

53 Men Who Spoke Against War Are in Prison; All German Spies and War Profiteers Are Free

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International Press Correspondence

FRIDAY, MARCH 23, 1923

Member The Federated Press

FIVE CENTS

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By PAUL HANNA
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

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In addition to Borah, who was first in the field with senatorial demand for amnesty, Senator Pepper is supported in this drive by Republican politicians no less circumspect than Senators Lodge and Wadsworth, as well as by Senator Brookhart.

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"As I do not believe the government has any right to keep them longer in jail, so I believe that no condition ought to be exacted in setting them free which could not be successfully demanded of them if they were already at liberty."

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Communist International greets brave members of your organization fighting against capitalism and government oppressions on Pacific coast. The recent Portland and Sacramento convictions and wholesale arrests in San Pedro, California, do honor to the courageous I. W. W. The appeal of the I. W. W. of that region for a united front of all workers is to be commended. The Communist International has called upon all militant workers everywhere to unite in the struggle against capitalism and oppression. There should be a united front of all class-conscious working class organizations in America against all exploitation and persecution, and we note with pleasure the splendid efforts of the Workers' Party towards this end. Fraternal greetings to all revolutionary workers in American jails. Long live the unity and class solidarity of the American working class.

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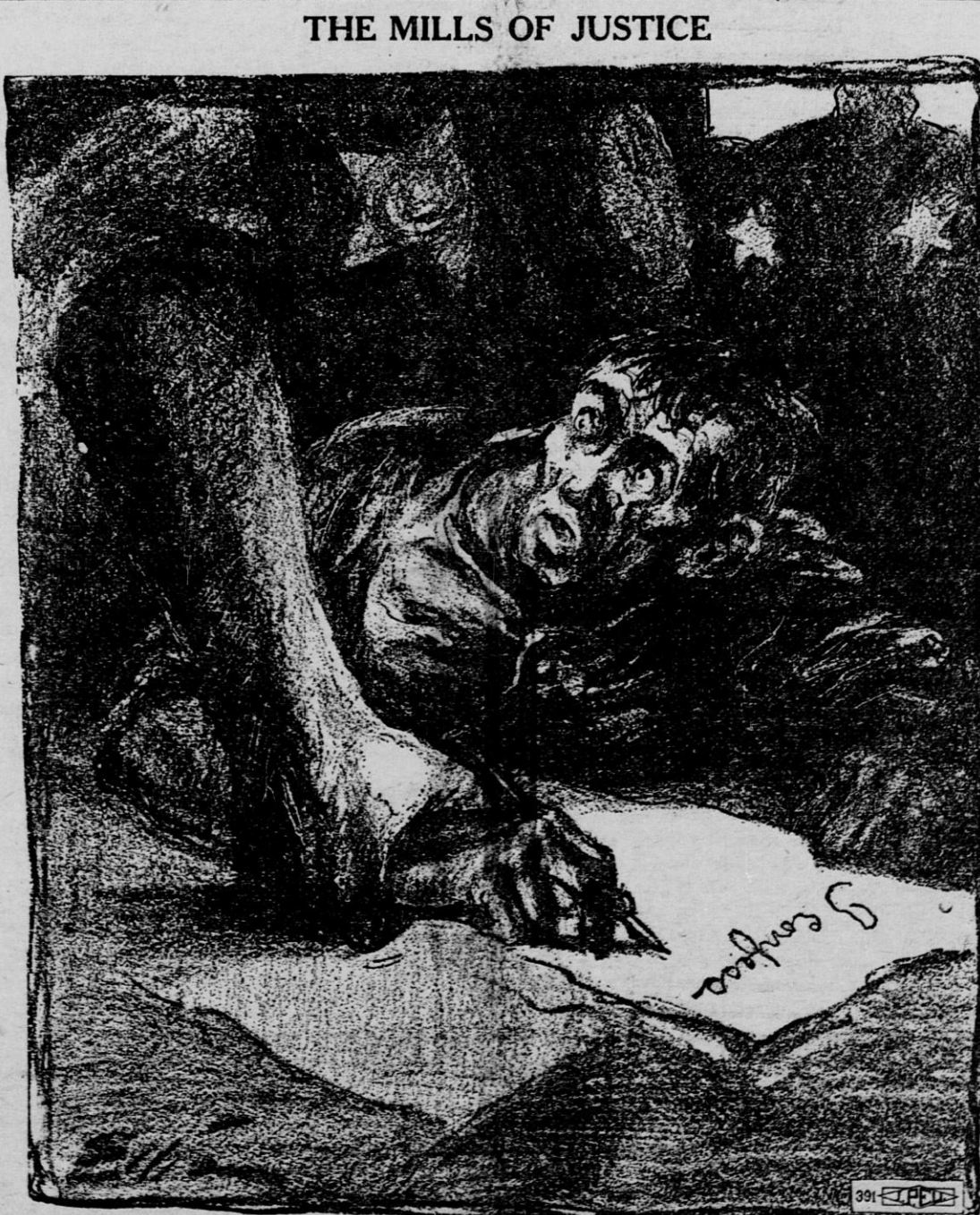
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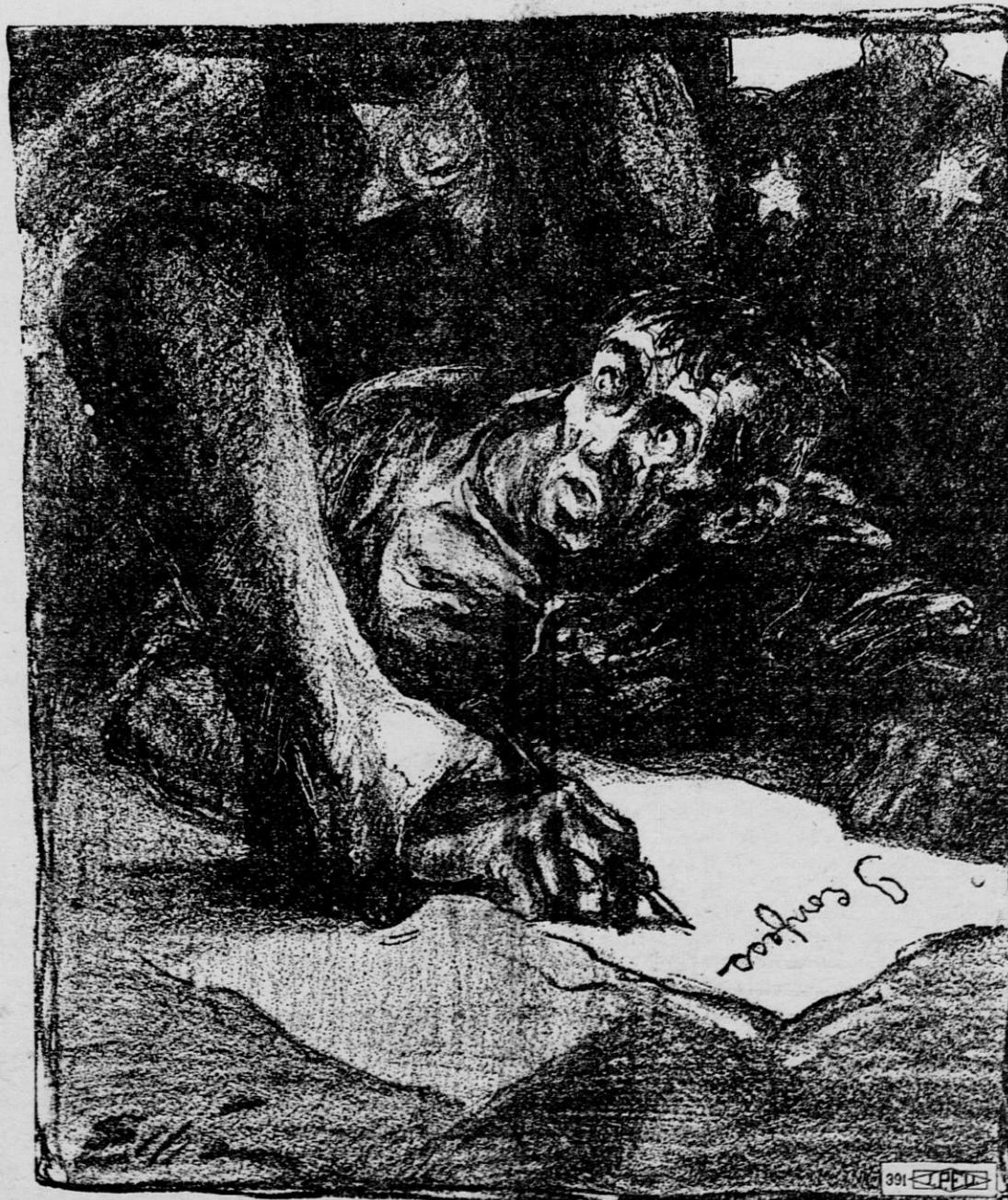
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THE MILLS OF JUSTICE



