The WORKERS' WORLD

Vol. 1. No. 35. KANSAS CITY, MO., NOVEMBER 28, 1919. Application made for entry as Second Class Matter at Post Office at Kansas City, Mo. PRICE 5 CENTS.

THE TRUTH ABOUT CENTRALIA

A Diabolical Plot to Instigate a Wholesale Massacre of the Workers. Real Facts Suppressed by Capitalist Press

The truth is slowly leaking out about Centralia.

The conspirators against labor have overreached themselves.

The real facts are at absolute variance with the first lying reports of the capitalist press and the whole affair is being revealed as a diabolical plot to instigate a wholesale massacre of the workers and suppression of their papers and organizations.

The Seattle Union Record, Labor's great daily newspaper, was suppressed and the staff arrested, but is now coming out again stronger than ever.

The Oakland World was raided by a mob and the contents of the office were burned in the streets. J. C. Snyder, editor of the World and all the prominent workers for the Communist Labor Party of California have been arrested and charged with criminal syndicalism.

The Butte Daily Bulletin was marked for destruction, but the paper served notice on the outlaws that any attempt to raid the office would be met with resistance. The fearless Bulletin is still publishing and it is from it that we get accurate information of the reign of terror instituted by the capitalist murderers in the West.

They plotted cold blooded murder, these profiteers and dollar-Patriots, and expected to use their lying accounts of the Centralia tragedy to incite the returned soldiers to do their dirty work for them.

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer and the Seattle Star carried an advertisement in the nature of a paid editorial, calling for the death of all officers of the American Federation of Labor, the imprisonment for life of all native-born members and the immediate deportation of the foreign-born membership.

These two papers were suppressed by the federal authorities after a committee from the Seattle Central Labor council had waited upon the District Attorney.

The correspondent of the Associated Press in Centralia, Ed. Reinhart, to save himself, was forced to flee from Centralia in the dead of night, leaving his clothes, camera and baggage, after he had sent out the story of the Armistice day shooting as it happened. He was threatened with death by a mob of business men because he had witnessed the attack on the I. W. W. hall and knew that the attack was made before a shot was fired.

It is now known that, as the Bullitin stated, "the thugs of the lumber trust were hiding behind the name and uniform of the American Legion in Centralia," and that many of the prisoners were saved from the fury of the mob by the prompt action of the members of the American Legion, who rescued them from the clutches of the murderous, profiteering element who were perpetrating unmentionable atrocities on the persons of the helpless workers.

An agent of the department of justice has made a thorough investigation of the Centralia affair and has decided that the government has no cause for action against the I. W. W. in that city.

Now, let us try to remember the attitude taken by the kept press!

With the full knowledge of the facts in their possession, the editors of these foul sheets deliberately suppressed the news and inaugurated a bloodthirsty campaign that had for its object the suppression of the Bulletin—the only paper that told the truth about Centralia—and the inciting of the populace to violence.

They justified the lynching of Wesley Everest by a picked gang of degenerate profiteers; Wesley Everest, who fought in France and whose ancestors fought at Concord bridge in the Revolutionary war.

They justified his murder under cover of darkness because he had the spirit of his revolutionary forefathers and defended himself and the property of the organization to which he belonged from an insane attack of white-collared thugs, driven to frenzy by the continued incitements of the lumber trust press.

Sinking to the lowest depths possible and still remain human the cowardly editors of the capitalist press in this and other communities sought by lying words and insinuation to give the impression that the American Legion and its members were behind the murderous assaults on the entralia workers.

They called upon the American Legion to avenge their dead in a frantic endeavor to shift the blame upon the soldiers and destroy the free press before the truth should prevail.

The truth is known to all who care to read.

The coast-wide plot to destroy every existing organization of labor has been bared!

It was hoped that the campaign would spread to other cities and in some communities where the populace was deceived by the lies of the prostitute press and incited to frenzy by their inflammatory utterances, deplorable scenes were enacted.

Encouraged by their slight successes, by the suppression of the Union Record, the press of Seattle exposed the plans of the exploiters too frankly.

Aroused to the danger at last, the federal authorities stopped the publication of two great dailies which were urging the wiping out of the workers and their organizations.

"MOB RULE MUST STOP"

Commander States Reactionaries would use Patriotic Organization to Defeat Labor

Butte, Mont., Nov. 24.—Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte post of the American Legion, refuses to be swept off his feet by the torrent of capitalist press denunciation which has followed the Centralia shooting. "Men attacked in a place where they have a right to be, in danger of violence and death, have a right to defend themselves, Bassett holds. In an interview he said:

"Mob rule in this country must be stopped and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer of the I. W. W., it is not only the duty of the occupants to arm with every means in their power, but the officers of the law can not blame those raids, perhaps the resistance the raided may have that effect.

"Whether the I. W. W. is a serious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case. If what is now the evidence at the coroner's jury show that the attack was made before the firing started. If that is true, I commend the boys inside for the action that they took.

Does Not Condone Legionaires.

"The fact that there were some American Legion men among the paraders who everlastingly disgraced themselves by taking part in the raid, does not affect my judgment in the least. Any one who becomes a party to a mob beat upon unlawful violence, can no expect the truly patriotic men of the American Legion to condone his act.

The Centralia shooting will be used by the big business interests to crush all radicalism by wrecking all radical headquarters using the American Legion as a tool, a prominent member of the legion charges in an interview printed by the Bulletin, labor daily.

"They Would Use Legion as Catspaw.

"They figured on getting the American Legion mixed up in it, on using the legion as a catspaw," this returned soldier declared.

"There is a certain element among the legionaires who are merrie tools of the capitalist interests, bigoted, unprincipled men, who enthusiastically do the bidding of their masters. These men often take a leading part in legion affairs, and by enlisting their aid it was thought possible to use the legion born in driving the radicals out of business. In that way, the capitalists could be more plausibly cover their violence with the cloak of patriotism.

"The widespread plot to destroy the radicals by unlawful violence was the outgrowth of desperation. The I. W. W. and discontented persons, who are called radicals, have been growing in numbers and power so resistlessly, since the war ceased that the reactionary elements have lost all hope of defeating them with logic or with lawful opposition.

Reactionaries Determined on Violence.

"They have deliberately determined upon violence in a last final attempt to drive the radicals out of the country. The events in Centralia and throughout the Pacific coast region is proof of this fact. The tirade of misrepresentation and abuse, and the exhortations to violence so suddenly launched in all the reactionary news papers is further proof of it."

Witnesses at Coroner's Inquest Testify that Men Were Shot While Attempting to Enter Hall with Ropes in their Hands

Seattle, Wash., Nov. 23.—The coroner's jury in Centralia was unwilling to fix the blame for the killing of four men in the Armistice Day parade in Centralia. It was testified by some witnesses at the inquest that the paraders attempted to raid the hall of the Industrial Workers of the World just before the shooting.

Witnesses claim that men with ropes in their hands advanced upon the hall while the parade was halted for rest.

The Centralia shooting was the culmination of a long series of violent demonstrations carried out in that city.

The first step was the wrecking of the I. W. W. hall. This occurred in April, 1918, when a mob, led by business men, detached itself from a Red Cross parade that was proceeding along Tower avenue, and reduced the interior of the hall to debris. They tore an American flag from the wall and appropriated several articles of value.

Newsdealer Kidnapped.

Later, June 5, the newsstand of Thomas Lassiter, accused of selling radical publications, was raided, and his stock carried to a vacant lot and burned. Lassiter bought a new stock and this was burned in a second raid, June 12.

The following day Lassiter was kidnapped and carried into Thurston county.

"The campaign against the radicals got in full swing, but the latter made no attempt at retaliation, beyond warning to increase their membership.

They were told that if they erected another hall it would be burned, but in September, 1919, they opened the hall that was the scene of Tuesday afternoon's shooting. Repeated warnings had been made that the hall would be raided as soon as it was opened.

A Grave Crisis Approaching.

With the kept press inciting all the labor-hating elements to increased hysteria, a grave crisis in the Pacific Coast states is approaching.

President William Sh.rt of the State Federation of Labor and the Labor Committee of Fifteen have issued a bulletin calling upon the workers to keep cool in the face of the animus now directed against them.

The Seattle Union Record, official labor organ, was not suppressed.

Under orders from the District Attorney the presses of the paper were stopped and the employers evicted at 2:10 p. m. yesterday, in order to facilitate the search and seizure of records which might connect the management with the Centralia tragedy. Issuance of the regular edition was prevented, but an extra was put on the streets six hours later.

Editor Accused of Sedition.

