

## THE TRUTH ABOUT CENTRALIA.

Again the Northwestern Coast has been forced into the lime-light of publicity by the tragedy at Centralia on Armistice Day. True to form, the capitalist press has sent broadcast its vilifications and lies concerning the occurrences which took place there. It has attempted to place responsibility for the deaths of four men upon the I. W. W. Its statements have been as wide of the truth as it was possible to go and now that the truth is becoming known it has had to publish absolute refutations of its first statements.

Instead of the marchers being fired upon by I. W. W. snipers from roofs of houses, as stated in the capitalist press, we now know that no shots were fired until some of the marchers, led by members of the American Legion attacked the I. W. W. headquarters and kicked down the door. It was then that the secretary and other members of the I. W. W. defended their lives and the property of the organization by shooting dead within the doorway four of the raiders and wounding seven more.

### DEFENDANT JUSTIFIED, SAYS LEGION COMMANDER.

Edward Bassett, Commander of the Butte Montana, Post of the American Legion, declares in the following statement to the press that the I. W. W. was justified in defending its property and the lives of its members against raiders.

"The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act.

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

"Whether the I. W. W. is a meritorious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case.

The reports of 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 in the line for the action that they took.

Well may the reactionaries ponder the words of Commander Bassett, for he speaks the common mind upon the question of unlawful raids and mob rule. Workers are beginning to resent the supplanting of the legal machinery of the nation by mob rule. The action of the I. W. W. at Centralia is an example to working men to put a stop to the unlawful raiding of halls, the destruction of life and property of the workers to satisfy the insane and unsocial proclivities of reactionary lawless mobs.

The coroner's inquest over the bodies of the four dead Legionaries declares that the attack was made before the firing started. And there is other mute, but incontrovertible evidence of the nature of the assault. The blood stains from wounds of the dead are upon the floor of the I. W. W. headquarters—not upon the pavement of the street. Also the front of the building was wrecked by the mob after the shooting in an effort to destroy the evidence that the building was entered by assault, this blood testimony will irrefutably prove the lawlessness of those who lost lives in an assault upon the legal rights of a labor organization and a fellow man.

Wesley Everetts, the returned fighter from over seas, and his comrades who sat in the headquarters and defended themselves and their organization against the raiders with the weapons used in the war for democracy, struck a blow for real democracy when they turned the weapons upon their assailants. It is true Everetts paid the penalty with his life. In the darkness of night the mob hanged him and riddled his dead body with bullets after dragging it thru the street of the town. His comrades were taken from jail where they had been unlawfully thrown and made to dig his grave; and thus was covered over in hate the evidence of lawlessness.

The truth is coming out and when this Centralia tragedy is aired in the courts, and the full and complete facts published, we shall learn that the I. W. W. lawfully resisted the invasion of its legal rights.

There is one aspect of this case that workers should bear in mind. Where the property and lives of the workers are endangered by lawless mobs and raiders bent upon violation of the law, and no other recourse is possible, the workers must defend their lives and their unions at whatever cost.

Workers must resist mob violence with all the power at their command. The right of sanctuary against unlawfulness must be upheld and if the present reactionary movement in America takes recourse to violation of law in its desperate attempts to throttle the workers in their struggle against political and economic despotism, let the workers defend their rights and their legal status at all costs.

Workers, keep the law by defending yourself against unlawfulness.

Let Centralia be a warning to reactionism.

### X-MAS GIFTS FOR PRISONERS.

Comrades and friends of prisoners at Atlanta Federal Prison will be glad to learn that presents may be sent to prisoners for X-mas and New Year between these dates—Dec. 20th to Dec. 31st. Included in the list of articles which may be sent are—can-

dies, fruits, chewing gum, cigars and tobacco in reasonable quantities in addition to articles generally allowed. Cigars and tobacco must arrive with revenue stamps unbroken. Cooked foods should not be sent owing to possible delay in heavy Xmas mails. Send your packages early. Remember the comrades at Atlanta.

## WHAT WOULD YOU DO?

Our fathers—in the days when each man followed his plow and rarely met folks except on Sunday when he went to church and visited the graveyard for recreation—were not disturbed much by ethical social problems.

Today the economic compulsion to break the Ten Commandments is almost overwhelming, and multitudes of weak men go down before it.

What would you do if you were in the army and you were ordered to withhold food from starving women and babies?

What would you do if you were a longshoreman and you were ordered to handle munitions billed for Siberia, which you believed would be used to destroy your brother workmen?

What would you do if you were a traffic manager of a railroad and your heaviest shipper threatened to withdraw his business if you did not grant him rebates?

What would you do if you were an editor and big advertisers threatened to withdraw their "ads" if you did not change your editorial policy?

What would you do if you were a college professor with a family and a reputation if the regents gave you a hint to change your teaching or get the grand bounce?

What would you do if you were a school director and big business demanded the dropping of a teacher, whom in your heart you believed to be a first-rate teacher and a man maligned by selfish interests?

Verily, our fathers were not compelled to face such knotty problems! Strong men as well as weak are fallen before such temptations.

And yet for a Real Man the path is so simple.

Will refuse to participate in the business of starving babies;

Will refuse to contribute to the death of his fellow workers;

Will refuse to grant rebates;

Will consign the big hold-up advertisers to the tender mercies of the "devil";

Will refuse to scrape to the regents;

Will refuse to fire a teacher at the dictation of big business.

Why will a Real Man act this way?

Because he intends to remain master of his own soul!—Seattle Union-Record.

### RADICALISM RAMPANT IN DUTCH SCHOOLS

By W. J. L. Kiehl

AMSTERDAM.—A "bond" or union of revolutionary social intellectuals has been inaugurated and the names of the members of the executive board have been published.

This union works in conjunction with communistic teachers' organizations and revolutionary socialist students' organizations in Holland. From persons whose sons are studying in the Dutch universities I learn that many students are imbued with bolshevism and that the communistic propaganda is very strong.

Two professors in the Amsterdam university are known to be "Idealist Bolsheviki," and in the Delft Technical University communism is popular. The new union will seek connections with similar organizations in other countries.

### CALIFORNIA EXECUTIVES UNDER ARREST.

Officials of the Communist Labor Party of California were placed under arrest by government agents last week and charged with violations of the state criminal syndicalism law. Those arrested are: State Secretary, James Dolson; J. E. Snyder, Editor of The Oakland World; Robert Whitaker, Edric Smith, John Taylor, former State Secretary, Cyrus Tobey and Max Bedact. Comrade Max Bedact was just preparing to leave for New York where he was to edit Communist Labor, the new national organ of The Communist Labor Party. Most of the comrades, we understand are now out on bail.

Gompers is now finding out from the government the same truths the reds have been trying to teach him for many years.

## THE MARTYR.

Ye have made martyrs for me,  
Gods of the false and true;  
Ye have set great souls free  
And lighted our lamps anew!  
Ye and your priests have killed  
Those who defied your ranks;  
I drink of the blood ye have spilled—  
I drink and I give you thanks!

Down through the centuries, strung  
On crucifix, gibbet and pyre,  
Your scarlet pictures are hung  
Of those who have dared your fire!  
The Christ, with His hands outthrust—  
His dead by the Tiber's banks—  
And now the arena is dust,  
For the Martyr I give you thanks!

For every heretic burned,  
For every heart ye have split,  
For every key ye have turned,  
A million lamps have ye lit!  
And, lo! as the cities that flame  
Where the blackened streams have their banks,  
So your dead call us each by name—  
For the Martyr I give you thanks!

Has your crucifix murdered Christ?  
Have your jails swallowed up one dream?  
Has Spain and the stake sufficed  
To darken one lamplight's gleam?  
I give you the world today;  
Will ye gaze on the age-long ranks?  
For the Martyr I give you thanks!  
Is it Christ, is it Debs, ye would slay?

## LIGHT AFTER DARKNESS, LET US HAVE THE TRUTH

Was the killing of four men and the wounding of several others at Centralia, Wash., on Armistice day, Nov. 11, 1919, a cold-blooded slaughter of inoffensive individuals, or were these persons members of an unlawful mob engaged in an unwarranted attack upon a peaceable place and killed by the lawful occupants of that place in the defense of their own lives? That is the question uppermost in the mind of every fair-minded person. That question will be threshed out at the coming trial of the 11 men indicted for the killing of Warren Grimm at Centralia.

The truth regarding what actually happened at Centralia on Armistice day is being suppressed. Facts considered favorable to the accused are not allowed to find their way into the news columns, eye-witness to the affair are forbidden to talk or fear to speak out, and legal representatives of the prisoners are denied the privilege of being in the town.

Centralia and nearby towns are no longer governed by civil authority, but are ruled absolutely by armed forces that are running things at the point of the gun. As an instance of the existing state of affairs the case of Reinhardt, an Associated Press representative, is worthy of note. He attended the coroner's inquest over the bodies of the dead men and sent out the story of the testimony of Dr. Frank Bickford, who swore that the I. W. W. hall was attacked by himself and others, and that only after the door of the hall had been kicked in did the shooting commence. For sending out this news Reinhardt was run out of Centralia, being compelled to leave his personal belongings behind.

Strangers coming into Centralia on trains are closely questioned and if an explanation satisfactory to the questionnaires is not forthcoming they are not permitted to remain. In short the truth regarding the Centralia affair is beleaguered by a circle of guns in the hands of usurped authority, and those who might speak that truth are compelled to silence. Later they will be heard, for truth will speak, even though ringed with walls of bayonets.

The men in jail sturdily declared that they defended themselves against attack. The capitalist press asserts that the prisoners deliberately fired upon the passing parade, without provocation and, as one paper says, "because the parade was made up of returned soldiers."

Outside of the facts that will be related by eye witnesses later on hand the testimony of Dr. Bickford, who swore the hall was attacked before any shots were fired, let us examine the contention of the capitalist press, that members of the I. W. W. fired upon the parade because it was composed of returned soldiers.

