

"American labor (as expressed at the A. F. of L. convention) is opposed to class government." Editorial in Cleveland Press. Yep, it's opposed to government of the laboring class, but not to government of the capitalist class.

# THE TOLLER

WE CAN'T SEE IT  
"Once more red murder runs riot in Kiev. Once more the miserable city cowers under the lash of the masters (Bolsheviks) who know no mercy. The imagination falters before the contemplation of what must be happening in Kiev today." From editorial in Cleveland Plain Dealer. Nothing the matter with YOUR imagination old scout.

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## From Our Petrograd Correspondent.

Petrograd, April 15, 1920.

My Dear Friends:—

I could write you now about five volumes of 700 pages each, if it only be possible to deliver them to you. In Russia indeed is a workers' and peasants' government, but the long war is terrible destroying the national wealth and tiring out the nation. The only thing that can save Russia is the Soviet form of government and the necessary means of production granted to it, regardless of where they come from. The Soviet government, as yet, is not the exponent and the apparatus to realize the Communist principle if it is not led and controlled by a Communist Party. The Communist Party and the Soviet government are two different things in the same space and time. More yet: the Soviet government will not be a Communist government if the International proletarian movement will not grow and force its governments to back down economically as they were forced to back down militarily. Unless this takes place there will be not only no Communism in Russia, but there will be nothing. People will die out thru starvation and the complete collapse of civilization will follow not only in Russia but in all capitalistic countries. The capitalist class would degrade the workers in a state of slavery. Therefore work with united forces for International Communism.

In Petrograd I met comrade Sinovye, who recently went through an operation for appendicitis, but is recovering fast. The Lett, Peters, who was branded by the American bourgeoisie press as the Bolshevik butcher because he was the extraordinary commissaire to combat counterrevolution, was not killed by a bomb, as reported, but occupies a high post in Caucasus. I have also met other leaders of the revolution, for instance, Radek, Bucharin and Maxim Gorky. Radek is a very active and attractive individual. Bucharin is very absent minded and usually forgets his own comfort. If someone will not put him on his coat, he will leave it and go without. So once I am told, going from Moscow to Petrograd he lost his overcoat in this manner and was supplied another. I heard Maxim Gorky in the Petrograd Soviet session. That great author is a poor speaker. Concerning the views of Bolshevism held by you and I, I wish to say that we were the best Bolsheviks, our views conform with those of Lenin.

Yours for the triumph of the working class

A. B. C.

## Slow Progress in Communist Trial.

CHICAGO.—Of six hundred men thus far questioned as prospective jurors in the trial of twenty-four members of the Communist Labor Party, charged with criminal syndicalism and conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by force, only eight have proven acceptable to both sides, and have been sworn in. The state has exhausted 63 of its 200 peremptory challenges; the defense sixty-four. The trial began on May 10th and is completing its sixth week.

### I. W. W. POET IS FREE.

CHICAGO.—Charles Ashleigh, poet of the working-class, is at liberty again, after having served eighteen months in the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, to which he was convicted with ninety-five other I. W. W. His release on bail was obtained by the American Freedom Foundation which is working for immediate release of all political prisoners and for restoration of American political and civil liberty.

Whether Ashleigh will remain free, or whether he will go back to serve out the rest of his ten-year sentence, will depend upon whether or not the appeal of the I. W. W. will be sustained. Argument took place here June 15, Attorney Otto Christensen acting as counsel for defense. It may be several months before the decision is handed down.

Ashleigh left behind him at Leavenworth about 150 political prisoners. Some fifty of these are I. W. W. convicted in Chicago; thirty-seven, I. W. W. convicted at Sacramento; twenty-seven, I. W. W. imprisoned as a result of the famous "Wichita indictment". Four more I. W. W. from San Francisco are in the number. The others

are members of the Working Class Union of Oklahoma; Kansas City Communists; the Magon brothers; Brent Down Allinson and Jaeger, conscientious objectors. All of these men are political prisoners still in jail as a result of war time emergency legislation.

### COMMUNIST CASES ARE NOLLED.

ROCKFORD, Ill.—Upon motion of State's Attorney William Johnson in the local circuit court, the indictments against Mrs. Christine Person and Peter Anderson, alias Martell, were nolle prossed and by agreement Karl Lind was released from the county jail on his own recognizance.

They were three of 13 who were indicted by the county grand jury here on the charge of violating the Illinois anti-sedition statute. Mrs. Person, Lind and Anderson were members of the Communist Labor Party of America and were among the nearly 200 persons who were scooped up here in the federal raid on Jan. 2.

Mrs. Person is in a critical condition suffering from tuberculosis. The Persons have three children.

Peter Anderson and Karl Lind have been in the county jail since Jan. 2.

### SOVIETS ARE LENIENT OF MIS.

## Lillian Blake

### ATTENTION

Please send your address to The Toller. We have a communication for you.—Editor.

## THE COMMUNIST CALL TO THE WORKERS.

We communists say to the workers: "Many thorns lie in our path, but we must, without losing our courage, go forward. The great Revolution which has turned the entire old world upside down, cannot run altogether smoothly, one cannot accomplish it with kid gloves on: it is being born in pain. These pains must be endured, patiently, its purgatory must be endured, in order, finally, to get free of the iron vise of capitalistic slavery."

The Menshevik, Social Revolutionaries, Social Democrats stand aloof and look on, criticise the mistakes and failures, and draw from them this conclusion: let us turn back, let us give everything back to the bourgeoisie, and let us modestly demand reasonable portions in our capitalist stable!



Playing His True Part.

## The United States Chamber of Profiteers.

Bill Smith.

Do you remember when Mitch Palmer, after getting some millions of dollars from a subservient Congress, organized his "Flying Squadrons" to chase down the profiteers—and then kick the lining out of the old H. C. L.—do you remember that, boys? Sure. Do you remember how these profiteers then left the country in ship loads to dodge Mitch—and how he filled jails with those that fell into his remorseless clutches—and how the H. C. L. dropped so rapidly that one grew dizzy watching it—do you remember that, too, boys? Neither do we.

But one must not be too hard on Mitch for these profiteers are very elusive; they keep under cover. It is as hard to find one as it is to find the elephant at a circus. But if Palmer really wanted to get at the bottom of this profiteering, what a golden opportunity he lost just recently! Here assembled at Atlantic City in April an aggregation which calls itself the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Now if he had followed the tactics he pursued in the East, of raiding night schools, where foreigners were trying to improve their education, and have thrown a cordon of his sleuths around this Atlantic City assembly—and then arrested the whole bunch, without warrant or explanation—and slammed them into widely separated jails with out privilege of bail,—and then started an investigation, just one half as drastic as he did with the foreigners,—as to what and who were back of these people,—holy gee! boys, wouldn't there be a smell!

Commerce means—"Barter, Trade and Traffic."

Thus the most stupid person can readily see where to look for the profiteer. After the production of a commodity, no matter whether mechanical or agricultural,—it then enters the domain of Commerce—the Kingdom of the Profiteers. Then the Public comes to get it in the neck! It is in this Kingdom of the Profiteers, that 300 percent from farmer to consumer is filched—the 600 per cent from cattle

the government etc." in order to "make all business legislation constructive."

All of which means, in plain language, that they have squatted there to intimidate and coerce legislation. They hold over these timid congressmen that power of terror that the Popes were wont to launch at servile kings—the excommunication and the interdict. Woe unto that congressman that does not pay heed to the "whispers from the throne"! He may as well dig his little hole in the ground and climb in!

To show how well this combination has succeeded in throttling free legislation we present the following letter from Ex-Senator Robert F. Pettigrew of South Dakota.

Carl D. Thompson, author and secretary of the Public Ownership League, with offices in Chicago, wrote United States Senator R. F. Pettigrew, regarding the advisability of petitioning Congress at Washington, and received the following interesting reply:

Your petition should not run to the government. Your petition should be presented, if you want the fun of getting up a petition, to the real government, no longer invisible located in Washington City. The heads of the great industrial and financial institutions have organized the United States Chamber of Commerce. It is a corporation; they are all corporations; we are a government of, for and by the corporations. Our feudal lords are artificial persons without human sympathy. Their attorneys are in Washington in the House and Senate; 76 senators out of 96 are lawyers; 310 out of 440 members of Congress are lawyers. These lawyers are the attorneys for the great financial and industrial combinations which are the real government of the United States, and, of course, you know how useless it would be to appeal to the real government and how silly it is to present anything to their attorneys.

R. F. PETTIGREW.  
This U. S. Chamber of Peddlers have yearly gab fest, their last orgy being

executive and Legislative branches of

(Continued on page 4.)

## Judge and Jury Establish Mob Rule in Cincinnati

By O. Ruchtaeschel

The case of the Communist Labor Party of Cincinnati against the Robert Bently Post of the American Legion for damages done to its headquarters last November, was concluded in court there last week. The jury's verdict was in favor of the defendants. The case will not be appealed. Jos. W. Sharts was the attorney for the plaintiff. The Post was represented by 23 attorneys.

Out of the immense material developed from this trial, we can quote only a very small part of it.

The defendants admitted guilt, but made as excuse for their crimes, that their patriotic fervor was avowed, which prompted them, to destroy the literature, which they claimed was seditious.

The examination of the witnesses brought forth the fact, that the defendants had only a superficial knowledge of the contents of the literature destroyed and that the ring leader Cooper, had a conversation "over the telephone" with the federal authorities, who stated, there was no law which prohibited the printing and distribution of that literature.

In the proceedings of the trial the counsel for the defense tried in vain to prove that the platform of the C. L. P. preaches violence.

The counsel for the defense read that "into" the platform and claimed their interpretation of the platform was absolutely correct. To prove their contention, they brought in everything and anything under the sun.

If attorney Jos. Sharts for the plaintiff made the attempt to go to the bottom of it, Colston, counsel for the defense objected to it. The manner in which he objected and was sustained by the presiding judge showed the one sidedness of the proceedings. We cite here only two cases: Gragdon for the defense brought in the history of the prison ship of Dorset, England.

About two hundred years ago, seven agriculture workers, posing as a committee to ask for higher wages, were charged with conspiracy, found guilty and sentenced to deportation.

A "defective" photograph of a Russian newspaper was admitted as evidence.

