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"The day of vengeance is coming.

bleed if they compel us to use arms.

"Down with moderate Socialism,

Laborism." "friendship" between

The Soviet of the City of Mexico.'

Several times in the convention the

tremendous applause given by Commun-

angered Gompers. He was particularly

peeved when they gave an ovation to

Delegate J. E. Kunhardt of Santo Do

mingo in the course of his denunciation

"I said at the beginning of this Con-

vention," shouted Gompers, "and I

say again that visitors are welcome to

listen to proceedings but they have no

have no right to try to influence de-

legates and if they persist in attempt

Mexico City.-Felipe Carrillo, Red

Congressman from the state of Yucatan

Elias Calles to the Pan-American Feder-

and drowned them out for a time. Then

motion to this effect was carried but

The speech of the Yucatan Socialist

was short and fiery like all his dis-

ments nor did he take the trouble to

"Already the words of Gompers and

Comrade Morenes and the others who

interested in is the Social Revolution.

(Continued on page 4).

call Gompers "Senor" (Mister).

ing it, I shall order them excluded."

Communist Revolution.

the seff and his owner.

"Down with capitalism.

Compers and Mexican Reds

Merico City,-If Samuel Gompers had dealts about the existance of Bolm in Mexico, those doubts were nel during the convention of the Averican Federation of Labor in

bherism has been flaunted in hi and dinned in his ears' on every The assembly room of the National School in which the sessions beld, was fairly plastered with mist literature. Copies of "El Cota de Mexico," "El Boletin Co- International. a manifesto to the Mexican s and countless circulars calling delegates to repudiate Compers metion, were scattered about and ists to radical remarks of delegates. ated to the delegates.

flets signed by "The Council of s. Soldiers and Pensants of the an Region," and by "The Soviet City of Mexico," have made of American tyranny in his country. ppearance in vast numbers. A on of one of them, entitled, Day of Vengeance, 1' follows: manipulators of the working in continue with their deceptions business taking part in any way .. They heir treacheries.

cienceless workers can forget duty and their own interests. n jackasses can go on in their condition with their eyes shut.

he Pan-American Labor Congress, and one of the two leaders of the Soed of representatives (?) of cialist Group in the Mexican Chamber of slaves of the capitalist sys- of Deputies, spoiled Samuel Gompers' these slaves.

The delegates who ought to issue themselves with the sugary sopes of Samuel Gompers.

he day of vengeauce is coming. "Den't forget it, comrade.

Bobbevism is coming to Mexico. It Gompers took a hand and called the come anyway. It would be more attention of the delegates to the fact ent for the rulers and the so-called that they would be late to the afternoon to keep their hands off and let session on account of the dinner and stablish the dictatorship of the pro- might better adjourn unfil Monday. A rist peacefully.

at to But they will fail terribly if renewed and on suggestion of Luis N. letray their brothers again in this Morones, head of the Mexican Federa-

The members of the unions affiliatwith the Pan-American Labor Conwant to affiliate with the Third ational and want an open and courses. He wasted no time in complien struggle in favor of Commun-

ds of the workers

The delegates will fall. They will have spoken here are being sent around with Compers as all similar scoun- the world by the news agencies,' have fallen, as the ezar fell, per- thundered Carrillo. "But what I am

ake care, moderate Socialist, "Li- That is where we are going and what 'comrade'' who is comrade in we must prepare for. We are going to but enemy in acts. Take care, have it peacefully if we can. If we



Capitalist Press Editor Imbibing Inspiration for Editorial Against Bolshevism

Proley and Tariat

By Seymour Deming.

William King and John Ploot were neighbors. William owned all the meads is all parts of America, can sell good time at the hanquet January 15 turrets of his gray stone castle east. sleep on straw in the stable. If the apes given by Secretary of State Plutarco ward to the hills where the sun rose. John owned all the fields and streams covered with bloody welts. terrace of his white marble manor for a speech from Carrillo became in. crested ridge where the sun sank in a hands but stupid with their wits. They much work as possible. But he spent cessant. Once the band began to play glory of golden clouds.

> But neither was contented. Each wished to own both west and east. It grieved William to look westward and see John's acres. It grieved John to look eastward and see William's land.

"The decrivers can do what they immediately the calls for Carrillo were worked. All the labor of both houses was done by two powerful hairy apes which had been owned by these fami. fies since long before the thickest trees tion of Labor, Carrillo was given the in their parks were slender suplings, The name of Mr. King's ape was Proley. Mr. Ploot called his ape Tariat. Old as these apes where, so old that nobody could remember when they were not full grown, yet they always seemed young and strong. Each had the strength of a dozen men. But they were You'd starve with plenty in the land. hideous to look at-their backs bent |

feared them in their secret hearts.

ow and wood he could see from the out with hard labour, and making them when they were not working. disobeyed they were flogged till they to train their apes in certain matters.

ers took good care that they should not as he pleased. learn. Every morning they stood their apes up and made them repeat a lingo Neither Mr. King nor Mr. Ploot of nonsense, with this at the chorus.

I have no brain: I cannot think: I do not wish to learn.

O master use thy wits for me. That I my bread may earn. After which Mr. King and Mr. Ploo would gravely recite:

Remember what you owe to me. I found you living in a tree. Without my brain to guide your hand

This nonsense was repeated again and with heavy toil, their hairy sides, their again until the apes believed it. And, if low brows, their eyes, small and gim- they began to doubt, Mr. King and Mr. lety. Every one feared them except Ploot drugged their minds by burning warning and excuses. When he saw their masters, and even their masters poisonous fumes under their nostrils, or

bewildered them by waving color the coarsest food, keeping them worn kept the apes drugged with liquors

Mr. Ploot was no less careful to keep Tariat well fed, yet he spent more time teaching him to work than to fight and the club Tariat carried was not so large as Proley's. But Mr. Ploot was a more indulgent master, often giving Tariat a whole day to do as he pleased. He even talked of letting Tariat go free some

Both masters used their apes to rob and terrorize their neighbors, who, though they too owned apes, were not able to defend themselves because their

apes were so much smaller. This also Mr. King and Mr. Ploo had different ways of doing.

Mr. King gave his neighbors (Continued on page 4).

"Spy" Scream the Bureaucratic Screech Owls.

Reactionary Union Officials Find Plenty of mud to Sling When Cleaner Weapons Fail.

Are you a little Bureauerat in your The leaflet follows: Union? And is there a lot of talk among

You are going to need a lot of mud to throw at the live ones in your union for it is the only argument you have to combat their arguments with. Your own mismanagement of union affairs, your inability to conduct a successful strike against the boss is an argument against you that you cannot hurdle. So, it's the mud puddle for you. If you can't be reasonable and logical, you can at least sling filth. In fact, why SHOULD a real, genuine, LABOR LEADER stoop to argueing about the merits of a union matter when there's a mud puddle within reach?

mean much for you. The agitation for them the old sweat shop conditions. mud puddle, nor kill, it by calling names workers of the Amalgamated. and felling lies. The old form of union bureaucracy is doomed. It is a luxury the Amalgamated officials of Chicago workers can nowlonger afford. Besides doing? They are going around appends you are useless. And you will have to ing the most slanderons lies around go-mud puddle or no mud puddle. The the most conscious, the most active and rank and file are onto you.

The following letter and leaftet show ganization. the direction of the wind in labor union-

Chicago, Jan. 15-1921. EDITOR OF THE TOILER.

Dear Comrade:-

It might be of interest to you to know, in connection with the enclosed To conceal their fear they governed cloths before their eyes and making into the case. Not content with slandertheir apes barshly, giving them only strange gestures, and especially they ing the revolutionary workers the Ama! tionary worker in particular. That gamated, Officialdom of Chicago charg. worker was active in his local. He at-Yet the two masters took great pains Department of Justice, that it is printed ity. He was elected as a delegate to the to train their apes in certain matters. in the Federal Building, and that stool. Joint Board. There too be fought the howled with pain and their backs were The training of the two was, however, pigeons and provocateurs write for it. machine. He became dangerous to the

All these accusations merely show officialdom. These two apes were both elever and Mr. King was careful to keep Proley that The Toiler has been effective in Before the election of officers of Near the close of the banquet yells house and looked westward to the pine stupid. They were clever with their well enough fed so that he could do as its work of propaganda. It has succeeded Local 39 they spread rumors and inin impressing mon the minds of the were so much stronger than their mast- more time teaching him to use a heavy more intelligent workers the idea that ers that they could have freed them-club than in teaching him to do useful only a union which is controlled by selves anytime had they only known work about the place. He was a harsh, shop delegates and shop committees can how to use their heads. But their mast- strict master and never let Proley do represent the true interests of the work-

> The officeials of the Amalgamated, or for that matter, the officials of any other union, do not like to see such ideas penetrate into the heads of the workers. It represents a great danger to them. They might have to go to work and that is not very much to their liking. That is why they hate The Toiler, and try to discredit it, but The Toiler will go on with its good work and neither slanders nor threats will help the union bureaucracy. We regret the necessity of attacking

the officials of the Amalgamated at Chicago at this time. The great struggle which the clothing workers of New York and Boston are waging demands the greatest solidarity. No fights can be tolerated in the union at the present out when these officials descend to such lirty tactics they must be answered. Yours for Solidarity: A. Verblin.

the members about the Shop Delegate Fellow Workers of the Amalgamated:and Shop Committee system of conduct- The present is a very critical period ing the struggle against the employers? for the workers of America. On all sides If you are, and if there is, we wish to they must meet the fierce attacks of direct you to the nearest mud puddle, a united master class. Against these at you're going to need it-and badly too, tacks the workers present no united front because they are kept divided by the bureaucracy of the American Labor Movement.

Especially is the present a very critical period for the workers of the cloth. ing industry, who are organized in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Thousands of workers are going atound idle. Factories are closed or working part time. Starvation and cold starcs the clothing workers in the face.