Editor E. B. Ault and two control board members, F. A. Rus, and George P. Lutman, and elective officers of the Centralia Labor Council, were arrested charged with sedition. Ault was also arrested on a state charge of criminal libel. All have been released on $5,000 bail, with an additional $1,000 for Ault on the state charge.

The District Attorney's authority for the seizure and arrest of the officers of the Union Record was based on a telegram from Attorney General Palmer which read as follows:

"With reference to telegram this date as to publication in Seattle Union Record, if publication violate any provision of amended Espionage act, institute criminal proceedings."

Kept Press Stirs Up Hatred.

The local kept press, since the Centralia tragedy, has been feverishly stirring up hatred against the bona fide labor movement of the Northwest. The raiding of the Union Record came at the phychological moment and gave **the kept press time to play headlines and vicious, inflammatory editorials to the effect that the paper had been suppressed by the United States.** The other papers now are reluctantly admitting that the first story of the suppression was untrue.

The Seattle Star, a Scripps paper with a bourgeois liberal policy, is also blamed for workers' organization propaganda by two other kept papers, but the Star was not raided. This is ridiculous, but shows to what extent big business has determined to use any and all circumstances to crush the faintest gleam of liberalism here.

Labor Daily Sane in Crisis.

The Union Record still lives, but the seizure of records and books will slow up the organization for a time. Labor and progressive bodies of the Northwest will rally to its support with subscriptions and cash to whatever extent needed.

Strong reaction to the drastic measures of suppressing of labor sentiment appears to be setting in among all classes. There is extreme disgust here at the rabid attitude of the kept press.

26 Unions Join Movement for One Big Union

New York, Nov. 23.—Six more independent labor organizations joined the Engineers and Firemens Public Service Conference, which has been formed for the purpose of amalgamating all independent and industrial unions of New York and vicinity into one big union, at a session of the conference held yesterday afternoon at the Bronx hall.

This makes a total of 26 independent unions that have joined. Ten unions of the Industrial Workers of the World were also represented in the conference.

Big Campaign is Planned.

The matter of all these unions joining the I. W. W. will be taken up at the next meeting, and a membership campaign will be planned to cover the entire New York territory. Arrangements also will be completed to send speakers to all member unions of the conference.

The unions which joined the conference yesterday are as follows:

I. W. W. 300, Newark; International Hotel Federation of Workers, downtown branch; International Carpenters' Union, branch No. 1; Journeymen Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union 164; International Carpenters' Union, branch 4; Photographic Workers' Union, Brotherhood of Metal Workers' Progressive Lodge.

Delegates From Numerous Unions.

The original session of the conference held the week previous was attended by delegates from the following organizations which have joined the active movement:

Bakery Workers' Industrial Union, No. 46, I. W. W.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America, Local 87.

Engineers and Firemen Public Service Organization, comprising two organizations.

China Glass Decorators' Union.

Printers and Publishers Workers' Industrial Union, No. 1300, I. W. W., N. Y.

Construction Workers Industrial Union, No. 573, I. W. W.

Textile Workers' Industrial Union, No. 1000, I. W. W., N. Y.

Textile Workers' Industrial Union, No. 1000, I. W. W., Paterson.

Textile Workers' Industrial Union, No. 1000, I. W. W., Brownsville.

Metal and Machine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 300, I. W. W., East Side Branch.

Metal and Machine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 300, I. W. W., Brooklyn Branch.

Metal and Machine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 300, I. W. W., Yorkville.

Metal and Machine Workers' Industrial Union, No. 300, I. W. W., Newark Branch.

International Federation Workers in Hotel and Restaurant Industry.

Independent Musicians and Performers' Union.

Bronx Council, Greater New York and vicinity.

International Carpenters' Union, N Y., joint board.

International Carpenters' Union Branch 1.

International Carpenters' Union Branch 3.

International Carpenters' Union, Branch 5.

International Carpenters' Union Branch 8.

International Carpenters' Union Finnish Branch 12.

Arraigned without Counsel

Centralia, Nov. 21.—Without the benefit of counsel, 11 alleged members of the Centralia I. W. W., were arraigned in court yesterday and charged with first degree murder in connection with the Armistice day killings. The men were not able to obtain attorneys since the members of the Lewis County Bar Association have refused to appear for any persons connected with the Centralia Armistice day riots. The prisoners were given 24 hours in which to enter their pleas.

Coal Strike "Off" and "On"

One day the bosses are confident that the miners are returning to work, only to find the next day that the strike, officially called off, goes on merrily. Seldom has a more humorous situation developed than that arising out of the mining situation today.

The courts, imbued with the capitalist ideal, enjoined the miners' officials to call off the strike. This the miners' chiefs agreed to do. But it takes a while until official notices can be written out and personally and officially signed. Also, Mr. Burleson's mail system is not the quickest in the world. And so, while awaiting the receipt of official orders from their chiefs, the locals continued the strike, refusing to put their faith in newspaper reports.

Then official orders arrived. But if an organized local cannot conduct a strike without coming in conflict with the law, what is there to prevent the individual miner from going on vacation for a while, until the conference in Washington, that is trying to adjust the whole difficulty, has made its awards? This thought evidently occurred to thousands of workers simultaneously, with the result that many mines, in Colorado, Illinois, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Oklahoma and elsewhere, are still idle, though the strike is off.

Again, supposing orders are issued from national headquarters calling off the strike, and these orders are complied with: what is there to prevent a number of locals to run the risk of being disciplined by their federal officers, and from going on strike on their own hook? That is the way the union miners in the Tennessee-Kentucky coal fields felt about it, when on November 17 they walked out "to await developments from the Washington wage scale conference."

Truly, the situation has got the bosses puzzled!

TO WRECK ALL WORKERS' UNIONS.

The nationwide campaign to wreck all labor unions was cordially approved in the annual report of William H. Barr, president of the National Founders' Association, in convention at Hotel Astor. Barr called all aggressive unions a menace, declared they were out to destroy "America," and spoke of "our Government, the protection of American liberty."

Tom Mann "Comes Back"

(There has been some curiosity expressed concerning the part taken by Tom Mann in the recent activities of the British labor movement. He was in seclusion for some time, but has recently returned to active duty as head of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers. The following interview is reprinted from the Oct. 21 issue of the London Daily Herald.—Editor's Note.)

By W. MELLOR.

When Mr. Tom Mann retired to Biddenden, a little village in Kent, to rear chickens, everyone in and out of the labor movement said, "This is the last of Tom Mann."

A few days ago the satisfaction of many and the consternation of not a few, Mr. Tom Mann returned to life as the general secretary of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with its 250,000 members and its tremendous possibilities.

Yesterday, in an interview with me, he was good enough to give, for the benefit of Daily Herald readers, an outline of what his policy is on certain matters of vital importance to the labor movement.

The New Amalgamation.

Speaking of the amalgamation in the engineering industry, I asked him to what end he thought this great new union should be turned, and he replied promptly:

"The control of industry. I have stood in the past, and I stand now, for linking up of the unions in the industry to which I belong so that they may acquire more and more power and ultimately run the industry for the benefit of the community.

"I know there are many difficulties and problems to be solved before we reach that goal, but I believe that there is today a clearer recognition of the aim than ever before.

"We have to create not merely an organization of the skilled workers in our industry, but have to get into close relationship with the so-called semi-skilled and with the women. The way to this probably now lies in the closer linking up of the general labor unions, and the use of tact and sympathetic understanding in our approach to them."

Hours Under Capitalism.

There are certain very pressing immediate problems affecting the engineering industry, and I asked Mr. Mann to give some expression of his opinion on unemployment, war wages and the wider question of the continuance of the wages (temporary regulation) act.

"Everybody knows my policy on unemployment," said Mr. Mann. "I believe the hours worked throughout an industry should bear some relationship to the amount of unemployment in that industry. There should be a maximum number of hours, under all circumstances, and this maximum should be reduced in proportion to the percentage of unemployment in the market."

In regard to the second problem he held that all the war wages or percentages given throughout the last five years must be consolidated and must form the new standard rate.

"When this has been done, he went on, "we shall be in a position to consider how far it is possible to standardize the various rates throughout the country, but our minimum demand must be that nothing that has been granted during the war shall be lost now that peace is supposed to have come."

No Compulsory Arbitration.

"What of the wages (temporary regulation) act?" I asked.

"I have seen it suggested," replied Mr. Mann, "that the government intends to give way to the employers' demand that compulsory arbitration should be the price for the continuance of this measure for another year. I would say quite definitely that any such attempt will be desperately opposed not only by my union but by industry to which I belong, but by the whole labor movement.

"Personally, I have seen enough of the effect of compulsory arbitration in various parts of the world to know that for labor to surrender its absolute freedom to use direct action means defeat and disaster."