But as Sharts for the plaintiff talked about the history of Cincinnati to prove his side, objections were sustained.

A photograph, showing the destruction in our office, made on the 19th of November, the very morning after the raid, was declared "as arranged". After long and tedious proceedings the hearing of the witnesses was finished.

One conspicuous fact impressed itself to the audience.

The counsel, ignorant of economic science, tried to hide this fact by boisterous language and cheap, silly remarks alleged to be witty. The antics of the members of the American Legion reminded us of the behavior of

the "Junkers" in the German Reichstag.

Sharts, as counsel for the plaintiff had the opening speech. In a quite and logical manner he drew the parallel in history between the abolitionists and the Communist Labor Party.

Colston for the defense followed with a boisterous talk for "democracy" which culminated in the remark: Ah, Kar Marx is a back number!

These ignoramuses had the audacity to declare economic science as "bunk." Colston was followed by Graydon for the defense. He tried to appear to be accentuated by a love for the law of the land. His first statement was, that the literature destroyed had no value as property, because it was outlawed.

(Dear reader mark well, the federal authorities declared that literature legal, then counsel for the defense admits, that the American Legion is above the federal government.)

He continued to talk about conspiracy, violence, dictatorship by a minority, burglars tools, gambling devices, confiscation of "all" the property a man or woman possesses, industrial production abolished, general strike unlawful, the prison ship of Dorset, England, the decree of six hours work in Russia, whilst the workers are forced to work 16 hours and abusive statements about the communist party.

Comrade Jos. Sharts made the finishing speech, which was a marvelous, eloquent and logical one. We would do an injustice to it, to cite only fragments.

The weight of his arguments impressed the audience and was propaganda of great value.

Sharts finished with the words to the jury, that the issue is: if the laws of the land are to be vindicated, or a group of unscrupulous men shall decide what we are allowed to write and read.

On the 16th of June the court convened to hear the charge of the judge to the jury.

To do justice to the readers of The Toller, this charge ought to be in full here. But the crux of the question is this: While Judge Gusewiler stated plainly that according to law the members of the American Legion had no right to enter the place, he came around this point by saying, that they could destroy the literature, if they deemed it seditious.

By doing this, he transferred the responsibility and power to act from the constituted federal authorities to any irresponsible, unscrupulous person or mob.

As a matter of course, we did not expect justice before a capitalist court, but how about the anarchists of the John Most type, ain't they ashamed of their new increase?

The fourth and fifth amendments of the constitution are thrown on the scrap heap.

## Soviet Troops are Lenient.

BERLIN, May 20.—(By Mail.) In today's "Freiheit" is prominently displayed an army order issued to all the Russian Soviet troops engaged in resisting the Polish invasion. The order which is dated May 13, and signed by Minister of War Trotsky, reads as follows:

"Under all circumstances are prisoners and wounded men to be treated as opponents who are entitled to protection."

"If the Polish White Guards com-

mit massacres and execute not only communists, but every Russian who falls into their hands, Soviet Russia will hold the ruling classes and not the Polish workers responsible for this.

"All the Polish crimes deserve but one answer: Vigorous attacks upon the Polish White Guards."

The Freiheit comments upon the order by saying that "Russia feels strong enough not to retaliate upon misguided Polish workers for the crimes of adventurers."

## International Labor Picnic

under auspices of

THE WORKERS DEFENSE LEAGUE

SUNDAY, JUNE 27th, 1920

Frank's Farm Sherbody Hill

WOOSTER AVENUE EXTENSION AKRON, O.

Speaker: Jacob Morgolis

Attorney for U. S. Steel Workers. A man with a

message for the Workers.

Bring your family and enjoy the day.

MUSIC AND DANCING. — REFRESHMENTS.



# National Chamber of Commerce Program of Industrial Slavery

In high-sounding phrases about "justice", "equality" and "individual liberty", the Board of Directors of the National Chamber of Commerce has formulated a complete program of industrial slavery for the workers of America. This twelve-plank program is now under referendum vote of over 1,300 industrial and commercial organizations.

At the time of President Wilson's famous industrial conference the liberal journals were insistent that Judge Geary represented the views of an exceptional autocrat, views which had no counterpart anywhere else in the world except in Japan. It was stated most emphatically that the group represented by Judge Geary as spokesman at this conference, the employer group, would not sanction the reactionary attitude of the chief of the Steel Trust; and that this attitude could only be accounted for by the fact that the steel strike was then in progress, and that recognition of collective bargaining under the circumstances would have compelled Judge Geary to enter into negotiations with the union representatives of the strikers.

Now comes the Chamber of Commerce program, which is expected to secure the necessary two-thirds vote on referendum—a program which goes the full limit of Judge Geary's reactionism, and even a little beyond. The adoption of this declaration of policy will formally put American capitalism on record in favor of "benevolent despotism". It will make our capitalists avowedly the most obstinate, defiant and contemptuous in their dealings with their workers of any group of capitalists in the world. This has already been realized as matter of fact, though not heretofore advertised by the capitalists themselves by formal adoption of a program.

This charter of the divine right of business opens with this significant first clause:

"Any person possesses the right to engage in any lawful business or occupation and to enter, individually or collectively, into any lawful contract, either as employer or employee. These rights are subject to limitation only through a valid exercise of the public authority."

Once the absolute sanctity of contract is accepted, without regard to the living truths involved in dealings between the worker whose weekly or daily wage is his only hold upon life and the powerful corporation to whom that worker is an item like any other detail of machinery, then the foundation is definitely established for the perfect program of wage slavery. It was upon the same sacred principle that the system of chattel slavery was defended even by Abraham Lincoln. But the Abolitionists did not hesitate to challenge this one of the "ideals" among "the fundamentals of our national institutions."

An important method of limiting effective organization among the workers and the outlawing of strikes is the use of appropriate employment contracts.

It is to be noticed that nobody is questioning the right of any person to go into business. But the Chamber of Commerce is very much concerned to maintain the worker's sacred right to enter into any occupation on any contract which he may "choose" to make. This "liberty" is to be limited only by public law; which means that it must not be limited by union rules of any kind. It must not be limited by collective agreement between workers' and employers' organizations, but each employee must retain his "rights".

Of course the "open shop" is the logical sequence to the first clause, and here it is:

"2. The right of open shop operation, that is, the right of employer and employee to enter into and determine the conditions of employment relations with each other, is an essential part of the individual right of contract possessed by each of the parties."

To make the matter quite complete, there follows a clause declaring the right to seab:

"3. All men possess the equal right to associate voluntarily for the accomplishment of lawful purposes by lawful means. The association of men, whether employers, or employees or others, for collective action or dealing, confers no authority over, and must not deny any right of, those who do not desire to act or deal with them."

Just the same, as experience has shown, it would be rough sledding for any employer who refused to recognize the authority of an employers' association.

The fourth clause demands that associations of employers and of employees shall be "equally subject to the authority of the State" and responsible legally for their acts or acts of agents. This clause is a criticism of the exclusion of labor unions from the anti-trust laws, and it is further suggestive of incorporation of unions and liability on suits for damages. If the full meaning of this clause were to be developed into law the most conservative trade unions would soon become outlaw organizations.

The next clause is a brazen bit of hypocrisy:

"5. To develop with due regard for the health, safety and well-being of the individual, the required output of industry is the common social obligation of all engaged therein. The restriction of productive effort or of output by either employer or employee for the purpose of creating an artificial scarcity of the product or of labor is an injury to society."

The absolute life principle of capitalist industry is artificial limitation of production—restriction of output to the point of maximum return on investment.

Just why should a wage slave consider that he has any "social obligation" concerning production? There could only be social obligation if there were social production. But with private production there is only private obligation. Each corporation considers itself responsible only to its stockholders, that is its 100% obligation. The only "social obligation" of the wage slave is toward his fellow workers. Production is not his business, and cannot become his business until "the production-epoch", that is, until social ownership makes production the affair and interest of all engaged in the common industry.

Now we come to wages:

"6. The wage of labor must come out of the product of industry and must be earned and measured by its contribution thereto. In order that the worker, in his own and the general interest, may develop his full productive capacity, and may thereby earn at least a wage sufficient to sustain him upon a proper standard of living, it is the duty of management to co-operative with him to secure continuous

employment suited to his abilities, to furnish incentive and opportunity for improvement, to provide proper safeguards for his health and safety and to encourage him in all practicable and reasonable ways to increase the value of his productive effort."

Let us restate this remarkable clause in our own language: "We think that the workers should be kept alive. Indeed, we would like to see the workers keep on living. But, in order to remove any doubts on this point, we call the attention of our employees to the fact that they must hustle to beat hell if they expect to get enough wages enough of the time to keep on living. We are also willing to help the worker to improve himself—to increase the value of his productive effort. But we are not saying anything about who is to get this increased value."

How about hours of work?

"7. The number of hours in the work day or week in which the maximum output consistent with the health and well-being of the individual can be maintained in a given industry should be ascertained by careful study and should never be exceeded except in case of emergency, and one day of rest, or its equivalent, should be provided. The reduction in working hours below such economic limit, in order to secure greater leisure for the individual, should be made only with full understanding and acceptance of the fact that it involves a commensurate loss in the earning power of the workers, a limitation and a shortage of the industry and an increase in the cost of the product, with all the necessary effect of these things upon the interests of the community and the nation."

Never was a more inhuman proposition conceived by the mind of man. The owner of the chattel slave was at least obligated to keep his slave alive and marketable; he could not consider it as open to question whether or not the slave could keep himself alive by his contribution to industry. Nor did chattel slavery ever undertake to regulate the hours of labor by an exact mathematical calculation of the limit of efficiency, not one minute more nor one minute less than the point of maximum use of the sum total of the slave's life energy.

Not the eight-hour day, not the six-hour day, not the ten-hour day, but the number of hours which the worker, calculated as a piece of machinery, can stand the strain. For every minute less than this calculation, a reduction of wages. Taken together with the wage clause, this means a reduction of wages below the doubtful level of a "proper" standard of living, whatever these benevolent employers may consider proper. Go the limit of the use of your muscles and nerves or starve, that is the size of it.

