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The TOILER

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Workers' Shop Committees vs. Bosses' Committees

The smartest among the capitalists who own the industries are beginning to understand that the time when they can act as czars and kaisers in their factories is gone. They see that something new is on the way—that the workers are going to have a voice in the management of the shops and factories.

These capitalists have come to the conclusion that there is no use trying to openly fight the workers' movement toward industrial democracy—control of the shops by the workers and for the workers. But that does not mean that they are going to give in and let the workers take control. Since in an open fight they are bound to lose, they are trying the trick of seeming to give the workers what they want without any fight. At the same time that they seemingly are making their surrender, they manage to trick the workers into maintaining the same old system.

This is what the shop organizations and shop committees which are being organized under the direction of the bosses mean. There are now hundreds of industrial plants in which the bosses have given the workers some sort of a part in the management through committees or some other organization within the plant. There are a number of concerns that have houses representatives, senates and cabinets organized within the plant, all for the purpose of making the workers believe that they really have something to say in running the institution.

This "industrial democracy" which the bosses hand the workers as a gift is a fraud. In all such organizations there are strings tied to the proposition or the thing is so organized that the bosses are able to keep control.

The reason why the bosses can control these organizations is clear. Usually when their are elections they are conducted under the direction of the management of the shop. There are enough willing tools of the bosses in every shop so that a committee satisfactory to the bosses can be elected. Furthermore, if aggressive workers are elected, they are usually afraid to take any action contrary to the wishes of the management. They know that they have been elected by instructions from the bosses, that the whole proposition came down from above, and that there is no solidly organized body of workers behind them, and consequently they are afraid to take any independent action for fear of losing their jobs.

In practically every instance where such "industrial democracy" has been established it has proven worse for the workers than if it did not exist. By clever manipulation the bosses can always get these committees or other organizations, which are under their thumbs, to make rules which are harsher than those the bosses could make on their own account, and if there is complaint, the workers are told that they themselves are responsible for these rules.

The workers should boycott shop organization and shop committees which the bosses offer them as a gift. Such organizations only fasten the chains of wage slavery tighter. They play the bosses game and that is the reason they are organized.

In place of this fraudulent "industrial democracy" from above, the workers must independently create their own shop organizations and shop committees. The first thing to

(Continued on page 6.)

Norwegian Trade Unions For Soviet

The Norwegian workers are no longer satisfied to have the capitalists own the industries in which they must work and to be oppressed and robbed by them. They have declared themselves for the abolition of the whole capitalist system and adopted a program to accomplish that end.

This program is not a program adopted by a Socialist or Communist Party, but a program which was adopted by the National Congress of Trade Unions at a convention held during the month of July. The equivalent to this action in this country would be the adoption of the same kind of program by the American Federation of Labor.

The steps which the Norwegian workers have determined upon are, first, the organization of shop committees in all factories and workshops as the first step toward securing control of production, endorsement of the Soviet system of government and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the form of the workers' government after the conquest of power, third, endorsement of mass action by the workers as the means of achieving power.

The Shop Committees.

Through the shop committees the Norwegian workers expect to mobilize all the workers in each factory for the struggle against the capitalists. Their shop committees will not represent the workers of one union, but will unite all the unions in each factory by a common bond. By thus uniting all the workers in each factory in a common struggle in that factory, the idea of organization of the workers in each factory for control of that factory is built up. The workers discuss and decide the issues which come up as their every day conflict with the management and secure the necessary training to control the industries themselves. It is because the shop committees not only are powerful weapons in the immediate struggle of the workers for better wages and working conditions, but because they give the workers the training and discipline which they

must have in order to conduct industry, that they are included in the program of the Norwegian workers.

Mass Action

The Norwegian workers do not expect to gain control of the industries through merely organizing a shop committee in each factory. They realize that these shop committees are merely initial steps — that the control they can achieve while the capitalists remain in control of government is limited by narrow bounds. They know that if the shop committees go too far in their demands the capitalists will call in the government with its army and police and courts to break the organization and power of the workers. Because of this realization they have declared themselves for the use of mass action of the workers against the government in order to abolish the instrument of oppression which the capitalists use against them.

Soviet and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The Norwegian workers are close neighbors to the workers of Russia and they have learned from their struggle. After the Russian workers overthrew the government of the czar and of Kerensky they established the Soviets — Workers Councils — as the organs of their government. The Workers Councils are made up of the representatives of the workers of various occupations and of the peasants. The shop committees which the Norwegian workers have set up are the nucleus of the Workers Councils. Only workers who gain their livelihood through useful labor are permitted to vote in the election of the Workers Councils. The capitalists are disfranchised. This means that the workers have complete control of the government, and their exploiters are barred from participation. This is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for which the Norwegian workers have declared themselves.

The Norwegian workers, through the decision of their Trade Union congress, have adopted the program which the experience of the Russian workers has shown is the only road to the emancipation of the workingclass.

Strangling the Workers Strike

The Interchurch World Movement has published a report of its investigation of the steel strike that is one of the most damning indictments of the capitalist system and the capitalist class that has been made in this country. This report shows the conditions which the capitalists consider ideal — the conditions they would compel every working man and woman in this country to work under if they had the power. The facts about treatment of the workers in the steel industry and the methods used in breaking their strike have a new meaning to the workers, in view of the program adopted by the National Chamber of Commerce. This program contains the principles which Gary has been applying to the steel industry. Its adoption means that the workers of this country are threatened with the establishment in other industries of exactly those conditions which prevail in the steel industry.

The following quotations from the report give some idea of what the workers in the steel mills are fighting against:

Hours of Work

"It is an epigram of the industry that 'steel is a man killer.'

"For the workers who are held for years to the 12-hour day a phrase has been coined which is well understood by them: 'Old age at forty.' Especially they understood it when a corporation plant made the rule of hiring no man over forty years of age."

"Approximately half of the employes in iron and steel manufacturing plants are subjected to the schedule known as the 12-hour day (that is a working day from 11 to 14 hours long.)

