

WORKINGMEN OF THE WORLD, UNITE

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Liberty! Equality! Fraternity!



Communism and Womanhood

TO the cheap politician and the cheap newspaperman the discredited lie that the Communist regards women as common property has an undying attraction. Not often are they able to invent a slander that ministers so well to their passion for falsehood and their passion for obscenity. Blown to bits by Marx and Engels nearly a century ago in the Communist Manifesto, the lie has been resurrected whenever the reactionary parties have found themselves at a loss for an argument. It was used constantly against Soviet Russia until the official disclaimers of the British Government and the State Department at Washington made its further use in that connection difficult; now it is being directed against the Communist Party in Ohio. It will always be in use against somebody until the growth of knowledge and the development of human intelligence render it worthless. Until that time arrives, however, it will continue a necessary part of Communist propaganda not merely to refute the slander but to use it as a weapon of offense against the capitalist mode of thought.

We must show—as it is very easy to show—that the accusation arises from the dirtiness of mind which inevitably characterises the general attitude of men towards women under the reign of capitalism. Since the dawn of recorded history—that is to say, during the whole period of class rule—women have everywhere been regarded as a form of property, not as the human comrades of men. They have had a twofold function to render to their masters, unrequited domestic toil and the satisfaction of male passion. They have had to fight their way inch by inch to such poor social recognition as capitalist society gives them, but they are still mostly excluded from citizenship; they still find it difficult to secure the same pay as men for the same work; they have to put up with the “double standard” of morality and to accept a position of economic dependence if they marry: they are habitually deceived about aspects of life that are of vital importance to their happiness. Everything they have gained—such as the right to be educated as well or as badly as men, to practice as physicians, to vote for school committee—has been at the expense of “womanliness” and “the sanctity of the home,” the remnants of which the Communists are now accused of destroying. The men who have been, and are, so solicitous for these old names, simply carry into their relations with persons of the other sex, the same ideas and habits of exploitation which obtain in capitalist society at large.

They want ignorant, submissive wives to flatter their vanity and minister to their weaknesses; they want the surplus women not to find usefulness and self-respect in the world, but to be on hand as domestic drudges in reserve. Of course this point of view is that of the comfortably provided-for, predominant class, but it finds its counterpart among the working class so far as economic conditions permit. Instead of healthy human relations between the sexes, we have a mixture of leering frivolity and irrational sentimentalism which is the inevitable outcome of an artificial relationship between owner and owned. Just as the old property idea survives in the practice of “giving away” women in marriage and of assessing conjugal services in terms of dollars and cents in the civil courts, so the arts and wiles with which female slaves have been wont to cajole their lords and masters live on to poison the social life of our day.

To the Communist, on the other hand, women are not property, but human beings in all respects entitled to the same treatment as men. The only government on earth which distributes its portfolios among men and women according to fitness for office, is the Soviet Government of Russia. Maria Spiridonova was chairman of the Executive Committee of Peasants' Soviets, Alexandra Kollontay is Minister of Welfare, Madame Bitsenko was one of the Brest Litovsk Peace Delegation. In other countries, too, the Communist and other Left Wing Socialist groups are the only political organizations in which men and women work together side by side on terms of absolute equality. These facts alone are sufficient to prove the absurdity of the charges made, but it might be added also that, as society is organized today, the types of men who yearn for sexual promiscuity are not in the least likely to brave the discomforts attendant upon becoming unpopular political agitators. No social or economic revolution is necessary to make it possible for men to live like beasts; it is done right along by men of perfectly “correct” political opinions. In fact men of “correct” opinions are the only ones who can afford to live that sort of life, for it is to no one's interest to expose them, and, not being under any obligation to think, they have more nervous energy to waste than others.

Everyone who knows anything of Communism is aware that its votaries are of the plain-living, hard-thinking sort, and that of all women in the world the female Communists are the farthest removed from the idea of sex submission. The

Communist view is that divorce should be as easy as marriage; that marriage without love is an outrage on human nature; and that a marriage made in error is better dissolved than continued, for its continuance can only result in unhappiness for the couple and for their innocent children. Under capitalism when two young people make a mistake in marriage, as young people are apt to do, they have the choice of continuing together in misery and bringing up their children in the most unfavorable of environments, a home of

discord, or of securing a divorce by one or other entering upon some degrading way of life. Let them be brutal, drunken or incontinent, and the capitalist system makes it easy for them to gain freedom; let them choose the path of self-respect and they must in most cases pay for their error of judgment to their lives' end. In desiring to put an end to this absurdity and to make saner arrangements for the happiness of the present and the well-being of future generations, the Communist has nothing to be ashamed of, either in reason or ethics.

Life, Liberty and Happiness in the Steel Towns

By LELAND OLDS

(Reprinted from "The World Tomorrow," November, 1919.)

I

IN THE steel towns which group themselves about Pittsburgh tens of thousands of men are on strike. And a strange strike it is, at least to the observer who comes down expecting to find dramatic excitement. The towns are silent. Few people are to be seen on the streets. It is hard to realize that so many men are idle on the streets. It is hard to realize that so many men are idle unless you go into some of the houses. There you will find the men, playing cards, talking quietly, or resting. Except for the dingy surroundings, you might take it for some cheap summer resort on a rainy day. There are hundreds of these houses; and there is a general sense of restfulness, except where beds are supposed to work double shifts. There, with both shifts idle, the congestion is a bit uncomfortable. And restfulness is somewhat lacking where the troopers have just paid a visit, breaking trunks, knocking them about, ostensibly searching for arms. Yes, there is little that is dramatic, if you are looking for petty incidents. But as you get the whole silent district into your system, feel the pulsing energy and high tension which underlies that quiet, it will strike you as dramatic on a higher plane than you had dreamed. It is a magnificent example of passive resistance, of power with control.

It is extraordinary, this throbbing quiet extraordinary when you come to know the extent of the provocation, even more extraordinary when you discover how few are the leaders, how small their opportunity to exercise discipline.

Stand in the Central Office of the Union any day. You need not wait long before some one comes in with a tale of new abuse, seeking assistance. First, two boys of twenty or thereabouts who went to visit a cousin in Woodlawn, arrested

as they stepped from the train by the deputies who watch all trains—taken to the house of the Burgess, punched, kicked and abused just to bring the lesson home, kept all day, fined and driven out of town. Then a little housewife from up in the Monongahela Valley has made the trip to town in the early morning to get help. Her husband was arrested last night while standing on his own porch. He is now held on \$1,000 bail. And she has children. Next, a young man from Duquesne; the "bulls" came to his house, said they were looking for him, and that when they got hold of him they'd fix him. His friend "put him wise" and he left the town. Now he does not dare go home. Of course the "bulls" showed no warrant. Warrants are an anachronism in the steel towns; they are needed neither for arrest nor search.