One day rest out of seven, maybe; there is the qualification of an "equivalent" for the one day of rest. Think of the generosity!—at a time when organized workers are demanding the five-day week. At a time when the workers of the world are beginning to see as reality the possibility of an industrial system where the six-hour day for the five-day week may easily supply a living which includes not only the bare needs of life, but recreation, education, travel, every substantial enjoyment which the Chamber of Commerce considers appropriate to the individual life of its members!

What about unemployment? Surely this is a waste of energy utility below the "economic limit"—yet it is a constant, wholesale, inevitable part of the system of private capitalistic production. Millions are out of work all the time; on the average all workers lose one-fourth of full time. Too bad for the workers; all that the Chamber of Commerce is concerned about is the time that the employees are on the job, and that during this time a day's work shall be not one jot less than the last ounce of efficient energy!

There is no word in this program about unemployment. It is taken for granted that the capitalists will generously supply work to all who accept these terms, when as a matter of fact this has never been the case and never will be the case under private industry.

The next two clauses are a restatement of the Gary version of "collective bargaining", as follows:

"8. Adequate means, satisfactory both to the employer and his employees, and voluntarily agreed to by them, should be provided for the discussion and adjustment of employment relations and the just and prompt settlement of all disputes that arise in the course of industrial operation."

9. When, in the establishment or adjustment of employment relations, the employees do not deal individually, but by mutual consent such dealing is conducted by either party through representatives, it is proper for the other party to ask that these representatives shall not be chosen or controlled by, or in such dealing in any degree represent, any outside group or interest in the questions at issue."

In other words, no union negotiations, no solidarity of workers even of a single craft, but only a nice, amiable little unionism of the one plant, a unionism which the employer can very easily supervise and keep in hand.

The Chamber of Commerce is kidding itself, or here is the deliberate challenge against any form of labor organization which goes outside the one shop, which means no organization at all. Probably the latter is the truth. American capitalism realizes that all organization of labor must be destroyed, or the momentum of the wages and hours fight will hurl the workers into the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of capitalism. The Chamber of Commerce appears to be ready to face the issue, to declare openly that it means to maintain a slave system by might of the State.

The last clause of this program is anti-strike clauses, dealing with government employees, along with the workers in "public service activities", a classification which can easily be extended to include every major industry.

This declaration by the leading organization of capitalism in the United States shows that we have arrived at the show-down in the class fight. The employers dare to show their full hand. They hold in contempt the backward, narrow, corrupt union movement in this country; and they mean to crush in its infancy the newer movement toward militant industrial unionism. This is the program of class-conscious capitalism, a program of industrial slavery built directly on the law-making, court, police and military power of the State; a program which regards the worker as one form of material for the making of profits, never for a moment as a human being.

## The Black Sheep.

Chapter XXXVI.

Collins' Ambition.

On their way to Harrison, Jack asked Collins, what object he or Rudolph had in cutting pages from his note book, and the big man replied that he had done so, for the good of humanity. Of course this was an explanation that did not explain anything to the boy. Yet, he asked no further questions, partly because he had not understood Collins' meaning and was turning the matter over in his mind, and partly, because Collins immediately proceeded to take him to task for his singular philosophy anent human relations.

"You have a good brain Jack," said he, "but it is leading you wrong. It ties you so close to a mole hill that you fail to see the mountain. Your passion for natural phenomena in the animal and vegetable world has a tendency to blind you to the greater, and in a sense more wonderful, phenomena, of the social world. You are not a millionaire, or the son of a millionaire, no matter how you wiggle you are on the lower side of the fence. Types or no types, capitalism is a reality and the class struggle is a fact. It is a damned hideous fact and you will not be able to escape it."

"I do not deny the class struggle. I know that it exists. The only difference between you and I is that I maintain that it must exist as a natural result of biologic variation. As long as life produces variations there will be the weak and the strong, the wise and the foolish, the aggressive and meek, the worker and the shirker, the schemer and the producer. All I maintain is that no matter what your system of society you will always be face to face with these facts," Jack urged.

But Collins ignored the boys explanation at least in part when he said,

"The trouble with you is, that you study the problems of labor and the laboring classes, as the astronomer studies the moon. You have too little preceptive information of working problems, to be in a position effectively to criticize social science. Remember, the test of truth is, will it work? You cannot test any social theory by yourself. You are an individual within society and not society itself. You will never be big enough, Jack, to force a ready-made theory down a social throat. In order to become an effective social scientist, you must enter the working class and study its workings from within. You must learn to guide the natural trend of the masses. You cannot lead or force the mass."

It is true, you have had but little experience in the working class. You have seen some of its trials in a minor way, but only in a very minor way. You have only approached the class struggle in the skirmish line; as yet you are unacquainted with the fierceness of its battles. You have met much of the gross that is, the drunken, weakened, degenerate elements, and you have met a few thinking men. It has all been in less than six months, and from this meager data you have built up your theory of types as ultimate determining factors in human evolution. And I do not say that they are not determining factors. I often feel the force of your argument, for you know I do not like to associate with scum bums, Jesus lovers, and mission stiffs. I am free to confess that I dislike the riff raff; they grate on my nerves. I admit that I am a top heavy, and naturally lean toward men with brains. But all that is beside the question, it obscures the real issues. The issue of capitalism versus humanity. Do you realize Jack that capitalism cannot last forever, that sooner or later it must die, and that at its

death, one of two things must happen, either, the workers take over natural resources and the tools of industry and run them for the common good, or the world plunges back into the dark ages or worse." He stopped and looked at his companion intently as if expecting an answer, but the boy made no reply. He just walked on beside Collins on the trail between the forest and the lake, evidently busy with his own thought on the subject of human destiny.

Just before they came in sight of the village Collins resumed the conversation. Speaking as if to himself, "It makes no difference," said he, "if the ultimate change comes, first to the light or to the dark and it will be for good or evil in proportion to the accumulated intelligence of the working class. The change will come as truly as tomorrow's rising sun will bring the coming of the day. That can be mathematically demonstrated. Blondes and brunettes are not a problem in industrial development, altho they may be a problem in social relations. And social relations are but the reflex of industrial necessities and industrial requirements of mankind and the availability of natural resources, plus the evolution of the machine. All these factors are interacting. The real problem is, whether mankind will retain and develop what it now has or if it will lose and relapse into the primeval night."

Jack looked at the big man curiously. He had seldom heard him talk with such calm earnestness. There was no doubt, but what Collins believed what he said. He actually feared the possible death of civilization and a consequent relapse into the dark ages. He feared "Caesar's Column" more than he did the "Iron Heel." Jack tried to comfort him with the statement that civilization could only fall and perish if by some catastrophe the blonde races were exterminated. Then, he maintained, that the world would go back into darkness until a new light could be evolved in the fog lands.

But Collins was not in the mood to philosophize. "O forget it," said he

impatiently. "Get this idea clearly in mind, it is the one important thought that every worker should hold. The working class constitutes eighty per cent of the world's population—the parasites twenty per cent. These figures are not absolutely correct, I only use them as a paradigm. Now the twenty, will employ the eighty, only as long as there are markets. Once the markets are gone, and they are fast going, then seventy out of every eighty will become useless to the twenty parasites. Useless human beasts of burden will be disposed of, as were the oxen at the coming of the horse, and as will the horse be disposed of at the coming of the motor. My God kid, can't you see the massacres, the holocausts of the future, if we do not develop the spirit of solidarity. The people simply must awaken to retain and to hold what their hands and brains have lost, for if they do not then their masters will hurl them against each other, and they will destroy each other in the fury of their own ignorance," he concluded passionately.

"It's no use to try it," Jack answered. "They will only chase you, and jail you, and finally kill you, for your pains. The very people you try to awaken would thank their bewiskered Gods for having had part in your murder. The very masses who you would give your life to educate would hold a ghost dance around your bleeding cadaver. It is not that they are vicious, it is because they are trusting and obedient to their superiors, as they call them. They believe the word of the papers, the preachers, the teachers, and all other hirelings of the ruling beast. You can't get them to hang together, as far as solidarity is concerned, the whole working class is a rope of sand."

Just see what they did to me at Mullen, they praised me to the skies when I spoke to them of the things that affected their present and future welfare. They led me to believe that they were with me, but when I was fired, because of my agitation, these very people said among themselves, 'why didn't he keep his mouth shut,'

and "it serves him right, he had no business shooting off his bazoo against the people who give him work," and "A man should stay by the man who feeds him." Ye gods, they fed me, when I worked in their mines, in constant danger of death and received only a fraction of what I produced. No, no Ed I can't see where either you or I gain anything, by playing the twentieth century Jesus. Both the masters and the slaves, would look upon us as Black Sheep."

"By the way, do you know why sheep men keep black sheep in their flock? It is in order to count the white ones and keep track of them. So we agitators are used by the masters to size up the temper of the slave."

They were just crossing a little brook that ran from the woodland into the lake, by jumping from one rock to the other. The rocks were wet with the rain that had fallen and the big man losing his footing fell full length into the water. The icy bath cooled the ardor of his eloquence and Jack rustled about to find pitch wood, with which to start a fire, as he dried his companions' clothes. After a few moments of good natured bantering about the mishap Collins said, "you're all wrong Jack, even if you were right, you would be wrong. You are to big a man to entertain so damned selfish a view of life. You simply must help in this battle for a better world. Remember you don't live for yourself alone. You are only a link in the chain of human evolution. Some day you may have children, and they may live at the death of capitalism, while you lived during its life. I know that you do not want it said that you could have helped to change conditions only you were more interested in rats than you were in the welfare of your class. After all is said, the fact remains, that we are human, and we have duties and responsibilities not only to our selves but to our kind. I know you will take this view of it, ultimately. There are two forces that will drive you to it. The one is the hand of capitalism, and the other is the part of your note book you missed this morning."

"Yes, what in hell did you cut out the leaves from that note book for?" Jack asked as he heaped another arm of bark on the fire.

"I sent it to the daughter of that real estate man at Ananosee. I have a notion that a little correspondence will awaken a new set of brain cells, that have hitherto laid dormant in your head. That girl had the spirit of the crusader, while you have the mind of a scientist, and damn me if I don't believe that bringing you together will save you both as fermenting germs in the great leaven of revolutionary thought. I hate the bourgeoisie, and it was a big fight on my part to decide whether to send those notes or not. I remembered all that she said and appreciated more what she did then you perhaps imagine. I know that she is made of good stuff, in a sense of better stuff than you, you are inclined to gravitate towards books, and hills, and valleys, animals and plants, and abstract thought, while she is drawn toward man and justice, and the ideals that directly affect human welfare."

