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# The Conspiracy Against Sacco and Vanzetti

gainst two workers whose efforts on co's home in South Stoughton to arschalf of the workingclass have been range for a meeting in Brockton where seleworthy are here set forth by the there is a large Italian colony. o Vanzetti Defense Committee which is raising funds for defense.

The legal presumption of innocence favor of the prisoner at the bar has sled into a myth in these United intes when the prisoner in question is black man in a Southern dock or a breigner in a Northern Court, especialrained by lurid newspapers to expect from one of his race. It is common knowledge that the charge of rape gainst a man of negro blood primes Southern jury or lynching party mmediate action, and that a Northjury does not examine the law and evidence impartially when a murder ecuation is leveled against a member et for so many years. And when the Italian laborer is also listed as a "red"

capital offence than will appear against zetti, two intelligent and hard-working Italians who face trial for their lives at ly in the year.

The formal accusation against these on the 24th of December preceding.

sness of the Secret Service.

Andrea Salsedo and Robert Elia were no young Italian printers of Brooklyn im the agents of Mr. Palmer tre endeavoring to piu the odium and ected to all the rigors of secret examition for more than two months, from ne counsel in place of the unfit Donato who was afterwards reward. fiely branded as a Department of stice accomplice, Mr. Palmer's operatsaw that they would not dare to old the men much longer and at the time they were afraid to release

Tragic Death of Salsedo.

Early in the morning of May 3rd time before dawn, Salsede left prison in a violent and terrible sis body erashing from the on the stope paving below, The I no one from below saw whether he was fully eighty paces away when the a biraself out or was pitched head shooting occured.

The facts in the case of Nicholas Vanzetti, Sacco and other Italians Socco and Bartolemew Vanzetti, two took prompt steps for the release of workingmen of Massochussetts, charged Elia. Mr. Walter Nelles, a member of with murder will be presented by F. G. the New York bar, had been employed Biedenkapp of the Workers Defense in place of Mr. Donato, and plans were Toion of New York, at the North made for mass meetings of protest that Church, 72nd and St. Clair Ave., Cleve- money might be raised to supply the had, Feb. 15th at 8 P. M. Some of the necessary funds for Mr. Nelle's work in facts in this astounding conspiracy / n- New York. Vanzetti came on to Sac-

#### . Arrest Prevents Protest Meeting.

The swift counter attack of the atthorities prevented the meeting from being held. They were arrested in Brockton on the evening of May 5th through the agency of the local police while the memoranda for the handbills advertiswif he is charged with the special kind ing the mass meeting was still in their of crime which the public has been pockets, and they were taken to the Brockton town hall and police station and grilled about their radical beliefs. A temporary charge of carrying revolvers was laid against the men while the authorities east about for some more substantial reason for holding them.

A "red" charge was untactical then

in view of the momentary popular derision over the exploded Palmer prophof that Mediterranean race whose re-ecies of the May Dan Revolution which solution is colored with the fanciful hadn t occured, and the momentary opbe Sunday-Magazine reader's mental authorities fell back on the same methods used in the famous Tulsa oil case against Charles Krieger when the reby the Secret Service the prejudice moval of an agitator was desired. They egainst him is so extreme that the were charged with regular criminal weakest circumstantial evidence is suf- offense. The murders at South Braintree were laid against both men and the Seldon has weaker evidence been additional charge of taking part in the presented against men charged with a Bridgewater affair was placed against Vanzetti who had been more prominent Nicholas Sacco and Bartolomew Van in the agitation over the outrages com-

mitted on Salsedo and Elia. No steps were omitted to clinch the Dedham, Massachusetts, some time ear- charges. Witnesses of the Bridgewater and So. Braintree erimes were brought into the police station where they saw men is that they killed Special Officer the Italian prisoners surrounded by po-Alexander Beredelli and Paymaster A. lice officers. It is well known that Parmenter on April 15th lest in South Italians look more or less alike to the Braintree, Mass., and then made off in eyes of many Yankees, but in spite of an automobile with the \$18,000 payroll this several witnesses said positively that was being conveyed to the Slater that these were not the men they had & Morrill shoe plant nearby. Already seen. But others took it for granted since the arrest a conviction and fifteen that the men the police were holding year acatence has been secured against must be the right men. The police made Vanzetti for attempted murder and them assume the eronching positions essault in connection with an pusue- and other poses that the bandits were resful attack on the pas truck of the said to have taken in action, and then L.Q. White Company in Bridgewater they were placed in an automobile roughly similar to the bandit car and taken over the routes followed April

15th and December 24th.

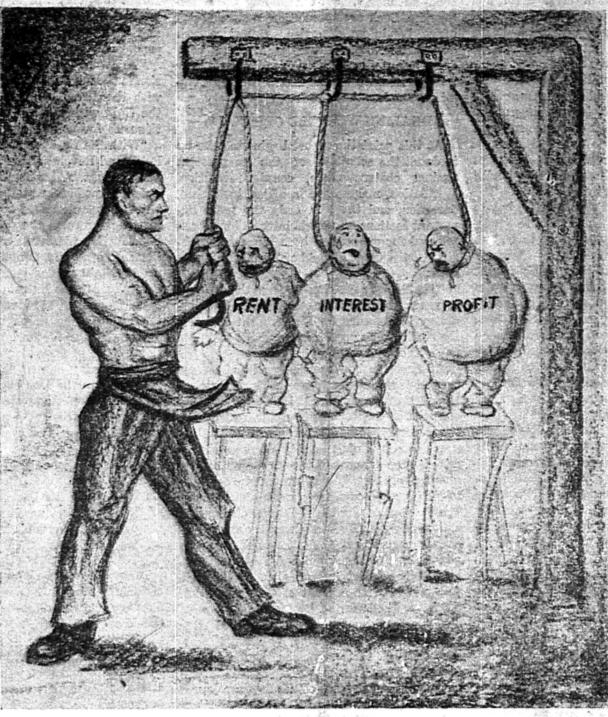
### Parcial Trial of Vanzetti.

Vanzetti was rushed to trial in the following month for the Bridgewater sibility for the abortive May Day attack while the public mind was still eret chambers of the Department of tions of the "foreigner with the muswas given the alibi furnished by eigh in effect, that the American Government would not permit any representative rolled the big-sounding words out of lustice at No. 21 Park Row, and sub tache" were accepted, and no credence mary 25th till early in May. But established his movements for the en political or economic relations. finally the facts about their disappear tire day of December 24th, when he Wher Italians in the effort to secure Bridgewater twenty-eight miles away. State did not see fit to reply, The police collected a thousand deliars

Murder Witnesses Fail. Indictments for the South Braintree ourder followed a preliminary hearing given Sacco before Judge Avery in the after certain things which had East Norfolk District Court, no preliminary hearing being necessary in the use of Vanzetti, already held on the other charge. The indictments were onsed on the doubtful testimony of three employes of the Slater & Morrill Company,-Louis L. Wade, Miss Frances Devlin and Miss Mary C. Splaine

mitted that "I might be mistakenet was almost descrited at the time Page 36, official record.) He said he

(Continued on page 4.)



A JOB TOO-LONG DELAYED.

# Soviet Envoy Martens' Farewell Message to America

By LUDWIG C. A. K. MARTENS.

In taking leave of the United States, I wish to say a word of grateful Labor Goes In For in the ranks than as official head. He delegates did not vote. ons af the Mafia that furnished position to the secret police. So the appreciation for the great personal kindness and courtesy which I have received from many Americans in all vocations throughout the country. It has been a source of constant encouragement to me to find cverywhere men and women who have not allowed hysterical fears or prejudices to move them from their sympathy with the cause which I have represented.

My departure has come as the logical and inevitable consequence of the policy of the American Government toward Soviet Russia. So long as that policy was not declared, so long as I could not secure from any responsible official of labor go in for banking. The "Inthe American Government any frank expression of that policy, my government Law" railroad union officials are back was justified in keeping me here to strive for the establishment of normal of it; the A. F. of L. political and economic relations between the United States and Soviet Russia, back of it; the Independent and the



Ludwig C. A. K. Martens and his Aide, Gregory Weinstein,

and signed by a member of the cabinet, was an unequivocal declaration of pollet of 1919 and the peculiar explosions super-heated with sensational stories icy. The policy thus declared was that which has actually guided the conduct cured on the June 2nd following. about "Italian held-up men." He was of the American Government in the past two years; namely, an absolute refusal They were held without any indict practically convicted before the first to recognize even the de facto existence of the Soviet Government, and a rements or other legal authority, in the witness was called. Vague identificational to permit the resumption of trade between Bussia and America. The decision of the Secretary of Labor was directed not against myself

> teen respectable fellow townsmen who of the Soviet Government to approach America for the purpose of establishing This was the answer to the several communications which I addressed to

but specifically against the government which I represent. The decision said,

gan to leak out. Nanzefti went was too busily engaged in his regular the Department of State immediately after my appointment as the representational was too busily engaged in his regular the Department of State immediately after my appointment as the representation of their individual New York and allied himself with pursuits as fish salesman to be in tive of the Soviet Government in this country and to which the Department of sayings in our bank, the other banks . My mission here would have been terminated much earlier if the Depart-

ment of State had been willing to take the responsibility which was finally assumed by the Department of Labor. This, however, is a curious matter of American official procedure, which I do not pretend to understand. My government accepted this declaration of the policy of the American Government toward Bussia and instructed me to close my bureau and to with to withhold credit if he didn't intro-

draw from the United States without delay.