The bosses are taking advantage of the situation. They are determined to force the workers back into slavery.

The bosses in New York bave started the fight. The Boston and Baltimore Of course every one and everything bosses followed. Thousands of workers within the radius of your dirty means in those cities are locked out and are will be covered with your filth, as near now in a life and death struggle to as is in your power. But that doesn't prevent the bosses from forcing upon

the Shop Committee and the Shop Dele- At such a moment unity, so idarity in gate System will continue. And your mud' the ranks of the clothing workers is an slinging only proves to your members absolute necessity. At such a moment how badly they are needed. The demand anyone that creates disunity, disrupting, will grow. You cannot bury it in a the organization, is a traiter to the

At such a moment what are the most revolutionary workers of the or-

When at such a moment a high official of the union can get up at a meeting and say that those workers who advocate the cause of the Third International are spies and provocateurs, then that official intentionally creates suspicion, lack of confidence, disunity within the rank and file and betrays the cause of the striking work-

ed that The Toiler is an organ of the tacked the machine at every opportun-

forced to come out in the open. The of_ ficials through their representative aceused him of being one of the spies and provocateurs.

COMRADES, WHERE IS THEIR

For six weeks they have been promising "proofs". "Next week, next week," they say. Where is it? Let them bring it forward. It is easy to slander, to spread rumors, but let them produce the evidence.

They tried to slug him at union meetings. They have kicked him out of the union headquarters. They have searched him and threatened to kill him if he comes to the headquarters.

They have done all these things and to cover up their dastardly deeds, they naise the ery of "Spy and Provoca teur." WHERE IS THEIR PROOF?

The forces of the capitalist/ state persecute the revolutionary workers, and these officials who call themselves "labor leaders" are very willing to help the capitalist government perseente the classeonscious workers.

(Continued on page 4).

That Poor Louse



Who Gets Pinched

Thrown In Jail

Refused The Right To Work Forced To Join The Army

THEN_Insists We Are Free

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF RUSSIA

La the following article taken from the New Bepathlic, Mr. H. N. Brailsford graphically describes the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Russia, To Americans, it will be hard to conceive of such a political party as he de-scribes, being accustomed to loose individualism in political affiliations. Nevertheless, we believe it is necessary to an understanding of the Russian Revolution to fully comprehend the methods of that political faction in Russia which had and has the courage, discipline, intelligence and uncompromising revolutionary character to guide the revolutionary forces into the channels that lead to the victory of Communism over capitalism. Especially, is this knowledge of Communist psychology necessary and timely in view of the present development of Communist parties in every country of the world each united under strict discipline with the victoricus Russian Communists in the Third International Association of Workingmen. Aside from a few points apparently colored by Mr. Brailford's bourgeois training we believe - he treats his subject very thoroughly.-EDITOR.

The Russian Communists have been compared to Plato's guardians, to the French Jacobins and to the British bureaucracy in India. No analogy can give the faintest conception of the wildness and improbability of this adventure, by which a small minority, mainly composed of manual workers, has brought a vast empire under an absolute diefatorship, and based its rule so securely, that every recent visitor to Russia, however hostile, has confessed that no conceivable afternative exists. The world has known aristocracies of race, of wealth, of birth, of talent. Any one of the rival parties in Russia could show a superiority overthe Communists, in all these particulars. But the Communists surpass their rivals in two respects, firstly in discipline and secondly in their miraculeus courage, their beroic rashness, their fanatical unwavering faith, which seems alternately stupid and sublime.

The Conspirators of Yesterday.

The history of this party under Tsardom goes far to explain its present mentality. Its very existence was a conspiracy. It learned secrecy, suspicion and discipline as the first conditions of success, may of survival, in its perpetual struggle with the police. It had to meet espionage with counter-espionage. It acquired the habit of unquestioning obedience to orders, because the safety and even the lives of all the comrades might depend on the punctuality and precision of each. No one ques_ tioned or criticized before acting, for prudence required that only the chiefs should know the plan itself, or the reasons for its adoption. Again and again, in close contact with the men who are running the bureaueratic machine of Russia today, I was puzzled by some trait of character, until I recollected that those who are rulers today, were hunted conspirators yesterday. It is this severe training, which taught them to despise pleasure, to dread drink, to keep a secret, to obey orders, and to live with every sense and thought alert. which gives them their incontestable superiority over which forms the White armies.

Everyone knows that the Russian Communist party contains only about 600,000 men and women. Few realize, however, that it is, now more than ever, more careful to keep itself select than to increase its numbers. It is in this respect more like a religious order than any political party which we know in the west. You may enter it only if several members guarantee your reliability, from intimate personal knowledge. Even then you are received not as a member, but only as a "candidate." The novice must submit to regular courses of instruction in the doctrines of the party. He is not received until he passes an examination in the creed. I heard of a recent case in which eight out of owledge and sent back to take their schooling over again. Far more severe is the scrutiny of a candidata's conduct. Does he absent himself from partymeetings, is he negligent in his public work, is he slow to obey orders? He will not be received. Nor does the scrutiny corse after his admission. Any slackness, any want of zeal, any indiscipline, any conduct inconsistent with socialist ethics will entail his expulsion. To drink or play eards would be fatal; even dancing is frowned; upon, and there is a tendency to check smoking. The unpardonable sin is any pursuit of gain. At intervals a regular purge, known as "revision," is carried out in the party, and unworthly members are expelled. It is on record that the doors of the party were once thrown wide open for a week. It was in the black autumn of 1919, when Yudenich had all but taken Petrograd, when Denikin had advanced to Orel within striking distance of Moscow, and Poles and Finns might at any moment set on. Any one who joined in that dark hour, must, it was thought, be sincere. Entry, it must be added, is always easier for manual workers than for "intellectuals," and these latter form an infinitesimal fraction of the party, though most of the older leaders belong to this suspect class.

Why discipline and selectness are necessary.

The reasons for keeping the party select are as potent as they ever were. The Revolution is still fighting for its life. When an army wavers, Communist velanteer battalions are thrown into the breach; When a reliment lacks steadiness, a percentage of Commue_ ists is introductd into its ranks: When a factory works ill a few Communist workmen are introduced into its staff. When a village is disaffected, one or two Communists are sent to live in it. They are the active, n roots, conscious element in the sluggish Russian ce, the Reformation and the French "Enlightenment" body. They are the clite of the Revolution and every man and woman among them is expected to have will and magnetism enough to infoce some of his zeal into others. If the party were to deteriorate, if it became less zealous, less self-sacrificing, less audacious, the revolution itself would collapse. Another reason is no less compelling. It is obvious that a party which monopolizes power, must attract those whose sole onject is to make a career. That element the older members who proved their devotion in the years of prosecution, are sternly resolved to exclude.

How far do they succeed? I put this question to many people, both adherents and opponents of the usual Communist answer ran somewhat thus: "We Communists have duties, but no privileges. July 1919, according to age. We are expected at a moment's notice to obey the commands of the party, and to leave our homes for whatever work is assigned to us, be it organization, administration, fighting or agitation. We are all se overworked, that we look on a mobilization order to join the army, as the beginning of a heliday. And yet if it is to the army we are sent, we must face dangers which others escape. The Communist corps are what Germans call 'shock troops' and Russians 'Battalions

of Death.' There is no quarter for them in the civil. war, and even the Poles shoot every Communist prisoner.* The Commissioners in the army are always shot, if captured, and sometimes tortured first. The White Guards' have been known to slaughter every Communist whom they could identify among the civilian population when they took a town. If the Revolution should be overthrown, most of us will be massacred. We submit voluntarily to a higher standard of conduct than is imposed upon others. If a Communist officer drinks, if a Communist official steals or takes bribes, he is relentlessly shot, whereas a non-Communist is only imprisoned, Nothing less than strong conviction would induce a man to join our party.'2

Opportunities of Power and Command.

This answer is true so far as it goes. On the other hand, it is obvious that nine Communists in ten enjoy opportunities of power and command which would never come to them under any other regime. That is true of all the workmen, and of the Jews at least among the intellectuals. It is always hard to distinguish where ambition begins, and a pure zeal for service ends. Most of these men have broken out of eramped lives which would have brought them little or no opportunity, and now enjoy the widest scope. To some the attraction of the new life may be the importance which they have suddenly attained: to others it is undoubtedly the joy in a creative work. Any Revolution in Russia which upset the old Tsarist bureaucracy would have brought a new class to power. The "Cadets" (Liberals) are mainly capitalists, shopkeepers, and professional men. The "Mensheviks" and the "Social Revolutionaries" are largely intellectuals, who have a following, in the former case of artisans, and in the latter, of farmers and wealthy peasants. The Communists differ from the other socialist parties in having a much smaller general staff of intellectuals, and a much bigger mass of industrial workers.

Puritanism.

The harsher critics of the Communists usually accuse them of abusing their power to make themselves materially comfortable. The charge of luxury is grossly false Wherever I had a chance of observing them at close quarters (as for example at Minsk during the Peace Conference) the most responsible Bolshevik officials lived in exactly the same way as their typists and clerks. They dress with the utmost simplicity, and the flats in the Kremlin occupied by the People's Commissioners (Cabinet) are merely the chambers of former officers of the guard. The only elements of partial truth in this accusation are, I think, (1) that everyone, whether Communist or non-Communist, who travels on official business, can do so more comfortably than the . general public, and (2) that all who do important work, including the army, the teaching profession and the munition workers, whether they are Communists or not, are rationed on the highest scale. That is essential for efficient administration. One hears much the idle, pleasure-loving, undisciplined upper class, of favoritism in the distribution of clothes and food. One such case on a big scale in the provinces (at Podolsk), was recently exposed by the Soviet inspectors, which means that the party as a whole regarded it as reprehensible. Scandals of this type are not uncommon, and probably there is more corruption and more favoritism than is ever exposed. Both were always habitual in Russia. If an opposition press existed, the gain from its criticism, both in honesty and efficiency of parents hostile to Socialism. They answered that in would be immense. One wast, however, say for the Communists, that they punish detected offenders with terrible severity. Indeed, they probably err here by excess, for if a man's colleagues know that by exposing him, they will cause him to be shot, they may whose fathers had tried in vain to thrash the Communspare, him, as they would not, if the penalty were ism out of them. With the children of "rich but not twelve candidates were flanked, for lack of this theor. milder. At present the Communists are certainly not intelligent" families (as they quaintly put it) they mainly or even largely a party of arrivistes, and their stern discipline may save them from this blight for some time to come. The severe test will arrive, if ever they enjoy ease, prosperity and peace. At present their tendency is rather to a puritanical fanaticism.

