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inds itself at present.

Why American Labor Is Backward. The reason for the backwardness of

American Labor, Nearing says, is due Under the auspices of the Amalgamat- to the unique American conditions. The el Carment Workers of Cleveland, a plentifulness of free land in this lesse on the above subject was de country, imbued the workers with the Enced by Scott Nearing, Feb. 24. As idea that it is possible to rise out of there is no question that American the condition of the wage laboring class Labor really is in a very grave crisis, and become independent. These things the discussion of that subject is of were conceivable, to some extente, in vital importance. Nearing's knowledge the 19th century, now they are entirely of the facts, pertaining to this situation out of the question, but Labor still cannot be questioned: Nearing has reasons along these lines. The old traditions rest heavily on the minds the gravity in which American Labor of the people, and keep them downphysically and mentally, without the people themselves realizing that their

(Continued on page 2.)



THE UNMERCIFUL PHYSICIAN.

Who Are The Traitors?

EDITORIAL NOTE: Recently there of the Third International. My state and journalist, and James Oneal one of of the House of the Masses case in De-Party attorney, had stated in court that the Communists were guilty of attempting to overthrew the government by force and violence. This act, that Stedman made such a charge. In the following article, comrade Minor points to the court documents filed by Stedman as proof that he did brand the Communists as favoring such action.

TO THE NATIONAL OFFICE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY, OTTO BRAN-STETTER, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, 220 South Ashland Boulevard,

(Attention of National Office Press

On Februtry 12th you issued to the Socialist press a story in which you characterized a certain statement of With your story you issued a letter by against Stedman, I have just received mine as a "plain, unvarnished lie." Seymour Stedman, Socialist ex-candidate for the vice-presidency, in which Stedman alleged that "Robert Minor has deliberately lied." You also issued a letter from Lazarus S. Davidow in which he conditionally applies to me the term "deliberate liar."

The matter at issue is a statement that I made in debate with James Oneal of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party on the subject

pecured in New York city a debate ment was that at a time when 700-old between Robert Minor, the cartonist Communists were under arrest, in the the Editors of the New York Call. Dur-ing this debate in which Minor won sentences and deportation. Seymour all the laurels, he made a certain state-ment to the effect that during the trial there said that these men were guilty of seeking to overthrow the American troit, when the Socialist Party under-took to retain legal control of that property bought by former units of statement Stedman, Davidow and the hat Party, Seymour Stedman, Socialist enstedians of the machinery of the Soc. Party flatety deny, saving that nothing of the kind occurred. The issue is very simply joined. If these denials by Stedman, Davidow and the Socialist Party Minor branded as a traitorous one. man, Davidow and the Socialist Party Stedman and the Socialist Party have Mational Office are not true, then a denied in written official statements considerable number of the leaders of considerable number of the leaders of of the Socialist Party are deceiving the Socialist Party membership in a most dangerous manner. If I cannot prove reliable sources for the statement I nade, then I am a charlatan.

As both of the letters you issued, and rour National Office as well, have challenged the source of justification for my statement, I here give my source, and I trust that you will publish my letter as widely as you have published the others.

For five days, I have delayed my answer for the purpose of obtaining a copy of the document which will substantiate my original serious charge

The Documentary Proof

The document is a certified copy of the Bill of Complaint filed by Seymour Stedman and Lazarus S. Davidow in the Court of Chancery in Detroit under the number 74788, From it I quote as

"The Workers' Educational Association, a Michigan Corporation, plaintiff (Continued on page 4.)

The Red Labor Union International Appeals to the American Workers

WORKERS:

The spectre of starvation haunts the stire world. Victors and vanquished of the ate war alike tremble before it. This breakdown of the whole fabric of capitalism is eccomplished by a savage drive upon the workers by the massed power of the employing class. The Master Class has declared war on Labor. This war rages in all countries.

White Terror Everywhere

The white terror slavs the Hungarian worker. West Virginia mobs lynch miners who arm themselves in self-defense. Hungarian white terrorists-West Virginia mobs what difference? They have a common aim the violent supression of labor!

In Spain, the "civil guards" shoot union men on the streets; the militant leaders are held as hostages of the class war. In taly the hired thugs of the bourgeoisie are burning the workers' halls, destroying their rewspaper plants. The workers are assaulted with vicience and murder. In Japan a labor union is a conspiracy.

"White terror" by mobs and hired thurs increases daily in Ameirca. But one tep further, in Ireland, Hungary, Spain, Finland, India and Japan - the white terfor is the government itself.

To Destroy The Labor Unions

The French Government has ordered he dissolution of the General Confederation I Labor. In America, the campaign for the en shop - the destruction of organized aber-marches across the land with its accompanying army of thugs, strikebreakers and spies. The Clayton Act, proclaimed by Compers as labor's "Magna Charta", in the ands of the Superme Court becomes labor's Waterloo". The same forces attack the worker in France as in America.

Millions Of Fnemployed

In America four million unemployed alk the streets. Millions more have had their wages cut and have been forced to ecept part-time work. These are the same millions who, only a few months ago, were arged to "increase production"-these are he same millions who were ordered to work or fight' We produced. And now the capitalists claim they cannot find a "profitble" market for the goods we produced.

How About Trade With Russia?

There is a market for our products. wiet Russia wants locomotives. rolling tock, agricultural machinery, electrical suplies, tools of all kinds, clothing, shoes, medal supplies, etc. But the United States trament refuses to recognize and opposes ade relations with Soviet Russia-which ould mer york and alleviation of the un-

employment crisis.

The U. S. Government denies the Russian workers and peasants the tools and clothing they need. The American workers are thus denied the chance to work. The same force that starves the Russian workers thus starves the American workers.

Preparing New Wars

The world imperialists have united to starve Soviet Russia. But even this unholy alliance cannot save their tottering system. In addition to the industrial depression we are now suffering from, we may be called upon at any time to fight new capitalist wars. The capitalists of England, America and Japan are disputing the oilfields of the world. The propaganda of race hatred and patriotism is being intestified. Mexico, Siberia, Baku, Mesopotamia are the bones of contention. Japan is casting angry glances at the Kamchatka concession to Vanderlip. In short, every capitalist peace treaty is a preparation for new wars.

Our Fight

The American workers are faced with war on three fronts We must fight the employers to a finish in their Open Shep campaign. We must prevent the cutting of our wages. We must meet the problem of inempleyment. To do these things we must have a fighting organization. We cannot meet the Open Shop campaign with a policy of "class-conciliation". Gompers. Stone, Lewis & Co., who fooled us into making peace with the bosses and going to war for them, cannot solve these problems for us. These "leaders" have been advising the rank and file to "be good" and they will be rewarded. And now we have our reward' Reduction of wages, unemploment, the open shop.

Bosses Powerfully Organized

Let us compare the organization of the workers with the organization of the bosses. We are divided into craft unions. Our contracts and agreements expire at different times. We have separate organization machinery, separate treasuries, separate sets ef officials. We are divided amongst ourselves. We quarrel over jurisdiction matters, national and color questions. Everywhere in me ranks of labor is confusion, division and tack of a clear-cut plan of action.

Not so with the bosses. They are united in Chambers of Commerce, Merchants. Bankers and Manufacturers Associations,international trusts and syndicates. They have subjected the machinery of government to their class. Internationally, they are united in the League of Nations"

Close Your Ranks! In this emergency all such confusion

must cease. We are in the midst of classwar. Wars cannot be fought with scattered forces. We must unite our small detachments into one mighty, disciplined army; we must straighten out our skirmish-lines into one great battle-front; we must unite our unions into one General Staff of Labor.

The first duty of every worker is to join the union of his industry. He must see to it that the union is composed of active workers. Only the full participation by the rank and file in the activity and management of the unions can develop the labor organizations into a solidly organized and disciplined army of labor.

War On The Labor Fakers

New times demand new tactics. We must first of all attain massunity. Loyalty and devotion to the labor movement does not mean loyalty and devotion to the old bankrupt leadership with its outworn tactics. Mass-unity produces mass-action. In England, the mass-unity achieved through the Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers was ifollowed by massaction. The example of the English tradeunionists points the way to the American workers.

Class War Is International

Capitalism is international. The classwar is international. It is not enough to build up a strong unified labor movement in each country. The experience of the Russian and Hungarian revolutions teaches us that the working class must unite internationally if it is to fulfill its historic mission. Unless united by a revolutionary international labor movement the capitalists of the world will use their combined reactionary forces to crush the workers' movement in each country. The labor movements of ail countries must unite to wage the class-war on an international scale.

The Capitalist International

The capitalist have their international the League of Nations-with its international army, navy and police. Through the League of Nations the Imperialist Powers have divided the world's markets among themselves, and small, weak nationalities are completely at their mercy. The offensive against labor is in full swing in France, Italy, England, Spain, Argentine, Chili, Japan and America The League of Nations is the instrument of international reaction to crush the workers' movement everywhere. Only the blind cannot see that the "League of Nations" is the capitalist inter-

The Yellow Amsterdam International The capitalists have a very powerful

auxiliary in the Amsterdam Federation of | Spanish Confederation of Labor ... Trade Unions organized as a tail to the lite of the Labor Bureau of the League of Nations. These traitorous leaders whose hands are stained with the blood of 13 million workers-these betrayers of the working class have organized the "yellow" Amsterdam "International" as a center of world sabotage against Soviet Russia and the awakening workers of Europe and America.