I have no knowledge of the future plans of the American Government nor can I tell in what direction this policy of ignoring the existence of the his business. Now there's an examp, established government of the largest country in Europe will lead. I know that the Soviet Government is more firmly established, beyond fear or danger of foreign or internal assault, than it was on the day when I first approached the American Government on its behalf.

I know further that the industrial add economic conditions of the world not excepting America, are such that the resumption of normal economic rela-In Judge Avery's court Mr. Wade ad. tions with Russia has become an imperative necessity upon all nations. I cannot say how the American Government will solve the problem involved

> I can only say that when the American people are prepared to annearly this problem, the government of the Russian workers and peasants will be ready to meet them in a reasonable and friendly spirit.

# Banking

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

Now it is seriously proposed that The order for my deportation, however, arrived at after long deliberation Literary Digest, the New York Call and the Federationist-yes, and a certain proportion of the rank and file of our American trade unions see in it a big step "forward."

"Why, see here," argued one of its official advocates with me, "why not cline to run. He added that he had just gest Guatemala City as the place of fight capitalism with its own weapons? Our unions are pretty big business organzations. They have hundreds of thousands-several millions in fact, of leave the convention, "I ask you to ex- | Compers and the A. F. of L. machine dues-paying members. Dues are pretty bigh (too high, thinks I). Then there also ask the secretary in my ab- teeth. The Spanish-speaking delegates are strike funds agregating throut the nation many millions of dollars, sickdeath and benefit funds and such, making millions more.

Why should we deposit all that money in capitalist institutions, where it is loaned to our exploiters, and strengthens them at our expense? Every cent we deposit in their banks is just an added cent paid into their bands.

"Then there are labor newspapers and co-operatives to be financed. There are the mortgages on our big Labor temples, and funds and trusts of every description. And besides, the big unions of Germany and Belgium and other European countries have banks, so why

"We could form an International Labor Bank Clearing House (and he his mouth as if the very sound were dear to him), and who knows, if the millions of toilers in the land got the would lose most of their depositors, and we might even be able to compete eapitalism out of existence.

"Why, take the case of the Machinists local that just paid the boss's mortgage; and when the banks threatened duce the open shop, they promised to finance him and became partners in

But I had listened as long as I could and now it was my turn. "Look here," says I, "every strike

nowadays is an outlaw strike, isn't it?' "Yes, but what's that got to do with

"Whit a minute and you'll see Every big union of the A. F. of L., ves, and some so-called "red" unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Work-(Continued on page 3.)

## Inside Story of Gomper's Victory for Presidency of Pan-American **Federation**

By Linn A. E. Gale.

Mexico City, Jan. 17 (By Mail). -Samuel Gompers today won his last vie tory in the Pan-American Federation of

It took almost superhuman efforts to eelect him President of the Federation. Next year it will be an impossibility. It was almost impossible today.

The Latin-American delegates, outnumbered the Americans, were determined not to have Compers head the gates. Pan-American organization again. Lais of the Mexican Federation of Labor and an avowed Socialist, was their choice, and for a time it appeared that Morones would be almost unanimously elected. The prize was in the hollow of his hand. Gompers, seeing the overwhelming sentiment against him, declared he would not accept a reelection. James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L. and an ex-Socialist, who was looked on with favor by some Latin-American delegates, and John Frey, editor of "The Moulders' Journal," had declined nominations. Morones had stated that lay, with his duties in the Mexican Federamen, he feared he could not do justice make the election ananimous.

to the leadership of the Pan-American Carrazeo of Guatemala, gritt and denominated him, had refused to take back the nomination.

Gompers called on Secretary Canuto A. Vargas to read the name of the one acelamation. Dan Tobin, Chester M. Wright, Frey and Lord sat with jaws shut tight. They knew they were help ral American. less and that the representantives of what they wanted.

delegates that he would be freer to reminded Secretary Vargas that he has

he left the matter in the hands of the Guatemala delegate who, of course, would not wifhdraw his name. But now nuto A. Vargas, Spanish-language secbe said that be had already explained retary, was re-named amid general apthat he was unable to give the posi- plause. Chester N. Wright was reclected tion the time it should receive, and without opposition as English language that since Delegate Carrazco had not secretary and James Lord as treasurer.

withdrawn the nomination, he must de- "Foghorn" Tobin then rose to sugreceived a message from President Ob- meeting for the convention of next year regon asking him to come to the Nation and the proposal was unanimously ac al Palace at once and would have to cepted, cuse me for the afternoon," he said, had won again but by the skin of their, sence to record me as voting for Samuel were openly sulky and sore, with a few Gompers."

other Latin-American delegate of suf- "for international reasons," ficient repaintion and ability to pro-pose. He had made a stiff fight and he gates like Albarraein from Colombia, but what could be do?

Santiago Iglesias, head of the Porto the Spanish-speaking delegates and made a fervent appeal for Compers. "The most correct and able man, " "our grand leader?' and other bouquets were thrown at Gompers by the Posto Rico delegate, and he wound up by saying that it would be "a great misfortune" if another President were chosen, especially if such a result came about thru the action of the Latin-American dele-

Then Mother Jones came to the resens N. Morones, the brilliant young lender of Compers with a fiery speech calling on the congress to name him again and make the election unanimous. The convention, admiring the SI-year old rebel who has fought tht battles of the strikers of the United States so many times, forgot its detestation of Gompers in its enthusiasm for "the mother of the

> Lord spake briefly referring to "the peculiar power and influence that be (Gompers) brings into this convention." Gompers, seeing that he was saved, wasted no time in further declinations and seized the opportunity without de-

tion and as head of the government he asked, and without waiting for an munitions plant which employs 9,600 answer, he started to put a motion to

Federation, but had not withdrawn and termined not to give up, was waving Delegate Carrazco of Guatemala, who his hand for another chance. So probody had suggested to him that since Morones had left the hall, it would be possible to stampede the convention for Morones and prevent the machine candidate, Morones. In a moment more stampeding it for Gompers, and he Morones would have been elected by wanted to try it, but Gompers' heavy voice and the thumping of the gavel drowned out the persistent little Cent-

"All those in favour of naking the the rising rebel movement of Mexico election unanimous, raise their hand." and Central South America could do shouted Gompers, and 9 hands went up. "Opposed, the same," and 5 hands Convinced that the buttle was over were raised, among them that of Carand that he must take his medicine as razeo and that of Castro from San Salgracefully as he could, Gompers deliver vador, who had previously declared that the Pan-American Federation mustave a "complete renovation" an serve Pan-American labor as a private "new leaders." About a half of the

Even after the vote had been taken declined the nomination when made Carrazco protested that the convention some time previous and that Morones had disregarded his previous request to was, therefore, the only nomines left in bave a secret ballot taken so that nobody might be afraid to vote against On the very threshhold of the second Gompers, but the Guntemala man was when his name would have been ac. shut off. The machine had triumphed

by acclamation and in short order. Ca-

exceptions such as Iglesias, ulways Morenes left the room and the tide Compers' faithful supporter; Kankardt had tumed. Carrazeo was non-plussed, of Santo Domingo, and Enla io Marti-He had been on his feet several times nez, secretary of the Mexical Federainsisting that the delegates did not tion of Labor, who altho frankly a want Gompers again and that Morones Radical, acquiesced in Morones' deciwas the man of the hour. There was no sion to let Gompers be reclected again

knew that two-thirds were with him, who also represents the Socialist Party of his country, and delegates like Mar-Delegate Gracidas of Mexico again tines, Trevino, Gracidas and Juarez of suggested James Lord but Lord again Mexico, all openly Radicals, let Gomrefused and then nominated Gompers a pers have another term? Why did Mo-(Continued on page 2.)

### Three Steel Strike Books

Which every worker should read are these:

MEN AND STEEL

-By Mary HeNaton Vorse ...... \$1.00 THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE

THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

-Report on the Steel Strike .....

great Steel Strike, the determination, the suffering, the reflex of this gerat social effort in the lives of the men, women and children who waged the lost buttle against the "principality of steel."

Foster's book deals with the strike from the organizer's viewpoint, viewpoint of a new kind of labor leader

The Intercharch Movement Report is that of men who wer all the causes and conditions of the sirike, with multiladinous thousands of facts crammed into 277 pages of an indictment Steel Trast. This report is what caused the capitalists to kill the

> THE 3 BOOKS FOR \$3.00 Order of THE TOILER

# The Anti-Counter - Revolution Committee Informs Russia

FDITORIAL NOTE: The following article . recently appeared in the New York Evening Post and claims to be a translation of a pamph-let entitled "Two Years of Conflict on the Internal Front", issued by the Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution" of Soviet Russia. This review of the activities of the Commission in dealing with the varied activities of counter-revolutionary elements in Russia during the three years of Soviet Rule explains fully the causes which provoked the establishment of this powerful force for the defense of the Revolution and points out the tactics which proletarian revolutions in other countries will probably have to adopt in the struggle with the opposing forces of reaction.

