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From Anarchy and Bloodshed Socialism RISES VICTORIOUS OVER ITS EnemieS Mr. Eugene V. Debs, Federal Penitentiary, Moundsville, W. Va.

From the carnage of the Cleveland May | right lay raped by their keepers. They now Day riots, Socialism rises victorious over the machinations of its enemies. With white hands and a clean heart, without malice and with enmity only toward the economic system, Socialism advances over the fallen and the maimed, over the red debauch of capitalistic hate and terrorism to greater power and achievements.

Secure in the rightness of our Cause, certain of our historic mission and glorying in our growing strength, we may now look back to that hour of horror instigated by our enemies, proud of our peaceful march and its purpose, knowing that all the desperate hatred vented upon us has but left us stronger in courage, more united in purpose and better qualified to fulfill our work as Revolutionary Socialists.

The storm of capitalist hate that swept over our peaceful and lawful march has spent its fitful force. Emerging from that stressful scene we may now view the wreckage of American ideals that lie broken and scattered about. Becoming desperate at the growing class-consciousness of the workers, realizing its helplessness before the advancing hosts of Industrial Democracy, capitalism ever seeks in red revenge and brute force to crush the ideals of the workers. They cannot be crushed. Force cannot exterminate the ideals of liberty from the human heart. Force can not stem the tide of revolutionary thought and action that is sweeping the world clean of its worn out ideas, ideals and economic systems.

The mad rush and onslaught that began the riots, the methods used by the powers that be to (mis) handle the situation that arose has swept as though with a gigantic broom the cobwebs from the eyes of thousands. They have seen as though in a monstrous nightmare an orgy of capitalistic vindictiveness unequalled in ferocity. They have seen "Americanism" in action as it really exists. They have witnessed the traditions of American life raped by capitalism in a seething flame of intolerance, they have seen substituted therefor the fiendishness of devils and the corruption of hell.

To these thousands and to the thousands who shall hear the story from their white lips these traditions of American life and liberties are henceforth blackest lies and abominations. The veil of delusion has been snatched from their eyes." They have seen the law violated and the violator encouraged by those responsible for the law's keeping. They have witnessed the brutal rule of might while law and

CURB FREEDOM OF SPEECH TO

"CRUSH THE MONSTER OF

gres to Meet.

tained in the sedition law.

g to make a drive on congress

ill prevent any and all criticism of

labor wants, and does not even carry the union label. The Washington Star

BOLSHEVISM"--- ADVOCATED

The labor exploiting editor of the

(Continued on fourth page.)

Social Problems Provided They Don't Advocate For-

ting institutions and advocacy of, cal of that ilk publicly rails against

n coal mines in Illinois, where the ages and stimulates vicious persons to the existto the commission of deeds of vicspoint, is against everything that lence." By the "rule of the mob"

see clearly where they saw but dimly before. They have seen what they have seen.

A hundred parades, a hundred monster meetings could not have reacted so forcefully for Socialism as has and will this mad onslaught upon the workers. It may yet become a truism that the policeman's club is unsurpassed as an educator of the credulous, and we may expect our capitalist colleges to endow a chair in each for the purpose of turning out the best qualified in its use. True, many marchers and others have been given the "limit" and fined and sent to the workhouses for as long as the law allows. Work-this would be so. Capitalist courts are but ramifications of the physical power of the State. A capitalist state requires capitalist courts to uphold capitalist interests. The capitalist court and judge instinctively recognizes the worker as an enemy, being one, he is given the limit upon all occasions.

But even the capitalist state cannot survive upon physical power and force alone. Behind all physical force, underlying it and permeating it throughout must lie the tissues of MORAL force. Without this moral power, this belief in the justness of its cause, with a willingness for great sacrifices and a tolerance of opposition forces, no capitalist can long survive the canker that eats at its heart. It is through this power of MORAL force that the Socialist movement rises ever victorious over all obstacles, all misrepresentations and falsehoods. It is by this moral force that the Socialist movement is stronger today.

Upon a thousand industrial battle fields the blood of the workers has been spilled. The masters have gloated over each seeming victory, while like ghouls they have robbed the dead as well as the living. They are dear bought victories, which drive them incessantly to greater outrages and greater blunders. In their desperation they lay open before the

than on April 30th. Stronger in numbers and stronger in moral force, it rises sublimely from the ashes of a momentary defeat to lead the workers on to emancipation and victory.

May Day riots are in their forgotten graves. but we can easily have 10,000 attend this picnic. "The Hour of the People has Come" and the murderous machinations of capitalists, the enemies of the people, cannot prevail against it.

for the labor unrest.

-higher wages and shorter hours

While in America the teachers are

DEBS CRUCIFIED

Brownella Cottage, Galion, Ohio, April 19, 1919.

Yesterday was the day of the Crucifixion and by their treatment of Debs the American masters crucified the Christ of the slaves in the United States.

Today is the day of the Preparation and the masters are rejoicingly saying: to hell with the gospel of socialism, for we have silenced the voice of Debs, its great preacher in the tomb of a prison.

Tomorrow, however, will be the day of the Resure rection when in earnest tones and with moving eloquence Debs will be preaching from the pulpits of a million Bolshevik hearts, ours being two of them.

Mrs. Brown and I love you. We mourn your most cruel fate and we resent it.

Affectionately yours,

MR. AND MRS. WM. BROWN.

You Must Attend the State Picnic at Coney Island Cincinnati, June 29

The State Convention Publicity Committee of the Socialist Party of the State of Ohio, hereby notifies the different Locals or Branches of the Socialist Party that the State Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio will be held in Cincinnati, June 27 and 28. The state picnic will be held on June 29, 1919, at Coney Island. It is hoped every revolutionary Socialist June 29, 1919, at Coney Island. It is hoped every revolutionary Socialist
will be present. Speaking will be at 3:30 p. m. with Comrade Irwin St. to Governor Gardner of this state John Tucker of Chicago as the speaker of the day. It doesn't matter, if and urged that she be allowed to do Northern, Southern or Central parts of the state, lets get together, rally around the Reds and have a jolly and good time.

The committee also wishes to state that tickets have been forwarded to each and every Local or Branch in the State of Ohio. These tickets can be bought of Socialist Party members for 25 cents; same will cost at the hadn't known that Mrs. O'Hare was boat wharf 35 cents each. We ask the comrades to sell and buy as many a convict-to-be at the time of her

Furthermore we wish to state that the country store will be held during the convention at 1314 Vine street, and as usual does the committee workers the dirty game they play upon them. ask comrades, friends and sympathizers for donations for such "Country Socialism in Cleveland is stronger today Store," which will be gladly and thankfully received.

Please forward donations to the treasurer of the committee, Comrade Lotta Burke, 1314 Vine street, or the secretary, Otto F. Hoefer, 1315 Vine

Comrades and friends remember, under no circumstances should you miss the state picnic, but attend and help to make it the grandest ever held in the State of Ohio. A great state picnic will show the strength of our scientific medical and negative within the prison," Frank O'Hare wrote Governor Gardner. "She hopes to have the co-operation of hopes to have the co-operation of the Socialist Party. She Socialism in Cleveland is on the job and held in the State of Ohio. A great state picnic will show the strength of our scientific, medical and psychological will stay there long after the instigators of the large membership, and we should not only have an attendance of 5,000,

The net profit will go to the state treasurer.

Hail to the Revolution! Onward to Victory! He en Keler to New York,-Strikes are quite the Eugene V. Debs fashion in Mexico, according to a prominent radical in this city who has just returned from a trip to Mex-Everywhere it is the same cry So alarmed has the employing class

become that the large capitalistic pa-DEAR COMRADE: -- Of course, the Supreme Court has sustained the pers are running series of special stories to demonstrate conclusively decision of the lower court in your case. To my mind, the decision has Department of Justice Inclined to Let People Discuss that the Bolsheviki are responsible added another laurel to your wreath of victories. Once more you are going to prison for upholding the liberties of the people. As an example of how far the

cible Overthrow of Government. Waiting for Con- strike fever has gone, the case of the I write because my heart cries out, it will not be still. I write bedomestic servants may be cited. The cause I want you to know that I should be proud if the Supreme Court con- of these facts, if the administration maids and servant girls decided one bright day that they were working victed me of abhorring war, and doing all in my power to oppose it. When in power can afford to keep her in I think of the millions who have suffered in all the wicked wars of the past, prison, she is willing to stay altogether too long and that hours The organized labor exploiters of the United States are in their trade were not regulated. They struck. They demanded that seven hours of service—the hours to I want to fling myself against all brute powers that destroy life, and break the spirit of man.

In the persecution of our comrades there is one satisfaction. Every the lives of certain capitalists and anti-labor government offi-cials to advocate much more drastic suppression of the rights of freedom of speech, press, and assemblages than are now con-tained in the redition law. trial of men like you, every sentence against them tears away the veil that hides the face of the enemy. The discussion and agitation that follow the trials define more sharply the positions that must be taken before all men can live together in peace, happiness and security.

The department of justice holds owned by Theodore W. Noyes, is instructors of the youth of Mexico We were driven into the war for liberty, democracy and humanity. Behold, what is happening all over the world today! Oh, where is the swift vengeance of Jehovah, that it does not fall upon the hosts of those who are serving a term in prison, the people It reads that people have the right to criti- likewise anti-labor in everyone of its are all united in a union. This union that people have the right to critilikewise anti-labor in everyone of has recently joined hands with the
cize existing social and governmental heartbeats. Noyes has the distinCentral Federated union of Mexico marshalling machine-guns against hunger-stricken peoples? It is the cominstitutions and to advocate changes guished honor of being the brother City, and it is expected that by this placency of madness to call such acts "preserving law and order." What in the structure of the government, the abolition of the capitalist system of production and the substitution of the Socialist system provided that method is not illegal. The offsall-sentiments today of the people who oceans of blood and tears are shed in their name! I have come to loathe traditions and institutions that take away the rights of the poor and protect the wicked against judgment.

The wise fools who sit in the high places of justice fail to see that in revolutionary times like the present vital issues are settled, not by statutes, decrees and authorities, but in spite of them. Like the Girondins of France they imagine that force can check the onrush of revolution. Thus they sow the wind, and unto them shall be the harvest of the whirlwind.

method is not illegal. The organized capitalist, however, speaking
through their mouthpieces known as
as the capitalist press, have no sympathy with the soft-hearted policy of
the department of justice and are
the department of justice and are
troller.

The inhor exploiters and express the
those who believe in free speech and
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known not only to the workers, but
to make a drive on courses. You dear comrade! I have long loved you because you are an apostle well, who do not display the ignorof brotherhood and freedom. For years I have thought of you as a daunten it convenes for legislation that Post declares that when a "bolshevist ance of Marxism so prevalent north or socialist or anarchist or any radio of the Rio Grande. ss explorer going toward the dawn, and, like a humble adventurer, I have The cost of living has gone up trethe government of the United States,
Two Washington papers are the denounces its institutions and its denounces its institutions and its laws, flays its judges and officers and bilitation. But as the American ward B. McLean, who also owns cerwith the rule of the mob he encoursely and the state of the state of the mob he encoursely and the state of t followed in the trail of your footsteps. From time to time the greetings that have come back to me from you have made me very happy, and now I reach out my hand and clasp yours through prison bars.

With heartfelt greetings, and with a firm faith that the cause for which you are now martyred shall be all the stronger because of your sacencouragement regarding Mexico, money can be borrowed only on mov-able securities on a monthly interest rifice and devotion, I am,

Yours for the Revolution—may it come swiftly, like a shaft sundering that there are millions of bleeding that there are millions of bleeding hearts that crave to help him, and charge of 5 per cent. There is very

KATE O'HARE WOULD **CONDUCT SURVEY OF** MISSOURI PRISON

By J. LOUIS ENGDAHL.

(Special Correspondence.)

St. Louis, Mo .- Kate O'Hare is in the state penitentiary over in Jefferson City, serving a five year sentence because of her allegiance to her Socialist principles.

In the meantime Frank O'Hare, here in St. Louis, waits, works and watches, not only to make prison life more endurable for the wife and mother, but to leave no stone unturned that might result in her early release, which Kate O'Hare says will come with the liberation of all political and industrial class war prisoners.