It is entirely beyond reason to suppose that eight or ten men would deliberately agree (as they must do) to station themselves for the sole purpose of firing on paraders from whom they had nothing to fear. Sane men would not do such a thing and for anyone to suppose that these men did fire from so slim a motive he must first judge them to be insane. The authorities so far have raised no question of the prisoners' sanity.)

And if they were insane how does it occur that so many insane people could come to an agreement on the matter of killing returned soldiers? How could they have curbed this insanity during the year just past when the streets of every town and city were filled with marching soldiers, returning from the war? Why pick out a small town like Centralia when the streets of Seattle and Tacoma were full of uniforms? Centralia, of all places, where there was no hope of escape.

Sane men, to the number of eight or ten, would not deliberately organize or plot a killing of harmless paraders—insane men could not. The contention of the capitalist press is ridiculous. It is beyond reason. It is a lie—told to shield the real criminals, who are responsible for these deaths at Centralia.

Let us now deal with a few things regarding the parade that marched through the streets of the town. First, it is well known that the parade marched in sections—a section composed of people who participated been active in those places against the anniversary of the armistice, and another section specially composed of specially invited persons, from Aberdeen and other towns, who had been active in those laces against the Industrial Workers of the World. These outsiders, together with Centralians likewise opposed to the I. W. W., were all in one section and marched near the rear of the parade. Bared this in mind; it is significant, when considered in connection with other

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## MOB RULE, THE NEWEST AMERICAN TERROR.

The reactionism that has swept over American civil life since the signing of the Armistice has now reached the stage of mob rule and mob law. During the war American workmen and women laid aside their historic and vaunted liberties in order that the war might be brought to a successful conclusion for the Allies. Now they find that instead of their boasted liberties and Constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly and the right of sanctuary within their homes, being restored they have been practically annulled altogether. They are now not only denied these Constitutional guarantees, they are subject to mob violence as well.

Of all the manifestations of social unrest none are more menacing to public welfare, none are more destructive of civil liberty and civil rights than mob rule. It is the most debasing of all human activities, the most outrageously corrupt and venal. It is an open challenge to all order and government by law. Let us consider well, its meaning before we countenance it.

Reactionism in America has welcomed it with open arms, has encouraged it with the corrupt press and other mouthpieces of the ruling class. The mob is the henchman of privilege, the handmaiden of corruption. The ruling class has enthroned it as an object of veneration and has condoned all its depravities in the name of Americanism and democracy. If mob rule spells Americanism, deliver us from it, for we prefer rule by law however unjust rather than lawlessness and irresponsibility.

To all who have the highest interests of our Constitutional guarantees at heart must look on with grave apprehension at the growth of the mob idea and the supplanting of legal processes by its insane and reprehensible activities. As surely as it is allowed to continue, so shall American liberties be at last laid to rest in the grave of reactionism. The monster must be slain. To allow its continuance is to court disaster and destruction of the few remaining liberties left an outraged and exploited class.

In every historical epoch it is the class that is down, the class that is attempting to rise from under its burdens of exploitation and injustice that holds aloft the torch of liberty. It is the class which is rising into power that offers to a stricken world the only thing that shall heal its wounds—the class that a social system has created, and upon which it has placed the emblems of hope and life for the world.

It is to this class—the wroking class—that we appeal to render harmless the insane activities of this implement of reactionism—the mob. It is the workers against whom its activities are bent. It is their homes that are invaded, their meetings that are broken up, their halls that are entered and sacked, it is their leaders and organizers who are mobbed and shot and hanged. The remedy is in the hands of the workers. Meet the mob upon their own ground. Where it trespasses stand upon your rights. Where it breaks the laws, keep the law by defending yours and others rights. Demand and keep your legal status by refusing to countenance by non-resistance the encroachments of this monstrous iniquity and tool of the ruling class to further subjugate you.

## We did not go to that School

We know a lot of people these days that are making a heap of noise about a revolution. They hear their own noise and think they hear the revolution—but we think they are mistaken.

Economic conditions force revolutions. Any single individual that thinks he can precipitate a revolution in any country where the economic conditions have not built up a public opinion favorable to a social revolution is not only badly mistaken but is positively a menace to the political and industrial organized labor movements.

The shouting of catch and revolutionary phrases has become an obsession of late in too many camps of the labor movement. It is true that a minority did engineer a successful revolution in Russia—and some hot heads are trying to tell us that the same thing can be done here. Let us examine the conditions a bit and see where we are at before we start something.

In Russia the strong centralist government had been overthrown by the combined labor forces and the small business element which desired a more democratic form of government. A provisional government was established but before it could become well entrenched it in turn was overthrown by a small minority—BUT that minority had the SYMPATHY and the MORAL support of the general public. In other words it had no opposition except for the bourgeoisie and the Allied governments interested in maintaining the stability of the old Russian bonds.

In addition to the foregoing, the economic life of the country had broken down, jobs were scarce or not

to be had, food was scarce and extremely high in price, the army was in a state of mutiny, in fact had mutinied and left the front for home—bringing their arms with them. Don't overlook that point, vast numbers of the Russian proletariat were armed.

Conditions here are slightly different. Instead of four years of enervating war we had four years of war profits, increased wages and employment for everybody. Instead of an anti-patriotic wave as in Russia the American proletariat has had two years of intensified patriotic propaganda. Instead of the psychology of defeat, the American proletariat, forgets his sugarless days of high prices and wage slavery in the psychology of victory!

The American proletariat is unarmed. In view of these differences in environment, it seems to us that any organization or anybody foolish enough to think the conditions in this country are ripe for revolution is an enemy of the class war, and by propaganda is harming more than helping the cause of the freedom of those who toil.

The great mass must be educated, at least to a condition of class consciousness. They must be organized, and by organized we mean welded into a force with powers of resistance, so they may meet the capitalist on terms of equality, not as bluffers or as supplicants. This kind of an organization can only be built through a systematic plan of study classes.

This talk of mass action by a minority is foolish.

If freedom from wage slavery ever

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# Judge Insane, when he Jailed Texas Socialist.

The judge who sentenced Flora I. Foreman, the Socialist teacher who is now serving a term at McAlester, Okla., under the Espionage act was insane at the time he tried her, a year ago. Immediately after imposing the five-year sentence he returned to his home at Fort Worth, Tex., and from there was taken to a lunatic asylum in California.

This information reached the Workers' Defense Union, 7 East 15th street through one of the attorneys who defended Mrs. Foreman in the Federal court in Amarillo, Tex. Because the judge is insane it has been difficult to perfect an appeal in the case.

Although President Wilson has reduced her term to two years, it is feared that the ordeal since her conviction and the months of incarceration before she came to trial may endanger the life of the woman.

Reported as "Disloyal." She is a frail woman and had gone South in the hope of restoring her impaired health. There she was reported to government agents as "disloyal," in consequence of remarks she had made in private conversation with another woman.

The story, as it reached the defense group, is that the charge was lodged by a soldier who had been jilted by a friend of Mrs. Foreman. The worst statement she was charged with having made was that she had refused to become a member of the Red Cross, and was not afraid to say so, and that they could go and tell the "little school teacher in Washington" how she felt.

## AMNESTY DEMAND MUST BE ALL-INCLUSIVE

Roger Baldwin.

Of course I am with you in your efforts for a general amnesty. Every bit of agitation to that end is good. We cannot succeed by mere petitioning on the grounds of justice—but we can succeed by continuous and determined demonstrations of power. Our friends and comrades will never be released until we force their release by our indignant resistance. Only the desire to allay the unrest which their imprisonment causes will move the Washington Defenders of Things-as-They-Are to action.

We must not neglect a single victim of the war persecutions in our demands. Let us not forget that the I. W. W. have been hit the hardest—practically all their leaders and hundreds of the workers are in prison or out on bail. Their cases are practically the same as the others—and the wartime statutes were even more pervasively applied to reach them. We must not hesitate to specify the I. W. W. class-war prisoners in our demands—as well as the victims of the Espionage Act and the military courts.

We must make our demands uncompromising, definite, all-inclusive. We cannot trust in the slightest any sense of "justice" on the part of the authorities. We can only trust the organized power of labor and the friends of freedom to make their protest so united, so resounding, that the powers that be will fear not to heed it.

## AT LAST AN AMERICAN SOCIALIST REVIEW!

Of exceptional interest in socialist and radical circles is the appearance of the long awaited first issue of "THE SOCIALIST REVIEW" a monthly record of socialist and radical progress in thought and action the world over. The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, publishers of the new REVIEW, feeling its quarterly organ, THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST no longer sufficed to meet the growing public interest in socialism, decided to venture upon a monthly. THE SOCIALIST REVIEW does not pretend to be a propagandist organ. Its aim is to become an invaluable record and survey of significant industrial and political occurrences, by which our present effete social system will eventually be charged to one more worthy of human effort. In this fact will lie the unique value and service of THE SOCIALIST REVIEW to all sections of the socialist movement.

## 52 CANDIDATES ELECTED TO PARLIAMENT.

NEW YORK.—Fifty-two socialists will be members of the incoming Norwegian parliament, the Socialist Party at the recent general elections having polled 250,000 votes.

The party stands without reserve on the side of the Bolsheviks, and recently dispatched Egede Nissen, one of the best known of the Norwegian leaders, to Moscow.

The party is strongly anti-militaristic. Some months ago formally

about it.

After her arrest, while in a health resort away from all friends, the government agents constructed a technical disloyalty charge, the lawyer said, upon which a demented Federal judge based his sentence. His attitude is evident in the following quotation from the lawyer's letter:

"Mrs. Foreman was tried at Amarillo, Texas, in the Federal Court, charged with violating the espionage law. The judge of that court convicted her. Of course, the jury might have convicted her anyway. It was a time of hysteria.