"Less than one-quarter of the industry's employes can work under 60 hours a week, 'although in most industries 60 hours was regarded as the maximum working week' 10 years ago.

"In the past decade the United States Steel Corporation has increased the percentage of its employes subject to the 12-hour day.

"The term '12-hour day' is precise only where the day's work at the blast furnace, open hearth and other more or less continuous processes is actually divided into two shifts of 12 hours each. But in many plants it is divided into an 11-hour day shift and a 13-hour night shift, or a 10-hour day and and 14-hour night. Usually the shifts alternate weekly and men must work the 'long turn' of 18 hours or 24 hours—a solid day at 'heavy' labor. In some plants the 36-hour turn is still not unknown.

The Spy System.

"The commission's investigators, asking the officers of a company in the Pittsburgh district for information concerning their machinery for ascertaining their workers' needs, encountered this: 'Bring in the labor file.' The labor file, this company's basis for a labor policy, consisted of the secret service reports of various detectives and of 'labor agencies.' Here were hundreds of misspelled reports of 'under-cover men,' operatives 'X,' 'Y,' and 'Z,' contracts for their services, official letters exchanged between companies giving lists of strikers, commonly known as 'blacklists.' In some instances original pencilled scraps of paper contained secret denunciations, raised to the dignity of typed documents, were then circulated to other companies and even to the Federal Department of Justice. The names of independent concerns and of subsidiary companies of the Steel Corporation appear on letterheads showing how this information or misinformation was passed along.

The Government and the Workers.

"In Western Pennsylvania in 1919 steel workers were tried and fined in cases where the major allegation was 'smiling at the state police.'

"In the course of the strike deputations of workers sought the government

(Continued on page 14.)

Russia, the Liberator

How eager the Polish workers affiliated with the Communist party have been for the advance of the Russian Soviet army, and how ready they are to establish a Soviet republic at Warsaw, is made clear by the proclamation issued to the workers of all countries by the Central Committee of the Polish Communist party, text of which is published below.

This proclamation calls upon the workers of Europe and America to assist the Polish workers in breaking the chains of the landowners' government at Warsaw. It calls for a boycott and strike which shall prevent the aid to the reactionary regime headed by Premier Witos.

The English translation of the Polish text follows:

"To the workers of All Lands:

"On the battlefields of White Russia and of the Ukraine the Polish imperialism is going down in a sea of blood. Under the hammer blows of the Red Army of Russian workers the Polish front is wavering—this last front of the world counter-revolution, which was set up by the gold of Entente capitalism.

Polish Militarism Denounced.

"The Polish Government and the Polish ruling classes are crying out in their rage to Europe to bring them help in their distress. They protest that this is a war of defense, that it is only a question of the 'independence of Poland,' which, as they say, is threatened by 'Bolshevik imperialism.' And also with them the social nationalists of the Polish Socialist party are appealing for sympathy and help from the international proletariat and are pretending that the victory of revolutionary Russia means the end of freedom for the Polish workers.

"At this momentous hour we, Communists of Poland, raise our voice and say to the workers of Europe:

"The Polish workers never had any interests in the attack of Polish militarism upon Soviet Russia.

"This war is in no way a war for the defense of Polish independence, but is for the defense of the domination of Polish and European capitalism at the cost of the blood of the working masses.

"The Polish workers see in the Red army no conquerors threatening their freedom, but an ally in the struggle for emancipation.

"If the Polish proletariat has not yet made an end to this war, that is not because it saw in the war a defense of its freedom, but rather because it is a prisoner in its own land, bound with chains and without any influence upon its rulers.

Polish Workers Oppressed.

"In no land of Europe, except White Russia and Rumania of the Black Hundreds, are the working classes so completely deprived of political freedom as in Poland.

"For 18 months the Polish Government has ruled without a break by means of martial law, which was started by the 'Socialist' government of Moraszewski. The Communist press cannot appear; the Communist party must exist illegally.

"The class-conscious workers have been thrown by thousands into prison and concentration camps, and have been condemned to penal servitude on the ground of the military regulations established by the German and Austrian armies of occupation. Trade union newspapers are persecuted and suppressed.

"On the other hand, the government allows the social-patriotic Polish Socialist party an uncontrolled freedom of agitation. This party deceives the workers by its 'Socialist' phrases and pretends to act as their "leaders," with the assistance of the government, to bring the working class to ruin and paralyze the work of the revolutionary Communists.

Workers Socially Weakened.

.. "The Polish workers are not only politically suppressed; they are economically weakened.

(Continued on page 6.)

"A Complete Boycott of Parliament"

In the following letter from Cecil Malone M. P. to Sylvia Pankhurst, in *Workers Dreadnought*, the workers' case against parliamentarism and the use of the ballot as a weapon of the workers in the struggle for control of the State and the winning of economic freedom is graphically set forth.

While the argument is made against British parliamentarism, it applies with equal force against that of the United States; in fact, the uselessness of parliamentary action by American workers should be even better recognized, for it is here that the capitalist State has violently and illegally thrown out of office the elected representatives of the workers who have gained legislative seats. The letter clinches the argument against parliamentarism as a general weapon for labor.

House of Commons.

Dear Editor,—My action in joining the British Socialist Party (Which will shortly be merged in the Communist Party) having aroused some comment, I desire to say that I have taken this action because I appreciate that the Parliamentary machinery and the Parliamentary democracy of this country are arrant humbug. Only a fundamental change of our present economic and social systems can improve the conditions of the working classes, who constitute the majority of the people. The present system is guilty of those vile and hopeless sufferings to which the workers are subjected, from the permanent slums and hovels of our great cities to the periodical recurrence of world wars and widespread carnage, all the direct outcome of a Society based upon Capitalism, allied with Imperialism.

The modern development of Parliament is out to back up that system and to strengthen and repair it when necessary, but not to change it. It can never be adapted to destroy itself.

Parliament is not controlled by the people.

It is controlled by the Banks and the Capitalists acting by and through the Press, which to-day has come to be the kept harlot of Capitalist interests.