Then there is an other matter I want to talk about, now that we have a few moments time. You can't speak of such things before Rudy. I had a love affair once; it was during my Scissorbill days. The girl worked in a store and I worked in a mill. I got hurt, and was laid up for six months or more. Couldn't raise my hand above my head. Couldn't walk. Had to be wheeled about in a chair. Of course I went broke right down flat. This girl kept me during all the six months. Now mind you she was only getting four and a half a week, and out of it she kept herself and kept me, and in some way managed to give something to the support of her sister. Now take a peek at scissorbill psychology. I never stoped to figure that she couldn't do what she was doing on her salary, and when I learned the truth after I was back on my feet, I bawled her out and left the country. Rudy would not have done such a thing. Two months later I met a fellow who had known us both, and he told me that she had died three weeks after I left with the con—or as soon as possible.

something. I was no rebel then. Just a plain hoosier but that cut me to the quick. I have tried to atone in some measure ever since, and I'll keep on attacking the system that made a fool of me, and a corpse of her, in every way that I can as long as there is breath in me. And if consciousness holds out and I can gage my strength the last three words, I will say with my dying breath will be, "God damn capitalism!"

"Get on your duds," said Jack. "Let's get to Harrison. Perhaps there is an answer to those notes."

(Continued next week)

### THE CARTOON FUND

Bill Smith, our cartoonist, has been off the job for a couple of weeks. Our readers will be pleased to see he is now back again.

Let's see what the cartoon boosters have been doing lately.

#### Receipts:

Previously reported	\$61.95
Charles Brown	50
Jno. Chipman	1.50
J. S. Jahner	1.00
Wm. Batten	1.00
Jas. W. Booker	.20
C. Baker	.50
A comrade	1.00
X. Y. Z.	1.50
Joe Reichle	1.00

Total .....\$70.15  
Expenses .....\$1.28

LONDON.—The Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers, have passed a resolution calling upon the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Labor Party and the Cooperative movement to join with the Triple Alliance in making an exhaustive inquiry into the reasons for the high cost of living and to work out a plan for its substantial reduction. This plan, it was proposed and he told me that she had died three weeks after I left with the con—or as soon as possible.



# The Toiler

ONE YEAR \$1.50. BUNDLE RATES \$1.00 Per Hundred. SIX MONTHS 75c.

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EDITOR Elmer T. Allison

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, JUNE 25th, 1920

## Work that Counts -- Now to do it!

Every class-conscious worker will admit that he is some sort of a socialist. Perhaps he's red, maybe he's only pink. Maybe he's only just plain white, but if he is class-conscious, if he realizes that between the workers and the capitalists there can be no peace until the workers become the dominant ruling class, then we have something to say to him—whatever the particular shade or tinge of crimson that may be his (or her's).

Knowing this to be a fact—realizing that the workers and the capitalists are in a life and death struggle for control of the world—realizing that in this struggle knowledge of the class character of society, of the structure of the capitalist State, of the historic mission of the workingclass—is necessary, then it becomes the duty of every such worker to seek to spread the knowledge of our Movement among his fellows. Each such individual must become a propagandist and a booster for the Communist press.

For some time The Toiler has carried on a campaign among its readers for funds to purchase a supply of print paper. We are happy to announce that thru the co-operation of its readers we have secured a supply sufficient for several months. We believe that in future we shall be able to meet any situation that will arise and that The Toiler will not again be jeopardized on account of a paper shortage. We thank every contributor to the paper fund for their loyal support.

But far better than donations are subscriptions. A new reader is to be preferred any time to a dollar given outright. We must increase our power for our Movement among the workers by extending our circulation. In this work there is a place for every worker whether on the farm, in the shop, mill or mine. Wherever workers are to be found, there must be a booster for The Toiler. In this way our circulation can be increased and our Movement built up.

We say frankly that the best support which you can possibly give to The Toiler is that of getting subscriptions. Subscriptions support The Toiler. The Toiler in return educates another worker into a communist. Every communist is a brick in the structure of the Revolution which is to bring about the New Society.

Get on the job of subscription getting. Order a bundle of Toilers at 1c each and put them where they will be read. It's easy to interest a worker in The Toiler—after he has read a copy it's equally easy to get his subscription. Try it, get in the job every day with The Toiler and we will not only increase our subscription list but we will BUILD UP OUR COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

ORDER A BUNDLE NOW!

## A New Belgian Appeal

Comes to our desk a copy of "De Internationale", organ of the Communist Party of Belgium published at Antwerp, containing an appeal which was adopted at a public meeting held by the Communist Party at Antwerp. A comrade has also sent us an English translation of this appeal which all radical papers are requested to publish. The appeal follows.

TO THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN PEOPLE.

"As we did not need to make an appeal to your sense of justice and philanthropy in 1914, of which you gave so much proof in supporting, helping and encouraging us when we were attacked by the Prussian invader, so we feel again obliged to make another appeal to your sense and sentiments to help now to deliver us out of the claws of the American and English profiteers, who, after all our privations, misery and sufferings which we endured during the war, have set their claws deep in our economic life.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

"A splendid opportunity arises for your capitalists to show us that all they did in the past was not mere hypocrisy and self-interest.

"Now, more than ever before, as the pretended enemy had to leave the country, you have an exceptional opportunity to expose our common enemy, capitalism, in your country.

"Indeed, wrong done by Prussian, American or an Englishman always remains wrong and consequently the results of it always fall upon the toilers, especially in this case.

"In the name of humanity, we again make an appeal to your brotherly and sisterly feelings, and we hope that you will use all your power and influence to help us to realize this just demand in order to get a more humane existence."

This is one of the most unique appeals that has come to our notice.

It contains a lesson of the class struggle of the deepest significance. The Prussian invasion which laid Belgium in waste and spread death and desolation broadcast has long since subsided. The invaders whose very name was anathema thruout the entire world, has returned to his boundaries. But the miseries of the Belgian masses have not subsided. A new invasion is now in progress, an invasion as cruel, as destructive, as merciless as that of the German hordes.

The American and English capitalist profiteers have their Shylock hands at the throat of Belgian men, women and children.

They are demanding their pound of flesh. The Belgians have discovered that a new enemy has displaced the old. The Kaiser has gone but the profiteer remains.

It now remains for the workers of Belgium to learn the lesson of their sufferings. As long as Belgium's economic life is under the control of private capital so long will they be subject to the exploitation and misery which private capital sees fit to inflict upon them. Between the Kiser and profiteer, whatever his nationality, there is little choice. Belgian workers, like the work-

# EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

ers of all countries must overthrow the capitalist system, they must seize and control the system of production and distribution. Until this is accomplished the Shylocks of capitalism will continue to carve their pound of flesh from the heart of Labor.

## "Not Radical."

When Judge Willis of Los Angeles, released nine members of the I. W. W. on suspended sentences under rigid discipline as to their association with radicals and radical movements, they were allowed membership in the A. F. of L., Judge Willis stating, "that is not a radical organization."

Certainly the Judge knew what he was talking about. The recent convention at Montreal is ample proof of that long outstanding fact. If the Judge had said, "that is a reactionary organization; I advise all workers who have the best interests of the capitalist class at heart to join it," he would neither have overstepped the truth nor mistated his wishes.

The Montreal convention refused to endorse the recognition of the Russian Soviet government, the lifting of the blockade and free intercourse with the Russian people. This act places the American Federation of Labor at the bottom of the list of black reactionary labor bodies of the world.

In striking contrast to the labor bodies of Europe, who are creating havoc in the ranks of the reactionaries by their espousal of the cause of the Soviets and their demands for Soviet recognition backed by threats of general strikes, the action of the Montreal convention shows up in its true light the enmity to international solidarity of the workers which rules in the detestable Gompers controlled machine.

The resolution in question reads:

"Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor is not justified in taking any action which can be construed as assistance to or the approval of the soviet government of Russia so long as that government is based upon authority not vested in it by a properly constituted national representative assembly of the people, or so long as that government by constant propaganda endeavors to start revolutions in the civilized nations of the world or so long as it militarizes the workers, opposes trade unions or exercises suppression of freedom of speech and the press."

What makes Gompers and his following sore is that the workers have made a short cut to freedom by depriving the non-producers and parasites of any power in the government. The A. F. of L. is strong for 'democracy'—the democracy of the bourgeoisie class. What the A. F. of L. wishes for Russia is a constituent assembly made up of sufficient bourgeois and labor skinnners to thwart every effort of labor to sever its chains. Its highest ideal is to keep the workers enslaved to the kings and queens of finance. Its heart is broken at the very thought of labor reaping the full social value of its toil. A "fair" day's wage is all it ever asked for, all it ever demanded—it has always been perfectly satisfied to turn over the bulk of labor's products to the parasitic class while labor took only sufficient to keep itself on the job.

The attempt of the resolution to make a case against the Soviet form of government and the measures it has been forced to adopt during the transition stage thru which it is passing, reveals the stupid bourgeois viewpoint which is characteristic of the A. F. of L. Judge Willis spoke entirely from a knowledge of the facts. No heavy taint of radicalism hangs about the A. F. of L. The one redeeming feature of the act of the convention is that one fourth of the delegates voted against it. Next year, after the whole world has opened trade relations and the soviet government flag flies from its consulates in dozens of American cities—then the A. F. of L. will come along like a cow's tail at the end of the procession endorsing trade relations with Russia. This is an example of the 'leadership' which functions in this fossilized labor union.

## Our National Sport.

Is lynching to become America's national sport? Now that Duluth in the North has forged ahead to a place vying with most 'democratic' southern states of the Black Belt in the lynching of our black citizens, it is only right that we should give to lynching the honors due it, and like true sportsmen call it by what it really is.

Duluth has set the example. When the evenings grow monotonous and lose their tang, there is still much spice to be had in life. Confiscate a truck, parade the streets calling for volunteers. Assemble all the hoodlums in town, make a lot of noise; start something all down the line. Locate some bricks and assault the police station. The officers will probably run. If they turn the sprinkling hose on you, just hump your back and stick. Pretty soon they will get tired and beat it.

