also is the City of Ideals for the entire working class of South America. This is constantly evident in the Argentine Republic; the railroad workers have endorsed the plan of industrial unionism and the transport workers have done this and more by organizing an I. W. W. There have been lively times in the Argentine lately. The agricultural workers are now forming an industrial union. The labor press of Chili indicates a similar condition developing there. The unions of Uruguay have agreed that their purpose is to take over the

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machinery of production and exchange "when Capitalism collapses."

Coming on further north, we see in Mexico that a great I. W. W. organization has been formed which uses the same letter-head as is used by the Wobblies of Westphalia and those of Chicago. And, having got you back to Chicago, I'll quit.

In this national headquarters of the most dreaded of all labor organizations I hadn't learned much of Harold Lord Varney, but a half-dozen busy men, preoccupied in writing, editing, reading proofs and opening mail, had told me this story of the dizzy career, the new worldpush, of Industrial Unionism. "And only two thousands of us in jail!" said Bill Haywood contemptuously. "Isn't the price dirt cheap?" As I left he called after me "Say, Bob, the Sun never sets on the Industrial Workers of the World!"

Before I finish reading the proofs of this article events following one another with the speed of lightning are shaking Europe; and strangely each one of them comes as marvelous validation of one or another of the tactics of the I. W. W. The republican power of Germany fell at one blow of the Von Kapp coup d'etat, and the General Strike arose as the one weapon that could and did defeat the counter-revolution in a few hours. French rulers send negro colonial troops (probably the only ones that would go) into Germany, and Lloyd George screams in terror lest this may re-open the World War with fatal results to every government in Europe.

In the midst of it comes a blaze from Denmark. The King of that country—a funny one-horse king as all Scandinavian kings are—tried a little Von Kapp, or let us call it a Von Palmer coup; the King was rudely awakened by the call of the General Strike that shook Denmark to economic foundations that the King didn't know Denmark had. His Majesty in hatless haste begged the unions for peace, and at last reports it appears he may lose his throne anyway.

And now, the "Outlaw Strike" in America! It's not really a strike—mercy! no; striking is illegal; it's a vacation. It is not an I. W. W. affair. The "leaders" are ignorant of all such ideals—but it's a spontaneous flop to I. W. W. tactics by starved men who see that nothing else works.

A great flop.

SOVIET AGENT TALKS OF BIG TRADE DEALS

Washington Discredits Reports of Intention to Resume Relations with Russia.

COPENHAGEN, April 28.—The Russian Soviet Commissioner, M. Nogin, in the course of an interview with the Social Demokraten said that the Russian Trade Commission had arrived at Copenhagen to open negotiations with Great Britain and Denmark. "But," he added, "gradually so many countries approached us that we are carrying on negotiations for the delivery of commodities in greater quantities than ever offered by any other country in the world. We are endeavoring to fix up larger contracts with Sweden, Norway, the United States, Spain and Italy."

M. Nogin said that a clearing house had been started for this business, assisted by international finance and direct co-operation of the Russian Ministry of Commerce.

The Disabled Soldier

By J. T. MURPHY.
(Member of the British Shop Stewards' Committee and the Socialist Labor Party of GREAT BRITAIN.)

EDITOR'S NOTE. The war is over! It is indeed a sad spectacle to witness the many appeals that are being made, through the agencies of the various movie-houses, to the people of the richest country in the world. After men have fought and many have been left dead upon the fields of Europe, leaving behind widows and orphans, Congress stands helpless to do anything to assist those maimed and mutilated by the war. Any suggestion of granting monetary assistance to these men is met by the cry of bankruptcy.

Those who are unable to find a solution to the soldier question, might as well realize that there is only ONE solution and that is the one so ably outlined by comrade Murphy. Read it, workers of America, and for once in your life, wake up and realize that if YOU want anything doing, you must do it YOURSELVES.