"Frank and Kate," as they have been known in the Socialist movement for a score of years, have been working on this plan for more than It was with this in mind that an effort was made to have her transferred to the state penitentiary in North Dakota, under the regime of

For many months, however, Kate O'Hare has been acquainting herself and this gave the papers additional with all the writings of the prominent authorities on criminology and sociology, getting in personal touch with all of the well known experts in this country. This study has taken her to many of the better known universities in the land.

this work. He said he would take the matter under advisement, in the meantime showing considerable interest until the newspapers took up the question, when the governor re-tired into his shell, claiming that he visit to his office. It is understood that an order permitting Mrs. O'Hare to carry on the work in question must come from President Wilson, al-though a recommendation from the governor would have considerable in-

"Mrs. O'Hare in due time will present to the president her request to be permitted to do sociological work the woman who sat as chairman of experts in the comprehensive survey which is contemplated.

"Such permission will not be considered as a favor by Mrs. O'Hare," he continued. "She simply tenders her expert services to the public welfare, and it is simply a matter of the president's discretion whether or not her tender is accepted.

'A large number of scientific men questionnaire. It will be some weeks before this preliminary work is fin-

"Mrs. O'Hare feels that she can stay in prison just as long as the Democratic administration can afford to keep her there," he says. "All friends some of the most prominer she demands is that congress and the women of Jefferson City. One she demands is that congress and the administration make an investigation of the facts, leading up to her these had to walk rough shod over the prison officials before she was arrest in Devil's Lake, North Dakota, on July 29, 1917, and in face of these facts if the administration some delicacies on Factor. Sunday

"The court of last resort in this case now is the American people and the limit. conviction and imprisonment of an tivities. How it is all reduced to

The same fear and trembling on the part of the authorities that characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the characterized the rushing of 'Gene Debs off to prison was shown by feel to the characterized the characterized the characterized the characterized characterized the rushing of 'Gene
Debs off to prison was shown by federa lofficials in putting Mrs. O'Hare
into convict garb.

II was after completing a 14-day
farewell tour of eastern cities, making her final address at Minneapolis,

I found Frank O'Hare in his of-fice, 1011 Holland building, and he was writing Governor Gardner of Missouri, urging that Mrs. O'Hare be given permission to carry on sociolog-ical work within the prison, in lieu of her work in the prison overall facmorning at 10 o'clock, April 12, at the same time that Debs was receiving his prison orders from the federal attorney who prosecuted him to come to Cleveland.

During the days that she waited before surrendering herself to the authorities, the plute papers Fargo were very much excited, imagining that all sorts of demonthe Non-partisan League, but this effort failed.

For many months, however, Kate from St. Louis to be with his wife cold shivers. The atmosphere be-came so intense and the bourbon that Frank O'Hare returned to St. Louis on April 11, after assuring himself that Mrs. O'Hare's journey to prison would be made as comfortable as possible.

It was at midnight, April 12, that Chief Deputy A. S. Marshal and Mrs. Wattles took their prisoner out of Fargo on the long journey to Jefferson City, Mo. Stops were made at St. Paul, Minn., and at Kansas City, Mo., so that the prison city was not reached until the night of Monday, April 14. She was "dressed in." or became a convict, on the morning of Tuesday, April 15, the former inter-national secretary of the Socialist Party being given No. 21,669, and being assigned to the overall factory to make 55 pairs of overalls each day.

The strict discipline of the Missouri penitentiary, which is more severe than in other states, will not be letter a week. The federal prison at Leavenworth, Kan., is inaugurating a plan to allow all prisoners to write at least three letters a week

When Frank O'Hare came to the prison on Tuesday, April 15, to see his wife for the first time after entering the penitentiary, he was at first refused permission to see her. It was only after considerable diffiand women are assisting in culty, and after interviewing several the preparation of the plan and state officials, the capital or Missouri also being located in Jefferson City, that he was allowed to see her. And then his visit was limited to a In discussing the imprisonment of his wife and co-worker, Frank O'Hare voices Kate's feelings rather than his own.

"Mrs. O'Hare feels that she can until Monday.

Both Kate Richards O'Hare and Emma Goldman number among their some delicacies on Easter Sunday morning. All the indications are that the policy of isolating Kate O'Hare from the world is being enforced to

All of which is no doubt in keepam prepared to carry her fight to ing with the big prison plan to eliminate a human being as much as poslet them pass on the injustice of the sible from the world's rushing acinnocent woman. The people will be silent, smoothly moving mechanism is informed of the conspiracy of Bowman, North Dakota. No one even thought Mrs. O'Hare would go to prison. Now that she is actually of the convicts while at their meals.

"Should you desire additional food,

MILLIONS WILL HELP DEBS

Mr. Elmer T. Allison. Please convey to Eugene V. Debi

this missive, and tell him that it comes from one that would give his ALL in order to free him, tell him

Akron, Ohio.

Eugene V. Debs ell him that it conquer the shadows of sell him that it at hand.

The autocrats of wealth, the de-spoilers of the soul, the builders of (Continued on third page.)

Debs Has Been in Prison 30 Days. Kate O'Hare 29 Days. WHY?

An Open Letter To the Exploiters the Bolsheviki agitators are welcomed and wanted by all except you and your class. They are eagerly listened to THE LIFE OF DEBS surfeit of wealth and power without reducing a subject class to poverty and wretchedness. There can be no

you are alarmed and, in my opinion, unduly resentful at the fact that the

this characteristic in man's voluntary conduct to man; likewise, the most barbarous enemy must feel respect for a conquered foe who takes his ordeal ever, did you gain your victory. To

your class and my class.

I know, Mr. Bourgeoisie, that in a personal controversy between a member of your class and one of mine, your kinsman would be perfectly clean and fair in the fighting, as honorable as any one of my colleagues. How is it, then, I wish to ask, that when you fight as a class, you are not in the least governed by these same principles? You do know, or you ought to know, enough of the laws of evolution to foresee that there is but one end to the struggle in which you are now engaged: your own destruction and the complete emancipation of my class. The only phase of the matter about which doubt can exist is whether this end will be achieved in five or fifty years. The contest is on, the outcome is inevitable. You, with your past record, should be the last one to lament or sue for mercy. You should not attempt the impossiole; you have had your sway, you have fulfilled your mission, your service is no longer required; therefore, accept your fate and give room to those who are mightier than yourself. Parasite

that you are, you refuse to do this. You own the armies and the navies the governments, the courts, and the means of livelihood; you control the churches, the educational institutions, the press, all of which you have used and are using most generously in your own behalf. When the rising proletariat in spite of all oppression, becomes too powerful for you, when your armies and navies are no longer eisant pawns and playthings in your hands, when your murderous, cunning, and obstructionist methods can stay progress no longer, then you become the face of the earth. At this point you degrade yourself, you take leave of all decency and self-respect. You, the originator of the "laissez faire" principle, the ardent advocate of the policy, "the end justifies the means," you resort to lies and slander, and you begin to-squeal.

You, whose distinction it is to have gained your power and kept it through more bloodshed than any other class, you who have caused more and blood-ier wars during your brief period of existence than the sum total of all battles fought before your days; you, who have commercialized art, science, and the higher instincts of man; who have made the gap between rich and poor wider than eyer, and who—let us not forget-in your early youth, over-flowing with energy, threatened to extend your rule to every country of the world, you are now wailing and weeping because the working-class government of Russia is preparing to carry its idea to the four corners of

One car respect the motives of an nonest opponent, one can feel sympathetic towards one who, "with perfect sweetness," as Emerson says, retains his honorable qualities in his fight for his interests; but, a cur, - hypo-crite, who, seeing defeat approaching, der and accusations of unfair methods on the part of his opponents, when he himself owes his very life to those same methods—well, profound contempt and a solemn vow to speed the defeat of such a foe is the only worthy answer. You, Mr. Bourgeoisie, are that kind of a foe and my class will

treat you accordingly.

Once, you were a suppressed class. chained and governed by the repressive laws of the feudal aristocracy.
You were then a revolutionist halds prodaiming your radicalism. You fought by fair means and foul to obtain your emancipation. You be-headed kings and queens, you arheaded kings and queens, you arranged "reigns of terror," you massacred and you plundered. Oh, you are the father of many sins of which you do not care to be reminded. You were even a confiscator and not a petty one, either. What the November Revolution in Russia will mean to the world's proletariat, the French Revolution meant to you. It transferred lution meant to you. It transferred the governmental powers from a wan-ing class of feudal kings and barons and from the church—to you. The Revolution gave you unlimited means

At that time the rest of Europe was sminated and ruled by the aristocracy. These latter comprehended—as do you and your ilk today in regard to Russia—what the downfall of their institutions in France would mean to their own countries and to their class; consequently, they arranged themselves solidly against the common foe—against you.

As now, those who were dispossessed fled to other countries and are

No-to—May 12—EIGHT known as emigrés. There they plot-ted against their native land precisely at do the Russian nobles and capital-ists today. They urged foreign inter-vention as a means of restoring them-selves to power. In the former than selves to power. In the former, they succeeded; in the latter they failed. This treachery compelled you, Mr. Bourgeoisie, to fight for your life; it solidified the French nation, and

the 15th of Dec., 1792, you, through I have seen in your newspapers that the newly elected Convention, issued a ou are alarmed and, in my opinion, decree in which you ordered the French generals to abolish all exist-Russian workers, having established ing authorities in the territories they the groundwork for an industrial de- occupied; to sweep away feudalism mocracy in their country, propose to spread their propaganda and their ereignty of the people. (The "people" work of emancipation to the whole world. I fail to see any valid reason for your ire; wherefore, I take this opportunity of bringing to your attended to the propaganda and their ereignty of the people. (The "people" then meant you yourself, Mr. Bourgeoisie.) Further, "—the French nation shall treat as enemies any people opportunity of bringing to your attended to the propagand of the people. (The "people" then meant you yourself, Mr. Bourgeoisie.) Further, "—the French nation shall treat as enemies any people opportunity of bringing to your attended to the propagand of the people. (The "people" then meant you yourself, Mr. Bourgeoisie.) tion a few incidents in your own ca- desires to preserve its prince and priv reer, which should convince you that ileged castes, or to make accommoda-you are entirely out of order in your tions with them," your decree contions with them," your decree con-

cluded. When one person gets into a "scrap"

When one person gets into a "scrap"

With another and fails to get the better of his antagonist, it is good, old practice that he take his licking like

Cluded.

You did not mince your words in this document, Mr. Bourgeoisie; you made it far more sweeping than any declaration of the Soviet government a man without meekish complaint; of Russia. The manner in which you this provided that the opponent has used fair and generally accepted means for gaining the victory. An impartial observer cannot but admire impartial observer cannot but admire you wanted, you knew how to secure it. it; evolution was on your side and-

Not by your own power alone, how in a manly way, without foul revenge. achieve your ends it was necessary I was reminded of this phenome- for you to enlist the aid and good will non, Mr. Bourgeoisie, as I thought of of my class, the working class, in your the gigantic combat that is now shak-ing the world. Not the strife of in-reasons and by misrepresenting to us dividuals, nor the wars between na-tions, but the struggle between the exploiters and the exploited, between your class and my class.

Your aims and purposes. You fooled us by fine phrases and high-sounding words. "Equality, Liberty, Frater-nity" was your official slogan, and it served the same purpose then as does your hypocritical "democracy" at the present day. You inscribed "Equality, Liberty, Fraternity" over the entrance to your jails then; today we see your "Democracy" painted over your fac-tory gates. You failed to explain to tory gates. You failed to explain to us that "Equality" and "Fraternity" meant simply nothing, while "Liberty" signified your right to buy and sell to produce and consume, to hire and ire as you pleased. True, there were few even at that early date who analyzed our nature. Babeuf, e. g., but their voices were too weak and you did not hesitate in silencing them. With this standard of bourgeois morals and tactics once set, you have pursued the same course and improved upon your tactics to this day.

