

THE "OUTLAWS"

Now comes to bat a real UNAMERICAN strike. All strikes are un-American of course, but the strike of the "outlaw" unions is particularly un-American. Strikes engineered by the reactionary leaders of labor are not in good taste to the boss class at any time. But strikes against the boss class of the capitalist system as well as against the bosses in the unions—that kind of strike is hell, sure enough.

Tired of waiting for Wilson's administration and Railroad Brotherhood chiefs to run out of words and to tire of confabs, realizing that action, mass action, spoke louder than conferences and arbitration, several thousand railroad workers went on strike in Chicago. In almost a day the strike spread to a dozen industrial centers. The Chicago meat industry was put out of business. Coal shortage threatened Ohio industries. The steel mills were hard hit. Freight was tied up in scores of yards. And all this because a few thousand workers struck, 45,000 out of a total employed in the railroad industry of 1,900,000 is the number the capitalist papers give.

Two dozen reactionary Brotherhood officials signed an order commanding the strikers to go back to work. And they did not. The strikers were threatened with a loss of their union standing, their union benefits. To no avail. Then the Brotherhood officials acted true to form and began calling for "loyal" Brotherhood men to take the places of the strikers! The result—firemen and engine men joined the strikers and refused to work with the union scabs.

Tears were shed by the capitalist dailies because the workers gave no warning before they struck. Mr. Gompers was asked point blank by his bourgeois mentors whether he really knows what is going on inside his organization. Strikes in such numbers (the New York harbor strike; the Kansas coal strike and with such sympathetic relationships and with such demonstration of a design to win "by force rather than on the merits of the industrial struggle" (New York Times) seem a queer phenomena to the capitalist class—and yet not, for this class seems to sense that the whole movement has something to do with Sovietism and that the strikes, the "outlaw" strikes are linked with what is now called "Russian propaganda". Do we need to add that all propaganda is "Russian propaganda" which seeks to liberate the workers from wage slavery?

What interests us a whole lot is the appearance in the American labor movement of "outlaw" unions. A new class phrase—"outlaw unions". In a day to come a teacher will ask little Willie: "Willie, what kind of unions were outlaw unions in the days when capitalism ruled?" And little Willie will answer: "Outlaw unions were those which rebelled against the reactionary A. F. of L. leadership as well as against the employing class." One hundred per cent in history for Willie!

Hail the outlaw unions! We have them now in almost every trade represented in the A. F. of L. The chiefs of the Brotherhoods in a joint statement described the cause of the strikes as an attempt by radicals to advance the One Big Union idea. That's what all the "chiefs" have said about their outlaw unions. We say—

All right! Guilty!

As this is written the railroad workers strike is increasing in strength. And the capitalist dailies are cutting funny antics. In one column they report that the strike has reached its peak and is now losing. In another column they report thousands of additional strikers augmenting the forces of those already out. The strikers are renegades, the strike is termed as "headless", all of which are good signs, for the more the lackeys of the capitalist class bombard it the better strike it must be, and if it is really headless—well, as we said before, let the slogan among the labor unions from now on be "all power to the workers".

The administration in the meantime is handling the situation gingerly, if that means that they are up in the air. It's this way—if the administration interferes it may kindle the flames and if it doesn't, they may ditto. So it does not know what to do. Palmer is nosing about a bit, looking for a mandate hailing directly from Russia ordering the strike!

The strike may yet have political significance. The Lever act is still in working order and the coal miners were enjoined, you know. We'll amend this by saying that the strike already has political significance. Is it not against the administrations success in making monkeys out of the Brotherhood chiefs?

Whether the strike of the "outlaws" is won or lost in the end, the strike is now won. It was won the second or third day for it registered a spirit of revolt among the railroad workers which will help settle the fate of capitalism.

This parting shot—IF THE MINE AND STEEL WORKERS HAD WAITED UNTIL NOW, AND THEN—ALL TOGETHER!

Little Lessons for Labor

SKYGAC.

They say that the school of experience is a hard school, but a school whose students always learn. Like the university of hard knocks it forces even the backward and the unwilling, to learn. During the past five years we have had an overplus of patriotic propaganda, the whole tenor of which was labor will protect the government the government will protect labor.

When some of us who had discovered the class nature of society tried to tell the multitude that the government

is constituted today was a government of for and by the capitalist class and that the interests of the employing class and the working class were not identical but opposed, we were jailed and persecuted. Now that the coal strike settlement commission has brought in its report we have something concrete to offer as evidence that there ARE classes in society and further that it is childish to expect a commission made up of the employing class to look out for the interests of the working-class. The evidence in this case is so plain, so blunt, so raw, that it seems that



The Same Old Game -- The Same Old Gang.

Craft Unionism -- An Admitted Failure

The acute situation engendered by the railroad strike brought forth some remarks from Samuel Gompers, President of the A. F. of L. while attending the Cigar Maker's Convention, last week in Cleveland that are well worthy of more than a moment's passing attention. Said Mr. Gompers in reference to the strike after scoring the profiteers and the political jerry-mandering by Congress of the food control laws,

"No wonder, then, that the workers who did so much to win the war and who are now 33 1-3 per cent worse off financially than before the war are discontented and resentful on account of their present conditions and surroundings.

"Unless wages are increased to meet the increased cost of living, it is equal to a reduction in wages and a corresponding lowering of the workers' standards.

"No wonder, then, that we find workers, non-members of organized labor and even some who are union men becoming impatient and disregarding the discipline usually practised in labor unions."

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Looking at these statements by and large, what are they but an admission of the utter failure of craft unionism—the kind fostered by Samuel Gompers for the past 40 years? Mr. Gompers admits by these statements that the workers by organizing into his fossilized craft unions have not been able to maintain their standard of living, but have fallen to a standard one third lower than before the war which they won and out of which grew a crop of 30,000 millionaires.

Officials of the A. F. of L. take great pains to open their conventions nowadays with declarations that the A. F. of L. is NOT a revolutionary organization seeking to overthrow the present system of—but is a business institution for the maintenance of the "American standard of living" for the work-

ers and an increase in the good things of life for them, but without making any radical changes in the industrial system. What would you think of a business institution which had lost one third of its business in two years? You would say its business methods were in need of radical readjustment at least.