Again and again, in the course of the interview, Mr. Mann returned to the criterion of his opinion that the purpose of trade unionism is not the mere regulation of wages or hours or conditions within the capitalist system but the overthrow of that system and the achieving of workers' control in the workshops and through the industries as a whole.

A Story From the Docks.

One characteristic story on the question of wages ought not to be omitted.

Mr. Mann told me that when he was appointed of the dockers an agreement was fixed up by which "dirty money" and other allowances were to be paid by a sort of over-riding rate.

One morning he was rung up and informed that at a particular dock the men had struck on the ground that this "overriding" money did not meet the situation that had arisen there. At once he went down to interview the men.

They were collected in a large room in a public house. Mr. Mann said, "Well, what is the trouble? Tell me your case, and if possible I will state it to the employers."

There was silence for some moments, and then a huge docker standing well over six feet got up and, towering over Mr. Mann, said: Mr. Tom Mann, you talk on the open air and tell us that labor only receives half the wealth it produces. We want some of that other half."

I came away feeling that, like this docker, Mr. Tom Mann wants for the workers "some of that other half."

REVOLUTION

The following striking article is taken from "La Nouvelle International" of September 27th. The paper is the organ of the Geneva Left Socialists (Communists), and in every way accepts the principles of the Bolshevik Revolution:

A proletarian revolution is not the work of a party but of the whole world of labour. That is why, when the opportunists tell us we are too few to inaugurate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the Revolution, they are affording us one proof more of their stupidity as far as social movements are concerned.

The formidable crisis through which we are still passing—it began in August, 1914—is becoming more serious from day to day. For it is beyond all doubt a crisis, arising from the unanimous revolt against rotted society under the capitalist regime.

For about a century, periodically, crises of over-production have shaken the world's markets, and have had disastrous effects both amongst the capitalist classes and amongst the workers. At first these crises were very feeble, compared with what they became later; but as commerce and industry are developed, they become more important, and even imperiled the life of the whole of humanity.

The last crisis, and the most colossal, was that of 1914, which, as has been said, is not yet over; in fact, from day to day it becomes more serious. The powerless capitalist class cannot overcome the difficulties of the situation. Although Peace is signed, yet the nations do not resume commercial relations. It is sufficient to examine the rates of exchange in order to convince oneself: they are falling continuously. We are approaching at full speed the precipice which will swallow up all.

But then we are lost, you say. No, no, take heart, good people; there is a saviour—the proletariat. Millions of men do not let themselves perish so easily. These millions will one day—which may be very near death—to have done with the capitalist regime. Their instinct of self-preservation will force them to rise against their capitalist oppressors. The latter are not able to establish a new social order, because their interests as a ruling class do not allow them to do so; all their privileges would be lost at a blow. It would be suicide. Yet the old social order has become imperatively necessary. The proletariat will install it, because it has no class privileges to hold it back. It has no privilege to safeguard, but, on the contrary, a yoke to break.

The proletariate—millions of men—one day, and maybe very soon, will come out into the street to make clear its will to have done with the capitalist regime, to manifest its will to live.

This will be the Revolution.

The communist will have the task of directing the movement. It will guide the Revolution, but it will not make it.

Do you not feel all the stupidity of the Social-patriots when they declare that we are not numerous enough to inaugurate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to make the Revolution.

G. H.

Steel Strike at a Crisis

By Mary Heaston Vorse

With this week the steel strike entered into its decisive battle. Hidden away in the trade journals and leaking into the local papers comes information which show that steel is getting scarce. The reserve supplies are becoming exhausted. Industries are slowing up on account of it. Shops are closing on account of it. Two weeks more of this and the industries dependent on steel will be sewed up.

The steel companies are using every means, legal and illegal, to drive the men back to work. In some places there is a menace of violence in the very air, and one realizes, after affairs like that at Youngstown, that the reason leaders are not killed is because they don't dare to kill them, not because they don't want to.

Foster didn't speak in Johnstown Friday night, as he was supposed to. He didn't speak because the "hiding" Americans formed a vigilance committee. They escorted him to the train with the proverbial rotten eggs pressed to his side. One of the leaders of this manifestation of the spirit of "law and order," was a Y. M. C. A. man.

This is the Cambria Mills despatch attempt to open. Johnstown has sewed up tight as a sausage. The only smoke floating over it is the smoke that comes from women's frying pans as they get dinner. In the wide Cambria mills nothing moves, nothing stirs.

Try to Break Men's Morale.

Youngstown is down almost as tight. Here, too, every effort is being made to break the morale of the men. Scabs are being smuggled into Youngstown in trucks during the night. Trains with scabs come up 25 miles out of town to let them off, and there is an enemy where no enemy should be, in the ranks of labor itself.

Yesterday, three American workmen were organized 100 per cent. The employers did this by their inspired tactics. The workmen there are mostly American skilled workmen who are a buttress and stay to the employer. It is too proud to strike—with Hunkies. He is not too proud to scab with Negroes, nor will he be too proud to profit from benefits which the militant fight put up by the strikers will bring him.

The men here are absolutely resolute. There is a shop after shop today where there is nothing stirring. All up and down the Mahoning Valley there are row upon row of cold, black chimneys—smokeless.

In Pennsylvania the strike simmers and smolders underground. In Youngstown you can't go into strike headquarters without knowing that the battle is on. Every mill is picketed. In East Youngstown the women line up in front of the mills along with the men. There is a tingling excitement even in the air, a feeling of the ebb and flow of battle. There is never a time when picketers are not watching the mills. And the real picket line gets into action at the change of shifts.

Picket Proceeds in Dark.

When I got out of the car to go to the picket line a little before 5 in the morning, it was still dark. One of the strikers was waiting for me. He was a tall, quiet man, and as we walked along every now and then he would point to surrounding workmen.

"Boy, wy you working? Where you goin' to work, boy?" he would ask, without anger, without even, but as gravely as conscience. Having satisfied himself, he let the worker proceed. Sometimes they have had to be a scab under the insistence of that grave, kind voice.

The mill where we went was one of the widest open. Normally, it employes 7,000 people. Now 1,200 scabs are said to sleep inside the mills, and 1,000 more come and go.

The darkness of the night was shattered by the fiery hallelujah of the blast furnace. The blast furnace up and rends the night with flame of such incandescent violence that it gives the effect of Intolerable sound, then it dies down in clouds of surface smoke against which buildings and bridges are cached sharp, black and violent. All about the stacks the works were groups of men moving slowly. On a back street were more groups. Wherever you went, men gathered and never seem to move. The picket line than this dark, quiet line of picketing strikers. A few men passed out of the mill. A car stopped. Some men hurried into the mill, looking neither to the right nor the left, their head down, in uncomfortable, shamed procession. Occasionally my guide spoke to a scab with grave, soberly kind words.

A pale day stained the sky. Men came from the mill in greater quantities. The picket line thickened. So they faced each other—the moving line of hurrying scabs, hands in pockets, heads down, looking ahead of them, and the silent, quiet, accusing pickets saying mutely:

"Brother, why do you betray me?"

Police Are on Duty.

With the hooting of the great whistle the chilled, quiet men began drifting to their houses. The police got into their patrol wagons. The great bread wagons, taking food to the imprisoned scabs, had all passed by. My guide insisted that I should go back home with him for coffee. We met a handsome lad as we entered the gate, the oldest boy of a his war in high school. As I went in the house my first impression of the empty kitchen was one of many, many parts of little shoes, brightly polished and ready to go to school.

"Father!" my guide called up the stairs, "Everybody sleeping?"

But it seemed no one was sleeping. Mother came in and greeted me as though I were an old friend. Maybe she met part of the family with that idea that is the secret of Slavish people.

And then the children came piling in, six of them, a big girl of down to the baby of two. I wish people would give me her secret for bringing up children. There they finishing their dressing. No one hurried, and no one said, "Do this" or "Do that" and "Ma, where is that?" and "I want." The three little boys put their clean blouses for them.

The oldest sister fed the baby and presently they were off with satchels and greetings. The baby came and put her little face against her father's knee.

"She's just getting acquainted with her papa since he's out on strike. With 12 hours light and 14 hours night she never got to know him," the mother explained.

Now, at this point a few reflections on Americanism occur to me. Does anyone think that bringing up eight splendid children as Mother's children are brought up is a contribution to this country or not?

One Man's Life.

This was my friend's history. Years ago he was a miner, and when the oldest girl, now married, was a baby, and just before the oldest boy was born, there was a strike. The father was arrested and spent 13 months in jail for picketing. The young couple had paid for their furniture all but $14. After the father was arrested they took the furniture from the young mother. They took her stove, they took her bed from under her, they left her house as bare as a clean plate. A kindly tradesman helped her to furnish a room for her and her baby. She supported herself and her two babies until her husband came out.