This yellow "international" is organized ot to wage class-war but to maintain classpeace. This Amsterdam "international" endorsed and participated in the Washington Conference of the Labor Bureau of the league of Nations. Its representatives to this conference worked hand in hand with the representatives of the employers and agents of the governments.

This yellow Amsterdam "international" is not the workers' organization. The leaders who dominate it are not our representatives. They are the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class". They are agents of the bourgeoisie in the camp of the workers. The workers of America must have nothing to do with such leaders and with such an organization!

The International Of Revolutionary Labor Unions

The rank and file of the trade unions of Europe and America have a deep feeling of class solidarity with Soviet Russia. This was very clearly demonstrated last summer when under the pressure of the toiling masses of France, Italy, England and Germany, the criminal hand of the imperialist bandits was stayed. On August 13th, 1920, the British workers' "Council of Action", the French, Italian and German railroad workers and seamen prevented their governments from openly waging war on Sovic Russia, after the heroic Red Army had repelled the Polish mercenaries from its ter-

This shows how much more an organ ized and disciplined International of revolutionary unions could accomplish.

The Russian trade unions, over five million strong, have already taken the initiative together with the representatives of the labor unions of Italy, France, England, Norway, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria and Georgia. They founded on July 15th, 1920, The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions-The Red Labor Union Interna-

This vanguard of the revolutionary labor movement began with a membership of over ten millions. The following organization have joined: Russian Trade Unions 5,200,000

Italian Gen. Confederat. of Labor 2,000,000

French Labor Unions of the "le Italian Syndicalist Unions British Shop Stew. & Work. Com.,. 200,000 Norwegian Labor Unions Jugo-Slav Confederation of Labor ... Bulgarian General Workers' Union 120,000 German Syndicalists (Frei Arbeiter

Georgian "left" unions 15,000 Dutch Transport Workers' Federatior. (membership unknown)

Transport Workers of Dutch East * Indies (membership unknown)

The Provisional Council of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions has called a World Congress of all revolutionary labor unions to be held at Moscow in May, 1921.

Union) 60,000

This call is addressed to all the revolutionary workers in the labor movement of Europe and America to rally round the banner of the Red Labor Union Inernational and to send delegates to this forthcoming world congress.

Moscow Or Amsterdam?

The class-conscious workers of Europe are answering this call in a most determined and enthusiastic spirit. They are going to Moscow. How about the American workers? Shall we go to Amsterdam, with its Labor Bureau of the League of Nations, with its Thomas, its Jouhaux, its Gompers, with its international policy of "class co-operation", with its criminal sabotage of Soviet Russia? Or shall we go to Moscow, with the Russian workers and peasants who have shown 'he world the greatest example of vorking class solidarity, achievement and sacrifice; with the revolutionary workers of Hungary, France, Germany, England; with those who have fought for years for the cause of labor?

This question the workers of America must icon answer. Despite Compers' official withdrawal, he is still part of the Amsterdam International through the Washington Labor Bureau of the League of Nations. A campaign will be started soon for affiliation with the "yellow international". You workers will have to make a choice. You cannot emain neutral. There can be no neutrality Letween the workers and the emptalists. You are for the dictatorship of the workers er you are for the dictatorship of the cap-

Werters of America! Where do you stand? If you are with the workers and arginst the bosses and their agents then you telong n the International Council of Trade and

naustrial Unions. The Provisional Council calls man ven to take up the question of affiliation at rest . . (Continued or page, 3.)

Is Personal Gain a True Incentive?

By Jane B. Lee,

On all hands the Communist is met with the seemingly puzzling query: exercise of one's faculty and (2) in who will labor, invent, do creative the service rendered to one's fellow work of any kind if the incentive beings; to endeavor, namely: personal gain. The individualist. Herbert Spencer, is eliminated?

is seen in the case of a vast number of manual workers, or that the artist's, scientist's energies are set in ement, prestige, social distinction.

of a large majority of toilers in origin. factories, mills and mines.

A brief analysis, however, will prove to the most skeptical that this is due not to the nature of the workers in those industries, but rather to the nature of the work performed t

Decline of Interest in Labor.

Modern large scale production has done away with the interest, the pride, the artisan of old took in his handicraft. To call out interest in and love for any given pursuit, coordination in such manner that the worker understands the connection between the constituent parts and the whole, is Osolutely essential

The worker to-day is denied this potent motive power. Capitalist production carried on on the basis of profit instead of use, has introduced such minute division of labor that the operative in a modern plant has not the slightest conception of the relation of his part of the work to forego altogether. that of the fellow-worker next to him, He is confined to the performance of a most monotonous task under the most unscholesome, disagreable surroundings. Last but not least there is the consideration of compensation, the so called incentive translated in terms of an equivalent for labor power, i e. wages.

It is common knowledge that the producer to day receives in wages one eighth of the value of the product of his labor. The difference in value between his wages and product is appropriated by the owners of the plant in the form of interest and profit.

Under these circumstances is it surworks out of fear of actual starvation blindfolded and, above all, the wage merely? What other interest is held tance he receives and which barely suffices to maintain his existence and reproduce his kind (the latter a sort of this individualistic outlook; it puts the

or another, is even more fallacious.

No less an opponent of Communism fundamental instincts, namely; seekmore potent).

The Higher Motivation to Labor. We see then that buman effort has

its own intrinsic value, i. c. the picasure and gratification accruing to one in the exercise of one's faculty.

That this is true is demonstrated spite of lack of financial gain in the privation, contempory hostility and est character. ending in persecution, jail, etc., but The essence of this ideal is expressed

By John S. Clark

in The Worker (Glasgow)

And why? Because of the value of the work itself contained in (1) the

The assumption is prevalent that role him america factor plays in the appreciate the tremendous human effort is brought into play work of those who try to further the thru fear of physical discomfort, as interests of humanity instead of serving those of their own

These are facts which no impartial student of history will undertake to motion because of financial aggradiz- condradict. Whence then this widespread idea of incentive as extrinsic, The superficial observer, unaccust- as something outside of the worker, omed to see beneath the surface may which must be urged on, as it were, be led to entertain such a view by by external influence? To answer this virtue of the fact that it holds good que tion one must go back to its

> The Ideology of Capitalism. With each social system there is developed a corresponding ideology, con cepts, standards of right and wrong,

A social order based on the greatest good to the smallest number and the greatest harm to the largest numbe must be accompanied by ideas and ideals justifying that arrangement.

Capitalism is fundamentally ind vidualistic, it is based on the principa and practice of "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost." This cutthroat system could not endure were it not reinforced by a philosophy which lends a semblance of justice to it. The justice, we are told by its apologists lies in the fact that nature itself ha not been equally lavish with all of us; has endowed some with a large amoun of brain power, others with but a small quanity of that precious gray matter and still others nature has seen fit to

This so-called natural differentiation is turned to the account of the minority ruling class. Men of the first group become Capitans of Industry: men at the third, their industrial serfs, or wage slaves; men of the second, a sort of in termediary between the first and third or the modern middle class.

This ingenious division of men into classes is meant to explain and justif a social order which foredooms million of workers to the part of mere cog in the social structure making their work a vertible curse to be shunned were it not for the lash of hunger constantly falling upon their bent backs In order to continue this brutal social prising that the manual worker to-day inequality, some must be deluded, some slaves themselves must be made to be out to him over and above the pit lieve that nature, rather than man, made them into slaves. There is another great advantage i

deferred asset of the employing class). blame on the individual instead of the With regard to the artist, scientist, social aggreate. It points its finger to etc. the hypothesis of external motive personal limitations as the cause of power, i c. renumeration of one kind failure. And by the same token, it hypnotizes into the mythical belief that success is the result of individual efthan Herbert Spencer contends that fort. It creates the paradoxical psyof one's faculty yields the chology of the proletarian-bourgeois greatest amount of pleasure and that standards and aims. In fine, the inhuman conduct responds to but two dividualistic theory serves the capitalist end admirably in that it explains ing of pleasure and avoiding of pain sanctions and holds out the mirage of (the former, in our opinion, being the success for some few isolated persons out of the large mass of workers who must remain in the mire all their lives. To rise to the "top" to a financial pedestal, is the ideal stressed by cap italism as the most worthy of human aspirations. The decay of capitalism as evidenced in Europe, the industria conditions of the U.S., the land of fab daily by examples of the most pain- alons riches in the hands of a few in staking labor in laboratories, clinics, dustrial pirates, and unemployment eté, carried on not for consideration crime, suicide, the lot of millions who of financial gain, but conversely, in create all the wealth, all these are but eloquent proofs of the lie contained in interest of science and human wel- the conception of human effort for in fare. The biographies of great minds dividual gain instead of service for the of all ages furnish many instances of common good which is simultaneously hardship, beginning with physical also an individual pleasure of the high

these things instead of cheeking ar- in the Communist conception of right

tchambers by means of permanent part

itions. A bronze bust of the great paint-

convey, together with details concern

it. He points with delicate finger to

the wealth of detail or tack of it, h

Teaching Soldiers to Hate War

THE SOVIET ART GALLERIES | er c cupies a pedestal near the main

There are huge canvasses executed wall. Opposite the large windows hang

by the greatest of all modern Russian his tremendous canvasses, his protest-

painters, Verestehngin. They convey ing works of art, where the light may

he one message—the utter rottenness give them every advantage. In front

of war. Battlefields are depicted in all of them in each of the three chambers

their ghastliness and shame. Battles stands a group of soldiers, men of the

are painted with every horror that Red Army of Soviet Russia. They are

accompanies them. The desolateness and without officers and number, perhaps

misery of military biviouses and camp- about fifty all told. They stare with

oils of War" is but a huge anti-war paintings in all their horror,

ing grounds are faithfully reproduced. Hvely and intelligent interest at the

of all time. It is divided into three his cheek, he becomes twice as animat-

very aggressive-very aggressive indeed. It stated outwith:

"This Congress condemns the Capitalist System of Production, which operates to the injury of the great mass

By E. Burns.