The Euthless Humanitarians.

With these virile qualities, one must add that the Communist party disdains the mercies and the graces of life. Its journalistic and controversial style is rough and crude. Its intellectual basis is curiously dogmatic, and even Lenin is apt to settle the largest theoretic questions by a simple reference, in the manner of a pedantic theologian to the authority of Marx or Engels. The general level of ability in the party did not strike me as unusually high, and a gap seemed to separate the bigger men, Lenin, Trotzky, (to my thinking by far the more brilliant intelligence of these two, though not the stronger will. Tchicherin, Krassin and Radek, from their immediate lieutenants. Perhaps the oddest trait in the psychology of the party is its combination of ruthlessness with humanitarianism. It has no scruple about sacrificing life. I have heard the leaders talk of the masses of the Red Army as the abundant raw material of victory, very much as Tsarist statesmen used to talk. Few of them feel any compunction for the unnecessary sufferings of the dispossessed, and their ruthlessness towards workmen who strike or neglect their duty is even more remarkable. All this is combined with a humane work for children, for mothers and the sick which puts richer communists to shame. Fanaticism is not the whole explanation. The trait is Russian as well as Communist. One can under simple historical fact that they escaped the Renaissan -- all the movements which made our western tradition of individualism. With us these movements percolated downwords through church, chapel and the platform even to the uncaucated. In Russia they touched onlythe intellectuals and that only in the last century: For good and for evil, Russians count in millions and not in units. Their attitude towards the value or rights of the individual can never be that of the west.

The composition of this andacious party interested me greatly, and I found some illuminating statisties, It is the party of youth. Here, for example, is a classifiration of the Communist party of Samsra town in

Age 16-18 years, 67 members - " 19-30 " 1,353 " ** 31-40 ** 607 - (1 Over 40 11 205 11

The men numbered 1,912, and the women only 247. Their occupations were as follows:-Manual workers, 1,293,

Clerks and official employees, 489. Peasants, 156. Doctors, teachers, ets., 354.

The main body of the party in this case consists of male manual workers between twenty and thirty years men 12; electricians 29.

members was, I think, unusually high in Samara, and of Russia, the Ukraine, the South, the Cancasus and executed were taken at the front. Some were mi the proportion of women rather low. Very few peasants Siberia, where the Social Revolutionaries predominatactually join the party. Thus in the province of Ryazan ed. These regions they have slowly conquered, thanks (central Russia) in November 1919, there were in the mainly to the folly and brutality of the "White" towns 2,369 members, but in the country only 938, which meant rather less than one in two hundred of maintained, the answer is partly by unremitting prothe rural population. Another test is furnished by the paganda, partly by terror, but chiefly by the adroit statistics of the Sverdloff University at Moscow, the college in which the new ruling class is training its civil service. Here about a thousand young men and women, drawn from the working class, receive a rapid course of instruction in political science from the Communist standpoint. They study for six months, taking courses in political economy, the history of civilization, Russian history, statistics, and the history and doctrines of Marxist socialism. Thereafter, they specialize in some one department of administration (agriculture, food, education, etc.), and the lectures are followed by practical work in the ministry which specially interests them. One cannot make experts in six months, and a two years' course will be started this winter. The students seemed alert and full of mental life, and even the shorter course gives them an intellectual stimulus, and an invaluable introduction to home reading and private study. This college is only one of the innumerable schools and courses which train young men and women for every imaginable phase of public and social work. The students who are to form the civil service of the new Russia are nominated by the local soviets. the trade unions, the local Communist organizations, or the army. They represented no less than twentyfive nationalities, including even the half-civilized Asiatic races, but Great Russians predominated with 75 per cent, and Jews came next, though they had only 7.5 per cent. The women were less than one in five of the total number, and two thirds of the students were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. The andacity of proletarian rule was revealed in the educa tional statistics. Seven per cent had had no schooling at all, and were described as self-taught, while 75 per cent had had an elementary education only. Exactly half the students had been industrial workers, the intellectual proletariat (clerks, teachers, etc.) came which openly support the "Whites" in the Civil War, next with 31 per cent, while peasants accounted only for 15 per cent." Over nine-tenths of the students were tions. Communists in one degree or another of initiation, while 91 were classed as "non-party," a word which doubtless covers some timid Mensheviks.

Boy and Girl Communists.

The Communist party now recruits itself largely from the youths who are growing up to manhood and womanhood under the Revolution. The "Young Communist" organization, conducted entirely by the youths themselves, is, with its 400,000 members, nearly as numerous as the party itself. A deputation of four alert and unembarrassed youths of the Vladimir group, called on me one evening, partly to describe their own work and partly to ask me questions about the British Labor movement, They have 9,000 members in Vladimir province (one third of them girls)., while the grown_up party has only 5,850. They arrange courses. at which a lecturer deals, for example, with Karl Marx, and the group thereafter discusses the subject in his absence. They are also active in promoting sports and gymnastics, and I saw later a very good display. I asked them how far they were reaching the children several cases they had enlisted the children of priests and of "Kulaks" (the word means "fists," ant is a nickname for the close-fisted village traders, usurers and rich peasants), and they mentioned lads by name me, and in it I found these typcal reports of the activities of the "Communist Youth" elsewhere in Russia:

opened a factory for soap, and is distributing it free, with appeals for cleanliness.

been opened, to repair free of charge the boots of the families of absent soldiers. Another: the group has organized itself to fight epi-

Another: the group has registered all illiterates from

16 to 50 years of age, and opened a class for them with 150 pupils. Kazan: 35 libraries opened; 1,500 Moslem members

enrolled, including 250 girls. Another; collected old iron and made ploughs for the

Suzdal (near Vladimir): the Secretary was censured

for wasting his time at evening dances. Turkestan: organized a collection for the starving

children of Petrograd and Moscow. These youths were very dogmatic and very sure of themselves, but they will make good citizens, who will help to organize Russia out of the sloth and passivity

A Million and a Half Dictators.

Even when one reckons their candidates, "sympath isers," and youthful converts, the Russian Communists can hardly number 1,500,000 persons. It seems n slender basis for a dictatorship over 120 millions, of whom about 80 millions are enfranchised adults. The stand Russians only by repeating daily to oneself the fact of the dictatorship is boldly avowed. Thus Zinovieff, the head of the Petrograd administration, writes in the explanatory report presented to the recent Congress of the Third International:

Every conscious proletarian in Russia knows that without the iron dictatorship of the Communist par_ ty, the Soviet government would not have retained power for three weeks, let alone for three years . . The dictatorship of the working class cannot be realized otherwise than by means of the dietatorship of its advance guard-the Communist party.

The survival of the dietatorship is a much more re markable fact then its creation. Indeed, one of the ablest leaders told me that in 1917 they hardly hoped to maintain themselves for two mouths. Their opponents were more inert and more inept than they had realized. There is no doubt that in central Russia the majority of the population welcomed the Revolution. I was amazed to discover from a study of the statistics of the elections for the Constituent Assembly, taken on an orthodox democratic basis, that the Bolsheviks had polled a clear fifty-five per cent of all the votes east in northern and central Russia, including Moscon, Petrograd, and the north-western and west-central arm-

* The actual numbers of the chief trade groups were; metal-workers 124; carpenters 47; tailors 50; textile workers 19; laborers 92; peasants 150; elerks 218; teachers 57; postal workers 31; miners 23; fisher-

of age. The proportion of "intellectuals" among the ies. They were outvoted in the richer outlying parts form a judgment on these figures. Most of an generals. If one asks how the dictatorship has been seizure of the decisive tactical "positions"-the Soviets, the trade unions, and the army.

How the Opposition is Repressed.

The Communists contrive to keep an overwhelming majority in the Soviets mainly by repressing the propaganda of their opponents. The worst detail of the Soviet system, as it exists in Russia, is that all voting is open, and usually by a show of hands, so that every opponent becomes a marked man. For the inequality which favors industrial constituencies as against the backward rural areas, some defence may be made. The franchise is now almost universal, for the employing class which was originally excluded, is now in the main absorbed among the salaried workers, save in the richer agricultural districts, where wealthy peasantemployers survive. It is broadly true that there is now no opposition press in Russia, though the Left Social-Revolutionaries have a monthly organ, and the Jewish parties, not yet wholly absorbed, have several weekly papers. The Menshevik leaders told me of their difficulties. They can get no paper, which is a government monopoly, for pamphlets or leaflets at election time. They can rarely hire a hall for public meetings, though they can and do speak at the meetings called by the ity. various bodies of electors (e. g. Soviet employees). They succeed as a rule only in factories where propaganda can be done by w ord of mouth. Even so, on one pretext or another, their candidates are sometimes disqualified, and their elected members are occasionally expelled (e. g. in one case for refusing to join in the election of Lenin and Trotzky as honorary presidents of the Soviet). They are none the less a tolerated and legal opposition. Other parties, notably the Right So. cial Revolutionaries and the "Cadets" (Liberals) are, of course, not tolerated at all as open organiza-

The Capture of the Unions and the Army.