You converted the comparatively prosperous handicraftsman into a mis erable proletarian, not by any consent of his-if you please-but because the change benefited you. Instead of his short hours at leisurely, interesting work with numerous holidays, you abolished his holidays and "free" abolished his holidays and "free" Mondays, you attempted to make the week ten days instead of seven, and, worst of all, you tied him down to fourteen and sixteen hours of monotonous toil in an unsanitary factory. Not content with this, you wrested

ur women from the homes and put them to feed your machines. To the crowning shame of your foul deeds, you took, also, our children from their mothers' laps and forced them to saccrifice their tender bodies on your altar of greed. This, too, you did without the consent of and quite in opposition to the best interests of the workers.

With the enslavement of the proletariat and the aid of machinery, you soon piled up a surplus of manufactured products. Our meager wages did not enable us to buy back this face each other you find only conflict surplus. Your own capacity for consumption (although stimulated by artificial means and most debasing sires) was not commensurate with the magnitude of that surplus; hence, something had to be done and, again, irrespective of the wishes of those victimized, you effected a solution.

Vast areas of the world were inhabited by savage and barbarous people who used little or no clothing and who lived in complete ignorance of the ed out to you the possibilities of a long and glorious life. You stripped the savage of his fig-leaf, and attired him in up-to-date clothes; you induced him to discard the bow and arrow and the battle-ax and taught him the use of murderous firearms; you dethroned his pagan gods and supplied him with a religion that would keep him submissive to your rule. In exchange for this charity of yours, you exacted from him the natural resources, etc., of his country, and finally you dragged him into the current of cap-italist production, subjecting him to the miseries, diseases, and vices into which you had previously forced the

proletariat in civilized countries. Since then you have zealously opposed any interference with your affairs by my class. Whenever we have tried to stop your devastation, you have drenched our attempts in blood Profiting by experience you have in-vented increasingly horrible methods of exploitation and suppression. Your law of accelleration goes on and on, making life more and more unbearable for the mass of us. You have stopped short of nothing in your preed for power. A list of your atrocities would bridge the space between our planet and the sun, and, still, the story of your abominable cruelties would be but half told. Your satanic

exploits defy description. The blackest night finally transforms into day, the biggest iceberg is destined to melt, sometime; and, get it once for all, the formidable giant known as Capitalism must one time-sooner or later-crumble and die.

Night gives way to the coming day quietly and without murmur; the ice-burg, acted upon by the rays of the sun, gently and peaceably transforms itself into oceans of water; but you, Mr. Bourgeoisie, the mean, sneaky coward that you are, you lament your destruction, you squeal, and you appeal to your own victims to save you. You prove thereby that you lack the moral courage to accept the verdict of evolution—let alone the fact that your action also proves yourself to be in-capable of saving yourself by your

own power. "The Bolsheviki intend to overrun the whole world and destroy our civi-lization!" you cry out when the Rus--May 12-NINE mination to free the oppressed in all

What are your complaints, sir? Why such strenuous objection? Have you not encircled the globe with your missionaries and your agents? Why so much venom and wrath at the fact that Russia's workers send their emissaries with messages of cheer and hope to comrades in other lands? Your agents, sir were not sent feet. physical and moral stamissaries with messages of cheer and Gompers naively admits:
to meet the occasion. You hope to comrades in other lands? "There are those who think that e challenge of the aris- Your agents, sir, were not sent for— everything in American life can be took to the offensive. On they had to force their way—whereas set forth bearing the label 'America'

by those whom they are sent to educate and I challenge you to furnish proof to the contrary.

"As a man soweth, so shall he also If you had a right to conquer the world, why deny us the same privilege? Do not balk at us for using methods that are effective; you have done the same things yourself. they can haven our victory, well and good. Your system of society is in its death grapple—all "medical" aid its death grapple—all "medical" aid 1874—Clerk, grocery store at and efforts to the contrary notwithstanding. Your wailing and weeping are uttorly useless. It ill befits you, the cruellest of the cruel, to accuse

your opponents of unfair methods. Your emancipation spelled our enslavement; you ascended the ladder of prosperity at the cost of our flesh and blood. You have degraded us and reduced us to a condition in some respects below that of our savage an-cestors millenniums ago. When there was food they ate; we often starve in

the midst of plenty.
Our aims differ from yours. are not going to emancipate ourselves at the expense of any other class. We demand nothing more than that which we ourselves produce; we simply intend to eliminate all possibilities for your class to live on our toil. This will exterminate you as a class, root branch; but as individuals we hold no malice against you. We invite you to share on equal terms with ourselves the task of building up a new, classless society.

Considering your past treatment of us, you must admit this to be a fair and generous offer. It is not yet too late for you to accept it. If you do not, so much worse for yourself.

The ice is melting, the day is dawning, the emancipation of the lowly is near. Be like a man, Mr. Bourgeoisie, take your medicine-it's of your own make-and then, as far as your character of a class is concerned-depart speedily and noiselessly to the happy hunting-grounds.
Yours without respect,

JOHN WORKINGMAN.

The persecuting spirit has its tion that one's own opinions are infallibly correct.-John Fiske.

THE CAREER OF DEBS.

1855-Born, Terre Haute, Ind. 1870—Graduated with credit from the Old Seminary school in Terre Haute. Began working in shop for Terre Haute & Indianapolis Railroad company. Promoted to locomotive

1870-1878—Joined Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen. Organized the Brotherhood of Railroad Brakemen. Helped organize Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association and Brotherhood of Railway Car Men. -Associate editor of the Fire-

men's Magazine 1879-Elected city clerk. 1880-Grand secretary, Firemen's Magazine. (July). 1893—Editor and manager of

Firemen's Magazine. (February). Organized at Chicago the American Railway Union. (June).

-Great Northern strike ganized. (April 16). Pullman strike. 1895-Advocates co-operative com-

monwealth. (November). 1896—A Democrat. Votes for and 1897-Publicly announces conversion to Socialism. 1898-Organized Social

cratic Party of America. 1900—Candidate for president on Democratic ticket; 87,814

1904-Again candidate; 402,321

1905-Industrial unionism 1908-Candidate for president on Socialist ticket; 421,000 votes.

1912—Candidate for president on Socialist ticket; 900,000 votes. 1916-Candidate for congress from the Fifth Congressional district of

Indiana.
1918—Indicted, tried and convicted under the Espionage act for utterances made at a speech at Canton,

1919-Supreme court unholds conorigin, morally in the disposition of viction evading the issue of the conman to domineer over his fellow crea- stitutionality of the Espionage act, tures; intellectually, in the assump- and Debs begins the serving of a 10year sentence in the federal penitentiary at Moundsville, W. Va., April

Gompers on American Labor and Bolshevism

losophy is consistency—standardiza- and unfreedom and the lowering of tion. A true philosophy may be taken the standard of life for men and to pieces and reassembled promiscuously, and the parts will FIT, because
they have all been formulated to an
identical standard. In this test Mr.
Gompers' philosophy fails miserably. When we take inventory of this incre-He has used divers conflicting stand-ards, and when you make his "facts" retrospective view of the terrible

Mr. Gompers has a genius for platitudes. High-sounding rhetorical per-iods seem to tickle him. He marshalls his platitudes and dangles them as gleefully as a kid does a bunch of tin soldiers. Then he goes blithely on "Comforts" of civilization. This was the new Star of Bethlehem that pointface each other, we find the most mony and consistency. There is a theory, accepted by many capitalist politicians and apologists, that presumes the people to be fools, and holds ing in futures. Listen:

> democracy stands proven to the world national life. day where it stood during the days of either changed in theirs or they and freedom and justice."

A fellow would suppose from this assumption that American organized labor is "the great protector of true democracy, the keeper of unceasing went in the grinding months of the war." tice and freedom," that American or ganized labor has been in possession of these things all the while. Would American organized labor keep "unceasing vigil' over things they do not, and have not possessed? But let Mr. Gompers continue and define for us his concept of right and freedom and

"And freedom, to American labor is not a thing abstract. It is not merely a word for platform use. It is not a work of decorative rhetorical art. Freedom, for American labor, has no meaning until it is translated into terms of life—until it means an avenue to better, fuller, richer, nobler life; until it means opportunity for all to go on to the finest heights of human development, opportunity in such a form as to becken all to the upward America means the best of America, the noblest, the truest, the kindest, the bravest, the freest—all the rest must come up to that to become a part of what labor means when it

proudly salutes as the flag goes by"
Mr. Gompers' declaration of loyalty
to "American democracy" would imply that American labor, in his opin, ion, had attained freedom, as he de-fines it, else what on earth is he and his Federation keeping "unceasing vigil" over? But his interjection, "all

I have just been wrestling with the and command the loyalty and devotion Gomperian philosophy as doped out of American labor. This, of course, is by Mr. Gompers in his onslaught not the case. American labor is the against Bolshevikism in the May issue unrelenting foe of every institution of McClures. The first test of a phi- everywhere that makes for oppression

struggle of American labor for the bare, elemental means of existence, of the McKees Rocks, the Ludlows, the Lawrences, the Pattersons, the Holly Groves through which organized labor has passed, we are impressed with the enormity of the fact that solders. Then he goes blithely on that part which Mr. Gompers sums up and picks up and dangles another se-

fundamental principles of American movement was the very fabric of our ruling class-the junkers. In democarmed conflict, the great protector of come to see ours in its true light. The class is the ruling class, and they rule true democracy, the keeper of un- war has removed much skepticism. ceasing vigil of the citadel of right We have not done with being tested. We have not done with being tested. is the reason why our Rockefellers Life is a continuous test for all and Morgans have immense power, things human. Just ahead of us lies and our farmers so precious little, and

> From this language we would nat-urally infer that Mr. Gompers means that the great service his organization rendered plutocracy during the war, and the scarcely less and possibly greater service to be rendered in the coming struggle against Bolshevikism, directly from, ownership. Hence we will so ingratiate plutocracy that it see that that class or group having no will so ingratiate plutocracy that it see that that class of group having no will hand over to organized labor all ownership in the productive utilities that makes for the realization of their nation can have no real voice if reedom, to American labor," as in its government. Political "democsummed up by Mr. Gompers, and then racy" supposedly shared by a working get down on its all-fours and humbly class dominated by an industrial and apologize for all the dastardly mean-

> indeed an optimist of the first water and economic absolutism as to dom-especially in the light of past ex-inate absolutely all the ramifications periences. What assurance has he of the political state. Our kaisers of that after organized greed is through using organized labor to bat down all opposition to its ambition for abject mastery and a world safe for imperi atism and capitalism, it will not turn and rend its ally, who will then stand as the last obstacle to the realization of its dream of a feudalized wage sys-

tem?

Does not Mr. Gompers realize that if capital is to hand over to labor that opportunity for "a richer, fuller, freer life, until it means opportunity for ALL to go on to the finest heights of human development," there would be nothing left for the plutes to vile up and wallow in, and no leisure left them to joy-ride, guzzle the best brands and dance the grizzly bear? They themselves would be compelled to go to work for the means of their

The hopelessness of hetterment by laws made and enforced by the lackeys of capitalism, is sensed by Mr. Gompers himself. Listen:

"The field is littered with the whitened bones of those who have gone seeking salvation by laws. This the American labor movement has recognized, and there is no immediate danger that this philosophy will be described in favor of whims and caprices of similar portent."

