

"The exposure of diplomatic trickery, cheating and knavery is one of the most important functions of Socialist political agitation."—
Leon Trotsky.

THE TOLLER

NO. 176.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, JUNE, 18, 1921.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

SACCO-VANZETTI CASE IN COURT.

Jury Selected From Hundreds of Talesmen.

Nicola Sacco and Bartholomew Vanzetti, radical labor unionists and leaders, charged with murder are now on trial at Dedham, Mass.

The selection of the jury began on May 31 and for 5 days an examination of hundreds of talesmen proceeded before the prosecution and the defense were able to pick 12 men who will decide the fates of the two men.

The accused are jointly charged with the murder on April 15, 1920 of Frederick A. Parmenter, paymaster of the Slater and Merrill Shoe Company at Braintree, Mass. and Alessandro Beradelli, a special officer.

The trials began in a sensational hunt for jurymen, several hundred men being examined in the search for 12 men fit for the responsibility of jury duty. The wide publicity given the case, which is comparable to the Mooney Case in the appearance of a frame-up, being responsible for great prejudice in the minds of practically all inhabitants of that section.

The city of Dedham and all Norfolk County were scoured for talesmen when the first panel of 125 men was exhausted. Talesmen were taken from their homes and work for examination for duty. A bride groom was taken from his wedding breakfast.

Many were excused on account of prejudice in the case and others on account of being opposed to capital punishment.

Defense Counsel Strong.

The defendants have a strong legal counsel at their service. They are: William J. Callahan, Fred H. Moore, John A. Lyons, John W. McAnarney and J. J. McAnarney. Moore is accounted one of the best labor attorneys in the United States, having served in that capacity in many notable labor cases, the "Everett Massacre" of the I. W. W. at Everett, Washington, several years ago, being one of his most successful fights.

It is asserted that the defense will not only prove their innocence in the murders but will be able to throw heavy shadows of suspicion of "framing" them for the electric chair, upon their accusers. Sacco and Vanzetti have in the past been active in several labor strikes and were known to the authorities as active in the revolutionary movement. Their activities in the labor movement is given as the reasons for the charges against them, in the absence of the real murderers ever being located. The Civil Liberties Union of New York is active in raising money for the defense of the two accused men.

Since the trial opened the jury has been taken on a sight seeing tour of the scenes of the murder. The defendants waived their legal right to accompany the party, having already been carried over the ground in the "third degree" thru which they were put by the police after their arrest.

Gale Loses Fight On Habeas Corpus

Linn A. E. Gale, former editor and publisher of Gale's Magazine, a communist monthly magazine, published at Mexico City, Mexico, has lost his fight on an application for a writ of habeas corpus to transfer his case from the military to the civil courts.

Judge West, of San Antonio, Texas, before whom the hearing was held, ruled that evidence tended to show that the Albany, New York deaf board had mailed a notice of induction into the army to Gale on March 25, 1918, and that Gale had received proper notice.

He also held that according to the evidence, Gale was, to all intents, a soldier after April 4, 1918, and therefore subject to military laws, and that evidence showed he willfully absented himself from the United States to escape the draft.

Gale was arrested at Laredo in April, after he had been expelled from Mexico by President Obregon.

The Toller correspondent states that Gale and his attorney, Samuel Castleton of Atlanta, Ga., made a strong fight for the writ. It is that that Gale will now be tried by court martial for desertion. His defense is being backed by friends in this country and by workers' organizations in Mexico where he has many friends.

Cleveland Building Strike Getting Settled.

General Wage Cut Basis of Settlement. Closed Shop Principle Retained.

The strike of the Cleveland building trades which has been on since May 1 is getting settled after a fashion. A general wage cut approximating 17 per cent with the retention of the closed shop principle for the unions forms the general basis upon which workers in the 20 crafts are returning to work.

After several weeks of sparring for advantage an arbitration board composed of representatives of the employers, the unions and that fictitious element "the public", was formed to consider all matters at issue. It naturally followed that a general and decisive wage cut was seen as the only possible way out.

While the board of arbitration has been the general supervisor of negotiations for settlement, several unions have not waived their rights to negotiate for themselves at the same time. The result is that some unions are still, even with one foot slipping into the mire of reduced wages, making a stand for some of the hard won fruits of past conquests.

Building laborers have thrown up the sponge in the middle of the first week's resumption of work after trying to survive on a wage of 57½ and 60 cents an hour. Many jobs were struck because of the dissatisfaction on this account. The question of remaining at work if union laborers failed to show up last Monday morning, was a question to Bricklayers were to consider at a meeting Sunday when they met to consider the arbitration award.

A Little Talk With Gompers

BEFORE THE A. F. OF L. CONVENTION AT HIS HEADQUARTERS, ROOM 567 ALBANY HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO.

By M. D. Litman, Secretary Workers' Defense Union, Denver, Colorado.

