

The Time For Action Has Come!

WITH the refusal of the Supreme Court of the United States to grant Mooney a new trial the case now enters its final stage. From a legal standpoint, only by the executive pardon of the governor of the State of California can Mooney be snatched from the gallows, but there is a power stronger than any law ever placed on a statute book that may step forward and cry halt to this murder—the power of the will of the people.

For nearly two and a half years Tom Mooney has suffered under one of society's heaviest penalties; the denial of association with his fellowmen. During this time his every action has been dictated by the will of his jailers, when he shall lie down and when he shall get up, when he shall eat and when he shall remain hungry, when he shall speak and when he shall remain silent, when he must breathe the fetid air of a prison cell and when he may walk in the prison yard and "gaze upon that little tent of blue that prisoners call the sky." Cut off from all intercourse with those dear to him for two and a half years he has paced a narrow cell, counting his steps, listening to the clang of iron gates and the harsh voices of command and waiting...

Now he is told that all these weary months are to culminate in a walk to the gallows, a binding of his arms and feet, a masking of his face, a word of command and a lurch downward... And he draws himself up, his lips curl and he replies "I have nothing to say".

"I have nothing to say"! Mooney knows all the forces that have combined against him, he is aware of all the facts in the case—and with a fine scorn he answers.

But what have you, the workers of this country, to say? Painstakingly each movement demanded by the law has been gone through and each time the machinery has been thrown out of gear, finally the repairing engineers of that machinery—the Supreme Court of the United States—have refused to function.

Some of the highest persons in both the state and the federal executives have declared their belief in Mooney's innocence, others, including one of the judges involved in the case, have expressed doubts that his guilt was proven, while to the ordinary reader, from the evidence presented in the case and the character of the witnesses upon whose testimony conviction was secured, it is clear that not only is Mooney not guilty but that he is the victim of a deliberate "frame up" by the forces of Capitalism. President Wilson has twice urged the governor of California to extend clemency to Mooney. Mooney has not asked for clemency nor does labor ask for it in his behalf. If Mooney is guilty there is no reason why clemency should be extended to him, if he is not guilty then it is he who should decide whether or not he will extend clemency to his would-be murderers. And Mooney is not guilty!

Labor has been patient long. Long has its back been bent to the blows of the master class, but the times are changing. The Mooney case clearly demonstrates that law and justice are not meant for the workers, that the guarantees of the bourgeoisie break down in class conflict, that when the issue is between capital and labor, capital throws of the velvet glove of justice and mercy and reveals the mailed fist of domination and hate. Mooney was a danger

to capitalist interests: therefore away with him, but a with him in such a manner as will not awaken resentment away with him by "lawful" means, let him be hanged a legally constructed gallows—not on a trestle bridge.

The workers of Europe have seen the significance of case. In Russia, Italy, Holland, England and Ireland they have contributed money to the defense fund and have brought pressure to bear on their governments to make them intercede on Mooney's behalf, but with the exception of the committee of investigation appointed by the President and his appeals to the governor of California nothing has been done. The tedious legal line has been followed until it finally led to the refusal of the Supreme Court to grant a new trial and now comes the end unless labor speaks out.

Mooney, condemned to death because he loved his kind, because he hated the distorting of their bodies and minds in the cruel maw of Capitalism—the mills, mines, factories and fields—because he hated the crushing of little children, the flowers of mankind, in the sweatshops, Mooney has "nothing to say" about the dreary days in the death-house. Shall labor also "have nothing to say"? Or will it speak with one voice crying: "Stop this murder, set Mooney free or we will stop the wheels of industry not only in California, not only in the Americas but throughout the entire world"?

Will you speak, will you act, or shall "Labor walk beside the mules"?

The Coming Of The Final Struggle

By Gregory Weinstein

IN THE past revolutions took place once in a hundred years, generally speaking. There have been very few in the history of mankind. Generations have come and gone without witnessing, much less participating in, any great uprising of the masses against their oppressors; learning about them only from the tales of old men—"the veterans", or from school text books; and the conceptions formed about them were that they were something semi-fantastic, something that had taken place "years and years ago", back in the heroic epoch, when, so it seemed, the people had been built of different stuff—"you are not the warriors"—a time that had been and never would return....

But even these exceptional revolutions, scattered through centuries, left an indelible mark on the whole future development of mankind, having given peculiar color to whole epochs of history. In this sense, the influence of the great French Revolution of 1789 has not yet been exhausted even to-day...

Now, by all indications, the world has entered a new path of its development—a path fraught with revolutionary storms.

During the short period of one year two such events of world importance have taken place—the proletarian revolution in Russia and, promising to become a proletarian one, the revolution in Germany.

Can these great events pass without leaving a mark on mankind—on the toiling masses—because just now the war has been brought to an end; the war which by its very existence has awakened mankind from lethargy?