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INTENTIONAL DUPLICATE EXPOSURE

DEFECTIVE PAGE

THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC

The articles in this series are released through the "Friends of Soviet Russia" Press Service

Ware Reports on Perm Farm. Harvesting Machines Needed, He Says

NEW YORK.—Harold Ware is back from Soviet Russia, where he headed the Friends of Soviet Russia Agricultural Unit in the Province of Perm. He brings with him a detailed story of the undertaking which won the special praise of Premier Lenin and has been pointed to as a model for the rest of Russia by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. And the story bears out in full the enthusiastic reports which have come to America through other channels from time to time.

"Four thousands acres have been planted by the American tractor unit," Ware said. "The grain is already above ground and it is surely a beautiful, almost an inspiring sight—these thousands of acres in one long stretch. What is more important than the beauty and the inspiration, however, is its utter novelty. Never in the ages that have passed have the peasants in the district laid eyes upon so great a piece of cultivated land.

"The contrast is tremendous. On the one hand these 4,000 acres; on the other, the little plots and patches of the primitively worked peasant land. Often we found ourselves working on one side of the road while some peasants were working on the other. While our tractors were planting 50 acres a day, those on the other side of the road would do about one. The lesson was too sharp for the peasants to miss it. They want tractors."

The great need now, Ware pointed out, is for harvesting machinery. The experiment, triumphant to this point, will in a large measure fail unless the grain could be harvested.

"We cannot harvest those four thousand acres with the primitive sickle. If we are obliged to depend on it, a large proportion of the harvest will rot. With the need for bread as keen as it is, such an eventuality would be unspeakably sad.

"When I left Perm I told the peasants that the American workers would send great machines to gather the grain, just as they did for the planting. The peasants are anxious to see it. They are in a believing mood. Harvesting machinery means bread for the local population. Will we send it to them

There are four Americans holding down the unit now, with Otto Anstrom in charge. With them are 15 Russians and four Italians. Practically all of the North Dakota boys who have returned to America, Ware declared, are ready to go back to Russia if machinery for harvesting is available.

Harold Ware is writing an article on his experience for the Soviet Russia Pictorial.

FOR THE RUSSIAN ORPHANS.

SHAFT, Pa.—Local 1398 of the United Mine Workers of America in this town has voted fifty dollars toward the support of destitute children in the Workers' Republic. In transmitting the amount to the national office of the Friends of Soviet Russia, the treasurer enclosed an additional Five Dollar bill as his personal contribution.