Then it began to think what this meant, and it went on:

"Taking into consideration the high cost of living... and moreover, the accumulation of enormous profits in certain industries who are curtailing production....." Well, having taken all this into consideration, how did the Congress act? It roundly declared:

"This Congress is of the opinion that all available necessaries of life should be marketed at lowest prices possible." Truly a tremendous effort of thought must have been necesprices possible. Possible for whom?

However, having delivered itself of this portentous opinion the Congress went on to "demand, in the interest of Society, the Socialization of the means of production, to be accomplished in a manner which will provide that control of socialised inpopulation, and not made subservient to the organisation of capitalist States. The Congress regards it as essential that commencement should be made forthwith on the Socialisation of minerals—coals, ores, salt, phosphate, etc-and of all Transport tions." So it added to its resolution the following: Undertakings, and that in nonsocialised industries legal provision shall be made, giving the workers the right of Co-determination in the regulation of production on making the preliminaries to Socialization.'

In this section of the resolution we have the summing-up of the whole attitude of the Amsterdam International. The "Socialisation" of industry is "to be accomplished in a manner which will provide that control of socialised industry shall be vested in 'a democratic body elected by the entire population". In the language which the leaders of the Amsterdam International use, 'Farliament is a democratic body elected by the entire population." And it is a little difficult to understand how control by such "democratic bodies" will prevent socialised industries from being "made subservient to the organisation of Capitalist States. For Parliament is one of the most important parts in the organ isation of Capitalist States. And even if the Amsterdam Inter national meant some new "democratic body," a sort of Industrial Parliament, it is perfectly obvious that any "democratic body elected by the entire population" would possess all the characteristics of Parliament, and contain practically the same type of person. Sir Edward Carson, Winston Churchill, Horatio Bottomley and Lloyd George would all get in to the "democratic body to run socialised industry"; in fact, there would be no essential difference between that and the Parliament, and the organisation of the capitalist State-police, press, pulpit, lawcourts, soldiers, tanks-would be called into play when necessary just as ther are now. The "democratic body elected by the entire population" would control socialised industry in such a way that the more things changed, the more they would be the same. The workers would be wage slaves to the "democratic body," and the

the whole machinery of democracy, with its elections by the entire population and all the rest of it, is undoubtedly the very best machinery for the "protection" of the community of capitalist politicians and shareholders, and it protects them from the workers, as we have seen in the railway strike, the coal strike, and all the anti-Labour organisation which the capitalist State (elected by the entire population) has developed. The Amsterdam International, in asking for a democratic body to control socialised industries, is asking for machinery to maintain the interests of capital, and to continue the exploitation of the

And having laid down that policy as the supreme aim of

its endeavours, the Amsterdam International regards it as es-At the London meeting last November of the Amsterdam sential that a start be made on the Socialisation of Minerals up of Spanish, Belgian, French International, a resolution on the Socialisation of the Means and Transport Undertakings! The mines and the railways are capital city of Lithuania, to supervise of Production was carried manimously. The resolution was to be "socialised"; not a word as to whether they are to be taken the plebiseite to determine if the ci over for cash or for love; it is apparently taken for granted that shall be Polish or Lithuanian, has be the shareholders will all be "compensated" and will thus lose halted by wireless messages from Tel nothing, while the workers will still have to provide the usual tcherin, Bolshevik Foreign Minister percentage for their old employers. And the capitalist class, as by way of Switzerland. Tchitcherin a whole, will be able to use "the democratic body" which is to message to Swiss communists and radi control mines and railways just as it uses Perliament to-day, cals induced them to force the govern in order to keep to itself any advantages which "socialisation" ment to refuse the army passage the and in further consideration of the scarcity of the neces- may bring. No doubt the democratic body would make one or saries of life.... and the action of capitalist employers two suitable appointments from the Trade Union leaders concerned; but they would be the only workers who would benefit.

As for the workers in the industries that are not socialised, sage to the new army of internation the Amsterdam International "regards it as essential" that capitalism. "legal provision shall be made, giving the workers the right of Co-determination in the regulation of production." The workers shall have the right to their Whitley Councils, and if any- of ten factories in the Petrograd di sary for the Congress to reach that conclusion! Note the lowest body tries to get in the way, then the Amsterdam International riet for the manifacture of option will better leave the gruesome details to the imagination. It surgical and medical instruments makes rather pathetic reading, this Whitley Council Co-determination, just at present, with the collapse of the Councils over Unemployment.

But there it is in a nutshell - the Amsterdam International present has been gathered. dustry shall be vested in democratic bodies elected by the entire stands for piecemeal "socialisation," for control by "democratic bodies," and for "Co-determination." That is all very respectable and nice; so respectable and nice that the Amsterdam International thought the whole matter could be settled by "negotia-

> "The Congress instructs the Bureau to open negotiations with the Council of the League of Nations."

The Council of the League of Nations! The body which is at work. the most fully developed instrument of international capitalism; the body which has waged war, openly and secretly, on the Russian workers, on the Hungarian workers, on the workers in every Reval. This step is taken for the pu country where they dared to challenge the capitalist supremacy. pose of facilitating the repairment But the Trade Union leaders who are identified with the Amster- the Soviet transport. dam International are much too respectable to worry themselves about little matters of that sort. Negotiations with the Council of the League of Nations will at least mean a visit to Paris tie holding Russin together was the (possibly by aeroplane), and it may even mean a little trip to assaults from without. But the con Geneva. And eventually, perhaps, shaking hands with one of the tinuity of economic progress and peace Biggest Murderers on Earth. Not a thing to be despised, is it?

But in case any one might resent these negotiations, and think that nothing at all was being done, the instruction to the grow worse. Organized workers have Bureau to negotiate with the Council of the League of Nations made demands upon the government was followed up by another instruction and an appeal. The Bureau for the establishment of the 8 hour was instructed also to negotiate with:

"the International Trade Union Secretaries of Miners, Seafarers and other Transport Workers, for the purpose of using every available means to ottain the object in view as soon as possible." And further,

"The Congress appeals to the organised workers of all countries to use, with the authority of the Executive Committee of their respective organisations, their entire economic and political power for the realisation of this sim."

Think of this, O ye mighty capitalists and ye Council of the profits would go to the capitalist class just as they do to-day, League of Nations, and tremble! The great Trade Union leaders though the commouflage might be a little more thickly laid on. have uttered a migty oath. By their beards they have sworn to refrain from using the weapon And not a word is said as to the position of the workers. The to use "every available means" to force you to negotiate for that insure success, such a man Amsterdam International presumably wants "a democratic body socialisation, democratic controlling bodies (elected by the entire himself in the position of a fake elected by the entire population" to control socialised industries, population). and Co-determination! Cet on your knees, and who aims to force the workers to fight in order to protect that mythical object, "the community." Now negotiate! Don't be too frightened-they are really the mildestmannered men that ever scuttled a ship. And if you will just have a friendly talk with them, you will find that they hate by the bourgeois courts and legislature the Bolsheviks just as much as you do, and are quite ready to A considerable portion of the worker go on with the old game as long as you like.

> But what have the rank and file to say to it all? Do they want "Socialisation" and "cemocratic bodies" and "Codetermina- it. The workers of Russia are not p tion"? Or do they want Communism and Workers' Soviets? If ifists, they see the necessity to spar ney want the former, why not affiliate direct to the League of ations? And if the latter, why not link up with the other workrs' organisations which stand on the platform of the Red International?

The Worker.

ed and twice as vehement, and his andience of Red soldiers is moved to the quick, as the orator points out to it the savagery and futility of war.