#### "CONDITIONS WHICH CALLED INTO EX-ISTENCE THE ALL-RUSSIAN EXTRA-ORDINARY COMMISSION'

"Every state is an apparatus of violence. "This has always been so, is so, and will be so while the state as such continues in general to exist.

"This will end not earlier than classes disappear together with the class struggle.

"In a society based on classes one class always contests power with the other; the suppressed class attempts to escape from its condition of dependence and to take the place of the class wielding power.

"Therefore a class possessing power must have an apparatus specially adapted for conflict with all forms of discontent, which blaze up sometimes in the vivid flames of revolt and revolution.

The monarchist government overthrown by the February revolution (1917) serves as a clear example of this adaptation for the conflict with other (revolutionary) classes.

"During its many years of existence, it brought this apparatus for conflict with rebellion to a state of perfection.

"A giant who has not yet learned his strength is not dangerous to anyone.

"No one applied this truth better than the former state. All of its energy was directed to the end of rearing the people in ignorance.

"For this end there were at the service of the old government the school, the church, and the barracks.

"The programme of the schools and the text books were all directed to the one purpose of raising obedient and convinced slaves of the ruling class.

"The church continued the work of the schools and up to the door of the tomb held firmly within its tenets the spirit of the and sabotage, many-millioned masses of the people, pressing forward toward the light.

"What part of the free spirit remained alive after the school and the church, the barracks killed.

"Whoever passed through this dual school became a spiritual invalid, a pawn, a submissive tool in the hands of the possessors of

"The strong Russian giant, who had within leaders. him enough latent force to shake the whole . back the bourgeois class, which, like a vampire, sucked the vital energy of the people for its gratification.

"The giant had not yet learned his strength. "But when, despite this clever mechanism, freedom of thought began to appear among the people, they began to beat it out with the lash and to uproot 'treason' by the prison, exile, hard labor, and expropriation, and there was established the apparatus of internal espionage (Okhrana), the secret section, and the special corps of the gendarmes, not to mention the police.

"Such an apparatus was necessary to the ruling class, for only on this basis could it continue its rule.

### AUTOCRACY TYRANNIZED WISELY.

"There was nothing abnormal about this; it was all in the natural course of things and could not be otherwise. To defend existence is a natural and comprehensible phenomenon. It would have been stupidity from their side not to do it. They had enough sense to stand up for themselves.

### "They established their dictatorship.

"But this class had no firm ground under its feet. It was a condemned class, and the February revolution tore the power from its

"Its successors found themselves in no better situation. They were threatened by the workers from beneath and by the Czarist officials from above.

"The February revolution did not destroy classes and the class struggle, but spread the fire still more broadly.

"The state remained a class state and needed an apparatus of compulsion.

"We see how Kerensky established his counter espionage and put people in prison and executed his Bolshevist opponents.

"He established a militia, legalized the death penalty, and blessed the massacre.

"All this was in the order of things: the new power must defend its existence and beat its adversaries.

"The October revolution made the class struggle still sharper. The proletariat hurled its challenge to the entire old world. The struggle became a fight not for life, but to the death. For the class which stood in power, the proletariat, it was necessary to endure attacks by the bourgeoisie of a character never before known. The bourgeoisie fought not only on the open external front, but also in the rear. Opposing both secretly and openly betraying our secrets, and preparing plots, it destroyed our security in the rear, lessened our fighting ability and thus prepared victory for the White Guards on the external fronts.

"The October revolution did not destroy classes; the bourgeoisie was driven from power but not destroyed.

"For the victorious proletariat it was necessary to preserve the state, that apparatus of violence, an apparatus for establishing the achievements of the proletarian dictatorship.

"Hence all further conclusions. This state must create special agencies for conflict with the conquered class, with counter-revolution. This state must have its own army and its own internal espionage.

"Thus a correct understanding of the class struggle and the class state was dictated to us; thus spoke the experience of the former state, which held so long the former power, despite the fact that it was based only on a minority.

#### A PRACTICAL QUESTION.

"The Workers and Peasants' Government correctly estimated the situation and established a special agency for fighting counterrevolutionary disturbances in the rear.

"This agency was created in the form of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter Revolution, speculation,

The need for this agency was felt the more keenly because the Soviet power had no apparatus for spiritual transformation.

"The school remained as formerly. The teaching force and textbooks could not be changed at one stroke. The school continued to work in its former spirit, or, at best, was inactive. The Church, that powerful agency for confusing the free spirit, worked in its

"The masses of the people were still filled sphere of earth, could not throw off from his to a large degree with the old spirit, and could not always break away from their former slave-like thinking, and not infrequently went together with their class enemies against their former comrades. Hence the sharp necessity for an apparatus for compulsion and

> "This was not a fruit of theoretical thinking, but was dictated by vital necessity. It was necessary to beat those who were beating us. More than that; it was necessary to avert possible attacks of counter-revolutionaries, to preserve the life of our comrades and the apparatus of Soviet power. Only hypocrites or idiots would deny the necessity of a special organ for fighting the counter-revolution...

> "The Extraordinary Commission now has behind it just two years of work. This work speaks for itself. Our task is to show this work in its broad outline. Then let every reader judge for himself whether the Soviet power needed this apparatus or not.

### THE COMMISSION'S SCOPE.

"The sphere of work of the Extraordinary Commission was defined by the activities of counter-revolutionary elements. But since there is no sphere of life into which counterrevolutionaries did not penetrate and give evidence of their destructive work, the Extraordinary Commission frequently had to interfere decisively in every sphere of life: in food supply, in transportation, aviation, the Red Army, the fleet, the militia, the schools, consulates, industry, distribution, etc.

concern itself not alone with direct counter- sheviks.

revolutionary activity. There are deeds commited quite without the intention directly to harm the Soviet power, but simply for personal advantage, not considering the consequences. Such are speculation, malpractce in office, banditism, desertion. But since such deeds do the Soviet power no less harm than direct counter-revolutionary activitis, they were prosecuted by the Extraordinary Commission no less than the former."

#### DEALING WITH OLD OFFICIALS.

At this point the report begins to take up in detail the activities of the commission against obstructionism, counter-revolution, speculation, malpractice in office, banditism, desertion, and the like. Only the more important sections of general interest have been selected for publication here. Concerning obstructionist tactics by old officials, the report

"The Soviet power had to force the officials to work. This task the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Fighting the Counter-Revolution took upon itself, and the task was not a light one.

At first the bourgeoisie paid the former officials salaries not to work. Thus, when on the 15th of November, 1917, there began a strike of all the workers in credit institutions, the central administration of the All-Russian Union of Credit Society Workers organized for the support of the strikers a centralstrike committee. This represented a coalition of all groups, beginning with Mensheviks (right wing of the Social-Democratic party) and ending with Kadets (Constitutional Democratic party), and in it the chief role was played by the Mensheviks. A fund for combating the Soviet power was established. (Here follows an account of the method of collection of the fund).

"Only by depriving the officials of this material aid was it possible, by exerting pressure through their stomachs, to force them to submit to the new power. In the second month of the existence of the Soviet power it was finally possible to destroy the source of the fund: and the officials began to get to

"However, obstruction did not cease. Officials often did not work as they should or worked in ways harmful to the Soviet power.

"Obstructionists were shot by us and put in prison; but, despite this, they still conceal themselves from us in considerable numbers and disorganize our apparatus for food supply and transport. Such activity is nothing less than counter revolutionary. It was so considered by the Extraordinary Commission, and obstructionists were punished without mercy. To this struggle the commission devoted its best energies, and is working now in various institutions. There is only one way to get rid of this sore-burn it out with a red hot iron. This the commission is doing.

### FIGHT WITH COUNTER REVOLUTION.

"The October revoluton turned the entire former world upside down... The former slave, the worker, or peasant became master. and the former master became his subject... The land was ceded to the peasants.... The factories were turned over to the whole people. Large capital funds were confiscated in favor of the state. Debts were cancelled.

"Thus the former pomiestchik (estate owner) was left without land and income, the former manufacturer without profits, the banker without percentages, and the Czarist bureaucrat without power, place, or money. They did not relinquish the hope of restoring the old order and went to work for the overthrow of the Soviet power.

"All this brotherhood constituted the direct counter-revolutionaries, those who know what they are after and why, and who cannot fail to fight with their foes-the worker and peasant, who pushed them out of the saddle.

### MODERATE SOCIALISTS ARE STUPID.

"But there is another sort of counter-revolutionaries-those who are counter-revolutionaries for lack of clear thought.

"These are people often sincerely desiring the victory of the working class, but not compreheding how to achieve it. These are all the 'Socialistic' parties consenting to an agreement with the enemies of the working class, the bourgeoisie. There are several such parties among us: Right Socialist-Revolution-"The Extraordinary Commission had to aries, Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Men-

working class and therefore wish to bargain with its class enemy, the bourgeoisie. They forget that civil war is war not for life but to the death, in which prisoners are not taken and agreements are not made, but the opponent is beaten down.

"The work of the Extraordinary Commission is thus divided into two parts—the fight with the direct counter-revolutionaries and the fight with those who are counter-revolutionaries for lack of clear thought.