DETROIT, Mich.—The local branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia has decided to make the adoption of 100 Russian orphans the goal of its work in the next few weeks. These adoptions are aside from those made by individuals through the campaign carried on by the national as well as the local office.

NEW YORK.—Unity House, a co-operative home for working girls established by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, will run a benefit performance at the Jewish Art Theatre on the evening of March 24th. The proceeds will go to the Russian orphans through the Friends of Soviet Russia.

LOS ANGELES.—The Famine Scouts of Los Angeles, Cal., have raised about a hundred dollars for their fellow-kiddies in Russia through the sale of meal coupons. A children's concert and ball under the auspices of the Famine Scouts netted an additional sum.

GOVERNMENT REPORT SHOWS BEET-FIELD SLAVES EXIST LIKE HOUNDED ANIMALS

Men, Women and Children Work 11 to 15 Hours Daily. One-fourth of Children Are Less Than 10 Years

Washington.—Conditions of child and mother labor in the sugar beet fields of Michigan form the summary of a report to be issued by the children's bureau, U. S. department of labor, in which it is held that so long as the theory of payment for the beet field work is that of a "family wage," it cannot be expected that the children will be kept in school regularly or the mothers withdrawn from their field work to care for the children at home.

Contract laborers, the report says, are usually assigned as many acres to thin, hoe and harvest at a fixed rate per acre, as they and their families together can take care of. Thinning is a process which must be done before the beet plants grow too large, and therefore is usually performed under pressure. At this time the family working day was found to begin at 6 in the morning, continuing until 6, 7 and even 8 in the evening, with the shortest possible intervals for meals. Over a fourth of the children investigated reported 11 to 15 hours daily work in the fields.

Family labor for the summer work in the Michigan fields was secured by agents of the sugar companies from Detroit, Chicago, Ohio cities, mining districts of West Virginia, and even from Texas and Mexico, who held out as an inducement the opportunity for utilizing the work of women and children in the beet fields.

The sugar companies, according to the report, rented old farm-

houses for these workers, or furnished small portable houses which frequently were in bad repair. From three to ten persons were obliged to sleep in one small, ill-ventilated room in many of the beet-field families. Sometimes a shack of tar paper or tin, or a caravan wagon to be moved about as the work required, was the only shelter provided, this shelter being such that the members of the family had to take turns going in, "as there wasn't room for all of them at once."

Of the 500 families studied by the bureau in 1920 in this typical district of the middle western beet growing section, 67% of the children between 6 and 16 were found at work in the fields. One-fourth of these child workers were less than 10 years of age, and only one-fifth had reached the age of 14. Three-fourths of the boys and three-fifths of the girls had helped in the beet fields that year, as had 70% of the mothers. These mothers worked long hours, and did their housework in addition.

One-fourth of the families expected to receive less than \$600 for six or seven months' work, and one-fifth would probably be paid less than \$800. Several of the migratory laborers said that the entire family's work in the beet fields would yield no more than the father alone was accustomed to earn for an equal period at other work.

Three-fourths of the children of school age in this district had been

CROWDS HEAR BORAH PLEAD FOR AMNESTY

NEW YORK.—The great crowd which filled the Lexington theater here to overflowing to hear Senator Borah demand the freeing of the political prisoners, has led to the hiring of Madison Square Garden as the setting in which Borah is to plead for the recognition of the Russian republic. Thousands of persons were turned away from the Lexington theater.

The National Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with and Recognition of Russia, under whose auspices the Madison Square Garden meeting is being arranged, is intent upon making it a distinctively labor gathering. W. H. Johnston, head of the International Assn. of Machinists, will preside.

COMMUNIST PARTY MEETS AT LEIPZIG

C. ZETKIN ADVOCATES STRIKING POINCARÉ ON THE RUHR AND CUNO ON THE SPREE.

LEIPZIG.—The convention of the German Communist Party took place under a shadow of impending civil war. The catastrophic fall of the mark, the staggering increase in the cost of living, the narrowly averted coup of Hitler's National Socialists in Bavaria, the wholesale arrest of reactionaries in Thuringia Hall—all these things helped to create an atmosphere of tense excitement.

The delegates to the convention expressed the conviction that the growth of violent reaction in Germany, following the Ruhr occupation, would compel the German working class to take up arms in its own defense in the near future. The Leipzig organ of the Communist Party declared that the German workers must realize that "only resolute attack, open civil war and the dictatorship of the proletariat" could help them.

Two Opposing Factions.

The debates at the convention turned largely on the subject of how to win over the majority of the German working class to the Communist viewpoint. The party central committee advocated junction with the Social Democrats. A more radical minority criticized this policy as opportunist. On the last day of the convention a tendency toward reconciliation between the two factions became apparent.

The convention sent a message of greeting to Soviet Russia. The message declared that Russia, under a working-class government, had been able to beat off all attacks of the Entente powers, whereas Germany, under capitalistic rule, had sunk deeper and deeper into slavery.

Clara Zetkin Speaks.

The Communists did not, however, endorse the idea of a national united front against France. Their veteran leader, white-haired Clara Zetkin, received storms of applause when she recited the crimes of German militarism during the war and called on the German workers "to strike Poincaré on the Ruhr and Cuno on the Spree." The general feeling of the convention, expressed in a number of resolutions, was that the Communists must carry on a double fight—against the French troops in the Ruhr and against the capitalists and Fascist bands at home.

Foreign representatives from the Communist parties of France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark addressed the convention, the French representative receiving an especially warm welcome. In spite of the inflammatory character of most of the speeches the convention passed off without any kind of disturbance.