That is the difference between the Russian Communist "militarism" and dor, real, tend to augment the flow of human associations: "Each for all and the class-made war glorfying, hatredorganising, truth distorting, murder sanctifying brigandage of Imperialist militarism. The latter teaches with calculating cunning that war is a noble calling and "brings out the best in uman nature." In Russia they teach abbarrence of war, that it is cruel, bloody, vacarious and futile, and brings out the worst in human nature. Imperial sm deliberately propagates its false doctrines, and elevates the ignobletrade of murder into the "noble profession" of warfare, because its whole existence is based upon mean and sordid theft, graft, spoliation, and slavery Its protagonists dare not tell the truth, they must lie and equivocate or their his zenith in 1918. Since then he has rule could not last a week. Communism does not lie to its people, to its soldiers. Communism teaches its soldiers how to use the weapons of Imperialist militarism, teaches them militarist tacties and discipline, in order that they may the more successfully resist their would-be enslavers and preserve their freedom intact. And because the sold

"THE LABOR CRISIS IN THE UNITED STATES"

(Continued from page 1.) thinking is not waranted by the facts of modern life. Putting it in the exact words of Nearing, refering to the American worker--he thinks that the hole he is in, is a free country".

The Weakness Of The A. F. Of L.

The A. F. of L. is the dominant labo organization of the country, says Nearing, but its form and conception is thoroughy obsolete, diverced from the contemporary economic life. The great boast of membership in that organiza tion during the war, according to Nearing, has no meaning what so ever; he calls that body a hot house plant. Quot ing the statistical authority, Babson who uttered the statement on the position of American Labor in the follow

ing words: "There is no doubt it-

Labor is beaten. Mr. Gompers was in

world has witnessed the coming of military phenomenon in less than three unions dissolved; when the open shor short years. That amazing army, the is proclaimed as the only and real creation of the "one-time pacifist," has American plan, Labor is silent, it does beaten invader after invader to pulp, not protect itself and does not defend Every army seat against it has gone its position. The five million unemployforth a "conquering host," and returned of the entiry render the position ier of Communism knows the truth ed a starving, ragged rabble. Churchill of the capitalists involnerable. Through about the causes of war, he fights the of the far north, Koltchak of the far the broadly spread unempolyment, better Wis determination is that no east, Dennikin of the south, Judenitch Labor is in such a position that it canservile army of Imperialist "hired as of the north-east. Wrangel of the Crim- not fight back. Capital, nevertheless. no Polaboritch and the Poles one and expects that Labor will make an at--11 h - danced their dance micabre to tempt at a come-back, and so it in-

not willing to bid for peace labor as solidated enemy. Labor will become another thing, the employing class is to violate those statutes. immensely more powerful than it was in 1914. We have an organized labor force more numerous than ever before. Relatively twice as many workers or and Boycott, said Nearing. All these ganized as in 1916. But this same labor principles are abrogated by the multiforce has lost its hold on the public Futhermore, it is divided in its own L. is made as illegal as the Bolsheviks. eamp. It fears capital. It also fears its What, in such condition, shall Labor not dare." After reading the above impossible now, the industrial reserve statement, Nearing illustrated the po- army is too numerous, strikes are foresition of the A. F. of L., in this at- doomed to failure. "It threatens, but tractive way, how the American capital- does not dare". Nevertheless, the chalists viewed their A. F. of L .:

"During their growth they needed it "During the war they used it.

stendily lost power. He has lost power "After the war-they throw it out." In the present after-war period when wages are being reduced and the broadly spread unempolyment. nches itself, using the government

with his own people because he is no passed the, now famous, crimina longer able to deliver the goods. He can syndicalist laws. The come-back of no longer deliver the goods for two Labor must come, if it ever takes place, reasons. For onet hing, peace urgency during the next four years Harding's has replaced war urgency and we are term-it will meet a unified and conwe were willing to bid for war labor. For criminal, for it will inevitability have

Labor Unions Now Illegal.

The four basic principles of the I F. of L. are: Agitate, Unionize, Strike, tude of laws enacted. Even the A. F. of own factions. It threatens, but it does do? Submit it cannot. Fight backflenge must be accepted, simply because it cannot be evaded for ever.

Nearing recomends as the proper wa to meet this situation, to organize along industrial lines and participate in political action, not political lobby ing of the Gompers type. Furthermore, he believes it to be essential that Labor pay incomparably more attention to education. Sooner or later Labor will have to take the responsibility for the carrying on of production. The lecture was concluded in pointing out the inevitability of Socialism, that Labor must prepare to take hold of production

Labors' Choice of Wes

that a sufficient justification for hav- as its real weapon. Significant is the The most important were from the tions. About half a dozen were asked ing trained men in an art which they case, that nearly all the states voting gallery, pertaining to the faint solution heavily for Harding, have already of the working class problems, Nearing

Yellow International: Socialization vs. Communism Along) The Soviet From

The League of Nations army, British troops, on their way to Vilni The army is attempting to reach Villa the country. It is reported that Teltcherin's messages to workers in Aus are responsible for their refusing pa

The Central Economic Council Russia has arranged for the operating

A Museum of the Revolution has be pened in Petrograd where all material dealing with the revolution, past and

A number of Chinese university students have arrived in Moscow for the purpose of studying the Sovie System at work.

The Mixed Russian and Latvian co mission for the mapping out of the fron ier between the two countries are no

By an agreement with Esthonia, Ru sian locomotives are being repaired

Formerely some bourgeois "states men" made the claim that the only proves this to be an error.

Conditions in Latvia continue day, right to strike, and public work for the unemployed.

is a pacifist, does not believe in the use of force, but he proved beyond any doubt, that the papitalist class does believe in and practice force, He still thinks that the proletariat can achieve Socialism gradually, step by step. No one can say that he does not know which is going on in Europe, that the workers cannot ascend into Socialism step by step, that the brutality of the bour geoisie knows no limits. If a man knowing all this, still tells the worker the capitalistic exploitation, but to us only those weapons that are legalized in Finland, Germany and Hungary beli such views and their present conditie is most deplerable, and Nearing kno no means and pains in subduing th bourgeoisie, and they are victorie over their class enemies.

So all in all, Nearing, by the que tions from the gallery, was forced, the reluctantly to admit that the working class may be compelled to resort to the use of force and to prepare for it. B he assued us that he is a pacifist an himself does not believe in any degree of violance, but advocates Labor idarity instead.

What Does Solidarity Mean?

The phrase solidarity is meaningles It is possible to observe solidarity many ways, Christian socialists Scheidemannists in Germany are acting in perfect solidarity as actual counter revolutionists. The A. F. of L. acte in fine solidarity in its collaboration with the American capitalists. Solid ity as a thing in itself is meaningle it secures meaning only from the rection in which it is used. Rus Labor shows the fine solidarity in genuine sense, and in the real rev tionary struggle of the working class Nearing recommends that American Labor affiliate with the Amsterda Trade Union secretariat. This Secreta iat is counter-revolutionary; the H garian and German and similar unio constitute that body, the very se unions that fought against the r lieus workers of those countries. It rather inconceivable how one can and explain to the workers the brutity of the capitalist class and the mi ifest destiny of the imperialists, w million people, that these s

pyramid of buman skulls upon which a while an art instructor (there were pecking whatever morrels of decayed delivers to them a graphic lecture upon flesh remain. Had I been an artist my. the message the picture is intended to self, a great artist, there is one painting I would have liked to execute. It ing its achievent. Fach instructor is would represent the scene I witnessed an enthusiast, for enthusiasm is writ in this very hall where the Verestchagin on the brow and the voice vibrates with then marvel at the depth, the pro- explains atmosphere, movement, sno fundity, and the honor of the Russian annist spirit. We stood in the great gallery devoted to the artistic creations

THE TOILER

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The American Bureau

We are publishing on the first page of this sisue of The Toiler the first appeal issued to American labor unionists by the class, who, side by side with the Kaut- that the bourgeoisie whom they served, American Bureau of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions which has present headquarters in Moscow.

The American Bureau of the International has but recently respective capitalist governments to on a plate and say, there are some been established in this country. This first appeal lays before achieve the "moral mobilization" of concessions for your good conduct. international plunderers and butchers the trade and industrial unionists of this country in a concise the masses as cannon fodder for Euro These little people with slavish minds and graphic manner the international and national problems of pean battle-fields. labor. The appeal, coming to us at a time when Labor is wandering without a guide in a wilderness and maze of conflicting ideas, beset on all sides by great dangers, should serve to awaken the workers to a new consciousness and a realization of its stern

These are serious days for wockers. Capitalism is focusing ternational trade union movement-an all its energies to sustain itself upon an impoverished and broken working-class. The Open Shop campaign and the present terrible memployment are but the prelude of the chant of victorious This policy has been carried out in two Capitalism unless Labor quickly forges new weapons with which directions; one, through the Labor Buto defend itself.

The issue is not only national, but international. Only an international weapon wielded by in the interests of labor of every country will effect the slightest injury to the world imperialism The Fallacies of the Amsterdam Inter of the capitalists. No such weapon exists at this moment. The Amsterdam Bureau is a broken lance. The Labor Bureau of the League of Nations is but a capitalist controlled machine of no their "International" Moscow has be more benefit to Labor than, a "company union". The times de- gun a vigorous campaign. Just as on mand a new weapon. The International Council of Trade and In-the political field, they set up the dustrial Unions organized at Moscow last summer with a membership of 10,000,000 members to start with, is now forging this weapon.