The Press controls Parliamentary elections. The Press stands between the workers and the Truth.

Money controls the Press, as it controls the public houses, which pour Capitalist politics into you with your beer.

The machinery of Parliamentary government is also to a formidable degree influenced by a reactionary bureaucracy.

The working-class are blinded by the hopes that a so-called Labour Government, working through this effete machine, will alter and better conditions.

A Labour Government would inherit the capitalist machine and be at the mercy of it, i. e., it could do nothing fundamental against the capitalist interests and the bureaucracy.

The office-seeking elements of the Labour Party will be as conservative as their bourgeois predecessors.

Saddled with the Monarchy, the Court and the Aristocracy, the Labour Party will follow the lead of all bourgeois parties, selling honours as well as honour. They (i. e., the official leaders) have already betrayed Ireland.

The masses must clearly understand that the two irreconcilable forces to-day are International Communism and Cosmopolitan Capitalism.

There must be no confusing the issue and pandering to the enemy.

So-called Labour members, Radicals and others who temporise between the two sides of this clear-cut issue, are weakening the case of the workers on their only possible line of attack—the line of direct revolutionary mass action.

I entered Parliament in the hopes of assisting to better the social conditions. I have seen from the inside this futility of Parliamentary action so far as fundamentals are concerned. Parliamentary work and elections must only be used for carrying out an intensive revolutionary propaganda.

My own opinion as regards Parliamentary action is that results could be obtained quicker by a complete boycott, and at elections that

the boycott of the polling-booths should be advocated, in addition, of course, to Communist propaganda.

If you are out to destroy the system, you cannot begin with taking the oath of allegiance to the symbol of that very system. The People's Army must have its own flag, and not deceitfully salute the flag of the enemy as a preparation for striking it.

But at the same time there are many who believe that Parliament can still be used for propaganda and other purposes. Whilst firmly convinced myself that Communism would develop quicker by a complete boycott of Parliament, if all energy is thrown into work outside Parliament, I shall defer the question of resigning my seat until after the Communist Party discusses this matter at the inaugural meeting, which is being held on July 31st.

If I leave Parliament it will be to continue the work with the revolutionary Communist Party outside, and should I return, I trust it will only be with the Red Guards at the time of the Revolution which I see is approaching.

That Revolution will finally overthrow this system which allows 5 per cent. of the population to own two-thirds of the wealth produced by the remaining 95 per cent., and which is the cause of an innumerable amount of evils, threatening the European races with destruction.

Only the social revolution can begin to make Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity realities, and not mere election cries of the Parliamentary hypocrisy.

I am, etc.,

Cecil L'estrangé Malone.

July 24th, 1920.

Ed. note:—The Communist Party of Great Britain has now officially stated its position for the boycott of elections.

WORKERS SHOP COMMITTEES VS. BOSSES COMMITTEES.

(Continued from page 1.)

do is to get together the most active group of workers in the plant. Organize them to conduct the propaganda for a shop organization and a shop committee to represent that organization dealing with the management. When enough workers have been won over to the idea,

a committee should be elected, either by representatives from each department being elected, either by the workers in the department, or from the shop as whole.

This committee should receive all complaints in regard to the conditions in the plant. It should be empowered to make investigation and then submit the workers demands to the management. It must seek to encroach upon the power of the bosses in every way possible, transferring the right of decision to the workers.

Of course, such a shop committee will soon come into open conflict with the bosses. There will be a showdown and in such a case the workers must be prepared to stand behind their committee as one man.

It is through such tactics that the workers will gain the training and discipline for the management of industry after the class struggle against the capitalists has been one and their power wiped out, and not through the fraudulent "industrial democracy" which some of the bosses are now offering them.

POLE COMMUNISTS HAIL RUSSIA AS LIBERATOR.

(Continued from page 4.)

The criminal war policy of the government brings it about that Poland, after having consumed its last stores, is a bankrupt and ruined land.

"The factories are not running, a million workmen are wandering about unemployed, the proletariat is only partly concentrated in the great industrial centers, the greater part of them being scattered about in remote corners of the land in hunger and misery or having emigrated.

"All the power and means of the state are concentrated by the government on the military and police organizations. For education there is applied only 2 per cent of the state budget. In Warsaw alone 100,000 children of school age are going without education. The masses of the Polish people are deprived of cultural influence."

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Contracts, Consistency and-Organized Scabbery

— By H. E. Keas. —

From an editorial in "The Railroad Trainman," (official journal Brotherhood Railroad Trainmen) January, 1918 number, pages 61, 62 and 63; (quoted in part, we take the following

REGULATION FOR EVERYBODY ELSE APPLIED TO OUR WAGE DEMAND."

"This seems to be the paramount idea. Make the other fellow behave but let us do as we like. It is unnecessary to say that this condition of mind leads to the unrest and dissatisfaction that are causing much of the trouble of this time.

"Our railroad employes are made the victims of this sort of reasoning. The public realizes what discontinuance of railroad service means and instead of following the course usual in arranging its own difficulties so that everybody may have an even chance in the adjustment, it takes the position that railroad employes **must give service** (emphasis ours.) This is the flat decision without qualification. That wages may not be equal to the cost of a reasonable living or that service conditions may have become unbearable do not enter into the decision; all the public is interested in is to keep the roads in operation....

"As a fair sample of this sort of opinion we quote: — 'Permanent machinery for virtually compulsory arbitration of railroad wage disputes must be provided. The fact that such machinery existed would two-thirds settle the problem, for it would impose a steady counterbalance upon the natural inclinations of the men to take full advantage of their tactical position. Knowing the question would come before an impartial tribunal, with power to render a binding decision, they would not be likely to make demands that the circumstances did not justify.

"Knowledge that the men are not now under such a restraint is naturally disturbing to the public.'"

"It reads well if one is not directly affected nor particularly interested in the welfare of the men to be 'forced to work.' But analyze it

and see if it is as fair as it pretends. We haven't yet found that 'impartial' tribunal arbitrations....