So one by one through the morning new cases come in. A fine of \$50 and costs; \$25 and costs for going to the grocery store. You protest that is no crime? Don't forget, the prisoner is a striker. Mr. Rubin, lawyer for the Union, is in despair. He is overwhelmed with cases. "Get a New Castle lawyer to ask for a transcript in the New Castle cases," he directs. "Can't do it," is the answer. "All the lawyers have been deputized and won't handle the cases. And besides, we would all be arrested as we stepped off the car." "Go down to McKeesport and get some affidavits." "No use wasting the time, a lawyer who tried that yesterday was taken up by the police, told he couldn't take depositions there and ordered out of town. His clients were arrested." A thousand dollars bail, fifteen hundred dollars bail, three hundred dollars bail—are they trying to break the strike by confiscating all the workers' money? What is their game?

These are the common incidents of the day.

One must expect arrest as a suspicious person if one goes on strike. In the steel country there is but one qualification which can free you from suspicion, regular twelve hour daily service to the kings of steel at a bare living wage without protest. Is not discontent a legitimate basis for arrest?

But there are other cases whose logic is less apparent. The police are guilty not simply of arrests but of the wanton use of unlimited power. They use their freedom from responsibility for the acts they commit in order to intimidate the strikers. A man on strike—yes, even his wife and children—all are without the protection of the law. At Clairton, workers stopped to read a notice which the organizer was writing on a bulletin board. The state troopers rode up, ordered them to move, and then before they had time. clubs were swinging. Against those blows hats offer scant protection. You turned and looked to see blood running from under a worker's hat. One broken head, you say. One broken head a day would be less than the truth. Those riot sticks have yet to be used in a riot. They are used daily on the streets to prod and goad, to clot and brise, to terrorize and provoke the strikers.

II

To the Senate Committee came a veritable cloud of witnesses. And the appearance of these simple people, telling their story before the sleek, well groomed members of the highest legislative body of our government, had an emotional appeal which kept you on your toes straining to catch each word. And your breath came hot with resentment when, after a tale of outrage, a Senator would ask in cold even tones, "Do you speak English in your home? Have you ever suggested to the Town Council that they start night schools?" Night schools, forsooth, after a day varying from 11 to 13 hours, almost seven days a week!

And as you watch the progress of the hearing, it is borne home upon you that this was not a movement of dramatic leaders, of fiery declamation, that you could not enliven your tale with descriptions of daring words of demagogues, that if you would give the great American public some understanding of the situation you must quote the simple stories of unknown people, of nameless members of the rank and file. They come out of the crowd to tell their story and then merge again with the hosts, neither greater nor less than themselves. The issue is theirs. And they understand it, and are smitten with the strange alternating sense of power and helplessness. Together, in the crowd, they feel they must win the right

of human beings. Separated, the police, the "cosacks" reduce them to a state of helplessness. How can passive resistance win against brutal force? It is a question which even the idealist will often dodge. And still the counsel of the leaders is, "peace, peace, order, always order!"

Out of the crowd came Mr. and Mrs. Banks to tell their story for the Senators. For a moment they became the dramatic center of a strike involving millions. Together, wheeling their baby, they had gone to the store to make a purchase, cigarettes, I believe. She waited outside with the baby. As he came out, an officer was telling her roughly to move on. He took the baby and she took his arm and they started to walk on. Suddenly she was grabbed by a deputy who claimed that she had used foul language to him. The husband denied the accusation, was told in a stream of vulgarity that his brains would be beaten out if he did not hold his tongue. She was roughly dragged to an automobile while state troopers knocked him about and beat up his brother. The upshot was that he secured her release on \$50 bail. An exception, you say? In one particular, that he was not arrested when he went down to offer hail. Mr. and Mrs. Banks told their story and were swallowed by the crowd.

A little woman, the strange repose of unspoiled peasantry in her face, took the stand. No leader, no agitator, just a wife and mother of three children. On October 8th, at 7 o'clock in the morning, she had come down to start breakfast. Her family were still half dressed. As she opened the door she saw deputies and state troopers scattering the men on the hillside. Suddenly one rode up and ordered her in. She replied that he could not boss her on her own property. He followed her into the house, kicking the panels out of the door despite the fact that it was open, and arrested the entire family, wife, husband, and three children. Half clothed, they were kept in jail six hours without food, although the mother offered to buy food for the children. Not police, but highway robbers, she called them. Her husband's nose was bleeding from a blow from a state trooper's pistol. She told her story and lost her identity in the crowd.

A room packed with witnesses to brutality, to intimidation, to sanctioned lawlessness, to denial of the ordinary rights of men. Calmly the Senators heard it with occasional remarks about the need of education. But we cannot ask all these men and women to tell their story. Much would sound like repetition. Several would tell how, at Monessen, the state police and deputies made occasional drives along the hillside, gathering as in a net all the men, herding them at last into

the company gates. There they were given the choice—arrest or “go to work.” Others would tell how they were locked in a cellar and threatened with hanging if they did not go to work. Upon one more individual, however, we will turn the light; for he shows a new spirit in the movement.

A bullet had been presented as evidence. At Clairton, there had been firing in the night. A bullet had just grazed a housewife's head, penetrated the house wall and the stove and lodged inside. This was the bullet. Senator Sterling picked it up with a bland smile. “You know,” he said in substance, “that story is rather far-fetched. In the first place, you have not shown who fired the shot. And in the second place this polished bullet hardly looks like one that had penetrated house and iron stove.” He tossed it to the other senators in half contemptuous dismissal of the case.

There stepped forward a square-shouldered, clean-cut fellow. In him you felt assurance equal to that of the worthy Senator. According to his story he had enlisted in the army in 1914, going to the Mexican border. In 1917 he went to France with the first unit of the Engineers, a non-commissioned officers corps, being one of the first 50 American soldiers to land. He served through

the war, receiving his discharge in May, 1919. He returned to support his mother and was rebuffed by his old superintendent, despite the fact that he had been promised when he enlisted that he could have his job back again. After five months he got the dirtiest job in the place. Out of the crowd he stepped.

“May I look at that bullet?”

He examined it, turned a moment to a couple of his “buddies” for confirmation, and then said quietly:

“Senator, perhaps you do not know that that bullet was fired from the U. S. Army automatic.” He gave the exact bore and specifications. “That is a steel jacket bullet which will penetrate three inches of steel. And another thing, Senator, you cannot get one of those automatics unless the Government supplies it or you steal it. They are under Government patent and are not for sale.”

That was all he said, tossing the bullet into the middle of the table. But somehow, as this clean cut fellow talked, he appeared a very important member of the world which is to follow the war for democracy, and the Senator appeared a less significant figure in that new world.

(To be continued)

Defense of the Mexican People

By LINN A. E. GALE

NO RACE ever lived with kinder hearts, truer affections or more genuine graciousness than the Mexicans.

No race is more sincerely democratic or more spontaneously generous.

No race has in its soul more of the love of life, liberty and beauty, and yet no race has lived more miserably or seen more of slavery, squalor and suffering.

Endowed with a native charm and courtesy possessed by no other people, and blessed with a fruitful land unrivalled in splendor of scenery and richness of resources, the lot of the average Mexican has been that of a beast of burden or a docile drudge. From the day when, 300 years ago, the savage Spaniards, fresh from fierce religious wars with the fanatical hordes of Islam, landed on Mexican shores and began to subjugate the gentle, artistic, intellectual Aztecs, Toltecs and Mayas—a people so given to the pursuits of peace that they were unable to effectively fight the invaders—Mexican history has been a continuous account of tyrannies, peonage and wretchedness.