That the American Bureau will find a rich and wide field for against the "yellow" Amsterdam Inthe exploitation of its energies is apparent. With scores of Left ternational, the tail of the Labor Bu unions and parts of national unions representing many hundreds of thousands of class-conscious workers alert and ready to take an advanced position in the class struggle on the economic field, its growth is assured Unionists should circulate this appeal and read it in their local unions. It must be discussed and those locals these unions by the policy of "class such country. Such a state and a class should be carefully studied. already schooled in the class struggle should at once apply for cooperation" which, in this country does not exist. The capitalist class will membership in the only International which can function in the interests of the Workers of the World. Join the International!

It's Solved!

The insistent and pressing problem of unemployment in the Buckeye state has been solved by the master minds in the Social- the bourgeois state to their class inist Party, none other than Joseph W. Sharts and Local Dayton, Jerests, the trade unions still clang to editor and owners respectively of the Miami Valley Socialist. their narrow craft form of organization Soviet Republic; ask them who placed New more than ten millions of organ-We suggest that all worthy people residing in other states pos- and their narrow craft projudices. These esssing the Initiative and Referendum and an unemployment problem should send at once to Fditor Sharts for the receipe. It's ant leaders, made it an easy task to simple. Winderfully simple. So simple that it demands investigat- convert the trade unions into semi-

"We are going to Open the Factories", states the M. V. S. in a seven column headline in its issue of Feb. 25th. And it proceeds to tell how it is going to do it in a 10 point 18 em 5 column article. The M. V. S. by the way, is the Official Organ of the S. P. of Ohio. However, this is a mere courtesy extended to the to exterminate each other. What pur-S. P. by generous local Dayton which sells realestate city lots, lishing the old broken threads which merchandise - and solves unemployment problems.

"We Are Going to Open the Factories", in big black type looks imposing. It sounds good too, very determined like, just as the it meant business. So new we will proceed to open the factories then he quotes the manifesto issued by that the consumptive Second Internaby the most astonishing and ingeniously simple method-"a the Russian trade unions on the eve of tional, composed of traitors, can re perfectly lawful, peaceful way", as one paragraph says. Some the convocation of the Washington strain world imperialism, that the rule-

editors are so damned afraid of the law.! The third column tells us that all that's required to put an Europe and America. To this confer that all this will be in the interest of end to unemployment in Ohio is an AMENDMENT TO THE ence went the trade union represent the proletariat and socialism - answer OHIO CONSTITUTION. There, the secret is out! And all we atives of the Amsterdam International them in the firm, determined voice of need to get this little democratic miracle worker busy is some to discuss international labor legisla- a revolted proletariat; tell them what scores of thousands of signers to a petition under our beneficient ployers' organizations and "neutral" unions say, Dictatorship of the bourg-Inititiative and Referendum. Easy? We should say so. Just you leave a socialist-lawyer-editor to fix up little matters like as security. All for the purpose of furnishing work for the un-UNIVERSAL unemployment. To quote the M. V. S. verbatim: employed! When Editor Sharts meets a capitalist who will do "The proposed amendment would empower the cities to take over that, we will approve the plan. Evidently the editor of the M. V. at once any and all factories and plants for starting co-operative S. does not know that capitalists are class conscious even if industries and employing the unemployed workers. It would also workers are not. empower them to issue bonds upon the security of the property

be compensated, which means that the workers are not going to either open the factories or FACE A RECALL at the hands of trespass upon the factories they have built. In matters of law, the enraged workers. Terrible threat. It is to marvel. The capwe must bow to the superior knowledge and wisdom of attorney italist State and its lesser units will erect a new system of in-Sharts: Our legal studies extend only to a hasty reading of crim-dustry-state capitalism, on the mere jesture of a certain perinal syndicalism and libel laws. But while it may be law and cent of the voters—for fear of recall of a few political fakers in legal-it isn't sense. And we have more respect for sense than office. In the meantime the factories will stay closed and the

Looking this proposed bill over with the eye of one who reads the news papers, the possibilities of court injunctions, of Dayton and enquire of the unemployed if they would feel that hos ponements, delays etc., etc., seem to us an impregnable their constitutional rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of barrier to its adoption. But passing up that phase as being out of happiness' would be greatly outraged by a taking over of the our realm, we would like to know who the deuce is going to buy factories by the workers WITHOUT compensation to the blessed these here bonds. Not the unemployed. Then the capitalists, owners? The capitalists are going to advance the money for bonds with

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER A Review by Henry Allen

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF governments. This manifesto is worth TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS. quoting here: By A. Losovsky.

New York: The Union Publishing Ass.

These "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," as DeLeon called them, who betraved and sold the workers during the war, and destroyed the international trade union connectionsafter the war sought to revive the inadditional chain for the enslavement of the masses to their chariot of "class cooperation" and "class conciliation." rean of the League of Nations and the other the "jellow" Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions.

national

Against these leaders and against Third International against the socialpatriotic Second International-so now. upon the trade union field, they have set up a Red Labor Union International

Losovsky clearly shows the necessity for this step. He analyses the fundconcentration of capitalist industry; its nature. whereas the capitalists had their trusts etc, etc., and had completely subjected weaknesses, fostered for their own pur poses by the labor fakers and ignorgovernmental machinery in time of war.

The purely formal and loose interna fional connections of the trade unions snapped like a leaf in a gale at the first breath of war, and for four years these labor leaders called upon the workers they had pulled asunder?

A Portion of the Manifesto

"They are going to Washington to What Lenin accomplished in his work out a program of international namphleteering against the second In- labor legislation. After twenty million ernational, Losovsky, one of the lead- workers have been sent to destruction, OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL ers of the Russian Trade Union move- these people now worry about labor ment and a prominent Communist, is legislation! Is this in order to raise destined to achieve in his fight against fresh crops of cannon fodder to sacrithe "yellow" Amsterdam Trade Union fice on the altar of their imperialist international, with his pamphlet under fatherlands? They desire to work out review. This pamphlet is a powerful in a program, and like faithful servants livion accompanied by the hearty hurdietment against the Legiens, the wait in the ante-chambers of their Gomperses, the Hendersons, the Ap-patrons-Wilson, Lloyd George and pletons, the Jouhaux, the Thomases, other experts in the art of crushing ternational has become the rallying etc., those arch-traitors of the working the working class! These enuchs think, skys, the Renaudels, the Vanderveldes, out of gratitude for their past services the Bergers, the Lees and the Londons, in confusing the minds of the workers, against Soviet Russia and the growing became the "civil generals" of their will bring them liberal labor legislation forget that individual persons may receive presents, but that a whole class fits. This tool must be destroyed. cannot take a 'tip' or be satisfied with This is a request to accept the proletrcompany' for the exploitation of small dam International. and weak nations, which in the lang-

"They desire to seeure international negotiations with those who have spent workers not by means of their organized, independent, revolutionary class power, but by means of 'behind-theseenes' negotiations, cunning combinations and diplomatic intrigue. Petty deceivers! Where have they seen the direct action of the masses? In what country is there a capitalist class that renders part of its profits and income amental weaknesses of the trade unions for the sake of the beautiful eyes of was echoed by the labor fakers to the guard their priviliges with all the fitune of "the interests of the workers bre of their beings, and no waiting on claration of Principles was drawn up and the employers are identical." An- ministers' door-steps, no slavish humil- and a Provisional Council was elected other factor was the failure of the ity on the part of the working class charged with calling a World Congress unions to keep pace with the growing will compel the bourgeoisie to change of all trade unions accepting the prin-

called "The League of Nations".

"Workers you are being deceived! letariat and Soviet Power. Watch the hands and the actions of of Nations has given the proletariat; the permanent foundation for the Red ask them who execified the Hungarian Labor Union International. monarchists who are exterminating the wing' A. F. of L. unions. Jewish population, who pays all these Russian pogromehicka, with whose aid phlet is the new clear call to the class and unorganized worker in America. Its are the fields and valleys of Russia Losovsky exposes their real motives about the League of Nations, about in trenchant and pitiless style. And agreements with the bourgeoisie, League of Nations, to the workers of ened by an international armistice, and

This humdinger of a plan has been submitted to the State thus taken, for financing such enterprises and compensating the Executive Committee, for their approval, we learn. An anxious Now, this may be legal, we note that the "owners" are to ferred by this amendment, we are told, the city councils will workers have starved to death.

We propose to Editor Sharts that he go upon the streets

And, supposing the unemployed and starving should say

eoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat; League of Nations or the Third International-there can be no middle

poerites, the social Revolution is com-

The Red International Union is Launched

Losovsky describes the difficulties and the obstacles encountered in launching THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL UNIONS."