"With the first counter-revolutionaries the Petrograd Revolutionary Military Committee had to fight. After our first victory the officers immediately started an uprising... but they were crushed and arrested and sent to their homes in the provinces. After the People's Commissariats and the institution of the Extraordinary Commission had been set up, the fight passed from the Revolutionary Committee to the Extraordinary Commission.

"In December, 1917, was liquidated a counter-revolutionary union under the name of 'Saving of the Motherland and the Revolu-

"In January began the fight against the adventure in the Don region.

"At the same time was inaugurated a new counter-revolutionary organization under the name 'Union of the Constitutional Conven-

"After the dispersal of the counter-revolutionary Constitutional Convention, which refused to ratify the Declaration of the Rights of the Free Working People, the activity of the counter-revolutionaries was intensified.

#### CONTER-REVOLUTIONARY CATALOGUE

Among the affairs further listed and discussed in detail in the pamphlet are "The Enlistment of Polish Legionaries in Murman." the "Lockhart Affair" (Lockhart was a special British emissary in Soviet Russia, who carried on negotiations with the Bolshevik Government and was accused of aiding plans to overthrow them at the same time, including proposals to blow up railroad bridges and disorganize food and raw material supply); a "White Socialist-Revolutionary Plot" in Moscow, an "All Russian Monarchist Military Union," the organized attacks of assassins on the Soviet leaders-Lenine, Uritzky, and Vo-"counter-revolutionary plots" in Ryazan, Kostroma, Vishne-Volochka; a "Black Hundreds Plot" in Velizha; various plots in Kiev, Saratov, Chernigov, and Astrakhan; the union of "Great United Russia," the "Southern A:my," the "Romanov Order," the "United Officers' Organization," the "Polish Military Organization," the "Monarchist-Socialist-Revolutionary Organization," revolts in Krasnaya Gorka and Kronstadt, the "National Centre" (alleged to have been an organization of spies of the Entente Allies and Denikine), the "Military Organization of the Staff of the Volunteer Army," and various activities of officials of the Greek Orthodox Church, which had been the state Church of Russia, for the purpose of creating sentiment against the Soviett Government.

There follows a criticism of the "counterrevolutionaries for lack of clear thought, or through stupidity." In this category are included the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Menshevik Social-Democrats, who held the reins of the administration up to the Bolshevist seizure of power. These parties are criticised for having formed coalition governments with bourgeois parties, for having continued the war against Germany, and for having imprisoned Bolsheviks who argued in favor of seizure of power "by the workers alone." From the time of the Bolshevist overthrow of the Provisional Government, says the pamphlet, began the "mad activities of the Right Socialist Revolutionaries."

Similarly, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries are attacked as 'counter-revolutionaries' for opposing the Soviet Government in connection with the signing of the separate peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk. They are charged with having formed secret "fighting staffs" to organize revolts and to seize and hold Soviet officials and disorganize their

Among alleged Left Socialist-Revolutionary plots are listed revolts in Veliki Luki, Chembara, Mstislavi, Kazan and Ryazan and plans for explosions in Moscow, including the Krem-

The Mensheviks are characterized as "a

"They do not believe in the power of the party of dreaming commoners, a party of in vertebrate intellectuals, consisting of people who do not believe in their own strength and who consider that the people, the workers and peasants, are not capable of administering a state, that they have not developed to that point." They are accused of fomenting agitation against the Soviet power in Petrograd and Moscow, of organizing strikes, and of participating in the Siberian Government of Kolchak and supporting the "Committee for the Constitutional Convention" of the Sama ra Government.

A few paragraphs are also devoted to the anarchists, who appear to have opposed the Soviet Government as actively and consistently as logical anarchists oppose any form of government. There is a description of the fight in which Soviet forces captured by storm, after artillery fire, the "Anarchist House" on the Malaya Dmitrovka in Moscow, and of fights with anarchist bands in various provinces of Russia.

Then follow charges of brutalities committed by antagonists of the Soviet power in dealings with Bolshevists captured in the course of the various anti-Soviet campaigns. and descriptions of the struggle against spcculation, crimes committed in office by Soviet officials, and desertions from the Red Army opposition by well-to-do peasants, especially peasant moneylenders, and various village revolts. The following tables, completed up to the middle of 1919, give the official Soviet figures regarding the work of the Extraordinary Commission:

evolts suppressedilled on our sideilled in suppression	1,150
COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ORG. ZATIONS DISCOVERED.	RC 752-1000000

Kadet ..... Right Socialist-Revolutionary ..... 34 Left Socialist-Revolutionary ...... Menshevik ...... 18 Miscellaneous ...... 175 Total .....

Speculative .....

SHOT FOR VARIOUS CRIMES For espionage ...... 102 For revolts ..... 3,082 For participation in counter-revolutionary organizations ..... 2,024 For summoning to revolt ..... 455 For speculation ..... For banditism ..... For desertion For crimes in office ..... Miscellaneous ...... 1,704 Total ..... 8,38

There follow tables of the different types of crime committed in office, with penalties other than execution, such as imprisonment and fines, or the taking of hostages, and a list of important Soviet officials killed in the course of fighting with antagonists of the Bolshevist Government. There follows a "conclusion," which sums up the case as follows

"By a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Soviet Russia is d clared to be a military camp in a state of siege. This emphasizes the truth that in civil war the whole country is one united front. We have lived all the time as on a vol cano. Counter-revolutionary elements. rein forced by all the dissatisfied and short-si ed, organize militarily and threaten to burst forth from their illegal positions and overwhelm the Soviet power by raising a revol If there had not been the Extraordinary Commissions, detecting and warding off suc endeavors, we should long ago have ceased to exist. The counter-revolution would he swallowed us.

"Although at a dear price, the price blood, we have arrived at the truth that in civil war there are no superfluous people, an there is no work which is shameful if it done for the aid of the revolution.

"Every citizen should be a warrior guard of the Soviet power. Every ci shoul be a Red Army soldier and an ar of the Extraordinary Commission. Only this case shall we conquer."

INSIDE STORY OF GOMPERS' 'VIC- their country for themselves and they Federation of Labor. Their contempt TORY' FOR PRESIDENCY OF PAN-, know that if they can save it from has cropped out all thru the convention. AMERICAN FEDERATION.

(Centinued from page 1.) quish the honor that lay in his grasp? rones, the ablest man in the labor Why, indeed?

The answer is simple and plain. Mexico is forever in danger of intervention. Always the Damocles' sword of American invasion hangs over the

that they would find themselves serfs of L. in another India lacerated and strang- This is why Morones, confronted naut, American capitalism.

head of her people. The Mexican work-ors do not want war. They want to keep actionary leadership of the American entire continent, chose to refuse. In their hearts they despize the re- figure in the organized labor of the does society need a doctor when it is coming less democratic and the people

being swallowed up in the northern em- But they believe that the aid of the pire of finance-capital, they can event. American Federation of Labor is inually work out their own salvation and dispensable if intervention is to be take over the industries. They know staved off. And they believe that to that intervention would cost thousands turn down Gompers at this time would of lives and rivers of blood. They know be to lose the cooperation of the A. F.

led by that newest and worst Jugger with the opportunity to accept the

By sufferance, thru belief that such viet Russia. They claim to have cured policy is necessary to save Mexico. Gompers still heads the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

It is the last time. Intervention or no intervention, come America will neither accept Gompers

nor any other conservative leader again.

Unemployment is a disease, Just as sick. There is no unempleyment in So- are becoming more restless

this disease. There are five million people in the U.S. who wish to knew the name of the doctor and the prescription he used. I heard one fellow say that the doctor's name was Lenin and what may, organized labor of Latin that the medicine was Communism.

An increase in the police power o post that would make him the leading we need a doctor when we are sick, so the State means that the State is be

# What I Saw In Russia

By GEORGE LANSBURY Editor London Daily Herald

PRICE \$1.50. A general survey of conditions in Russia obtained in a two modifficulties of transportation, general condition of labor, problem food and health are described. The cultural activities of the a Government showing its creat results even in the midst of war,

## THE TOILER

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# Comrade Martens' Departure

When the United States of America set up its government was something that drew me irresisti- pickets looked so little and so few, and after throwing off the monarchial yoke of Great Britain, it sent an envoy to Russia for the purpose of gaining "recognition" and establishing trade relations. But the Czar and his government did not like the form of this government, it was an oppositional form and contained the elements of political liberty-with which Czarism was always at war. It was only after the American ambassador had knocked at the door of Russia's government for two years that recognition was granted.

To-day the reverse of these conditions obtains, or rather Pennsylvania Dutch stock. Splendid did until this government outstripped the Czar in maliciousness straight militant youngsters brought ets. It was this young man who begged laries. Make them independent of dues, by deporting Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, envoy of Soviet Russia, a up with the old mining conflicts still few days ago. Czarism is gone forever in Russia. That black cloud that shut out the sunlight from the oppressed masses of Russia has been lifted consumed by the holy flame of revolution. In its place stands a government of the workers, and for the workers. on strike. You get a pan of rocks and ask so much police protection. When the bloody Czarism existed it received every courtesy this nail scabs with them." She had heard government could extend, no matter what its crimes or in what seas of human blood it drowned the aspirations of its people. Every year the President of the United States cabled his congratulations to the Czar upon his birthday and expressed the hope shouted "No!" to the employers' seven that he would continue many years to rule over the Russian people. impossible demands, and backed up this day by day, day by day and find none,

The envoy of New Russia has been knocking at the door of the State Department in Washington for two years. He has exerted every resource to establish relations of friendship and commerce between the peoples of Russia and this country. The only official another. There is no yielding in the reply he has received is-deportation. In such manner has this faces of the men who assemble there government shown its attitude toward the Soviet government today, there is no flurry, there is no and the Russian masses. So, officially ends this chapter of world history, a chapter that will always be white in the book of Russian spirit of his shop is and he will look and black as night in the book of the United States.