Debs on Speaking Tour

BLOOMINGTON, Ill.—Plans are well under way here for a monster mass meeting which will be addressed by Eugene V. Debs, now on a speaking tour. This will be the first appearance of the Socialist leader here in 15 years. Arrangements are in charge of J. E. Abbot, a Chicago & Alton conductor, and executive of the local branch of the Socialist party. The meeting will be held in the Coliseum which has a seating capacity of 4000 persons.

absent from school on account of their work, according to statements of their parents and observations of the investigators.

PROFITEERS GET CONSUMERS' EXTRA PURCHASING POWER

Wage Workers' Standard of Living Has Not Been Raised

By LELAND OLDS
(Federated Press Industrial Editor)

Profits are a more important aspect of business than the production of goods and the distribution of these goods to the consumer. That is the verdict of the New York Federal Reserve bank in presenting an early tabulation of corporate profits for 1922.

The profits of 122 corporations included in the bank's survey increased from \$136,328,000 in 1921 to \$394,816,000 in 1922. This means an increase of 190%. It indicates the extent to which business has taken advantage of the increased purchasing power which seemed to offer wage earners a chance to improve their standard of living.

In the following table the concerns are grouped according to the service which they perform. The net profits shown represent the amount available for dividends after taxes have been paid and after capital has taken its first big grab in the form of interest.

Groups—	1921	1922
Food and food products	\$10,270,000	\$54,408,000
Stores	9,938,000*	40,752,000
Motors and accessories	23,576,000*	36,408,000
Metals and oils	959,000	2,313,000
Public utilities	71,513,000	97,222,000
Steel and Railway equipment	50,466,000	62,738,000
Tobacco	31,007,000	39,902,000
Metal products	5,281,000	15,228,000
Clothing (including leather and textiles)	13,371,000	28,670,000
Miscellaneous industrials	13,025,000*	17,175,000
Total	\$136,328,000	\$394,816,000

* Deficit.

"In every group," says the bank, "1922 net profits were larger than net profits in 1921. In four of the ten group 1922 net profits were equal to, or larger than those of 1919. The aggregate figures for the 10 groups, however, show 1922 figures considerably below those for either 1919 or 1920, reflecting reduced earnings in the steel and other metal industries. In general, the figures show that 1922 net profits were highest in relation to 1919 in those industries which deal most directly with the consumer."

By reason of better employment the consumer has got a little extra purchasing power and the profiteers proceed to go after it. The result is that "good times" rapidly produce greater wealth for the rich instead of better standards for the families of wage earners. This is the story which the table tells. It is the story of every industrial revival.

The 1922 profits of the food industry were more than five times as large as those of the preceding year. They exceeded those taken in 1919 and were practically on a par with the enormous profits of 1920. In 1922 the profits of the clothing industry exceeded those of either 1919 or 1920. The same holds true of the tobacco industry.

Profits in the case of 24 public service corporations included in the table were 62% higher in 1922 than they were in 1919. The public utility corporations appear to have a steadily increasing grip on the purses of consumers. The rate making policy which governs public utility commissions tends to guarantee them uninterrupted development of profits. They represent an enormously valuable block in the structure of the profit system. The rate making provisions of the transportation act have practically added the railroads to this block. As long as this great block of public service is protected as part of the profit making system wage earners and consumers will be powerless to protect themselves.

Profits in 1923 will exceed those of 1922 unless a new sense of solidarity among the workers interferes to force up wages. Business does not exist to make available more goods and comforts for each family. "Good times" are times in which profits are rushing forward to absorb the increased purchasing power which industrial revival brings to labor. And as long as the organization of business is superior to that of labor business will prevent wages from rising fast enough to absorb the excess profits by which plutocracy increases its power.

Botchful Waiting May Be Abandoned

By PAUL HANNA
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON.—Don't be surprised if both Mexico and Russia are shortly given official recognition by the United States. Nothing human lasts forever, and our shoddy official attitude toward those two nations is badly worn out at the heels and elbows.

In the most cautious circles here the word is going around that botchful waiting is likely to be abandoned before the summer gets hot. All the big money interests that have supposed they could get a better hold upon Russia and Mexico by sabotaging their governments appear to be satisfied that the time has come to recognize.

All the American states along the Mexican border have lined up for recognition of Oregon, in addition to nearly a dozen states farther north whose legislatures have officially petitioned the state department to stop fooling and play ball with Mexico.

On several recent occasions your correspondent has been assured at the state department that Mexico and Russia were in the same boat so far as recognition is concerned. That is, Secretary Hughes thinks both governments have expropriated capital without due process of law, and he has been demanding that they repent of their sins as the price of recognition.

It turns out, however, that our whole scheme of Latin-American penetration will be hampered by suspicious hostility so long as we bar Mexico from a place in polite society, and will be correspondingly promoted by recognizing Oregon.

As for Russia, there is now some-

NO FREEDOM YET IN CENTRALIA

Centralia, Wash.—Sixteen members of the I. W. W. are serving 30-day sentences here in an effort to preserve the right of free speech. They were given the choice of a month at hard labor or leaving the city. Sixteen out of 17 to whom the choice was given decided on "sticking" it out on these lines, if it takes all winter.

The wholesale arrests arose from sale of the Industrial Worker, semi-weekly publication of the western I. W. W., on the streets of Centralia after the police had started a roundup of members. Two weeks ago Elmer Smith, labor attorney, was arrested two minutes after he had begun a speech on The Road to Freedom.

Smith was freed under \$1000 bail following appeal of his case from police court to superior court. He was fined \$20 and sentenced to five days imprisonment by the police court after spending several days in jail, refused to be released under bond.