There you have the policy of the 'vellow'' Amsterdam International. Now since the Second International has passed away, into the black obrahs of the deceived and disillusioned workers, this "vellow" Amsterdam Inground for the labor fakers and socialpatriots of the whole world; it has become the center of world sabotage Proletarian Revolution in all countries. It must be exposed as a tool af the who aim to enslave the masses for new wars of conquest and imperialist pro-

For this purpose the Russian Trade ing onto the skirts of Wilson have ence of labor delegation from various particularly flexible spines; as the countries, who came to Russia during working class does not posses such a the Second World Congress, convened spine, hanging around ministrial ante- a preliminary conference with the ob-International that would take up the iat as a poor relation into the 'limited gauntlet against the "yellow" Amster-

In the discussions that arose among uage of the international marauders is the various representatives at the two unions? preliminary conferences, many questions of vital importance cropped up. labor legislation by means of friendly Proletariat, (2) politics and economics, (3) the necessity for a political party all their lives and energy in securing for the proletariat, (4) relation to the trade unions.

The pamphlet takes up these questions and analyses the various tendencies manifested by the delegates. He shows how at first it seemed well-nigh ments together into one organization on a common basis, and how finally ers. the differences were hammored out voluntarily makes concessions and sur and a general agreement reached. These prior to the war, and the corruption of bankrupt labor leaders? There is no trade union question as a whole and

After the preliminary conferences, ciples of the Dictatorship of the Pro-

your leaders. Ask them what the League Moscow, May 1st, 1921, and is to lay

arms in the hands by the Ronmanian ized workers of Europe are already an assassins; ask them by whose orders and integral part of this fighting trade with whose money were thousands and union international. There is no doubt thousands of Hungarian workers murd, the first World Congress will see the ered; ask them who supported Koltchan I. W. W. the O. B. U. and a number and Denikin, who organized White of other militant independent industrial plies money and arms to the Russian filiated, as well as a number of "Ieft world capitalism.

The inspiring message in this pamconscious organized workers for the sixty-four pages are crammed chock- Communist Labor party of England

An organization of "World War Objectors" has been organized Verk This organization is composed of all who object to war on ethical, religious, personal, political or class grounds. It is organizing to prevent the NEXT

The Senate has passed a bill providing that no foreigngners may be received in American ports unless their passports have been wised by U. S. epresentatives in their home countries. By a system of checking up emigrants thru the agencies of the governmental secret service, the possibility of European radicals getting passage to the land of the free is very remote. Capitalistic governments are leagueing together in every possible way to hamper the movements of the revolutionary proletariat.

The visitor privileges of Eugene V. Debs have been suspended. D. S. Dickerson, chief of the bureau of prisoners and paroles, states that Debs' privileges have been taken away because in an interview he assailed the president of the United States. If reports are true, the next attorney general of the U. S. will be Harry Daugherty, who, it is claimed expended \$150,000 to induce president Taft to free from Atlanta prison Chas W. Morse, the ice king. While Debs is shut away from his friends he may now cultivate a reverence for the coming Czar. But will he do it? He won't!

Mrs Thomas Manning, whose husband was shot in the back and killed by Anaconda Mining interests' gun men has instituted suit for \$100,000 agai a sop. Many of the labor leaders hang. Unions, taking advantage of the presthe company for the death of her husband. It seems that the only people who care for the lives of strikers are their wives and kids.

An out-o-work iron molder left a copy of The Toller in the rest room of the union headquartes in Cleveland the other day. Now there is a large sign put up chambers is foreign and repulsive to it. ject of setting up a Red Labor Union which reads: "Please do not leave any radical literature here"

> Up to date the officials in charge have not been thrown out on the pavement. Wouldn't it be hell if these unemployed should think some radical thots -such as getting rid of their parasitic bosses on the job and the ones in their

Union printers at Gadsden, Ala., voluntarily reduced their wages 10 cents These were. (I) Dietatorship of the per hour. They believe in helping to get back to normalcy. Please don't think any radical thots in this union.

J. Pierpont Morgan's palatial home in London as been generously offered international capitalist legislation. They Third International, (5) the Proletarian the American ambasador to England. The house of Representatives has, by a government and the Soviet system, (6) vote of 167 to 52 accepted the offer. We don't see anything wrong in it. If splitting off from or conquering the Mr. Morgan chooses to house Mr. Morgan's hired man for the conducting of Mr. Morgan's business, we don't see any reason for kicking. It's his BUSINESS!

An exact duplicate of the notorious Kansas Industrial Court law is scheduled for approval of the W. Va. state legislature when it meets in March. An amendment to the Constabulary law doubling the present force is also introbourgeoisie grant the most petty, most inpossible to bring such divergent ele- duced. This, the farmers and labor unionists are fighting, stating that the only use of the Constabulary is to interfere in labor disputes and against the work-

> Immediate resumption of trade with Russia and the recognition of the Irish questions are of a particular interest Republic are contained in the demands of resolutions adopted by the convention to the revolutionist in relation to the of the Montana State Federation of Labor in recent session at Great Palls.

> > Permits for 4,000 children between the ages of 14 and 16 years to enter the factories of Milwaukee Sounty were disclosed in the records of the Industrial Commission. The State Federation of Labor is attempting to raise the compuls ory school age to 16 years.

> > Mexican workers to the number of 4,000 have arrived in Detroit to find that the glowing accounts of high wages in the Michigan sugar beet fields and for unskilled labor in the industries are fakes. Charity organizations are furnishing relief and shipping the destitute and disillusioned workers back to

> > Students of economics, members of the Emory University of Atlanta, have petitioned the Warden to allow Debs to deliver a lecture on economics to themin the prison hall. It will be necessary first to obtain the consent of the D.

> > Because of an "illegal" strike in the Kansas coal fields, Alexander Howatt, president of the Kansas District has been arrested. Howatt states he will make a test case of the Allen anti-strike law and carry it thru to the highest court to ascertain if labor can be chained like a slave to a job.

Guard conspiraties in Russia, who sup- unions of North and South America af- the world for the final assualt upon appeal that should touch a responsive A copy of this pamphlet should be

chord in the heart and mind of every worker in America placed in the hands of every organized The two Communist parties and the

drenched in the blood of tens of thou- forging of an international working full of intelectual meat. The language, have united into a single front against sands of workers and peasants; ask class weapon, so as to unite the vast through a translation, is singularly capitalism under banner of the Third them all this, and when they tell you majority of the organized workers of simple and direct. It carries a universal (Communist) International.

THE RED LABOR UNION INTERNATIONAL AP. PEALS TO THE AMERICAN WORKERS. (Continued from page 1.)

union meetings. Discuss it with your mates in the shop Have your local unions bring pressure upon national organizations to endorse it. Our aim must be to bring the whole American labor movement into the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

Long live the international solidarity of the workers of the world! Long live the International Council of

Trade and Industrial Unions! AMERICAN BUREAU

> and Industrial Unions. RESOLUTION BI ANK FOR IN-DORSEMENT.

International Council of Trade

(Organizations should fill out this blank and mail it to the American Bureau, International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, Queens County Labor Lyceum, Myrtle & Evergreen Aves., Brooklyn, N. Y.)

WHEREAS, the is not affihated with any International of Labor Unions at the present time, and.

WHEREAS, the class struggle between the workers and the capitalists all over the world is assuming more and more the aspect of one International front, and WHEREAS, the Imperialists are preparing

called upon to slaughter each other for the sake of capitalist greed and profits, and,

WHEREAS, these conditions which are menacing the workers, demand that Labor must unite Nationally and Internationally in order to present a solid front against the enemies of the work-· ing class, and,

WHEREAS, there are at present two labor Internationals-the Amsterdam Federation, led by the traitor-leaders who BE-TRAYED LABOR DURING AND AFTER THE WAR, and the INTER-NATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, composed of revolutionary Labor Unions of the World; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, that this Local meeting (or executive board) of thehereby indorses the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF

TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS. as the only real fighting International of Labor Unions, and calls upon the General Executive Board of the

..... to affiliate with this International and to take all necessary steps to be represented at the World Congress of Labor Unions, called by the Provis cil of the Trade and Industrial Unions.

SIGNED.

Who Are The Traitors?

herein, by SEYMOUR STEDMAN and munists, did advocate such direct act-LAZARUS S. DAVIDOW, its attorneys, ion or overthrow. Stedman's Bill of respectfully shows unto this Honorable Complaint seems to prove that they Court as fellows:.....

(Section) V.

"That on or about, to wit, the 27th day of May, A. D. 1919, the defendents and their associates and agents, who are now in possession and control of the property of the plaintiff, were expelled from the Socialist Party of the United States because among other things, they advocated the use of direct or mass action, as the primary and principal means of securing a change or destroying the 'Capitalist system and the present form of the government of the United States; that the said defendants and their associates and agents still advocate the use of said direct or mass action, and that they are known and style themselves as 'Communists', and 'members of the Communist Party.' That the Communist party has committed itself to the program as set forth in its manifesto and program, on page 9, in the following language, 'Communism does not propose to "capture" the Bourgeoise parliamentary State, but to conquer and destroy it. As long as the Bourgcoise State prevails, the capitalist class can baffle the will of the proletariat.! (SECTION) VI.

"That the Socialist Party is a polindustrial conditions ...