But it is only the ending of a chapter of a story that will continue. Comrade Martens and his official family left these inhospitable shores admidst the cheers and well wishes of thousand assembled upon the docks and piers of New York's harbor. Enormous masses of red roses were strewn over them, songs were sung means to intimidate the pickets, then in their honour, shouts were raised for Soviet Russia. In this manner did the people part from the first representative of a people's government that has ever set foot in this country. Their This strike has been punctuated with greetings, smiles and cheers blotted out the government's curse. violence of this sort; gangsters are for-The masses repudiated the government's action with their pre- ever prowling on the outside of the sence, their songs and cheers. They blessed the departing comrades and the whole cause of the toiling masses everywhere by these simple and human expressions of sympathy and good will.

The demand for recognition of and trade with Russia has not Casine waiting for the doors to be family pictures, the comfortable dis been stifled by this act of deportation. A matter of this import- opened at six o'clock. Sleepy men, men order. But it was a home that warmed ance is not settled in that manner. The causes which create the shivering a little in the morning chill you through. It would take more than demand for a favorable settlement of this question are growing A policeman hustled up. larger and larger. A country of the size and economic quality of Russia cannot be left out of this country's trade calculations and early? What are you holding a meeting all be well. Conditions demand the opening of trade relations, this, for at this time of day?" He had to aside from humanitarian reasons will eventually have the say-so 'phone to the police precinct to find ter came, a girl with curly hair and and settle the question in favor of trade.

# A "Committee of Action"

The Convention of the United Mine Workers of District No. 6 which convened at Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 11, followed the usual custom of labor union conventions and passed a sheaf of Resolutions most of which will be promptly forgotten the moment the occur there. It is he who also furnishes convention adjourns.

There were three Resolutions however that deserve a place on the schedule of future activities of the miners and which bespeak for them a degree of social vision deserving of commendation. We do not believe these three will be forgotten. Rather will conditions more and more force both miners and workers generally to keep trating rain that dampened everything. mother, a voluminous, laughing woman.

the subject matter of them in mind. Resolution No. 2, taking them in the order of their adoption, after calling attention to the fact that the Espionage law, passed to catch spies, but which was used to silence and jail labor men of opposing views to a "certain faction," declares for a joining of forces with organizations that are seeking the release of political prisoners. This Resolution, if carried out, means active co-operation. We trust the rank and file of miners will see to it that the

Resolution is lived up. Resolution Nos. 4-5 declare for the opening of trade relations with Soviet Russia. Naturally the basis for this Resolution is the pressing unemployment problem. However, this is, to our mind sufficient "moral" ground for such a Resolution if such were needed. We have an idea however, that the adoption of the Resolution means more than a desire to mitigate the unemployment evil. It probably means that the miners, with most workers have had sufficient of the "Red Terror" of the capitalist press and view the Soviet government as a civilized and decent one with which workers of other nations have certain human interests in and duties toward. We are glad to see the miners of the 6th District falling in line with progressive elements in this respect.

It is however, Resolution No. 22 that the rank and file miner and forward looking worker everywhere should seek to put into effect at as early a date as possible. The demand for a unity of forces of the miners, railroad and steel workers is a growing one. In view of the drive for the Open Shop that demand is now all the more urgent and necessary. The miners realize the issues at stake in this fight. They have adopted a Resolution which if carried out will mean the attainment of progress in the labor struggle. A "Committee of Action" with the interests of Labor at heart can start the ball rolling. We reproduce the Resolution in full.

# EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

# The Amalgamated Spirit

By Mary Heaton Vorse.

I first saw it in a union meeting in It seemed to me that as far as the eye holding clique, its own "servants" Philadelphia. I didn't even know its could reach policeman stood next to paid by its own dues and "strike" name at the time. In a small room at policeman all down 18th Street. They funds, whose principal task is to thwart the top of a steep flight of stairs in a stood there holding the law and guard converted private house a swarm of ing the shop, the most beautiful of New girls were packed in together at a union York's "finest." "Only six pickets fore Congress, Most of our time (mean meeting of the Amalgamated. There was allowed." the pickets were told at the a sense of excitement in the air. Not 17th Street shop. I cam back after a therhoods) is spent in holding down the excitment of disturbed human time. Six very small pickets, scarcely the workers and preventing them from beings milling around, but of a pur- distinguishable from the passers-by, two poseful excitement of people who had of them girls, walked up and down past gotten together to accomplish some the six-foot-two policemen ranged in thing. It was creative, hopeful, vigo marshal order, protecting J. Friedman, rous. I had not been informed as to the a favorite son of the police department. issues involved in this meeting. So I didn't even understand what it was all about, But I understood the people. It bly. Here were people that one could work with. Here was something growng, something alive. Later I found out Presently an automobile drew up. what it was that had so gripped me.

It was the Amalgamated spirit. girls, American born and of various decents. There were Lithuanians, Poles, daughters of Welsh miners, and of

"I know how to act when you are a guilty conscience that causes him to her father tell of the old days. We had

It is the Amalgamated spirit which shout with the call for a million dollar

You find this spirit in the crowded halls where one shop meeting succeeds settled, fixed. Ask anybody how the

if ever they are going to bring in their paid strike breaners, they are going to crowds. There have been arrests of fifty

"What's all this?" he said. "Have laughter. ont if it was all right.

Then, after brief instructions, stronger army than ever marcred out. The picket lines increased steadily; hey started to the many shops.

The firm of J. Friedman never fails to furnish excitement Monday morning.

the year. When the usual procession started out to picket the factories a of dawn, slush under foot and a penewas the Amalgamated spirit.

our eyes? One would have supposed that fidence,

stood there tall, magnificent, imposing. ers too, has built up a powerful office

were allowed and there were also more policemen. It was truly imposing. The so very numerous.

Five or six people got out and rushed frantically into the building, protected and Socialist parties." I next saw it in a little mining town by the police. These were some of the pickets going to work. But no tailors entered the shops of J. Friedman. Young P. Friedman, the nephew of the them pay any attention to the will of the Association to allow the workers to I remember one excited youngsteriwas done, he turned upon them and fund, and you remove the last method promptly locked them out. Maybe it is

> homes of the people. It is easy enough to get on enthusiasm when you are in watch unemployment casting its sinister are hundreds on hundreds of people in whole war chest in one place. the organization facing the lockout in

mind. I was making a round of visits in Brooklyn with a shop chairman. The street we went down was shabby. There on a more discouraged air than anything else but an old cat out in the rang the doorbell of a house which in former years had been a private house. A great big woman tumultuously des-

"Come in come in!" she cried. "My Elsa 'li be home in a minute."

At the top of the flight of stairs the loor opened on a different country This Monday morning before light a from the drab Brooklyn outside. It vesting its funds in capitalist outer-

> We talked about homely, family matters; her daughter's recent wedding, bing on them and paying more than the the son's job, And presently the daugharound her mouth. No wonder everyone in the shop loved her, as the shop chair- bank in which he had his funds depos-

talked about everything in the world it credit. Its funds melted away. It had but hard times. They had shut the door to close its doors. And Ponzi couldn't If there are any thugs they are around on hard times; that was the way in make good on his notes. Then they sent sion of the Amalgamated spirit. And yet between capitalists. . . . this family of four people was living "And taking up your point about Two weeks ago was the only snow of from the odd jobs that the boy of financing the workers' press and not a very industrious boy. There was controlled by the A. F. of L. officialdiscouraging gray had taken the place a little girl of fifteen, the girl of nine teen who worked in the shop, and the I went with the pickets who went to think about it; and you can imagine dependent of the rank and file, but patrol the clothing shops of J. Fried that wherever that girl passed she man. What a glorious spectacle met brought with her an atmosphere of con-

all the policemen in New York had That's the spirit that is beating the been called out to guard the precious employers, that's the spirit that will products of J. Friedman. One would resist their efforts to open the shops (And what strike that's worth anything have thought that he was that he was and invite people back to work at starguarding a diamond factory on an ar vation wages.

A Moscow report states that large quantities of medical supplies and am bulances have been recovered in the wake of General Wrangel's troops. In this manner do the Allies supply relief to the Soviets,

The Fourth International (Nationalist, Social-patriot, Menshevik and White Guard Socialist) will attempt to get itself launched at Vienna February 22nd

### RESOLUTION NO. 22.

Whereas, Capital, with its chambers of commerce, Manufacturers, giving them funds with which to hire. Association, etc., has openly declared war on organized labor, with the avowed intention of establishing the open shop, which would mean the complete destruction of the trade union movement, and a consequent reduction of the working class to serfdom; and

Whereas, We cannot help but feel that this declaration of war or the part of capital will mean the death of all organized labor, not except ing our own organization, unless union labor marshals all the forces at its command and in a way that will do the name organized labor

Resolved. That the United Mine Workers of America of District No. 6, in convention assembled, elect a committee of three, to be known if we misbehaved."