The governing bodies of the trade unions have been gradually captured by the Communists, in most cases by peaceful means. The facts seem to be that many of the workmen who formerly belonged to the Mensheviks or Social Revolutionaries, have gone over to the Communists. Two unions, which had special economie reasons for discontent, the printers and the chemical workers, were drastically dealt with this year, and their mainly "Menshevik" executives dissolved, The cooperative organization has been taken in hand by similar methods, and its central governng organization is now dominated by Communists. Both are now, in effect, official organizations, which represent the whole body of citizens, as producers and as consumers. Finally, the army will, rooner or later, be officered solely by Communists. The professional officers of the old regime, on whom at first Trotsky had to rely for the ercation of the Red Army, have grown with each campaign less indispensable, as men were promoted from the ranks and trained in the red cadet battalions. Entry into the military schools, as Trotsky announced in a recent speech, is now confined exclusively to Communists. That means that so long as the men obey their officers, the army will be a trustworthy tool of the party. It also means, that though the army may be used for aggressive revolutionary designs upon neighboring states, it could not conceivably be induced to illustrate pictorially all the various means of social support a military dictatorship. For all these young service which happen at the moment to be most letarian officers party discipline means more than military discipline.

Such democracy as there is in Russia exists within In another village, a boot repairing workshop has the Communist party, and not outside it. It is a grave mistake to suppose that Louin rules it as an autocrat. Every new departure in Russian policy, whether in-Ino another village, a boot repairing workshop has ternal or external, is debated at the elected Congresses of the party, and its elected executive is the real con. trolling power, whose sanction is required even for rapid decisions. The inevitable divisions of opinion are often sharply marked in the party and among its leaders. Tchichirin and Radek are now the ablest moderates, while Zinovieff and Bucharin lead the Left, Lenin balances, and holds the party together. The official press is by no means tame, and writers of the Left often supply the lack of an opposition. Controversies between leading Communists in the press are not infrequent. The vote of the Party Congress, however, closes all debate, and the minarity submits absolutely. Meetings of the party are always held before the sittings of the national and provincial soviets, and all important decisions are taken in advance, with the result that the party appears in public as a solid block, voting as one man.

With the Soviets, the trade unions, the cooperatives and the army under its control, the Communist party commands the whole organized life in Russia. Behind these open organs of the dictatorship there works the formidable apparatus of the Terror, managed by the Extraordinary Commission. In its carly days the dietstorship was mild. It is true that leading opponents were placed under preventive arrest, but apart from some murders, there were at first no authorized executions. Indeed, among those arrested were several of the generals who have since led the "White" armies. They were released and repaid this clemeney ill. The main tuniness of the Extraordinary Commission was at first to cope with the anarchy and ineccurity which had been inherited from the Kerenaky regime. It founded up robbers and brigands, and shot them rathlessly. The real political "Terror" began only in the moment of panic which followed the attempt to assasin. ate Lenin in the autumn of 1918. Some of the more sophisticated Left Wing Communists consciously wished to repeat the excesses of 1793, and the conditions of the time,—the hostile coalition of foreign Powers, the alliance between the native opposition and the external foe, the use of money by the enemy Powers to foment internal conspiracy and discontent, all reproduced the

8,500 Executed by the Extraordinary Commission

atmosphere of the French Terror.

One must concede that an efficient political police was necessary to cope with the plots which are inevitable in any Civil War. An insecure government, moreover, is driven to an excessive use of the death penalty, for the simple reason that imprisonment does not deter, when the opposition believes that a counterrevolution, which will release all prisoners, is imminent, The Extraordinary Commission, which, of course, examines its prisoners, but allows no regular, open trial, admits to shooting 8,500 persons up to May of this year. Without an accurate classification, it is hard to

deserters; others were maranders and bandits; were guilty of peculation and corruption, a terr erime in a hunger-striken land; others were spice at active conspirative agents of the foreign and d enemy in a bitter civil war. It is impossible to me how many, under the vaguer charges of "Speculor "Counterrevolution," were really the victims class hatred and partisan intolerance, but the number whatever it is, is too high.

I doubt, however, whether many have suffered merel for hostile political opinions. The leaders of the Me shevik party told me that only eleven of their action members had been executed since the beginning of the Revolution. The "Terror" should have ended by February, when the Extraordinary Commission was deprived of its power to pass death sentences, but win the Polish offensive, executions began again, and are aged this summer (I quote high Communist authority three hundred a month. Almost worse than the blood shed, is the demoralization caused by this irresponsible tyranny. Its directors have developed the easuistry all fanatics. All means for them are good which see to their narrow minds to serve the end, and humanis and truth are consciously disregarded, if the cause Communism may thereby, on a short view, he served Communists have a trick of laughing at "bourgest morality," and though it may be plausibly argued, the our current ethics have been formed to suit the capital ist system, this argument in the mouths of half edeca ed men becomes a pretext for disregarding all more

Persuasion the First Resort, Rifles the Last.

should give a false impression of Communication tactics, if I allowed the reader to suppose that the party relics solely on force. It never scruples to use it It takes the shortest road to its end. One triffing illustration shows its method. Long before the first Revolution the Academy of Sciences recommended ; new orthography. Tsardom did nothing. Then Kerentky came in, and "imposed" the new spelling by a decree Nothing happened and no one obeyed. The Bolsheviks succeeded them, and at once enforced the new system by the simple expedient of sending Red Guards round to all the printing offices to remove the type of the superfluous letters abolished by the Academy. With Kerensky and his school the word was the beginningand the end. The Bolsheviks are men of action. Yet as government in the civilized world makes an adreite use than they, of the methods of persuasion, propaganh and education. Rifles are ready in the last resort, but placards are lavishly used to economize powder and shot. The walls of every town are covered with the kind of colored cartoons, humorous drawings, and whimsical rhymes which in England one sees t during elections. Every crisis, every difficulty is no to read the plain man a lesson in economics and reography. He may go short of sugar or cotton or oil but at least the Soviet government takes care to a plain to him exactly why he goes short. A picture may of Russia shows him precisely how the Civil War of him off from these things. Even the pensants, formerly had no conception at all of Russia, as a s or as an economic whole, are beginning to grasp unity. Other posters deal with the transport crisis, an the man in the street learns to wich the successes the railway repairing shops, much as he follows the march of the Ked Armies.

Adroit Propaganda.

The result is that the workmen in these shops to that the eyes of a nation are upon them. Placarquired, from nursing wounded soldiers to clearing the snow from railway tracks-n simple lesson in evis morals, by pictures which even the illiterate cont understand. One placard that I saw, appealed for the more equal treatment of women, and quoted some up pleasant Russian proverbs as shameful symptoms the brutality of the past. Others are in a gaver veh and pour satire, often rough but usually ver the three enemies of the Revolution-the the aristocratic soldier and the priest. Every railway station and every provincial town has its " punkt," a public reading room, hung with these a toons, in which leaflets are distributed and speed made, I saw these places packed. There are trave libraries which perambulate the railways, distribu pamphlets, leaflets and books. There are also, famous propaganda trains, six in number, with every device of publicity-a theatre, a cine graph, a band, a printing press, and lecturers who discourse in all the languages of Russia on every t of the day, from the crimes of Wrangel and Mille down to the best way of destroying lice. These me are making life infinitely more interesting than it was Capitalist society makes the mind of the people its unorganized quasi-monopoly of the printing | The Communists by their organized monopoly are ste ily and rapidly making the mind of this receptive sian nation. One example will show the c bination of persuasion and force. There is an an gendarmerie whose business it is to collect the retioned grain from the peasants. Telstoi has the floggings with which taxes were collect old days. The Communist gendarmes start work holding a meeting at which expert "agitators" word is freely used) play on the feelings of the ants, and paint the dire need of the towns army. Then the gendarms take off their costs, be scythes and help to gather the harvest. Only if have entirely failed, by eloquence and go to win the peasants, is force used to take the gra

I spent a morning at Vladimir in talking munist "agitators" (the most interesting and attra ive of them were women), whose business it among the peasants. It is hard work to mothers in the villages to trust their children new schools. No force is used. Instead, ex mothers are organized to see the kinderge towns, and presently appeals come pouring creation of similar institutions in the villag "agitators" are never satisfied until they the younger and more intelligent women to some kind of social service, and they are sk forward now to take training courses as nursia or kindergarten teachers. I saw one of courses at Vladimir, and heard the young peasants or former factory workers, discussift psychology with real interest and intelligence

The Decay of Superstition.

The chief difficulty in the villages is the question. There is full religious toleration but the Communist party is fiercely anti-cl

(Continued on page 4).

. This is true. So Polish officers frankly told me in the spring of 1919.

Hence it is they are willing to pay

The unity of the world's exploiters

should teach the world's workers the

war, the exposure of the secret treat-

conquest to grab the oil and other re-

resources of the weaker peoples, should

demonstrate to the workers that econ-

forms are what the capitalist govern

ments are seeking, and it is these not

to be hidden objects that are opening the

THE TOILER

ONE YEAR.

Address all mail and make all checks payable to THE TOILER 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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The Revolutionist is Right

Andy Furuseth, President of the Seamen's Union has gone to some length in his characterizations of the action of the Supreme Court in declaring against the right of union men to seek aid of other union men in strikes, as per its decision in the Duplex Printing Press Company vs. the Machinists Union case.

According to Andy the decision does all of these:

Destroys chivalric impulses;

Violates the better feelings of man-especially white man. Forbids workers to assist weaker brothers;

It is unsportsmanlike;

Unethical:

Un-Christian:

Un-American; It belongs to the jungle;

It tends to prove that the revolutionist is right.-Maybe it is and does. But what is more to the point and Andy seems to miss it, is this: it is profitable—to capital. Andy almost stumbled onto a fact there. For the Court decision does prove that the revolutionist is right. It proves that the workers will not 'evolute' into control of political power. It proves that something besides milddness, balloting, quiet dispassionate philosophizing, and trying to "place the workers on an equal plane before the law with the capitalists" is necessary to get proletarian justice. It proves that the courts cannot be made weapons of the workers under capitalist control of the political State.

Yes, Andy, something else is necessary and a few more bumps like this latest one may convince even you and Sammy Gompers that this is true.