Shakespeare says there is nothing in a name, and surely there is much less in a number; but I shall never forget Room 567 Albany Hotel, Denver, Colorado. Ever since I have been a "red" and for some time a member of the A. F. of L., I have heard and talked so much of Gompers and his misadventure, that when I passed the Albany Hotel during lunch hour four days before the A. F. of L. convention, an unquenchable desire to see Sammy at his headquarters gripped me and as if some automaton would carry me off, I suddenly found myself going up the elevator to the fifth floor. A sign on the door, below the room number 567, read as follows: Office of the President of the American Federation of Labor.

A sort of a bashful feeling and a quickening of my pulse came over me. I opened the door and found myself inside of the Sanctum-Sanctorium of the A. F. of L. Generalissimo and Chief Tactician. The busy office, with bustling secretaries and messengers running back and forth with the Final Ukaz to the labor front, failed to materialize. I was rather surprised at the emptiness of the room. In the distance near a window sat a well-dressed man of about forty, who looked like an oil-stock salesman and to the right was an open door where I could see a short gray-haired, pompous little yellow talking to a woman dressed in dark. "It is Sammy himself!" was the quick thought that ran through my mind. Yes, Sammy himself; but not by himself any more. He is winding up his honeymoon.

Approaching the man near the window, I asked him if he was one of the A. F. of L. officials and he said yes. I introduced myself as the Secretary of the Workers' Defense Union of Denver, that defended last year's raid victims and he looked at me as if he did not know there was such an organization in existence, and I addressed him as follows:

"Will you please answer this question: Is it right for the A. F. of L. to make this hotel its convention headquarters, in view of the fact that only a month ago Robert Minor, who spoke against the Open Shop in Denver, was not allowed to lecture in the Albany Hotel Ball Room by the management, because they were against the topic and the management returned the money paid for the use of the hall to the committee?" The man I addressed told me that I must be



UP FROM SLAVERY TO POWER!

for a beanery. The clock showed it was 1:15. "Gee, I must have been there only 15 minutes, it seemed like hours." With great excitement I told the waitress that I just had a "Little Talk with Gompers." "Who is Gompers?" she asked with a surprised look on her face.

The City of Denver is giving the A. F. of L. a cold reception. They refused to decorate the streets with American Flags unless the A. F. of L. stood the cost, they did not donate the Municipal Auditorium, as is sometimes done for many important conventions. No official welcome by the City of Denver. The delegates are slipping into town like prodigal sons. No one officially will dare to welcome the A. F. of L. in view of the Open Shop fight carried on by the Civic and Commercial Association. The press is busy with the Pueblo flood and seems to side-track the convention.

Some of the big firms are displaying cards in their windows to the effect that "money spent here will not be used to the detriment of labor." They are the very individuals that support the Commercial Associations. Rejoice you workers and toilers, your interests are in safe hands.

Court Rules Against Alexander Howat

The State Supreme Court of Kansas in a sweeping decision on June 11, upheld the Kansas Industrial Court law in affirming the decision of the Crawford County district court sentencing Alexander Howat, miners' leader, to one year in jail.

Howat was indicted several months ago for calling a mine strike against the ruling of the Industrial Court. He was tried, found guilty and sentenced to one year in prison. His appeal to the highest state court was based upon eight issues involving the constitutionality of the Industrial Court. The law was held valid on all of the eight issues raised.

Howat is held in great esteem by the coal miners of Kansas, of which district he is president. Many rank and file strikes have been pulled by the miners to show their solidarity with their chief. It is not expected that the Supreme Court's decision will have any mollifying effect upon the temper of the militant miners.

Shreveport, La.—A gang of masked men lured R. G. Van Hess, former president of the Central Trades and Labor Council, from his home, tarred and feathered him, later forcing him aboard a train for Marshall, Texas, according to a phone message from there received by his wife.

Packers Still Cry 'Down With Wages'

(By The Federated Press.)

Chicago.—Reductions in the pay of approximately 62,000 packing-house workers are asked by the "Big Five" in an application filed with Federal Judge Samuel Alschuler, impartial arbitrator agreed upon by the employers and workers in the industry during the wartime disputes. The packers request permission to cut wages in the stockyards 5 cents an hour, effective June 19, together with a reduction in the piecework scale equivalent to the hour rate. The petition states that changed economic conditions have resulted in giving labor an "inordinate portion of what it is producing."

Dennis Lane, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, intimated that he believed the packers are actuated by other motives than their announced desire to aid the farmer or provide jobs for the jobless. He is of the opinion the packers are trying to force a strike with the object of smashing the unions with the army of unemployed.

The agreement under which the men are working at present was signed in Washington, March 23, at a meeting between the government and the packers and the unions, got together at the instance of Lane at a time when, with big wage cuts threatened, a nation-wide strike seemed imminent. As it was hourly wages, under that agreement, were cut 8c and the piecework scale 12½ per cent. At that time it was not expected that further action by the packers towards lower wages would be taken until early in August, a month before the present agreement expires. The reduction, if it goes through, would mean a saving to the "Big Five" of \$6,500,000 a year.