And that is what is the matter with the A. F. of L. Its methods are behind the times. It can no longer come with the capitalist imperialism which has developed within the past ten years. When Machine industry was young and undeveloped to its present stage, when hand labor and personal skill entered largely into production, the workers had some showing against capital. Today the machine has replaced the craftsman's skill. The skill of the mechanic has been placed in the intricate mechanism of machines, the distinctive character of the crafts are all but obliterated. They all melt into one another. But the character of the labor unions, fostered by Gompers remains almost the same. Instead of adapting labor unionism to the changing forms of industrial processes, Gompers has sought to retain the out worn characteristics of a bygone industrial epoch. He still attempts to win a battle against nationwide and worldwide trusts with a handful of workers organized in separate crafts and with out co-ordination with other groups.

To whine now when the workers are faced with starvation, and attempt to place the blame for it upon politicians is merely to beg the question and to evade the logical results of his own policy and principles. A unionism having a membership of 4,000,000 men and women which cannot force from its employers a living wage has something radically wrong with it. But Gompers cannot see it.

But the workers can; they are catching glimpses of a new weapon in the arsenal of Labor. They are examining it and trying it out in spite of Gompers and his host of reactionaries. It is labeled One Big Union. With this weapon, we will win, not paltry increases in pay but a world in which Labor receives the full social value of its toil. All power to the workers!

even a wayfaring man though a fool might see the truth and act accordingly.

The miners asked:

A 60% increase in wages. (Cost of living has increased over 75% since the last wage scale was adopted.)

The miners got;

A 27% increase in wages, or less than one half!

A thirty hour week. This was to provide for a steady income throughout the year in the place of the overwork at some periods and months of idleness at other periods.

The miners got;

They were allowed to retain the eight hour day!

The miners asked;

Time and a half for overtime and double time for Sunday.

The miners got;

Left.

The miners asked;

Termination of wage contracts in the fall instead of in the spring.

The miners got;

Wage contracts terminating March 31!

The miners asked;

Nationalization of the coal mines;

The miners got;

Ignored.

The miners asked;

The commission to establish a number of vital reforms in the industry.

The miners got;

Disappointed.

It is just such bitter little lessons as this one, which will drive into the heads of the more reactionary of the miners the idea of the class nature of society and the futility as well as foolishness of wage contracts expiring at a time best suited to the employer's interests.

Government at best is but the executive committee of the capitalist class. It will so remain until enough of the working-class become class conscious and the forces of industrial evolution has forced a new order of society. It

is a bitter pill for the miners to swallow, but it is out of the sum total of such bitternesses that a new order of society is born.

THE CARTOON FUND.

Hearken to this, Comrades

"Enclosed find \$1.40 for Cartoon Fund and sixty cents for 100 copies Soviet Labor Laws. I don't like the way the Cartoon Fund looks—kind of lop-sided. The comrades ought to put a little weight on the other end of the scale beam. Every little helps and they wouldn't miss it half so much as they would the cartoons.

Yours for more of the"

J. M. SCOTT.

After reading the above, we are sure that the Cartoon Fund will brighten up considerable. Here is how it stands just now.

Previous receipts \$43.60
J. M. Scott 1.40

Grand Jury Will Hear Charge.

Charges of violation of the Lever Act against Charles Baker of Ohio, socialist speaker and organizer and J. P. Cannon, Editor of the Workers' World of Kansas City, Mo., will be presented to the Grand Jury sitting at Kansas City April 26th.

Both comrades have been on bail for some weeks pending the decision of the judgement of the Grand Jury. Comrade Cannon is charged with violation of the Act because of certain articles which appeared in the Workers' World. It is alleged that Baker violated the Act in speeches before bodies of striking coal miners in various Kansas coal camps during the recent national strike of soft coal miners. Comrade Cannon has lately recovered from an attack of influenza contracted while held in prison awaiting the raising of sufficient bail for his release.

The Workers' World, began publication about a year ago, being organized by a group of Kansas City comrades. Comrade Cannon is about the only one of its staff who remains out side of jail at the present time, the rest having been sent to jail some months ago for two year terms for anti-capitalist activities. Their sentence to prison marked the downfall of this fighting organ of the workers. Its publication was discontinued after about nine months due to the repressions imposed upon it.

The Lever Act is one of the indefensible war time laws whose sole function is that of subjugating the workers to the capitalist class will. The Kansas City hearing will be watched by workers of Kansas and Ohio where both Cannon and Baker have strong sympathy and thousands of friends.

MARGUERITE PREVEY ON SPEAKING TOUR.

Comrade Marguerite Prevey, whose incarceration in Columbus, Ohio, jail, charged with violation of the Criminal Syndicalism law of Illinois by assisting in the formation of the Communist Labor Party at Chicago last August, and who was abducted at night from jail and forced to journey to prison at Chicago at the hands of Illinois agents, is filling a number of speaking engagements in Ohio.

A very successful meeting was held at Akron April 11th. She also spoke at the Labor Temple at Toledo on the 15th. Meetings at Shadyside, Neffs, Bellaire, Youngstown, Portsmouth, Cincinnati and other Ohio cities are scheduled. It is probable that she will fill dates in Illinois. Thousands of leaflets describing her abduction are being circulated all over the United States.

Comrade Prevey finds interested audiences awaiting to hear the story of her jail experiences of which she has a large fund as the period of her incarceration lasted 29 days and was spent in three prisons, two in Ohio and the other in Chicago.

Making Money

By Scott Nearing.

Capitalist inefficiency is illustrated nowhere more effectively than in the seldom warns them. The place was financing of the European governments during the war. Take France, as a horrible example.

France is in the control of one of the most conservative bourgeois groups in the world. During the war, in order to save themselves, they refused to pay any considerable increase in taxes; instead, they issued paper money and bonds. One quarter of the war cost was raised by taxation in Great Britain. In France, only 15.4 per cent was secured in this manner.