"Walked All Over Us." "But the judge walked all over us. We were not permitted to try the case at all. He took the witnesses away from us and cross-examined them, and then told the jury what he thought of their testimony. He threatened several times to put us in jail, and I left the courtroom to file a petition to have him examined for insanity. However, after the trial he went home to Fort Worth, and from there was sent to an insane asylum in California, where he has been ever since.

"I sent in to the President of the United States a petition with several long lists of subscribers. I also sent a personal letter setting out the facts and what took place at the trial. Since that time I have heard nothing. If anybody should be pardoned, this woman should be. Whether she was guilty or not, she did not have a fair trial."

# MANY YANKS IN HOSPITALS.

WASHINGTON.—Altho a year has passed since the war ended for most Americans, there are still 18,000 war victims in army hospitals in this country and 1,900 in overseas hospitals.

For these wounded Americans the war is still a thing of reality. With them the cost of the conflict is not a mere memory.

Latest figures of the War Department show 18,500 patients in army hospitals in the United States, the majority, overseas cases, 977 in France, 515 in Germany, 403 in Siberia.

Most of the men still in overseas hospitals are those whose condition is too serious to permit transfer to this country. Officials say they will be brought home as quickly as possible.

Keeping foremost the fact that 116,492 American soldiers died in the service since April 6, 1917, and that of these 39,585 were killed on the field and 14,742 died of wounds, figures show the burden of long suffering in hospitals and physical disability fell upon comparatively few men, officials say.

## DEMOCRACY.

Democracy, Oh where art thou for whom our blood was shed? Art thou in Atlanta prison with our beloved Debs? Or perhaps in North Dakota, where they have tried our Kate. Surely not in San Quentin to share Tom Mooney's fate.

Democracy, Oh where art thou for whom we bought the bonds? Pray tell us where to find you if on this side the pond. We have looked in all the civil courts where justice should be found, And nothing but injustice to labor have we found.

Democracy, Oh where art thou for whom we gave our sons? Perhaps we were mistaken, when we went and whipped the Huns. We thought we were fighting for freedom of all the world as one That men might write and men Might talk but can't do either one.

Democracy, Oh where art thou for whom our brothers fell? If thou art present in this land that we all love so well, Pray make thy presence known and to the public tell Why so many of our loved ones now occupy a cell?

J. A. FLATT.

Another new town on our list is Lovington, Ill. We give credit to comrade Frank Renko for the three names there.

ordered the constitution of soldiers' soviets by all men liable for military service.

## SHORT ONES

By W. E. Reynolds.

**RACE OF VETERANS.**  
Race of Veterans — race of victors! Race of the soil, ready for conflict — race of the conquering march! (No more credulity's race, abiding-temper'd race)

Race henceforth owning no law but the law of itself.  
Race of passion and the storm —  
Walt Whitman.  
It is beginning to look like a sugar card was one of the sure signs of the triumph of democracy!

Wise Omar must have foreseen the reign of prohibition, for did he not say, "—and in your errand reach the spot where I made One, turn down an empty glass?"

Water, water everywhere, and not a drop (of 2.75 or anything with a "kick" in it) to drink.

"And at this stage they fight, not their enemies but the enemies of their enemies." — Marx and Engels.

A bunch of propertyless proletarians who have not had an egg on their table since last summer, who cannot afford to EAT eggs, buying them to throw at some harmless dispenser of economic information is a sight to cause Kuhlshahn, Kahn to smile.

"Conscience was born when man had shed, his fur, his tail and pointed ears" — Kasidah.

Wisdom is no easy flower to pluck.

It is a well established biological fact that man's ancestors had a well defined caudal appendage. Even yet the devil is invariably pictured as having a long tail, and as he is but a fallen angel (having wrestled with God over authority) it must logically follow that even the angels have tails!

Science is not fruit that ripens in a day.

Along about the time of the reformation the Pope, in an effort to stem the rising tide of discontent, issued bull after bull — all to no avail. Now at the beginning of another reformation congress and the courts are following in the footsteps of the forgotten Pope, and are making bull upon bull. All bull.

That little story of the devil and the angels might be headed, Angel Tales.

When we were kids we used to sing; 'London Bridge is falling down, Falling down, falling down, London Bridge is falling down, My Fair Lady!'

Now the new version is; 'Petrograd is falling now, Falling now, falling now, Petrograd is falling now, My Fair Lady!'

The Fair Lady of the Kept Press prophesied the Fall of Petrograd and trow the Fall of Omsk.

The British Bourgeoisie are advocating the sale of Church Property, the funds so obtained to be applied towards paying the war debt. Who said progress was at a standstill?

More than ten thousand of the most important economic enterprises in Free Russia have been socialized. This comprises about 86 percent of Russian industry, and when one considers that the change in most of the industries was affected without the interruption of industry, one marvels at what might have been accomplished if the "inviolability of nations to self-determination" had been strictly adhered to.

Here is a wholesale leather catalog quoting prime sole leather @ \$1.50 per pound, and "leather for soles hand shoes @ 20c per pound". Significant? It is a part of the "dearly beloved" system.

That Russian Ambassador's offer to furnish ships and passage money to all whom the government wished to deport, might be said to have called the government's bluff.

Now that Thanksgiving is safely over we can begin to save up to buy the kid a tin sword for Christmas when we celebrate the alleged birth of the Prince of Peace.

The correspondent of the Manchester Guardian (England) Mr. W. T. Goode informs us "that prostitution has disappeared from Moscow life, due to the improved economic and social position of women under Bolshevism".

Evolution is a hard jolt for those who have nothing to be proud of except their blue-blooded ancestry.

## KNOW THE LAW.

(Supreme Court of Washington, Dec. 28, 1911.)

Department - Appeal from superior court, Yakima county; E. B. Preble, judge.

Henry Bowinkelman was convicted of manslaughter and appeals. Affirmed.

Frank A. Luse and H. J. Snively, for appellant. J. Lenox Ward and Harold B. Bilbert for the state.

Parker, J. This defendant was charged by information in the superior court for Yakima county with murder in the first degree, by the killing of John Meeboer. Upon a trial before the court and a jury, the defendant was convicted of manslaughter, from which he has appealed to this court.

1. Upon the trial evidence was introduced in behalf of appellant tending to show that the homicide was justifiable, in that it was committed by appellant in lawfully defending himself against an assault made upon him by the deceased. This called for instructions to the jury upon the law of justifiable homicide. Touching the grounds of apprehension of danger upon which the defendant might kill his assailant, the court instructed the jury as follows:

"A person attacked at a place where he has a right to remain need not retreat, but may repel force by force in a defense of his person against one who at the time is actually, or apparently, intending or endeavoring, unlawfully, to kill him or to inflict upon him great personal injury, and in such defense the assaulted may lawfully meet the attack made upon him in such a way and with such force as, under the circumstances, he at the moment honestly believes, and has reasonable grounds to believe, are necessary to save his own life or to protect himself from great personal injury; and in such defense the assaulted may lawfully kill the assailant, if at the time he is actually or apparently in imminent danger of death or great personal injury at the assailant's hands, and if, under all the circumstances, he honestly believes, and has reasonable grounds to believe, such killing to be necessary to save his own life or to protect him from great personal injury."

## WOMEN WORKERS DEMAND LIFTING OF BLOCKADE.

The following resolution on lifting the Russian blockade, presented by Margaret Bondfield, of England, was adopted by the International Congress of Working Women at Washington, November 7th:

"Whereas, Neither the United States nor any of the Allied or Associated Powers is officially at war with Russia, and

"Whereas, The blockade causes hardship to numberless women and children,

"Be it Resolved, That we, the delegates of the First International Congress of Working Women, in Washington, D. C., in conference assembled, hereby protest at the continuance of said blockade and advocate the immediate removal of all restrictions of shipment of food to the peoples of Russia."

## EX-SOLDIERS MAKE FIGHT ON Y. M. C. A.

TACOMA.—The Tacoma Y. M. C. A. is looking for 1,000 new members. They are very partial to ex-service men, they say. What some ex-soldiers think of the Y. M. C. A. is stated in cryptic form by little cards which are pasted on windows and scattered around town as follows:

"YOUNG MAN  
"Will you join an organization  
"Which robbed your brother  
"While in France?  
"You should respect the memory  
"Of those who died for you.  
"I refer to the  
"Y. M. C. A.  
(Signed) A. E. F. Soldier."  
—Union-Record.

## BOLSHEVIKS EXEMPT C. O.'s.

A remarkable document has been published in the Daily Herald, Lenin's decree relating to conscientious objectors, in which these are exempted from military service whose religious beliefs prevent them from taking part in, and alternative service if the United Council of Moscow religious groups, and Communities prove a satisfactory claim for such complete exemption to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. This gives the lie to those who in the Times and elsewhere are at such pains to prove that the Soviet government is oppressing religious beliefs.

And now—have you renewed your subscription? If not, why not?

## Kerensky Comes Forth.

As the Allies prepare to forsake the defeated counter-revolutionaries, the censorship relaxes and the servile press, formerly given to praise of the "loyal elements" in Russia, now finds space for bitter denunciations of these erstwhile friends and associates. Even Kerensky, the discarded tool of Allied imperialism, is permitted to speak out against Kolchak, Denikin and Yudenitch, his successors in Allied favor, now themselves about to be discarded. "Around these three," says Kerensky, according to the London Daily News, "are gathered all the scoundrels of the old regime. . . There is no crime that has not been committed by agents of Kolchak against the population. Documents, such as I have, illustrate the barbarous conditions in which the people are living under these savages. . . The administration of the country is reduced to a shameless and unpunished system of pillage." An American official, quoted in the Philadelphia Public Ledger, adds this testimony after a two month's tour of inspection through Siberia: "I talked with a great variety of people—the Czechs, our railway service men, refugees, and to people living in the villages, as well as to French and British representatives stationed in the towns between Omsk and Vladivostok. I did not find a single person who said that Kolchak had any popular support. . . His name is being used by the most disreputable lot of scoundrels that has ever got any opportunity to exploit a poor, starving, defenseless people." Finally, the Czechoslovakians, who were made the pretext of intervention, have publicly implored the Allies to allow them to leave Siberia: "Our army has been forced against its convictions to support a state of absolute despotism and unlawfulness. . . The military authorities of the Government of Omsk are permitting criminal actions that will stagger the entire world. The burning of villages, the murder of masses of peaceful inhabitants, and the shooting of hundreds of persons of democratic convictions, and also those only suspected of political disloyalty, occur daily."