"The railroad men have not taken full advantage of their tactical position. They have stood by their agreements and paid the price in reduced living standards, but they cannot keep it up and it is unfair to demand they be forced to do so.

"'A binding decision' reads well, but regardless of how it reads, men cannot be forced to work against their will unless 'they are sentenced,' which is exactly what the proposition herein quoted means....

"The railroad organizations cannot consent to lose their only means of securing what is fair. If they lose that right they lose their bargaining power and become useless to themselves; in fact, they become a menace to their members." (Emphasis ours.)

Excerpt from an article in "Christian Science Monitor," June 21, 1919, from its Canadian News Office, regarding action of brotherhood executives in Winnipeg strike:

"James Murdock, vice-president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, has left for Minneapolis and Chicago, where, he said, he proposed to secure members of the organization to take the places of those trainmen who went out contrary to the agreements of the brotherhood. 'We have a membership of 186,000, and I can bring 5000 members to Winnipeg to uphold our pledged agreements, if necessary,' he said." (Emphasis ours.)

Signed statement issued April 9, 1920, at Cleveland, Ohio, by chiefs of the four big transportation brotherhoods, denouncing yardmen's strike:

"The present strike of men engaged in switching service was originated in Chicago by a new organization that has for its purpose destruction of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Switchmen's Union and in its inception has nothing to do with the wage question, but was a demand for reinstatement

(Continued on page 14.)

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Even the Fillipinos have learned what a powerful weapons the workers have in their hands in their control of the machinery of production. The Fillipinos want independence. They are not satisfied to be wards of American imperialism. The English news-papers of Manila, representing the American exploiters on the islands, have taken a position in opposition to independence. The Fillipino workmen employed by these papers have answered by going on strike and soldiers stationed on the islands were ordered to get out the papers. It seems that the Fillipino workmen struggling for their national freedom have a better idea how to use their power than the members of the printing trade unions of this country, who go right on getting out the capitalist newspapers during the strikes, even though these newspapers are filled with lies and misrepresentations of the cause of the workers.

The boycott of Hungary by the International Federation of Trade Unions, to force the reactionary government of that country to

cease its persecution of workingmen is still on. At a recent meeting of the Bureau the following demands upon Hungary were outlined, which must be granted before the boycott is lifted: Reconstruction of the trade union; the return of the stolen cash and property belonging to the locals and a guarantee that they will not be hindered in thier activities; the possibility of the return of such of the emigrants as have been guilty of common crimes and the guarantee that in case they are tried they be judged by ordinary civil courts; the abolition of internment; the release of political prisoners; the abolition of the system of accelerated court proceedings in the trials of officers, functionaries and representatives of the former revolutionary government. It is something new to have an International Trade Union organization making demands upon the government of a sovereign state!

“Industrial peace can be obtained in this country, providing the right of the workers to organize trade unions and to be represented by persons of their own selection in all matters directly concerning them and their interests as wage-workers is conceded” Gompers wrote to Harding, the Republican nomines. Do the workers want “peace” or better wages and working conditions and control of their own jobs? The only way they can get the latter is to fight the capitalists to the finish. What Gompers’ tactics mean have been shown in the lost strikes of the steel workers and the miners.

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What Do You Get Out of It?

According to the report of the Department of Commerce for the fiscal year which ended on June 30, the United States exported to other countries \$4,465,453,898 worth of goods and received back from other countries only \$1,179,460,699 worth of goods. The trade balance, to use the language of financiers, in favor of the United States was \$3,285,993,199.

A trade balance is supposed to be a very desirable thing and a trade balance of over three billion dollars is supposed to show an extraordinary desirable state of affairs, that is, from the standpoint of the capitalist class.

But what does it mean to the workers in the shops and factories who produced the goods that are exported? That is of course quite another story.

During the years just gone by the workers in the shops and factories, in the mines and mills and on land, produced over four billion dollars worth of goods which were shipped out of the country. If the goods were shipped out of the country they did not get any good out of them. They were of no service to them. What did they get in return?

According to the same report they got something over a billion dollars worth of goods back, which leaves them three billion dollars worth of goods short.

Of course, some one will speak up to announce that the capitalists get paid in money for these goods. That is true enough, but that doesn't help the workers any. Money is only valuable for what it will buy. We do not eat or wear the money itself, and in this instance the things to eat and wear and use otherwise have been shipped elsewhere and the money does not make good the loss to the workers.

What actually happens as a result of an export of a surplus over imports is that the capitalists become the creditors of other nations and draw interest on their credit balances, but this does not help the workers any. It doesn't give them more shoes, or more food, or more of any other kind of goods, although it does enrich the capitalist class.

The trade balance in favor of this country is an actual evidence to the workers showing them how much they are robbed by the capitalist system of production.

"Our Government"

A One Act Sketch.

By H. E. Keas.

Time: The present.

Place: Board of Directors room, large industrial plant.

(Directors, general manager and superintendent are seated around a long table in the center of the room. The plant has been closed several weeks in an effort to break union labor through an "open shop" campaign. They are in the midst of a heated discussion as to the best means to accomplish this, when the door opens and a group of workingmen, caps in hand, are ushered into the room.)

Chairman Of The Board: (irritated by the interruption, irascibly addresses the leader of the group) "Well! Speak out man! What do you want?"

Worker: (hesitatingly, yet not without determination) Sir, the plant has now been closed longer than we can stand it. Can't it again be opened? We are near starvation's door. Our wives and children are crying for bread. Won't you meet with us, sir, that we may find a way to come to an understanding?"

Chairman: (vehemently and with a sneer) Come to an understanding, huh? We can have our understanding right here. The plant will stay closed until we break every damned union in the field. You fellows were getting too infernally independent and now you can take your medicine. We are on strike. Get that! **ON STRIKE!**"

Worker: (rather taken aback by this explosion, but naively continues) "But, Sir, have you considered the consequences? Might not the government get an injunction and perhaps send you to jail for unlawful restraint of production? That is what happens to us workingmen when we go on strike." (the other workmen nod assent).