Mr. Gompers ignores, or is unconthe rest must come up to the rest must come part of what labor means when it proudly salutes as the flag them to joy-ride, guzen them to joy-ride,

wealth where there is no poverty, for in the absence of poverty wealth would have no power. On the other hand, labor (poverty) cannot elevate itself, and ascend "to the finest heights of human development" without dethroning the vampire power of capitalism (organized wealth).

struggle of the masses to elevate and emancipate themselves, on the one hand, and of organized wealth to retain the mastery, upon the other, con-stitutes what is known as "the class struggle," and Bolshevikism is merely the acute and incidental phase of this struggle. Now let us hear what Mr. Gompers has to say about the Bolshiviki, in part:

"There is a movement of destruction abroad in the world today. The philosophy of despair has its fanatic adherents. The lean body has furto get food. If it is denied that right it is fair sport of the teacher of ruin. If it is denied that fundamental right it will sooner or later furnish a weak mind likely to fall a prey to whatsoever may come promising relief, no matter how unsound or impossible may be that promise.

the proletariat.' "Leaving out of consideration for the moment the story of devastation and murder that has marched with this theory into practice, we must set down the theory itself as abhorrent to a world that loves democracy. We shall progress by the use of the machinery of democracy, or we shall not progress. There is no group of men on earth fit to rule the rest of the world. It is this central idea of Bol-shevikism that makes the whole of it

outcast in the minds of sane men. is this focusing point of it all that makes it an enemy to our civilization' Mr. Gompers is peeved with the bolsheviki because it is "the dictator-ship of the proletariat." It is "class rule" of a different sort to what he has been used to, and he does not relish the innovation. Perhaps he thinks we have never before had class rule upon this planet. If he thinks this, he had better study history a bit. As a matter of fact, since the dawn of civilization the world has never witnessed anw other form of state than that of a dictatorship of a ruling class. The state itself was first evolved as an instrument of repression to keep slaves taken in war in subjection. As the form of enslavement changed phases, the state underwent modifications. The odium we see attached to labor had its genesis in the hatred entertained for prisoners of war who were enslaved and constituted the working class of that period. In feudalism, the serf, the descendent of the slave taken in war, inherited this wealth of hate and opprobrium. Today, under capitalism, the "free" wage worker is the joyful heir of the historic odium that be-

smirched the ancestral chattel slave. Perhaps Mr. Gompers is afraid that the dictatorship of Lenine and Trotzky will be abused to enthrone this pair and their pals in a position of gorical or dogmatic answer to this absolutism on the backs of the Russian people, thus again tricked back to and picks up and dangles another selection, and then another, each taken apparently at random. When we apparently at random. When we apparently at random ap when subtracted we wonder what the Sam Hill it is that the Federation of sleep over this apprehension. Through-Labor has left to keep "unceasing out all history, there has not been a single instance of a personally owned empire. In all cases the throne of has been a puppet throne, the "There were those-and in large monarch apparent merely being the that empty platitudes and high-sounding periods are more effective numbers—who disagreed with us be-chairman of the board. In autocrathan profound logic. Perhaps Mr. fore the war. They cast stones at cies and kingdoms this puppet, or ex-Gompers holds to this theory. Listen: our heads and mocked the sincerity of "American labor's loyalty to the our hearts. But in the great test our tocracy who were the owning and The labor movement racies the power behind the throne is in a record made through months of trial by fire. A loyalty so proven in such a test may be guaranteed to work of the war, holding steady and such a test may be guaranteed to without which there could have been difference. In power bening the throne is the power bening the throne is the power bening the throne is the aristocracy of wealth, who rule by reason of their ownership, also—a little distinction, but precious little such a test may be guaranteed to stand through the comparative calm without which there could have been difference. In new Russia, under the of peace." Then a little further on: no victory. Many there were who dictatorship of the proletariat, the Because the condition in the American labor movement is what it is, American organized labor stands togovernment, are the ruling class-always and everywhere the owning in proportion to their ownership;

> Political power is not a primary but a secondary power. Political power arises from and is conditioned by industrial and economic power. That class or group having no industrial power and no economic power, CAN HAVE NO POLITICAL POWER. Indirectly from, ownership. Hence we economic autocracy, is an empty bauness and recreant ingratitude that it ble. The power of ownership in pri-has all the while been guilty of.
>
> If Mr. Gompers believes this, he is mous when buttressed by industrial vate or corporate hands is so enor-mous when buttressed by industrial of the political state. Our kaisers of great wealth have learned that the franchise, or "democracy" if you wish, is a harmless plaything in the hands of men industrially and economically enslaved. So long as it amuses and satisfies the workers, the capitalists are more than willing for them to retain it.

our proletariats none.

Mr. Gompers ignores, or is uncon-scious of, the fact that capitalism has "gone seeking salvation through laws"—and found it. The Gomperian

(Continued on fourth page.)

CAPITAL AND LABOR

We are advised by the daily press thatthe president will call an armistice of capital and labor, and adjust matters between them. No one will deny for one minute that all concerned from the president down to the humblest working man in the convention that the president will call together, would like to solve this problem and eliminate all friction be-

tween them.

Those who have a grasp on present construction of our social system know that there can not be any lasting peace or adjustment between them as long as we recognize the present status, as a measure, wherenished many a weak mind as prey to by to adjust matters. The statement the teachings of reaction masked un- that they were going to first see that der a pretense of progress. Those labor should receive all that he who see wisely into the future must, earned is utopian under the present if society is to be saved from fires system. The intention is ideal, but more consuming than those we have let us take a look at our present soknown, so shape the course of the cial ethics and see how impossible of world as to offer this hideous wraith solution it will be until there is a of destruction no foothold. The lean new basis established upon which can body has a right to the opportunity be built peace and justice. The be built peace and justice. The great industrial corporations have based upon their ability to earn a is singing nightly to packed house given dividend. An industry that can in opera-French, German, Italian earn a dividend of several hundred as well as Russian; the ballet is in per cent when it was first organized full swing, and on any evening in the "Russia stands before our gaze like a flaming torch of warning. A thing called Bolshevikism has reared its ugly head in that sad and sorry land. Bolshevikism is a theory, the chief tenet of which is "the dictatorship of the proletariet" to innocent purchasers. The purchasers. The purchaser was only concerned in placing the would secure him an income without any physical effort on his part. The large industrial institutions have all participated in the proletariet. The purchasers and modern plays—Shakespeare and Moliere, as well as Tchekow and Gorki. Moreover, in Petrograd the Hermitage and Alexander III Museums are now more full of pictures than they ever were being the proletariet. to increase its stock capital and sell institutions have all participated in this. It brought millions of ready cash into the pockets of the original promoters. If a factory that cost one million dollars earns a million dollars a year, instead of decreasing the cost of the article they make and raising the salary of its employee and only the repulsition of Patrograd its believed. the salary of its employes and only taking out a reasonable profit as designated by the present social scheme. they devise schemes to issue stock and sell it basing its value on the fact that it will return a good income to the purchaser. This is what is called viks-to induce the inhabitants of inflating the stock. Society has per- Petrograd to evacuate.

mitted this and allowed innocent chasers to acquire this stock. It do not matter how sincere they may be to give labor all that it earns. includes the producer of raw ma-terials and the laborer that stands at the flywheel of industries and creates the finished product. He is forced to

(Continued on third page.)

ART UNDER THE BOLSHEVIKE

London.-When a nonsocialist organ like that quoted below eng in praise of the working men's gov-ernment of Russia, the facts cited are not likely to be challenged. "Common Sense," the liberal organ owned by Lord Landsdowne and edited by F. W. Hirst, speaks as follows of "Art Under the Bolsheviks" in its edition of March 29; "The general impression conveyed

to the reader of the English press i

that the Bolshevik regime is one of sheer destructiveness; that art has the board. The lie about the mar-riage law has been sent all round the world, and though now admitted by on unimpeachable authority that life in Moscow provides more aesthetic been inflated with watered stock pleasures than London. Chaliapine was looked upon as an ideal scheme week the theaters offer a wide choice of classical and modern plays-

Let Us Think It Over

(By RUFUS KNOATES.)

There is no doubt that the tend- | known adventure. Recently, howgreat enthusiasm for our reform ism. "immediate - deplatforms. The

The great question is: How can we arouse, win and organize the power of the workers in order to accomplish their emancipation?

Only a great genius, or a great egotist would attempt to give a cate- yet. We have a long ways to go.

First. We cannot expect to win the workers to our ranks with platforms of one hundred and twenty paragraphs that nobody will read.

Only routes to Socialism, but I have never seen that they got us anywhere. So, let us think over this "Left Wing" stuff awhile and see if it is First. We cannot expect to win paragraphs that nobody will read.

Platforms that are apparently efforts to satisfy everybody's notion of what needs to be done but really ica is not Russia. In Russia, so I am what needs to be done but really satisfy nobody's. We cannot expect to rally the workers for the Revolu-

istics and the salient features of anything, but they are moved by catch-words, phrases and slogans more than by profound and extended dissertations. A prominent speaker and national organizer once bored our audience insufferably and gave Local a serious setback by explaining in great detail the reforms inaugurated by the Socialist administration of Milwaukee.

In this I agree with the "Left gain strength and avoid dissension

In this I agree with the "Left Wing" is right it will only wing," patching up the faults and infirmities of the capitalist system does not seem to me the proper work of a revolutionary Socialist organization.

Second. We cannot expect to win the confidence and support of the workers by making "demands" of the bouregois governments. It implies an inferior position. We want the power to do what we want done ourselves. When we get the power we will not have to make any "demands," we will take and do what we think is for the best interest of the working class. So, we must come out clearly and state just what we ourselves propose to do when the workers unite with us and give us of the power. I know that some will raise the old objection to this and h, claim that not "we," but "they," the workers themselves will do what will sain strength and and avoid dissension by waiting. We will not have any revolution in the United States before next spring and in the meanting waiting. We will not have any revolution in the United States before next spring and in the united workers unite with us and give us the power. I know that some will raise the old objection to this and claim that not "we," but "they," the workers themselves, will do what will be done, but that is only a quibble. We are the apostles of the Social Revolution. Are not "we," the entire that the social of the s lightened. class-conscious, fevolutionary Socialists trying to arouse, educate and organize the mass of unthinking, deluded workers into the way of their salvation? If not what are we trying to do? But just what do we propose for the workers to do when they respond to our appeals, or what is practically the same thing, what do "we" (all of the enlightened, organized, class-conscious workers) propose to do when we have the power? We must answer that question in order to win the confidence of the workers.

Until quite recently we did not the command avoid bitter and vicious attacks upon all who do not think as we do, nor fall for our "Wonderful Discovery" right away. The commander of the "Right" and "Center" are no doubt just as true and Revolutionary as we are and if we are right they will eventually be with us. Many of them are going to prison for us and we who are free are ingrates indeed if we impeach their loyalty to our cause because propose. lightened. class-conscious, revolu-tionary Socialists trying to arouse,

ency of the Socialist Party in the ever, we have glimpsed imperfectly United States, during recent years, the efforts of those who have been has been disappointing to every forced to cut the Gordian knot and truly revolutionary Socialist. We do or be doomed in the effort to have never been able to realize very actually establish a system of Social-

Some of these attempts to estab mands" have always seemed to us lish Socialism seem to be half-as futile as "baying at the moon." hearted, faltering, futile, failures if we have never been able to see the sense or utility of making "demands" that no one notices, and of delivering ultimata that are thrown the weste baskets of the ruling ageous, the purchase and the weste baskets of the ruling ageous, the purchase and the wester haskets of the ruling ageous, the purchase and the second and the wester haskets of the ruling ageous, the purchase and the second age of the ruling ageous, the purchase age of the ruling ageous, the purchase age of the ruling age of the into the waste baskets of the ruling ageous, thorough-going and true, and class. WHAT WE NEED IS POWER!
Power is the magic key that will open the doors of the prisons and enable us to achieve the Revolution.

Successful as the adverse circumstances will permit. These tactics appeal to us strongly. They fill us with enthusiasm. But let us not be swept "off our feet" by our enthusiasm. swept "off our feet" by our enthusi-asm. Le us not become blind to facts and deaf to reason. Let us think it over. There is no need for haste There is no emergency. The Revolu-tion is not breaking out in America

or neglected, hailed as the short and only routes to Socialism, but I have informed, the great mass of the p to rally the workers for the Revolu-tion by boring them with a long list of reforms that must first be in-augurated under capitalism before they can ever see the Promised Land, that mysterious goal—Socialism.

They have an ever see the promised Land, the mysterious goal—Socialism.

They have an ever see the promised Land, the mysterious goal—Socialism. Most people do not care for details. They don't want to be bothered. They want to know the principle.

The tremendous events in Europe will eventually have an effect to awaken the workers here, but any one can see that the time is not yet ripe. Lenin has said so himself. So let us be calm about this Emer-gency Convention and not rush into any immature half-baked action. If the "Left Wing" is right it will only

our ranks, conserve our resources, disseminate the truth and rally such support as we can for our imprisoned comrades at home and our embattled comrades in Europe.

Until quite recently we did not really know how to answer it. We could only generalize, expound our foundation principles and propose a few timid steps toward the great un-Let us take counsel together

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EDITORS Alfred Wagenknecht

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1919.