Then you have it all your own way. Break down the jail doors. Gather the negroes (or whites if no Negroes are inside) hold a mock trial. You are the judge, jury and prosecution. When you get tired of this rig-ma-role, get some rope from the nearest hardware store. The merchant will probably obligingly and patriotically serve you free. Then the real fun can begin.

Telegraph poles are handy. Just pitch one rope end over a cross-arm and make the other secure to a black victim's neck. All grab hold and swing on hard! Now you are enjoying the delights known only to 100 per cent Americans, law, abiding citizens of a Godfearing nation which blushes with shame at the death of a counter-revolutionary profiteer in Moscow.

Great sport! A whole lot might be said about this, but what's the use? We have a public educated by the profiteer, venial, sensation mongering daily press. Public offices are filled by a crew of hungry, job hunting politicians with neither knowledge, vision or ideals. A combination of this sort is certain to develop by-products such as the Duluth massacre.

## SOVIETS APPEAL TO WORLD'S WORKERS

MOSCOW—(via London)—An appeal from the Soviet government to the workers of all countries has been transmitted here by wireless which says:

"On our western frontier war has started again. Once more enormous regions are being devastated by military operations. The working class of Russia are compelled to take up arms again. The Poles have started war for the purpose of plundering the Ukrainian peasants and securing their lands for Polish landowners. Poland is waging war in order to impose on Soviet Russia, already ruined by the Allied capitalists, a huge indemnity.

"Those who are guilty of this new war are the governments of the allied countries. All of them are supporting the action of Poland to a greater or less degree. It depends upon you, workmen of all countries that the war shall end in the shortest possible time with a crushing defeat of the capitalists and the landowners.

"Workers of France, England, Italy and America's transport workers, railwaymen, stevedores and sailors: Do

not make a single rifle or a single cartridge; do not send any munitions or provisions to Poland; go out in the streets and arrange demonstrations and strikes with the slogan: 'No support of the Polish White Guards.'

BERLIN—A demonstration of protest against the Polish attack on Soviet Russia was recently organized by the Communists and Independents of Berlin. Crowds which filled the Lustgarten were addressed by prominent revolutionaries, among them Daming, Ledebour, and Eichorn. On one procession a man carried a gallows on which was written "For Mannerheim."

An advertisement of the Interchurch World Movement made this statement: "All that makes property safe in the world is bound up in the respect for law that religion breeds." But, may we not ask, whose property? That of the 2 per cent who own 60 per cent of it? Is it the ambition of the church to be the policemen of property rights?

HERE'S HOW MANY EVADED WAR FOR DEMOCRACY The government shortly will publish a list of 170,000 men alleged to have evaded the Selective Service law. This will be equivalent to offering a reward of \$50 for the arrest and conviction of each, federal authorities said.

## COMMUNISM EVENTUALLY IN MEXICO: TWILIGHT STAGE NOW

— By Linn A. E. Gale. —

Communism is inevitable in Mexico, Sooner or Later.

These long-enslaved, suffering and exploited masses know in a dim way that they want an end of capitalism. Clear vision is not theirs yet but they are acquiring it rapidly. Many of them have acquired it already. The increasing radicalism of the unions, even those that are affiliated with the Pan-American Federation of Labor, is an unmistakable sign. The cynism with which many of the unions have regarded the promises of both Obregon and Bonillas in the campaign that now, since the revolution, is starting all over again, with Bonillas eliminated, is evidence of the steady swing of Mexican proletarian sentiment toward direct action. But it would be a mistake to anticipate another outbreak, a class-conscious revolution, soon. Miss Helen Augur, writing in New York Call, intimates that when the election comes there may be a real effort to elect a labor government. Miss Augur is mistaken altho her articles are rendering a real service in putting squarely on the shoulders of Wall St. the responsibility for the disorder, civil war and crimes that have so long torn Mexico in twain.

Workers with Obregon yet but—

The vast majority of the Mexican workers are with Obregon due to the efficient electioneering of L.N. Morones, close friend of Obregon and right-hand man of Samuel Gompers. They will stay with him for a while. They are eminently satisfied with the outcome of the revolution to date and believe that Obregon, on his accession to office, will be a true friend of labor. They also like de la Huerta, newly elected provisional President, and have heard much of what he did for labor in Sonora as its Governor. They will certainly stand by Obregon for a time. Then, if exploitation and oppression continue, as they must to a greater or lesser degree, and if socialization of industry is not begun in apparent sincerity, they will prepare for another uprising.

Another Revolution Inevitable

When that time comes it will not matter whether there happens to be an ambitious politician at hand who wants to lead them or not. If there happens to be, they may follow him, but he will be forced to do what they want or his days will be numbered. And if there is no such aspirant available, the workers will pick their own leader from their ranks, which will be much better, to be sure.

In any event, Communism is coming in Mexico and nothing can stop it ultimately.

On the other had, it is just as certain that Wall St. having been thoroughly exasperated by Carranza's long and persistent resistance, will, to paraphrase what the Kaiser is said to have told James W. Gerard, "stand for no nonsense from Obregon." If he tries to do much for the masses, American capitalism will get rid of him in short order. It is by no means convinced so

far that he will obey orders despite the frantic assurance of his press bureau in Washington that he is 100% pro-American.

Miss Augur thinks that Wall St. would like to see Obregon start on a radical policy so it would have an excuse for intervention. Not at all. Wall St. would much prefer to have Obregon play the game with it. It will be far easier to dominate Mexico indirectly and "diplomatically" than to conquer it with guns. When the peon sees a "gingo" soldier coming for him, he gets mad and being able to fight like hell and then some, he will keep that soldier busy for quite a while, despite the disparity in their respective equipment. But pat the peon on the back, tell him you are going to "assist" him in developing his country, and he grins good-naturedly, gets friendly and puffs away at his cigarette. He can be kidded in this way for a while for he is not by nature suspicious. Wall St. would rather use this method, and take its chances on being able to put down a later rebellion by the time that the peon gets his eyes open.

Obregon, tho he may really want to right social wrongs and even lay the bases of a new system in Mexico, will not dare to. Perhaps he will not want to. Perhaps the prospect of American co-operation with plenty of money and plenty of guns will be too alluring for him to retain any working-class sympathies. Whether it will be necessity or choice that will impel him to his probable course of action, is not of serious moment. The big fact is that he will undoubtedly toe the mark indicated by American Big Business and that intervention will, therefore, not come by military methods for the present.

This can have no other effect than to prepare the Mexican toilers for a genuine, full-fledged Social Revolution within a few years.

Carranza Nationalist, Not Radical

As to Carranza, while we shudder at his murder, let us not be misled into any maze of hero-worship of the slain man. Let us not forget that his policy or opposition to Wall St. was one of Mexican nationalism, rather than internationalism, and that while he tried to keep the nation's wealth for a local bourgeoisie, he permitted the efficient labor laws of the country to go unenforced against Mexican and Spanish capitalists as well as against American capitalists. Only a few weeks before the revolution broke out, "Resurgimiento", a brilliant little Spanish weekly published by the Puebla syndicalists, contained an editorial saying that the wretched wages, long hours and entire absence of sanitary restrictions that the Carranza government winked at, were worse even than what existed under Diaz.

Let us not forget, either, that while Carranza was killed as the result of the brutal determination of American finance-capitalism to seize Mexico, many a poor worker with a less provincial and chauvinistic outlook than Carranza, has given his life for the same heartless reason.

And let us above all remember that

Carranza "floppe" in the last few months of his administration, and at the moment of the revolutionary uprising, was spending millions of pesos to elect as his successor, Ambassador Ygnacio Bonillas, the real choice of Yankee capitalism. Carranza had permitted a suspension of the petroleum tax law; had turned his back on the Radicals with whom he formerly flirted but for whom he never had any real sympathy; had agreed to pay the old Huerta debt that he had hitherto steadfastly repudiated; and would probably have been allowed to get the 12,000,000 rounds of ammunition that had been held in New York 6 years because the American government would not allow the shipment of what he had actually bought.

Playing "Both Ends Against Middle"

The only reason why the monied men north of the Rio Grande dropped Carranza so quickly when the revolt came, was that they realized the popularity of Obregon and did not want to waste further time with the losing man! If Carranza had stood a show of winning, they might have staid with him. Nobody knows. Those who pretend to know, don't and are only displaying knowledge that is not knowledge but guesswork. It was an opportunistic game that Wall St. played all the time. Carranza having sold out, would have been "safe" if he had retired power. Obregon, who was also receiving aid from Big Business, would probably be safe, if he won, they figured. If the revolution lasted, the American government could step in and grab the country without further ado and without bothering to deal with either set of politicians. And if one side or the other definitely won and then refused to do as it was told, it would be easy to foment another outbreak and intervene just the same.

The Peon To Be Heard From

No matter which side had triumphed in the revolution, the result would have been much the same. Wall St. played a game of "Heads I win, tails you lose" with the Mexican people, and Carranza, Obregon, Gonzalez and Bonillas all were its pawns, consciously or otherwise.

But the Mexican peon, like the American people, cannot be "fooled all of the time."

The peon will be heard from again.

WASHINGTON.—A request by former Senator Hardwick of Georgia, counsel for Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, chief of the Russian Soviet Bureau at New York, for the subpoena of Major General Graves, former commander of the American Expeditionary forces in Siberia, and of Raymond Robins was denied recently by Immigration Inspector Shell on the ground that their testimony would be irrelevant.

The case of Martens before the Commissioner of Immigration was completed last week. A hearing which was scheduled to take place June 17, it is thought, will be taken on the deporta-tion warrant for Martens.

## THOUGHT WAVES

By C. A. Moseley,

Staff Writer, The Federated Press.

David R. Francis says that he will resign as ambassador to Russia if we recognize the Soviet government. Even at such a terrible cost, we are in favor of the recognition.

The decision of a board of arbitration, favorable to the motormen and conductors of the Des Moines street railway system, was set aside in Federal court by Judge Martin J. Wade. This is the same judge who sentenced Kate Richards O'Hare.