Chairman: (winks at his associates, then breaks out into ribald laughter) "Injunction! Ha, Ha! Jail! Oh, Lord, this is rich! Ho, ho, ho, ho! Haw, haw, haw, haw! Why, you poor simp

WE BUSINESSMEN ARE THE GOVERNMENT!

(Curtain.)

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XLIV.

The New Gospel.

At a conference of radically inclined miners, it was decided to send Collins as their representative to the coming convention of the Industrial Workers of the World. Due to the agitation continually carried on by socialists and industrialists within the union, and also to the failure of the recent strikes to attain anything like adequate results, there seemed to be a strong sentiment among the rank and file for a different, and more effective, form of organization. It was this sentiment that Collins and his co-workers were trying to ripen into a movement for industrial unionism. Sincerely believing, that if all the crafts in the metaliferous industries would be so organized as to act as a unit, in any dispute with their masters, that then, they would have sufficient power to enforce their demands at any and all times.

Needless to say, this idea did not meet with the approbation of the mine owners, who left no stone unturned to counteract this tendency among the workers. But strong as their counter propaganda of the mine owners was, it was scarcely more formidable than the opposition that arose from the petty officialdom attached to the crafts with in the federation. These men considered themselves as graduated out of the ranks of labor; they constituted a group economically interested in preserving the status quo. of the unions, to which they belonged. With rare exceptions, this officialdom, thru out all organized labor may be fitly called "the brake on the wheel of progress." At this time, as ever they rivalled the Industrial Barons in their acrimonious assault upon the preachers of the new gospel of Industrial Solidarity. What Bill Haywood, after his release, was wont to say concerning the souls of detectives, might even at this time be applied to a goodly number of these "hangers on" of the working class.

In spite of opposition from within and without, the sentiment for industrial organization was growing apace, and the leaders of the radical agitation, their vision colored by their hopes and their ambitions, predicted for it a speedy and complete triumph. They forgot however, that they themselves were what we have called "black sheep," that is, they reacted differently than does the mass with which they worked. A whirlwind may tear a few shingles off a roof but it does not blow away the house, even so, had the strike of 1903 shaken the frame work of the Western federation, but

it had not been sufficient to radicalize the thought processes of the average worker. It had not been enough to cause him to take and fight, for a more radical stand. The trials thru which he had passed, had changed his sentiments, but not his convictions. It was the sentiment mistaken for conviction that misled the radicals in the movement, into a believe that a substantial number of the membership were really of their own mind.

To the radical mind, industrial form of organization was the only senseable way out of the wilderness of exploitation and oppression. To the Masters

industrial organization was synonymous with riot, anarchism and death. To the conservative worker—well he hears his master's voice first, in fact, that voice seems to be the motive power of the slave mind. For in this instance, as in many others, when the Masters protested, the bulk of the slaves left their radical tendencies and did as they were bidden.

From this it must not be inferred that they took direct orders from some one to change their mind; that would be a mistake. The American slave has deep seated delusions of freedom. The Masters know this too well ever to comand him directly to alter his views if they can find another way out. When ever the worker has stamped a little in the direction of truth, they do not as a rule tell him to close his eyes to the vision and return to his cave, to do that might

Dividing Up vs. Communist Production.

By N. Bucharin.

We already know that the root of the evil of wars of conquest, of the oppression of the working-class, of all the savagery of capitalism, consists in the fact that the world has been farmed out by a few bourgeois cliques organized in the form of national governments, who administer as their own property all the good things of the earth. The property interest of the capitalistic-class in the means of production — that is the "first cause" which will explain to us all the barbarism of present-day society. To take away from the rich their power by taking from them their wealth — that is the first task which the working class and the workers' party the Communist Party, have set themselves.

Some may think that that which has been taken away from the wealthy should be, in a "God-like," just, and equal manner, divided among all, and that then all will be well. Each, according to this attitude, would have only just as much as everyone else; all would be equal, and all would be free from inequality, oppression, exploitation. Everyone will look after his own interests, having everything at his disposition, and the power of man over man will disappear by reason of this equal division, general redistribution, and allotment of wealth among the poor.

But the Communist Party does not view things this way. It holds that such an equal distribution would not be of any good or lead anywhere else than to confusion and to a re-establishment of the old regime.

And such is the case. In the first place, there are a lot of things that simply cannot be distributed. For instance, what would we do with the railroads? Suppose one should undertake to pull up the sleepers, another, the steel rails; a third,

arouse him to a greater desire to see. They tell him rather, that what he sees is truth, but that due to his mental astigmatism he sees it imperfectly, and that they can interpret it for him to their mutual advantage. Not realizing that the master lives intirely at his expense, and that therefore a mutual benefit is unthinkable, he falls for the lie, and is bound in his chains once more. So it was at the time of this story. The Masters and the Marionetts of labor, saw that this industrial agitation aimed directly at the source of power, and so they stampeded the herd into the cane breaks of political socialism, and from there into the dispersion.

The Master Class is annoyed, but not terified, by the purely political activities of the workers. As long as the workers think they can satisfy their present hunger at next years' election, they may be troublesome, but can safely be called harmless. But if on the other hand, they organize to control the industry from which they make their living, they will take more value for their product with the result, that there will be less profit for the Master. Masters love all reforms that will increase, and despise all action that tends to decrease, what they call their share of the product of labor. This is a perfectly natural attitude with which it is useless to quarel. For this reason they say, "If we must choose one of these two evils afflicting the slaves, we prefer the political instead of the industrial, for, over the political activities we have control thru the courts, but a solidly organized industry, in which the men are systematically instructed as to their needs and powers, is not so easily handled.

Political action by the workers, unless it has for its base a class conscious prolitaire, bent on using the offices of state for the furtherance of working class interests, serves for little more then a safety valve for the emotional pressure of the masses. For as it some times happens the slaves do elect a "black sheep," the masters will refuse to seat him, or if they do seat him, he no sooner shows his color then he will be removed by the courts. The exceptions are those who do not show their color. But if the working class elects a member, not of a craft, but of a well organized industry, and backs that officer with their economic power then he too becomes a factor in the state and slavery will be on the way to oblivion.