"NOT AT WAR."

Even a capitalist editor can stometimes see the maze of contradictions into which capitalistic interests have led this nation's government since it ame embroiled in European wars to make the world safe for democracy. How long will the workers allow the criminal farce to continue against the Russian Socialist government? "Not art war, just slaying for pastime" fittingly describes "our" expedition into Russia. Read the following from the Huntington, W. Va., Dispatch of May 8:

PASTIMES OF PEACE. (By Associated Press.)

LONDON, May 6. (Russia)-Allied troops advancing southward along the Murmansk railway on Saturday captured Mesalskaya, 25 miles south of Urosozero, a war office announcement says. The Bolsheviki resistance was

Let's see. We are not at war with the Russian Bolsheviki. A, few days ago when a well known citizen of New York asked to have the Soviet representative in the United States interned as an alien enemy or prosecuted for seditious practices, the Attorney General of the United States declared that no such process could be taken because the United States was not at war with the Bolsheviki.

And yet Allied troops, a large part of whom are Americans, are not engaged in defensive warfare merely, but in aggressive warfare against the Bolsheviki, after having been hard pressed by them during the entire!

We are not at war with the Bolsheviki, but our troops advance against them and compel them to retreat, after showing strong resistance.

We are fighting, charging, retreating, capturing towns and cities, of evacuating towns and cities as the fortunes of war may dictate. But we are not at war. We cannot intern the Bolsheviki minister. We are merely engaged in the friendly pastime of slaying and being slain. It is not war bed cause officially we are unwilling to call it war. We have promised to bring the American soldiers home by June 1, because we are not at war with the Bolsheviki. But just to ward off ennui and to enliven the dull routine of camp life, while waiting for June 1, the fighting continues.

Well, we're living in a wonderful age. We've been frankly told that mentally and morally, "narrow, selfish and provincial," and perhaps in- Weston local dues quiry into the war with the Bolshevists in North Russia proves that we ard Sistersville local dues.... all we've been called.

Maybe, under the millennial dispensation we are entering, the fighting Elkins local dues in North Russia is merely a pastime of peace. But when troops advance twenty-five miles and capture a city after "strong" resistance it sounds like Donation, H. F. Oberholtzer...

AVAILABLE SPEAKERS

Here is a revised list of speakers upon whom the locals may cally Terms are five dollars and expenses. Other names of qualified speakers, will be added from time to time. Comrades who feel that their services are useful to the party upon the platform are requested to secure the endorsement of their locals before making application to be placed upon the Available Speakers List. Locals should make application for the speaker

M. J. Beery, 65 So. Main St., Mansfield, Ohio. Chas. Baker, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville,

Tom Clifford, 3517 Fulton Rd., Cleveland, Ohio. Tom Lewis, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecksville,

Thurber Lewis, State, Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Brecks-

ville, Ohio. Frank Midney, 128 N. Maryland Ave., Youngstown, O. C. E. Ruthenberg, 1222 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. H. L. A. Holman, State Office, Socialist Party, R. D. 2, Bro ville, Ohio.

Frank B. Hamilton, Mayor's Office, Piqua, Ohio. John J. Willert, 3469 W. 54th St., Cleveland, Ohio. Hugo Ruemmele, 2754 Norwood Ave., Norwood, Ohio. J. J. Hoge, 980 Central, Bellaire, O.

RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION AT ONCE!!

Nearly one thousand notifications of expiration were mailed out two weeks ago to readers whose subscriptions expired in April. Readers who have received these notifications MUST renew at once either through their local secretary or direct to the State Office, if they wish the Ohio Socialist to continue coming to them. These expired subscriptions will be taken off the list with this issue unless renewed this week.

Mileage

Organization

Receipts. \$ 368.50 General fund . des regular nitiation stamps Balance on hand April 1..\$3,989.43 embers at large Membership Report for March. ganization fund reign branch Regular dues sold ocal supplies Foreign branch iterature sales ropaganda meetings . Initiation stamps 181.80 idustrial Freedom certifi-1,450.66 MILLIONS WILL HELP DEBS

MARCH, 1919, FINANCIAL

REPORT.

\$2,874.81 Expenditures. eign branch ng fund

March expenditures ...

and shall answer to the oppressed, the slaves of toil, the souls, that seek only justice. Tell him that the hun-dreds of thousands of noble sens that dreds of thousands of noble sens that gave up their happiness, their homes, their lives for freedom's sake, cry out to those sons and daughters of toil, to continue the battle for "FREEDOM"—Freedom of speech, of soul, of mind. Freedom for that hio Socialist great martyr, EUGENE V. DEBS. My heart is with you. \$2,199.99 he on hand March 1..\$3,314.61

If you think right you will vote right.

(Continued from first page.)

hell, the Kaisers of America, must

THE OHIO SOCIALIST MAY IST SUCCESSES TO START ORGANIZATION DRIVE

Dear Comrade State Secretary: Success! A GREAT SUCCESS!!

That's what the comrades say about our campaign for thousands of May 1st meetings.

International Labor Day was more widely and enthusiasti-

cally celebrated May 1st, 1919, than ever before. From Florida to Washington, from Maine to Californialocals by the hundreds, encouraged by the promise of a my mission from T printed program of speeches, of posters and meeting supplies, 8:52 in the morning.

lecided to "break the ice" and CELEBRATE. THEY DID. You would have realized this had you witnessed the shipping of hundreds of thousands of protest postal cards, Debs' application blanks and posters to remote rural communities as well as to the large industrial centers.

WE FEEL ELATED! So should you. You helped, Com- left by electric at 2:00 p.m. rade, and we here voice our appreciation of the co-operation on the train I had read of the bomb plots throughout the country, you gave.

We have not heard from other state secretaries as yet, but the Ohio state office alone placed 31 speakers for May 1st

meetings in that state. Reports from locals will soon reach this office. We shall print as many of these reports as we can find space for in the next national office Bulletin. Look for them. They will prove stories were but a harbinger of what that our locals are IN ACTION.

These thousands of May 1st meetings will constitute the BEGINNING of a special ORGANIZATION and PROPA-GANDA campaign which we hope to initiate VERY SOON.

ORGANIZATION is needed if we are to get Debs, Mrs. O'Hare and other imprisoned comrades out of jail. PROPA-GANDA is needed if we are to convince others that Socialism is RIGHT and the imprisonment of Socialists WRONG. Yours in Comradeship,

A. WAGENKNECHT, Director Organization and Propaganda, Chicago, Ill.

WEST VIRGINIA

OFFICIAL BULLETIN.

(Jesse Bird, State Secretary, Barracksville, W. Va.)

FINANCIAL STATEMENT Receipts. April, 1919. Finnish Federation Lithuanian Federation... 1.57 1.00South Slavic Federation .. M. A. L. dues Huntington local dues..... Fairmont local dues ... Martinsburg local dues 20.65 Total Expenditures. Postage Bal. due bill for costs in case

struggle on Cabin Creek, at Cedar \$ 86.97 letter to the Ohio Socialist last week to arouse their manhood. Colossal blunder of our master Firth et al _ Secretary's commission great a soul, by shutting him away behind stone walls! The enforced Surplus for April silence of this staunch friend of \$86.97 labor is a more eloquent appeal to go Bal. in treasury April 1 19.68 on with the struggle for industrial democracy than a thousand speeches Surplus for april from him on the platform. Yea, I tell you, "If these hold their peace, the very stones will cry out." Bal. in treasury April 30 ... Resources. Due stamps . 950 State Constitutions......

3 sets local sec'y books....

50 Think or Surrender ...

900 Application cards .

badge buttons ...

Miscellaneous books

Total

Va. P. H. Camp

P. R. Garrett

J. H. Snyder

O E Tracy

4,859

8 Cards of 50 each assorted

ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS

Socialist Party of West Virginia. (Elected Officers in Caps.)

JESSE BIRD, Barracksville, W.

State Committeeman-at-Large

State Committeemen.

First District.

Second District.

T. J. KEESECKER, Martinsburg 8

Third District.

.. N. CARRICOFFE, Huntington 11

C. W. KIRKENDALL, Sistersville 15

Sixth District

A BANNER MONTH.

To be sure, the work done does not reflect any glory on the adminis-

SMITH, Martinsburg.

H. L. FRANKLIN, Fairmont.

B. WEST, Mannington ...

L. DAWSON, Fairmont ...

J. W. WRIGHT, Weston. Fourth District.

..\$ 286.71 H. P. WILLIAMS, Charleston.....

ending April 30th.

G. W. Gillespie, Huntington.

M. S. HOLT, Weston

State Secretary.

LINERS.

5.00

Votes

..\$133.10

Comrades voting in the state elec-

when he is brought to this state to

new home at 220 South Ashland boulevard, Chicago, Ill. lars for a certificate of Joint-own-ership of our National Socialist

Home? THE NEW ORGANIZATION.

For the State Secretary-elect and the incoming State Committee, we bespeak the good will and co-operation of the membership of the entire party of this state.

As to the personnel of the State Committee, it is not necessary to say anything by way of commendation or introduction, as nearly all are expethe party-tried and proven.

As to the State Secretary-elect, from our intercourse in the past few that is used the old Roman maxim months, we have observed his activities with anticipation of a call preme law of the land." We have to a broader sphere of usefulness for not yet conceded this in our other him. He impresses me as clean-cut, social institutions. We virtually conradical, alert, accurate and compe- fiscated millions of wealth of the distent. Though most of the stronger tiller and brew through a legal locals are again active and the mapprocess. Will society do the same chinery of the party is in fair work- to the other large industrial instituing order, he will find opportunity to tions in order that we can get jus-exercise all his talents and time in tice and not allow a few to sweep in

ganization.

R. BENNETT, Fayetteville.... 32 W. HARPER, Charleston...... 33 done in the last six months in the problem. way of aggressive party work, but neither Comrade Franklin or myself had the time or funds to do much short of the old Roman law will elimthan for any month during the year an empty machine. it may make of idleness and draw your living clusion some aggressive campaign or

movement so that you may not be ashamed to have owned me as a comrade. Yours fraternally

H. F. OBERHOLTZER, Retiring State Secretary Socialist Party of West Virginia. 1718 6th Ave., Huntington, W. Va.

MAY DAY, 1919

As one of the many speakers assigned to speak at a Debs Protest Meeting, May 1, 1919, I started upon my mission from Toledo, Ohio, at

could not get away at 5:00 a.m., which is the time of the only morning train direct to Conneaut, Ohio, where was to speak, so went by steam to leveland, arriving at 11:30 a.m., and

saw in this alarming newspaper story the setting for the first act of the tragedies which were to occur throughout the day and night of that

eventful May 1. Instinctively I knew at once these was to follow-a sort of premeditated preparation of the human mind for anything that might occur—a shock-absorber as it were—preliminary to the wholesale slaughter which would

that is what they called the one I witnessed in Cleveland, May 1. Yes, I witnessed it and was not

excited, and I know it was a slaughter

and not a riot. I saw the parade as it peacefully marched into the square amid cheers from the thousands who had gathered to welcome their coming. I had a good view and I saw the beginning of the game when the mounted police, pretending to keep the traffic clear, deliberately drove their horses into the line of marchers after the head of the parade had entered the park proper. They crowded iously, and Conneaut let May Day the marchers onto the sidewalk and pass without one drop of blood. followed them swinging their clubs and then from nearby came hundreds of policemen afoot and in patrols and of police, and the sheriff. "American Bastile," as Comrade like wild men they beat their un-Nich. Reinhart calls the state peni- armed victims with their clubs and tentiary at Moundsville, to find the dragged them away

There was no call for police because reason for this warmth of feling. there was a riot-the police were held The workers of the great mining in- nearby to start their bloody orgy for 14.75 dustry of West Virginia have the affair did not last more than 1.00 brought home to them, the devotion twenty minutes from the time the 3.00 of Comrade Debs to the laboring head of the parade entered the square until the end.