Mr. Isaac Don Levine's recent dispatches have described the nature of Denikin's rule, whose pogroms were so horrible, says the London Nation, that the English soldiers "could hardly be restrained from firing on him."

Such are the men to whom the American and Allied Governments have been extending sympathetic support. That support is being withdrawn now, not from any humanitarian scruples, but because the Red Army has demonstrated the impossibility of all attempts to conquer the Revolution and because the economic and social forces of the world have overwhelmed the designs of the reactionary rulers.

## NO NEWSPAPERS FOR DEBS.

To the editor of the Nation:  
Sir: In behalf of Eugene Debs, as well as for myself, I wish to thank you for having had THE NATION sent to his prison cell. Ever since his removal to Atlanta all papers and periodicals, including the Nation, are denied him; and he is not allowed even newspaper clippings, enclosed in letters. The other day I enclosed in a letter to him a small newspaper cut of the proposed building to be erected at Indianapolis by the Comrades, which is to be known as the "House of Debs", but before the letter was delivered the little picture was removed therefrom.

It is quite evidently the purpose of the Administration to cut him off completely from the outside world in the ardent hope of breaking his spirit. Of course he is permitted to read light fiction furnished by the prison library, but in these days when history is being written as never before, this is as nourishing and satisfying to the mentality of a student of events as skimmed milk is to the body of a famished child.

Several years ago Gene planted a little peach tree in his yard. It struggled for existence, but with careful nursing it survived. This year for the first time it bore a few peaches. Knowing the care Gene had bestowed upon this little tree, Mrs. Debs packed half a dozen of the peaches and sent them to him in care of the Warden. They were not delivered, although at the very time he had just been removed from his cell to the hospital.

Theodore Debs.  
Terre Haute, Ind., Sept. 15.

A lot of workers would lose a night's sleep if they missed getting their Master's Evening Squeal. But if they are asked to support the press of their own class they think it a joke. Well, their master's squeal will turn to a bite some day and they will lose some valuable hide, which may wake them up. Don't be a Mr. Block.

# The Black Sheep

By Long and Lanky  
CHAPT. IX.

Philosophy.  
"I know not whether laws be right, Or whether laws be wrong. All that I know who lie in jail Is that the wall is strong; And that each day is like a year, A year whose days are long."

This in a declamatory voice at about five-thirty in the morning, from Rudolph's cell, awakened Jack and Collins from their slumbers. It also awakened the temper of the latter. Collins was not fond of esthetics when at his ease, and when irritated he shared none of the sentiments so dear to the average radical. Unless he happened to be exactly in the right mood, he had an absolute aversion for what he termed the aberrations of an effete culture. He often said that poetry and novels were written by men who had nothing better to do to be read by people who could do nothing better.

"Say, what in hell do you mean by spouting your whoremongering poetry at this time of the night! Do you begrudge a fellow what little sleep he can get in this infernal hole? O, if I could get at yuh, I'd slou you in the mush," thundered the big man from off his bunk in the opposite cell.

"Oh, well!" retorted Rudolph, "you don't need to be so peevish about it. Its nearly broad daylight. Its time to get up." Then after a pause

"If you were in this cell all alone, you too might want to give vent to some sort of expression."  
"Why don't you do like the rats—gnaw the bars. It will keep your jaws busy and not disturb us." This said, the big man turned over and drew the ragged quilt about his shoulder and once more attempted to sleep. This proved to be impossible. Rudolph's eloquence had banished the fingers of Morpheus from his eyes. Jack too, was wide awake, and in contradistinction to his cell mate, not peevish. In fact he was rather interested in the subject matter of the poem. The days for him had been rather short; his companions keeping his mind busy with a recital of the wonderful phenomena in the social world.

He asked Rudolph from what poem this stanza was quoted and received the information that it was a part of the ballad of "Reading Gao!" by Oscar Wilde, who was, as Rudolph averred one of the lords of language of the last century.

"Oscar is one of Rudie's heroes," sneered Collins who was still in bad spirits. "One of your temperamental artistic gents."

"Yes, that's right. Oscar Wilde is one of my literary heroes, but for all that I do not appreciate your inuendo that I would want him for a cell mate," protested Rudolph.

"Who was this Oscar Wilde?" asked Jack.

"A degenerate," snapped Collins. "An artist," explained Rudolph.

"Well in ninety cases out of a hundred it amounts to the same thing," Collins growled.

"What you really mean is that Mr. Wilde awakens strong convictions either for or against himself. He must have been an interesting personality. Tell me more about him," remarked the boy.

"He was a great writer of poetry and drama," Rudolph explained. A man with a splendid sense of the beautiful, in nature, in language and in man, but this weakness got him into trouble. I might describe him best if I said that he wrote splendid books but lived a rotten life." Then after a moments reflection, "no the last part would be too strong. His life was not so bad, he simply had an abominable weakness."

"I might say of you Rudolph," Jack observed, "what Huxley said of Gladstone, that you retreat under a cloud of words. From what you say I cannot make out whether Mr. Wilde's weakness was worms or wiggles."

Collins explained to Jack in the commonest of common language just in what Wilde's weakness consisted. After which the boy wanted to know more about the man and his books.

Rudolph explained to him that the man was dead. That he died as a result of a prison sentence imposed upon him for his weakness but that his books could be found in every library public and private throughout the English speaking world; that they had been translated into nearly all civilized languages; that they were read and admired by cultured and refined minds everywhere. To which Jack replied that in that case it would be well to consider the books apart from the man. To think of him only a great author, the products of whose brain had enriched the world and forget his weakness which after all did not enter into his books.

"Let us forget his life and remember his work for their beauties sake," said the boy.

"I cannot appreciate anything a skunk does," Collins said. "I cannot read a line he penned without thinking of his infernal degeneracy."

"Oh, you Christian," sneered Rudolph.

"I am no Christian," the other retorted.

"No, you mean you're no Church Member, but you are as fanatic as any Jesus lover I ever knew. You are a free will Christian, and nothing else can be made out of you."

"You're crazy," roared Collins, "I hate christianity as much as you do and you know it."

Rudolph agreed that this was technically true, but asserted that when it came to showing the spirit of intolerance he was a regular Calvin. "Take your stand on the drink question, you are as extreme as a howling methodist," Rudolph said. Then continued "You know that the drink appetite is a physiological condition. That its victim cannot resist the temptation even tho he see the faces of his starving children in the glass. Cursing his weakness he gets drunk. He ruins his health, impoverishes his kids, while crying to his God for help. But he is a dipsomaniac; his body has an affinity for drink as ether has for air. He cannot help being what the forces of heredity made him. Yet, you who call yourself a radical and a liberal, curse your fellow worker whose appetite differs from your own. You call them every name on the calendar as if they were victims from choice instead of from circumstance. Imitating the christians you make everybody but yourself a heretic. No Collins dear, you may not be a christian, but if you are not, then you are a Jew or a Mohammedan, or a Brahmin or perhaps a Voodist, but you're no radical, you are no scientist, you are no idealist, you are too damned intolerant; you are good at condemning but you never make an effort to understand for if ever you learn to understand then you would learn to forgive."

"Yes and you are Christian also, for you talk about forgiveness. Your consistency is something wonderful," snapped Collins, and he leaped out of his bed as a tiger leaps at his prey.

To forgive means to surrender, and surrender means death. You'd burden yourself with so much human waste that you'd be smothered in the fifth of your own choosing. I've told you on several occasions that I don't hate these vermin, I only seek to eliminate them from my environment. I hate vermin, high brow and low brow. That's the reason I'm against them. They hinder me in the struggle for existence, that is all. That's enough."

Rudolph's sally had madq Collins too angry to answer with his customary coherence. He trailed off into mutterings about the inability of the workers to center their minds on a common purpose because they tolerated within their ranks these elements who placed their own personal appetites and ideas above the common good. "Try to hold a meeting for the purpose of fighting the boss with one third of the membership soused and the other third filled with poetic dream stuff and capitalist lies, you have just one third who are ready and willing to fight the master, loaded down with two thirds of their own numbers in the shape of physical and mental nincompoops."

Jack, who had been listening to both of them now asked Rudolph what he had to answer the big man.

"You understand that drunkenness is a result of a peculiar body chemistry which people inherit from their ancestors, therefore the owners of such bodies are constantly in danger of having their brain befuddled thru yielding to their inborn craving, I know that a drunken man is dangerous. But the bread and butter question is not an individual proposition; it is wholly collective in its nature. Drunk and sober must solve it together. I have told Collins many a time that if you don't take drunkards into organization they will scab on us and help break your power. Then where are you going to get men enough to build an organization who don't drink. We must deal with people as they are and not as we want them to be.

Jack, still wrapped in his blanket laughed good naturedly, "Oh, oh! you poor fish! You get on the track of truth and when you get in sight of it, you shy like a broncho colt. Neither of you have the necessary guts to be real scientists; both of you are seeking the light blindfolded; for fear that if you should find it, it would reveal to you your naked impotence. For two weeks I have listened to your arguments and tried to test them in the light of reason, and when all is

(Continued on page 4.)