As the "Committee of Action," which shall take immediate steps to bring about an alliance between the United Mine Workers of America. the railronders and steel workers with the object in view of acting together in using our economic power when the crisis is reached in the open shop fight.

## Labor Goes In For Banking

ing the time of the heads of the Bro-

"You might sum up the most im At the 19th Street shop more pickets dues to insure fat salaries; (2) Sitting and appointments from the capitalist institutions, and selling the labor vote' to the Republican, Democratic

> "'Yes, but-"Shut up a minute."

employer, flanked by numerous shelter the rank and file, is the fear of losing ing policemen, stood watching the pick-1 the dues-payers and their handsome sa put the workers' savings in labor-of completely independent of the worker

your sayings bank account dwindling, employers attach (which in plain Engand face this with unshaken tranquili- lish means steal) your funds. How easy ty and-you are doing something. There you make it by concentrating your

> "The workers have nothing to los ed bankers and financiers, are afraid of bank failures and 'expropriations' ty-owners,' just so and in even greater the United States.

banks out of existence, don't kid yourbank, however larger exist without in-

money-wizard? He discovered a method a lockout to quench this big woman's of making a profit out of international exchange, and incurred the cunity of bigger financiers than himself by seabaverage rate of interest on investments w -in place of 6%, -60%.

"They decided to break him, and they did so overnight. They broke the ited, by calling in its loans, depressing Again we chatted, and curiously we the value of its securities, and refusing him to jail. And that was only a fight

eighteen picked up-a good boy, but strikes. Do you suppose that a bank dom would finance a red paper like the "Toiler" that has declared a war of extermination against them. They would strengthen their own yellow official composition that they didn't have to press, and make it more than ever in rank and file papers would still have to get along on the contributions of their readers.

"And finance strikes? Do you suppose they'd finance an outlaw strike. isn't declared an outlaw strike?) More likely they'd finance the official strikebreakers employed by the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the name of the

I paused for breath, and discovered that I was now lecturing a very chastened opponent. "I never thought of those things," says he.

"To sum up," I declared, "labor banks would strengthen the bureaueratic officialdom, the union "leaders," by insuring their salaries, making them independent of the dues-payers, and be strengthening capitalism.

"Second, we would strengthen capitalism by concentrating all our funds, such as they are, in one place, as an invitation to the capitalist class, and its tool, the government, to seize them

"I'm thinking of writing up what

equirements of capitalist production?

Which means have you and the wife and kids learned to live without werk, at without food, keep warm without clothes, pay rent without means-and

If you havn't, I'm afraid you're bolsheviks.

A returned soldier broke into jail out at Des Moines the other day by taking a pot shot at the dome of the Capital building. "To a fellow who is down and out a jail isn't a bad home," he told the Judge,

"We want revolution. We want soviets" An audience of unemployed told a labor member of Parliament in London the other day. Demanding Soviets in-stead of charity shows progress. American Dubs have not yet gotten sufficient

"It is rarely we receive a request for aid from foreign born people." states the management of a Soup Society in Philadelphia which is ladleing out soup daily to many unemployed. Them foreigners sure ought to be Americanized

Charles M. Schwab did not quite succeed in washing away with tears tha consation made before the Walsh Committee on Shipping Board operations that an item of \$269.543 charged to operating expenses had really been used for Schwab's personal benefit. Dollar a year patriotism leaves some queer stains.

Attorney General Palmer states he is proud of the enemies he has made, specially among the radicals. The radicals are just as proud, Mr. Palmer.

The Society of Friends, Quakers, has sent a committee to Ireland for the

The first number of The Irish People, a new publication of New York has appeared. Its aim will be to fill the place of the one time Harp published by Jim Connolly. Steadily the Irish cause gains workingclass support.

There are now 3,473,446 unemployed in the country says the Department of Labor after an exaustive survey. The A. F. of L. after a similar investigation claims this figure is 1,000,000 shy of the actual number.

The Statler hotels have cut prices of luxuary foods says a report. This is pleasant news to the jobless who dine thru the hotel windows.

Returned soldiers and unemployed practiced the same tactics recently in Montreal in getting food as they did earlier in France in getting "Heinie" They have fortunes to lose. Just as the They went after it. Several restaurants suffered an assault.

> \$50,000, says Hugh S. Robertson, treasurer of Todd, Irons and Robertson, engineers, was paid Robert P. Brindell, President of the New York Building Trades Council for the purpose of preventing strikes of the members of his

What a great thing it is to have a labor leader as important as that!

So low has the price of tobacco fallen that Kentucky growers have decreed self. You can no more do that than the that no burley tobacco shall be planted this spring. Night riders have scenred the country warning farmers not to deliver tobacco to the warehouses. Of course empitalist industries out of existence. this is a bunglesome way of holding up the price, but doubtless the farmers Nor, for that matter, can any savings are copying the example of producers in other lines

An injunction to dissolve the Amalgamated Clothing Werkers has been big crowd gathered outside the New wasn't its furnishings; it had the usual prices. Why, they could crush your asked for by the associated clothing manufacturers. Natural enough. That's

> At the rate the workers are disgorging, how long will it take them to lose all of the mess of pottage that Sam Gompers got them for helping English imperialism and American plutocracy to lick German ditto?-Oakland World.

It is reported that President Wilson wishes no ostentatious parades of the employed returned soldiers to accompany him when he departs from the

Now that you are adjusted to capitalistic normalcy how would a fight for

Communism and Christianism: Analyzed and Contrasted from the Viewpoint of Darwinism, by Bishop William Montgomery from the Viewpoint of Darwinism, by-Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D. Paper, pages 184, artistic cover, price 25 cents Six copies mailed for \$1.00. Comments by eleven persons: ¶One of the most starting and revolutionary books ever issued. ¶It comes like a meteor across a dark sky. ¶Send twelve copies. It is the best book I ever read to open the eyes and set the brain working. ¶It held me tight I call it a sermon. The text is astounding: Banish gods from skies and capitalists from earth. ¶Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason. ¶Every comrade buys one and comes back for more. ¶It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest. his book is the modern Age of Reason, Every comrade buys one and comes back for more. It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest, crisis in all history. It think it is one of the most important books of a Socialist nature issued in a number of years. It is full of marvelously good material and will open many eyes. Isold twenty-five in a jiffy; send three hundred for next meeting. The author, an Episcopalian ecclesiastic, has squarely renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book he anyronenes the subject of Socialism from a new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all. If can sell three thousand within sixty days. Write for terms to book sellers and to propagandists. Twentieth

THE TOILER, 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio

### AND I DIDN'T GET TO SLEEP FOR HOURS.

Not only because this book about the great steel strike had exalted me to the pitch of nervuous excitement, but because, as a publisher, I felt sure (as I do now when I have finished the manuscript and find it big and pregnant with life and beauty and truth on every page) that I couldn't do

-HORACE B. LIVERIGHT.

# MEN AND STEEL

MARY HEATON VORSE

Deserves YOUR reading it. Without exception the greatest story ever written of ANY strike. Order it now and enjoy and profit thru reading it.

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# Along the Soviet Front

By Propaganda Pete.

Senator Johnson, of California has introduced a resolution in Congress de manding an investigation of the presence of American soldiers in Siberia during President Wilson's private war against the Soviets.

Ships of all nations are warned to keep 12 miles from all Russian coasts on penalty of being fired on says report from Paris. This measure of defense is taken by the Soviets due to an attack of a French crusier upon the Soviet vessel, Elpidifor, killing many of the crew and making necessary the beaching of the ship. In a note to the French government, Foreign Minister Tchitcherin is quoted "It is the second instance of the sort. But Russia will await France's explanations before drawing conclusions."

A split of the Spanish Socialist Par ty is expected soon. Two delegates to investigate Russia have just returned. Dr. de los Rios, a university professor, who was one of the delegates favors pursueing socialist victories by purely parliamentary methods. Daniel Augiano, the other delegate and a railroad man advises the party to affiliate with the Third (Moscow) international and abandon all attempts with reformistic

Poland and Roumania are proceeding with the formation of a military allinnee for a Spring offensive against Soviet Russia. General Haller and Prince Sapieha, Poland's Foreign Minister are in conference with Roumanian officials

Due to Krassin's continued stav in England, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has elected Alexander Jemshanow as Commissar of Trans-

Cossaks of General Peter Wrangel's army stationed at Constantinople, who have been converted to communism by Bolshevist propaganda, were shot down with machine guns by French Colonial black troops when they attempted to disarm their reactionary leaders. Many on each side were killed and injured.

The American Labor Alliance for Trade with Soviet Russia has establishe headquarters in Washington, preparatory to the hearing on Russian trade be fore the Senate Foreign Relations Com mittee Jan. 26th. Many heads of international labor unions will be present to present reasons why this country should

German communists paradeing of Jan. 15th in honor of the memory of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg murdered a year ago, were dispersed by Noske's White Guards and a number of people injured by rifle fire.

their "duties" in Near East etc., the Black Sea is becoming a Soviet lake, reads a newspaper report.