Feeling is again tense in the town where Wesley Everest was tortured and hanged and Warren O. Grimm killed in a lumber trust conspiracy against the industrialists. Trouble is anticipated, as the I. W. W. are defending their constitutional rights, while city officials are intent on not allowing the organization liberty of action.

thing like a race on between France, Japan and some powers, including America, toward a final understanding with Russia. And Secretary Hughes is sentimental enough to covet the distinction of being first among foreign ministers to reach Moscow with a bouquet for the soviet regime.

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In Trade Union Groups

Plans for Minnesota State Federation of Labor convention in Duluth, July 16, 17 and 18, already have been started by the Federated Trades assembly. Henry Perault, member of Cigarmakers' union, No. 294, has been named chairman of the committee arranged for the annual meeting. The sessions will be conducted in the Central high school auditorium.

More than 1,000 delegates are expected to attend the convention in Duluth, when questions pertinent to local, state and national interests will be discussed.

Pay Raised; Union Will End Sailors' Strike

CHICAGO, March 20. — The sailors' union of the Great Lakes, members of which struck last October 1, in an effort to force the Lake Carriers' association to grant an eight-hour day, decided today to go back to work when lake navigation opens, K. B. Nolan, secretary of the union, announced.

"We also decided to resume the strike for the eight-hour day at the first opportunity," Mr. Nolan said. About 4,000 seamen are involved. The seamen's union went on strike last October after negotiations which gained them a raise in pay but no change in hours.

United States Naval Commission to Brazil Excites Latin America

NEW YORK.—"I am gravely concerned with the evidence that reaches me from day to day that large companies of Latin-Americans in the 20 southern countries are growing more prejudiced against the United States," says Samuel Guy Inman, secretary of the committee on co-operation in Latin-America of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. Inman declares the fifth Pan-American conference, which will meet in Santiago, Chili, this month, offers the greatest opportunity ever presented to break down the barriers which have divided the American nations for nearly

BOOKS!

"Rhymes of Early Jungle Folk," by Mary Marcy. Illustrated with 71 wood cuts, fine for children \$2.00
Prison Poems, by Ralph Chaplin. Price \$1.00
Red Labor International, Resolutions and decisions of the First International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions \$0.15
The Revolutionary Crises of 1918-1921 in Germany, England, Italy and France, By Wm. Z. Foster. Price \$0.25
War of the Classes, by Jack London. This book has been reduced from \$1.00 in order to cut down the stock \$0.50
A. B. C's of Communism, By N. Bucharin. Price \$0.50
Imperial Washington, by R. F. Pettigrew \$1.25
"Kuzbas", a pamphlet about an opportunity for engineers and workers in Russia \$0.10
An Introduction to Sociology, by Arthur M. Lewis \$1.00
Communist Manifesto, By Karl Marx and Frederick Engels \$0.10
Communism and Christianity, by Bishop William Brown D.D. \$0.25
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a century; but he is gravely concerned over the feeling which is being engendered against this nation among the Spanish-American republics by the encroachments of the United States.

There has been tremendous excitement, he declares, throughout Latin-America in the last few months because of the appointment by the United States of a naval mission to Brazil to help Brazil build up her navy. This step has led Argentina to believe "that we are denying all that we proposed to do in the disarmament conference."

TRUTH

Issued Weekly By The West End Labor Association.

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TRUTH openly declares for the overthrow of the present capitalist system. It does not believe in patching it up. If you think this decaying system can be patched up you will not like TRUTH.

TRUTH stands four square for the industrial form of organization on the economic field. It realizes that the workers must adopt such methods as will give them power to demand their rights, and demand them in an effective way. The workers must also be trained to take full charge of industry when the capitalist system has ceased to function.

TRUTH stands four square for Communism. It realizes that there can be no middle-of-the-road arrangement in the economic world. All the earth must belong to all the workers. All the people of the earth must be workers and not some shirkers. No loafing by any class and no advantage taken by any class over the weak and helpless.

TRUTH is in line with the Third International and supports Soviet Russia and the world revolution. It is convinced that Communism cannot thrive in any one country as long as capitalism attacks it on all sides; that Communism must be international and thus develop into its full fruition.

TRUTH declares that the working class must capture the capitalist state and establish their own state until the class antagonisms have been destroyed and until there remains no further need for the state. During this period of transition there must be the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is folly to think that the capitalist class will give up possession of the wrongfully owned industries without a struggle. In this struggle there must be a well disciplined working class and a clear visioned and firm leadership. The task is no Sunday-school play. It will mean sacrifice and much training. The workers must prepare for this.

It is to reach the workers with this message that TRUTH exists. It is the child of the loyal workers in Duluth who recognize the imperative need of the change from capitalism to the Workers' Republic. Come with us!



14

SLOWLY STARVING CHILDREN

From twenty to thirty per cent of America's school children are suffering from *malnutrition* says a report that will soon be published by the United States Health Service.

Malnutrition is the polite word used in bourgeois circles for *slow starvation*. It is not good form to speak of starving children in America. They are found in England, in Germany, in Russia, in Italy, but not in America.

Malnutrition occurs also in well-to-do families, says the report. Thus attempting to ward off any charges that might be made that they are spreading good communist propaganda by publishing such facts.

Certainly, certainly. Just how many rich children suffer from lack of the essential sugars, fats, and proteins, necessary for the development of muscle and brain and bone?

Adenoids, tonsils and bad teeth are mentioned as physical defects which act as germ carriers. Among the children suffering with malnutrition these defects are very common, says the report.

How many rich parents neglect to have diseased adenoids and tonsils removed? How many rich parents fail to care for their children's teeth? It is the children from the working class families who suffer from neglect of these germ carriers.