# EDITORIAL & PARTY NEWS PAGE.

## The Toiler

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## THE RIGHT TO RESIST INVASION.

The right of a man to protect his life is rooted in the first instinct—the desire to live. We do not think anyone, except some extreme Tolstoyans, question this right.

The right of a man to protect himself from injury is rooted in the second instinct—the desire for comfort. We do not think anyone but the extreme pacifist question this right.

The only question that arises in the manifestation of these instincts is: How far may a man go in the defense of his life or the safety of his person?

We will all agree that a burglar that enters a house by stealth takes his life in his own hands and if, being discovered, he kills the householder, HE IS GUILTY OF MURDER, though he may have been defending himself from the assaults of the enraged citizen. The burglar was an invader and acting in the first place with an unlawful purpose and the counter attack of the householder was a justified assault, since it was in the defense of his residence.

But if the householder had slain the burglar he could at most be guilty only of a manslaughter and it would have to be shown even then that the citizen knew that he could have captured the thief with the use of ordinary force and strategy.

Where a man has been threatened, either with or without cause, if he retire into his house or other place where he may lawfully be, it is evidence that he had no desire for a brawl and that he sought peace by avoiding the opportunity for a quarrel. If, after threats have been made against a man, the place into which he had retired for the purpose of avoiding a brawl shall be attacked, then he may defend himself. The major question will be, was there an attack with force? And not, was the life of the man in danger, or was his bodily safety threatened?

It is a fact that no man may gauge the temper of a mob and a man attacked by a boisterous crowd in a place where he may lawfully be cannot be expected to enquire if their intentions be mild or violent—if he has been previously threatened, he may reasonably expect that the intention of the mob is of the most violent character and he is justified in taking measures for his own protection.

It is beside the question to say that the person assaulted could have avoided the assault in his lawful refuge by abandoning the place and seeking safety in flight. The question is, was an unlawful assault made upon the place and was it made in such force that the person taking a lawful refuge there would be justified in believing that he was about to suffer extreme violence at the hands of the invaders?

The question then may arise, what is a lawful refuge? If a man is attacked in the street and he steps into a store or other public place to avoid his assailants and the assailants follow him into this place and makes a further assault then the man so attacked may repel the assault and though it may be apparent that his life is sought he is not under the necessity of further flight, but may stand his ground and resist.

Any person, lawfully in any lawful place, may resist an unlawful attack upon that place, though he may have but a transient interest in the place—he is not bound to seek safety in flight, he may resist the attack.

All sane men are held to full accountability for the consequences of their acts. If crowd of men unlawfully attacked a lawful place they are held to intend all that occurs as a result of that attack and are guilty accordingly.

If members of the American Legion or other persons made an unlawful attack on the hall of the Industrial Workers of the World at Centralia, Wash., they intended all that followed upon the heels of that assault and are therefore guilty of the deaths of all who perished in that assault.

If there were members of the Industrial Workers of the World, or even strangers, lawfully in the said hall at the moment of the attack, they were justified in defending themselves from said attack and could use such force as was necessary to repel it, nor were they under the necessity of first ascertaining the intentions of the assailants, and if they were persuaded that their lives were in danger they were justified in taking such measures as they believed would preserve their lives.

We believe all the above statements of rights are correct and based upon the statutes and decisions of all the courts. If we are wrong, we are anxious to be set right, for we understand that no man may plead ignorance of the law nor seek to take advantage of his own wrong.

—INDUSTRIAL WORKER.

### OVER 3,000 AUSTRALIANS UNDER WAR BAN

Now that the censorship regulations have been lifted in Australia we are permitted to learn that during the war no less than 3,474 citizens of Australia were prosecuted for various political offenses under the War Preventions Act—the equivalent to "D. O. R. A." in the United Kingdom, and the Espionage Act in the United States. In 100 more cases fines and punishments in prison were inflicted, while in 185 other cases there were imprisonments without the option of a fine.

Most of the prosecutions arose out of the opposition to the Government during the time it was trying—unsuccessfully—to fasten conscription on the country. On the other hand, many of the most uncompromising opponents of the anti-labor government were not penalized, owing to the fact that the Government feared the strong union support which stood behind them.

In fact, it was openly admitted that several very prominent labor journalists and speakers, would have been prosecuted or interned only that the

### WHY THE PEASANTS ARE AGAINST DENIKIN.

The Dalnevostochnoye Obozryenie (The Far Eastern Review), of Vladivostok, in its issue of July 20, 1919, quotes from the Svobodnaya Rech, a Denikin organ, an admission that the success of his troops has been seriously impaired by the hostility of the peasantry. The reasons for that hostility are stated by the Denikin organ as follows:

"With the gradual advance of the Don troops some sort of 'punitive' detachments would usually assume full control in the rear, frequently overstepping the bounds of their authority, broad as it was. The requisitions which sometimes assumed the form of open robbery, the flogging of the population, and the despotic and contemptuous treatment accorded it—such is the common picture of the activities of these detachments."

Government feared the militant organizations to which they were attached.

## MINUTES

of the CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF OHIO, HELD, 11/29/1919. AT AKRON OHIO.

Convened at 10:45 a. m., by State Secretary Allison, and temporary organization effected by the election of Comrade Margaret Prevey as chairman and Lawrence A. Zitt as secretary. A Credentials Committee of three was chosen, composed of Comrades: Young, Bronstrup and Hoge.

The committee reported following representatives as entitled to seats: AKRON—M. Prevey, John Hansen, J. C. Chase, M. A. Riley, John Coons John Cooper.

TOLEDO—M. Toohy, H. H. Young. BALLAIRE—J. J. Hoge.

CLEVELAND—Anna Morgan, Lawrence A. Zitt, Alex Bilan, Elizabeth Bertram, W. F. Bronstrup, Tom Clifford.

SENACA CO.—J. F. Lescher.

CINCINNATI—E. L. Tribbey, Otto Ruchtaeschel.

COLUMBIANA CO.—Chas. Bonsall. LIMA—E. O. McPherron.

YOUNGSTOWN — Wallace Metcalf, Joseph Koope, F. J. Hines, Louis Ratnofsky, Morris Abrams.

It was decided by motion to elect a Resolution Committee of five: Koope, Chase, Bonsall, Bilan and Young — chosen by acclamation.

A Constitution Committee of three, composed of Bronstrup, Toohy and McPherron, was chosen.

The Resolution Committee was instructed by motion to bring in a resolution on the subject of Unity.

The Temporary organization was made permanent.

A rules committee composed of Comrades Hoge and Allison was instructed to submit draft of rules at opening next session.

The agenda submitted by the State Executive Committee was approved and adopted, two minor changes first being effected.

It was decided to elect a separate committee of three to consider organization. Comrades Bertram, Tribbey and Clifford were chosen.

Session adjourned until 2:00 p. m.

Reconvened at 3:15 p. m., the delay being due to the continued session of the various committees.

A paper on the subject of the "Contemporary International Situation" received from Comrade John Brahtin was read and applauded, and opened up a lively general discussion, Comrade Bilan contributing much information on the relative international influences, and giving an historical review of the growth of American capitalist imperialism.

The Resolution Committee reported three resolutions as follows:—

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

Whereas: Hundreds of loyal and faithful members of the working class have been thrown into foul and vermin ridden jails and federal prisons for voicing their conscientious and fearless opinions of existing conditions industrially and politically,

Whereas: By these outrages committed by subvent tools of the imperialist capitalistic masters, on the spokesmen of the working class, all rights to free speech, free press and free assembly have been abrogated.

Whereas: Not being satisfied with imprisoning these hundreds of Men and women in the attempt to throttle every effort at peaceful organization of the working-class for the emancipation from capitalist oppressions, but are now engaged in the attempt to deport every radical or progressive thinker of foreign birth.

Whereas: These acts show unmistakably, the class consciousness of the capitalist class, and its determination to perpetuate its reign of oppression, and tyranny over the workers of the United States.

Therefore be it resolved: That the Communist Labor Party Conference of the State of Ohio calls upon the workers to organize to the full extent of their strength for the purpose of resisting these determined attempts to fasten upon the American workers the chains of an industrial and political Oligarchy.

And be it further resolved: That we call upon the workers of the state to support financially and morally the Army of Liberators Organization in its endeavor to aid and to free those who have already been victims of a ruthless master-class.

### STATEMENT OF THE COMMUNIST-LABOR PARTY

of Ohio on the

### MEXICAN SITUATION.

WHEREAS:—Once more the capitalist class in the United States is

planning intervention in Mexico, in the name of "law and order", but in reality with the intention of subjugating the Mexican workers to the most brutal form of exploitation, i. e., exploitation under colonial administration, or under the hypocrisy of a dummy government by the capitalist interests in this country, and

WHEREAS:—For the third time within the last five years the capitalist press and all its means of publicity and education are concentrating their efforts upon the propaganda of intervention, and as formerly, the occasional murders of American citizens in the remoter regions of Mexico are being played up in the newspapers with a wealth of exaggerated detail, and all the explanation or denial of the Mexican Government are either minimized or deliberately misinterpreted; while at the same time, the mistreatment and even murder of countless American workers in this country by the gunmen of the capitalist class is not even reported.

But with the intensification of the class struggle during and succeeding the war, the interventionists no longer conceal their real motive. The present attempt to bully the American workers into war against Mexico is based chiefly on the fact that the Mexican Government is attempting to control the disposition of the national resources of that country, and thru taxation, is trying to retain in the National Treasury some portion of the national wealth of which that country has been consistently looted by foreign capitalists in the past, and

WHEREAS:—The Government of the United States, has, so far, supported the demands of the American capitalists that Mexico change her constitution and abrogate her laws concerning her own internal administration, and this for the sole purpose of permitting foreigners to exploit the Mexican working class, therefore be it

RESOLVED:—That the COMMUNIST-LABOR PARTY of Ohio, in Conference assembled, demands that the Government of the United States withdraw its support from the American capitalist interests in their attempt to force an imperialist war against Mexico, and

Failing this, The COMMUNIST-LABOR PARTY of Ohio appeals to the workers to oppose this war by all means within their power.