Senator Lodge advocates the temporary modification of the immigration laws, to permit an influx of needed labor. An efficiency idea worthy of Taylor; load up, for the return trip, the "arks" that are deporting them. When they strike, ship 'em back.

The War Department, it is reported, has issued a call for the organization of tank corps in all industrial centers. We should imagine that the Kaiser had taken a job as a steel worker, did we not know better.

## HEALTH BULLETINS.

Now the Mikado is sick. Wilson shows no improvement, unless it is in health. Lenin is able to do considerable more than take nourishment. Burleson's liver complaint is no better. Palmer's eyes still give him trouble; everything looks red.

Hoover no longer sees double, and has decided that he is a Republican. Wood is getting over his military stride.

Senator Harding is getting cold feet. Louis F. Post has strong heart action.

Taft, who may be remembered as a former president, wrote recently in defense of the present system and thinks the relation between the wage-carner and the rich man is a happy one, "because the former is quite as likely to enjoy real happiness in life as the latter." Aside from the fact that few rich men are willing to try the experiment, we might remark that because Epictetus, the slave, may have been as happy as Marcus Aurelius, the emperor, we are perfectly satisfied that slavery ceased to exist. Besides, Taft, being to fat to work, has to write something to meet the H. C. L. He should be treated with indulgence. Otherwise, we might adequately criticize this recent utterance.

A deepatch from the Elysian Fields quotes the original Rothschild as saying: "I was a more slouch at collecting money; I didn't know a thing about 'drives' and 'tag days'."

LECTURES UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

at Pythian Temple, 919 Huron Road near East 9th Street every 2nd and 4th Sunday of the month at 3 P. M.

SUNDAY, JUNE 27: "Professional Sociology vs. Socialist Social Science," by J. M. Comrade.

SUNDAY, JULY 11th: "Production

## SOME "REDS" WE ARE NOT ASHAMED OF.

In these palmy days of Palmerism and Wilsonian Democracy, when to be a radical is to court a jail sentence and persecution at the hands of our beloved democratic officialdom, it is well to recall to mind the names of a few of those whom the world once derided, persecuted, chained and damned. We name a few of them below.

Socrates, Jesus Christ, Galileo, Christopher Columbus, Patrick Henry, Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, Wendell Phillips, Abraham Lincoln, Charles Darwin, Louis Pasteur.

Who is ashamed of these names today? It is a list that engages the veneration of every sincere and right thinking man and woman. When the name "radical" is bandied about in derision by the capitalist press and other lick spittles of the profiteers, just recall these names to mind and remember that they were equally derided by the profiteers of their days and for the same reasons—they were dangerous to profits. Measured by their service for the Common Good they stand as high above the "respectables," as Heaven is above Hell.

Under Capitalism," by Frank Kerker.

SUNDAY, JULY 25: "Production on the Farm," by D. B. Washburn.



# UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY FORMED BY COMMUNIST GROUPS

## COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY AND MAJORITY OF COMMUNIST PARTY UNITE THROUGH SECRET CONVENTION.

From a copy of the "Communist", which declares itself the "official organ of the United Communist Party," we reprint the following story describing the unity convention of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party:

### The Convention of the Revolutionists.

During the first week of September, 1919, there were organized in the United States two Communist parties. Within two months both parties together had completed an enrollment of more than 40,000 dues-paying members. The prospects pointed to a further increase to 60,000, perhaps 70,000—about three-fourths of the former Socialist Party membership.

Along came the Lusk Committee raids and arrests in New York; also sporadic arrests elsewhere in connection with the November 7th celebration. Organization of Communists was checked. Came an ominous fall then the avalanche of the New Year—the Palmer nation wide raids, arrests, brutalities.

At the end of January Secretary of Labor Wilson held that alien members of the Communist Party were subject to deportation. Communists—members of both parties—were branded as outlaws in the courts of New York and New Jersey. Like results appeared in Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan, California, Ohio, Indiana, in many other states.

No longer were there party headquarters, neither national, state, nor local. The active party officials were in jail or were fugitives. No meetings could be held without inviting arrests. Very little money could be raised even for defense and relief of prisoners.

By February 1920 the two thriving parties of October 1919 had vanished. The Luskers and Palmers had done their work completely, perfectly. This country was immunized from the "red" terror—the terror which haunts the world.

Sometime recently, somewhere between the Atlantic and Pacific, between the Gulf and the Great Lakes two groups of elected delegates assembled as the Unity Conference of the Communist Party and the Communist Labor Party. Of the former, 32; of the latter, 25, and one fraternal delegate; also a representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. These 59 delegates came together from all parts of the United States, held sessions for seven days, debated every issue with absolute thoroughness, laid out the plan of work for the United Communist Party—all under the most perfect circumstances conceivable for such a convention.

One who holds in his hand the scroll upon which is inscribed the record of this mysterious gathering is amazed, for one thing, at the roll of delegates. Communist Party and Communist Labor Party—but all these strange names? Not one of the 1919 Communists present? Search the roll again—not one familiar name. Remarkable achievement of the Lusk-Palmer Inquiry—not one of the 1919 Communists in the list!

In spite of the fact that these delegates came together on a call for a "Unity Conference," in spite of all realized of the fearful blow it would be to the Communist movement in this country if unity were

not at once achieved, it was not until noon of the seventh day that this issue was decided conclusively.

Neither side was fully conscious of the undercurrent of sentiment on the other side. Factional controversies of nearly a year's standing surcharged the atmosphere with suspicion—suspicion not only across the lines but within each camp. None of the delegates were willing to surrender their reservations until after a long series of debates, some of little intrinsic importance, many on basic questions of Communist understanding and practice—questions which had never before been really faced in United States.

One delegate hit upon the most salient truth about this convention in the remark that, in contrast to any other convention in which he had taken part either in Europe or America, this convention had met squarely every essential issue and debated it fully to its ultimate solution.

There were three separate advance sessions of the two parties. To each of these sessions was presented the tentative draft of a Program and Constitution previously prepared by a Joint Committee: Damon, Caxton and Fisher, C. P.; Klein, Brown, Klein and Dubner, C. L. P.

During the second of these sessions, a message came to the C. P. convention that the C. L. P. convention had accepted the agreements of the Joint Committee as a basis for unity, reserving all amendments for joint discussion.

At this moment the C. P. convention had under consideration a substitute Manifesto, Program and Constitution presented by Ford for the New York District delegation. The debate quickly centered on the declaration as to "mass action"; it being conceded that the Joint Committee Program was more acceptable as an entirety. The main contention was that the Joint Committee had not used direct and unequivocal language as to force. It was answered that the criticism was only of words; that there could not possibly be any doubt but that the Program pointed clearly to armed revolt as the ultimate and inevitable form of "mass action."

Personal suspicion stimulated this argument. The outside group of the C. P. the majority members of the Central Executive Committee—had manufactured the issue of force as a dominant item in the C. P. split. There had never been such a factional issue. But the Eastern delegates particularly were determined to make certain that there would be nothing about the handling of this subject which might leave a loophole for the C. P. opposition.

Agreement was reached for the revision of the Program in a number of particulars, the C. P. delegates to support these amendments as a unit. The C. P. convention further bound its members on the issue of federations; also, to retain the C. P. name and emblem.

The first joint session opened with a spirited dispute as to election of committees. Some of the C. P. delegates insisted upon discussion of the Program as the first order of business. They said that they were not ready to commit themselves as to joint proceedings until the Program was disposed of. This brought forth angry protest; it served as a challenge to the group unity of the C. L. P. It was urged that unity had been achieved by coming together on the basis of the Joint Committee Program and Con-

stitution: that every provision was open to amendment by the convention; that there might be a new division on the issues to come up, but the old party division was gone.

A bolt of nine or ten of the C. P. delegates was started. Klein (C. L. P.) re-introduced the motion to proceed with the discussion of the Program and Peace was restored.

The opening debates were sparring matches, with a strong undercurrent of nervousness. Threescore persons, engaged in a criminal conspiracy, spent two hours to decide whether capitalism breaks down in that it fails to "produce" the needs of life, or whether the collapse is due to the failure to "provide". After considerable uncertainty the argument prevailed that capitalism, in spite of all its equipment, still produces; that the wheels of industry turn only at the call of profit, regardless of all capabilities for production; crisis or no crisis, capitalism has never functioned to "provide" the needs of the masses.

In the playfulness of this debate was expressed relaxation and the forestalling of another premature clash. This was the safe way of "getting acquainted"—the suppressed form of the struggle for unity.

Restrained resentment and suspicion broke loose into a furious storm during the next session. At the first statement in the Program concerning the overthrow of the capitalist system it was insisted that the word "forcible" be added. Likewise, at the first mention of "conquest of political power" it was demanded that there be added "by the use of armed force." The amendment was piled upon another—a veritable "force" panic.

In vain was it argued that this part of the Program contained only preliminary definitions, statements of the goal to be achieved; that the Program, under appropriate subdivisions, gave full attention to the methods of action; that the item of armed force does not diminish the aspect of "mass action"; that this tactic must be presented in its developmental character—armed uprising as the unavoidable sequence of the advancing class conflict.

The C. L. P. delegates, for the most part, were ready for a test of strength against the C. P. "irreconcilables." They were conscious that this minority would have to accept defeat, since the point to be voted was only on what page something should be stated in the Program. Others sensed too much danger of misunderstanding behind such a vote, too much anger where agreement could easily be reached. Caxton moved to recommit this part of the Program, then to adjourn. There were some protests, but the motion prevailed. Meanwhile the tension was relaxed by the brilliant satirical speech of Sherwood, whose Yankee wit was the perfect antidote for passionate argument on an artificially stimulated issue.

The C. P. night caucus which followed, the amendments proposed by the Joint Committee, and a decision to dispose first of the section on "Mass Action," gave the convention smooth sailing the next morning.