As it is our contention that the workers should control industry in factory, mine, etc., so it is our contention that democratic control of the treatment of discharged, disabled soldiers and sailors should extend to them also. Whatever phase of industry they may have come from, their disablement or their return from the army is their common factor. The variety of directions in which they have to go brings them in contact with a variety of forces which may and do view the disablement from different points of view and with varying degrees of sympathy. To them the disablement is an incident in somebody else's life, and whilst sympathy may be extended, it is incidental and passing. To the disabled it is present. These factors are exemplified in the formation of discharged and disabled soldiers' and sailors' organizations to further their interests after other people such as Pension Committees, etc., have dealt with them. We therefore put forward the policy that to the organizations of discharged and disabled soldiers and sailors in each locality should be given complete autonomy as to the treatment to be meted out to them.

This organization of discharged men, however, should be free from the political control of the capitalist class. It should be a working-class organization, democratically controlled, and free from financial obligations to the capitalist class. Then, in every district, the man hospitals should return to industry via their own organization. This organization, having its own medical advisers, should be the determining body as to the degree of disablement and capacity for work and treatment. Pensions, however, are society's responsibility and the minimum pension should be equivalent to meet the needs of a decent social life.

If £175 per annum is the minimum on which a disabled officer can live in comfort, so is it the minimum for the disabled member of the rank and file. Remember, "equality of sacrifice" should mean "equality of pension." Any deviation from that should only be made under particular circumstances, having nothing to do with social position in society. We go further and affirm that all should work for the community and not for private employers. Such conditions cannot be obtained without the overthrow of the capitalist class and the establishment of a workers' republic.

Then the difficulties with regard to employment vanish, for instead of having to face the consequences of competition, the fear of unemployment, and the toleration of the employers, what we have will be as a matter of right, and not as a result of somebody else's goodwill or charity.

The discharged soldiers' and sailors' organization having then in its own hands the determination of the treatment of the disabled, with the means of life guaranteed by the community becomes the discharged soldiers' and sailors' department of the local commune, or soviet, or council. This council in each village, town or city should have within its control the whole of the industrial and political activities within its boundaries. The finding of employment, the training of the disabled, being in the hands of such a body, of which the discharged men would be a part, solves itself with ease.

To make quite clear what we are after, we will describe the formation of such a council.

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EUGENE V. DEBS.

In the current issue of the "Liberator" Max Eastman has the following to say, regarding the candidature of EUGENE V. DEBS:—

"Last month we expressed our abiding sense of solidarity with the spirit of Eugene Debs by publishing a portrait of him 'Our Candidate'. After the magazine was printed Debs became the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party. As our readers are aware, we believe that real understanding of the revolution is to be found rather in the I. W. W. and the other organizations which accept the principles of communism, than in the edifice of the Socialist Party. Eugene Debs is a great deal more to us than our candidate for president."

Max Eastman expresses exactly our own thoughts and therefore we urge the election of Debs for President, because we know that Debs stands for revolutionary socialism. We also welcome the following statement, published by John McSparrow, of the C. L. P. of Washington:—

Comrade Eugene V. Debs' acceptance of the nomination for President on the "Socialist Party" ticket has engendered much controversial discussion in the ranks of the Communist Labor Party. While it is the hearts' desire of every class conscious worker to support Comrade Debs for the presidency, many strict partisans feel that they cannot do so, because he has accepted the nomination from another PARTY.

Because the so-called "Socialist Party" is so notoriously Petit Bourgeois in its tendencies, some good comrades profess to believe that Debs' acceptance of a nomination by them is equivalent to a betrayal of the principles of Revolutionary Socialism. This is not the case, Comrade Debs is now in prison because of his uncompromising Revolutionary attitude. When he was incarcerated the Socialist Party had not yet split, but contained all the revolutionary elements it ever had contained; and, although he has been visited by a few persons of more or less prominence in the different groups, it is unfair to assume that he is properly cognizant of the peculiar circumstances that compelled the separation of the different elements, and the assembling in the Communist Labor Party of practically all of that element to which he belongs by instinct, temperament, and by the record of his past activities.