The school nurses and charity visitors can tell the income of some of the families that have children suffering from malnutrition. A year ago the doctors and nurses and the Charity Organization spilled the beans. They told how many physically defective children there were in Duluth's public schools alone. Four hundred were listed from the schools in working class districts such as the Irving, Madison, Adams, Webster, Emerson and Jackson school. They even reported that the whole problem was closely connected with the unemployment then prevalent. That the children are no better fed today is evident because the bulk of the wages earned has to go to pay the bills incurred during the unemployment season.

If figures could be obtained from reliable sources Duluth with all its boasted wealth would undoubtedly show as high a percentage of slowly starving children as the average given in the government report.

A nation of wage slaves cannot nourish its children properly. The so-called government experts cannot show that it can be done on twenty-five dollars a week. Thousands of families have far less.

The United States Health Service is dramatically holding a doll show in Brazil at present to show onlookers by means of dolls that properly nourishing food for children must include milk, green vegetables, fresh fruits and good meats. Puppet shows by the puppets of capitalism is fitting indeed.

Seeing good food and being told that it is nourishing puts it on the workers' tables. Some day maybe, but not yet.

HARRISON OUTRAGE AIRED

The committee that is supposed to probe into the murderous outrages committed on the Missouri and North Arkansas Railroad is in session at Harrison. Senators Norfleet, Wilson and Bogle, and Representatives Chaney, Harrelson, McKennon and Bohlinger are the committee members and they say the probe will be thorough.

They already have direct proof of the personnel of the mob that took Edward Gregor, a striking union man, from his home and hung him. The affidavit of Mrs. Gregor fixes the blame on a number of leading citizens of Harrison and nearby towns.

One hundred witnesses are said to be ready to testify to the outlawry carried on by the representatives of the railroad owners. But as members of the owning class they have behind them all the prestige of property and its props, the church, the press, the courts and the state. The man brutally killed was of the despised working class, intelligent enough to be organized and on strike. What rights has he? What right have we to expect anything from a committee which represents the owning class?

MARCH, 1871

The *Paris Commune*, which lasted three months, went down before a bloody onslaught of the masters which has only been equalled in recent history by the violence of the British in South Africa and the White Terror in Finland and Hungary.

It was the first class conscious workers' government and as such is of interest to the workers today.

In September, 1870, the Empire of Louis Napoleon had collapsed and the working class proclaimed the Republic. Then came counter revolutions with Paris as the prize to be conquered. On March 18 there was an attempt to disarm the workmen of Paris, but the people assembled en masse

and declared a Commune. Paris could resist only because it had replaced the old army by a National Guard of which the bulk were workmen. Of this heroic attempt to free the elements of the new working class society from the old bourgeois society Karl Marx says:

When the Paris Commune took the management of the revolution in its own hands; when plain workmen for the first time dared to infringe upon the governmental privilege of their "natural superiors," and, under circumstances of unexampled difficulty, performed their work modestly, conscientiously, and efficiently—performed it at salaries the highest of which barely amounted to one-fifth of what, according to high scientific authority, is the minimum required for a secretary to a certain metropolitan school board—the old world writhed in convulsions of rage at the sight of the Red Flag, the symbol of the Republic of Labor, floating over the Hotel de Ville.

And yet, this was the first revolution in which the working class was openly acknowledged as the only class capable of social initiative, even by the great bulk of the Paris middle class—shopkeepers, tradesmen, merchants—the wealthy capitalist alone excepted. . . .

If the Commune was the true representative of all the healthy elements of French society, and therefore the truly national Government, it was, at the same time, a workingmen's Government, as the bold champion of the emancipation of labor, emphatically international. Within sight of the Prussian army, that had annexed to Germany two French provinces, the Commune annexed to France the working people all over the world. . . .

The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence. Its special measure could but betoken the tendency of a government of the people by the people. Such were the abolition of the night work of journeyman bakers; the prohibition, under penalty, of the employers' practice to reduce wages by levying upon their workpeople fines under manifold pretexts—a process in which the employer combines in his own person the parts of legislator, judge, and executioner, and filches the money to boot. Another measure of this class was the surrender, to associations of workmen, under reserve of compensation, of all closed workshops and factories, no matter whether the respective capitalists had absconded or preferred to strike work. . . .

Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought in Paris. No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire. No longer was Paris the rendezvous of British landlords, Irish absentees, American ex-slaveholders and shoddy men, Russian ex-serf-owners, and Wallachian boyars. No more corpses at the morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies; in fact, for the first time since the days of February, 1848, the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind. "We," said a member of the Commune, "hear no longer of assassinations, theft, and personal assault; it seems, indeed, as if the police had dragged along with it to Versailles all its conservative friends." The *cocottes* had refound the scent of their protectors—the absconding men of family, religion and, above all, of property. In their stead, the real women of Paris showed again at the surface—heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity. Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris—almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates—radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!

OUTLINE PLAN OF DEFENSE

The Workers Party has issued a statement outlining the defense planned for the Communists who will go to trial in Michigan. This statement is issued to set at rest misleading and false speculations indulged in from day to day by the kept press. It is as follows:

The Workers Party of America strongly protests against the newspapers' persistent, gross misrepresentation of the policy of the defense in the trial of the Communist workers in Michigan for violation of the State anti-Syndicalist law.

The press has been spreading the utterly false report that the defense will contend that the "proceedings, meetings, and program, were largely planned by the Burns' Detective Agency and that the delegates were tricked into following them."