We urge all workers to refuse to fight in the war which in reality is a war against the Mexican workingclass. And we reaffirm that the only struggle which can justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from the economic exploitation and political oppression.

The COMMUNIST-LABOR PARTY of Ohio extends its sympathy to the Communist Party of Mexico in its work of arousing the workers of America to the dangers of intervention, and we promise the Communist Party of Mexico our heartiest support in preventing a conflict between the workers of the United State and Mexico.

To our comrades of all countries affiliated with the Communist International we appeal for the defense of the Mexican workingclass by every possible demonstration of solidarity.

The Committee report was received and the committee continued. The Conference adjourned until 7:00 p. m.

### RESOLUTION ON MOB RULE:

WHEREAS: Workers Organizations both industrial and political have been prevented from functioning by lawless and law abrogating hands of irresponsible persons masquerading under the guise of Law and Order and

WHEREAS: The Unions and radical minority political parties are prevented from meeting, by coercive methods their meetings have been broken up, the members and those in attendance cruelly man-handled and jailed on baseless and unfounded charges,

And WHEREAS: All this is done in contradiction to the capitalist class made laws and are violated whenever they deem it necessary.

And WHEREAS: Extra — Constitutional bodies are endorsed by governmental institutions such as the so-called Loyal American Legion, — Knights of Liberty and others who are vested with the power of state and municipal law and are exercising those rights deliberately for their own narrow, terroristic aims

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED: That the Communist Labor Party Conference of Ohio go on record as unalterably opposed to and is ready to fight such methods of coercion and terrorism with the organized power of the workers.

Reconvened at 7:10 p. m. and the Committee on Organization reported as follows:

### ORGANIZATION

The question of organization of our party is at this time paramount to all others, the systematic terrorism that has been carried on for some months and now generally prevails thruout the state, has resulted in our local organizations — being discriminated against in the use of halls and all public places for purposes of propaganda and organization.

New organization tactics are therefore necessary where the organization as such is not permitted to function, individual effort must be put forth, more personal methods must be used for the upbuilding of our organization.

The time has passed where the organization can delegate to a few of its members the carrying on of its work, from now on every member must consider himself or herself a propagandist and organizer, by personal solicitation of individuals. By the passing of literature from hand to hand and constant personal effort by our members must we now carry on our work, members must be made to realize the responsibility resting upon them. They must be responsive to all demands made upon them by the organization.

The S.E.C. and the State office have outlined a plan of organization work that is now being put into operation thru out the state. We believe this plan will meet the demands of the time. While it is a radical departure from methods used in the past we urge comrades and local organizations to lend their assistance to the field workers sent out by the state office. We are convinced that this method of organization will result in a great upbuilding of our party and we urge the fullest possible co-operation of comrades and locals with the organizers sent out by the State office.

Action was deferred after hearing the report of the State Secretary, and later referred to the Resolution Committee.

Comrade Prevey addressed the Conference on the subject of the History of the Socialist Movement in the United State, and brought out many points of information new to the younger and new members. Adjourned at 11:00 P.M. to convene at 10:00 a. m. Sunday morning.

Convened at 10:45 a. m. Sunday morning and comrade John C. Chase was elected Chairman for the day. Reading of minutes of former session was dispensed with.

The Resolution Committee reported two resolutions of Unity:

### UNITY RESOLUTION.

We realize the essential necessity or Unity between the two Communist organizations to clear the way for our message to the working class and be strengthening of our efforts for emancipation, and recommend that whenever the Communist Party members evince to desire for Unity, we urge upon our members that they issue a call for a joint conference with them for the purpose of discussion of grounds of Unity.

### AFFILIATION RESOLUTION.

WHEREAS:—The Communist Labor Party from the day of its organization has stood for and demanded Unity, and has used its utmost endeavors to accomplish Unity and

WHEREAS:—A large proportion of the rank and file of all Communist elements are in favor Unity

WHEREAS:—The officials of the Communist Party stand in the way of Unity and thus prevent the will of the rank and file from being carried out

THEREFORE Be it resolved: — That the C. L. P. conference of Ohio calls when all Communist Locals and comrades to accomplish Unity by joining hands with the Communist Labor Party, the officials of which stand interested to obtain Unity in order that one strong communist organization may result in the state of Ohio.

Both resolutions were adopted. The Constitution Committee reported favorably their draft of a Constitution as follows. This report will be submitted to Locals later.

This session adjourned at 12:10 p. m. to reassemble at 1:30 p. m.

Convened at 1:40 p. m. and comrade Allison spoke on "The Party Situation in Ohio", outlining in detail much necessary work to be done in the immediate future. The State Secretary was instructed by motion to notify all Locals not yet affiliated with the C. L. P. that after December 31st., that they will be dropped from the roster and new locals organized.

The Organization Committee report was read a second time and adopted as offered. (See report above). Comrade Tom Lewis spoke upon "Shop Committees", their development methods of functioning, their growing power and unlimited possibilities. His speech was eagerly listened to by

## Conference Report of Delegate Bonsall.

Salem, Ohio, Dec. 1, 1919.

REPORT OF DELEGATE elected by Columbiana County Socialist Party to the State Conference of the Communist Labor Party of Ohio, held at Akron, Ohio Nov. 29th and 30th, 1919.

The Convention consisted of a goodly number of delegates from various parts of the state, chosen by those Locals which had affiliated with the Communist Labor Party. It was a splendid and earnest working body of men and women.

The resolution which was drawn up at the meeting of the County Committee held in G. A. R. Hall, Salem, Sunday, November 23rd., was presented by me at the Convention and I requested the delegates to express themselves concerning it without offering a motion for its adoption. About one hour was then consumed in considering it and nearly one half of the delegates present expressed their views upon the proposition embraced in said resolution. I wished very much that the comrades of Columbiana County could have been present and heard the objections against its adoption and the reason for such objections. Comrade Tom Clifford of Cleveland and many others who were well informed concerning the attitude of the officials of the Communist Party in refusing, repeatedly, the overtures of the C. L. P., looking to unity, affirmed in a calm though earnest and positive manner, the utter futility of arriving at such unity except through the methods that may be brought about by the rank and file of the Communist Party. Indeed, quite a number of the Locals of the Communist Party have already broken away from the arbitrary actions of their officials and have aligned themselves with the C. L. P.

So far as the old Socialist Party is concerned, the unlawful action of the old committee and secretary heretofore made known to the comrades generally throughout the country together with the great falling off of the payment of dues etc., have so completely crippled the old organization that there is little left of it to affiliate and function with. For these and other reasons too numerous to mention here, the said resolution providing for a referendum vote on the matter, was not adopted.

Your delegate was agreeably surprised to see the thorough, earnest and charitable manner with which the Convention considered all the vital questions that came before it. Comrade Margaret Prevey of Akron gave a masterful, interesting and instructive address on the history and development of the Socialist Party in all of its phases, during the past eighteen years.

The delegates and a half filled with visitors. The Resolution Committee reported resolution No. 7, reading as follows: WHEREAS, a campaign of organization of the Metal & Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 300 of the Industrial Workers of the World has been planned throughout the State of Ohio, and

WHEREAS, the Communist Labor Party believes the above said organization is a revolutionary industrial union, so be it

RESOLVED, that we the delegates of the Communist Labor Party assembled this 30th day of November 1919, do hereby pledge our cooperation to this and to similar industrial organizations which work of the abolition of the wage system.

Resolution adopted as read.

All Committees were discharged and the Conference adjourned sine die.

LAWRENCE A. ZITT

Conference Secretary.

### CENSORSHIP STILL EXISTS.

Though it is officially stated that the censorship has been abolished in Australia, it has come to light that since the official lifting a more vicious scheme of censorship has been introduced. Lists of well-known labor advocates—writers and speakers—have been compiled, and instructions issued secretly that their correspondence be held pending perusal by the secret service agents. It is also stated that the correspondence so held is secretly steamed open, perused, and re-sealed in order that the censorship might not be detected.

When the matter was brought up in the Australian Parliament it was officially denied, but against this, the "Australian Worker" (Sydney) holds irrefutable written evidence that this system of censorship does exist.

Comrade Chase of Akron, who, twenty years ago was elected Mayor of a city in Massachusetts on the Socialist ticket and who has been a splendid and courageous worker and speaker in the movement ever since, gave a magnificent address on the subject of "OUR POLITICAL PRISONERS"? It was brilliant, eloquent and thrilling and was given on Sunday afternoon when the hall was filled with visitors. The mention of Comrade Debs and Comrade Kate Richards O'Hare was responded to by storms of applause.

Comrade Tom Lewis, the "little giant," entertained the large assemblage by a report of his recent work and travels over the state for the purpose of instructing and organizing the Workers of various shops and factories in which each trade or craft consists of a unit and elects its own steward or chairman. These several stewards then meet whenever necessary and jointly consider and discuss the needs and desires of their respective trades. This system embraces all of the helpers or laborers and also the office force. This is along the line of the present system of Russia where each trade or craft elects its own representative to the legislative body known as the Soviet.

It is the settled purpose and determination of the C. L. P. to push this movement vigorously throughout the industrial centers of the United States, including the agricultural workers, until the Congress of the United States shall be composed exclusively of men and women coming directly from the wealth producers of the nation. It is now plainly evident that the workers of the nation must use the two weapons of political and industrial action combined, in order to accomplish the ultimate aim and goal of unseating the capitalist retainers and hirelings who have brought destruction and mob-rule in this Republic; and to establish in its place an Industrial Democracy which shall embrace the interests, happiness and protection of every man, woman and child however humble and to establish in this nation the Co-operative Commonwealth and the Brotherhood of Man.