Finn Federation Leaves S. P.

Another split in the Socialist Party has occured. The Finnish Federation, comprising a membership of 10,000 has ceceded from to Mr. Harding for the last twenty six the party. This event is, with the exception of the reply of the Third International to the Socialist Party's application for admision, the most noteworthy one that has taken place in Socialist freek overcoat, two spring overcoats, Party history since the "Reds" were thrown out of the Chicago six pair of flannel trousers, twelve silk formation of a new party, to which convention a year ago last September.

Ever since the Chicago convention the membership of the Finnish Federation has been considering seriously the position of the S. P. to the world proletarian revolution. By its withdrawal from the Party it repudiates the S. P. and its yellow counter-re-

volutionary policies,

The Federation's withdrawal is tantamount to a weakening of the S. P. by one third in membership, and, measured by activity and financial support, is equal to fully one half. The Finns have always been one of the most uncompromising elements in the organization and its financial support has been the strongest of any unit in the party since the Chicago convention.

However, the greatest blow which this event gives the S. P. is of a moral nature. It will never recover the prestige which this withdrawal deprives it of. A political party of the workers must have more than finances, more than membership; it must have the confidence of the revolutionary elements among the workers. This most important necessity, the Socialist Party is fast losing. Why this is so, is readily seen in the Finnish withdrawal and the answer of the Third International to its application for admission.

A Couter-Revolutionist Returns

That a lie will go ten times around the earth while the truth is getting into its boots is borne out by the gleeful rapidity with which the capitalist press circulates any sort of anti-Soviet propaganda, coming from no matter what unauthentic source.

The tales which have been invented or told by "returning business men, returning travellers" etc. from Russia which the dollar press has spread broadcast would make a number of large

The latest source of such tale is brought back by a Mr. Schwarts, who, thru his wife's reputation as a socialist worker received a letter of recommendation from the National Office of the Socialist Party to European socialists a few months ago and eventually turned up in Russia, visiting Germany both going

and returning. Mr. Schwartz did not take to the dictatorship of the proletariat. After living in democratic America and viewing White Quard Socialism in Germany, he was ill prepared mentally to accept the rule of the workers in Russia. He immediately sensed that something was wrong, and altho he says, they were met everywhere with brass bands and waving banners and the shouts of the workers for Sovietism and the dictatorship of the workers, he was still unconvinced. Everywhere he saw squalor and poverty and death. That a people should still believe in their government under such conditions was beyond Mr. Schwartz. And he was not

fooled, not Mr. Schwartz. Mr. Schwartz and his estimable wife "broke away from their conductors" and began investigations on their own hook, landing eventually in jail. Mr. Schwartz did not find "a single person outside of a few officials who had a good word to say of the Soviet government". Russia is full of spies from every capitalist country. They come in as socialists, journalists, technicians, social students and what not. Apparently the Committee to Fight Counter-revolution is still doing its duty by the workers' government in Russia. At least Mr. Schwartz found himself released only after several was completed. Is the Mr. Schwartz, lately returned from Russia months of imprisonment. His wife died later at Reval while com- and the former Schwartz of Cleveland one and the same? Judging ing out of Russia.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

Strength In Unity

Carl Marx wrote "Workers of the capitalism as a system, rather them the world unite. You have nothing to lose abolition of the system and the developbut your chains, you have a world to ment of a truly proletarian system

Peter Dunn puts into the mouth of \$6,000 per year to "labor leaders" who Dooley a paraphrase: "Workers of the advocate their system, and jail those world unite. Yez have nothing to lose who advocate a proletarian system. but your brains, and yez havn't any." Hence it is that they are united against

Capitalists unite, and today national- the Soviet Republic of Russia, and istic capitalism is merging into Imper- "'view with alarm", the spread of the ialistic Capitalism very fast, but the solidarity of the proletariat of the proletariat has ever developed a genius world and use their Brass Check press for disunity, division, and seism, that to circulate lies and suppress the truth has deprived him of his strength and of every vital occurence the world played the game of the master class over. whose motto has ever been "divide and

Long before the time of Christ a necessity of taking Carl Marx's words Greek slave wrote an apt phrase that at their face value and unite. The world has passed down to us, "Dogs fight wolves they are united," and what the and their intrigues and open plans of proletariat needs is to develop dog

If you will put 100 sheep into a corral and throw down some hay for them to munch on, you can kill, skin and quarter them one by one and there will be no bleat of protest. But try that with 100 hogs in a corral, and the first squeal from the first hog you lay your hands on, will bring all the other 99 upon you in battle array. What the proletariat needs is to develop hog attained long ago.

It is proper and natural that these An old spanish proverb says, "In the should be differences of opinion as to blind man's country the one eyed man methods, tactics, and strategy, but if is king." Hitherto the one eyed man you are united as to the end to be has been the capitalist, but in Russia grained, there should be unity even there have risen two eved men, and with diversity as to the meens to attain they are beginning to open the closed stand this, that they send their Judas-two eyed men are becoming a large spies into organized labor to foster the class among the workers, and to the life and to maintain him as a laborer. spirit of seism and division and ad, two eyed men appears the vision of vocate only improved conditions, better unity, and with that unity comes the wages and shorter hours and recognize real strength of the workers.

Unemployed, hungry and chilly boobs evercoats, six pairs of trousers and six who voted for Harding will be made fancy vests. warm, wealthy and happy by reading the following news item.

HARDING'S TAILOR IS BUSY.

President elect Warren G. Harding has begun ordering presidential clothes. Gettum of Toledo, who has been tailor tion with the Communist International,

Two cutaway coats, one frock coat; 'every day' suits, three 'every day' will belong, it is said.

The cartoon "Surplus" in last week's Toiler was taken from the January

Christiania.-The labor party of Nor-Here is his list as given out by Paul way has split on the question of affiliato form a new party. The others detwo dinner coats, two dress suits, one finitely affiliated with the Communists. The dissenting 200 are preparing the

vests for dinner and dress suits, eleven most of the labor leaders in Parliament



WORDS OF PRAISE

Are returning to us now.

The Toiler Cartoon Books are arriving at their destinations and, judging by the letters we are receiving from our satisfied comrades, they more than fulfill all expectations.

"A book I'll always keep", says one comrade.

PRICE \$1.00

The newspaper reports state that Mr. Schwartz intends to tell American workers what a terrible thing Bolshevism is. Undoubtedly he will be ably assisted by the capitalist press. In fact he might even get a good job doing the telling at so much per tell. Several others from the ranks of the Socialist Party now hold very lucrative jobs in that line, why not Mr. Schwartz?

A few years ago a "comrade Schwartz" landed in Cleveland immediately becoming active in socialist work editing the local's weekly paper. Shortly however due to his suspicious financial methods and because of charges of financial deliquency prefered by other locals "comrade" Schwartz was investigated. He found it now starving American workers into ac convenient to leave for parts unknown before the investigation

Are Capitalist's and Worker's Interests Identical?

By Malcolm Inglis.

Some of our Bourgeois economists, are making strenuous efforts to hypnotize the workers into the belief that the interests of the workers and employer are identical, and that they should get

Let us analyze this statement and see if it is correct, The present state of society is composed of two classes that are diametrically opposed to one another. It does not require very much intelligence to see the marked distinctheatres, homes, etc., but to show these class antagonisms you have to go deep-

Statistics show us that the wealth of this country is conscentrated into a few hands in the shape of mines, mills, and factories, while on the other hand we omical exploitation and not political have the mass of the people who go to make up the bulk of the population who are wage workers who lack the ownerblind eyes of the workers of the world ship of the means of production, but who make their living by selling their and is driving them towards an unity labor power to the master who takes no that they should, had they not been part in the production, of commodities. misled by blind "labor leaders," have

We know that man has to have food. lothing and shelter, and the lack of these things bring misery, poverty, and disease to him, so in order to obtain mills, mines and factories and parti- products cipate in the production of commodities. For the time spent in this production in wages to purchase the necessities of So we see that the workers are dependthe capitalist class because of the fact Haiti. that the Capitalists have control of the means of wealth production, while they remain propertyless proletarians.

in this society. Now let us see what is the value of labor power. Marx tells us that "the value of laboring power is determined by the value of necessaries Two hundred delegates to the congress, tain, and perpetuate their laboring in session here, walked out and decided power." At times, due to the supply of labor being greater than the demand, the average we can say with certainty, mine companies' property. that the workers receive the value of their labor power. Thus you see your changes like any other commodity, such as wheat, clothing, fuel, etc. Only labor power is measured by the piece or time. Labor power is bought to make a profit out of, as the Capitalist is not in business for philanthropic reasons.

Now enters our free democratic wage propaganda, and exclaims with glee, Well, if I get the value of my laboring power, how am I exploited? To this we haste to reply: The value of laboring power under the Capitalist system is just sufficient to keep the slave in food, clothing, and shelter, and to reproduce its kind. But now we come to is distinct from all other commodities as measures of relief. because it posesses that peculiar prop erty of being able to produce more than its value. What the worker produces and what he receives as a reward for his labor are two different things. The difference between what he produces and what he receives is surplus value, or the exact amount of his exploitation. This surplus value is taken by the Capitalist class who do not take any part in its production, but enjoys the fullness thereof, because of the private ownership of the means of production, which is the cause of all wars, poverty, and misery prevailing in present day society. Still we hear Bourgeois economists prating of the identical interest of Capital and Labor! What a paradox! Such a society cannot long exist. As on as sufficient class consciousness manifests itself in the ranks of the workers Capitalism will'be forced to

give way to Communism.

A mass meeting held in Boston last week was one of many demanding the reopening of trade relations with Russia. "Thousands of workers will be em ployed thru the opening of trade," said

The Post Office Department has sued a warning to postmasters to use caution in hiring employes as it says the United Communist Party has in structed its members to secure positions in post offices, Maybe Mr. Burleson fears some direct action efficiency might be instituted.