Yet during these three centuries of bondage, the mental, moral and economic darkness has been frequently illumined by flashes of light when the still unconquered peons, led by some dauntless champion of freedom, have dared to kindle the fires of resistance and rebellion. Obedient as they have too often been, these simple children of mountain and desert have constantly chafed in the leash of alien control, occasionally breaking loose, usually being subdued later, but always hoping and struggling for that liberty which they know is their heritage. Finally, in the aftermath of the Madero revolution which proved such a disappointment when its leader, after being seated in the presidential chair, instituted a regime of nepotism and favoritism that differed little in principle from the corrupt reign of Porfirio Diaz, the Mexican masses initiated their last revolution when Venustiano Carranza led them to victory and defeated the imperialists and the reactionaries. The fruits of this latest bloody uprising of the Mexican people against their exploiters, have never been fully reaped and never can be while the Damocles' sword of intervention hangs

menacingly over their heads. Yet the fact remains that the revolution was a popular one, springing from the democratic, even crudely Socialist yearnings of a long-oppressed people.

It is singular and significant that amid all the vicissitudes of their countless wars and revolutions and despite the body-exhausting, soul-deadening work that has eternally been their lot, the Mexicans have never lost their fondness for things beautiful and their regard for courtesy and hospitality. It is an eloquent tribute to the inherent qualities of these people that they have been able to retain, sometimes in pristine purity, sometimes in modified form, but always to a surprising extent, the lovable and commendable characteristics that are peculiarly their own. Observing such a psychological phenomenon, we are inspired to renewed hope in humanity, for if even the poor peons, so long bruised and beaten under the heels of capitalist slave-drivers, can keep alive their racial virtues, surely their more fortunate brothers in other countries, laboring under lesser difficulties, can throw off the chains of imperialism.

The real Mexican obviously is less frequently found in the centers of population. You should go to the remote ranches or the quaint Indian villages that still dot the country at irregular intervals. There you find him, unlettered, uncivilized, uninitiated into the tyrannies and tricks of his more educated northern neighbor. There you find the "Indian" of Mexico—as different from the North American Indian as the tropics from the arctic—the man with swarthy skin and dreamy dark eyes that seem to melt as memories of better days surge thru his soul, but that can flash with hot rage at injustice, the man who unhesitatingly offers you the best his humble hut affords and frequently will accept no price for his hospitality. And there you are able to judge somewhat as to the kind of a race that might be developed out of these freehearted, open-handed, cheerful, improvident people who have been ground down by the greed of their conquerors and exploiters—a race that might now be living in prosperity and plenty in sunny Mexico if foreign diplomacy had been used for higher purposes than thievery and chicanery.

Fernando Gonzalez Roa in "The Mexican People and Their Detractors," well said: "Armed intervention would present to the United States, a Mexican people decided to die for the defense of their liberty and after the patriots would have been crushed, a very serious problem of reorganization and assimilation. New problems of great gravity and complexity would arise, and neither the organization nor the purpose of the United

States would be found adequate to cope with them."

De Lara and Pinchon in their excellent book, "The Mexican People, Their Struggle For Liberty," said of Mexico: "The most backward and least favored of the nations, her brilliant Aztec intellect tinged with Iberian fire, has not suffered her to rest content in degradation and stultification; but has compelled her to make almost superhuman efforts to reach the rank of the most advanced nations of the world."

Mexico's misfortunes, like those of all other "backward" nations, are the result, not of the inferiority of the people, but of their exploitation and enthrallment. Mexico has never really had a chance. Altho the country secured its independence in 1821, it was not until 1857 that it was freed from the clericals' yoke by the Laws of Reform and this freedom was short lived, for when Diaz came into power in 1876, he suppressed liberty of conscience in short order. Only since Carranza has been president, has there been any honest effort to give the people genuine political democracy and this effort has been constantly hampered and hindered by outside interference. Yet during the last few years great strides have been made in restoring order, suppressing banditry, building public roads, dredging canals, draining land and improving the country generally. The new constitution of Mexico is probably the most liberal in any political republic in the world. Article 123—the famous labor article—ranks among the most important pieces of legislation of the century in any country.

Mexico is capable of solving her own problems and achieving her own full liberty, industrial as well as political. Kindly cooperation she will welcome, but she needs no "protectorate" of self-appointed arbiters of the world's destiny and she will be far, far better off without it. Her ways are not the ways of the nations of colder climates and it is not necessary—in fact, it is absurd—to expect them to be. Under her warm tropic sun there will always dwell a race more romantic, care-free and pleasure-loving than the matter-of-fact, mercenary materialists of the frigid zones. The vivid vermilion of exultant living will always have a stronger appeal to her people than the pallid Puritanism of steel-cold souls who carry prayer books in one hand and pick the pockets of the public with the other!

As for "development of natural resources by foreign capital," this has been her bane these several centuries. It is this which has dragged down the descendants of the builders of the Aztec temples and pyramids into the wretched role so many of them occupy today. What Mexico needs

is not more protection for foreign capital, but more protection for the human beings within her borders. This she will get, not from foreign trade empires but from her own long suffering masses when they are fully free to realize their aspirations.

Intervention in Mexico, if successful—which is by no means certain, for when goaded to arms,

these kindly Mexicans can fight like fiends—would sink the just awakening people into a torpor from which they might not arise for centuries more.

Self-determination in Mexico, if unconditional and genuine, must mean their eventual complete emancipation and entrance into that larger liberty toward which all the world is turning.

“The Great Betrayal”

By **PIERRE BRIZON**
French Socialist Deputy

“WE have won the war.”
You have lost the peace!

For, in the long run, peace is disarmament and where is disarmament? Everywhere you have promised to the martyred peoples to go through with it; to wipe out Prussian militarism after which we will disarm the world. Forward! It is the last war.

On January 18, 1918, in his talk to the trade unions, Lloyd George said: “This is exactly why we are fighting. It is in order to establish conditions which will make universal military service useless not only in this country but in every country.”

The Premier of England insisted, “We wish to render compulsory military service definitely impossible.”

And the poor people have had confidence enough in your words, despite your past lies. And the martyrs have gone to their death—in order that never again should men die on the field of battle.

Then, after four years and three months of massacre, revolution has broken out. War has stopped. The armistice has come. Now nobody has been disarmed! Not even Germany! They say, Mr. Clemenceau, that you have permitted “the enemy” to retain an army of a million men.

On the 11th of November, 1918 you might have disarmed everybody.

If you have not accomplished general disarmament, if you have not disarmed even “the enemy,” if you have sabotaged your “victory,” if Marshal Foch has not been able to secure the demobilization of the German army—it is because you have not wished it, neither you nor your generals nor your Conference.