In concluding this brief report, let me say that my judgement and conscience impel me to recommend and urge every Local throughout the state, to align itself with the Communist Labor Party before January 1st, 1920; and to enlist in earnest and courageous work to the end that the worldwide revolution which the forces of the present epoch in human history have brought to our very doors, may be guided along peaceful lines.

Fraternally submitted

CHARLES BONSAALL

Delegate.

### KOLCHAK'S CAPITAL FALLS TO THE BOLSHIEVISTS.

Bolshevik claims of the capture of Omsk Nov. 15 were confirmed by official dispatches received today at the department. These said the soviet forces had advanced thirteen versts beyond the Kolchak capital and had destroyed bridges and railroad tracks.

LONDON.—The Bolsheviks claim the capture of ten generals and more than 100 other officers at Omsk, according to an official statement issued today by the soviet government at Moscow.

Kolchak's army is being pursued in an easterly direction, the statement adds.

Mr. Rockefeller, jr., is head of the committee representing the public to see what can be done about bringing the dead labor conference to life. His job is to make capital and labor love each other.

Meanwhile, "trench guns" which are shotguns sawed off for quick handling, have appeared on the streets in Gary. The trench guns are intended to make labor RESPECT capital, whether it LOVES capital or not.

Now that the "Casey" have armed and equipped a hundred of their number and sent them to war against the Russian workingclass government, no one ought to be in doubt as to the attitude of the Catholic Church towards the workingclass. But we have no special enmity against the Catholics. The protestan churches are every bit as bad. All the difference is the protestant churches are divided into so many warring factions that they can not develop the power of solidarity the Catholic church does.



# WHAT THEY ARE SAYING IN ENGLAND.

The employers will give time to eat, time to sleep; they are in terror of time to think.—G. K. Chesterton.

I am absolutely convinced you have got to give the wage earners a share in the management of the industry in which they are employed.—Lord Robert Cecil.

There is no reason why women should not hold the offices of Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor.—Lord Haldane.

The real poor now mostly wear black coats.—Dean Inge.

The Englishman never sees himself as Ajax, but always as Parsifal.—Bernard Shaw.

Parliament is spending millions and millions of pounds for the upkeep of the army, navy and air force. One would almost think that we were just starting on a war instead of having just finished one.—General Talbot Hobbs.

The military task of the league of nations will be not merely to prevent foreign wars but to prevent civil wars.—Professor Sarolea of Edinburgh University.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke for three and a half hours, his subject being the importance of deeds not words.—Anon.

Out of this great war comes one thing a man may walk from end to end of Africa on British soil.—The Daily Express, London.

Economic rivalry between Britain and the United States will within five years lead to war, and Ireland will be the cockpit of the future slaughter.—John McLean, Scottish labor leader.

If in stretching out after a "pax mundi," which we might never attain, we were to let slip from our grasp the "pax Britannica" we should be sacrificing substance for the shadow.—Lord Milner.

I think Ireland is the darkest spot on the map, not only of the British empire, but of the world. H. H. Asquith.

I believe that if things go on as they are going at present the House of Commons will be ruined.—Sir Edward Carson, M. P.

—From The World Tomorrow.

## We did not go to the School.

(Continued from page 1.)

\* comes by mass action it will come by action of the mass, not by the term mass action in the mouths of a few phrase mongers.

We have a lot of hell raisers in this country. Don't mistake them for revolutionists who are seeking a social revolution. Some of the hell raisers are to be found in the loyalty leagues and other allied bodies. This type of hellraiser does his hell raising in defiance of the law of the land, but gets away with it because he has the moral support of the courts and judges and the negative support of an indifferent public opinion.

Other hell raisers are to be found in the ranks of the returned soldiers. They are not to be blamed for their attitude of mind. Millions of dollars were spent in the past two years by the Democratic Administration to place the kind of propaganda before the people that would create the hell raising state of mind. The fact that it was designed primarily against the Germans as an aid to help win the war does not alter the other fact—that that hell raising state of mind was created and is here, and will vent itself upon anything and anybody that offers an opportunity "for a little action and a chance to treat em rough!"

None of these hell raisers are class conscious, hence none of their hell raising can be of any benefit to the working class.

Any attempt to "pull off a revolution" at this time amongst the unorganized and non class conscious wage-earners is simply the folly of blindness, or of madness.

America is headed hell bent for a revolution. It will come far too soon—long before we are organized and ready for it—come because it has to come. The economic conditions are shaping themselves toward that inevitable conclusion, but instead of encouraging the workers into actions which at this time can mean nothing short of cold blooded massacre we should bend all our energies to organization and education.

Let us have less revolutionary phrases and more action towards building a strong and stable organization. Let us hear less of mass action and more of CLASS action.

# A Study of British Labor Strategy

By G. D. H. COLE.

It is not easy to form a correct estimate of the strength and orientation of the labor movement in Great Britain. It all depends where and how you look. There are reactionary streaks in British labor hardly paralleled elsewhere unless in the United States; but there is also a strong and growing leftward movement which may at any time sweep along with it a big proportion of organized labor. Viewed as a whole, the British labor movement seems about the most chaotically organized in the world; but in this chaos there are great groups and industries which are effectively united in practically blackleg-proof combinations. If the extreme left is only a small minority, so is the extreme right; and, while British labor is not "class-conscious" in any full sense, it is certainly still less conscious of any unity with the capitalist system, such as a few of its own leaders and most of the press set out to preach.

American observers, perhaps owing to a deep consciousness of their own troubles, have been apt in recent years to appraise British labor at too high a value. They have taken for accomplished facts what are only tendencies struggling to overcome opposition and inertia, and some of their estimates of leading personalities in our movement seem to us in Great Britain almost ludicrously exaggerated. In particular, they have almost fallen over one another in acclaiming "Labor and the New Social Order," the pamphlet which Mr. Sidney Webb drafted as a statement of the policy of the reorganized Labor party, whereas the left wing here has, to say the least, not got very excited over the latest exposition of Fabianism in politics.

Greatly as the Labor party has strengthened its political position since its reorganization, the developments which really count for most have taken place in the industrial sphere. The war resulted in a huge increase not only in the membership but also in the strength of trade unionism. It also gave an impetus to new ideas and better organization which is only now beginning to make itself felt. Amalgamation of rival and overlapping unions and an approximation to

the "industrial" structure are slow in coming; but gradually the movement in that direction is taking shape, and important amalgamations, impossible during the war, are entering into the sphere of practical industrial politics.

The mere amalgamation of trade unions, however, though it helps to provide a better instrument for carrying on the struggle, is far less significant than the growing change in trade-union orientation. Before the war, the idea of workers' control in industry was struggling against huge odds. It was advocated by a few unions, by the few scattered organizations of industrial unionists, and by the then wholly unorganized but influential group of guild socialists. Apart from these, it was opposed by the trade-union leaders and ignored by the most of the rank and file. The idea was still in the early stages of propagandist activity, and had certainly not reached the stage of formulation as a definite programme by responsible labor bodies.

The war has changed all that. Several of the largest and most important unions, including the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railwaymen and the other two railway unions, the principal societies in the post office, and others, have formulated definite proposals for the assumption of control jointly with the state as owner, while in other industries, such as engineering, shipbuilding and building, the control idea has made enormous headway, although no concrete proposals for a complete system of control have yet been officially put forward. The "rank and file" organizations of the district councils among the railway men, and of the shop stewards' and workers' committees among the engineers and kindred workers, have been the most active unofficial agencies in pressing forward the control idea.

The strategy of the class struggle in Great Britain centres largely round this question of industrial control. The capitalist system in industry is manifestly breaking up, and it is becoming more and more difficult for the capitalist employer to ensure either continuous operation of his works, or efficiency (ever the capitalist standard) even when his works are running. This is because he finds his

workers decreasingly willing to go on working for profit, or to exert themselves in order to pile up profits under anti-social conditions. Great Britain is therefore confronted with the same problem which is troubling the greater part of Europe—the fact of decreasing production as a factor making for unrest, high prices, and perhaps finally revolution.

There can be no doubt that this danger is understood in capitalist circles, and that all manner of schemes are being discussed whereby the workers may be induced to cooperate in increasing production and the capitalist class may at the same time retain all its control over industry and the social power dependent upon industry. The Whitley scheme, or rather the manner in which it was taken up by the Government, was the first definite attempt in this direction; although it has manifestly failed to achieve any substantial results, or to enlist the support of the main body of labor, it is still assiduously pushed in capitalist circles—for example, by Mr. Lloyd George in his last speech to the House of Commons and the Government's industrial policy. Similar "sprats to catch mackerel" are being thrown out in other directions by those whose object it is to maintain at all costs the old industrial system.

Despite these attempts, and despite all the talk about unity, there can be no doubt that the two parties in industry are getting steadily further apart. In almost every industry there is the possibility of an explosion, and in many of them actual explosions are now prevented only by the unfavorable condition of the labor market. This does not mean, of course, that the British trade unions have one and all determined to end capitalism—still less that they have formed a concerted plan with this end in view. The discontent is still primarily with particular abuses and only secondarily with capitalism itself; and a concerted plan of action is almost entirely lacking. There are present only the elements which may later be worked up into a coherent attack upon capitalism; at present they only make the capitalist system of production work more and more inefficiently without providing a better system to take its place. Moreover, generally speaking, each

industry, and sometimes each separate craft, goes its own way largely disregarding the rest. Except for the Triple Alliance of Miners, Railwaymen, and Transport Workers there is hardly any attempt at combined action. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, the only body which professes to represent the industrial movement as a whole, steadily eschews industrial disputes and industrial action, and takes great care to avoid responsibility and indeed decisive action of every sort. The industrial movement is, indeed, too largely leaderless and uncoordinated, and the Trades Union Congress remains a mere debating society, with more than a suggestion of the bean-feast about it. It neither acts nor organizes nor undertakes propaganda; the only form of action at which it excels is obstruction.