The blockade that President Wilson hoped would starve Russians into an ac ceptance of his ideas of Democracy, is cepting the Soviet idea of a workingclass government.

How long can Wilson and his backers



Normalcy.' will not reduce the price of cigars unless the tariff's removed say the manufacturers. The 5 center will never return, say they. This will be together and be friends and everything cheering news to the penniless guy who is compelled to 'roll his own.'

> A "Drink More Milk" campaign is on in Akron. Doubtless thousands of babies will coo their approval. But what's really needed in Akron is a "Uso More Rubber" campaign, so that Dad and Brother can get the price of milk,

As a measure to keep Democracy safe from the Irist, British military easures provide for the carrying of Irish hostages in all automobiles in which tions in these two classes in the streets. British Black and Tans ride. This is to prevent attacks.

The Lake Carriers Association is proposing to 'request' Congress to reer down into economics, that is, of the peal the Seamen's Law as applied to the Great Lakes. Whose Congress is this

> The Senate Judiciary Committee is grilling Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and other Department of Justice officials regarding their "illegal practices" in the "Red Raids" of a year ago, as charged in the Walsh re-

> Mines in the coal mining regions of the Southwest are closing down. The reason is of course that everyone has all the coal they need and the miners have all of life's comforts.

Lumber operators in the Northwest are cutting wages in the woods and

One in every four American farmers have been made bankrupts by the decline in the price of their products. One million five hundred thousand farm them the wage worker must go into the ers are paying the price of a return to "normalcy." They can't sell their

And there are three million unemployed city workers who, because they the end. So well do the masters under-eyes of labor all over the world until of commodities he receives just enough have no jobs, cannot buy these products. So the farmer goes bankrupt while the city worker starves.

> Senator Johnson of California has introduced a resolution in Congress for ent in the present state of society on an investigation of the activities of American soldiers in Santo Domingo and

> The Buffalo Board of Education has dismissed Miss Julia C. Pratt a teacher of seventeen years service, for her communist ideas. The charges against Miss We have seen that the workers sell Pratt state that because of her beliefs in communism, she is "an unfit person their labor power to a master for wages to inculcate the principles of patriotism in the minds and hearts of her pupils."

> > And we are told that the purpose of public schools is education!

"Patriotism is the last resort of scoundrels." It seems that scoundrels have required to produce, develope, main taken charge of the public schools-therefore of the children.

The United Mine Workers in a statement, declare that the presence of 1,500 militiamen near Jasper, Ala. where a strike has been on for four months, the Capitalists take advantage of the is only for the purpose of creating a reign of terror and to break the strike. opportunity and reduce wages, but on The state has already expended over half a million dollars

Three million unemployed workers means there are ten to fifteen millions labor power is a commodity and ex of suffering people in this country-which it is boasted can feed the world!

> The Secretary of the City Rent Commission of Cleveland states that the position of tenent and landlord is now reversed. Instead of complaints of high rents from the renters, the landlords now complain of inability to collect rents,

Representatives of the western railways are now at Washington in interslave after being doped with Bourgeois views with the Senate Committee on Immigration. They want to make arange ments to station representatives at Ellis Island for the purpose of influencing immigrants to take up farming in the west.

The British unemployment army increased by 85,000 in one week. The situation is becoming tense and the unemployment committees are refusing to co-operate with the government in methods of relieveing the impending catastrophe. The government proposed a benefit insurance of 15 shillings to un the rub. The commodity, labor power, employed and a shortening of hours and reduction of wages of those employed

> The drive for low wages and long hours continues as the factories remain closed and others shut down.

But of course this in only part of the profits of a world war for Democracy.

What I Saw In Russia

By GEORGE LANSBURY Editor London Daily Herald

PRICE \$1.50.

A general survey of conditions in Eussia obtained in a two menth's sojum by the noted Editor of England's greatest Labor Paper. The difficulties of transportation, general condition of labor, problems of food and health are described. The cultural activities of the Soviet Government, showing its great results even in the midst of war, pestilence and bleckade are thouroughly discussed. Address The Teller.

A Shelf of Book Bargains Priced for Propagandists

NICOLAI LENIN, HIS LIPE AND WORK, Zinovieff, 25c .- 6 for \$1.00.

COMMUNISM AND CHEISTIANISM, Bishop Wm. M. Brown.

COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY, Kollontay.

OLD ORDER IN EUROPE, NEW OEDER IN RUSSIA, Price. 10c .- 20 for \$1.00.

INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Mary Marcy.

SLANDER OF THE TOILERS, Kirkpatrick. 5c.-40 for \$1.00. Make up a dollar order from one, two or more titles and send it in today.

These are specially priced for individual propagate every comrade who is interested in distribution aid every comrade who is interested in by making prices just as low as possible.

The Children's New Year's Party

By Mary Heaton Vorse.

On New Year's Day I learned for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-of given up their New Year's holiday and learned the meaning in terms of flesh for the children. When they were and blood, or organization and solidar- playing not loss than seven babies were

these words which I have spoken so ducted the music. organization.

perienced organizers shook their heads, and he too conducted with his fat It was something new. They were not fore-finger. sure of a response from the mothers | There was one thing they all told and children. So the people in charge of the party worked in the dark as to cumbers.

Would the children and mothers and a pianist for every hall, and for every ball there was an entertainment. and also a film given to the children Ly Charlie Chaplin himself.

was at a hall on Clinton Street. As I walked along I saw children as far as my eye could reach.-Children swarming up to the doors of the hall. they didn't open the doors-it was were trying to break their fathers' or nearly the time that we had set.

I fought my way through the children, surging waves of children inundated me. The door to the hall was break the workers' organizations closed because by half past one it had been filled to capacity. It was so in every one of the five halls. The would grow up in industrial slavery. children of the Amalgamated rolled This is what the manufacturers are up in masses far beyond capacity, far, beyond anything we had dreamed. In close the doors, no performance at the children was suffocuted by the couldn't come in. There was one beau children themselves.

"Next time." a policeman at the Great Central Palace said to me, "you

new. I had never seen a children's candy. audience like this before. I had seen I cannot bear to think about then school rooms full of children, but I had never tooked down from a plat- And they had all come in so beautiform into a sea of eager exciment. They were sitting on their mother's treasure of their enthusiasm, and be-laps, cramming the aisles, sitting on cause there were so many of them cach other's laps, jammed. Their fath, they were disappointed. And we had ers standing, filling up the space Le-

in the middle of the hall.

I never saw so much leveliness to the men at the doors held back the ether. There were babies in swading clothes and there were boys of hob- in a deluge. bledy hoy age, groups of six year old How kind every one was and how and ten year old, and entrancing applechecked two three, and four year olds. kind girls' orchestra played one thing Their eyes all said, "Oh, we've come after another, songs every one knew,

It was their eagerness that broke er" and "The Long Long Trail." one's heart. For children like these And these little girls in the back of nothing would be good enough, neither the hall sang to us who were on the the greatest musicians nor greatest ar platform trying to lead the singing. tists. They were ready to be soaked We sang to them. They sang to us .with beauty. They were ready to drink The audience of babies, little children music. They were ready to bless any and big girls swaving in time to the joke with their laughter.

Side children. They had a flaming conscious of the crowd, drowned in last drop of blood. He added that responsiveness, a loveliness, a quick music. I became friends with these ness that made you feel as if the sea girls with whom I sang, though I obstacle in our path." Turning to Calof life was washing about you.

that will remain with me always, of my new year. Faces of children that are stamped upon my mind like the faces of old friends. The first picture is that of gamated came to me. It came out Domingo, voiced a protest against the hall itself. Of the uneasy, rippling, falshing like a light. Here in this hall American occupation of that island and the revolutionary syndicalists of France of children and mothers. I shall not in which the workers were engaged. In Street make Mexico "an American Po- provocateurs. Here, in this country, forget their beautiful expectancy, their fighting the rapacity of the manufact land."

Louis Fraina was accused of we responsiveness, their naturalness, their naturalness, their naturalness, their principal speech was made by for the Department of Justice. lack of self-consciousness, It was like children. These were just a few of a company of dancing, happy flames, them. There were hunderes and thous- referred to the many recent, visits of ists and labor fakers work hand in Their applause and their laughter and ands of others just as lovely, just as capitalists to Mexico and the receptions hand with the capitalist governments.

only to sing to children like that. If Juts out our eyes, It blunts us, twists

I could play or sing I would beg to our backbone, malms us body and to allowed to play and sing to the could be the could be been but our time a child is been abilities of the Plast side. These child-the uses dips back into a fresh beauty of a could be included. They of areation. What was gains to happen the life in the cutertainment, and to these shiftput Were live going to noted passificent with happiness. I have to fight over the battle that and location in the mest stopid and been fought already?

who, through removed they have for their Levitage a strong to be part of the parters organization. Here and suick to build Sinits like these shiften mate one to one in mit that never one linch of dream. What if all the forces of an Atound prived con he late.

years? How much of this responsiveness would follow them trough life?

Our music was a volunteer orchestra the first time the full significance of from a girls' club. These girls had America, I learned more than this. I had come with their director to play gravely keeping time like band masters. I learned this because I translated From their mothers' arms they con-

often into terms of children's lives. On One had escaped. I remember he New Year's Day the locked-out clothing was dressed in a white shirt and yellow workers of New York gave a New trousers that must have been all of Year's party to the children of the four inches long. He had apple checks and a top knot of pale yellow floss, When preparations were made for and he stood absorbed, swept up. by But in my sympathy for you I will make four to five thousand children, ex- the music, in the middle of the hall,

us every moment of the afternoon. It was, "We love music and laughter. We love beauty. Our love of such club." Would the children and mothers things is what has made art possible come? No one knew. Anyway all the down the ages. Our love of these were hired. There were play directors were children of the Golden Ages. We have pever had enough music. We have these things, for as our bodies cannot grow without food so our spirits cannot thousands. They swamped us. My place get to their full stature without beau-

As I looked at them I dreamed dreams. They made me feel as if everything was possible for humanity. Then I remembered that there was a The doors were closed I wondered why lockout and that the manufacturers ganization. That the manufacturers were to reduce wages a third. That there was a conspiracy on foot to throughout the country so that children trying to do. This is the way they began the new year.

one of the halls where they didn't There are other pictures besides these happy ones that I shall still less forget all was possible. The performance for It is the faces of the children who tiful little boy looking up at the police man and saving in a frightened, in credulous tone, "Oh, can't I see the better hire Madison Square Garden." pictures?" There were rows and rows "Next time," said another police of patient children who wouldn't go man, "you better hire Central Park." away, hoping that if they waited long As I looked at the crowd in the hall enough they would yet get a chance to I realized that I was seeing something see Charlie Chaplin or get a box of

> treasure of their enthusiasm, and beeen afraid of empty hells!