And if you have not wished it, you the grand

master of Revenge, you the patriot, you, who, since 1871, have passed all of your life in order to show, as you said, “The German danger, running through Europe” in order to inform statesmen, to make efforts and to say to them, “the danger lies there,”—it is because you, the Minister of the Bourgeoisie and your friends and allies of finance and steel supremacy and of Dynamite and of Reaction, you have had a terror of the Social Revolution. . . . You have not disarmed the sinister spirits of the Conference and of the Government, neither the army nor the navy; nor France, nor England, nor America, nor Italy, nor Rumania, nor even Germany.

Quite the contrary. To those who have never had them, you have given armies, to the Poles, to the Jugo-Slavs, to the Czecho-Slavs, to the Baltic Provinces. And these new-born are in battle array! Blood flows!

With your generals, your “diplomats,” your reactionaries, and your beasts of prey, you have left a world poisoned with militarism, with villainess and with greed.

You have preciously conserved for us your civilization of the trench, of the machine gun, of the bomb, of asphyxiating gas, of liquid fire, of boiling oil, of profiteers in blood.

You have made us understand that you still need billions and that your masters of the steel industry still require regiments.

You have not kept your promises.

You have not killed war.

You have not even made peace.

You have deceived the martyrs. The miserable dead have died for nothing.

And there, look you, is the great betrayal.

(From “La Vague,” Paris.)

THE WORKER

ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS

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OUR LABOR PROGRAM

The circulation and success of this paper depends upon you. Send us shops news, letters, articles on union activities, etc. Order bundles of "The Worker" and distribute them in the shops, mills, factories, in your district. Every local of the Communist Party should organize a Local Labor Committee and Shop Committee to handle this work according to the following program adopted in Chicago, at the convention of the Communist Party of America.

Committees to be elected in all locals and branches of the Communist Party as an integral part of the party organization, to be known as Local Labor Committees.

They shall work under the general supervision of a Central Labor Committee to be appointed by the Central Executive Committee and responsible thereto.

The duties of Local Labor Committee shall be:

To carry on Communist propaganda among the workers in the shops, mills, mines and industries.

To organize shop committees in the industries, composed of members of the party, who shall distribute literature, notify their fellow-workers of prospective educational meetings, carry on a general agitation, supply information as to the details of their respective industry to the Local Labor Committee, who shall in turn pass such information on to the Central Labor Committee.

Shop committees shall at all times maintain contact with the Communist Party.

The purpose of the above program being to consolidate and unify the activities of the Communist Party and its propaganda with relation to the rank and file of the workers on the job and to prepare them for united action.

Teachers in Union

By JOHN VARNEY

MORE than 100 members of the faculty of the University of Montana have become members of the new Faculty Union No. 120, affiliated with the A. F. of L. This is a step in the right direction. It is axiomatic these days that teachers are a poorly paid class. Teachers have no bargaining power. They have traditions of the dignity and of the supra-commercial character of their work which are rather a white elephant in a society where the dignities and the non-commercial values have steadily depreciated. Up in a village of New Hampshire they are having difficulty to find a woman to teach the district school at \$17 a week. I know one former high-school teacher of manual training who has accepted a carpenter's job at eight dollars a day. The Kansas State Teachers' Association went on record against organizing a union on the ground, according to the press reports, that their duty to the parents of their pupils prevents them from being subjected to possible strike orders. The interesting feature of this news is the recognition of the liability of a union man to act in behalf of workmen of other trades and professions. There is an implication that perhaps the Kansas teachers would be willing to form an old-fashioned union. But they will come to see that the only union worth while is the modern union which is ready to co-operate with other unions in the interest of the solidarity of labor. According to decrees of the late Communist government in Hungary printed in the London "Nation" for Sept. 27, the teachers there were included in the class of workers receiving the highest pay. However, communists may differ in theory as to the justice of paying some members of the proletariat more than others, they will agree, I think, in giving the teacher a rank of first importance in their state. Teachers have none of their finest traditions to lose in supporting communism. Anatole France, that genuine "great-old-man" of France, speaking at a teachers' congress, urged them to take action to bring in the new order:

"I wish, I wish with all my heart, that a delegation of the teachers of all nations might soon join the Workers' Internationale in order to prepare in common a universal form of education, and advise as to methods of sowing in young minds ideas from which would spring the peace of the world and the union of peoples."

Appeal to the Workers of America

Workers of America! The Communist Party of Massachusetts calls upon you to rally to the defense of freedom of speech and press in that section of the country which you are taught to call the "cradle of liberty." Marion E. Sproule, State Secretary, is under indictment for alleged violations of the Anti-Anarchy Law. This case will undoubtedly be made a test case to determine what shall be known as "anarchy," not only in New England, but in all parts of the United States. Already members of the employing class are trying to represent even conservative organizations like the American Federation of Labor as anarchistic. Your turn will come next, unless the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States are vindicated in this trial.

Money—much money—many thousands of dollars—will be necessary to fight this case as it should be fought. The comrades of Massachusetts, already heavily taxed for the defense of those who were arrested last May Day, are doing their utmost to meet this new demand, but they need the help of every worker throughout the country. Subscription lists are ready and can be obtained from the State Office, Communist Party of Massachusetts, 885 Washington Street, Boston, Mass.

Don't delay! Write for lists at once! Or send your money direct!

The Trial of the Czar's Assassins

(From the Moscow paper "Pravda.")

TRANSLATOR'S INTRODUCTION

The following translation of a Russian document from the Moscow Communist newspaper "Pravda" (the document having reached this country via Warsaw) throws an interesting light on the charge frequently repeated by the American bourgeois press to the effect that the Bolsheviks killed in cold blood the ex-Czar of Russia and his family. This document shows that not only were the Bolsheviks not guilty of anything of the sort, but that the murder was committed by a political opponent of the Bolsheviks to discredit the Soviet Government. The man, Yakhontov, who was responsible for the order, evidently got himself elected to a high Soviet position in order to be able to accomplish this treachery; but he was finally discovered and punished for the cold-blooded assassination. The party to which Yakhontov belonged was, before the establishment of the Soviet regime as well as since then, a terrorist party, which by its acts of violence against individuals has always been discrediting all constructive revolutionary movements. It is interesting to note that members of this same party killed in a similar manner Count von Mirbach, the German Ambassador.—W. J. S.

THE Revolutionary Tribunal presided over by Comrade Matveyev, after a two-day examin-

ation, finished the case of the murder of ex-Czar Nicholas Romanov, of his wife Alexandra nee Princess of Hesse, of their daughters Olga, Maria and Anastasia, and of divers persons with them.

As the results indicated, 11 persons in all were killed. The number of defendants was 28; three of them, Gruzinov, Yakhontov and Malyutin, being members of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, two of them, Maria Apraxina and Yelizaveta Mironova, being women, while the rest were officers of the guard.