Instead of paying for the war as they went, through an increase in taxation, the ruling class of France decided to pay for it by printing paper money and by issuing bonds. The total debt of France, before she entered the war was \$5,500,000,000; on March 31, 1919, it was \$30,500,000,000. In 1914 the Bank of France had 6,000,000,000 francs in note circulation; in November, 1919, the note circulation was 37,000,000,000. Fourteen per cent of this circulation had behind it a metal reserve—gold and silver; the remainder, or 86 per cent, was paper.

When the war broke out, the franc could be bought at the rate of about five for \$1. Today francs are selling at little less than nine for \$1.

The French business classes believed that they had discovered a new way to make money—turn on the presses, print bonds; engrave paper, and the trick is done. They might as well try to make army blankets out of moon beams. As long as the present system of finance is continued, so long will it be necessary to put value behind paper. The attempt of the French business classes to make money out of paper is merely another illustration of their failure to comprehend the working of the system that has made them rich, and that is now busy destroying them.

W. Birsin	50
Dr. Van Nette	1.00
M. L. Tragesser	1.00
Total	47.05
Expense	\$64.45

For the first time he learned that the Western Federation of Miners had been, and still was in a life and death struggle with the mine owners. He told him of the pitched battles which had been fought at Cripple Creek and other Colorado towns, of the thugs and gun men employed by the company to terrorize workers into accepting company conditions of servitude. They also told him that only the summer before the mine owners in the mine he now worked had been taken and berided into a bull pen guarded by companies of negro soldiers. These negroes seeing that the white men were confined and helpless had openly insulted and taken liberties with the

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THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.

By Linn A. E. Gale.

The New York World on January 1, 1919, declared editorially that "a Bolshevik Germany means a Bolshevik Europe."

At that time German soldiers returning from the eastern front were bringing copies of the proclamation issued by the Soviet government of Russia that said: "The Socialist union of Russia, Austria and Germany must be established on the ruins of militarism, imperialism and economic slavery."

Commenting on the situation Louis C. Fraina, then editor of the Revolutionary Age, and now international secretary of the American Communist Party, wrote: "The general European, the World Revolution, depends upon the completion of the Proletarian Revolution in Germany; but equally the Proletarian Revolution in Germany depends upon the General Revolution."

Nobody appreciates these facts and fears a Soviet Republic in Germany more than the great capitalist nations of the world. Constantly they have shuddered at the thought of a Bolshevik regime in Berlin and yet they have hesitated to do the very things that might have delayed Bolshevism there for considerable time. They have stood between the devil and the deep sea—between their fears, on the one hand, of a Bolshevik Germany, and their fears, on the other hand, of a reaction to kaiserism and the return to power of the junkers. Seesawing back and forth, afraid of both contingents, they have concluded that it was better to frankly support or at least tolerate the old military party than to do anything which hastens Soviet rule. So in the recent coup when the Hindenburg gang was in the ascendancy and the restoration of monarchy was not unlikely, the Allies kept hands off and promised not to interfere unless the situation could not be controlled within the country. It was plain where their sympathies were. In spite of their hatred for the kaiser and his party—a hatred not based on principle, but based on commercial rivalry and jealousy—they preferred a resumption of kaiserism to the adoption of Communism.

This very treachery and stupidity on the part of Allied capitalism, will produce the precise consummation that it so fears and shrinks from.

Repression and tyranny in Germany practiced by the fake Socialist government of Ebert, Scheidemann and approved and even urged by the Allied governments, are driving Germany direct to Soviets. Moderation and prudence would have delayed the Social Revolution in Germany. But blind rage and terrorism have hastened it as nothing else could. This present revolution may or may not be successful. But the masses of Germany have been convinced by bitter experience and brutal oppression that Soviets are their salvation and that a capitalist republic is as bad as or worse than the old regime of the kaiser. And if this revolution does not succeed, there will be another one that will succeed. "Democracy has had its chance in Germany and lost it," says Maximilian Harden, and he is right. Capitalistic diplomacy made a mess of the situation and only stirred the German proletariat to deeper depths of revolutionary feeling. The people, disillusioned and awakened, will now have Communism or nothing. They want no more either of monarchism or of capitalist "democracy."

Harden well says, "The outside world must prepare itself to deal with a modified Soviet government in Germany. Factory Soviets are going to dictate the policy of the government thru their central committee... For a year this so-called democratic government had its own way but did not know how to satisfy the people... The government had the task of removing every sign of the old autocratic rule which had become detestable to the German people and to make them realize a new era. What did it do? It maintained the country in a state of armed siege on the one side, flattening the bourgeoisie that the old capitalism would continue, deceiving the workmen with the idea that the socialization of industries was a mere matter of time... Then came the affair of January 13, when the government shot up the demonstration before the Reichstag. Since then the workmen have been restive..."

The present revolution soon followed. Whatever may be the immediate outcome it is a well-planned, wisely-directed revolution. The workers know what they are doing. The Spartacists of Germany have learned by experience, also not a little by observing that master mind, Lenin, whose cool-headedness and far vision have baffled and beaten the imperialists of the whole world. The German revolutionists, 100,000 in numbers, seized Essen, the home of the mammoth Krupp arms plant, and the very heart of Prussian militarism. Next they took possession of the cities of Düsseldorf where food and

clothing are produced, and Kiel, where ships are manufactured. Unless there is a sudden reaction, it will not be many days, judging from conditions at this writing, before all Germany will be under the red flag of International Communism.

A loan of money to the Ebert government to enable it to buy sufficient supplies from other countries, would have tilted it over a little longer, although it could not have prevented the eventual uprising that was certain. But the Allies were too vacillating in their policy and too fearful of helping the defeated foe, to extend the needed help. They could not see that the German people, lacking raw materials, could not barter goods for goods and must either get a loan with which to buy those goods or else go to pieces. They were too short-sighted to realize that the more they "punished" Germany by withholding help and keeping her in a state of paralysis and privation, the more fuel they were adding to the flames of Bolshevism within her borders.

It is so thruout the world. It is characteristic of a privileged class that when it gains a certain medium of power, it begins to lose all sense of reason and to imagine that it can, in street vernacular, "get away with anything." Judgment no longer restrains it. Yielding to unlimited greed and avarice, it spoils its own game and deprives itself of even what it already possesses. Like the dog in Aesop's fables, who dropped the piece of meat from his mouth to grab for the reflected piece in the water, plutocracy loses what it now has in a foolish effort to snatch still more from the masses.