This view however was not taken by the industrialists of that day; they held that industrial action was in itself all sufficient. On the other hand, there were many workers, who in spite of the predatory characteristics of the owning class maintained that political action was all that was needed.

Jack had told Collins before he started on his way to the convention, that a programme of political action

the bolts; a fourth would seize the cars, for fire-wood; and a fifth would smash the mirrors in order to shave himself by the reflection of their fragments; and so on: it must be clear to everyone that such a division would not only not be equal, but would lead merely to an insane destruction of useful objects, which might have served many purposes. Similarly, it would be silly to divide up a single machine in this way. Suppose one man should take the driving-wheel, another the piston-rod, and other persons should take the remaining parts, the machine would cease to be a machine; it would become mere scrap-iron. And it would be similar with all complicated devices, which are more important than anything else in the prosecution of our work. Merely consider for a moment the telegraph instruments, the instruments for chemical works, etc. It is clear that only a complete fool or a downright enemy of the working-class could recommend such a division.

But such a division would not be harmful only for the above reason. Let us assume that by some miracle, someone had succeeded in dividing up, more or less equally, everything that had been taken away from the wealthy. Even then nothing particularly useful would result. For what does such a division mean? It would mean that we should have substituted a number of small owners for a few big ones. It would not signify the abolition of private property, but the extension of it; we should have petty ownership instead of large ownership. And yet the time of petty ownership is already past. We know very well that capitalism and the big capitalists arose out of the dissensions of the petty owners with one another. If by our division we had succeeded in increasing the class of small owners, the following result would be observed: A part of them (a very large part) would on the very next day dispose of their gains in some junkshop and their property would in this way soon fall into the hands of the more well-to-do owners; among the others there would arise conflicts for the sale of their materials, and in these conflicts, the well-to-do would get the best of the poorer. The poor would become still poorer and would by this process be converted into true proletarians, while the richer would become still richer and would gradually be transformed into true capitalists. Thus we should finally return, after osme time, to that very structure of society which we have just destroyed. We should very soon find ourselves once more confronting the self-same trough of capitalistic exploitation.

The division into private (petty) property is not the ideal of the worker or of the country-serf. It is an ideal of the petty shopkeeper, who is oppressed by the big shopkeeper, but who wishes to become a big shopkeeper himself. How to become "one of the bunch", by getting all he can into his possession, that is the philistine's dream. To think of others, to think of the final results of this scramble, — that would be asking too much of the shopkeeper; all he wants is to feel

By federated industries, with an obligation on the part of the workers to strike, in case that their propositions were unfairly defeated might be acceptable to the more skilled workers, and make rapid progress. But at this Collins only laughed, calling it a side line, and another blind alley. But Jack maintained that if labor was at all able to do any thing for itself at all, this would be a substantial advance over anything that was then on the boards. He urged that government from territory was archaic, and that government by industry had to come.

"There can be no freedom without industrial democracy." Was Collins slogan. "There can be no industrial democracy with out industrial control, there can be no industrial control without adequate organization, there cannot be adequate organization until there is a consciousness of its necessity; and this consciousness of necessity, must be organized trained and disciplined to a common purpose." He asserted that this was the work of the agitator on the one hand and industrial development on the other. Industrial evolution is the mill and the agitator is the baker of the bread of freedom." "Political government must pass; political action is waste motion to the slaves," he urged in reply.

While the radical forces within the Federation were thus busy with their plan of industrialization, the other forces, taking what they called a more radical course, adopted at an other convention the following resolution:

"The strike has failed to secure to the working classes their liberty; we therefore call upon the workers to strike as one man for their liberties at the ballot box. . . . We put ourselves on record as committed to the programme of independent political action. . . . We indorse the programme of the socialist party, and accept it as the declaration of principles of our organization. We call upon our members as individuals to commence immediately the organization of the socialist movement in their respective towns and states, and to co-operate in every way for the furtherance, of the principles of socialism and the socialist party."

This stand taken by the convention of the Federation separated the Black Sheep, into two opposing camps, so that in the ensuing wrangle, neither socialism nor industrialism was advanced. In fact, both movements were now assailed from within and with out, so that it not only stifled the conscious growth of radicalism, but it paralyzed the vitality of the then existent unionism still further.

The stand taken by the miners convention was of course loudly acclaimed by many sincere socialists as a great victory for their cause. To a vast majority of the purely political thinkers, it was the wolf tail sweeping the modern horizon of the political skies. "The Appeal to Reason," and "Wilt-

more coins jingling in his own pocket. It is no threat to him, when you tell him that we shall simply come back to the capitalist regime; you will simply arouse his hopes that perhaps he, plain Sidor Petrov, may become a capitalist. And what harm is there in that?

But the course of the working-class ought to be, and is, quite different. The working-class is interested in such a reconstruction of society as will make a return to capitalism inconceivable. A mere dividing up will throw capitalism out by the front door, to admit it a little later through the rear entrance. The only solution of this difficulty is a fraternal (communistic) society of workers.

Under a communistic order, all wealth will belong, not to separate persons or to separate classes, but to all society. All society will then be as one great labor-union. There will be no master over them. All will be equal workers. There will be no classes, neither capitalists who hire workers, nor workers who are hired by capitalists. All will work together, on a schedule of work carefully planned and elaborated. The Central Statistical Bureau (Bureau of Accounts), will estimate what quantities of boots, trousers, sausages, black-ings, wheat, flax, etc., need to be produced each year; they will calculate what number of comrades must work for this purpose in the fields, in the sausage-factories, in the great tailoring establishments of the social workshops, and in this manner the necessary number of hands will be distributed to the proper places. All production will proceed on a strictly prepared, carefully tested plan, on the basis of an accurate census of all machines and instruments, of all raw materials, of all the workers, at the disposal of society. Accurately the annual needs of the society will be calculated. The product produced will be allotted to the social stores, from which they will be distributed through the worker-comrades. They will work only in the largest factories, at the best machines, for they save the most labor. The direction of production is the most economical—every superfluous expense is a single general plan governing all production. It is impossible that there should be any such thing as conducting business in one way in one place and in another way in another place; formerly the right hand knew not what the left hand did. On the contrary, the new system takes a full view and census of the world: cotton will be produced only at the place where there are the most favorable conditions for its production; the production of coal will be concentrated in the largest existing mines; the iron manufactures will be established in close proximity to the coal and the ore; and where there is land suitable for wheat, we shall not build great cities with vast houses, but will sow the grain. All, in a word, will be so distributed, as to put each form of production in the place most suited for it, where the work will proceed most smoothly, where the materials are most accessible, and where human

shires Magazine," were jubilant. Olive Anderson wrote excitedly to Jack that in one or two more elections they would be able to build their home in the Cooperative Commonwealth.