(SECTION) IX.

"....that the use of the hall on the premises of the said plaintiff for advocating direct or mass action for overthrowing the present form of nuisance and irreparable injury to the plaintiff berein."

Choice of Time

On January 2nd and 4th, 1920, had occurred the raids of the "Department of Justice" agents on the House of Michigan Socialist State organization which had been expelled from the National Socialist Party and had taken the name of "Communist." About seven hundred were imprisoned in a corridor without beds or toilet facilities, half starved, some of them beaten about the heads with clubs, and booked for deportation hearing and for prosecution for revolutionary activity earrying a penalty of ten years (I was mistaken in saying 20 years) of penal direct or mass action.

On January 12th, while the arrested were still in prison or under bond, Stedman and Davidow went into the Circuit Court for the Country of Wayne in Chancery, and there, in their written Bill of Complaint, stated and offered to prove that these men "advocated the use of direct or mass action, as the primary and principal means of securing a change or destroying the 'Capitalist system' and the present form of the Government of the United States." Upon this and other grounds Stedman and Davidow asked the civil court to take the House of the Masses away from the Communists and give it into the hands of members of a new Socialist Party of Michigan. They called attention of the court to page 9 of the defendats' manifesto and program to prove that the defendants sought to conquer and destroy the bourgeois parliamentary state, and offered to show that the defendants were stil engaged in the "continuous nuisance" of advocating such action for "overthrowing the present form of government."

Do I prove my casef In the lobby of the Ten Eyek Hotel at Albany during the trial of the Social ist Assemblymen, I asked Stedman in Detroit, that he had gone into a ed a false version of this conversation of direct or mass action." (My italies.) in the Call of February 16th,

Real Cause of Expulsion

(Continued from page 1.) | particular men in this case, called Comdid. But that was not the official reason for their expulsion from the Socialist Party. I am told that the records of the national office of the Party show that the Michigan Socialist Party was expelled because of two resolutions adopted by it; one of these resolutions forbade the advocacy of quired Party spokesmen "upon all occasions to avail themselves of the opbasis of the materialistic conception of history, as a social phenomenon." The claim that the prisoners had been "expelled from the Socialist Party of the United States because" of their advocacy of direct or mass action to over throw the government was merely used by Stedman as a vehicle with which to earry the accusation that parallelled the charges in the criminal case and the newspapers, and which could have

been expected to help him win the case.

The expulsion of Michigan was in-

eident to the general policy that resuled in the last few years in the Party's losing 93,000 out of its former member ship of 118,000. The Michigan Socialist Party was of the "Left" movement that sought to give the Party an orientation in accord with the historical experience of the Russian Revolution. Practically its full 5,000 membership itical party, and that its principal pro- lined up against the continued control gram commits its members to the use of the Party by the "Right" wing of the ballot and political action as the leaders. The Michigan party was expelprimary means and method of changing led; the religious and parliamentary or modifying our present political and reformist reasons for their expulsion were officially given, and a small, new "Socialist Party of Michigan" passed under the intellectual leadership of the Reverend I. Paul Taylor. This leadership is essentially law-abiding in practice and policy. It regards the existing government, of which the civil government constitutes a continuous and criminal courts are part, as being not completely an instrument of the capitalist class but an instrument of all citizens, and capable, when in good condition, of adjudication fairly be tween citizens. Therefore, when some hundreds of workingmen are thrown inthe Masses and upon the homes and to jail on a charge of illegal revolutionthe persons of the members of the ary action, there is no inconsistancy in against the arrested Communists. Nor Stedman's going into a civil court and is the Reverend Taylor's bravery the their property on the ground of their ow may contend the Communists show eriminality. I don't see why he should ed when he dragged them into court. object to my telling of his action in nor are the activities of some alleged the Detroit courts as I do in this let revolutionary Finns in Grand Rapids ter and did in my speech.

Their Denial Analyzed

Stedman and Davidow might offer the ment and deportation, summon them in technical ground that in my debate I to a civil court and there, for the pur servitude. The charge against these did not quote the Bill of Complaint pose of getting property out of their workers was that they sought to over verbatim, but only gave the substance possession, make the charge against throw the capitalist system and the and significance of it. If that had been them that they advocated the over-Government of the United States by the case, they would have been obliged throw of the government by force and only to quote their exact words from violence, or by direct or mass action; heir Bill of Complaint, as I have done or did you make a charge in here, and all this controversy would phraseology to the same effect? have been avoided. But Stedman denies 'any statement of that kind." Furthermore, he writes that "Robert Minor has deliberately lied as he did in his article in the Liberator last winter' (My italics). As I quoted from his Bill of Complaint verbatim in the Liberator article, just as I do here, though less extensively, and as he brands my verba tim quotation as the same "lie." it cannot be that he relies upon the technic ality of my use of the term "force and violence'' where he used the words 'direct or mass action." That Sted. man knew to what words of his I had reference is shown by his letter: "The nearest approach to it was during the trial when the presiding judge asked me whether it was my contention that the Communists desired to overthrow the state by mass action, to which replied that I was not there for the purpose of trying the philosophy or the political program of the Communists, that the only issue involved was whether the House of the Masses.

Stedman, where did the judge find basis to "ask you whether" your con-shrewd chief of the American railway whether it was true, as I had been told tention was that the Communists "desired to overthrow the state by mascapitalist court while the Communists action''! He got it from your Bill of Grand Lodge circulars to the entire were under arrest, to ask the court to Complaint. If you had quoted the judge membership of the Brotherhood of Loco take away from the Communists the correctly this would have been apparent. I will refresh your memory. Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and to turn it over to Socialist Party The judge said: "Plaintiff claims in and the Brotherhood of Railway Train" mbers. Stedman vehemently replied, its bill ... that defendants affiliated "Yes, I did. I had to do it. It was the themselves with the Communist Party, to the effect that their ranks are likely only way I could save the property so-called, which it is alleged advocates to become subjected, in the near future, ng lost; if we don't get it, it the destruction of the 'Capitalist sywill be taken from them anyhow and stem! and the present form of Govern- agitators and revolutionists (in other will be a total loss," Stedman publish ment of the United States, by the use

Stedman Using Document Now I was delayded in obtaining a certi-I don't mean to dispute whether the fied copy of Stedman's Bill of Comp-

laint by a curious concidence. I could not obtain a certified copy from Detroit, I was informed, because the or iginal document has been sent to the Supreme Court at Lansing, Michigan, to be used there by Seymour Stedman in an appeal of the case now pending. I finally obtained the certified copy from the Clerk of the Supreme Court at Lansing.

Basis of Their Denial

Davidow defies any proof by the 'stenographic record.'' and Stedman says that I cannot "produce any sten ographic record of any statement of reformistic measures, and the other re- that kind." But neither makes reference to any written document, though Stedman knew that it was to a writ portunity of explaining religion on the ten document that I referred. During the trial of the case, some of the hand ful of men and women who were being reorganized into a "Right" Socialist Party in Detroit, became vaguely conscious of the import of Stedman's ac to the Socialist movement, and grumb led that it was going too far. Because of their protest Stedman unofficially promised them that he would not 'press'' such of the points that he had alleged against the Communists as would tend to prove them guilty of the charges they were simultaneously facing in the criminal court.

Keeping the Promise

It makes little difference whether Stedman made or kept such a promise But since such a promise is the shadowy figure behind his denial, let us see what Stedman did. Some of the Com munists who were facing criminal prosecution. Stedman called to the witness stand. Of a man who testified that h was not at that time a member of the Communist Party, Stedman asked: "1 t not a fact that you left that party after your indictment in Chicago, or arrest in Chicago?" This was at a time when it was the accepted legal opinion that proof of membership in a Com munist party was proof of guilt car rying a sentence of ten years in the penitentiary. The Reverend Taylor test-Communists | letter signed by the writer as secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan.

The Only Issue

But the issue is not whether Stedmar pressed verbally the charge that he made the issue. The only issue is this:

Did you, Stedman and Davidow while hundreds of Communists were I had thought for a moment that under arrest, threatened with imprison-

> Or is the document I quote a forgery? Are you at this moment making silent use of it in the Michigan Supreme

Robert Minor.

Proving Lenin's Theory

In his book: "Left Wing Communism An Infantile Disorder", Lenin makes the following statement in his handling of the subject "Should Revolutionaries Work in Reactionary Trade Unions' Undoubtedly the leaders of opportunism will have recourse to all the tricks the help of bourgeois government, to priests, police, courts, in order to pre vent Communists from entering Trade Unions, by all and every means to put them out, to make their work inside these organizations as unpleasant as possible, to insult, hound and per secute them."

Already this statement is beginning to become especially applicable to the transportation brotherhoods as instanced by their recent tactic of issuing motive Engineers, the Brotherhood of men warning the officers and members to a dangerous invasion by radicals, words those workers who go to make up section of the American proletariat) and a careful appeal is made to the fears and levalty of the members to be elements, and when their presence in the organization is observthe information to the Brotherhood's

they stand - the workers don't to take Lenine's word for it!

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia and the World Revolution

By N. Bukharin.