After a long examination of the witnesses and defendants the complete picture of the murder was revealed. The ex-Czar and the rest were shot and were not, according to the plan, subjected to any ridicule. Yakhontov, the chief defendant, ex-member of the Yekaterinburg Soviet, admitted that the murder of the ex-Czar's family was organized by him for the purpose of discrediting the Soviet regime in the interests of the terroristic group to which he belonged. According to Yakhontov's evidence, the murder of Nicholas Romanov was attempted when he was at Tobolsk, but the watchful guards prevented the plan from being carried out. At Yekaterinburg, when confusion reigned among the Soviet authorities due to the approach of the Czecho-Slovaks to the city, he, as chairman of the extraordinary commission, gave out an order to shoot the imperial family and those around them. Yakhontov declared that he was present at the execution and, in any case, took the responsibility on himself, but as not guilty of the robberies that followed the murder. In his evidence Yakhontov specially emphasized as the last words uttered by Nicholas Romanov: "For my death, my people will curse the Bolsheviks."

The other defendants, including Gruzinov and Malyutin, declared that they did not know of Yakhontov's treason, and that they executed his commands.

After the speeches of the prosecutor and the defense, the tribunal found guilty of the murder of the ex-Czar's family et al. only Yakhontov, and sentenced him to be shot. Gruzinov, Malyutin, Apraxina, Mironova, and nine Red Guards were found guilty of robbing the victims and were also sentenced to be shot. The rest were acquitted. The following day the sentences were carried out. The decision of the tribunal is the best proof that the Soviet government has taken all measures to detect and punish those who were guilty of this senseless murder. The clever plan of the terrorists failed.

An Uncensored Letter

(To be read by students of Sociology only)

A FEW days ago a solemn-faced, elderly man apparently belonging to the clerical profession, came into a Communist Headquarters. "You ought to be ashamed of yourselves," he said. "There came into my possession the other day—no matter how—a letter written by an American workingman whose mind has been poisoned by your filthy, un-American notions.

"I believe in freedom of thought, of course," he continued, "so long, that is, as a man thinks along the right lines. But what I say is, if a man doesn't like things as he finds them in this country, let him get out of it. We don't want any of these dirty foreign ideas over here. What we need is a virile, red-blooded Americanism. The man who wrote this letter had evidently been devoting his time to foreign, atheistical books when he might have been studying Ella Wheeler Wilcox or that truly American book, the Holy Bible, at which he so vulgarly scoffs.

"I wonder," he went on, addressing a motherly-faced woman who happened to be present—out on bail on a charge of beating up a "cop"—and a spectacled youth who was awaiting trial for incitement to murder—he had quoted Lincoln's second inaugural in a public meeting—"I wonder that you are not afraid to pervert people's minds in this way. Have you ever considered what will be your fate hereafter?"—At this point it was announced that a bomb squad was about to raid the premises to search for two little atheist boys who had refused to stand up and face to the east in commemoration of the soldiers killed in the war, and the stranger feeling that he might be compromised by being found in the place left hurriedly by a side door. So hurried was his exit that he forgot to take with him the letter which had so disturbed him. He had let it fall on a table, from which it was picked up by one of those present and subsequently brought to Boston. We feel justified in printing it with such changes of name as are necessary to preserve the sanctity of private correspondence. It reads as follows:—

Nov. 11, 1919.

Friend Hank,

We are celebrating the first anniversary of the end of the fighting in the war for democracy, self-determination, justice for oppressed persons, for the overthrow of autocrats, etc. Just one year ago we ceased fighting for those ideals, and in the period since have been fighting against them.

The boss stuck a subscription list under my nose today. It was for the Red Cross. I asked him if he had not heard yet that the war was over. He replied that it was true that the war was over, but that the Red Cross had also a mission in peace, to provide for the poor who, through unemployment were unable to provide suitably for themselves. I agreed with him that this was indeed a noble mission and told him I would subscribe not only the one dollar he requested, but a whole week's pay, if he would assure me that the money would be used for the relief of the helpless dependents of the coal miners who are on strike. He being truthful, could not give me this assurance, so I have retained the dollar, which I will forward through suitable channels to provide literature for the miners and their families. This literature will feed their minds, which is vastly more important than feeding their bellies.

We have a discharged soldier in our shop. He experienced two years of service in the British Army, being engaged with the engineer branch in construction work. He was injured and discharged for disabilities. He applied for a pension, which was disallowed for the reason that he was not really a soldier, as he was not in combatant service. As he was not a soldier then, he applied for workman's compensation, which was disallowed as he was not a workman but a soldier. He of course sees the justice and reasonableness of these decisions and wants to go to a "Wobblies'" meeting some night.

I see by the papers, as you might say, that Gov. Coolidge has been re-elected on the issue of law and order, and Long, the workman's friend has gone down to defeat. The two candidates, I see, congratulated each other after the election. Very interesting, as Mr. Lewis would say.

One of the striking cops is working in our shop. He has at last discovered the startling fact that he cannot vote his job back, nor can he get it back by court action. He is now a R-R-R-Revolutionist. He wants a revolution to occur so that he can be a cop again. It seems to me that the "radicals" place themselves in a false position when they announce it to be their mission to fan the flames of discontent. I hold this is not so. The master class will do the fanning part of it. It is our business to direct the flames to useful purposes. To confine them to the firebox and the forge. To use them for the reconstruction of society and not allow a headless and unthinking

conflagration which will only destroy the present forms and be useless to supplant them with something better.

I see the political henchmen are burning and destroying "radical" literature. It is going to be destroyed for ever. Let us see; in the infancy of printing the same scheme was tried, was it not, to utterly destroy all copies of the Bible which were printed in the national vernacular. The forces of law and order of those days did not want the common people to have the Bible in their possession for fear that its absurdities would be apparent to them. Therefore the copies in the popular tongue were destroyed for ever, and we have not seen them since.

I see by the papers again that the German workers are loafing because of the fact that they are receiving state aid which makes it unnecessary that they should work. I also read that every man, woman and child of the working class are working 12 hours a day in order to assist the Fatherland to recover. You can take your pick of these statements, but the second one interests me. After what they have already done, they have now gone one step further and are scabbing on the workers of the rest of the world.

The best part of life to me is to sit on the side lines and watch men and events. I do not know why anyone goes to moving picture exhibitions to see men throw custard pies at each other when they can read the Boston Post and other newspapers. I had rather read a capitalistic newspaper any time than a workers' paper. It's more funny.

Do you remember the shop parade on Armistice Day, one year ago today, how you and I paraded with the rest? The only difference was that you and I had our tongues in our cheeks. Many of the cheering patriots have been fired since then. I suppose as they casually pull up their belts another notch, they experience the spiritual satisfaction of reflecting that they "stuck to the job" during the war, although the job did not stick to them after the war. In any event they have the satisfaction of buying now, at double prices, the food and clothes which they denied themselves during the war for the benefit of "the boys in the trenches."

As there are not enough workers idle on the streets searching for work at the present time, there is a drive on for the workers to "increase production." This will make us fully prosperous, for the more people there are out of work the more prosperous we are. The workers are told that increased production will mean cheaper prices and thereby increase the wages of the

workers by increasing their purchasing power. And some are fools enough to sweat themselves to work themselves out of a job. They didn't get away with it in our shop. The only thing the workmen here want to increase is the pay, so the boss was out of luck when he gently insinuated "increased production."

Well, Hank, I will now close, as I want to read the Saturday Evening Post, and get some good dope.