This is positively untrue. Nothing of the sort happened at Bridgman, Michigan. The defense will not contend anything of the kind. In view of the fact that several of our active members are involved in this case, the Workers Party completely repudiates the charge that private detectives or Government agents had anything to do with the proceedings, program, or meetings at Bridgman. Every resolution, every decision, every document, every statement that was adopted at Bridgman was written and adopted by the Communists present. It is true that a Government stoopigee was present at the Convention as a delegate. This spy, a Mr. Morrow, alias Ashworth, did not write a word of any document, was on no sub-committee and did not even utter a word or participate in the proceedings of the Convention.

It must be made plain, however, that it is not a special privilege of the Communist organizations to have a spy in their midst. Government and private spies and stoopigees infest the labor unions and labor organizations. The Communists are fully aware of the plans of the capitalists and their Government to plant spies in all labor organizations. The Communists take far greater precaution than the average labor organization does to keep out such dastardly agents of the employing class and its Government. The Communist organizations are, therefore, far less infested with spies, provocateurs, and stoopigees than most workers' organizations are.

The Communist workers on trial will wage only one kind of defense. The Communists will take full responsibility for everything that was done at the Bridgman Convention. Throughout the trials the defendants will maintain that they had a full right to assemble and to discuss the problems and struggles of the working class. The defendants will fight for the right of all workers, Communists included, to the freedom of speech and assembly. The militant workers on trial will not shrink one inch from the defense of their right to believe in and propagate their Communist principles.

This and this only will be the defense policy of the Com-

munists. The Workers Party of America urgently requests that the press give the fullest possible publicity to the above statement and once for all discontinue the campaign of misrepresentation in the trials of the workers now going on in Michigan.

C. E. RUTHENBERG.

IRELAND'S LIBERATION A WORLD TASK

Excerpts from "Ireland and the International Working Class" by J. T. Murphy, *British Labor Monthly*.

The central problem of the working-class movement of the world is the defeat of imperialism; and upon this victory depends the liberation of the subject peoples of the earth. These national problems find no solution through a nationalistic approach to the problem. Ireland's problem is not simply an Irish problem or an English problem. It is more. It is a problem of the international working-class movement, and until the working class of this country and Ireland face it as such, we shall wallow in a mass of confusion, be the victims of the clap-trap of the capitalist press, and be held up to derision throughout the world.

No phase of British history is so appalling to contemplate on the basis of the considerations we have put forward as the later period of the struggle for Irish independence. The long years of struggle against English domination found no echoing thrill in the hearts of the British workers and their leaders. They saw it only as a nuisance when it broke forth into open struggle, and either ignored it entirely at other times, or viewed it at the best through the spectacles of British Liberalism. British Labor protested against "atrocities," but never against the domination of British imperialism in Ireland, even at the worst moments of intervention. Nor did their protests amount to anything more than paper protests and resolutions. Munitions, troops, equipment went as usual. Not once did British Labor hold up a single wagon of munitions or prevent the transport of a single soldier, whilst the common imperialist enemy delivered blow on blow. When Mr. Lloyd George held the weapon of greater war at the heads of the Irish leaders, Labor made a united front with the imperialist Government against the revolting Irish nationalists. It only required the hypocritical benediction on the resulting Free State Government and the moral castigation of the Irish republicans to complete the ignominy of it all. It is time indeed for a transvaluation of our values and a fresh acquaintance with the fundamental issues that are at stake.

Workers Used by Capitalist to Rid Themselves of External Domination.

Throughout the seven hundred years of Britain's political domination over Ireland not a century has passed without an uprising and a forcible effort to throw off the invader. Time and again the Irish have been crushed, only to see succeeding generations renew the efforts of their fathers. With the period of struggle the elements which waged the fight have undergone a transformation true to the capitalist era they were entering. From a fight to revert back to a social system of preceding generations, back to the clan and the commune, it became a fight in which the forces were divided into the social classes of capitalism. The capitalist class of Ireland proved no different to the capitalist of any other country, and used the sufferings of the workers and peasants as the means to liberate themselves from the inconvenience of external domination. Always they drew from the poorer strata of the population to fight their battles, but there were few who were themselves prepared to bear the brunt of these fights for freedom. The masses went into revolt. The exploiters reaped the goods.

British Ruling Class Divide Irish to Conquer Them.

Throughout the whole period of their rule the British Government has never been uncertain as to what it wanted or as to with path to pursue. The policy of divide and conquer has never been more efficiently applied. From the days when it brought thousands of Protestant workers into Northern Ireland, fanned the flames of religious hatred and created an Ulster problem, to the days of recent history when it left a hole in the boundary clauses of the recent treaty and prepared the way for re-invasion through Ulster, its policy has been a masterly application of the principle of division and a guarantee against a united Ireland.

Workers Get Worst of Struggle.

When the British ruling classes fettered Irish industry for generations, prevented the growth of an Irish merchant fleet, and placed Irish commerce at a disadvantage, they created situations which rallied the industrial workers to their employers. But in settlement they always settled with the employers and left the workers to make the best of it. When they created a land hunger, and compelled the transformation of rich cultivatable soil to pasture land for cattle rearing, and depopulated the country, they passed their Land Acts to ease the problems of the large farmers, and left the poor agrarian population in starvation. A short-sighted policy for an industrialized country to pursue with an agrarian neighbor, but never an uncertain one.

The ground for revolt has thus been fertile, whilst the means of division rooted in the class divisions of the Irish nation were ever open to pave the way to Irish defeat. . . . *Ireland Will Never Be Free While British Empire Endures.*

To take its proper role in Ireland as the leader in social progress it must perforce face the issue of the struggle against imperialism. In doing so Irish Labor will be placing itself in direct line with the interests of the working class of the world, and will have a basis for appeals for aid that is sounder and stronger than the political abstraction called self-determination.