After a life of unremitting toil, this people own a little four-room cottage on a plot of ground that has a grape arbor. They are infinitely better off than the average steel worker. They order our present system that is all that life has given these splendid, absolutely-worthy citizens of this country. They want more for their children.

This woman has the spirit that makes the striker's wives so hard to turn. Feeling runs high among them, and courage runs as high as feeling. They are out on the picket line and that picket line has accomplished, has been the quiet, orderly affair that the men's line is. More than one handful of mutinied and scared men have been thrown. The police and deputies indeed came out some days in sufficient number to make one wait a moment when you were reading in the regular press "The strike is over in Youngstown." Some people are slow to realize things, and the strikers' wives perhaps didn't have time to read the papers which so kindly informed them of this. If they have pepper up their sleeves they also have plenty of pep in their spirits. Read this spirited letter of a girl of 18, written to the Vindicator, a local Youngstown paper:

"Please publish this letter in your paper in reply to the letter put in by a Voter and a True Mother.

"I don't see, madam, why you can call the women striking in Youngstown are a disgrace to American women. Some one has got to fight; the American women are able to do it and open their mouths with the exception of letters through the paper. I hope you know I mean you. You ought to be ashamed of yourself to tell the men to go in. The poor foreigners are 100 per cent whiter than what you are. You speak of your son and husband working. Well, if they are they're scabs; how do you like that? Did you tire your son to Uncle Sam during our great war or did you urge him not to go to war?

"A Child's Rebuke.

"I would like to meet you face to face. I regret you had a good, square meal. I am only 15 years old, but I mean to go through school and get a good education to hold the likes of you level. You said you were paying on a house. So are my parents. There are five of a family, three children, my father and my mother. We all get three good square meals a day. Dress the same as before we went on strike, and, let me tell you, he don't have to scab to get what we now have. Mrs. Scabbage. My father is a strong union man and my mother a strong union woman. I would rather see my father die first than to have him scab. Death before bishonor.

The only thing I am sorry for is this: that if the men do not win the strike and have to work beside these strikebreakers it is a dirty shame. To the strikers: Don't go in, boys; defy this Hun, coward, strikebreaker and scab. Don't worry, boys, you'll get there."

Later, I went from the picket line to the bread line. In the commissary room on Wednesdays and Saturdays there is a never-ending stream of people coming for relief. "Looking at them, I realized what I wish every friend of labor throughout the country could realize:

The picket line depends on the bread line! The bread line depends on you! Without you, all this heroism, all this sacrifice will have been unavailing. Organized labor will have received a blow in its heart. This is your fight. Organize to help the striker. Organize through your local. Organize through women's committees. Women throughout the country stand behind the women on the picket line.

"Russia in 1919"

Would you like to take a trip to Soviet Russia? Would you like to see the machinery of the Bolshevist State in actual operation? Would you like to attend the meetings of the Executive Committee—the sessions of the Moscow Soviet—listen to what an expropriated capitalist has to say about the Revolution—hear Buchanty denounce the Allied imperialists—see Charles Dickens played in Soviet Russia—see the deliberations of the Committee on State Constructions—watch Bill Shatov, an American I. W. W., make the train run on time—talk with Lenin about Bernard Shaw, revolutions in England, capitalism in America and problems of diverse construction—behold the arch-antimilitarist, Leon Trotzky, proudly don his uniform and drive back the counter-revolutionary hosts of Kolchak and Denikine—converse with Pokrovsky about education, with Timiriazev about science? Would you like to have witnessed the dramatic formation of the Moscow International?

Of course you would. But unfortunately most of us are not revolutionary enough to be deported. So the next best thing is to read Arthur Ransome's book of sketches—"Russia in 1919."

Arthur Ransome is a delightful writer, and his book is all the more delightful because he makes no effort to be formally coherent or precise chronologically. "Russia in 1919" is a diary of vivid word-pictures and pen-portraits snatched here and there as the exigencies of his journey permitted.

Ransome is blessed with an open mind. His refined sympathy with this vital experiment in industrial democracy does not prevent his recording the harsh as well as the pleasant. He describes the cold and hunger and privation in Russia. But, like the great reporter he is, he sees, above all the incidental squalor of the Revolution, the dynamic force for human progress latent in the Soviet structure. And despite his evident effort to maintain an almost cold impartiality, his descriptions show the accomplishments of the Bolshevik: to lie overwhelmingly on the credit side of the political ledger.

"My general impression that the Soviet Revolution has passed through its period of internal struggle and is concentrating upon constructive work so far as that is allowed by war conditions," ends that the Soviet Russia is settling down under the new regime, was confirmed." So wrote Ransome in February, 1919, and the subsequent happenings prove this "settling down" of the revolution to have deepened. The only thing that prevents the Bolshevik revolution creating a co-operative commonwealth that will command the admiration of the world, is the overwhelming force of steel that threatens to garrote her.

Ransome shows conclusively that the "Red Terror" in Russia today is not half so "terrible" as the campaign waged daily against thieves and murderers in the United States by the politicians, and even during the "terror" of the early days of the revolution, not a tenth of the opposition was killed as was killed by the Yankees in our Civil War to settle the less important issue of chattel slavery,—an issue, by the way, which will have to be fought all over again.

And has Lenin lost his popularity? Listen to this description of a meeting attended by a motley gathering of workers and peasants:

"Then Lenin spoke. If I had ever thought that Lenin was losing his popularity, I got my answer now. It was a long time before he could speak at all, everybody standing and drowning his attempt to speak with roar after roar of applause. It was an extraordinary, overwhelming scene, let alone the crowd with workmen, the parterre filled, the whole platform and the wings. A knot of workwomen were close to me and they almost fought to see him, and shouted as if each one were determined that he should hear her in particular."

After the orgy of lies and calumny heaped on the Bolshevik by the paid prostitutes of Allied journalism, it is revivifying refreshing to peruse Arthur Ransome's assurance that the Bolshevik are perfectly human beings like ourselves—but with far more daring idealism than dollar-ridden Americans have yet dreamed about.

ALANSON SESSIONS.

ARGENTINE SOCIALISTS TAKE STAND AGAINST RUSSIAN BLOCKADE.

BUENOS AIRES, Nov. 26.—A strong declaration against the blockade of Russia has been taken by the Socialist party's convention here, which passed a resolution urging the workers of Europe to oppose economic strangulation.

The convention also protested against the massacre of Jews in Poland, the Ukraine and Galicia.

Active propaganda work throughout Argentina was decided on by the convention, as well as the sending of two delegates to the Socialist congress in Geneva, Switzerland, in February, 1920.

DEFENSE

Sam F. Hankin, a member of the Local Cleveland Defense Committee of the Communist Labor Party, and State Educational Director of the Y. P. S. L. is now in Cook County Jail facing Deportation.

Hagkin is a medical student eighteen years of age. His only crime is being an active member of a radical organization.

Funds for his defense are urgently needed.

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What Do You Read?

By Mildred Kern.

If there is one question more important than another concerning you of the working class it is—what do you read? A man or woman may wear shabby clothes and live a hovel of gold; he or she may live in a back alley and have character; may be found associating with the unwashed and ignorant when necessary and yet have refinement and culture but the one sure guide to one's grasp of life, to his measure of progress, is what he reads.

The reading matter found in any home, no matter how elaborate or simple, is a perfect index to the standards of thinking and living of the inmates. The homes of the well to do are nearly always well stocked with books and magazines. The poor, alas, most often have no books or magazines and it is not always due to the fact that they cannot afford a few but mostly because of ignorance of the importance of reading, an indifference to the value of printed education.

Most of the working class read newspapers at least and a large percentage of this class depend entirely for their education in affairs of the world on the daily newspaper. This would not be so lamentable were these daily newspapers not run by men whose business it is to betog and lead astray the minds of the workers; the minds of those who produce the wealth of the world; the slaves; the proletariat—the child bearers; in their business to mould the opinions of the workers contrary to their own best interests, and keep them willing slaves for their profit taking employers who bear no future slaves.

Not only lacts votes but their attitude toward each other, their understanding of the theory of life, their insight into the undercurrent of world events are all affiroled and moulded by this most crafty of all teachers, this most polluted of all channels of education.

Many deluded ones believe that newspapers are out to tell the news and it is this pernicious belief that is the undoing of the working class. Newspapers owned by those who are not themselves producers of wealth are not in business to tell the news but to so color and suppress and distort and even manufacture it that the readers will think they have formed their own opinions on certain matters when, in truth, that opinion was handed to them by the newspaper. Not only editorials but ALL news items are so dished up that only the opinion desired by the publisher is formed.