American capitalism is playing with matches and dynamite when it denies radicals the use of constitutional methods and will not even seat Socialist officials who have been legally elected. The inevitable result will be resort to direct action and possibly to bloody revolution.

Even as America will be by the White Terror, so Germany is already being scourged into unadulterated Bolshevism by the unmitigated severity of its peace terms and the unbridled ferocity of its general policy. Whether the Spartacists come into power right now or a little later is not the question. The big fact is that they are going to rule Germany and that it is now too late to stem the tide of public sentiment. The masses are aroused. Soviet Germany is a certainty.

Calmly and complacently, we Communists watch the suicidal folly of the capitalist class of all countries.

We need only prepare to establish the New Order. The capitalists themselves are tearing down the old one as rapidly as we could wish.

Three little stinging hours.

THEY WERE "WILLING" (?)
By Linn A. E. Gale.

Paul Wallace Hanna, writing for the Federated Press, calls attention to the famous remark of President Wilson in June 1917 of the Selective Draft Law: "This is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling". Mr. Hanna adds, "And now comes Senator Fall and the Associated Press declaring 'Thirty thousand Americans crossed into Mexico to evade the Draft Law'."

Oh, yes, they were willing. So "willing" that 30,000 of them left the country and that many of those who remained in the country went to jail and suffered the horrors of the inquisition rather than go to Europe and out the gate of their fellow men. So "willing" that all the U. S. thousands of bands of "slackers" organized to resist being dragged into camp, establishing retreats in caves, forests and various isolated places so "willing" that many of them had to be beaten, bayoneted and even shot before they would consent to participation in the boasted war for democracy. And so "willing" that thousands of those who took their medicine and went to Flanders and were lucky enough to come back alive, declare that all hell could not drive them into another such bloody farce.

Senator Fall has been making some interesting "discoveries" lately, among them being this fact that so many conscientious objectors went to Mexico and another being the fact that the Communist Party of Mexico believes in Communism and is therefore opposed to any more capitalist wars.

If Senator Fall continues to manifest the same superior intelligence, he will probably "discover" some of these days that it wouldn't be a very healthy thing for him and his co-agents of Wall Street to try to send the boys of the U. S. out on another such errand of suffering and slaughter.

The British Labor Movement.

BY FELIX MORLEY
Staff Writer — The Federated Press

Article 4—The Labor Press
LONDON—A favorite saying in the navy is that the fighting power and general efficiency of any squadron must be calculated on the speed, armament and other characteristics of the weakest unit in that squadron; that one up-to-the-minute battleship does not make the whole fleet weak; that for instance, there is no advantage in possessing a ship capable of steaming thirty miles an hour if it has to stay in line with another whose top-most speed is fifteen miles an hour.

As the navy is one of the encumbrances from which labor suffers in the form of wasted production, in direct taxation, militaristic spirit and lowered standard of living, labor at least should appropriate any idea which may emanate from a "service" for the maintenance of which it pays so dearly. In particular it should realize the truth of the "weakest unit" theory and note how truly it holds in the labor movement. For the weakest unit in the labor movement of every capitalist nation today is undoubtedly the highly important unit of the labor press.

This is clearly recognized in England, and at the present time the entire labor movement is devoting a great deal of time, energy and money to building up a powerful labor press. The cooperation of every element, extremists, moderates, and the various shades of opinion in between, is as marked a characteristic of this effort as it is of every phase of the British Labor Movement. The results of cooperation are already apparent in the increased circulation and freedom from government persecution which is enjoyed by labor papers over here. I asked one of the editors of the Daily Herald whether that powerful organ of labor thought it in anyway hampered by government censorship, denial of second-class mailing privileges, or other more or less subtle efforts to curtail its influence in behalf of social progress.

"They know that if they tried to suppress the Herald now the Triple Alliance would stop every wheel in the country," he replied.

"And what would happen if a bill were introduced in Parliament empowering the Postmaster General to suppress labor newspapers at his discretion, as has been done in America with us?" I inquired.

The reply was a hearty laugh. "Why Lloyd George knows only too well that it was tactics of that sort which made a bloody revolution in Russia inevitable," he said, adding that the same realization of the intention of the workers to maintain the right of free press is held by the government with a respect to papers more directly propagandist in their outlook, such as the Glasgow "Forward."

Any article on the British Labor Press at the present time must center on the Daily Herald. It is the one daily newspaper of British labor; it is already a very vital factor in the labor movement on this side, and is steadily gaining in importance. Remarkable success in getting accurate news from Russia is only one reason why it is so cherished by the British Labor Movement. The special trade union committee of which Arthur Henderson is chairman, appointed last November to assist in developing the paper, stated recently that "during the trying period of reconstruction through which we are passing our work would appear well-nigh hopeless without the Daily Herald."

It was the great railway strike last fall which really made the Daily Herald. The capitalist press united in characterizing the attitude of the railway men as something little short of anarchy. As the only daily giving a true account of the strikers' case the Herald's fundamental importance to the whole labor movement was recognized everywhere. Its daily circulation leaped to half a million and at city news stands there were throngs every morning asking for "the labor paper." The circulation since then has dropped to a daily average of something over 300,000 is due solely to the fact that the paper's present printing equipment in London can not meet the full demand.

Imagine an honest labor newspaper with a circulation approximating that of the New York Times and reaching every corner of Great Britain, a paper which subscribers to every press association operating in England and in addition is now spending upwards of \$25,000 a year on special foreign correspondence, a paper which not only covers the industrial news of Great Britain from the workers' standpoint, but which can be relied upon to contain all that is essential of the news printed in other papers, and you have a good idea of the position already reached by the Herald. And yet it is of comparatively recent origin, founded in March 1912 as a daily, becoming a weekly in September, 1914, (after the outbreak of war), and starting up as a daily again only in March 1919. It should be noted that the Herald would not have been able to resume publication as a daily last year had it not been for the generosity of a small group of wealthy "sympathizers" who made the paper an unconditional gift of half a million dollars, without any suggestions or strings as to policy attached.