The failure of Irish Labor to play its historic role during these years has driven it into the hands of its enemies. Objectively the interests of the workers are against the Free State Government. Every effort they make to improve the lot of the worker brings them up against the forces of the State. Nevertheless the policy of submergence is continued to the extent of denouncing the forces which have taken up the fight that they themselves have failed to prosecute, until it would seem that there is neither an appreciation of the role they ought to play or of the forces operating in their favor. First they appeared neutral in the struggle between the republicans and the Free State, and then allied themselves to the Free State. Right thoroughly we understand what would have happened had there come into being a republican bourgeois Government. The workers would still have been silent, but only because of the policy that has been pursued by Labor. That is why the hour of negotiation proved to be the hour of the great betrayal of the working class. Not because it was wrong to arrive at a compromise with British imperialism. Had the workers of Ireland been at the helm in the then existing international circumstances they also would have had to compromise. It is as true today as in the days of Mitchell that Ireland will never be free whilst the British Empire endures. But the failure of the working class of Ireland to take the lead left the capitalist class of Ireland free to make the compromise which left the workers where they were before—slaves still to be liberated. The new triple alliance on the pages of history

looks well thus: Irish Labor, Irish Free State, British imperialism—versus the interests of the workers and the republican army. . . .

Fate of British and Irish Workers Together.

Thus Ireland's tragic hours reveal again and again how deeply its liberation tasks are entwined with the fundamental task of the international working class. Upon the men and women without property in Ireland devolves the task: to create a workers' party out of her rich supplies of revolutionary workers and fighters, a party that will lead the workers and peasants of Ireland towards the workers' republic through revolutionary struggle. This does not mean that it is the task of the Irish workers to rise arms in hand and seize power to-day or to-morrow. But it means that the whole character and direction of their activities must be towards that end. . . .

The fate of Ireland and the fate of the British working class are tied together with the bonds of life and death. Neither can emerge from slavery whilst imperialism endures.

NEW TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION

The outcome of congress of Revolutionary Syndicalists, held in Berlin, December 25 to January 3, was the formation of another trade union international, the International Association of Workers, or the First International, with its center in Berlin. It was formed as a "bond of continuity between the glorious past and the ominous present full of menace to the life, autonomy, and independence of trade unionism." All unions affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions were said to have been invited, but only anarcho-syndicalist representatives from the following countries attended: Argentine, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Germany (two organizations), Holland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Spain, Sweden, the Hindu Syndicalist Committee, the Russian Minority, and the French Comité de Defense Syndicaliste (a section within the C. G. T. U.).

—British Labor Monthly.

LABOR IS INTELLIGENT

All the way down the ages have slaves fought masters. Not because they were ignorant but because they were intelligent.

Never was a system of oppression inaugurated but the slaves found its weak point and broke through towards freedom. Were they ignorant? Are we imbeciles? Savagery, barbarism, feudalism have come and are gone—gone! Capitalism came with its wage slavery. It isn't gone yet but if I'm a judge, it looks like a goner. Feudal slavery went, wage slavery will go and Industrial Freedom will make its bow to the hard-pressed world.

Strikes all over the country speak for labor's intelligence. Great walkouts, small walkouts and individual walkouts of today convince me that labor must know something is wrong. And if they *know*, they surely cannot be ignorant of the facts! Yes, labor knows. Only too damn well does labor know! . . . It is a heart-breaking struggle, and today, the American wage slave needs encouragement more than anything else; more than we can give. Let us not deny him his just dues.

—T-bone Slim, Industrial Worker.

TO OUR ENEMIES

By Wilhelm Liebknecht.

. . . You wish to exterminate our movement! You? Our movement, whose aim is to secure the realization of human rights, of a human existence for the millions of toilers, trodden into the dust, sunk in the mire of degradation! Try, my masters! Here and there you may quench a flame, but behind you, on your left, on your right, ever new flames will break out, it is a subterranean fire which you cannot quench, the very ground under your feet is burning! You believe that supernatural forces are at work. Though you no longer believe in the witchcraft of your fathers, who burned witches at the stake, you believe in "plots," "secret organizations," in a movement "artificially" created. You resemble the child who looks for his reflection behind the mirror and encounters an empty space. What you see and what you attack is but the image of your false conceptions. You wish to destroy the "plotters," the "agitators," the "agents?" Then go, my masters, and destroy every exploiter, waxing fat on the labor of his slaves! Destroy every landowner, exploiting the labor of his tenants and adding their acres to his land; destroy every machine that revolutionizes industry and agriculture, increases production and ruins the producers, enhances national wealth and leaves its creators to endure the pangs of hunger in the midst of the riches they produce! Destroy the railways, the telegraphs, the steam engine! Destroy everything and everybody, because everything is tainted with revolutionism, spreading revolutionary poison.

PROTECTION

Do you know that most states have laws for the protection of fish, calves, lambs, colts, deer, rabbits, quail, ducks, mud hens, musk rats, skunks and buzzards and that all these laws are constitutional?

The only law for the protection of animals that ever was declared unconstitutional was the child labor law.

Oh, baby dear, don't you wish you were a cute little skunk?—Knoxville Plain Dealer.

BOX-CAR SPASM

John Ferguson.

There was a great Deceiver,
He'd fool you with a smile.
He'd give you a fat promise
That would hold you for a while.
He'd plug your ears up with your hair
And blindfold both your eyes.
Beware of this Deceiver—
His name is *Compromise*.

"DREAM-WORLD"

B. N. Z.

Oh! dream-world, life's beauty unspoiled,
Fastening your own thread of fancied tissue neatly,
And leaving the spare thoughts find the issue.
Dream-world of life's great pathos athrob,
Deeper the interior that no selfish motive can rob.