I forgot to mention the Russian situation. There is great disorganization in the Bolsheviki ranks. Lenin has been executed again. Trotzky did the job after having been executed by Lenin. For revenge, I suppose. If those fellows don't stop quarrelling and killing each other someone is going to get hurt some day. Since his execution Lenin has been sassing Lloyd-George.

I observe that the New Freedom is functioning gloriously. We are living in the days when all men can think as they please. The only restriction is that they must not think aloud.

See if you can discover for me whether the war is now over. It appears that it is for the owners, the business men, the mine operators. They can manipulate the necessities of life as they please, but the workers, oh! that is another story. The country is at war and in danger and production must not cease.

Well, Hank, no fooling, I really must close now. Hoping you will get married soon and see if a wife and family and a home, with an able-bodied mortgage upon it, a nice healthy hungry mortgage with a good appetite will not change some of your rabid radical economic views. You need a settling, restraining influence to overcome the "rise of Bolshevism" in your system. With the conditions I have mentioned above you will return to sanity and appreciate the blessings of capitalistic society.

Yours,

Bud.

Comrade Sproule's Second Indictment

The wording of the second indictment upon which our State Secretary is to stand trial under the Anti-Anarchy Law will be of interest to the comrades at large. It reads as follows:

That Marion E. Sproule in said city of Boston on the 13th day of November in the year of our Lord 1919 in the city of Boston aforesaid within the judicial district of said court, with force and arms did by exhibition, distribution and promulgation of divers printed documents, papers and pictorial representations, advocate, advise, counsel and incite assault upon public officials, the killing of persons, the unlawful destruction of real and personal property and the overthrow by force and violence of the government of the Commonwealth.

Why the Churches are Against the Workers

(From the farewell sermon of I. Paul Taylor, Highland Park, Mich.)

HERE is my conclusion: The church is an aspect of society, it is a victim of society, and the only way to rescue it is to change society! I feel that I can do more for that end by working for it directly, than to spend my time apologizing for some of the glaring evils and at the best telling what Jesus would do if he were here.

Go back just a little ways in the history of our own nation to the days immediately before the Civil War. All of the churches south of the Mason-Dixon line were opposed to the abolition of slavery—because the church members owned the slaves. Their economic interest decided their religion and then they hunted up verses in the Old Testament to prove their point. The churches of New England were likewise united, because their cotton mills depended upon the product of slave labor. Therefore they persecuted Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison. On the other hand, the churches in those northern states which did not depend so directly upon the cotton fields were the first to join in the abolition movement. You could preach yourself black in the face, but those southerners could not and would not see the ideals of freedom for the black man when it meant financial upset for them.

The case is identical today. The church derives its income as a result of the present system of industrial autocracy and she is not going to commit suicide unless she can help it. I think that I am within the bounds of truth when I say that the average minister would think it a sacrilege to sacrifice the church for the cause of humanity. The ministry, and I might say the average church member also, has become so accustomed to think of the welfare of the church that they very seldom stop and ask themselves: "Suppose we had every adult in the city a member of the church and every child an attendant in the Sunday School, how would conditions be changed?" If the church members in that day continue to pay the same wages as some of our prominent ones are paying in Detroit today, if those who were employers had as little dealing with the laboring class as the proverbial Jew had with the Samaritan, we must admit that the only appreciable difference would be that the ministers and priests would probably receive a living wage and an old age pension.

Let me draw a comparison: The old Jewish synagogue appealed to the people's loyalty to their organization. The height of piety was to give one-tenth of your income to the temple, be

regular at the services and punctilious in the observance of their "law." Jesus came as one of the prophets with a real message of brotherhood. They hounded him from the beginning and sought how they might accuse him and put him to death. They did not care for the welfare of the common people; they were thinking of the prosperity of their institution and their own positions. And I do not hold that they were necessarily so evil. They probably were very sincere in the belief that these were of primary importance. "Self-preservation is the first law of life" they tell us. It may be true to a limited extent, but is not the last law or the highest one.

And what has that got to do with the church today? Simply this: The attitude of the church leaders is identical. They are talking of church unity with no other motive than to keep themselves intact against the enormous inertia of the great mass of people. They are raising funds against that day when there will be less and less coming in. There has not been one item of benefit to the people included in their program. Those who are in control of the church machinery in this country stand absolutely in harmony with those who put Jesus to death. Yes, they would even imprison, deport or kill all those who are opposed to the system—as Jesus opposed that in his day. They will not argue with you, they will not meet you on a fair platform, they simply want to get you out of the way in the quickest possible manner because you are a stumbling block. I wish that I could get one of these gentlemen who is so solicitous about the divine mission of the church on a platform to debate the subject. I do not deny that she has a divine mission, but I do hold that she is not and cannot fulfill it as long as she exists for herself with absolutely no program for the relief of the world. If she does not want Socialism or Bolshevism it is her duty to offer something better. And it must be something more than the promise that the capitalist will from now on be considerate and generous. The working man does not want kindness and charity, but justice! We did not ask the southern slave owner to be kind to his slaves but compelled him to set them free.

Nor is this the time to ask the employing class to show consideration. The time has come to do away with classes and establish the world-wide brotherhood! There is not the remotest chance for the church of today to take this stand. That is why some have opposed me here—not because

I was wrong, but because it was detriment to the church. Those who co-operated with Billy Sunday know now that I was right, but they were willing to put up with his crude theology and burlesque manners because they hoped to secure some members thereby. If they have followed the so-called peace conference at Versailles which has had "open covenants, openly arrived at," and have compared their decisions with the Secret Treaties, they know that I was right when I insisted that this war held no promise for the rank and file of the people. Dr. Dillon goes so far as to say that there is a danger that the Allies who have won a military victory will lose the economic one "for which the war was fought." My position has always been this: it is of no vital concern to the people of any nation as to whether German, English, French or American capitalists control the Bagdad railroad and the mines of Alsace-Lorraine. The condition of the people will be the same. That is why I could not forsake the gospel of the Brotherhood of Man during these past two years and exalt Uncle Sam as the only God with President Wilson as the Messiah. I was looking at the effects upon the people—during the war and after it—and not the effects upon the church and my career in it.

But I do see a struggle which is worth the entire energy of any man. I have come to the conclusion that this struggle is outside of the church and that those who are in it are rightly prejudiced against the church. We cannot help them if we will. They do not want the people to work for them but with them. Let me quote Dr. Dillon again: "Ever since last January I have emphasized the fact that the economic element would play a decisive part in the work of world reform, wherefore the solid groundwork of world peace is economic, not political. Early last month (June 8) I predicted that Europe was about to enter a period of social disturbance. Unhappily this estimate of the situation is already coming true." The trouble with the four autocrats sitting at the peace table is that they cannot realize that we are on the edge of a new day; they think that political reorganization will rescue the world. The trouble with our church dignitaries is that they are likewise blind and think that sermons which will entertain and not instruct, frosted with socials during the week, will build up a Kingdom of Heaven on earth, because it builds up their church and solves their salary problem. On the other hand the great mass of people are coming to the conclusion that they can trust only themselves in the future. They are rising like a mighty flood the world around. To be in the flood-tide, to be one of them in their

struggles, their disappointments, their mistakes, their hardships, their final triumphs—"is no job for a priest, it calls for a man!" My heart is with them. I love their spontaneity, their sincerity, their needs. I can feel no common tie with those who live on their backs as employers or so-called labor leaders, but most of all I have a profound distaste for the man who repeats the prayer "thy Kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven" and thinks he shall be heard for his much speaking, when he will not so much as lift the load with his little finger.