Your daily newspaper may have a beautiful slushy editorial about being kind and unscathing to the so-called fallen women while its owner gives merrily on upholding the system that makes prostitutes or it may rant in lusty tones about mother and her exalted place in the land while its owner liberally pays a lobbyist to engineer through some law that will make thousands of mothers go in sorrow to the grave and drive other thousands away from their young children into the factories, mills and shops to earn a pittance. When papers are operated all over the land at a daily loss of thousands of dollars by millionaires it is very patent that the loss is well atoned for by the treble thousands made in another way through the old operation of the foolish readers who do just exactly as these millionaires tell them to. Funny, isn't it how many senators own newspapers?

Singular, too, how many newspapers are really owned by politicians but some other name is sworn to yearly in defiance of the law so that you won't add two and two and know that the man who has last oil interests in Mexico and wants it war there to protect his investment, is daily suppressing the real facts and telling you lies, lies, lies. Disgusting too, how many working people gave this man their vote when he ran for a high office.

The radical movement lumps one among its adherents a few very wealthy people. The cry frequently goes up—"Why doesn't Comrade Greenbacks use some of his money to found a daily truth telling paper?" Comrades, we don't really want such a paper, not enough of us would buy it to make it a success; if we did want it we would have shown it by supporting what papers we already have. Our own already established little papers could grow into something bigger and more forceful, but, seemingly, we don't want them to. Seemingly, the workers prefer sensational, scandal mongering lies, capitalist papers. With many the radical papers are side issues, the plain truth, minus divorces, suicides, elope ments, escapades and family skeletons does not interest them very largely and most of the workers don't even know of the existence of the radical truth telling papers. That this is a fact is proven by the circulation figures of the most sensational dailies. It is bad enough to view the sad spectacle of exploited workers wasting their time and money on the very reading matter that keeps them ignorant enough to be exploited but it is positively sickening to those who know how these scandals are manufactured and distorted for these greedy developers of filth. It is as vital to the welfare of all of us are occurring every day, but how much of it is told? If you ask the editor why an account of your meeting or a report of an illuminating lecture did not appear he will tell you that there was no room.

There is always plenty of room for an account of some society lady's wedding dinner or a description of collection of jewels or an attack on radical activities or—filthy scandal that is too much business, and when there is a dearth of these the composing room can always dig up a stick or two of "building," the trade name for clipped articles about nothing in particular. The truth about Russia, or Mexico or what the Industrial Workers of the World or the Communist Labor Party stand for and are trying to accomplish would make substantial reading for many but your capitalist paper owner knows that if you had access to these facts that you would be up and doing, and he would have to go out of business.

If the capitalist press went out of business tomorrow the capitalist system, the system of robbing the workers, would fall within a month. The capitalist press is the most powerful instrument and efficient servant of the non-producing, possessing minority. That is why the government, those whom you think you elect to office pass such unconstitutional laws as the espionage act and bar the truth telling organs from the mails. Knowledge is dynamite. A clear admission that the radical press is the best educator of the laboring element and that it must be crushed, smashed, if power in high places. This will continue just as long as we, the masters, allow it to continue but it cannot be denied that we are in an enormous majority and yet we allow a leisure class minority to dominate the minds of our children.

Within the last month the write made a survey of hundreds of read and the workers of America divided them into the following classes; business men, laboring men, salesmen and business women, working women and wives of laboring men and wives of prosperous business men. The questions were pertinent and exhaustive enough to form a very accurate judgement of what people read. No names were used and every assurance was given of protection to the ones interviewed so that each could feel free to be frank. The result was disheartening to a radical. Worse girls read, during society news, men clerks reading principally sporting news and magazines and newspapers filled with thousands of their kind daily perish in want and with no assurance of being able to do more than thirty days ahead on what they possessed.

Out of eighty-seven girl clerks, stenographers and the like, only four did read the social section of their paper in the morning, the rest, hunting for a job, read the society doings. Among hotel, restaurant, domestic and factory working women, some of whom are married, not actually striking the time for better living conditions the ignorance and indifference were staggering. Most of these read only the news omitting the special syndicated features and, by their own admissions, failed to read those papers that featured divorces and incidents of various delinquencies. Some of the more prosperous housewives had definite opinions on the subject of modern morals. This is all a terrible arraignment of women who have lagged far behind in the attempts at economic emancipation, largely because men of today have neglected to undo what the men of yesterday did. The sorrily because they are just plain stupid.

Just as discouraging were the results gleaned among the men: out of one hundred and twenty-four workers at various union headquarters, every man jack but three read the most sensational labor baiting paper in the city and no other literature save an occasional union paper.

Comes now the saddest feature of all this survey; to the question "what objection or, constructive criticism have you to offer about any particular paper or all papers?" The business men, in the majority of cases, welcomed the opportunity to express themselves and were definite and pronounced in their replies as to how papers might be improved in policy, make-up and contents. Some of them wanted more labor news. They wanted more exhaustive stock quotations for one thing. Did the workers grasp this opportunity? No, indeed, out of several hundred workers the objections or criticisms were so few as to be hardly worth mentioning. "I think the newspapers are run alright" was the reply of most of them. A few objected to one sash employing paper but most of those bought and read it nevertheless. Here and there, but mostly there, a working man vehemently replied, "I don't read daily papers, I read labor papers." Some very intelligent and satisfying answers from a group of collarless blue shirted laborers waiting for a train, proved on further investigation to be Industrial Workers of the World on their way to a job, their bags crammed with literature.

And there you are, the workers support and endorse the very thing that is the sustaining pillar of capitalism. How many radical working class truth telling papers do you contribute? How many people do you induce to read such papers? How often do you discuss the truth you formed the topic of right reading?

MILDRED E. KERN.

Darkness Before Dawn

The blackest of black reaction has come to America.

When the history of today is written it will record the lowest depths to which a republican form of government has ever sunk; it will show that not even in absolute monarchies have the rulers dared to go to the same lengths to suppress opinions.

In no nation in the world is there a press that is so servile and so vicious as the press of the United States. In no nation in the world are the minds of the masses so enslaved, and in no nation are the officials of government at bodies so subservient to the wishes of the lords of industry and finance.

What other nations regard as the worst, the greatest evil of existing evils, this nation condemns as crime, and punishes with jail sentences of twenty years, while violences by openly advocated and condoned by the press without any steps whatever being taken by constituted authority to discourage the practice; on the contrary, it seems to meet with their approval so long as the victims are persecuted against workers and their representatives.

To remain immune from the operations of the "law" in this land it is only necessary to become an employe or supporter of some powerful corporation, which will give license to maim and slay and need not fear being called to account by the officers of the law.

Economic heretics are being persecuted with the same vigor and cruelty that marked the persecution of religious heretics in the dark ages; the same murderous fanaticism that marked the edicts of that period can be discerned in the distorted rancor against anyone who dares to question the right of imperialism to continue its brutal rule.

Never has the future looked darker for America; were it not for the numbness of consciousness we would be heard here and there among the workers and the certainty that oppression always breeds resistance to oppression, we might be alarmed lest that we must become a nation of slaves.—Butte Bulletin.

Radicals Growing

Washington, D. C.—Already the Department of Justice has carefully card index records of more than 60,000 suspected radicals, according to Attorney General Palmer. Existing laws are in his estimation entirely inadequate to stem the radical tide. He therefore advocates more drastic legislation than the Czar in his palmiest days would have dreamed of. Any attempt to overthrow the government (apparently even by such peaceful means as the ballot) is to be punishable by twenty years imprisonment.

Radical publications, Palmer says, are one of the most far-reaching influences in stirring up discontent, raising prejudices and class hatred in this country.

"There are 222 radical newspapers published in foreign languages in this country at the present time, and 148 radical newspapers published in the English language. In addition 144 radical newspapers published in foreign countries are received and distributed here."

This list, Palmer explained, does not include hundreds of radical books and pamphlets, and adds that the I. W. W. alone publishes 18 newspapers in English and 19 in foreign tongues.

All of these publications are read and translated by the Department of Justice, Palmer says, the work keeping 40 translators busy.

FRENCH UNIONS MAY CALL STRIKE IN AID OF SOVIET REGIME.

PARIS, Nov. 20.—Following the example of dock workers at French ports who refused to load goods consigned to Admiral Kolchak, the French Union of Packers threatens a general strike. The union officials announced they would rather call a nationwide walk-out than pack munitions and supplies for the anti-Bolshevist forces in Russia.

What Do You Care For Freedom?

By David Karsner.