One of my best pictures is that of a crowd of beautiful eight year-old dining room from one end to the other that struggle which is the struggle of PARTIAL INVESTIGATION. that we thought we would be able to girls standing on chairs singing. The as Carrillo sat down and Gompers scow clear away the chairs and have games audience left very slowly. Downstairs led helpless rage. The official transthe children were getting calenders lator at the banquet did not translate where palpitates the national soul of There never was such an audience and boxes of candy. It took time. So into English a word of Carrillo's speech

patient! They sat down again and the to have such a good time!" "Old Black Joe," and "Swannee Riv-

music. The children on the chairs sang I don't believe that the world holds from their toes to the crowns of their enywhere such children as the East heads, their heads thrown back, undon't know their names.

There are pictures of this New Years Their lovely joyfulness will be part

bappy ocean composed of the faces was the beating heart of the conflict said that the workers must not let Wall their singing had a sportaniety that beautiful. Here we could see the mirror I had never before seen equalled.

of what human beings were made to be If I were an artist I would wish bu. Life takes us and twists us. It

But I have novam seen so sorterperiods. Uncludently in its solidof a Honor as the conghildren, arity. There is no gift that can be Doy did atmost him transferring to handed down to them like this gift of handed down to them like this pift of solidarity. The workers louit together the solidarity of the workers louit together the solidarity of the workers louit together the solidarity of the solidarity. The workers louit together the solidarity of Proley and Tariat Crash! crash! fell the blows on the!

(Continued from page 1) house or farm he wanted he simply sent Proley to knock the owner on the streamed with blood. It did not seem if he did not kill his master. Still he skull and take it. But Mr. Ploot was more genteel. He beating and live.

never went marauding without suitable expressions of regret. When he wanted another house or farm-he would make an occasion for the owner to affront going to his weak neighbor's house, by an extremely painful duty. You themselves. have offended me. You will agree with me that you ought not to go unpunished You should consider what I do as judgement on you for your misconduct. your punishment as light as possible. This place will henceforth belong to me. work for me. Let me persuade you to give up peaceably so that Tariat wil not be obliged to brain you with his

The neighbors generally gave up peaceably, and it is true that they halls available for New Year's Day things is as fresh and new as if we vastly preferred Mr. Ploot and Tariat terrible beating. I am not your enemy, the ripples of sinew when he stepped to Mr. King and Proley. Thus they plundered their neighbors, Mr. Brown, never had enough laughter. Give us Mr. Black, Mr. Red, Mr. Yellow and keeps you stupid and ignorant: he who sky. His eyes shone like the dawn of even Mr. White.

These raids went on for many years lands did not belong either to Mr. King or Mr. Ploot. Mostly, however, been in the game longer. Now the two fight any more." masters had no one to raid but each! other, Mr. Ploot kept telling Mr. King take the clubs away from the apes. Mr. to him." King refused, for he did not trust Mr. Ploot, partly because he had seem him too busy fighting. rob too many neighbors, and partly because he had robbed to many himself.

So each master had the ape sleep in front of his bedrom door with his club by his side. Each knew the fight was coming.

Mr. King started it. Driving Proley ahead of him he tramped ove Mr. ing where Tariat was working peaceably. Proley brought down his heavy club on the back of the unsuspecting rage, to the stable to get his own club. He came back with it and the fight began, Mr. King and Mr. Ploot stood behind their apes in the Ploot wheatto how they were to use their clubs. Hour after hour the fight went on.

GOMPERS AND MEXICAN

REDS.

(Continued from page 1.)

cannot, we will go out with dynamite

bombs and arms in the hand and get

Yells of applause filled the elegant

and the guests immediately began to

leave the tables, the dinner already

"Mother" Jones spoke just before

the church, the Red Cross and the Y.

and Christ has not heard them. Now

they are going to depend on themselves.

And they are not going to stop until

they have taken over all the indus-

Luis N. Morones in finished oratory

erimes in Santo Domingo, Haiti and the

West Indies generally and said, "The

Mexican working class is determined to

"American capitalism is the greatest

les who has just spoken, he said, "We

Calles nor Senor Calles." Tremendous

tries," was one of her parting shots.

t the other way."

having been finished.

Sometimes one would seem to be

sheer exhaustion and lick their wounds. him. Then he would take Tariat and While they were doing so their masters would shout revilings at each other to lowered his club. would say, "I find myself confronted keep up the spirits of the apes and

The sun was going down. The masters glanced at it and shuddered, for wheatfield. they feared the night. In the darkness anything might happen-all the Blacks, the Browns, the Whites, the Reds and it was as if he saw a change change the Yellows, the neighbors they had But you may go on living here. You will their apes against them. Again they was shaken from his shoulders; the low glanced at the sun and shuddered, for they feared the night.

Then Mr. Ploot, who was much the

cleverer of the two, had an idea. "Proley!" he shouted to Mr. King' I am your friend. Your real enemy is your master, Mr. King, It is he who makes you work so hard and takes the best of everything for himself. Don't a star like the star of morning. until there were no neighbors left whose try to kill poor Tariat. Tariat is your brother. Kill your master, Kill Mr. King red-red as the blood of heroes. and you will be free and happy. Kill they belonged to Mr. Ploot, for he had Mr. King and you will never have to divine young man sprang a hymn of

Mr. King was furious.

Still Mr. Ploot kept shouting: "Proley, kill your master and the dreadful fight will be over. Tariat and us both be free!"

I are your friends." As the fight went on, these words did. his club doggedly, his head hummed list, the ape, listened. Ploot's wheatfield one Summer morn- with the tune: "Kill your master and you will be free."

Tariat, who ran, roaring with pain and had been an advantage at the start but him, and the whole would belong to- a helpless, defenseless juvenile, is a now that he was tiring Tariat's lighter us.' field shouting orders to their apes as Tariat to do as he pleased had made a fiercely at his master. As he glowered quicker of hand and eye than Proley, on the handle of his club.

co, eminently democratic, composed of

rors of the past, this government, I say,

all the world-in its tendencies- is

ficials of the A. F. of L. when Calles

close of his speech, however, Calles re-

his gestures are vigorous and forceful.

Gompers got a few scattering cheer

but enthusiasm for him was lacking.

Only once did he receive generous ap-

plause. That was when he denounced

ernment headed by Obregan, De la Hu-

erta, Calles and Villareal merits the

respect of all the peoples of the world."

"SPY" SCREAM THE BUREAU

CRATIC SCREECH OWLS.

were also accused of being spies and

Louis Fraina was accused of working

(Continued from page 1.)
All over the world it is the

He is considered a Radical.

all countries.'

Carrillo and lambasted the capitalists, later paid a tribute to Gompers. At the

M. C. A. in typical style. "The work- ceived a big personal ovation. He is a

ers have been praying to Christ for help powerful figure, has a heavy voice and

flayed American capitalism for its intervention and said that "the gov

call him Comrade Calles, not General thing. The yellow Socialists and "labor

Calles, the host of the banquet. He All over the world the yellow social-

Communism and Christianism: Analyzed and Contrasted

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mary books ever issued. "It comes like a meteor across

Then Proley's dull wits told him that skulls of the two apes. Their bodies Tariat's club would surely kill him

possible that they could endure such waited, for the old fear of his master was strong. But the new fear of death was stronger. At last, he wheeled, and getting the better of it; sometimes the with a single sudden stroke of his club, other. Sometimes both would stop from he struck Mr. King dead where he

Mr. Ploot yelled with triumph, Tariat

The sun flamed red splendour from places. the west; A hush fell on the land. The two apes stood still in the trampled Then befell a wondrous thing.

As Tariat looked at his brother a come over his body. The coarse brown robbed, might band together and send hair fell from his sides; the ugly stoop forehead cleared and broadened. Gone was the shaggy shape of Proley and in his place Tariat beheld a young man of wondrous strenght and beauty. His skin was dazzling white. Strong and supple ape, "Proley, why do you endure this were his muscles. The lines of his body, or moved were like poetry set to noble music. He lifted his face toward the a summer day. And on his forehead was

> Only the star on his forehead wa Then from the lips of this strong,

"Brothers!" he said, "we are broth "Liar!" he velled, "Hypocrite! ers. Why have we fought? Why should that he was ready to call it a draw and Cheat! Scoundrel! Proley, don't listen we fight? We are not ugly. We are not stupid. We are not cruel. We are bean Proley had no time to listen. He was tiful. We are strong. We are brave have we been slaves? Oh brother, let

> Thus sang the young man with the beautiful body like a tower of ivory nevertheless, sink into the dull brain and the red star gleaming on his foreof Proley, and though he kept swinging head like the blood of heroes. And Tar-

> And his master listened-and tremb led as he listened. His lips moved. His Tariat was beginning to get decidedly throat rattled hoarsely as he tried to the better of it. Proley's heavier club say: "Tariat! dear, dear Tariat, kill

club rained the blows on him faster But Tariat stood, his lower teeth than he could return them. Besides, the set agleam on his upper lip, his head best of her opportunity. Thus, children whole days which Mr. Ploot had given bent foreward, and his eyes glowering net over eight or nine years old are of capitalist brutality have no chance

Tariat to do as he pleased had made a liercely at his master. As he give eleverer ape of him so that he was the muscles of his hairy fist tightened five o'clock in the morning to do the only half on hour a day is allowed for given to them and said. "The represent-1 They are always ready to sell the rethis occasion, The government of Mexi-

Comrades, your officials have accused men who have sustained a formidable your most class-conscious fellow-workers struggle against the traditions and erof being spies and provocateurs. They sustains and will encourage always DEMAND PROOF, DEMAND AN IM-

the proletariat. In the proletariat of actionary machine. Who knows? You emaciation. Tru Loud and prolonged cheers followed might be the next on the list if you 'liberal' in that scant and came mainly from the of-

own safety and for the safety of the

discord at a time when we need unity. They are creating suspicion at a time when we need faith in one another. They are trying to kill the activities of the revolutionary workers at a time when their activities are needed most. They are playing into the hands of the

Comrades, let us stand shoulder to shoulder, solid as a rock against the our fullest support to our courageous

> Group of Workers of the of America.

atives of capital are not found here on volutionary workers to the capitalist

Comrades, the officials are sowing

OF OUR OFFICIALS. LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WORKERS!

> Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 39, Chicago, Ill.

"Charity"

By Jane B. Lee.

THE JUVENILE WARDS OF THE STATE. (Third Article).

In the privious chapters we dwelt apon the artifices culminating in the placing of proletarian children in charity institutions; we will now point out the havoe wrought upon them in those

As already indicated, commitment to

an institution is made by court. Whether

the unfortunates are sent to a public or private institution, the former attaching to them the stigma of pauperism in addition to all the other questionable blessings, depends on a legal tech nicality requiring what is known as a settlement if placed in a private institution. A settlement means that the family must have resided at least three years in the state and one year in the city. As proletarians are a nomadie group, not because of some specific trait of character, but because of their social position which makes intermittant employment an established institu- children taken 'care' of by a private tion, the jobless are, very frequently, agency are, as a rule, placed in justi compelled to change both their occupations and places of abode, the result being that no permanent abode is ac Children, Homes for Protestant Child. quired in a large majority of cases and ren; in fact, there are Homes for nearly the children are thereby automatically every nationality. The Catholic Home, reduced to pauperism by having the for example, is under the direction and State take charge when ordered re- superintendance of the Catholic Church, moved from their homes.

Up to and including 1915 the State week for each 'ward,' as the children and wise. We are kind. Our hearts are in country homes. Two dollars for full of love for the whole world. Why board, lodging and care are not much of an inducement, as any one can testify, but here is where bourgeois reunder five years does not consume much: the child above that age (the State takes it for granted) can supplement that amount by performing some labor. And, sad to state, it really does, frequently paying an exorbitant price however, is not at all commensurate fot its 'keep.'

woman, somehow manages to make the dragged out of their beds at four or for play or recreation. In some cases wards are often kept unclear, often all other child requisites), various bunked in the poorest quarters, and punishments are provided, such as still more often discriminated against going without a meal, elimination have pointed out one in particular. in the matter of food. The consequence the half-hour open-air luxury, even corof all this is that they soon become eneamic, then sickly-looking and if all-It is not this individual or that in- owed to remain any considerable length dividual who is attacked. It is anyone of time, the effects are seen in stunted and everyone who dares oppose the re- growth, stooped shoulder ad general

keeps on its i... Your welfare is at stake. The wellitors, so called, whose function it is fare of your union is at stake. For your to visit and report on the 'good qualities' or otherwise of the homes visited, organization demand that they furnish but in reality this amounts to a mere sham and bitter irony. Allowing the and effect. niggardly sum of two dollars per week for its wards' maintenance, the state visitors of the Home. Weakened by anticipates treatment in accordance lack of proper nourishment, fresh air, with it, but money is the highest object undue physical strain, propingity to

> But if the childrens' physical development is thus grossly neglected, we have quite a different story to tell of epidemics in particular. about their spiritual growth.

The State demands, if you please, that the children attend church regu- Children merely because, with some bosses and corrupt officials. Let us give larly; it provides further that each slight variations, it is typical of all inward attend the church of its parents, stitutions. In all fairness let us emfellow-workers of New York, Boston, Is not that the height of magnanimity phasize the fact that it is no more en and tolerance? Never mind the frugal than others of its kind. WE SHALL CONQUER IN SPITE meal received, the State insists that All of them, without exception, the ward say 'Grace' and thank the legitimate excrescences of the bourge 'Lord' for what He gave (or did not order which causes, organizes and main-

This vigilant and patriarchal care The hundreds of thousands of dollars hs one very encouraging, nayay, in- expended on this piece of abominat spiring feature: after some length of how obtained and spent, will be time the ward begins to develop un subject of our next chapter.

mistakable symptoms of imbecility and tion for the feebleminded instead of private home. The harm done becomes constitutional, as it were. Another marked effect of this innoculation the moral degeneracy which seems to keep time with the whole damnable affair.

The child, thrown among stran with no love, consideration or anything in the nature of sentihent, an esse element in juvenile life, becomes much hardened; To avoid scoldings punishments of various kinds, of even hard blows, it reserts to trickery and every sort of unnatural means of self-defense, which tend to develop into permanent anti-social traits of character, so much so, that one invariably distinguishes the institutional child from that of the normal home We will now turn to the private in

stitution. Practically the same policy is pursued by both public and private agencies. There is, however, one oss tial difference between them: The tutions instead of country homes. Thus, there are homes for Destitute Catl Sisters Superior' are in charge of the victims condemned to it and priests allowed the sum of two dollars per minister to their religious training. If State wards fare miserably, they are are called. The wards are usually placed fortunate indeed, compared with the Home 'charges.' There the little are almost exclusively on a 'heavenly' dist. Instead of rising at four-five A. M. to do chores, which at least has the sourcefulness comes to its rescue. A child advantage of the open air, as in the case of the State wards, the inmates of the Home are awakened at the same early hour for the purpose of prayer. Actual, tangible nourishment is the poorest obtainable, the work required, with it. Girls, nine-ten years old, are made to scrub floors, clean windows. On a farm an extra worker, especially help in the kitchen, perform numerous mighty valuable asset and the boarding practically kept up on the labor of these poor, little creatures. What with prayer chorus. Theoretically the State is pled- open air exercise, weather permitting. ged to prohibit such child-labor, but For every kind of disobedience or inprartically it is well aware of its exist- fraction of the Home regulations in ence and connives in it because of the which it abounds (evidently to comfinancial consideration. In addition, the pensate for the lack of food, play and poreal punishment is permissable.

The boys' lot is even harder than that of the girls. They are treated more harshly in every respect; their punishment, especially is of a severer nature; n compliance with the theological docof vis-which supposedly, are even more deeply roted in the male than in the female.

That such treatment must be frought with disaster is but the law of es

Epidemics, for instance, are frequent and it must be attained at all hazards, others similarly constituted, make the Home inmates an easy prey to tagion and the consequence is a high-

We referred to the Home for Catholic

tains them for its own sweet existance.

Communist Party of Russia

(Continued from page 2.)

conducts an unremitting controversy with the Orthodox Church-certainly the most reactionary and the most grossly superstitious form of belief that curvives in the clvilled world. The women and the older peasants begin by regarding the Communists as "Anti-Christs." but discussion often wins, the soung people. It is probably crude and nucalightened to begin with, but where ever lectures can be found, the Communists are trying to jive the injeces some notions of popular schemes. The fatture of the private to get rain by prayer should the faith of some villages during this year's drought. Even more shattering to faith was a test to which is some hely shrines the Church rashly submitted. It had taught that the bodies of canonized saints remain co. corrupted in their graves until the Resurrection. When the slatines were opened, the saint, of course, turned out to be only merial duc. The village priests have a bad more for their grasping and acquisitive habits, and they are raidy loved. They are, indeed, little more than eastern officers on the freetiers of the next world, who take tell from paxious travellers. On that evil reputation the Communicts play, and combat landlord, "Kuluh" and priest, as the united explorer, the peasant.

stagers to the Soviet. A progressive village elects youngsters, thinking they are now the rulers. In my village," she went on, "the priest worked hard to carry his own list. The younger people came forward against Jim with the cry, 'Are you going to vote for the man, who used to take your last crest? He was meterly defeated. Even his sons have come over, and are organizing village plays, 'working for the ana thoma' as their father says."

This anti-clerion, struggle has its ngly side. It was not pictry to see the young laughing at the old, us they erossed themselves before a shrine in the mai street of Vladimir. Yet any advance in Russia can be purchased only by a sharp breach with the mediaeva past. I got a glimpse in these villages of a cleavage primitive, that we for the west can barely with a effort understand it. The Communists are strugglin to cross the gulf between the twelfth century and the twentieth. They stand for rationalism, for an intelicent system of entitivation, for education, and for a active ideal of scoperation and social service; againsuperstition, were, illiteracy, and passive obedien-This elementary struggle matters, it seems to me, it finitely more in Russia than the controversial issue which divide Marshevika and other intellectuals fro the Communiciae Youth is ranged a princt age in the Villague, and the battle is really one between an Ories tal conservation and a modern and represent they o life, Leuin continues the unfinished work of Pefer D H. N. Brailsford

Profestal the Work of Poter The Crest. tilled sy william . " said and of these morphs perhature "has its own character. A had stard village elects off

elety said best open dereieder month. I min the workers tree the Yest to obliden.

the people is the force of most long the workers translated to a like the part of them. There is no ment. The clothing workers are first provided the force of most long to the force of the whole move that the people is the force of make. The work-under fire. They are going to fight the of their creative beautiful and long were in the industry, and the error battle is indivisible. When one the assemble on their organization to would remain a sequenced through a splendid mothers surrounded by their group loses, all lose. When one union the death.