At first glance the Daily Herald is not impressive to American eyes, following the general English custom of small size and extreme condensation of all but the most important news. There are only five columns to the page and eight pages a day, excepting Monday when the issue is ten pages. The Herald does not appear Sundays at present. This smallness of size is somewhat compensated by the small attention which is paid to advertising, an average of not more than three columns an issue being taken up by trade "ads." About a page is given to topical photographs and other daily features. There is an editorial page of exceptional strength, which carries special articles by men and women prominent in all phases of labor movement. There are also excel-

lent cartoons by Will Dyson, rather spoilt by being compressed into one column width. In common with most English papers the Herald is not a financial success at the present time. It is running at a loss of about \$3000 a week.

The plans which have been laid to develop the Daily Herald and insure financial success, promise to make it one of the greatest and most influential newspapers in the world, bar none. They comprise, (1) printing simultaneously in London and Manchester, in the northwest of England with the same general, but different local news, so that the industrial north and Ireland can be readily supplied with a real labor newspaper. It is expected that this will result in the circulation going up to a million copies a day. (2) Enlarging the paper by making it ten or twelve pages daily, and adding a Sunday edition, which could be accomplished when the present strain on the London plant is relieved. (3) Issuing an Evening Daily Herald, with entirely different staff but same general policy as the present paper.

To accomplish these ends a great deal of money is necessary, and the way the entire labor movement is rallying to supply this money is typical of the cooperation which is bringing so much success in England. The special committee appointed by trade union officials to develop the paper consists of Arthur Henderson, secretary of the Labor Party; Frank Hodges of the miners; J. H. Thomas of the railwaymen; Ernest Bevin of the dockers; W. C. Robinson and Ben Turner of the textile workers. Local development committees are at work in every section of the country and from the way cash and pledges are rolling in it appears that the desired fund of \$500,000 will be at hand by the end of this month. An important development contemplated will later give the union authority to nominate half to the board of directors of the paper, though there is no question of interfering with the control of policy exercised by George Lansbury as chairman of the editorial board.

So far as the daily newspaper field is concerned the Daily Herald is the labor press of Great Britain. At the present time it is far from adequate to the responsibility imposed by this condition, a fact which its editors are the first to admit. It must be remembered, however, that any New York or Chicago paper has a territorial circulation as wide as England, Scotland and Wales combined, and that Great Britain is still a country largely dependent on three cities—London, Manchester and Glasgow,—for an informative press. When the Daily Herald is printed simultaneously in London and Manchester, with a morning and afternoon edition, and possible further development in Glasgow, a long step will have been taken towards meeting the insistent demand for a press able to voice the truth about the British Labor Movement.

The Daily Herald is the only daily, but by no means the only paper of British labor. There is a strong group of influential labor weeklies which are not only filled with labor news of national and international importance, but also serve to fill in the field of local information which is beyond the scope of the Daily Herald. A good example is the "Labor Leader," at present a four column, twelve page weekly with a circulation of 60,000. This paper is the official journal of the Independent Labor Party and well expresses the intelligence, common sense, and fighting qualities which have made this Socialist organization the leading factor in the labor movement. Special articles by such leading characters as Ramsay MacDonald, Margaret Bondfield, Philip Snowden and Mary McArthur have much to do with its popularity.

Weekly papers rather similar to the Labor Leader in appearance, but more violent in tone, are the "Call," the official organ of the British Socialist Party, and the Glasgow "Forward," an independent paper mainly devoted to spreading the cause of industrial unionism. The circulation of the latter is about 40,000; that of the Call something less.

In common with other European countries there is a strong demand in England now for building up a powerful and comprehensive international labor press service. This sentiment is being reduced to practical details. The Daily Herald has already unofficially promised to spend \$2500 a year in subsidizing such a service. Plans for general British participation have been pretty well worked out. The executive committee of the Trade Union Congress have been asked to consider the recommendation that British Labor's official subscription to an International Labor Press should be not less than \$15,000 a year. Here a reliable international labor news service is regarded as a most necessary step and there is much comment over the apparent apathy of American labor towards the project.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

miners wives and daughters. The man who gave him this information was sympathetic to the union but the rest of his companion seemed to have no conception of their rights in this world. The great mass of them even of those who were organized had no real conception of the historic and social nature of the class struggle. With most of them it was all a matter of good employers and bad. It all depended on the kind of company one worked for. Still he noticed that among the workers who were inclined to think for themselves that they all sympathized more or less with organized effort but they all cautioned him not to speak of it lest they lose their jobs.

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Continued from page 2.

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Before undertaking to clean up other people and their premises it would be well to sweep out our own back yard and sterilize our own putrid hands.

I could relate a hundred reasons why the Mexican people, especially the workingclass, have no love for America and Americans.

The Mexicans know that it was by the support of foreigners, especially the American, capitalistic interests, in exchange for Mexican wealth and privilege, that Diaz was kept on the throne of Mexico for more than thirty years, and thru his reign, the Mexican people were kept in ignorance and poverty; peonage, bound to the Feudal Estates and Foreign Capital and corporate interests. They are still suspicious of those interests, and not without cause. But this is not all. American workmen who have gone into Mexico, seeking to better their condition have snubbed the Mexican workers, even in their own country. They dub them Greasers, Palow, Peon and their attitude toward them is as tho they are of the lower order, and not to be at all considered as a human asset.

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Workers of America: Do not permit yourselves to be used as the tools of exploiters of Mexican resources and Mexican workers. Do not permit yourselves to be led, or driven into the net of the conspirators, the fomenters of wars for pillage and private gain. You have nothing to gain, all to loose. It is you who will furnish the corpses, the blood, and pay the debt in full, while the human vultures, the capitalists and others who are even now your masters and bondsmen, will grow more rich and powerful off of your misery and strengthen ten fold their strangle hold on the lives of all the workers of this land.

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Now because I have this idea, and I am going to do my best to give the idea to others, are you going to hang, shoot, or jail me. Or hire the American Legion to mob me? That won't help any. Of course that will get rid of me. But how about the idea. You can't hang, shoot, jail, or mob that. That idea is being taught to the workers by the improved method of production all over the world. The more the method of production is improved, the more hellish the method of distribution appears.