In some future time when the historians shall set themselves to the task of summing the characteristics, virtues and vices of the single people who inhabit this sweet and prosperous land, it will probably be recorded that we were most generous and liberal, and, in this respect, the marvels of our time and kin.

These records shall say, for instance, that during the 1917, while the world was plagued with war, the Americans, of all the races, yielded their liberties without a murmur, as a whimper. Americans did not wage war, the historians shall say, and protested against it by electing a President of pacifistic proprietors. He had said his people "were too proud to fight," and his people heard him gladly. He had echoed their inner thought, and in him they had found their idol, the resurrected image of themselves clothed with political power and purpose.

For a few brief months only, or until he was safely restored to his high office, the people pursued their roseate dream, shut their eyes and stuffed their ears to the horror and the din of war. And, when finally they, too, were swept into the maelstrom. But few now could give the technical reason why the overt act of the belligerent that caused the declaration of the American President. No matter, thousands of people followed their leaders with simple faith, asking no questions, emitting few protesting murmurs.

There were a few, not many, who believed that human life should not be sacrificed in fratricidal strife, that there is no precedent for such beliefs. In all wars there had been the lonely souls who had stood out against the tide. The Quakers during of the war in 1917 in the United States gave as their reason that his God was too sacred, too worthy a treasure to be bartered away for the alter of political and economic disagreement between the rulers of the peoples.

In the United States, the foremost figure who disapproved of the war was Eugene V. Debs. Debs, too, gave his life for it to the working class. He was arrested for one speech that he made to the people. His case is so recent that it requires no rehiral to recall. He was convicted by a trial he told the jury that he could have gone to Congress long ago but he had refused to go primarily, his choice he said, had been deliberately made. He would not retract a word of his indictment against the profiteers for ten years. Debs was than 63 years old and bowed with the weight of service which he had already rendered humanity. He was sentenced by prosecutor were mere beardless strippings.

Once in prison, Debs' spirit was adamant. Still he would not retract a word. He need never have gone to prison, he said, had he retracted, but he could not, he said, he could not, he all would have been well. "I will simply go to the stake," he said, "for the principles upon which I have lessened my life." Hundreds of men and woman out of prison who is sentenced under the Espionage law echoed "I will come, too." Debs has been in prison now seven months. He is ill in body, but well in spirit. In every prison throughout the country there are perhaps several thousands men and women rotting in jails because they had a humane thought, a humane word, a humane for others. They are branded as traitors to their country by those who have the monopoly on patriotism in this country. But in the hearts of those whom they served with loving and loyal devotion their names will be remembered and revered.

But that is not enough. There is no longer war reason which can be justified by any lover of liberty why these people should remain a day longer in their prison cells. Every single one of them went to prison for a principle. It would have been easier for them to have bowed their heads and bent their knees to authority. But there beats in the breast of every trde libertarian a heart that pays tribute to an order higher than the state, and is imbued with a purpose nobler than politics. It is such as these that are fastening now within prison walls. In every true democracy the state would be the humble servant of the people and would bow before their sovereign will. We have no such democracy in America. The people are the servants of the state, and are fettered if they should dare dispute its arbitrary power.

What do you care for freedom? What have you done for freedom? Only he is entitled to liberty who serves it. Most people have an easy, comfortable, self complacent manner of admiring the martyrs. If you care for these living heroes it is your plain duty to enlist your aid and your services, however much or little the latter may be, in the work that is being undertaken to obtain their release from the dungeons which they row inhabit. A nation-wide campaign has been started for a general amnesty for these political and industrial prisoners. Do not mourn, but work through legitimate channels for the preservation of the rights of the rights of the people. Neither liberty nor libertarian is assisted by your coming to weave a garland for its grave.

Freedom and liberty with most native Americans is mere presumption. We were born free, we say, hence we are free. Whereas, in fact, we are born slaves to the tradition that freedom exists and is hereditary. Freedom is not hereditary. Every generation, every individual, in fact, must be vigilant lest he be deprived of his rights. It is a trite truth that political freedom does not make a man a libertarian. Debs in prison is freer than Woodrow Wilson in the White House. Debs is not a slave to tradition. He has kept his spirit inviolate. The integrity of his soul is more precious to him than any amount of physical freedom that his persecutors could bestow upon him. None the less he and his prisonmates, many of whom are also in prison for their principles, have served us with the wearying drudgery, and we would be base cowards if we failed to do everything in our power to impress upon the political rulers of the land that these men and women believed they were protected by the first amendment to the Constitution in what they had done. It is true that the Constitution has not been repealed, but it has been abridged by the Espionage law under which these persons were sent to prison.

It is in the interest of every single person that these men and women in the land. Debs and the other political and industrial prisoners incarcerated under the Espionage law be free, for while they remain in jail the liberties of none are secure. It is now a year since the American President said to Congress, after the signing of the armistice, "That the war comes to an end." Yet some of the people who expressed a minority opinion about the war, a thing which they believed they had a right to do under the American Constitution, are still confined.

We shall pass up the question as to the folly of a country that cannot bear the slight weight of a minority opinion on a public question without imprisoning the spokesmen of the minority, and go on to the major issue which is, as the subject of this page suggests, What Do You Care For Freedom?

"Goodrich" Substituted for "Liberty."

(By Scott Nearing.)

Akron, Ohio.—Arriving at the Union Station in Akron, we are confronted by a large sign: "The City of Opportunity." Across the track is another sign:

"Goods produced in 1918
$480,000,000.
Wages paid in 1918
70,000,000."

Those simple facts tell the story. Akron is a city of a quarter of a million, splattered over the hills that border the Cuyahoga River. Akron lives by the manufacture of rubber, and it has grown with the recent phenomenal growth of the rubber industry. There are no houses to be had for rentals. Single rooms, equipped with a bed and a chair, cost from four to seven dollars a week. The hotels are crowded. During a recent strike, an organizer for the Machinists' Union secured a room in a second class hotel for $125 per month. Many of the buildings that are being used as homes for families are unfit for habitation.

Prices are high in Akron—so high that despite the high wages paid to nearly of the men in the rubber plants, thousands of families are unable to make ends meet. The Charity Society has over 250 families on its books at this early period of the winter season. Besides these families it is carrying over 200 single women and men.

The labor movement is weak in Akron. A conservative estimate places the actual number of unorganized rubber workers at 50,000. The total number of men and women affiliated with labor organizations does not exceed 6,000, of whom about 2,500 are machinists. Of the 22,000 votes cast at the last election, the socialist candidate received 1,100.

Akron has made many millionaires. Among them are several who are inclined to be philanthropic. They have provided various schemes covering welfare work for their employes. They are generous to the educational and charitable institutions of the city, "public spirited" in the best capitalistic sense of that term. But as the visitor to Akron boards the train, he faces a big advertisement for a football game, which is to be held "in Goodrich Park (formerly Liberty Park)." Throughout the city, "Goodrich" has been quite generally substituted for "Liberty."

NO COMMUNISTS PERMITTED TO TEACH IN NEW YORK.

New York.—The latest practical application of the doctrine of academic freedom is the edict of Superintendent of Schools Ettinger that no teacher known to be a member of the Communist Labor or of the Communist Party is to remain on the teaching staff of the Greater City. Already one teacher, Sadie Ginsberg, has been dismissed. More ejections are to follow shortly.

In justifying his action Mr. Ettinger states that communists must be weeded out, irrespective of whether or not they teach communist views in their class rooms. A teacher could not hold or preach communism outside of her school, and be fitted to teach the young. There was no such thing he said, as 9 to 3 o'clock patriotism.

THE MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

Mexico City.—Local Mexico City of the Mexican Socialist Party voted on October 23 to propose to the executive committee of the party that it issue an invitation to the Communist Party to unite in one party with certain compromises to be made by both sides. The executive committee will, it is understood, issue the invitation in a few days.

Officials of the Communist Party declare that the only union they will consider will be one in which the socialists join the Communist Party in subscribing to its declaration in favor of the Third International and its program for organizing the Mexican I. W. W. throughout the country. The communist officers declare also that they are willing, if such a union is effected, to give some of the offices occupied by socialists who did not acquiesce in the protest by Luis N. Morones, Samuel Gompers' man of the socialist national convention, but they will not consent to admitting any supporter of Morones to any officialdom.

Officials of the Socialist Party have not yet announced what compromise they expect from the communists.

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The Workers' World.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL LEAGUE, LAWRENCE, KANSAS.
P. O. Box 697. Office Room 2 Schutte Bldg. 1209 Grand Ave. Kansas City, Mo.
Home Phone Main 4665.

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We Use the International Labor News Service.
EDITORS: Scott Nearing, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis P. Lochner

Subscription Price: One year, $2; Six months, $1; Bundle Orders, 2 cents per Copy; Advertising Rates on Application.