Certainly not! The spirit of discontent and protest, the contagious "revolutionary germ" will spread into the adjacent countries, where also, according to authoritative statements in the bourgeois press, "there is observed a

sufficient quantity of combustible material".

And first of all, as was to be expected, the neutral countries have become "contaminated."

The countries of the "Allied cause" at the present moment are wholly given over to the "intoxication of victory", which temporarily has affected the working masses. For them, the moment of bitter disappointment, "counting the wounds", judging and "mature thinking" is yet far away. However, it must be noted, that, even at the present moment, there are indications of the approaching moment of reawakening. It would suffice to mention, for example, the demand made by the French Socialists or the resolution of the British Labor Party concerning the end of "civil peace" and on the recall of "labor ministers" from the Cabinet.

But the war, insofar as the workers of the neutral countries are concerned, has not brought them even the flickering, illusory "victories", that could provoke at least a temporary intoxication. Instead the war has brought them enough of suffering, misery, want and starvation, and even more than enough, more than, according to the "scale", they should have gotten.

Hence it is not surprising, that from all neutral countries come reports "of alarming character" about the growing revolutionary ferment among the working masses.

There was a general strike in Switzerland. In Holland "Socialists—even moderate—appeal to the workers to seize the government"... In Sweden; "the Socialists issued a manifesto calling for the formation of Soviets of workmen's and soldiers' deputies everywhere, in order to establish a Socialist Republic..." In Denmark: "bourgeois and governmental circles are beginning to get alarmed..."

Such are the reports reaching here from neutral countries.

Peace—Where There Is No Peace

IN A remarkable, but misnamed, article entitled "Peace at Last" The Nation takes a stand long wanted in the liberal press of this country. One of the disappointments of America's part in the war was the slavish conformity to the psychology of the mob of the liberal periodicals of the country. When the English, French and belligerent European liberal press generally spoke out against injustice as they saw it the voice of this section of the American people was practically silent. What few papers were started as a reaction to this state of affairs were quickly put out of business without any protest from their contemporaries.

Now The Nation speaks clearly and unequivocally:

"For if the mills of the gods have caught and crushed the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs and the Kings of Bavaria and whatnot, they have still much crushing to do," it says. "Every remaining king, whether well-meaning figure head or despot, should and must go. But these are now few in number. Then we agree with the German Socialists that no man who had anything to do with starting this war should remain in public life. In Russia, in Austria-Hungary, and in Turkey they are gone. We hope and trust that the spirit of revolution abroad will not die until all the makers of secret treaties are cast out, and with them, as among the worst enemies of mankind, the armament manufacturers, the Krupps, the Creu-

sots, the Armstrongs, the Whitworths, and our own lesser armor and gun-makers. We desire no end to revolution abroad until custom-houses everywhere have gone by the board. We wish no end to democratic ferment in Europe until the professional diplomat of the past has been ground flat, and with him those alleged statesmen who believe that the backward or sparsely-inhabited spaces of the earth exists only to be exploited. We wish no end to the revolution until there shall no longer be talk of developing hinterland, spheres of influence, and colonies, but of some means of holding them in trust by joint international agreement for the benefit of those to whom the soil rightfully belongs. Thus we should have England retire from Egypt and Persia, the Italians from Tripoli, and Japan from Kiao-Chow, France from Cochin-China and Madagascar, and Belgium from the blood stained Congo, while the United States sets the example by retiring from the Philippines, Haiti, San Domingo, and Nicaragua. We wish no limit to the spread of liberalism until the vicious doctrine that a country shall protect by the force of arms its citizens who invest abroad shall be forever discarded. For we are not of those who can see the mote only in the eye of our Allies or enemies. There are those in plenty—men like Taft and Roosevelt, preachers of reaction and hate—in this country for whom the mills of the gods are turning slowly—slowly, but with the terrifying, inescapable

certainty which marks the progress of the glacier that no human agency can stay.

For the Kaiser is but the vilest flower of a system, and it is the system and the spirit which underlie it that must go. The battle against Prussian militarism is not yet won. Its first bloody phase is, thank God, at end. But if this war has proved anything, it is that the spirit of Prussianism exists everywhere, in Paris, in London, in Rome—very strongly—and in Washington. Only in Moscow is it wholly crushed to earth. We shall neither have made this the last of wars nor safeguarded democracy, if we do not extirpate everywhere the spirit that would not only conquer other people's lands as Germany conquered Belgium and Serbia, and Italy conquered Tripoli, but would enslave their souls and bodies as well. As long as it is left to a few men anywhere to decide whether nations shall go to war, as long as there are men abroad like Mr. Taft to say that just when we have crushed German militarism we must war against the Russians and Germans to see to it that the revolutions there result in precisely the kind of Governments that we prefer, just so long is the war to end war merely begun."

This is surely catching the spirit that is abroad in the land waiting to find voice. It is not Socialism, but it is surely the spirit of Americanism as America's great dead: Garrison, Phillips, Brown, Jefferson and the rest felt it.