Communism in the Domains of Production and Distribution.

Our critics in the "Socialist" camp, often censure the Soviet Government on the ground that the "Official Communism" of the Bolsheviks is nothing more than a communism of distribution. The Soviet power, say these critics, has merely effected a universal dividing-up; it has shared out housing accomodation, furniture, clothing, food, etc. On the other hand, the chief task of true Communism, should be the organization of production. The Bolsheviks, we are told, think chiefly of organising distribution. By degrees, they transform the proleby doles.

How much truth is there in all this, and how much falsehood? What should be the relationship, from the Marxist out- are swayed by foolish sentimentality, those in whom the severlook, between the Communism of production and the Communism ities of the great struggle arouse a shudder, those who are filled of distribution.

founded upon the theory of the increase of productive forces in the enemy lines; or he must visit one of the enemy countries: production, a decline which is absolutely inevitable in the course military and civil life. of the Revolution. By parity of reasoning, our chief aim, the organisation of production, may require, as a stage in its ful- the members of our Party work overtime, or work on holidays,

the overwhelming devastation resulting from the Imperialist war. a new fraternal discipline. Nothing of the kind has ever been As every-one knows, this devastation, has in large part, taken known before, and nothing of the kind is possible as yet outside the form of the destruction of enormous reserves of productive Russia. Here it is absolutely necessary. And for every violation forces. Now what do these productive forces, which are the of this Party discipline thre are strict and extremely disfoundation of all progress, represent in the world of concrete agreeable penalties. reality? In part they are the means of production, and in part, there seeking by legal means to obtain issue, nor any weaknesses that David they are the labour power of the workers. The productive forces clusions. It is obvious that we cannot give a free hand to an do not consist of machines merely, but, in addition, they con- "opposition" which, in the situation that now obtains, could sist of the workers, the working class. Marx has shown more within twenty-four hours transform itself into a counter-revoluthan once, that in contemporary society, the proletariat is the tion. Such an opposition must be ruthlessly crushed. most important of all the forces of production. It is easy to understand that if the Revolution, at its outset, inevitably involves a still further depression in the forces of production, we must do such as now prevail in Russia, would not lead to the "truth" but all that is humanly possible to safeguard, to maintain, to pre- to the victory of the counter-revolution. serve from utter ruin, this most important element in the forces of production, the working class itself. The preservation, of the to be carried out, and where rapid action is essential, we cannot working class is an indispensable condition for the reconstruction tolerate "discussion" of the Parliamentary type. Mutatis mutanof the productive apparatus of society.

war upon the working-class. In relation to the powers of the workers, the economic system of the nourgeoisie is what the Germans call "Raubwirtschaft," - robber economy. But, as a matter of course, a Proletarian Government must make titanic efforts to maintain the power of the workers intact. During the period of unparalleled impoverishment, in which our resources have been so terribly reduced, there is only one way in which this task can be performed. The proletarian must be placed in a privileged economic position, or must at least be enabled to live quite as well as the hungry bourgeois. All that is possible must be done for the proletariat in order to make up for the prevail- pieces by the Imperialist wolf. ing insufficiency of food, clothing and shelter. If, for a brief period, it should prove impossible to continue the productive supply of food, clothing, and shelter (and the impossibility, in existing circumstances, is obvious), there remains only one alternative. The objects of distribution must be re-allotted among of bourgeois diplomacy, will appeal to the various classes. There must be a compulsory expropriation of these articles, and a proper supply of the proletariat must be organized. In short, we must practise the "Communism of Distribution."

> In practising this Communism of distribution, our ultimate sim is to promote the development of the forces of production. In other words, during this period of impoverishment and famine. the so-called Communism of distribution is a necessary stage on the way to "true" Communism, on the way to productive Com

> As a matter of course, the lower middle class must not be affected by this expropriation. It is equally a matter of course that in the colossal upheaval of the Revolution, there have been thousands of instances in which this rule has been broken. Yet no one but a pedant would "repudiate the Revolution" simply because the Revolution had not been achieved with that perfect orderliness we might desiderate.

To sum up: the concrete conditions of our time, the widespread impoverishment that exists, compel us to expropriate the means of distribution, no less than the means of production. The working class is the fundamental force of production, and the most enlightened and promising the expropriation of the means of distribution is essential to the preservation of the working class.

on the lookout for all such undesirable THE PROLETARIAN AND MILITARIST CHARACTER. OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

We come at length to a series of questions which are closely interconnected. We are accused of a variety, of sins. It is said chief executive (would be chief execut that we make an improper use of the power of our Party, that tioner of the revolutionary workers!) we are "oligarchs"; we are terrorists; we practise Socialism of and aid him in ridding them from the a militarist type. (The last accusation is quaint in the mouth of Imperialist and Royalist Socialist: etc.) We need not waste time Thus the grand chief of these pard over the abusive epithets or other labels employed by our ophave ponents. Nevertheless, we do not for a moment deny that our apparatus is rigidly centralised; that our policy towards the bourgeoisie and towards the parties of the compromising Socialists is repressive in character; that the organisation of our

Party, as a ruling Party which exercises a dictatorship through the Soviets, is of a militarist type. To the pedant, these th may appear monstrous crimes; but they must be sacred laws of action for every revolutionist who has to work under the ditions imposed by circumstances upon our Party.

At this very moment, the Russian proletariat is the object (I use Churchill's own words), of a concentric attack on the part of fourteen states. But if we reckon up all the states, which are at war with us, directly or indirectly, the number of these brigand organisations is considerably larger. If we superadd the "nation, all" and declared counter-revolution, we arrive at a force of considerable magnitude. In these circumstances, the Soviet Republic is perforce an entrenched camp, and the dictatorship of tariat, which has hitherto been a class of producers, into a non-the proletariat must necessarily take the form of a proletarian working class (idle owing to lack of fuel and other raw mater- and militarist dictatorship. It would be impossible for us to ials), pensioned by the State. The proletariat becomes a social countenance any disintegrating elements within the sphere of stratum resembling the proletariat of classical Rome, supported our rule; we are compelled to maintain military discipline throughout the country and in all departments of the administration. This explains everything. Those among the intellectuals who with fear mingled with disgust, are unremitting in their attacks It is obviously impossible to deny that the Soviet Govern- against the proletarian regime-for the simple reason that they ment has taken various steps in the direction of expropriation, are utterly unable to understand the conditions of the struggle not merely of the means of production, but likewise of the means and the active will which the historical conditions demand of of distribution. Typical instances of such measures are the us. The best illustration of the need for such a regime is furnish. installation of the workers and their organizations in bourgeois ed by the organization of our own Party. Everyone of its memdwelling houses; and rationing by class, that is to say, the as- bers considers himself mobilished for active service. At the first signing of larger food rations to members of the proletariat. summons of our Central Committee, the member of our Party, But only one who is absolutely ignorant of the specific con- wherever he may be, must go to the post assigned to him He ditions in which the International Revolution is developing could must leave his family and make his way to the front, rifle on possibly maintain that these measure are unjust. Marxism is shoulder; or he must do observation work from an aeroplane over human society. As we have shown in the previous article, it does or must give up nights and days to whatever he is ordered to not follow that we need dread a transient decline in the forces of undertake. In these respects, there is no difference between

For instance, in order to increase the productivity of labour. ified that he received from one of the filment, the communism of distribution to which our critics refer. forming special Communist detachments: they load wood, unload The Revolution, as a historical fact, has criginated amidst trucks, labour in factories and workshops, setting an example of

From these considerations we may draw a number of con-

Compromise here would only result in the internal disorgan isation of the whole apparatus. Free controversy, in conditions

In like manner, at the front, where a predetermined plan has dis, the same reasoning applies to many other branches of our The bourgeoisie endeavours to throw the whole cost of the activity, applies because the Soviet Republic is an entrenched

But will a dictatorship of this sort be permanently requisite? Certainly not. The acuteness of its form depends upon the situation of the Soviet Republic in relation to the outer world.

Just as the terrorist policy of the Montagnards was justified by the position of the French Republic at home and abroad (s fact which Kautsky, "the historian," would do well to call to mind), so the Russian Soviet power, if it had failed to set up a regime intolerable to weaknerved individuals, would have been an opportunist lamb, and would long ere this have been torn to

Before the War, the comparison of the fighting proletariat to an army aroused no criticism. We used to speak of the "proletarian army," of the "soldiers of the revolution," and so on Yet now that the movement has come when in stern reality, and no longer merely on paper, we have to be the soldiers of the volution, many of these sometime soldiers prove to be deserted and strike-breakers, while not a few (may, the majority as far as the Social-Democrats are concerned) actually find their way into the camp of our foes.

It is perfectly clear that as soon as the pressure from without is relieved, as may and should result from the internation

revolution, the forms of the dictatorship will be "mitigated.

Uutimately, when our enemies have been rendered power once for all, when they have mingled with the ranks of the w ers, these enemies will become citizens. They will acquire equa rights with the workers of proletarism states. That status itself will then cease to exist, being inserted replaced by a Com munist society which knows nothing of states or class.

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