The Editorial Board is not Responsible for Opinions Expressed in Signed Articles.

Kansas City, Mo., Friday November 28, 1919.

Forum Print

THE UNION FIRST.

Governor Allen of Kansas has been very busy for the past two weeks trying to get some coal out of the Kansas mines. The people of Kansas have not been able to keep warm with the coal produced by Judge Anderson's famous injunction. Fearful threats of force, have had no effect on the miners, so Governor Allen decided to use a little soft soap.

He rigged up a scheme to operate the mines under a receivership. A member of the union was appointed as one of the receivers in order to make it look "fair" to the workers. But he picked the wrong man, it seems. "Labor's representative" refused to act for the State on the ground that he had no instructions from the union. He made it plain that if there was to be an issue between the union and the state that his first allegiance was to the union.

This is the natural and proper attitude for all union men to take. What little they have attained in the way of decent conditions of labor and living have come directly from the union. It is the union that stands between the workers and that condition of absolute serfdom which the bosses would impose. And the union has a bigger part yet to play. It is the instrument by means of which the workers will batter down the capitalist system. And then the union goes over into the new society and becomes the basic unit of the industrial government.

The state, on the other hand, is something foreign to the workers. It offers them no relief, no matter how bitter their lot may be. It is not concerned if their hours are too long, their surroundings unsafe or their wages too low for human living standards. It is only when the workers take action on their own account, through the union, that they come into contact with the State. And then they always find it on the side of the bosses.

The Kansas miner saw clearly and acted wisely. We hail him as a symbol of the invincible labor movement that will not be bluffed by threats of force nor deceived by the fair words of enemies posing as its friends.

TO FANNIE SELLINS.

(Mrs. Sellins, an organizer for the United Mine Workers, was beaten and shot to death by Steel Trust gunmen, near Brackenridge, Pennsylvania, U. S. A.)

By Matilda Robbins.

You fell a victim
To the lust of Greed;
You whose blood ran hot
With labor's zeal,
They foully murdered.

Great Sister of the Poor!
Your lips will speak no more
Of the immeasurable wrongs
Done to your kind.
For when a great, white love you bore,

But they shall hear us
Who are left behind
To storm the ramparts where you fell,
And they shall know your voice
Among the toiling millions,
When they at last rebel.

SUCH IS JUSTICE.

David Lamar, known as the "Wolf of Wall Street" and Henry B. Martin, convicted on charges of conspiring to prevent the manufacture and shipment of war munitions to the allies, were sentenced to 18 months imprisonment. Louise Olivereau was sentenced to 40 years because she was opposed to war on general principles. Hundreds of conscientious objectors were tortured, abused and imprisoned for terms ranging from five to twenty-five years. The list of members of the I. W. W. who have been tarred and feathered, kidnapped, beaten, deported and imprisoned "as a war necessity" is too long to be given here. Four young people, among them a girl, were sentenced to 15 years each because they printed and circulated a leaflet asking for the withdrawal of troops from Russia and because they called President Wilson a "hypocrite." Such is justice.—Loggers Bulletin.

FOR YOU, O DEMOCRACY.

By Walt Whitman.

Come, I will make the continent indissoluble,
I will make the most splendid race the sun ever shone upon,
I will make divine magnetic lands
With the power of Comrades
With the life-long love of Comrades.
I will plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America and along the shores of the great lakes, and all over the prairies,
I will make inseparable cities with their arms about each other's necks,
By the love of Comrades
By the manly love of Comrades.
For you these from me, O Democracy, to serve you,
For you, for you I am trilling these songs.

THE NEXT STEP.

A new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, bearing with its own ethics, aiming at a new and higher life for all men, has received the general name of socialism, and it is my firm belief that it is destined to supersede the old order of things founded on industrial war, and to be the next step in the progress of humanity.—William Morris.

We have scarcely emerged from the caves of the jungles. We have lost some of the savage instincts of our antecedents, but we have not replaced them with humane and generous impulses. The individualism in which we were begotten and under which we grew to maturity has no ethical standard above its own belly-line. It has developed the beak and claw, the fang and hoof, and not the soul and conscience of man; and the extent of their ambition is to lord it over others with arrogant, heartless self-conceit, and glut their own low and vulgar appetites.—Debs.

Fighting the Steel Workers' Strike With Falsehood

The best evidence of the tremendous success of the steel mill workers strike is the enormous amount of propaganda inspired by the Steel Trust to poison the minds of the masses. An immense amount of money is being spent to get editors, preachers, agents provacateurs and others to spread falsehoods about the strike and the strikers.

The bribing of priests and ministers was one of the first acts of the Steel Trust when it saw that the strike was certain to come. All through the steel mill towns the ministers and priests have been corrupted by the trust in a great extent. There are some honest priests and ministers in these towns, but, as the mills control everything in these centers, it is impossible for an honest man to remain. The mill managers will "get" the honest ones sooner or later.

* * *

The following sermon by the "Rev." P. Molyneux in St. Brendan's Church, Braddock, Pa., speaks for itself:

"This strike is not being brought about by intelligent or English speaking workmen, but by men who have no interest in the community, are not the element of our community, and who do not have the welfare of our men at heart.

"I want you in the first place to understand that I hold no brief from any mill or any trust or any company. I am not here to advocate their cause. I am going to tell you what I have found about these strike leaders, as I suppose most of you have, and that is—with a few exceptions, if not all of them that never a one of them ever had on a workman's blouse in his life.

"I never went into a mill in a pair of overalls—these men were never seen with the honest sweat of toil on their brows. The tan on brows is not on their faces. They are a lot of smooth, oily-tongued talkers with a kind of sympathetic whine appealing to you.

"William Z. Foster, the transplanted strike leader and fomentor of trouble among the steel workers, is a pink, blood-bitten socialist. His philosophy is that of a mad-house. He calls himself a syndicalist; I consider him both a fool positive and an ass superlative. The wonder is that so many apparently sensible people listen to the bray of this donkey.

"Another thing I have observed with pleasure is that no man could be more solicitous for these men than the leaders of these mills are. They have left nothing undone to provide for the welfare of their men that could be done; I think they have reached perfection in this way. They seem to care for their men with a tenderness equal to that which a mother has for her child."

This man is either deliberately defrauding and misleading the simple minded fellow who listens to his sermon or he is a hopeless mental cripple and should be confined in some institution where his ravings will find companionship among other unfortunates.

One of the encouraging bits of news brought back to New York by Comrade Lipsky, editor of "Darbas," Lithuanian Journal of the Amalgamated, after a tour of the Pittsburg strike district, was that Lithuanian priests who had been given a bribe by the Steel Trust. The priest took the $200 offered him and used the fund for arguments to be delivered against the proposed strike. Then he made the bribe the subject of his sermon on the Sunday before the strike began. He told of the bribe given him; then urged the members of his congregation to go on strike to secure recognition of their twelve demands for betterment of working conditions and gave the $200 to the strike fund.

* * *

The prostitute press is reaping a harvest throughout the strike districts. Full page advertisements bring hundreds of thousands of dollars into the treasuries of the mouthpieces for big Business, and thousands more go secretly to the pockets of editors and reporters in return for the poison that they prepare for the minds of readers every day. Fortunately, the propagandists for Big Business are of inferior mentality. Their efforts have been fruitless, for they are at a loss for arguments against the strike.

A sample of the kept press advertisements, published in English, Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Slovak, Italian, Croatian and Hungarian, follows: "The steel strike can't win. Here are ten reasons why the strike will fail; ten reasons why you and every other man who is loyal to America will go back to work:

"1. There is no good American reason for the strike.

"2. A very large majority of the workers did not want to strike.

"3. The strike is not between workers and employers, but between revolutionists and America.

"4. It is becoming more and more apparent that the strike is merely the diabolical attempt of a few radicals to seize industry and plant Bolshevism in this country.

"5. The strike is doomed to fail, just as all unpopular and unpatriotic movements have failed in this country.

"6. Public sentiment is against the strike; Americans have great sympathy for genuine wrongs but they have neither sympathy nor tolerance for radicals who seek to use organized labor as a tool in their nefarious conspiracy against industry and American liberty.

"7. The strike is an economic failure and the loss will be felt by everybody, including you.

"8. America will never stand for a red rule or Bolshevism, I. W. W. ism or any other 'ism' that seeks to tear down the Constitution. Radicalism must be put down.

"9. There is a strong possibility that the Huns had a hand in fomenting the strike, hoping to retard industrial progress in America.

"10. Keep America busy and progress will continue."