A spirited debate ensued on the proposition to limit nominations to legislative officers, according to the clause of the C. P. program. The issue was not clear-cut, since the anti-parliamentarians took the side of limiting nominations as one way of expressing opposition to all nominations. Brown (C. L. P.) and some of the C. P. speakers argued directly against nominations of any kind. Damon (C. P.) contended that this

clause was needed to discourage petty nominations by local units of the party, Raphaeloff (C. L. P.), Caxton (C. P.), Malcolm (C. L. P.) and others pointed out that the general proposition of parliamentary action was not involved in this debate; that to the extent we were to have any nominations at all it was indispensable, under the American system, to name the "head of the ticket"; the president, governor or mayor; that this clause had been written into the C. P. program under the misconception that this was the proper method of meeting the "ministerial question," the fact being that the Socialist ministers in Europe had all been elected as legislative candidates; that in this country the Socialists whether elected to legislative or executive offices had all behaved equally badly; that, finally, it was no occasion to worry about the actions of a Communist president, because the revolution would forestall this contingency, and that minor executive officers could serve just as well to be thrown out of office as the Communists to the legislatures.

By a close vote the paragraph was retained, but the limitation is of no immediate practical moment since the convention further went on record against all nominations during the 1920 campaigns.

On the third day occurred the longest and most stubborn debate of the convention, that on industrial unionism. This was another three cornered affair. The C. P. convention had passed up the question of the I. W. W. because it was apparent that this question could not be settled by agreement. Fitzhugh, third of the C. P. delegates favored a direct endorsement of the I. W. W. and a program of co-operation, reserving criticism of the I. W. W. theorizing. The other C. P. delegates considered the I. W. W. as essentially no better than the A. F. of L., citing the reactionary character of the I. W. W. in some of the Eastern cities. All of the C. P. delegates were agreed upon an absolute stand against the A. F. of L. as an inherently anti-revolutionary organization which must be destroyed.

On the other hand, there was a strong current in the C. L. P. ranks for a treatment of the subject of industrial unionism from a general viewpoint which would neither include direct endorsement of the I. W. W. nor absolute condemnation of the A. F. of L. The lead in this debate was taken by Dawson who argued that the A. F. of L. must be considered from the angle of the local unionism, the industrial unionism was having a development in many fields aside from the I. W. W.; that the need was for a call to a new general central theme of the contrary industrial union, a new One Big Union.

On both sides there was not only a close analysis of the proper function of a Communist party in connection with the union, but also a wealth of illustrative material out of actual shop and union experience. Machinists, miners and shipbuilders read their practical understandings with the more abstract conceptions of those whose vision was focused on the ultimate revolutionary clash. The cleavage was not between "intellectuals" and "rank and file," but between workers in the industries who had undergone contrasting forms of experience.

The original Joint Committee proposal on this subject had been taken over from a draft by the Chicago District Committee. Dozens of amendments and substitutes were brought before the convention, but finally the section as adopted as originally presented. As a result of the debate, however, the Committee opened the subject for reconsideration the next day, presenting two amendments which were

accepted. In the sentence, "A Communist who belongs to the A. F. of L., Raphaeloff (C. L. P.) on account of absolute job necessity should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to destroy it," there was eliminated the phrase "on account of absolute job necessity." The sentence, "A stronger I. W. W. must be built," was stricken out.

The unity issued flared up again on the question of party name. On the first vote there were 22 counted for "Communist Party," 24 against. A roll call was demanded; The C. P. names were read first; 30 votes were recorded for "Communist Party."

The C. L. P. delegates resented what they considered a coercive vote without any chance for discussion. An indignation speech was made by Flynn which proved the moral power of effective minority criticism—with the opening of the next session came a ballot vote on "United Communist Party" or "Communist Party" with "united" written underneath. The vote was 33 to 22 for "United Communist Party."

This appeared to the real achievement of unity, the breakdown of the old party lines. But there were still the elections.

Two important debates came under the consideration of the Constitution, one on party centralization, the other on federations.

In the first instance the issue of centralization came up on the amendment making the C. E. C. appointment of the district executive subject to the approval of the district executive committees. On the one side it was argued that this meant the substitution of autonomous districts for autonomous federations, a central executive shorn of real authority and real capability of action; that decentralization but only by some effective means for control of the central authority; that district committees would lead themselves more easily to factional manipulation than the central committee elected in a national convention by delegates well known to the members. It was urged that an underground party must have the possibility of instant decision and action by a small committee; it must act as a single machine, it can never strike a decisive blow.

Lack of confidence in officials was argument. The party affairs, it was urged, must be brought nearer to the control of the rank and file. The central committees had been the breeding place of factional controversies. It was not asking much to give the district committees a veto in the choice of the organizers upon whom their work depended.

Upon the first vote the amendment was declared adopted. It then appeared that some of the delegates had misconceived the proposition to be one of appointing all organizers "from the top downward," that is, sub-district, section, branch and group organizers as well as the district organizers. A motion to reconsider was made and declared lost. Then followed a keen parliamentary battle, led by Damon, which finally resulted—after three roll calls—in a reversal of the original vote, 34 to 20.

On the federation question the Joint Committee had come to no agreement. In curious contrast to the history of last Summer, it was the C. L. P. committee members who were loath to take a rigorous stand against federations. At the convention the C. L. P. delegates took no group stand on this question. Two plans were presented, one for the C. P. delegates by Damon, the other by Dubner and Raphaeloff for the federation members of the C. L. P. The debate was largely between the federation delegates on both sides. The principal controversy was as to the existence of national executive

committees for the language groups, this proposal being decisively voted down.

Late in the afternoon of the fourth day of the joint sessions it was decided to proceed with elections of party officials. There had been many hours of caucusing on each side as to elections. Regardless of the sentiment of the convention expressed by a majority vote against further caucuses, neither side was willing to risk a surrender of its group strength.

A motion was made by Spark (C. P.) that the C. E. C. be composed of the five C. P. delegates and four C. L. P. delegates receiving the highest votes, without contest as between the C. P. and C. L. P. candidates. The motion was not supported.

Brown and Caxton were the nominees for International Secretary. Brown, 30; Caxton 23.

With two to elect, there were four nominees for International Delegate. The vote stood Damon 30, Meyer (C. L. P.) 28, Caxton 26, Barry (C. L. P.) 26. The lines were not holding; four C. P. votes had been divided between Meyer and Barry.

Then came ten nominations for the nine places on the C. E. C. Damon, Scott, Reinhardt, Delion, Zemlin, (C. P.); Meyer, Klein, Flynn, Brown, Dawson (C. L. P.). There was a caucus nomination. Obviously the C. L. P. caucus had determined to avail itself of the dissensions in the C. P. ranks and to attempt to elect a majority of the committee.

At the night session was announced the result of the balloting: Damon, Scott, Klein, Flynn, 29; Brown 33, Dawson, 32, Meyer, 30; Reinhardt, 26; Delion, Zemlin, tied at 24.

Damon, Scott and Reinhardt quickly offered their resignations. A bitter discussion was precipitated. Both sides had played for "control" and the result had been a boomerang; for how it was urged, could the C. P. delegates report back to their members that they had been outwitted in strategy in a way to give the minority control of the united party? Even though the fault was that of the C. P. delegates themselves, how could that remedy the outside situation?

The C. L. P. speakers vehemently answered that what was done was the result of the will of the convention; that it was outrageous for members to resign from the C. E. C. simply because they felt they could not boss the committee and the party; that, after all, this outcome of the elections would be the best proof to the members that the old party lines had been forgotten.

A motion for a recess of half an hour was adopted. Then began the tug of war which went into the middle of the night, only to be resumed the next morning—the two groups, apparently completely welded, now standing sharply apart as C. P. and C. L. P. The convention vanished; in its place were two caucuses, with committees for interchange of offers and counter-proposals.

The strained issue in the C. P. camp had been an attack upon Caxton, based on the "majority" C. P. criticisms. In the C. P. caucus, after long discussion, he had been nominated for the C. E. C., 18 to 9. Later Caxton withdrew his name. Now it was insisted his name be reintroduced, making Zemlin first substitute. The C. L. P. offered to substitute Caxton for Brown as International Secretary.

The last morning found the situation deadlocked. To open the convention again meant to give the C. P. the advantage of the renewed caucus pressure in favor of solidarity for C. P. control, all questions of personality aside. The issue of control having been precipitated by the turn of the elections, the C. P. delegates were in no mood to give up their demand for a majority of the C. E. C.

The C. P. delegates made only one demand to reopen the convention. It was for the other side to make the next move.

There is nothing in the official record which suggests under what sort of surroundings all these things happened. As a matter of fact the physical surroundings had a very important part in the struggle for unity—which is not at all illuminating to the reader who is asked to wait a few years for a description of these surroundings.

Besides, how is one to visualize one group of delegates in heated argument, while the other group is engaged in the singing of revolutionary songs, mostly Russian, how is one to imagine all this without something in the way of special dimensions? The singing group marches halfway toward the arguing group—a challenge to unity, the song of the Internationale—and reluctantly marches back to its own meeting place.

There is a committee conference. Before the report comes back the lines are formed for a new march, this time to go all the way. Agreement is reported: a C. E. C. of ten members, the five C. L. P. candidates to stand elected, five C. P. members now to be chosen. The march proceeds; it is the only report to the anxious C. L. P. delegates—the two groups merge into one another, all singing the Internationale. There is the grasping of hands, the embrace of comradeship; nothing is said—there is too much feeling for speech. Unity is achieved.

Recapitulating, the C. E. C. stands: Damon, Scott, Reinhardt, Delion, Caxton; Brown, Dawson, Klein, Flynn, Meyer. Alternates: Zemlin (C. P.) Dubner (C. L. P.), Stone (C. P.), Jones (C. L. P.), Kerker (C. P.), Malcolm (C. L. P.), Kazbek (C. P.), Logan (C. L. P.).

For International Secretary, Caxton replaces Brown; Damon and Meyer stand as International Delegates; Scott, alternate for Damon, Barry, alternate for Meyer.

An American convention of Communists. Yet there was, more likely than not, a majority of "foreigners"; though the division was fairly even. But these were Communists who were vitally concerned about the class struggle in America, men and women who really expected to take part in this struggle; not those who toyed with the Communist movement here as a method of ingratiating themselves in Moscow.

It was one of the most inspiring things about this convention to hear delegates painfully struggling with the English language, no longer depending for expression on the artificial foreign-language caucuses of prior conventions, but making themselves one with all the other delegates in defiance of barriers of language or nationality.