Is this an invitation to the Allies to 'jump into the lake?'

Trade with Russia and trade with the Lenin government are two different things," says the Wall Street Journal. By Wall Street well knows that a war against Russia and a war against the Lenin government are one and the same

The Senate has adopted the Norris resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasurry to explain how much money the U. S. government has spent in maintaining the anti-soviet "embashow many dollars were loaned the defunct Kerensky regime. The last accounting showed that of the \$180,000, 000 advance to this anti-Soviet outfit \$80,000,000 could not be accounted for

It looks like the Senate was prepar ing to learn what has been going on this country the last four years.

#### THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST SACCO AND VANZETTL

(Continued from page- 1.) The two women likewise lost their certainty of conviction in the court room. They were both office workers and claimed to see the aftermath of the stooting from the second story windows of the office building on Pearl and Railroad Streets, Miss Devlin said that the man leaning out of the escaping nobile whom she had previously identified as Sacco was tall and well built. When Sacco's lack of stature was called to her attention she agreed that her identification was wrong in that

"Do you say positively he is the man?" asked the defense attorney. "I do not say positively," she answered. Page 47, official record.) Miss Splaine also changed her testi-mony with the words, "I could be mis-taken." (Page 52, official record.)

On the slender evidence of these three citnesses the murder indictments were brought, and with such matrial the prosecution expects to weave the noose for Sacco and Vanzetti—a presumption not astonishing to the student of American legal methods.

# Manifesto of Provisional International Council of Labor Unions to Workers of Great Britain

EDITORIAL NOTE: The Red International of Labor is in process of formation. The Provisional International Council which was selected at the Second Congress of the Third Internatinal at Moscow last summer is seeking connections with labor in all countries and is setting up national branches therein. This appeal to the workers of Great Britain while addressed specifically to them, contains much of interest to American workers, especially in view of the fact that a branch of the Red International is shortly to be established in this country.

TO THE STREET

To the organized workers of Great Britain

Comrades and Brothers,

ORGANISED LABOUR HAS BEEN MISLED AND BETRAYED

All the promises of the Governments and the constitutional Labour leaders are now proven to be lies. We were told before the war that conditions would steadily improve if we would be patient. Conditions have not improved. They have become worse. We were promised during the war a new Britain worthy the terrific sacrifices of the multitude. Pledges were given that pre-war conditions be used to the future detriment of the workers. Every promise has proved to be a tremendous lie and every pledge as worthless as a scrap of paper. The struggle of the masses to make ends meet becomes more and more severe. Jobs become harder to get and easier to lose. We have neither a Britain fit for heroes or a guarantee of the world except Russia.

Factories are closing down, long "holidays" are declared, and wage cutting proceeds apace. Reaction, starvation, bankruptcy are rapidly becoming the dominant features of the "victorious" and "defeated" countries alike. We are in the midst of a crisis which extends far beyond the boundaries of any single nation. It is an international crisis, an international crisis of capitalism in decay.

Whether we turn to France or Germany, Austria or America the British Colonies or Japan, we see the same "iron heel" at work the same workless starving multitudes of the working class. Mili tarism with its Black and Tans, its thugs, its armed police, domi nates the governments of everyone of these countries, while eco nomic distress characterises the life of the working masses every

Instinctively the workers have flocked into the labour unions as a means of struggle or as a refuge. But the leaders of the unions in most cases have mis-led and are mis-leading the masses as miserably as they mis-led them during the imperialist war. Then they were the trumpeters of imperialism, in the garb of democracy, rallying the masses to the battle fields where now are left ten million dead. To-day they rally to their governments with their Clynes's and the Brownlies, the Gomper's and the Jouhaux's, condoned legislation which fastened the hands of labour, tied the machinery of the unions to the State, worked the munition courts. made agreements with the governments which flung away the gains of the trade unions won by a century of struggle. They supported arbitration and helped to build up a complex machinery guaranteed to obtain the maximum of delay in dealing with any grievance of the workers. Since the war they have become experts in "impartial enquiry" babblers of Whitleyism and its Industrial Councils of employers and employees, heralds of the discredited League of Nations, that "democratic" cover for the counter revolutionary activiand elsewhere. Under their leadership the Trade Unions of this country have become affiliated to the "Yellow"

### INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

with its headquarters at Amsterdam. This international is the international of the Trade Union Bureaucracy formed ostensibly to country to help those of another. Actually it has become an apcolour their actions which savour those of a charitable organization society and an appendage of the gang in the League of Nations. Nominally it is supposed to unite the workers of the world against capitalism. Actually 't is an ally of the capitalist states. Nominally it is an International. Actually it is only a combination of nationalists. Nominally it calls on the workers to "use every means to wage the war against imperialism and capitalism." Actually, its leaders practice the gospel of "class peace," which means working class sy" of Ambassador Bakhmetieff, and betrayal, make alliances of employers and employees, support the League of Nations, and turn their backs upon and condemn the Workers International which is the Communist International.

Test the organisation and its leaders by experience. Practically every leader of this "yellow" Amsterdam International collaborated with their respective capitalist governments during the imperialist war. That in itself speaks volumes to every worker who sees the consequences of the war.

When the workers of Russia threw out their capitalist government and seized the reins of power, did the leaders of this International respond as workers to the calls of the workers of Russia? Did they proceed to mobilise the millions of the West and rally them to the cause of world revolution and the destruction of inter national capitalism? They did not. Did they rally the masses to save the Hungarian revolution? They did not. They have viewed every situation with the vision of national capitalist Liberals and not as leaders of an international working class striving for victory over international capitalism.

"Russia should be left to work out its own destiny," they said in the voice of the unctuous Liberals who believed that Bolshevism could be killed by trade. When Poland backed by their friends in the League of Nations made its attack upon the workers of Russia the Thomas's and Hendersons talked the same cant about the "neutrality of Poland" that the capitalists talked. They failed to tell the working class that the defeat of the Russian workers means the defeat of the workers everywhere, the victory of the Russian workers is the guarantee of the ultimate triumph of the workers of the world.

Thus the leaders of the Amsterdam International stand condem ned as leaders of the working class. They have preached peace where there can be no peace. They have turned to the capitalist International and scorned the Workers International. From such leadership we must turn away. Such an international we must

From these conclusions there is no escape. The world is now

divided into two great divisions, and

WE MUST MAKE OUR CHOICE

as to which camp we belong. On the one side is the capitalist class with its League of Nations, its Supreme Council, its remnants of abominable though they be, they are nay, the most valgar and cynical lies the Second International, its "yellow" Amsterdam International, tremendously expensive. How funds are its Legiens and Jouhaux's, its Hendersons and Braces and sentially on voluntary subscriptions for the noble work, the real essence of Thomas's, its Gompers's and Barnes's, traitors all to the working in the process, are intensely valuable class by their preaching of "class peace"! On the other side is the Communist International and all that is loyal and true to the working class. Supported by millions of organised workers, it is led by The Society for Prevention of Cruelty comrades who realise the tremendous task history is thrusting to Children, for example, expended the upon the workers, who dare to tell the workers what they must very modest sum of \$100,000 in 1914. It commodity under capitalist production fight for, and who are unafraid to be with them in the struggle. To this side must come every man and woman who hates hypocrisy and cowardice. To this side we must rally our labour unions. There the success of the subscription drives, is no alternative for the workers who mean to win through to the secretarial office is kept busy for For instance, every cent expended by victory over capitalism.

We did not join our unions in order to betray our class or delay would be restored, that nothing introduced as a war measure should it in its struggles for emancipation, but in order to become strong Financial game is made of this precious enough to move forward against all our enemies. We have become strong. Millions banded together in unions is a mighty power. With such a power in our hands we can no longer remain patient with the every-day hopeless grind, with the unending delay, with proposals which are hopelessly incapable of solving our difficulties the prime necessities of life. Unemployment on a scale unpreceden- with leadership that is a perpetual betrayal to the capitalist class ted in the history of modern industry threatens every country in We must sweep away the reactionary leaders. We must create means for immediate action and an International of the Labour stupenduous amounts, year in and year Unions which shall line up with the Communist International and out. express international working class solidarity in deeds worthy of the task history calls upon us to perform. This International must be an INTERNATIONAL OF THE MASSES and not merely an international of trade union bureaucrats.