I was brought up to be tactful. I was told in the seminary to follow the admonition of Paul and feed the people with milk when they could not stand meat—for the sake of the organization. I have done it, but never again! I am through with that method. From now on it is going to be meat, and those who have not good teeth will either have to go to the dentist or have a case of indigestion! This everlasting compromising gets us no further. There are two sides to this fundamental economic question, which is just another name for the labor question: the side of the capitalist and that of the worker. Some day I am going to give a talk on "The General Public, a Myth." The churches rather boast that they represent the middle class. In one sense they are right: they are on neither one side of the fence or the other, they are "middle class." For me the time has come to get off the fence. The apple is in two and I must decide which side is to be mine. I certainly refuse to chew on the core, because, as the little boy said, there soon "ain't goin' to be no core."

May I sum up what I have tried to say? The big, vital problem of the day is an economic one, a labor one. The contest is between those who live by owning and those who live by working. We must solve it before we can go on. Politics will not solve it. Preaching ideals will not solve it unless that preaching lead to some very definite concrete action. The church today is in favor of the present system of industrial organization because she is prosperous under it—just as she was under chattel slavery and feudalism. Where she is not actually upholding the system, she is doing it indirectly by taking a middle ground and assuring her people that the interests of the employer and employe, capital and labor are identical. She will do anything from condemning violence on the part of labor to extolling the virtues of a capitalistic war—according to the suggestions of a prostitute press.

Where do you think Jesus would stand in this struggle? I know He was a working man and lived for outcasts and oppressed. He would dis-

dain to make his preaching a means of a successful career. He would not today be above having no place to lay his head. He would consider it an insult if the world today should call him a "successful and influential minister" just because he had been wise and shrewd enough to keep things smooth while accomplishing nothing. He would have no hesitancy in condemning those who cry aloud about the housing problem and then make their pile by holding land out of use for speculative purposes. He would not associate with a man

who made his mark in the world by paying such wages in his store that only girls "who live at home" could work there. He would laugh at our "dynamic" Detroit and our inhuman civilization. And do you imagine that he would rise in the world, that he would be a successful minister or enterprising business man? No! While there was a lower class he would be one of them; while there was a struggling group who wanted not only a chance to exist, but an opportunity to live the "more abundant life" he would struggle with them.

"The American Plan"

DON'T be alarmed, comrades! There is nothing narrowly nationalistic about "The American Plan." It is sponsored by Ole Hanson, who, as everybody knows, is of alien birth, but who gave proof of his "Americanism" by his actions as Mayor of Seattle during and after the recent strike in that city. Ole is out to "Americanize the Americans," for it has to be admitted that American Labor is solidly against "the American plan," which is only a new name for the open shop.

Ole and the capitalist class which supports him are distressed that now "there is a government within a government in some places in the country" and that in these places "you can't get a job unless you go and pay money to someone in order to be able to work." This, they say, "isn't American." There was a time, they tell us, when if a man wanted a job, all he needed was to be able to do it. This is interesting and true, but these advocates of the open shop, forget to say that it was before the advent of capitalism. Even Ole Hanson's powerful imagination is unequal to the task of picturing America as a country in which jobs are controlled by the workers and not by the employing class. He does not want America to become such a country. All that he wants is to destroy the small measure of control that labor unions secure when they are able to enforce the principle of the closed shop.

It never occurs to Hanson and his kind that the worker has to pay his employer for a job; that the employer only takes on men when he sees his way to making a profit on their labor. When the employing class sees no prospect of profit in an industrial undertaking, that undertaking is suspended until such time as a profit can be made. In other words, unless the worker can "go and pay money (in the form of profit) to someone (the boss)" he cannot get a job.

Everybody knows that during periods of trade

depression thousands of unemployed walk the streets of our big cities simply because they cannot pay the boss enough to make it worth his while to give them jobs. There is nothing "un-American" in this. Experiences of that sort teach the worker the value of initiative and self-reliance, and develop his character generally!

It is only the compulsory payment of dues to a labor organization, as a condition of getting a job, that is inconsistent with "Americanism." "Americanism" is whatever is in accordance with the ideas and habits of the people to whom America belongs. It is easy to see why the working class so easily falls into "un-American" practices.

To protect the wage-workers from "un-American" labor unions, a group of "red-blooded" employers have organized, under the name of The Associated Industries of Seattle, for the purpose of giving effect to what is known as the "American plan." The great merit claimed for the plan is that "instead of each employer fighting his own battles against union tyranny, as in the past, the employers will henceforth present a united front." This, of course, is organization and efficiency, "red blooded Americanism." And do the workers also "present a united front" under the plan? Listen to this. "When the Associated Industries was organized its projectors adopted a policy of conciliation. They have found out that there can be no conciliation, no freedom of contract, with a lot of unprincipled radicals, except the conciliation of the lion and the lamb." As one of the local capitalists is reported to have put it:—"The last successful strike in many a long, long day has been pulled in this man's town." Whether his hopes are to be realized or not, it is perfectly clear that what is contemplated by the "American plan" is a condition under which the employers in all industries shall be 100 per cent organized, while the workers shall

not be allowed to organize completely a single craft or a single shop.

Isn't it heavenly?

"All workers are equal under the law" is one of the slogans of the enthusiasts for the plan. This may be true, but it is unimportant. What is really interesting is the question whether worker and capitalist are "equal under the law." On this point the boosters of the "American plan" are silent, trusting no doubt to the intelligence or stupidity of the workers to fill in the blank.

And just to give the finishing touch the Constitutional Government League has come into being in Seattle to combat any radicalism that may survive the operation of the "American plan."

Again we ask, isn't it heavenly?

COMMUNISM AND VIOLENCE

THE Communist Party not only does not advocate, it absolutely disapproves acts of terrorism against individuals, however obnoxious. Systems are changed only through intelligence and organization. The Communist Party stands for education and organization of the workers in the political and industrial fields.

THE Department of Justice—we should prefer to call it the Department of Law—is complaining that under the existing Statutes radicals must commit a crime before they can be arrested for it.

If this is true, it certainly is too bad! The proper way, of course, is to hang the murderer before he kills anybody, to jail the thief before he steals, to fine the auto-owner before he operates it under the influence of liquor.

It is difficult to say just how long before the crime the punishment should be inflicted, but we suggest to the eminent Quaker who presides over the Department that the children of radicals be punished by strangling in infancy before they are old enough to attend Communist Sunday Schools.

McADOO ON THE COAL STRIKE

"In the year 1917 many mine owners made shocking and indefensible profits on bituminous coal. I know this because, as secretary of the treasury I examined in May, 1918 their income tax returns to the treasury. Earnings of 100 to 300 per cent on capital stock were not uncommon.