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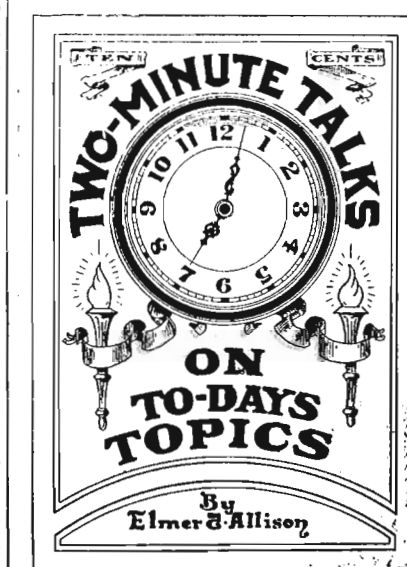
You ask me why I don't leave this country if I don't like it. But I do like it. I never said I didn't like it. I was born here. My father was born here, and his father was born here, and his father and his father, and on so far back that I do not know where my ancestors came from originally. I love this country. That is why I want to stay here and make it a fit place to live in.

And I am willing to talk it over with you. And if I can not convince you that the present system of starvation, misery, and warfare can be changed for the better, I will not hang, shoot, jail, or mob you. I will wait for modern machinery to change your mind.

By the way, have you noticed, that the American Legion has mobbed only members of the working class so far. And they haven't mobbed the workers when they were good and obedient and faithful in their work. And didn't try to tell the truth about the war. They haven't mobbed the war gratifiers, the packers, or any of the big profiteers. Newberry and his gang are perfectly safe.

True patriotism according to the master class conception is to love honor and obey your master. If you don't some other man will, and you will be put in jail or mobbed.

THINK IT OVER.



A PAMPHLET for the non-socialist 10c. — Address The Teller.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN GERMANY.

By Linn A. E. Gale.

The New York World on January 1, 1919, declared editorially that "a Bolshevik Germany means a Bolshevik Europe."

At that time German soldiers returning from the eastern front were bringing copies of the proclamation issued by the Soviet government of Russia that said: "The Socialist union of Russia, Austria and Germany must be established on the ruins of militarism, imperialism and economic slavery."

Commenting on the situation Louis C. Fraina, then editor of the Revolutionary Age, and now international secretary of the American Communist Party, wrote: "The general European, the World Revolution, depends upon the completion of the Proletarian Revolution in Germany; but equally the Proletarian Revolution in Germany depends upon the General Revolution."

Nobody appreciates these facts and fears a Soviet Republic in Germany more than the great capitalist nations of the world. Constantly they have shuddered at the thought of a Bolshevik regime in Berlin and yet they have hesitated to do the very things that might have delayed Bolshevism there for considerable time. They have stood between the devil and the deep sea—between their fears, on the one hand, of a Bolshevik Germany, and their fears, on the other hand, of a reaction to kaiserism and the return to power of the junkers. Seesawing back and forth, afraid of both contingents, they have concluded that it was better to frankly support or at least tolerate the old military party than to do anything which hastens Soviet rule. So in the recent coup when the Hindenburg gang was in the ascendancy and the restoration of monarchy was not unlikely, the Allies kept hands off and promised not to interfere unless the situation could not be controlled within the country. It was plain where their sympathies were. In spite of their hatred for the kaiser and his party—a hatred not based on principle, but based on commercial rivalry and jealousy—they preferred a resumption of kaiserism to the adoption of Communism.

This very treachery and stupidity on the part of Allied capitalism, will produce the precise consummation that it so fears and shrinks from.

Repression and tyranny in Germany practiced by the fake Socialist government of Ebert, Scheidemann and approved and even urged by the Allied governments, are driving Germany direct to Soviets. Moderation and prudence would have delayed the Social Revolution in Germany. But blind rage and terrorism have hastened it as nothing else could. This present revolution may or may not be successful. But the masses of Germany have been convinced by bitter experience and brutal oppression that Soviets are their salvation and that a capitalist republic is as bad as or worse than the old regime of the kaiser. And if this revolution does not succeed, there will be another one that will succeed.

"Democracy has had its chance in Germany and lost it," says Maximilian Harden, and he is right. Capitalist diplomacy made a mess of the situation and only stirred the German proletariat to deeper depths of revolutionary feeling. The people, disillusioned and awakened, will now have Communism or nothing. They want no more either of monarchism or of capitalist "democracy."

Harden well says, "The outside world must prepare itself to deal with a modified Soviet government in Germany. Factory Soviets are going to dictate the policy of the government thru their central committee. For a year this so-called democratic government had its own way but did not know how to satisfy the people. The government had the task of removing every sign of the old autocratic rule which had become detestable to the German people and to make them realize a new era. What did it do? It maintained the country in a state of armed siege on the one side, flattering the bourgeoisie that the old capitalism would continue, deceiving the workmen with the idea that the socialization of industries was a mere matter of time. Then came the affair of January 13, when the government shot up the demonstration before the Reichstag. Since then the workmen have been restive."

The present revolution soon followed. Whatever may be the immediate outcome it is a well-planned, wisely-directed revolution. The workers know what they are doing. The Spartacists of Germany have learned by experience, also not a little by observing that master mind, Lenin, whose cool-headedness and far vision have baffled and beaten the imperialists of the whole world. The German revolutionists, 100,000 in numbers, seized Essen, the home of the mammoth Krupp arms plant, and the very heart of Prussian militarism. Next they took possession of the cities of Dusseldorf where food and

clothing are produced, and Kiel, where ships are manufactured. Unless there is a sudden reaction, it will not be many days, judging from conditions at this writing, before all Germany will be under the red flag of International Communism.

A loan of money to the Ebert government to enable it to buy sufficient supplies from other countries, would have tilted it over a little longer, although it could not have prevented the eventual uprising that was certain. But the Allies were too vacillating in their policy and too fearful of helping the defeated foe, to extend the needed help. They could not see that the German people, lacking raw materials, could not barter goods for goods and must either get a loan with which to buy those goods or else go to pieces. They were too short-sighted to realize that the more they "punished" Germany by withholding help and keeping her in a state of paralysis and privation, the more fuel they were adding to the flames of Bolshevism within her borders.