Jack however, was too much of a biologist, and economist, to be thus easily carried away; he realized that every tide must have an ebb, and could plainly see in this apparent wave of radicalism the tendency to a speedy dissolution. He realized that much of the sentiment now active in the miners organization was exactly, what Olive had described as animating the farmers, second hand politicians, and real estate sharks of Boulder. The miners as a whole were not class conscious; they were "sore" at Cleveland, for demonitizing the silver thereby closing many of the silver mines throwing vast numbers out of employment. He realized that the Federation was not composed of Haywood's, St. John's and others that he knew. In fact the real radicals were few and far between. Working with the miners, he had a more or less accurate appreciation of their mental status. To Olive and for that matter to all people, who read socialist papers, the action of the miner's convention seemed to be really significant. They thought that they beheld the rosy fingered dawn of freedom, in this flickering light of discontent. At least such was Olive's view, and now that Collins was gone Jack did not attempt to set her right.

Now that he was alone, he wrote strictly in his own vain. His letters were expressions of himself undimmed by the criticisms of his friend. They were a medley of his hopes and longings; a reverie of castles hung in air. With Collins not at his side to lead him into the fray, the boy gravitated back to his books and notes, and ultimately away from the work which he only did because Collins liked it. He felt convinced that industrial development had not gone far enough, for anything but sporadic action on the part of the masses. Thus it was that he secretly wished that Olive would not be so deeply interested in this work of organization. He feared that in its present form it could only lead to a fruitless martyrdom. But for all that he did not discourage her, he only wrote in another vein hoping if possible to get her interested in the work in which his mind clung too.

Personally he changed his habits. He no longer went to the meetings or conducted meetings in the open air, as he did when Collins was with him. The literature that came with every mail, was piling up in the cabin but remained unsold. The miners who had helped Collins and himself also neglected the work. They acted as sheep with out a shepherd. For a few days he had tried to get them into action, but they generally said, "wait till Ed gets back." Meanwhile many of them got drunk, and Jack knew how Collins despised drinking. He could not under-

labor will be most productive. And all this can only be realized and attained according to one single plan, with a complete unification of all society into one great labor-union.

In this communistic society, people will not be sitting on each other's necks. There will be no rich and no fleeced, no rulers and no subjects; society will not be divided into classes, one of which rules over the others. And once there are no classes, there are no longer several kinds of people (poor and rich), some of whom are gnashing their teeth at the others, the exploiters against the exploited, the exploited against the exploiters. Therefore there will be no such organization as the State, for there will be no governing class which would need to keep up a special organization for the maintenance of its privileges against its class opponents. There will be no government over people and no power of man over man: there will only be a control over things, over machines, a power of human society over nature. The human race will not be divided into hostile camps: it will be united by a common cause, the common struggle to master the forces of nature. Boundary posts are overturned and separate fatherlands annihilated. All mankind without distinction of nationality will be united in all parts, and organized in one single whole. All the peoples will then constitute one great fraternal laboring family.

stand how he could be so devoted to this work, seeing that organization was so difficult. "Radicalism is a disease of his brain," he said to himself. His eye fell upon a clipping from the 'Appeal' which Olive had sent him and which he had pasted on the wall of his cabin. It was headed "Arouse ye Slaves." He looked at it thru half closed eyes, and before his mind's eye, he could see the vast mass of labor astir but the stirring was not intelligent; it was akin to the meaningless wriggling of worms. Such action could give rise to violence but not to a new order of things.

"Arouse ye Slaves, strike off your chains and become free." Those had been the words of Spartacus, and of Black Sheep before him and since his time. Six thousand years of failure! and yet he and Collins had been trying the thing that had been tried thruout the ages with but partial and always temporary success. He smiled at the egotism of the whole idea, as he tore the paper from the wall and threw it into a corner of the room. "Time alone will complete the job and my little work cannot alter it, one way

or the other. My mind is made up. I am going to study nature, and become a writer and a lecturer, so as to do my little bit in adding to the intelligence of those who have intellect, and let the rest float along with the stream of life. Who am I that I should attempt to stop Niagara with my hands." Then suddenly pulling himself together as if he were caught in crime, he thought of what Collins would say if he left the labor movement and of how disappointed Olive might be at his apostacy. Surely they would misconstrue his motives, yet the will of his nature was upon him; he could not resist the thought that came willy nilly into his brain. Thru the little window in his cabin he could see the mountains purple in their summer haze, above them shaped like a man's hand hung a cloud that seemed to beckon him away from the camp with its dirt and smoke, and into the canyons where the ferns and mosses entwine over the sparkling waters which flow from the rocky breast of the mountains.

(Continued next week.)

President Lewis received the "thanks" of President Wilson for ordering the miners back to work. But the miners—oh, well, they weren't supposed to get ANYTHING.

CONTRACTS, CONSISTENCY AND— ORGANIZED SCABBERY.

(Continued from page 7.)

of the leader of the opposition organization. After this strike was instituted the leaders of the new organization injected the wage question for the sole purpose of deceiving yardmen throughout the United States and promoting the 'one big union' idea. There can be no settlement of pending wage questions while this illegal action continues. We insist that every member, of these brotherhoods do everything within their power to preserve their existing contracts. (Emphasis ours.) which if abrogated may take years to rebuild. The laws of all of these organizations provide for members engaging in illegal strikes and these will be enforced.