"If profits were even measurably as great in 1918 as in 1917, the operators can well afford to pay the increased wages to the miners and still have perhaps a larger return upon the capital employed in the mines than they are justly entitled to."

"ATROCITIES"

By Linn A. E. Gale

Since 1911, according to Ambassador Fletcher, there have been 217 Americans killed in Mexico.

Since 1911, there have been 544 Americans lynched in the United States. Nobody knows how many were killed in strikes and labor troubles. Nobody knows how many conscientious objectors, Socialists and I. W. W's have been beaten, tortured and starved to death in American dungeons.

Just the other day, a gang of murderers broke into the jail at Pueblo, Colorado, and lynched two Mexican inmates.

LABOR

OUT of the chaos, from the murk,
I arose and did my work
While the ages changed and sped
I was toiling for my bread.
Underneath my sturdy blows,
Forests fell and cities rose,
And the hard, reluctant soil
Blossomed richly from my toil.
Palaces and temples grand
Wrought I with my cunning hand.
Rich indeed was my reward —
Stunted soul, and body scarred
With the marks of scourge and rod.
I, the tiller of the sod,
From the cradle to the grave
Shambled through the world—a slave!
Crushed and trampled, beaten, curst.
Serving best, but served the worst,
Starved and cheated, gouged and spoiled,
Still I builded, still I toiled.
Undernourished, underpaid
In the world myself had made.

Up from slavery I rise,
Dreams and wonder in my eyes,
After brutal ages past,
Coming to my own at last.
I was slave—but I am free!
I was Blind—but I can see!
I, the builder—I, the maker,
I, the calm tradition-breaker,
Slave and serf and clod no longer,
Know my strength—and who is stronger?
I am done with ancient frauds
Ancient lies and ancient gods—
All the sham is overthrown,
I shall take and keep my own,
Unimpassioned, unafraid,
Master of the world I've made!

—Berton Braley.

Communist Party Locals of Mass.

STATE OFFICE
885 Washington Street, Boston

All communications relating to the Communist movement, membership, etc. will receive prompt attention.

MARION E. SPROULE, State Sec.

THE WORKER

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BOSTON CENTRAL COMMITTEE—Meets second and fourth Tuesday of each month at 885 Washington st. Executive meets every Tuesday at 7.30 885 Washington st.
BOSTON ESTONIAN BR.—Meets 3rd Sunday, 7 p. m. at Dudley st. Opera House, 113 Dudley st., Roxbury.
ROXBURY JEWISH COMMUNIST BRANCH — Meets every Thursday night at New International Hall, 44 Wenonah St., Roxbury.

SO. BOSTON LITHUANIAN BR. NO. 60—Meets 2d, 4th Sundays at 376 Broadway.
POLISH LOCAL BOSTON — Meets 1st Monday in the Month for Business Meetings at 7.30 p. m. Every Friday Educational Meetings, also lectures and debates. All Polish workers invited.
WORCESTER CITY CENTRAL COMMITTEE — Meets at 274 Main St., every Friday at 8 p. m.
Haverhill Central Communist Club meets every Saturday 7 P. M., 86 Merri-mack St.

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736 C J. W. Perkins, President, C.M.I.U. of America.

LOCAL STAMP

WORKMEN'S SICK & DEATH BENEFIT FUND OF THE UNITED STATES

Table showing status of the Society at the end of years stated, in 5 year periods

At End of Year	Number of members		Amount of Benefits Paid		Amount Saved in Cash Reserve
	Men	Women	Sick and Accident	Death	
1885	116	—	\$ 525.90	\$ 150.00	\$ —
1890	2,919	252	35,014.57	3,600.00	6,062.57
1895	10,992	1,924	310,886.07	75,581.00	35,265.88
1900	21,616	4,128	1,002,398.82	258,731.85	89,773.85
1905	28,470	5,912	1,962,960.82	587,740.96	220,323.38
1910	37,743	7,524	3,236,004.12	1,087,845.77	438,501.74
1917	45,269	8,505	5,552,749.41	2,065,887.26	1,082,831.63

For further information write to "Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund" No. 9 SEVENTH ST., Cor. Third Avenue, NEW YORK CITY.

Dr. Antoinette F. Konikow

Announces her return to Boston and her present residence.

32 HANCOCK ST., BOSTON

Office Hours:
9-10 A. M.
2-3 P. M.
6-7 P. M.
Tel. Haymarket 4340.

SCHOOL FOR ADULTS
Dr. Antoinette Konikow is conducting a course of four classes, at headquarters, on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock (November 26 to December 17). The general subject is "Communist Tactics as Illustrated by Revolutions of the Past." Admission 15 cents.

WORKMEN'S SICK AND DEATH BENEFIT FUND
Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, Branch 20, Roxbury, meets every 2nd Sunday at 24 Amory Ave. (Arbeiter Hall), Roxbury. Fin. Secretary, Emil Rau, 10 Byron Court, Roxbury. Branch physician, Dr. L. Newman, 7 Kingszoro Park, Jamaica Plain.

Workingmen's Forum Meeting

Live Topics Discussed by well-known speakers (Auspices Boston Central Branch Communist Party of America)

on Sunday Evenings, at 8 o'clock DAHLGREN HALL, 307 E ST. Near Broadway, South Boston

December 7
"Law and Order"
(Speaker to be announced)
December 14

"The Social Revolution"
ANTOINETTE KONIKOW

Boston School of Social Science

Lorimer Hall, Tremont Temple Saturday Evenings Nov. 15 to Nov. 29, 1919 at 8.00 P. M.

THREE LECTURES by MOISSAYE OLGIN (Author of the "Soul of the Russian Revolution")

The Russian Revolution SATURDAY, NOV. 15th
Economic Forces

The Peasantry—Agrarian Problems —The Working Class—Labor Movements—Role of Capitalism in Russia.

SATURDAY, NOV. 22nd
Revolutionary Parties and Progressive Movements

Constitutional Democrats—Socialist-revolutionists—Mensheviks—Bolsheviks—Organized Groups and Unorganized Movements—The Intelligentsia — Revolution of 1905-1906.

SATURDAY, NOV. 29th
How Bolshevism Became Possible
Russia between 1905-1914—The War —The March Revolution of 1917 —Kerensky and Lenin—Internal Conditions and Foreign Affairs—Sovietism—Conclusion.

Admission to each Lecture 25 cents.

Prof. HARRY DANA is now delivering a course of lectures upon "Social Forces in World Literature" every Thursday evening in Lorimer Hall.

LATER A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Editor of "The Messenger," GEORGE GROOVER, MILLS, GEORGE WILLIS COOKE and SCOTT NEARING will speak before the Boston School of Social Science. Dates to be announced later.

APPEAL

The Propaganda Committee of the Socialist Party of Ireland appeals to all Socialists and sympathisers for funds to help them as they have entered on an ambitious programme and need funds to carry it through.

The smallest sum will be thankfully received by

SteuX McLoughlin, Chairman.
Michael O'Leary, Treasurer.
R. Connolly, Secretary.
42 N. Green Georges St., Dublin, Ireland.