Accordingly, there is always a strong temptation for the "rank and file" left-wing trade unionist in Great Britain to kick over the traces, denounce the existing unions and combinations as useless, and set out to create new bodies or unofficial bodies sid by side with the old. Nevertheless, it is safe to say that attempts to create new unions on a class basis are entirely futile, and that unofficial organizations can succeed only as temporary bodies influencing the existing unions. The I. W. W. is and will remain negligible in Great Britain. The Socialist Labor party, which once tried to promote the One Big Union as a rival to existing unions, has abandoned the attempt, and now contents itself with stimulating and permeating such movements as that of the shop stewards. If the main body of British labor is chaotically organized and is lacking in constructive ideas for a grand assault on capitalism, it is none the less stably organized and incapable of being broken or superseded. It may possibly be led gradually leftward, and made to develop a greater class consciousness and a more definite plan; but short cuts which aim at arriving at the ideal by substituting one organization for another are doomed to failure from the outset.

This fact affects not only the industrial but also the political movement. The Labor party is based upon

the trade unions, and separate political and socialist organization plays in it only a small part. The British Labor party is often denounced as a hybrid, neither fish, flesh, nor fowl; but, whatever it is, it derives from its trade-union basis a stability second only to that of the trade unions themselves. The left wing may and does grumble justly at the slackness and lack of ideas of the Labor party in Parliament; but it is not likely to succeed in launching successfully a better party. The relation of political and industrial labor in Great Britain is a clear case of the dominance of economic over political organization under capitalist conditions.

These facts also determine the international attitude of British Labor. As an effective force, the British Labor movement can make itself felt internationally only through the Labor party and the Trades Union Congress. Many will hold that this is tantamount to not making itself effectively felt at all; but it is at least clear that there is no other way. Even though the Second International is unsatisfactory, British labor is not in the least likely to join the Third. It will only, as the leftward tendency in the British movement grows stronger, begin to push the Second International itself to the left.

In fact, the orientation of British labor as a whole depends finally upon the attitude of the big unions which form the basis of its organization. The only way of moving British labor to the left is by moving these organizations, and the only way of moving them is by securing from within the adoption of more radical programmes of industrial control. The emergence of the demand for control into a clear practical issue for the miners and, to a less extent, for the railway men, has done more to push them leftwards than any issue not directly affecting their own industry could have done. British labor is learning the strategy of the class-struggle as a whole only by learning it first in its particular relation to each industry. When this lesson has gone home to the workers in most of the vital industries, a coherent plan will begin to emerge, and a real leftward movement will be possible for labor as a whole.

—From The Nation.

## LIGHT AFTER DARKNESS

(Continued from page 1.)

ness center, about six blocks long and three blocks wide. A parade in Centralia is a rare occurrence—a thing in itself that adds point to the contention that this parade was not designed by its promoters so much to celebrate the armistice as to be used as a shield in wrecking the I. W. W. hall and mobbing Britt Smith, the secretary, who, everyone in Centralia knew, was the one they wanted to get. Further—this parade marched fully two blocks beyond the usual point of counter-marching of all previous parades—the I. W. W. hall was four blocks beyond the outside limits of the business things.

Centralia, Wash., has a small business center of the town—and, why the belligerent attitude of many of the paraders; why were vile epithets freely shouted; why the cries, "Let's go get the ———!" "Let's clean 'em out!" shrieked by individuals apparently carrying out a program. The attack followed when the rear of the parade pushed on to the vicinity of the hall.

Those in the hall must have observed this offensive conduct, but in the face of a designed assault it must have appeared equally as dangerous to abandon the place as to remain within its shelter. They stayed. The attack came. They defended themselves. That they defended themselves only and did not attack is self-evident. That they were the victims of a pre-meditated assault is borne out by events occurring prior to the parade on Armistice day.

The Commercial Club of Centralia, the Elks and other organizations, had held meetings at which the I. W. W. had been denounced and violent language used. At one such meeting, reported in the Seattle Union-Record, a speaker, in condemning the Centralia chief of police, is declared to have said that he (the speaker) would clear the I. W. W. out of the town in 24 hours and another, one Scales, is alleged to have made the frank statement that no jury in the country would convict anybody for "cleaning out" the I. W. W. hall.

Thomas Lassiter, a sales agent for the Union-Record, was seized on the town, warned never to return again and threatened with bodily harm if he did.

Britt Smith, secretary of the I. W. W. branch of Centralia, repeatedly received warnings that he would be mobbed unless he left the town.

Many other events leading up to this affair, will be presented in due time. To one familiar with the situation and the circumstances leading up to this tragic event, the guilty parties are as apparent as is the difference between black and white. The I. W. W. charges that the secret forces back of the Armistice day demonstration are the instigators and responsible agents. They deliberately organized a mission of violence against men, who, under the circumstances, could do nothing but defend themselves.

We suggest a few questions for fair minded people to ponder on. Why was a town like Centralia selected for the Armistice day celebration instead of much larger places nearby, as Seattle, Tacoma or Aberdeen? Why were certain people (known I. W. W. haters) from other towns, invited to Centralia and why did they arrive in Centralia with sidearms? Why were detectives from the Seattle police force and reporters for a Tacoma newspaper conveniently on the scene when this thing happened? Did a Tacoma newspaper reporter go there merely to write up a small town parade, and did Seattle detectives go there to hold back the crowds from the line of march in a town of such size?

Why was a censorship placed on the telephone and telegraph that night?

Where did the many guns and pistols come from that everyone stamped as "loyal" had possession of immediately after the occurrence?

Why was the Seattle Union-Record suppressed? Was it feared that it might give the other side of the story?

Where did all the booze come from with which certain elements seemed to be well supplied?

These and many other questions are vital to a true knowledge of the Centralia affair.

Circumstances point unerringly to the real instigators of this horrid thing. Reason rejects the plain falsity of the capitalist press in its story that the I. W. W. planned this shooting.

We will get at the truth of this affair, just as we did in the Everett massacre. We will fix the responsibility where it belongs. The truth will be vindicated and the guilty agents of plutocracy will be pilloried in the judgement of an awakening working class.

—Industrial Worker.

## SKYGAC SAYS:

I'd rather live in an all-catholic community than an all-Methodist community, as the Catholics are the more liberal of the two.

The criminal syndicalist laws are an acknowledgement on the part of the master class of the power the working class potentially possess. The pity if it is, the master-class discovered this potential power before the workers did. — But the workers are learning.

The same government that allows one man to do the work and another man to reap the reward is now busy rounding up the reds! Why? Because the reds were teaching the truth about this work and reward.

The dominant class has great hopes of controlling the American Legion and having it do the dirty work for them, but our guess is that they will have another guess coming. Thousands upon thousands of the A. L. are class-conscious and more are becoming so every day. The American Legion has already served the master class with notice that they will not do police duty in the interests of the master class. Our guess is that the A. Legion will be the backbone of the social revolution in America.

The Pagans had their Gods but it took the Christians to place beneath every grave the glare of hell.

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## GOMPERS AS HE IS.

It is hard to believe that the great capitalists and managers of industry really understand conditions among the workers of this country, or they would scarcely continue to play with dynamite as they are doing. They ought to listen to Samuel Gompers, for they have no more genuine friend and servitor than he. "We demand," he says, "a voice in the determination of the conditions under which we will give service. . . . We have never made an assault — and it is furthest from our thoughts — upon the rights of property or the right of management; — no revolution for Mr. Gompers, not even an unkind look at the present God-given industrial order—but if the employers break the steel strike, says Mr. Gompers, and men go about preaching "the tyranny which they experience and the injustices which have been meted out to them, then,

whatever betide, you have sown the seed and will bear the consequence." We are not often able to agree with Mr. Gompers, but we do unreservedly commend his warning to that large body of American employers who appear to believe that we are still living in the middle of the nineteenth century. The words we have quoted should carry the more weight in such quarters because there is nowhere to be found a more sincere and consistent supporter of the old capitalistic order than the president of the American Federation of Labor.

The Nation.

## The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

It appears to me that your ideas would be screamingly funny if they did not lead to such painful conclusions.

"What do you mean," the other two gasped almost in one breath.

"I mean what I say. We belong to the working class. You say the working class must be organized. One of you say soberly and the other says generally. Now why don't you ask can they be organized. Collins says yes, at least that part of them who do not drink. For this Rudolph calls him a Christian. How are Rudolph and Collins going to work together in the same organization, when it takes a steel cage to keep them from "beating each other up," yet both of them are sober men. Collins wants to eliminate the weak and let them die, Rudolph wants to forgive the weak, which means that he must carry them.

For it is logical that if a man is weak he will have to lean on you. Now if you are fighting the boss who has both of his fists ready with a drunkard in one arm and a mental defective in another, then who is going to get rich."

"That's what I say," roared Collins.

Jack ignored him, "Both of you say that acquired characteristics are not transmitted, yet you try to give to the race a mental tendency which by nature it does not possess except for purposes of battle. There is no tendency toward productive solidarity in the human race that I can see. They do not organize for production. They bunch together for strife. The brainiest and brightest of the race are continually crawling upward over the duller and the weaker. That is the law of life, and it appears to me that your endeavor to set up a republic of the weak will always be successfully thwarted by the strong."

(Continued next week.)

# LENIN

## THE MAN AND HIS WORK

By ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

and the impressions of

Col. Raymond Robins and Arthur Ransome

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THIS is the first authentic biography of Lenin, and the first account of him in action since his accession to power.

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