A Riotless Riot I left Cleveland at 2:00 p.m. and end his days behind prison walls. They need only to hark back to the They need only to hark back to the days of the Great Strike in the coal meeting here was to begin at 7:30. fields and recall the scenes of the so I had no time to meet the comrades and immediately proceeded to the Workers' Hall where I learned before Grove and at Eccles, as Comrade Frank Graham pointed out in his entering that another riot was to be

staged.

The local newspaper had agitated the citizens. The mayor had forbidclass courts, to think they can rid the country of the influence of so great a soul, by shutting him away with regular and deputized policemen and the orders were, "No meeting in

> Organizer Eiseman had informed Smith—there with a regiment of po-licemen. Organizer Eiseman and the The meeting for tom

National headquarters moved to peace. We went home in peace. when the company of the connection of the control of the control

THE ARMISTICE OF CAPITAL AND LABOR

(Continued from second page.)

contribute to the earnings of this excess stock. You can see that unless there is a sacrifice of this fictitious valuation there can be no true adjustment. Society allowed the disrienced and well-known workers in tiller and brewer to invest billions the party—tried and proven. ciety arrived at that time in history increasing the efficiency of the or- the wealth that working people create? Unless we eliminate this bur-I realize that not much has been den there can be no solution of this

This has been some busy office more than keep the machinery of the inate the difference. There are still this month, and it is the first month party intact. Taking the matter a great many people who hold to the since I have had charge of the of- seriously, I regretted that the state theory that capital is due a return on fice when the activities fulfilled my organization, while I was in charge, its investment. This may be so unfice when the activities fulfilled my organization, while I was in charge, its investment. This may be so unided of a state headquarters of a poward in the party. Three national referendums have been conducted through this medium and an election of officers of the state party organization has been brought to a gether, they represent a power like an engine. If an engine has only purchased within the present month purchased within the present month power enough to run "idle" or drive to the idlers. If you hold a handful of this stock, although you might have inherited the money with which you purchased it, you can live a life of idleness and draw your living from some noise and might amuse on-lookers to see the wheels go round. example of some of our best and but does not accomplish anything. largest institutions of this country tration of this office, as if we had Do you get my point? When the and see if that theory will hold water, carried forward to a successful con- state * organization is functioning Does any idler draw interest or prothe slaves of toil, the souls, that seek only justice. Tell him that the hundreds of thousands of noble sons that gave up their happiness, their homes, their lives for freedom's sake, cry out to those sons and daughters of the party going, but we feel clared oil, to continue the battle for info soul, of mind. Freedom for that the said machine had been so freet martyr, EUGENE V. DEBS.

My heart is with you.

Fraternally yours.

A. L. R.

A Democrat, a Catholic.

The Masters fear Slaves who think.

If you think right you will vote right. properly, it ought, like a good en- fit from the capital invested in our

YOUR LOCAL-WHERE AND WHEN IT MEETS

Your Local's Advertisement Will be Inserted Under This Heading at the Rate of \$2.50 for One Year.

LOCAL AKRON Socialist Party of Ohio Meets Every Friday Evening a 50 South Howard St.

LOCAL CINCINNATI Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M Lectures Every Sunday, 8 P. M. SOCIALIST HALL 1814 Vine St.

LOCAL WARREN Meets Every Thursday at 7:80 P. M., Labor Organization Hall, E. Market St., Near Second Nat'l Bank, Warren, Ohio.

Local Kenmore SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO Meets Every Friday, 7:80 P. M. BITTIKOFFERS HALL Cor. 15th St. and Boulevard

Kenmore, Ohio.

LOCAL SANDUSKY Socialist Party of Ohio

Meets First and Third Wednesday, Each Month, 7:30 P. M. FUCHS HALL

Cor, Monroe and Fulton Sts.

LOCAL TOLEDO Meets every Tuesday evening, except the first Tuesday after the first Sunday. General party meeting first Sunday of each month, 8 p. m., 213 Michigan St. LOCAL NILES Socialist Party of Ohio Meets every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m. Study Class every Sunday, 10 Debate and social every Sunday, 7:30 p. m. MASONIC HALL

LOCAL COLUMBUS
Socialist Party of Ohio
Meets Every Thursday, 8 P. M.
Lectures every 2d and 4th Sunday of the month, 2:30 p. m.

Hall 50 1/2 W. Gay Street

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMER-

ICA, YOUNGSTOWN, O.

Meets every Friday, 8:00 P. M.,

at Bushnell Hall, 127 West

LOCAL HAMILTON

Meets Every Friday Evening 8 P. M.

SOCIALIST HALL 38 High St., Third Floor.

Local Canton of the

SOCIALIST PARTY

Meets Every Thursday at 7:30

P. M., at Socialist Headquarters,

328 Tuscarawas St., E.

Federal St., Third floor.

164 N. Chestnut St. Branch Meets TIFFIN Every Wednesday, 8 P. M.

No. 98% Washington St.

Now they are trying to create a battle between the mayor, the chief

Here's the frame-up in newspaper clippings from the Conneaut News Herald. Read this and see how riots are started:

Poison Gas

"Propaganda is at large seeking to secure amnesty for all so-called po-litical prisoners. The United States Government is brave enough and dutiful enough to send to prison a few handfuls of the disreputable creatures that have befouled the name of the fair land that feeds them. Hundreds, perhaps thousands more should have gone. Deserving ones have escaped the blank wall. Now as an aftermath to leniency the snake in the grass is again showing its head and is not only getting away with spreading its poison but is domanding liberation of its dirty confederates."-Editorial in Conneaut News-Herald, Apr. 30. Now read on and "nail the lies."

Inciting to Riot

"Mayor M. R. Smith late today issued orders to Chief of Police Merrow Organizer Eiseman had informed to notify all parties interested in a the mayor the meeting would be held proposed 'Debs Protest Meeting' to regardless of his orders. The mayor be held in the Workers' Hall, lower regardless of his orders. The mayor be held in the Workers' Hall, lower said it would not. Chief of Police Broad Street, tomorrow night, that the Merrow and Sheriff Eldred were meeting could not be held in that or there to enforce the orders of Mayor any other hall in the city or in the

The meeting for tomorrow night had Comrades voting in the state election, 124.

Dues stamps sold by this state office during April, 284.

Sistersville local is the prize winner for largest purchase of dues
stamps, \$12.00.

Conneaut Comrades were there to been variously advertised. There were
to be two out-of-town speakers and a
message from Debs, recently sentenced to prison by the federal govof respite might have been gained for
him in which he might have rested
sheriff and the police went home in shevik propaganda so general in various parts of the city and undertone riot action against it heard, that as soon Mayor Smith, after being approached by a number of citizens, took the above action."—Herald, Apr. 30.

"Reports from an apparently reliable source at press time this after-noon are to the effect that Sheriff Eldred will be here this evening from Eldred will be here this evening from Jefferson for the purpose of preventing the holding of the radical meeting stopped in the city but which it was reported would be held in the township outside the city. It is understood a number of deputies have been sworn in for the occasion."

Now read the report of the meeting and note the squeal of these blood-thirsty anarchists who are approximated.

thirsty anarchists who are angry at the police for not having started a slaughter, even after the press had immunity by calling it a Bolsheviki riot:

"One hundred and fifty persons (in fact, there were 500), including women and children, gathered in Workers' en and children, gathered in Workers' Hall last evening to hear a message from the convicted Debs and protest against his imprisonment. As per schedule they heard speeches eulogizing Debs and other convicts, one expressing the belief and hope that the time will come when Debs' picture is in every school room in the ture is in every school room in the

"He characterized Debs and others like him as martyrs comparing their status to that of Christ. The time would come, he said, when Debs would be recognized as one of our biggest

"The speaker also told his audience to be ready to respond to a call to be issued for July 4 or the day after, for every worker to lay down his tools and not work.

It was a very tame performance Nothing was said that was inter-preted as seditious although it was considered by the few "outsiders" present as un American.

"A radical local Socialist presided at the meeting, one who it is understood, is well versed in the tenets of the radical Reds. The speakers' chief aim, in accordance with the posters announcing the meeting, by one means So-Co—May 12—SEVEN

or another, was to protest against imprisonment of persons for violation of federal laws, or deportation of the Reds by this government to countries where their ideas are now resulting in carnivals of bloodshed. "WHY?"

"What the News-Herald wants to know is why Chief of Police Merrow did not carry out the orders of Mayor Smith issued to him Wednesday to prevent the meeting advertised for last night being held?"

DEBS TRIP TO PENITENTIARY

April 29, 1919. To the National Executive Committee Comrades: I desire to make a short report of my trip with Eugene V. Debs to the Moundsville penitentiary.

Wearied by a night ride from Terre Haute to Cleveland during which Comrade Debs only had anhour's sleep, he was taken by the federal authorities from the Gilsey Hotel, Cleveland, early Sunday morning, April 13th, and rushed to the Moundsville penitentiary.

It took more than twelve hours to got to Moundsville. No time was allowed by the United States marshal for lunch at noon and very little time was given Comrade Debs to eat dinner when we finally arrived at Wheeling. The trip completely exhausted Comrade Debs, so much so that in the last of seven changes of cars and depots, he could hardly

cars and depots, he could hardly mount and dismount the car steps. I characterize the methods used by the authorities, their total disregard for Debs' age and his comfort as

particularly brutal and inhuman. Had either one of the lawyers who

I sent many telegrams ahead just as soon as I learned which route to the penitentlary we were to take. I subsequently learned that the Social-ist locals in and near Moundsville had Another "alleged" fact that was all disbanded and because of this we met with no comrades to cheer Debs on his way to his cell.

After investigating conditions of the party in Moundsville and Wheeling I learned that in both places the Socialist locals had succumbed be-cause of the war hysteria. It seems to me that the Socialists, rather the former Socialists of Wheeling, have turned pro war and are engaged in profitable politics. Most of those who were seen deported themselves as if the incarceration of Debs near Wheeling was more of an affliction than an honor and I dare say that their "good political standing" in their city will not permit them to be of any service to Debs while he is in

Returning to Cleveland I learned upon Wednesday that the automobile in which Comrade Debs was spirited away from the federal building was hired by the Cleveland Plain Dealer from the Waite garage. The Plain Dealer reporter met Debs at the Union depot when Debs arrived in Cleveland and gave Comrade Debs

Cheveland and gave Comrade Debs to understand that he was connected with the secret service department. It was the automobile which this reporter used in which Debs was subsequently taken on a flying trip through Cleveland's main thorough-fares and side streets and finally landed at the Eric depot.

The question arises—why this close affiliation between the Plain Dealer and the federal authorities? By what right did the United States marshal use the automobile of a capitalist daily paper? Why did not the marshal engage an automobile at the expense of the United States if one was necessary? It shows the very close affiliation between the Democratic Plain Dealer and the Democratic Plain Dealer and the Democratic federal officialdom. The Plain Dealer hangs the European revolutionists editorially about three times a week, and the United States marshal undoubtedly wanted to do his little part in co-operation with this paper here in this free country of ours.

Photographs of Debs and those

Photographs of Debs and those who accompanied him were obtained by me in Cleveland. These will be used in a pamphlet which we contemplate publishing, showing pictures of the penitentiary as well as pictures of Debs on his way to present

I have the following suggestions to make. These suggestions also hold good in the case of any other

(Continued on fourth page.)

THE DEATH TRAIN OF SIBERIA

We have made many assertions as to who are the powers of darkness and who the powers of light in Russia. We have made them the face of an avalanche of contrary statements in the press and periodicals of this country. belief in the truth of what we were saying rested upon a general knowledge of the nature of the class-struggle against capitalism everywhere, upon a careful and studious reading between the lines of the lies in other publications, and upon private information which came to us through channels suppressed or ignored by those publications. We have never had any doubt of the essential truth of what we were saying, But we have not before had the power to make it visual and unescapable to our readers that we have today. We ask you to read through to the end this article, "The Death Train of Siberia." and then read through to the end the report of Lunacharsky, the Bol-shevik commissar of education. Both are in a sense "official reports." Which side are you on when you finish them? M. E.

This is the story of an incident in the attempt to overthrow Bolshev ism in Russia, by massacre. It is the story of the deliberate and inhuman killing of men and women and children by the Czecho-Slovak and Kolchak monarchist forces .in Siberia. It was first made known in this country by a brief and unrevealing dispatch which appeared in the New York Times.