Telegram wired by Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers to all subordinate division during yardmen's strike:

"April 13th, 1920.

"To All Divisions and General Chairmen in the United States:

"The present strike, that is spreading to all parts of the country is not only illegal from start to finish, but is an effort to destroy all legitimate labor unions. Back of it all is the One Big Union idea. The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and Switchmen's Union organizations are bringing in their members from outlying points in an effort to break the strike, save the organizations and protect their contracts. Do everything possible to have our members continue at work and carry out the contract we have entered into in good faith. Members going on strike, refusing call or re-

fusing to work with new crews will forfeit positions and laws of organization will be enforced. Nothing can be gained by present strike. Labor Board has been appointed and everything possible is being done to expedite hearing on wage requests. (Emphasis in each instance ours.)

(Signed)

"W. S. Stone."

COMMENT IS UNNECESSARY.

THE STRANGLING OF THE WORKERS STRIKE.

(Continued from page 3.)

with petitions. Attorney General Palmer, they considered, gave them the government's only answer in his letter, published on November 26, commending a patriotic society's efforts to run labor 'agitators' out of Pennsylvania. 'It is a pity,' the Attorney General wrote, 'that more patriotic organizations do not take action similar to that of your order,' "

That the workers in the steel industry realize what the forces were that broke the strike and forced them back into the mills on the terms of the bosses is one of the conclusions of this report. The National Government and its Department of Justice and Army, the state and local government, the press and the pulpit are held responsible by the workers.

Another factor in making the strike a failure was the disunity among the 24 international labor organizations which conducted it.

While the workers in the steel industry have been beaten the conditions under which they work will sooner or later force them into another struggle.

LUMINATIONS OF A REBEL.

Tom Clifford.

Another confidential bulletin of the Babson Statistical Service has found its way into the channels of publicity. In this document Big Business is warned that its safety depends upon the financial support and maintenance of the church—that religion is the bulwark of investments. Here is a call to the hoodlums to get behind the preachers, who dispense the dope of future rewards and administer soporific balderdash to the masses. How well does the master class know the efficacy of superstition in keeping the workers contented! For centuries it has produc-

ed the desired result with as unerring certainty as a royal flush in a poker game. Is long as the masses can be made to believe that it is the will of an overruling personality that there shall be masters and slaves there is little hope for a revolt of the latter, no matter how much they may suffer. But there are signs of the dissipation of this pall of superstition. The people are becoming more enlightened and evincing a disposition to demand something here and now and take their chances on the sweet afterwhile. This is positively alarming to the ruling class. They realize that once the hallelujah

is thrown into the garbage heap of outgrown superstitions the rocky road begins for them. The beclouded minds of the workers, reeking in superstition, have hitherto made them easy and complacent victims of exploitation and suppressed whatever desire they might have for social betterment. The church has ever been the right bower of the ruling class, and once it loses its power to sway the public mind the greatest handicap to social evolution will have disappeared. The very possibility of such an event is in itself appalling to the exploiting class. Hence their perturbation.

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Activities on the Battle Front

A threat of indictment for murder was made by General Wood against the thugs and gunmen imported by the tranway officials of Denver. Overwhelming public opinion favorable to the striking car operatives is the moral force back of the General's threat. The street car company refuses to recognize the union and demanded written applications to return to work. Be it said to the honor of the workers that they have not complied with the demand.

In order to retain the revolutionary integrity of its organization, it became necessary for the general executive board of the I. W. W. to repudiate and expell Local number 8, marine and transport workers of Philadelphia last week. Reason? The union members refused to stop loading shrapnel destined to serve the capitalist imperialists in the war against Soviet Russia. It is claimed that many of the renegades are purchasers of Polish government liberty bonds and were new members of the I. W. W. We congratulate the I. W. W. on their swift and decisive action in throwing out these patriotic nationalists and enemies of the labor international.

The New York Branch of the Eastern and Gulf Sailors' Association has voted to become active in supporting the workers' government of Russia.

Here's a chance for "100 per cent. Americans" to show their guts. Manufacturers and commercial pirates of Buffalo are calling lustily for members of that tribe to come forth to scab. Just now all efforts are directed against the clothing trades workers. There is a heavy demand for "100 per cent. Americans" to step in and break the strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers—so that profit may continue as heretofore, or a little more so.

The Anthracite Coal Commission is preparing its report and wage award. Ten thousand miners have walked out nevertheless—in "violation of their agreement". Looks like workers

are learning just how to regard these agreements with the bosses.

Under a permanent court injunction issued some time ago prohibiting any meetings in Spokane county, Wash., ten I. W. W. were arrested 7 miles on the outskirts of the city. The men were assembled in a gully. True to historic methods today's revolutionaries find it necessary to meet secretly in order to avoid the vengeance of the 'democratic' powers that rule.

The tenants' Soviet has arrived. A landlord in a suburb of New York has secured an injunction against the tenants. It seems the Soviet had taken over the management of the block of houses, choosing the janitor, the milkman, the grocers as well as using their own judgement in accepting or rejecting new tenants. Houses, however, are made for owners—not for living in—and with.

A leaflet circulated among the thousands of unemployed textile workers of Lawrence, Mass., reads thusly:

"The workers in Russia have found the way out, the rate of wages is set by labor unions and unemployed workers get full wages from the State during unemployment. In case of food shortage the workers and their families are fed, while parasites of Mr. Wood's class starve.

"Woodrow Wilson, the obedient servant of our trust," the circular says, "broke international law as well as United States laws to blockade Soviet Russia. Western Europe was cut off from its chief supplies of food and raw materials, so that American profiteers could 'feed the world,' double the already high cost of living and get dividends of 1,000 per cent. or more.

"There are still not enough markets. You have produced too much. That's why you have starved amidst plenty.

"In order to abolish unemployment you must abolish capitalism."