Whatever the name, OR THE CHARACTER, of the organization which first nominated Debs, it is certain that he accepted that nomination in the name, AND SPIRIT, of International Socialism, and, should he be elected, it is certain that his every act would be in accord with those principles. Therefore, the Communist Labor Party OF WASHINGTON will nominate Debs for president, will vote, AS A UNIT, for Debs, and, what is more to the purpose, will exhaust every resource at its command in an effort to organize the workers AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION, so that they may acquire some REAL POWER with which to assist him in the administration of the government of this nation.

We therefore urge every member of the COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY to work for the election of Eugene V. Debs. Not that we believe that the election of Debs will bring about the millennium. But it will put new life into the workingclass all over the country. Power enters the still mass of dead metal, and a thundering steam hammer leaps into crashing life. So with the election of Debs, or the polling of a large vote, a new spirit will enter the workingclass and transform them from dead and inert beings into live fighters for industrial freedom. SO CAST YOUR VOTES FOR EUGENE V. DEBS.

TWO CONVENTIONS.

The recent stirring industrial events, the Steel Strike, the Miners' Strike, the New York printers' strike and the switchmen's strike are a remarkable and concrete example of the new-born spirit which has latterly inspired the ranks of organized labor. The spirit of the ONE BIG UNION is permeating the ranks of organized labor and from all parts of the country comes the news of more workers entering the various movements that are marching towards goal of industrial unionism. Whilst we are pouring forth our praise, let us not forget that the men who have made possible the spread of industrial unionism are the members of the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

The I. W. W. is now meeting in convention likewise the Socialist Party. At the I. W. W. convention you will find men presenting a rather poverty-stricken appearance. Whilst on the other hand, everything will be spick and span at the S. P. convention. The hall will be filled with well-clad delegates and some wonderful speeches will be heard. The speakers will use correct language. No grammatical flaws be found in their resolutions. At the I. W. W. convention men talk of the things they have done and they tell of hundreds of fellow-workers who now languish in prison. They tell of Frank Little and Wesley Everetts who were lynched and of hundreds more who were tarred and feathered. They tell of over one hundred new locals being formed CHILE. They tell of how the British trade union movement and of new organizations being set up in GERMANY, AND men have bought and distributed over half a million copies of their literature. They sell of many things that they have done and of more things to come. In this convention they are not afraid to pledge their faith in the Third International. The I. W. W. convention is a source of inspiration to the class-conscious revolutionist. The spirit and the courage of the delegates is worthy of the best. The I. W. W. make you feel proud of your class and its future.

The Socialist Party convention men tell you of things left undone and of politicians who have been elected to office. They tell of hundreds of members who left the organization disgusted. They will tell a tale of how they have not circulated any revolutionary literature since the war ended. In this convention they are afraid to take their stand with the Third International, because they realize that the sweets of office are near to their grasp. The SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION MAKES YOU DISGUSTED WITH THE POLITICIAN AND BIDS YOU JOIN THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY. Of course if your blood has been watered down you will stay with the S. P., but if you are a class-conscious worker, with any respect for yourself you will

most certainly sever all connection with the S. P.

We have no advice to offer to the man or woman, who after reading the following program, adopted at the S. P. convention, remains in the Socialist Party:—

"FOREIGN RELATIONS.

"1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be cancelled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall likewise be cancelled. The largest possible credit in food, raw material and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

"2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the 'League of Nations' and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world, based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes, by land and sea and universal disarmament, and charged with revising the Treaty of Peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

"3. The United States should immediately open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet Government. It should promptly recognize the independence of Irish Republic.

"4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire concessions or make investments, do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our Government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property claims.

"POLITICAL.

"1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the Espionage law and all other repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

"2. All prosecutions under the Espionage law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious convictions, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

"3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

"4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the writ of injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify Congressional legislation should be abrogated.

"5. Federal Judges should be elected by direct popular election and be subject to recall.

"7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted in fact as well as in law for all men and women throughout the nation.