For these purposes the revolutionary workers of every union will not work; mother backward, incommust carry on in every union branch, in every workshop, mill and petent, unfit. Our Society had these mine, an intense agitation against all forms of reaction, and bitterly helpless little ones removed from their oppose the propaganda and policy of class peace, which always home where they receive the best of the very machinery of organized charileaves the workers victims of the capitalists. We must create extraunion organisations such as Shop Stewards and Workers' Com- ted and happy." mittees in the factories, Pit Committees in the mines, Vigilance Committees in the unions, in order to battle with the defects of the unions; to remove reactionary leaders from office, and to have (himself) lies so flagrantly, seems to means of action independent of them in hours of crisis. We must shark resorts to the same despicable explain to our fellow-workers that time and again, so long as the trick and, in reply to the artistically reactionary leaders maintain their connection with the Labour (woven) falsehoods contained in the ap-Unions, crises will arise when these leaders will be thrust into peal, sends a check for a goodly sum. action alongside the revolutionary workers and appear to be revolutionists, as in the crisis when British Imperialism was about to ject is the annual banquet given by the by misery, distress and having nothing declare open war on the Russian workers. We must explain that These venerable gentleman invaribly gospel of "class peace" and are the principal bulwarks of a decaying they are there for wholly different reasons and for totally different belong to a social group which is consocial order. During the war these Hendersons and Thomas's, the objectives than those of the revolutionary workers. Then they sidered a big trump from the standpoint costs and hazards, be circumvented, spoke with the voice of the petty shopkeeper against the aggression of financial vultures and ward heelers. and, to give the devil his due, charity of the big capitalists and their action coincided with the action of For instance, the Pres. of the Society work accomplishes it admirably, indeed the revolutionary workers who are against all capitalists. Therein ant-Governor of the State of Mass. in lies danger of their betrayal. We must persuade our fellow-workers 1915. To receive an invitation from to break away their organizations from the "yellow" Amsterdam such lofty quarters is deemed a great International and join them to the "Red" Labour Union Interna- honor and a valuable priveledge (as tional that will march with the Communist International against all the enemies of the working class.

The "Red" Labour Union International is now in process of formation, and the moment is opportune for the immediate action of "our" country's great wealth and inevery worker who is tired of the reactionaries, for every worker conceivable even in the imagination of ties of the capitalist governments against the workers of Russia who is anxious to march out of the deadlock of human relations into a proletarian, hymns of eulogy are which humanity has drifted. All the delegates from the industria organizations represented at the Second World Congress of the Communist International agreed with the Congress that the time moment, however, the Secretary, whose had arrived for a new alignment of the labour unions of the world, very function on this occasion is the that just as history challenged the revolutionary workers to destroy the Second International and form a new International Comprevent international scabbing and to assist the workers of one munist Party, so history is challenging the revolutionary workers to destroy the Amsterdam International, led by similar people paratus of which the masses know little, a combination of Trade guilty of similar traitorous acts, and create a new Labour Union Union leaders who pursue a policy of using revolutionary phrases to International under new leadership, governed by principles in accord with the historic purpose of the Working Class.

> Bulgarian Central Council of Trade Unions, General Confederation of Yugo Slavia, The Syndicalists of Italy, The Italian Confederation of Labour. The Spanish Syndicalists, Social Revolutionary Unions of Germany. Transport Workers of Holland. Federation of Transport Workers of Dutch E. India. Regional Federation of Labour, Argentina. Minority Section of the French Confed. of Labour, Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions,

The delegates of the following industrial organizations,

All-Russian Trade Unions

Norwegian Industrial Unions,

I.W.W. of America, I.W.W. of Australia, British Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees.

Trade Union Council of the Furthest East, have therefore formed the PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONA COUNCIL OF LABOUR UNIONS, and elected a provisional Exe cutive Committee. This committee they have instructed to convene a WORLD CONGRESS OF ALL THE LABOUR UNION ORGANISATIONS unconnected with or prepared to sever their connection with the "yellow" Amsterdam International, and t consciously wage the class struggle in accord with the Communist

International. The provisional Executive Committee (composed of the undersigned) accordingly invites every industrial organisation, whether Trade Union or Industrial Union, National Shop Stewards' Committee or Trade Union Federation, to elect delegates to the WORLD CONGRESS OF LABOUR UNION ORGANISATIONS convened for May Ist, 1921, in MOSCOW. Make May 1st a Labour Day to be remembered in the annals of Labour History. Upon this day let all the Labour Union Forces of the West rally to the centre of the proletarian revolution, and shape nnew an international organisation and an international policy capable of leading the workers to victory. Pass the attached resolutions at your Branch meetings your committee meet, your meetings in the mills and mines and

cutting of wages, the increasing bitterness of the struggle to live, organisation.

Final article The source of funds and how collect In previous chapters we have endeavored to show both the kind of work performed by charity agencies and the manner in which it is performed. But,

Private charities are maintained esgentially on voluntary subscriptions. receives a number of bequests, to be this law operates even more rigidly in sure, but the bulk of its funds are secured through subscriptions. To insure is the only factor with such child-agenweeks at a time collecting what is termthis one agency in 1914, ic. \$100,000
and the most pathetic cases that come was for administration which, reduced ed the most pathetic cases that come to the Society's notice within the year. to intelligible language, means that the bait designed to open the hearts, or, rents, salaries (fancy ones indeed for rather, the pockets of the prospective

Professional beggars would do well indeed to take suggestions from these highly trained technicians whose art mily in distress. And in the face of this for bleeding is so superb that they find no difficulty whatever in raising the

Here is a typical specimen of their appeal for subscriptions: "Two of the weetest little girls were found by our investigator, filthy, ragged, semistarved. Father-lazy, good for-nothing, homes and placed in a nice, comfortable care, motherly treatment, are conten- ty. Putting under cover the wounds

Curious enough, the same bourgeois who, in advertising his own wares. be thrown off his guard, when another

Another method having the same ob-Pres. or Vice Pres. of the Organization. at stake may become too troublesome, for Prevention etc. 'ran' for Lieuten. in a large majority of cases. often as not, it has also a great financial and political objective). At the banquet, attended by an extra agance and luxury truly characteristic of ng to the gr tion of which the celebration is supdiscovery and, above all, the utilization of it, delivers an oration calculated self with its own class,

hold! the game works like magic the result is an extensive increase

This hypocracy, misrepresentati which we have already shown. Let us see now how these, colossal amon expended.

of the largest items in the cost of a the charity factory. In fact, there, it cies as the Society for Prevention etc. whole amount was swallowed up in the loval, 100% American workers,) office expenses, etc., etc. Just think of it! Not one penny of \$100,000 was used for relief, tiding over a worker's facapitalist camuflage, these agencies have the audacity to call themselves tharity organizations? And yet the most tragic part of all this, in our estimation, is the fact that this contempable pretense has been carried on for decades and the very ones whom it so vitally affects, those who are made the target of this shameful lie and treacherous design do not intelligently appreciate the harm done to themselves, their class.

As already pointed out, the bourgeois sie manifests its class consciousness m produced by the capitalist system by placing some of its victims now is an insane asylums, now in prisons, now in pauper-houses, the charitable agencies accomplish two very important objects: (1) remove from sight a running sore, which is, to say the least, offensive to the highly developed sensibilities of the cultured class; (3) emasculates, renders harmless an element which, driven forsooth revolutionary, red, Bolshevik. Such unpleasant prospects must at all

And just at this critical time, when the ranks of the mnemployed are conlockouts are the order of the day; when starvation, misery, want stare the workers in the face and when, as is the case under such conditions, some of the proletarians are tempted to use the last resort, namely: "charity," we say: beware of the poissoners, deadly source! Instead of stiffing every semblance of posedly held. At the proper psychologic pect, the proletarist must retain, muster into action these precious qualities and, (must) learn case for all to align it-

are common to every country under capitalism. The pottering about with doles and charitable schemes become evermore futile, and step by step the fight takes on a revolutionary character as decaying capitalism rallies its forces to oppose the onward march of organised labour. All our minor issues, our sectional claims of unions, our little reforms, are being thrust into the background as the mightier questions rise up before us demanding that we conquer capitalism. In this fight the Russian workers lead the way grimly yet gladly battling against stupendous odds. They call to the organised workers of Britain to join with them and the organised workers of other lands in the struggle which must know no defeat. This call cannot be ignored. It is the call of history shouting over the wreckage of capitalism-Shall all labouring humanity become tributory slaves to the triumphant clique under the firm of the "League of Nations," which, assisted by an international army and an international navy, has the sole aim of maintaining and perpetuating its own supremacy? Or shall the working class of Europe and other countries take possession of the dilanidated, tottering structure of the world's husbandry, and ensure its regeneration on Socialist principles?"

To this call and challenge thee can one reply-"We, the organised workers of Britain, will join with the Russian workers in the "Red" Labour Union International, and together with the Communist International, shatter the remaining bulwarks of capitalism, and build the world anew under the Red Banner of the WORLD-WIDE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT."

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE! DOWN WITH THE YELLOW AMSTERDAM INTERNA-MIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL! LONG LIVE THE RED LABOUR UNION INTERNATIONAL Yours, with revolutionary greetings on behalf of the Provisional International Council of Labour Unions, M. TOMSKY, A. ROSMER J. T. MURPHY.

RESOLUTIONS This meeting of (name of Union branch, committee, committee, call on the E.C. of this organisation (name) ..... to take all necessary steps to secure the proper election of delegation to the World Congress of Labour Unions to be held in Moscow May 1st, 1921, pledged to support a revolutionary policy aiming the world-wide dictatorship of the Proletarist, and to affiliate the organisation to the "Red" International Council of Labour Unit

workshops. Work with all your strength to make this international Congress a mighty weapon in the world-wide liberation war of the working class.

We cannot escape these issues. They are bound up with the immediate every-day struggle everywhere. The unemployment, the continuous and to take all messages from the continuous forms and to take all messages from the continuous forms.