It is so thruout the world. It is characteristic of a privileged class that when it gains a certain modicum of power, it begins to lose all sense of reason and to imagine that it can, in street vernacular, "get away with anything." Judgment no longer restrains it. Yielding to unlimited greed and avarice, it spoils its own game and deprives itself of even what it already possesses. Like the dog in Aesop's fables, who dropped the piece of meat from his mouth to grab for the reflected piece in the water, plutocracy loses what it now has in a foolish effort to snatch still more from the masses.

American capitalism is playing with matches and dynamite when it denies radicals the use of constitutional methods and will not even seat Socialist officials who have been legally elected. The inevitable result will be resort to direct action and possibly to bloody revolution.

Even as America will be by the White Terror, so Germany is already being scourged into unadulterated Bolshevism by the unmitigated severity of its peace terms and the unbridled ferocity of its general policy. Whether the Spartacists come into power right now or a little later is not the question. The big fact is that they are going to rule Germany and that it is now too late to stem the tide of public sentiment. The masses are aroused. Soviet Germany is a certainty.

Calmly and complacently, we Communists watch the suicidal folly of the capitalist class of all countries.

We need only prepare to establish the New Order. The capitalists themselves are tearing down the old one as rapidly as we could wish.

Three little stinging hours.

THEY WERE "WILLING" (?)
By Linn A. E. Gale.

Paul Wallace Hanna, writing for the Federated Press, calls attention to the famous remark of President Wilson in June 1917 of the Selective Draft Law: "This is in no sense a conscription of the unwilling." Mr. Hanna adds, "And now comes Senator Fall and the Associated Press declaring 'Thirty thousand Americans crossed into Mexico to evade the Draft Law'."

Oh, yes, they were willing. So "willing" that 30,000 of them left the country and that many of those who remained in the country went to jail and suffered the horrors of the inquisition rather than go to Europe and cut out the guts of their fellow men. So "willing" that all thru the west and southwest of the U. S. thousands of bands of "slackers" organized to resist being dragged into camp, establishing retreats in caves, forests and various isolated places so "willing" that many of them had to be beaten, bayoneted and even shot before they would consent to participation in the boasted war for democracy. And so "willing" that thousands of those who took their medicine and went to Flanders and were lucky enuf to come back alive, declare that all hell could not drive them into another such bloody farse.

Senator Fall has been making some interesting "discoveries" lately, among them being this fact that so many conscientious objectors went to Mexico and another being the fact that the Communist Party of Mexico believes in Communism and is therefore opposed to any more capitalist wars.

If Senator Fall continues to manifest the same superior intelligence, he will probably "discover" some of these days that it wouldn't be a very healthy thing for him and his co-agents of Wall Street to try to send the boys of the U. S. out on another such errand of suffering and slaughter.

The British Labor Movement.

BY FELIX MORLEY

Staff Writer — The Federated Press

Article 4—The Labor Press
LONDON—A favorite saying in the navy is that the fighting power and general efficiency of any squadron must be calculated on the speed, armament and other characteristics of the weakest unit in that squadron; that one up-to-the-minute battleship does not make the whole fleet weak; that for instance, there is no advantage in possessing a ship capable of steaming thirty miles an hour if it has to stay in line with another whose top-most speed is fifteen miles an hour.

As the navy is one of the encumbrances from which labor suffers in the form of wasted production, indirect taxation, militaristic spirit and lowered standard of living, labor at least should appropriate any idea which may emanate from a "service" for the maintenance of which it pays so dearly. In particular it should realize the truth of the "weakest unit" theory and note how truly it holds in the labor movement. For the weakest unit in the labor movement of every capitalist nation today is undoubtedly the highly important unit of the labor press.

This is clearly recognized in England, and at the present time the entire labor movement is devoting a great deal of time, energy and money to building up a powerful labor press. The cooperation of every element, extremists, moderates and the various shades of opinion in between, is marked a characteristic of this effort as it is of every phase of the British Labor Movement. The results of cooperation are already apparent in the increased circulation and freedom from government persecution which is enjoyed by labor papers over here. I asked one of the editors of the Daily Herald whether that powerful organ of labor thought it in any way hampered by government censorship, denial of second-class mailing privileges, or other more or less subtle efforts to curtail its influence in behalf of socialist progress.

"They know that if they tried to suppress the Herald now the Triple Alliance would stop every wheel in the country," he replied.

"And what would happen if a bill were introduced in Parliament empowering the Postmaster General to suppress labor newspapers at his discretion, as has been done in America with us?" I inquired.

The reply was a hearty laugh. "Why Lloyd George knows only too well that it was tactics of that sort which made a bloody revolution in Russia inevitable," he said, adding that the same realization of the intention of the workers to maintain the fight of free press is held by the government with a respect to papers directly propagandist in their outlook, such as the Glasgow "Forward."

Any article on the British Labor Press at the present time must center on the Daily Herald. It is the one daily newspaper of British labor; it is already a very vital factor in the labor movement on this side, and is steadily gaining in importance. Its remarkable success in getting accurate news from Russia is only one reason why it is so cherished by the British Labor Movement. The special trade union committee of which Arthur Henderson is chairman, appointed last November to assist in developing the paper, stated recently that "during the trying period of reconstruction through which we are passing our work would appear well-nigh hopeless without the Daily Herald."

It was the great railway strike last fall which really made the Daily Herald. The capitalist press united in characterizing the attitude of the railway men as something little short of anarchy. As the only daily giving a true account of the strikers' case the Herald's fundamental importance to the whole labor movement was recognized everywhere. Its daily circulation leaped to half a million and at city news stands there were throngs every morning asking for "the labor paper." The circulation since then has dropped to a daily average of something over 300,000 is due solely to the fact that the paper's present printing equipment in London can not meet the full demand.