Perhaps this was the greater "unity" achievement of this convention... Again and again the sentence was heard: "We have crossed the Rubicon." Every delegate was in the hands of his fellows; all subject to imprisonment, deportation, social and economic displacement. Yet most of the time—not without thanks to the irrepressible wit of the convention secretary, Smyth—the whole affair seemed like a jollification. Or perhaps it was the grim seriousness of it all that challenged relief in playfulness.

A revolutionary movement driven "underground" is apt to be driven away at the same time from its own petty animosities and quibbles. Forced to face the life and death character of the combat, it is likely to discard petty feuds, evasions, purposeless quarrels about persons. Confusion gives way to clarity; hesitation yields to stern determination.

A convention of revolutionists—a convention which relentlessly searched the truth of its every word and the heart of its every delegate...

## The Development of Production Under the Soviets

NEW YORK—A minute and frank description of internal conditions in Russia is contained in the report of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, held in Moscow February 2, the full text of which has just been obtained by the Soviet Russia bureau here. In the reports of Nicolai Lenin, Leon Trotsky, of Rykov, president of the Supreme Council of National Economy, and of other peoples' commissars, there are reflected the actual exigencies against which the government is struggling and the methods by which it proposes to solve them.

Lenin's report dealt primarily with Russia's foreign relations. The premier declared that the victorious peace with Estonia was concluded in spite of the powerful efforts of the White Guards, and that there was hope that the laboring masses of Poland, Georgia and Azerbaijan would force the same action.

"In the east the prestige of Soviet Russia is very high," Lenin asserted. "The colonies, who have themselves experienced the oppression of greedy imperialism, are more and more inclined to ally themselves with us. Our task is a compact union of small nations against imperialism."

Lenin announced as the chief points of internal policy the abolition of capital punishment, the institution of labor inspection, the development and unification of all cooperatives under the Soviet state, the organization of the labor armies, and the electrification of the country's industrial centers.

Rykov's report pointed out that the disintegration of the country's industrial life was reflected in every European country as the result of the world war, and a prime need of all

was the resumption of full commercial relations.

"Although available stores of raw materials have been greatly depleted, we are still able to exchange a certain amount of such materials for goods needed by us," he stated. "We are able immediately to export not less than two million pounds of flax (72,000,000 lbs.) several million pieces of all kinds of furs, a great quantity of platinum, about 100,000 pounds (3,600,000 lbs.) of bristles, and great amounts of lumber. In exchange for this, we will accept only such goods as are indispensable for the rehabilitation of the basic productive enterprises of the country."

"The nationalization of the means of production has developed rapidly in all fields of industrial production. At the present time we have in our hands about 4,000 nationalized factories, in other words, we have been able to nationalize not only the big industries, but also a considerable number of smaller enterprises."

"During the past two years we have endeavored to concentrate available supplies of raw material, fuel, and labor in such factories as are best organized and most up to date. This process of concentration has progressed very rapidly; 30 percent of all the enterprises have been unified into a socialist 'trust'. The number of workmen in these factories is 74 per cent. We find that by concentrating 74 per cent of the industrial labor in 30 per cent of our factories we have been able to economize on overhead expenses to a great extent."

"Our most important problem at this time is the reconstruction of the means of transportation, and thereafter to create large reserve funds of food supplies, fuel and raw materials, which

will form a basis for a rational organization of the economic life of the country."

Rykov discussed at great length the problems connected with the exploitation of the immense national wealth of the country. Immense stores of slate, peat, coal and oil are now available. Especially, there are great supplies of slate and peat in the Volga valley, he said.

"The utilization of slate is a new field, which received no attention in Russia during the former regimes, but which has been fully studied and worked up by the Soviet Government," Rykov declared. "The preliminary experiments in this field have been completed, and two big government plants are now exclusively exploiting the slate deposits. Deposits of slate and peat are immense. They exist in northern Russia as well as in the Volga valley. This kind of fuel is very bulky and cannot be transported. Peat and slate must be utilized on the spot, and electrical energy derived therefrom made to supply the needs of the surrounding territory. This condition led the Supreme Council of National Economy eighteen months ago to undertake the building of gigantic power stations which would use on the spot the available peat and slate supplies. Provincial cities and rural organizations have also taken steps for the electrification of their territory. It is necessary to consolidate these efforts and to create a unified, centralized system of supplying electric power, whereby the utmost attention must be given to supplying electricity to the rural communities. The realization of these plans would greatly accelerate the development of relations between the cities and rural communities."

After outlining the success of the Soviet army on the various fronts, Trotsky emphasized the necessity for the establishment of universal labor service, which under a Socialist state, he stated, was a very different matter from compulsory labor under conditions of private ownership. He declared that the enthusiasm of the Red Army must be borrowed by the workers, and that the peasants particularly must be educated in the role which they must play for their own salvation.

"Our most dangerous front at this time is the economic front," he said. "Our greatest problem at the present moment is the organization of a large reserve of supplies. There is no doubt that we shall solve this problem as we have solved all our problems, thanks to the heroism of the working class."

The inspiring of the railroad workers with a full sense of the necessity for rebuilding Russia's transportation was emphasized also by Krassin, peoples' commissar of Ways and Communications, who declared that a transportation crisis now prevails not only in Russia, but in every other European country. Krassin stated that the efforts of sections of the Red Army diverted to railroad service had within one month increased the number of supply trains to Moscow by 20 per cent, and the services of many thousands of the labor army would soon rebuild the country's rail system.

The Commissar of Supplies, Zurnupa, reported the existence of supplies of grain 50 per cent greater than at the corresponding period in 1919, but declared that it had at its disposal 1,231,000,000 pounds of grain, 231,000,000 of meat, 828,000,000 of potatoes, and 3,600,000 of dried vegetables. Zurnupa stated that the willingness of the peasant population regularly to supply foodstuffs was rapidly increasing, and that the commissariat was devel-

oping means of distributing game and dairy products from the agricultural districts to the cities.

Because of the criticism encountered by this department, the Executive Committee appointed a committee of three to reorganize its activities. The committee consisted of one member each from the Executive Committee, the Commissariat and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions.

### THE UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF PROFITEERS.

(Continued from page 1st.)

held in Atlantic City, as mentioned. They knocked the soldiers' bonus with a sledge hammer, and every one knows why. They hissed Matt Woll, Gompers' right hand man off the stage when he attempted to say something against Allen's Kansas Slavery Law. And why? Of course this is another law of Moses to them, and bless you there was Henry Jay Allen—fat jowled, hook nosed, shining like a morning sun flower, one of the honored guests of the occasion. He had his Industrial Bull there, of course. Henry's Bull must have been of good service there—for right now the U. S. C. of C. is taking a vote of its club and little "me too" organizations throughout the country making the strike of employees of public service corporations a crime, somewhat as follows:—

"The recommendations drafted by the chamber's public utilities committee were that strikes by employees of all public service corporations should be explicitly prohibited and that suitable tribunals should be created to adjudicate differences between such employees and their employers. Decisions to be final and binding on both parties."

You know how the vote will be of course, so do we. I'll bet that when Henry Jay notes how his good work is spreading that he will feel prouder

than Pontius Pilate did when he sent Christ to the cross. Remember what Pontius did? He jumped into a lake and drowned himself. Wonder if there are any lakes in Kansas. There is a far better man in Kansas than Henry Allen—I strained my eyes to see him but he was not there—the courageous Alexander Howatt.

But boys if you want to see fire works, just say "Labor," in a lily fingered, paunchy bunch like this. You should have heard George Post, pres. of the New York Standard Coupler Co. explode! And all about these damned working people thinking of trying to elect persons favorable to their interests—a horrible crime! Remember the "purposes" of this stall fed bunch quoted from their own papers. He reminded one of a nicker bunch of fire crackers going off. He urged the nation's capitalists to plunge into the campaign in defense of any and all candidates that labor opposes etc.

Do you see what you are up against? The corrupting millions of the Steel trust and this present and most sinister of all organizations that seek the destruction of American labor! There is but one way to conquer, and that is in perfect and unbroken solidarity in the ranks of labor. To attempt to oppose these colossal and corrupt combinations in little segregated groups,—on the Gompers plan,—is piffle. When the great army of Labor combines as a unit, with a revolutionary purpose and "All Power to the Workers", as its slogan, then will we emerge into the sunlight of freedom.

ABO, Finland.—The White Terror continues. Early in May the supreme court of Abo sentenced five workers to the penitentiary for a total of fourteen years. Besides they lost their citizenship rights. Their "crime" was "preparations for treason."

Rumanian children carry their own seats to school because of the general lack of chairs, Miss Alida C. Bowler, just back from Rumania after seven months service in social work, told a Seattle audience.

Miss Bowler declared that tons of socks knitted in this country had to be unraveled when they reached Europe and remade into clothing. Socks were used in place of paper bags in the distribution of sugar, she said. Tons of pajamas intended for relief were cut up and made into suits for children.

Miss Grace Harrington, back from Siberia where she was acting chief nurse to the American Red Cross, told the audience that the Russians were a kindly generous people rather than the half mad destroyers the American plutocrats would have them appear.

MOSCOW.—At the conference of the third international held in Moscow, May 2, Bukharin, Radack and Zinovieff were named as the committee to decide the question of admittance to the Communist International. The conference also decided in favor of Parliamentary action in so far as it serves the propagation of the revolutionary spirit.

MOSCOW.—The Soviet election in Omsk resulted in a communist victory. All elected delegates, 465, are members of the Communist party, 64 per cent of the qualified voters participated in elections.

At the last Congress of Soviets in Moscow, at which Kamenov presided, the People's Commissar of Education, Lunacharsky, delivered a report stating that in Soviet Russia 1,650 schools were opened in 1919. Altogether there are now in Soviet Russia 50,000 schools of the first grade and 21,000 schools of the second grade, he stated.

In 1919, 150,000 pairs of boots were distributed to the needy school children.

To stimulate higher education, the Commissariat for Popular Instruction appropriated a sum of 140,000,000 rubles in its budget. The number of university students in Soviet Russia is now 158,000 including auditors at people's and peasants' universities, as well as the participants in a number of other courses. The number of professors is 5,500. In addition there are in Petrograd, Moscow, Voronezh, Kazan and Saratov various schools for the training of artists, attended by more than 4,000 students.