"8. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen liberty and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform, and reconstruction, including the charges enumerated in this program in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

"SOCIAL.

"1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraph, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, parking houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation.

"2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the Government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

"3. All banks should be acquired by the Government and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

"4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the Government and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

"5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment with reference to the negroes and that effective Federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

"INDUSTRIAL.

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies and to establish a shorter work day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

"FISCAL.

"1. That all war debts and other debts of the Federal Government must be immediately paid off in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

"2. A standing progressive income and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the Government, including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

"3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed, all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value."

Men who cannot realize, at this stage of their lives, that the only cure for the evils of capitalism is control of the industries of the country by the workers, are hopeless and they will only become educated when social conditions become so unbearable as to compel them to realize the truths of Communism.

To the delegates of the I. W. W. convention we beg to offer a word of advice. We have always supported the I. W. W. Every strike of the I. W. W. has received our unqualified support. We have lost friends, friends whose knowledge of the I. W. W. is limited, because we stood by the I. W. W. believe, and rightly believe, that the I. W. W. is the most militant labor organization in this country. It possesses within its ranks the finest of men. Yet we felt that at their convention there was a spirit manifested that has no place in the I. W. W. When reference was made to the O. B. U. movement of Canada extending its organization into New York City, some of the delegates felt that the O. B. U. of Canada was poaching upon their, the I. W. W. preserves. This is not a right kind of spirit. We understand how the delegates feel about the O. B. U. They brought the O. B. U. into being. They baptised it with their very blood and sacrificed many of its membership in order to keep it going. But they must recognise that the crying need of the hour is SOLIDARITY. If other organizations, profiting by the work of the I. W. W., can go into places and organize the workers upon the lines of the O. B. U., then more power to them and we should assist them in their

work. Sooner or later the various O. B. U. movements of this part of the world must come together. Social conditions will compel them to come together. Any movement that stands for the abolition of craft unionism and building up of industrial unionism must receive our unqualified support.

DIRECT ACTION.

Direct Action means organization in the workshop and mine that will give the workers all power in the industry and organization outside of the workshop, that will give them full control of the social and distributive machinery.

If you are satisfied with wage slavery and the wretched conditions it imposes on you, stick to the Labor Party.

If you are dissatisfied with your lot, but too timid to do any fighting for yourself, keep your hopes fixed on the Socialist Party and you'll always have something to grumble about.

But if you have the spirit of a Revolutionary, if you have the courage of a man or woman determined to be free, then you will get into the fight that really matters, the fight to build up an industrial army that will sweep Capitalism out of existence and end forever the criminal exploitation of the toiling masses of the country.

The foreman of a jury which had been considering its verdict was asked if the jury were all agreed, and replied: "Yes, we are all of one mind, temporarily insane."

"Direct action is dead and buried," said the capitalist press. If the Christian religion is true, so was Jesus Christ—for three days.

The Scottish "Worker."

THE MINORITY REPORT.

The Socialist Party has recently applied for affiliation with the Communist International. It has done this with a reservation of the right to have delegates at a Congress of the International before endorsing its programme wholesale. This reservation would seem reasonable enough in most circumstances, and especially in the present historic situation when America is so far behind Eastern Europe in the evolution of the class-struggle. But when one reads the "Minority Report" as expressing its attitude toward the Third International, and which gives the party officials their only ground for proposing affiliation with it, that reservation acquires a very unpromising significance. The Minority Report expressly repudiates what it calls the "Moscow programme and methods", and advances some exceedingly queer extraneous reasons for declaring itself "in support of" the Third International. I quote its essential clauses:

"The Socialist Party of the United States, in principle and in its past history, has always stood with those elements of other countries that remained true to their principles. The manifestoes adopted in national convention at St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919), as well as Referendum "D" 1919 unequivocally affirm this stand. These parties, the majority parties of Russia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Bulgaria and Greece, and growing minorities in every land, are uniting on the basis of the preliminary convocation, at Moscow, of the Third International. As in the past, so in this extreme crisis, we must take our stand with them.