Imagine an honest labor newspaper with a circulation approximating that of the New York Times and reaching every corner of Great Britain, a paper which subscribers to every press association operating in England and in addition is now spending upwards of \$25,000 a year on special foreign correspondence, a paper which not only covers the industrial news of Great Britain from the workers' standpoint, but which can be relied upon to contain all that is essential of the news printed in other papers, and you have a good idea of the position already reached by the Herald. And yet it is of comparatively recent origin, founded in March 1912 as a daily, becoming a weekly in September, 1914, (after the outbreak of war), and starting up as a daily again only in March 1919. It should be noted that the Herald would not have been able to resume publication as a daily last year had it not been for the generosity of a small group of wealthy sympathizers who made the paper an unconditional gift of half a million dollars, without any suggestions or strings as to policy attached.

At first glance the Daily Herald is not impressive to American eyes, following the general English custom of small size and extreme condensation of all but the most important news. There are only five columns to the page and eight pages a day, excepting Monday when the issue is ten pages. The Herald does not appear Sundays at present. This smallness of size is somewhat compensated by the small attention which is paid to advertising, an average of not more than three columns an issue being taken up by trade "ads." About a page is given to topical photographs and other daily features. There is an editorial page of exceptional strength, which carries special articles by men and women prominent in all phases of labor movement. There are also excel-

lent cartoons by Will Dyson, rather spoilt by being compressed into one column width. In common with most English papers the Herald is not a financial success at the present time. It is running at a loss of about \$3000 a week.

The plans which have been laid to develop the Daily Herald and insure financial success, promise to make it one of the greatest and most influential newspapers in the world, bar none. They comprise, (1) printing simultaneously in London and Manchester, in the northwest of England with the same general, but different local news, so that the industrial north and Ireland can be readily supplied with a real labor newspaper. It is expected that this will result in the circulation going up to a million copies a day. (2) Enlarging the paper by making it ten or twelve pages daily, and adding a Sunday edition, which could be accomplished when the present strain on the London plant is relieved. (3) Issuing an Evening Daily Herald, with entirely different staff but same general policy as the present paper.

To accomplish these and a great deal of money is necessary, and the way the entire labor movement is rallying to supply this money is typical of the cooperation which is bringing so much success in England. The special committee appointed by trade union officials to develop the paper consists of Arthur Henderson, Secretary of the Labor Party; Frank Hodges of the miners; J. H. Thomas of the railwaymen; Ernest Bevin of the dockers; W. C. Robinson and Ben Turner of the textile workers. Local development committees are at work in every section of the country and from the way cash and pledges are rolling in it appears that the desired fund of \$500,000 will be at hand by the end of this month. An important development contemplated will later give the unions authority to nominate half to the board of directors of the paper, though there is no question of interfering with the control of policy exercised by George Lansbury as chairman of the editorial board.

So far as the daily newspaper field is concerned the Daily Herald is the labor press of Great Britain. At the present time it is far from adequate to the responsibility imposed by this condition, a fact which its editors are the first to admit. It must be remembered, however, that any big New York or Chicago paper has a territorial circulation as wide as England, Scotland and Wales combined, and that Great Britain is still a country largely dependent on three cities—London, Manchester and Glasgow—for an informative press. When the Daily Herald is printed simultaneously in London and Manchester, with a morning and afternoon edition, and possible further development in Glasgow, a long step will have been taken towards meeting the insistent demand for a press able to voice the truth about the British Labor Movement.

The Daily Herald is the only daily, but by no means the only paper of British labor. There is a strong group of independent labor weeklies which are not only filled with labor news of national and international importance, but also serve to fill in the field of local information which is beyond the scope of the Daily Herald. A good example is the "Labor Leader," at present a four column, twelve page weekly with a circulation of 60,000. This paper is the official journal of the Independent Labor Party and well expresses the intelligence, common sense, and fighting qualities which have made this Socialist organization the leading factor in the labor movement. Special articles by such leading characters as Ramsey MacDonald, Margaret Bondfield, Philip Snowden and Mary MacArthur have much to do with its popularity.

Weekly papers rather similar to the Labor Leader in appearance, but more violent in tone, are the "Call," the official organ of the British Socialist Party, and the Glasgow "Forward," an independent paper mainly devoted to spreading the cause of industrial unionism. The circulation of the latter is about 40,000; that of the Call something less.

In common with other European countries there is a strong demand in England now for building up a powerful and comprehensive international Labor Press Service. This sentiment is being reduced to practical details. The Daily Herald has already unofficially promised to spend \$2500 a year in subscribing to such a service. Plans for general British participation have been pretty well worked out. The executive committee of the Trades Union Congress have been asked to consider the recommendation that British Labor's official subscription to an International Labor Press should be not less than \$15,000 a year. Here a reliable international labor news service is regarded as a most necessary step and there is much comment over the apparent apathy of American labor towards the project.

The Black Sheep.

(Continued from page 2.)

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The present method of production and distribution gives to the workers a very small part of what they produce, less now than ever before in the history of mankind. It is this distribution that is the cause of all distribution which is the cause of all tradition between production and modern wars and most of the misery of mankind. And it is this same contribution that is forcing the workers to understand they must own their jobs in order to be free.

The idea I am trying to teach did not come out of the air, or across the ocean, or originate out of somebody's brain. It developed with the development of the machinery of production. You might kill every man that had that idea now, and modern machinery would force the idea upon the minds of the workman again.

You ask me why I don't leave this country if I don't like it. But I do like it. I never said I didn't like it. I was born here. My father was born here, and his father was born here, and his father and his father, and on so far back that I do not know where my ancestors came from originally. I love this country. That is why I want to stay here and make it a fit place to live in.

And I am willing to talk it over with you. And if I can not convince you that the present system of starvation, misery, and warfare can be changed for the better, I will not hang, shoot, jail, or mob you. I will wait for modern machinery to change your mind.

By the way, have you noticed, that the American Legion has mobbed only members of the working class so far. And they haven't mobbed the workers when they were good and obedient and faithful in their work. And didn't try to tell the truth about the war. They haven't mobbed the war grafters, or the packers, or any of the big profiteers. Newberry and his gang are perfectly safe.

True patriotism according to the master class conception is to love honor and obey your master. If you don't some other man will, and you will be put in jail or mobbed.

THINK IT OVER.



A PAMPHLET for the non-socialist 10c. — Address The Toiler.