* * *

Hundreds of agents of the employers are sent to the meetings of strikers to supplement the activities of the prostitute press and the kept clergy. These spies urge a return to work, telling about the leaders, who they claim to create a break in the ranks.

To combat the poison propaganda the twenty-five organizations that are back of the strike can do little. The Black Cossacks prohibit all meetings in Pennsylvania, riding down, clubbing and shooting strikers who dare to congregate to protest against the autocracy and tyranny of the Steel Trust. The United States Army is being used in the Gary district in Indiana to prohibit meetings of the strikers. What terrible crimes are being committed against the strikers in the Gary district are not known, for a censorship has been established by General Wood, which prohibits newspaper correspondents from divulging the truth about raids on strikers' homes and other acts of terrorism.

The greatest handicap in the strike, according to Editor Bimbo, is the absence of foreign language papers for the strikers. There are many foreign language papers in the pay of the Steel Trust but none in the Pittsburg district to print the encouraging news of the strike that comes to the headquarters daily.

In spite of all handicaps, with their leaders barred or deported, with no press, no meetings, no organized financial assistance, the strikers are fighting their own battles in each individual district. For days, in some districts, there have been no means of communication with the other strike districts. But the isolated strikers were not dismayed. All are determined to remain out for the greatest struggle Capitalism has ever known. They are determined to fight until they have landed for all time the horrors of slavery in the steel mills of America.

WINNIPEG STRIKERS NOT AFRAID OF JAIL ON SEDITION CHARGE.

Calgary, Alberta, Nov. 21.—"I don't care whether they send us to jail or not, we are going to win out. The people would not let us stay in jail long. Returned soldiers, labor and farmers will soon control the country."

This was the declaration of J. S. Woodsworth, who faces charges of seditious conspiracy in connection with the Winnipeg general strike, at a mass meeting here. Roger Bray, chairman of the soldiers' committee which took part in the strike, and who is also under indictment, also spoke. Bray was recently barred from admission to the United States, where he was to speak in behalf of the Winnipeg defense fund.

RUSSIA THREATENS BRITISH IN ASIA.

London.—Premier Nicolai Lenin, of the Russian Bolshevik Government, expressed that the way has been opened, and sufficient forces have been gathered, to strike against British imperialism. Communications have been restored between Soviet Russia and Turkestan, and it is evident that operations against the British in Persia are imminent.

A radio dispatch from Omsk states that the arrival of the Hindu mission at Omsara was the occasion of a solemn feast. The leader of the mission asserted that India is just awaking at propitious moment to cast aside the yoke of the English.

BOMBING FROM AEROPLANE.

Punjab.—Revelation has been made during the course of a debate in the Governor-General's Council, that bombs were thrown from an aeroplane by English soldiers at the Bhalsa High School Boarding House, at Gujranwalla, in the province of the Punjab, a school situated at a distance of over a mile from the place of disorder during the revolutionary outbreak last spring.

There were 150 students in the school when the bombs burst. The casualty list has not been made public.

CUT OUT ANTI-BOLSHEVISM IN I. W. W.

The Rebel Worker is of the opinion that the Editor of the One Big Union Monthly is following a wrong policy in attacking communism Hungary and Russia. It is not our business to aid capitalists imperialism as against the attempts of the workers in other lands to establish a new society, even by ill-conceived criticism intended to point out differences and instruct. Besides, such a course is not consistent with the resolutions adopted at our last convention greeting the Russian Revolution and the vote to join the Third International: In other words, it is not representative of the I. W. W. Cut it out.—The Rebel Worker.

Ruthenberg Acquitted

CLEVELAND, Nov. 23.—C. E. Ruthenberg, head of the Communist party, with headquarters in Chicago and for many years prominent in organization work of the Socialist party in Cleveland, was acquitted on charges of sifting and abetting in an assault to kill by a jury in Judge Dan B. Call's criminal court here.

The verdict was directed by Judge Call following a motion to dismiss by Seymour Stedman, of Chicago, counsel for Ruthenberg, after the state had rested its case. The judge, however, overruled Stedman's motion and ordered the jury to return a verdict of not guilty. The indictment was based on the May Day disorders in which two persons were killed and several hundred injured and severely beaten.

The state, throughout the four days of the trial, endeavored to show that Ruthenberg was the instigator and inciter of the May Day trouble.

Hundreds of sheets of typewritten copies of speeches made by the department prior to May 1 were introduced in evidence by the state.

More than 50 witnesses were called, all for the prosecution. The state contended that Ruthenberg, through his speeches, was directly responsible for criminal assaults upon three Cleveland police officers. Both Ruthenberg and his counsel were confident of an acquittal throughout the seven days taken up by the trial and selection of a jury.

The Mexican Communist Party

(By Linn A. E. Gale).

The Communist Party of Mexico is the answer of the red-blooded, classconscious Reds of Mexico to the high-handed acts of the machine that controlled the recent convention of the Mexican Socialist Party in the interests of Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor.

The Communist Party was born the night before the convention closed, the anti-Gompers and Left Wing element staying in the convention to the very last in the vain hope that they might at the eleventh hour wrest control from Luis N. Morones, secretary of the Pan-American Federation of Labor and tool of Gompers. But defeat after defeat taught them that they could hope for no genuinely revolutionary action from the conservative, pipulated convention and when they left the hall of the Mexico City local, where the convention was held, they went to another hall to effect provisional organization of the Communist Party.

The Socialist convention lasted ten days and did practically nothing. A hot fight developed the second day when Morones offered himself as a delegate with credentials from some alleged Radical group that nobody had ever heard of before. Vigorous speeches by International Secretary Adolfo Santibanez, National Secretary F. C. Lopez and myself, Morones protested melodramatically that he was a true Socialist with the interests of the Mexican workers at heart and possessed legitimate credentials which should be recognized. A vote was taken by roll call and resulted in a tie. A second ballot resulted in the same way and then Roy, who had not voted before, cast the deciding vote in favor of seating Morones, amid a furore among the delegates.

From that time, Morones was in the saddle. Roy made a pretense of being against him, claiming he voted to seat Morones in the interests of "party harmony," but it soon became evident that Roy and Seaman were helping Morones carry out his plans. Elaborate discussions over immaterial details were conducted in order to distract attention away from essentials. The original call for the convention, drafted by Roy, specified that delegates should be elected to the Second International. I spoke in strong terms against this and, finally, Morones, reluctantly, a clause endorsing the Third International was adopted. However, at this point Morones made a reactionary character of the influences dominating the convention and the Executive and National Committees. When these committees were named, it was found that three-fourths of the members were Morones men. Not only did the companion delegate, Samuel Yudico, wisely kept off the committees personally and engineered the election of other friends instead. A platform was adopted which was neither very good nor very bad, perhaps, but under the circumstances must be dismissed as mere camouflage to cover up the true character of the convention.

An unswerving and consistent opponent of Morones, Seaman and Roy, throughout the convention was Adolfo Santibanez, International Secretary of the Party, and Santibanes paid for it by being ousted from office and defeated as a seat in either the Executive or National Committee, although he is the virtual founder of the party in Mexico, having organized the first Socialist local in the country 15 years ago. However, the Socialist Party's loss was the Communist Party's gain as Santibanez became our International Secretary.

The following provisional officers of the Communist Party have been named and will serve until the national convention in November. International Secretary, Adolfo Santibanez; national secretary, Enrique H. Arce; treasurer, Geo. Berreda; executive committee, Santibanez, Arce, Barreda, Fulgencio C. Luna, C. F. Tabler and myself. The provisional platform was adopted, endorsing the Third International and while approving of both industrial and political action, and in line with the class struggle, recommends industrial action as of major importance and urges all members to affiliate with the I. W. W. The Mexico City Socialist Local has split and a Communist Local been organized but in many cities, the Socialist Locals and other Left Wing groups are leaving the Socialists to join the Communist Party.

The new party is assured of generous support as the Mexican workers are strongly against Gompers and have taken argument to convince them that they should support the party which opposes Gompers.

The address of the Communist Party is P. O. Box 836, Mexico City, and communications from the United States should be addressed to International Secretary Adolfo Santibanez, at that box. The party wishes to get in touch with the comrades in the United States to the fullest extent possible and invites them to correspond with it, especially regarding ways and means of co-operation in the event of intervention. Considerable literature on the subject of intervention has been published and the party has definite and carefully developed plan in case American troops again enter Mexico. I. W. W. secretaries should also write the party as it wishes to co-operate in every feasible way in the organization of I. W. W. unions in Mexico.

In Mexico, as in the United States, the split will be beneficial rather than detrimental. There can be, as Comrade Farina says, no real union that is not a union in fundamentals. Any other kind of a union is a source of weakness, not of strength. And the sooner such a combination is broken, the better.