The whole dreadful truth has now come to light, aind the Death Train of Siberia stands revealed in its sinister magnitude as one of the most horrible outrages upon humanity, not merely of this war, but in all human history. The facts are these: In the fall of 1918 the Bolsheviki

took the city of Samara. It was captured from them a little later by the Czecho-Slovaks, who proceeded to throw into prison hundreds of Red in charge of some Russian officers. Guards, and others suspected of Bolsheviki sympathies.

The city was soon re-taken by the Bolsheviki. And when the Czecho-Slovak forces evacuated the city, Guards and Bolesheviki sympathizers together with all the other people Fifty car-loads of herded humanity, packed as closely as if they were alprisoners on that train did not see throw out the dead. This assertion a car-load of women prisoners, who dred starved and frozen and pestil-ence-stricken bodies were thrown from the train to rot. It had become the Death Train, known all to go on in such conditions. over Siberia, as it must become known all over the world, as a sym-

type; otherwise the narrative stands as he wrote it night by night after long days of unimaginable deeps of horror. It is an extraordinary and horror. It is an extraordinary and utterly convincing story of a horrible thing which we believe the world will not soon forget.

"It is the eighteenth day of November, 1918. I am at Nikolsk-Ussurisk in Siberia. In the past two days I have seen enough misery to fill a lifetime. . . .

"I have read many times of the Black Hole of Calcutta. 1 have been told of Russian prisoners returning from German prison camps wrecked by starvation and tuberculosis. Only four weeks ago, as a four-minute man, I was preaching the doctrine of 'hate.' Today, I humbly ask forgiveness for my thoughts of hate, and pray from the depths of my soul that I may be allowed to play my part. though a small one, in trying to improve the condition of men, whatever their nationality, so that perhaps some day this world may emerge into the great Brotherhood, and that such things as I have seen may become

"I have seen, through the windows of box cars whose dimensions were twenty-four feet by ten, forty aninals who once were human men. vomen, and children; faces glared at me which I could not recognize as those of human beings. They were like beasts' faces, of a species unknown to man. Stark madness and terror stared from their eyes, and over all the unmistakable sign of

"This 'train of death,' for by that name all Eastern Siberia now knows it, left Samara approximately six weeks ago. Men of the Russian railroad service are stationed as far west as Manchuria Station, some twelve hundred miles west of here, through which the train must have passed at least three weeks ago. Since then it has passed through Hailar, Titsikar, Harbin, Moolime, going on and on like a thing accursed, through a land where its stricken passengers found little food and less pity.

It had on board at that time twentyone hundred prisoners of all sorts. They were apparently civil prisoners. Some were Bolsheviki, others had been released from the prison they loaded these imprisoned Red at Samara. Many of them said they were thrown into jail for being against the Bolsheviki at the time the then in the city prisons, on a train. Bolsheviki were in control; and when in the course of the fighting the Czechs and Russians occupied Sain September. . . For six weeks the this train, and sent them out west. prisoners on that train did not see Between that day and the day before the light of day, except when the yesterday, when we found this loathdoors of the car were opened to dred of these wretches had died from may seem incredible; but it needs to starvation, filth and disease. In Sibe amended only by the exception of beria there is misery and death on hand, on a scale that would were expressly kept for the uses of appal the stoutest heart. There were the officers of the canvoy. as near as we could count, thirteen The rest left the train only as corpses hundred and twenty-five men, wo--and in that six weeks eight hun- men and children penned up in these awful cars yesterday. Since last night six have died. By and by they will all die if the train is permitted

"It seems a wicked thing to say, but the thought has surely come to bol of the blind hatred and fiendish | me that to kill these people painlessvengeance of the enemies of Bol- ly would require perhaps three dolevism.

After six weeks, it was halted at worth of ammunition; and yet for Nikolsk by some American Red weeks this train of fifty cars has Cross workers, who defied the authorities, held the train against ortion to station, every day a few more

All around the sides of the cars run

All around the sides of the cars ru thorities, held the train against or- tion to station, every day a few more ders for six days, and rescued from this perambulating inferno some two hundred victims. And then the for five weeks in their original clothhundred victims. And then the train resumed its dreadful progress back and forth across Siberia. . . This Death Train, it should be remembered, is an incident in the rule of terror exercised in Siberia by the Czercho-Slovak and Kolchak forces, with whom the American, British, French and Japanese forces were.

tries to make the best story of it possible. They were supposed to have been fed regularly at the different stations along the route, but often for days at a time there has been no one to give them even bread. Were

afford, they would be absolutely without nourishment. "I have talked with a woman doc was doing Red Cross work with the Red Guards. She would have done educated, intellectual woman, forty years old. She has been on this train for weeks. I have talked to a girl under eighteen years of age, beautiful, refined, intellectual. She was formerly a typist and bookkeeper in the mayor's office at Samara. The opposition party got in, she applied for the same job and got it. Later the authorities heard of her former ocupation and she was sentenced to six days in jail. She was taken in the great net: She has been on this train for weeks, and unless the Red Cross comes to her aid she will die on this train. All the clothing she has

shoes. No coat, in this fierce winter "I have talked to a man who has not the brains left to know the difference between a Red Guard and one of any other color. His wife quar-reled with another woman, who evidently lodged complaint. That night he was arrested in his home, accused of being a Red Guard. He has been in the box-car for five weeks. He will die within forty-eight hours. I have seen them die, and the follow-

on is a filthy blouse and skirt, a sort

of petticoat, a pair of stockings and

ing morning I have seen their bodies dragged out of the cars like so much rubbish. The living are indifferent, for they know that their turn will While the prattle about liberty, justice and humanre bound by 'diplomacy.' our hands ity goes on.

we are holding the train. That is the main thing. It should have begun going back toward Samara last night, but it has not gone and I do not think that the Russian train officials will dare to send it out with us ready the corpses they were intended mara, they simply cleaned out the on the spot all the time, opening the and destined to become. That was whole jail, packed the prisoners into cars ourselves, talking to the prisoners, giving them what hope of help we can, and taking photographs every day. We are doing all this without authority, and in the face of this horror we don't care who cares. "It is impossible to tell in print the

story of the unfortunate women who have been imprisoned here under these awful conditions. They are treated better than the men. You all know why. In one car are eleven women. We have sat with them and talked with them in a mixed jargon of French, Russian, and German. On the inside of the car hangs a piece of string. On it are four pairs of stockings owned by these eleven women. The floor is covered with refuse and filth. There are no means of cleaning it, neither brooms nor buckets. They have not taken off their clothes

some woman who might better be. I have been told that when they first started there were as many as sixty and are, co-operating.

It is through the correspondence of these American Red Cross workers in Siberia that the whole story diary of Mr. Rudolph Bukely, for merly an American Banker in Honolulu, now with the American Red Cross in Siberia. It is the record of a six-day, interruption of this prolonged massacre. We have cigarettee or kopecks of the Red Cross men to relieve the emphasized some passages in black site of the remaining of the record of the Red Cross men to relieve the emphasized some passages in black site of the record of a cumulation of filth in which these cars and they first started there were as many as sixty is the many of the cars, but death has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards car has been put on the train, with a large iron kettle, and yesterday the guards are the first on the distance, against the snow, we can see a body of men advanction of the train year. The baths are all ready and we calm to have given the prisoners a little soup. One kettle for thirteen thanked with the well in their throat, half naked, with it

ments about the reasons why these eight that three men had died during people have been subjected to such the night and the bodies had been reawful deprivation and abuse. He moved. As we walked past the train a man hailed us from one of the cars, and the guards were told that there were dead inside. We insisted on the door being opened and this is what we saw:

"Lying right across the threshold villagers who, with tears running down their cheeks, men and women alike, give them what little to the poor was the body of a boy not over eighteen or hineteen years old. No coat, merely a thin shirt is alike, give them what little they can that his whole chest and arms were exposed, for trousers a piece of jute bag pinned around him, and no shoes or stockings. What agony that boy tor (a prisoner on the train) who must have suffered in the Siberian cold before he died of filth, starvation, and exposure! And yet 'diplothe same work for any one. A highly macy' prevents us from taking charge and giving aid. But we are holding the train!

"We climbed into the car and found two other dead lying, on the no stove, but by alternately crouchsecond tier of bunks amongst the liv- ing together and then at times ing. Nearly every man in that car was sunken-eyed, gaunt, and half around we managed to keep fairly They were racked by terrible coughing. They had the stamp of death on them. If aid does not come quickly they will die. We looked into a few cars only, but at one window we saw a little girl perhaps eleven years old. Her father, she said, had been mobilized into the Red Guard. So now father, mother and chiff are on that train and will die there . . .

"It is the 22nd of November. This morning we got up at seven o'clock and left for the hospital where we had an appointment with Dr. Selesnieff, the military chief. When we arrived we found patients with only three doctors and three nurses. Two patients had died during the night and the doctor had discovered nearly all the living to be suffering from diseases of different kinds, including two cases of typhus. We have since learned that a week or so ago two men were put off the train suffering from the same terrible scourge. . .

"Dr. Selesnieff gave us his official eport of the conditions, setting orth, in corroboration of the stories that have been told me, that during the weeks that the train had been moving to and/fro, passengers had died daily from a variety of causes, including typhus, dysentery, influenza, and ordinary starvation.

"The people on the train have remained for weeks without warm food, without boiled water, and many even without bread. According to the testimony of officers in charge of the train, the commandant of the station reports that he had orders to send the train back to the west, but I am sure that among the passengers there are still a number of people so sick and exhausted that further sojourn in these cars will prove fatal.'
"We are still holding the train by hausted that further

means of the co-operation of the Czech lieutenant, and in case of need he agrees he will put the engine out of order. Last night the station for Chita. structions to the effect that the train positively must pull out at one a. m., but it is still here. Manget arrived last night, advising us that General Graves had had a for weeks. In the center of the car long conference with the Japanese is a little wood stove, and there are and Russian commanders, both of

onec a man. He was a journalist. His nates have each been given a piece lar straits are now on their way eastemphasized some passages in black accumulation of filth in which these stand they fill the entire car. On the clothes and put them on the fire.

To send a hundred WOBBLIES

to jail for LIFE!

I thought of our "mobs"

"Tomorrow when this train pulls out it will have nine hundred and twenty-five Red Crosses on it but I must still call it the 'train of death.' There is no use disguising the fact that these people are nearly all going to die, for as soon as the train shall have pulled out the old conditions will return and there will be once more the corpses thrown out day by day from each car.

"November23-Today we leave for Vladivostok. We have done all that we could do. We have just learned that there are thirty additrain. We have bought buckets and a little.

"Later I came down from Nikolsk wrestling and mauling each other warm. We finally reach Vladivostok at about nine forty-five. I am may not have accomplished much, but we at least saved a couple hundred lives-for a time. . . .

If any doubting readers still hesitate to believe that such atrocities have been committed by the reactionary forces to which the United States government has been lending its aid in Siberia, we refer them to the official organ of the Red Cross, the Red Cross Magazine for April, in which appears the full account from which we have quoted the excerpts printed above. There the whole story is told, with photographs; and yet not the whole story, for it is stated in an editorial note that "propriety has demanded the exclusion of much that is unprintable" in Mr. Bukely's damning record of the facts as sent to Red Cross headquarters. . . . We are also indebted to the Red Cross Magazine for this further authentic informaconcerning the Death Train which is appended to Mr. Bukely

"Mr. Bukely's prophecy that the death train would still be a death train was fulfilled. As it went on over the Trans-Siberian, first west then east, back and forth, driven from town to town, the miserable news of it kept filtering into Vladi-vostok. The official reports of the Red Cross commission on December 9. said: 'We had understood that the train of prisoners would be taken count of the unrest caused there by its presence, and would be held at this distance where we could keep closely in touch with developments. On December 6, however, Colonel Emerson, of the Russian railway service corps, telegraphed from Harbin that the train, now with thirty-eight cars of prisoners, had left Titsikar Thus we had first informaster showed us telegraphic in- mation that the so-called train of death was again on the road and was being taken into western Siberia.