"The Socialist Party of the United States, therefore, declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, not so much because it supports the 'Moscow' programs and methods, but because:

"(a) 'Moscow' is doing something which is really challenging world imperialism.

"(b) 'Moscow' is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

"(c) Under these circumstances, whatever we may have to say to 'Moscow' afterwards, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now, because its fall will mean the fall of Socialist republics (!) in Europe, and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for many years to come."

It is a hopeful sign of the membership of the Socialist Party that, as between the reports submitted to them, they adopted this one which is the more radical. They adopted it by a five-to-one majority. That may possibly mean that the body of the members want the Socialist Party to be a party of communism. If they do, however, the delegates who framed these two reports successfully prevented them from saying so. Neither of the reports raises any of the issues upon which it is of supreme importance to every organization that pretends to be revolutionary to express its will and judgment today.

For the officials of the Socialist Party to apply for affiliation with the Third International upon the basis of the adoption of this report seems to me, to say the least, naive. I do not see how, short of an off-hand rejection, there could possibly be but one answer: Submit to your members a real referendum on the principles involved, so that we can find out whether you are in fact a party of communism or of compromise.

"LIBERATOR."

THE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION.

One of our readers has asked us for a report of the Socialist Party. We forgive him. The Duluth Herald states that the SOCIALIST PARTY TOOK A STAND AGAINST BOLSHEVISM AND STANDS FOR SANE SOCIALISM.

The Socialist Party convention has sealed the doom of that party. Never did a Socialist convention betray the cause of the workingclass in a manner that the S. P. Convention has done. True it is they named Debs as their presidential candidate. They named Debs, because they realized that the wonderful personality and sterling integrity of Debs would be the means of giving them a new lease of life. They lied to and betrayed Debs. They lied about the Third International, when they told Debs it was an organization confined solely to Russia. They betrayed him, when they adopted a program that they knew Debs would repudiate. Only those workers, who have no backbone or brains will join the Socialist Party or maintain their allegiance to it. The worker who has a serious purpose in life, will shun the Socialist Party like he would the little animal, whose name has become synonymous with odoriferous infamy.

Listen to this by Victor L. Berger, "Outside of Milwaukee and the east side of New York, nobody knows anything about a proletariat. Maybe the Steel Trust and Samuel Gompers know about it, but the American people in general don't." This is a sample of the arguments used against the theories of Karl Marx.

Let us write over the Socialist Party grave R-I-P. It will not be needed until after the revolution and then... Boy! Page Herr Noske....

The Socialist Party convention decided to reaffirm the vote of rank and file of its membership to affiliate with the Third International. What a nerve some people have! The Third International does NOT state that ALL countries must pursue the same tactics, but it does insist that all parties who claim allegiance to it, must adopt the principles of the Third International. For instance, the programme

of the Third International distinctly states, that its task is as follows:—

"To gather up the revolutionary experience of the working classes, to rid the movement of the unhealthy blend of opportunism and social-patriotism, to unite the forces of all the truly revolutionary parties of the world proletarians, and thus to pave the way for, and to hasten the Communist revolution all over the world."

The Third International programme condemns the very thing that the Socialist Party has recently adopted in convention, namely, the theory denoting "the progressive steps of Capitalism towards Socialism." It also points out to the workers that in order to "shorten the time of crisis through which we are passing" we must establish "the dictatorship of the proletariat which does not look backward, nor does it take count of hereditary privilege or right of property, which, contemplating solely the salvation of the starving masses, mobilises to that end by every means within its power, decrees the necessity of work for each individual, institutes discipline as an urgent need of the workers, in order not only to heal in a few years the horrible wounds made by the war, but finally to raise humanity to great and undreamed heights.

The Socialist Party convention has only affiliated with the Third International because it desires to make a good showing in international circles. But its hypocrisy will not deceive the revolutionary workingclass parties of the world.

Let us not waste any more time over the Socialist Party convention, but get down to business. We need to hear the sound of marching men, marching along the road to industrial freedom, rather than the marching of politicians to the political pie-courier.

A new joke!

THE SWITCHMAN'S STRIKE IS OVER. SO STATE THE KEPT PRESS!

WARNING!!!

At a recent meeting held in Chicago, under the auspices of the Communist Labor Party, leaflets were distributed, presumably by the AMERICAN ANARCHIST SOVIET FEDERATION.

There leaflets are cleverly worded. We warn our readers to be very careful about any kind of literature that is so worded as to bring them into contact with the authorities. Blood, curdling appeals are NOT revolutionary literature. The recent statements of Judge Anderson, federal judge of Boston, make necessary this warning. If we are to go to prison, let us go for our principles and not for some damphoolish stunt, which in the vast majority of cases is the work of an agent-provateur or a Palmer spy.

SAY JUDGE!

During our recent trial Judge Morris stated, that all those that believed in Soviet form of Government, should immediately be deported to Soviet Russia.

During the days of the Abolition movement, when Wendell Phillips was stirring up the people by his wonderful speeches in favor of the abolition of negro slavery, he lectured in Cincinnati. As he was leaving Cincinnati, a minister, who was in favor of negro slavery, entered the train and inquired for Wendell Phillips.

"Are you Wendell Phillips?" the preacher inquired.
"You're trying free the niggers, am't you?"
Again came the affirmative reply.

Then came the clergyman's bombshell.
"If that's the case, why don't you go there and try it?"
The question was accompanied with a gesture that indicated the slave country.

Phillips smiled and asked, in polite tones, if the man was a preacher.

"I am."
"Are you trying to save souls from hell?"
"Yes, sir; that is my work," the preacher replied.
"WELL, WHY DON'T YOU GO THERE?"

BOLSHEVIST MAXIMS FOR MAY DAY.

A wireless message from Moscow gives the following maxims for May Day, drawn up by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party:—

1. Let us convert our Labor Holiday into holiday labor.
2. On the First of May the World's Proletariat is going out to battle with Capital; the Russian workers are going out that day to clear up the broken pieces and dirt left by it.
3. Communism was born in the travail of hunger and want; it will conquer in floods of proletarian sweat; it will triumph in the joy and happiness of all humanity.
4. The workers and peasants have defeated Koltchak and Denikin with rifle and machine-gun; they will extinguish them with hammer-and-plough.
5. "Authority is from God" say the priests; "Authority is for Capital" say the rich; "Authority is for the workers" say the Communists.
6. On the First of May remember the undefeated foe; remember the Western Front.
7. We shall show a new way to the land. Labor shall be Lord of the Earth.
8. Beat cold and hunger by the labor of Discipline.
9. Long live our healthy Locomotives, cured by the First of May Labor.
10. Capital flooded the land with blood; the worker is watering it with sweat. Capital made a prison of it; the proletariat is making it a free commune of free people.
11. The Red Flag of Labor is waving high over the whole world today; under it thousands and millions are conquering.—Wireless Press.

PAGE DULUTH BUILDERS' EXCHANGE.

A local builder, when returning thanks to those who toasted his health, modestly observed that he was "more fitted for the scaffold than public speaking."

There is many a true word spoken from the chest!

The so-called morality of the present age is simply commercial necessity, masquerading in the forms of Christian ethics.

—Wm. Morris.

WHY RUSSIAN INTERVENTION?

"It is estimated that there is today invested in Russia \$8,000,000,000.00 of European capital. Most of it is British.... Not one of the men whose names I have here—I have the names of 1500 British shareholders in Russia—has volunteered to go to Russia to fight for his investments there."—Neil Maclean, British M. P.

WONDERFUL MAN, JULIUS!

A traveller in the wilds ran out of provisions. He had to kill his dog, so he cut off his tail and made soup. When the poodle came wagging the stump of his tail and eyeing the soup wistfully, he threw him the bone of his tail. This is Barnes philanthropy.