"The officers in charge of the train received a telegram not to unload any of the prisoners within the border of Manchuria, but to take would be taken care of in the hoswhich is twelve versts (about eight miles) west of Harbin. This was merely a hoar to get the train out of Harbin.

Our next information was that the train had gone west beyond Chita. "Another week (Dec. 16). It now appears that after rolling toward the west this train has again been turned and headed toward Vladivostok. The train is simply being passed from point to point. . . .

"On and on, days and nights, eeks running into months the wretched company ever dwindling as death takes its cruel and incessant

To this account only one thing needs to be added, and that is a casual sentence from the Associated Press cable dispatch of November 22 to the New York Times: "Other trainloads of human freight in simiward over the Trans-Siberian rail-

(From The Liberator.)

CURB FREEDOM OF SPEECH

(Continued from first page.)

(Continued from first page.)

the editor of the Post means, of course, the rule of the masses, which we are supposed to have already in the United States. Under our system of government it is administered by political parties, and those political parties stand for definite social policies. But according to the liabor exploiting editor of the Post because, forsooth, some feebleminded person might perhaps be persuaded to make a fool of himself because he heard some one speak disrespectfully of a federal judge, therefore one must not criticize the federal judge. The editor of the Post specifically mentions Debs' alleged statement that the justices of the supreme court are "bewigged old fossils" and "with every drop of my blood I despise them." The editor suggests that there may be a distinct connection between this remark attributed to Debs and Scott Nearing's recent alleged "denunciation" of the American government andthe "bomb plot" directed against certain government officials. It characterizes such talk as "criminal" and demands speedy laws which will put a stop to it.

The labor exploiting editor of the Washington Star is equally as emphatic that freedom of speech must

The labor exploiting editor of the Washington Star is equally as emphatic that freedom of speech must be curbed instanter if the sacred institutions of labor exploitation are to survive. The Star undertakes to link up the bomb plot with the radicals up the bomb plot with the radicals.

How on.

And yet we find Mr. Gompers a staunch adherent and a doughty partisan of the capitalist system as he finds it. He calls it "democracy" and rushes to its defense on all occasions. He seems to have a childlike faith has everything.

by the stretched conception that those who are "preaching" radical-ism "are not the same as those who secretly making and mailing bombs. But they are encouraging them, possibly directing them. The ssassins are trying to do the work that these bold advocates of revolution are advocating."

Well, the advocacy of Socialism is

the advocacy of a revolution for it demands the ousting from power of the capitalist class and the abolition of the capitalist system of production and distribution andthe accession of power by the working class and the establishment of the Socialist sys-tem of production and distribution. And that is the revolution which the labor expoliters like the editor and owner of the Star fear. Labor exploiting editor Noyes, who does not even carry the union label in his paper, would deal very, very dras-tically with those working people who boldly declare that they have tional cases of typhus in the hospital the right to own and enjoy the social equivalent of the new wealth they produce and that they are going to brooms for the cars, which will help undertake to change existing political and industrial institutions in order to guarantee them in the enjoyin a box-car with three American sol- ment of that right. This is the way diers. It was bitterly cold. We had Editor Noyes would curb the advocacy of such ideas: "There should be no hesita-

tion in applying the espinage and seditious acts to cause the immediate arrest of those who are thus fomenting radical reaction and the overturn of the This menace cannot be fought by indirection. It must be grappled squarely. The privilege of free constantly being abused. The laws are daily being violated in the name of discussion of public questions. Shrewd speakers are inflaming the minds of discontented persons, fanatics who have a distorted view of issues and an absolutely wrong concept of the functions of the state. . . . The war is not over. The laws that were enacted for the protection of the government as war measures are still in force. Seditious talk is punishable. A vigorous policy of suppression and a course of speedy trials and punishments are demanded in the interest of public security.'

empt to drive through the coming congress in order to prolong their Just now capitalism is being menace system by the wholesale suppression tions which support it. Editor Noyes and the rest of this gentry profess to be greatly concerned in the "interest of public security." They mispeak themselves. They are solely interested not in the "security" of the public, for that would mean the working class, but in that peculiar security to the life of an idler and loafer inseparably con-nected with the ownership the "securities" known as stocks and bonds, which ownership gives them the legal right to deprive the working class of a large portion of the wealth the working class produces. No, it is not the "interest" of public se-curity they are worrying about, but rather the "interest" which the labor exploiter enjoys through his function as a coupon clipper.

When labor exploiting coupon clippers get the United States government to declare as seditious language denouncing their function and the institutions which legalize their privileges to live in idleness on the labor of the working class, then they will indeed have a "democracy" that is worth fighting for. And this is the kind of a "democracy" they are

basic idea underlying "the dictator-ship of the proletariat" as practiced by the Bolshevikists, and the dictator-ships that have been wielded by all ruling classes throughout the ages. This fact easily accounts for why in-dustrial unionism has feeled dustrial unionism has failed, and must fail, as an instrument of emancipation of a subject class so long as the political state remains in the hands of the master class. But this is not saying that industrial unionism is not a valuable instrument to be used in wresting the powers of state out of the hands of the master class.

But Mr. Gompers does not believe

A BEADER COMMENTS.

issue of the O. S. from the young man in which he spoke favorably for reis proven by the fact that he is a Socialist. What a sad condition that such as he should have the po of the preachers poured into him when they have little or no power of resistance. But there is hope for

Has he failed to notice how the Christian religion has broken down under the stress of war in all the so-called civilized countries? Has be not seen how mum the ministers are when such grand men as Com Debs, such noble women as O'Ham are sent to prison for no mora crime? Nor do they protest against the unspeakable crime of sending the Allied soldiers against Soviet Rus

I would like to suggest to this young American that he read one of the greatest books, Paine's Age of Reason. Then read Ingersoll and Tichenor of St. Louis.

Read cyclopedia accounts of the Inquisition, Witchcraft Delusion and The Crusades. He will finally learn that no other band of cut-throats weathered the storms of time like the Christion religion or much passed it in the magnitude of its

A READER

labor and the lion of capital are twin brothers. When the interest of the lion is menaced, as it is just now by Bolshevikism among the lambs, we see Mr. Gompers rush to the defense of the lion. What would the poor lambs do without the lion to protect them?

In the historic struggle between capital and labor it is amazing to find the commander-in-chief of labors forces leading the charge on his own lines—but this fact reflects no dis-credit upon the intelligence of the commander-in-chief of the capitalist forces. I do not love either him or his cause, but I do admit that he is "some general"-I mean, the capitalist general is. Of course, Mr. Gompers

never admit that he is leading the These two extracts from the Post charge on his own lines. According to and the Star indicate the program his philosophy, "the interest of labor that the labor exploiters will atand capital is identical." When capital is menaced, labor is menaced stem by the wholesale suppression by Bolshevikism. Unemployment is criticism of the various instituthe breech through which this monster is advancing upon the poor cap italists, in this land of the free. Se folks are so rude as to intimate that this condition of unemployment has been conspired to by the capitalists, themselves, in order to force down themselves, in order to force down wages again. Be this as it may, there is a "Great and Growing Fear—NO WORK." Now, if capitalism should take Mr. Gompers' advice and feed the beaut Relaborations of the state of the s the beast, Bolshevikism, out of existence, it would necessitate re-employ-ment on a colossal scale. This would frustrate capitalism's design, to re-duce wages again to the bare sub-sistance level. If there be no such design, and the present state of un employment is consequent to marke reactions, then to resume production on the colossal scale required would mean enormous losses to the capital-ists. The iron law of capitalist pro-duction rules that where no profits are to be made. THERE WILL BE NO EMPLOYMENT.

But suppose capitalism does not elect to feed the beast out of existence, but to "stamp it out." Mr. Gompers has promised the support of "American labor" in this crisis, and it is presumable that it will be forthcoming no matter what program the is worth fighting for. And this is the kind of a "democracy" they are going to ask the coming congress to guarantee them.

GOMPERS ON AMERICAN LABOR AND BOLSHEVISM

(Continued from second page.)

(Continued from second page.)

philosophy has never comprehended the mighty truth that law—the state So-Co—May 12—FIVE—is a mass instrument, a mighty instrument in the hands of the class that wields it, but it is not divisible. They cannot wield it in part who cannot wield it in part who cannot wield the whole. This fact is the basic idea underlying "the dictatorship of the proletariat" as practiced by the Bolshevikists, and the dictatorships that have been wielded by all the will "American labor" in this crisis, and it is presumable that it will be forth-coming, no matter what program the capitalists select. In the crisis just past, the war, labor was in extraordinary demand at high wages. Labor aided by working like blazes and getting well paid for it. Now it is different. Now labor cannot aid by working, there is little work. Organized labor might aid by turning the follows with the "weak minds." This might turn the trick; how would it suit Mr. Gompers? Again, "labor" might aid by standing in solid phalanx as a mighty "moral" force, but it is likely that mere moral and verbal force will be ineffective to move the lean and hungry fellow with the weak mind. He will demand something more substantial—either in his stomach and hungry fellow with the weak mind. He will demand something more substantial—either in his stomach and hungry fellow with the weak mind. He will demand something and hungry fellow with the weak mind. He will demand something work in the crisis just past, the war, labor was in extraordinary demand at high wages. Labor aided by working like blazes and getting well paid for it. Now it is different. Now labor cannot aid by working, there is little work. Organized labor might aid by standing in solid by standing in solid phalanx as a mighty "moral" force, but it is likely that mere moral and verbal force elect to give him "his" on the cocoa-nut, will "American labor wield the club? A bill of particulars along this line, from Mr. Gompers, would be mighty interesting reading.

Wagenknecht Reports on Debs' Trip to Penitentiary

Continued from third page.)

imprisoned comrade. I suggest that imprisoned comrade. I suggest that the national office appoint or that the committee elect an official visiting committee, whose duty it shall be to look after the wants, the prison comforts of Debs and all others. In the case of Debs this is of particular importance for there are no loyal Socialists in close proximity to the penitentiary.

imity to the penitentiary.

Also, the imprisonment of Comrade Debs and Comrade O'Hare presents an opportunity to call for funds to free them. These funds should be used for publicity and organization purposes. should be used for publicity and organization purposes. One or more pamphlets should be published at once. Leaflets for free distribution should be printed. Posters demanding the freedom of these and all prisoners should be sent all locals to display in headquarters and public places. Organizers should be employed by the national office to tour the country in behalf of better organization and to unify the varying efforts made by locals of the party in behalf of our imprisoned comrades. Unless there is objection, such a campaign will be initiated by the Department of Organization and Propaganda. Propaganda.

The working Class does everything and has nothing: The Capitalist does nothing and

A PREACHER OF CLASS HATRED

The HUNS;

By Anise, Seattle Union Record.

He was a preacher Of CLASS HATRED, The worst I ever heard of. And yet he didn't wear Rags or overalls; He wasn't even one of these Parlor Bolsheviks. He would have been amazed And highly indignant If anyone had doubted That he was a most LOYAL And RESPECTABLE AMERICAN. Why, he was a COLONEL, Just back from France, Where he had been perfecting Various GASES To be used against

He was the director Of the Mellon Institute, A most estimable citizen, And he got up before The CHAMBER OF COMMERCE In Pittsburgh, And said to them: "Hereafter This TEAR GAS I have helped develop Will be used instead Of CLUBS and REVOLVERS To disperse MOBS Of STRIKERS." . And I thought perhaps He meant some tear-gas

To make the strikers

For their SINS. But a little farther on I read in horror: "This TEAR GAS Is more EFFICIENT Than BULLETS; ONE DROP of it Will be enoughto KILL TWENTY or THIRTY persons." Yes, that was what he said JUST LIKE THAT Cool and calm As a cucumber; And it was printed In the Pittsburgh Despatch, And nobody ever seemed To think of arresting him For talking enough CLASS-WAR

Of shipyard workers Worn and greasy with work, And I thought of that Dapper Colonel And his TEAR-GAS Bragging of how He could kill them off In bunches of thirty, And my blood went cold; Somehow, you know I never had REALLY believed We could have TERRORISTS LIKE THAT In OUR COUNTRY! Capitalism knows no god but "Pro-Socialism considers human life more important than dividends.

The Trusts will own the Nation Till the Nation owns the Trusts.