5c AN HOUR, WAGE OF AMERICAN FARMER.

BANCRUPTCY INEVITABLE LOT OF RURAL PRODUCERS.

The American Farmer is worse off than any peasant of Europe. He is working for 5c an hour—and he feeds this country and a great part of the world. Bankruptcy stares him in the face.

This is the wage American farmers of the mid-continental regions of the U. S. are receiving in this year of 1921, says Senator Norris.

Senator Norris is sponsoring a bill for farmers' relief. He calls it the Farmers Financing Corporation bill. It provides for the formation of a corporation composed of the Secretary of Agriculture and four others as directors. \$100,000,000 is to be set aside from government funds to finance exports of cotton, wheat and other farm products. It is expected to finance itself once it is set going.

Unless some means are taken for a radical change in the world marketing of American farm products, the American farmer will be reduced to the lowest position of any wealth producer in the country. With debts to pay on invested capital, in land, implements, stock and farm equipment, says the Senator, virtual impoverishment on an unprecedented scale will be his lot.

Organized Greed Drives Thousands to Starve.

Half Million in New England at Hunger Point.

(By The Federated Press, N. Y. Bureau.)

New Haven, Conn.—One hundred thousand families in Connecticut are in desperate straits for lack of work and their families literally will be facing starvation if unemployment conditions do not improve, according to I. N. Ornburn, secretary of the Connecticut State Federation of Labor. Bridgeport, Waterbury and New Haven are the worst sufferers.

It is in this state that the organized employing and financial interests just now are centering their drive against unionism, and the campaign is being directed from this city. The local Chamber of Commerce has joined forces with the "open shop" council of employers, and the tactics they have adopted have become so offensive that Patrick F. O'Meara, president of the State Federation of Labor, has announced the resignation of the two labor delegates from the deliberations of the Chamber of Commerce. The effect of this is to sever the last formal link between capital and labor here.

The employers, however, are complacent. They point with satisfaction to the fact that there are about five men for every available job. They say openly that they have launched their "open shop" campaign at a time calculated to be most effective.

Labor union officials, notwithstanding, point to the fact that the union memberships are virtually unaffected by the employers' offensive.

"The employers are finding they can't force workers to abandon their union affiliations even in the face of starvation," they say.

The number of men idle in New Haven is about 20,000; in Bridgeport, 30,000, and in Waterbury 28,000.

Conditions throughout the industrial sections of New England are very similar. Springfield, Fall River, Providence, Hartford and Manchester report thousands out of work.

In Danbury the hat manufacturers, generally speaking, are said to be signing up again with the unions in all cases where such agreements were in existence. The principal exception is the Hill and Loper factory, which recently announced it would conduct an "open shop." The union men quit, and an attempt is being made to fill their places with non-union men.

JUST A REHEARSAL.

The capitalists are on strike and they don't care a damn. Too bad we workers can't throw them into jail like they do us when we do likewise.

History is repeating itself. What took place after the Civil War will take place here—a great financial disaster. The present is only a rehearsal for what will come in 1924-27.

C. Cassell.

THE DUTIES OF A COMMUNIST IN RUSSIA.

GREAT DANGERS, GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES, HARD WORK AND AN IRON DISCIPLINE MAKE THE LIFE OF THE RULING PARTY ANYTHING BUT AN EASY ONE.

By M. Olgin.—Translated by S. Smith.

From "Jewish Daily Forward", New York.

A communist in Russia is a man who must face reality and act. Upon him depends everything. He is responsible for everything. He must consider everything. He must set a good example. He must lead.

A Communist is a man who takes upon himself the task of carrying through the revolution to its very end, and of establishing socialism. He must never say no. He must always forge ahead. He must live up to the decisions of the Soviets, live up to the demands of the Communist Party. He must fear nothing. He must never stop because of difficulties in the way. He has undertaken the task and he must not complain.

A Communist is a fighter. All the Communists of a city are united in one military organization, called "a division with a special end in view."

All the members of this organization must know how to use a rifle and machine gun. If they do not know they take lessons several times a week. I knew Communists who on three mornings a week had to rise at six o'clock and go for military training, to learn to march and shoot. I saw Communists who were tired, exhausted, hungry, but they attended for military training. What is it all for? So that they may be able to defend the city in time of an insurrection. Every Communist of every city is connected with headquarters which serve as a mobilizing point. If he receives a call by telephone or courier, he must immediately report to headquarters with his gun. Thus all the Communists of the City of Moscow can be mobilized within an hour. It would only take half an hour to mobilize the Communists of a smaller city. In the event of a counter-revolutionary movement in a city, the Communists will be the first to fight and the first to die. This is not an empty phrase with them.

Communists to the Front.

I happened to be in the city of Nizni Novograd at a time when there was a feeling of restlessness among the military units there. It did not come to anything serious, but there was the fear that there might be an uprising. The Communists were called out. Several hundred of them assembled in the building of the Executive Committee of the Communists and remained there for three days and

three nights with their guns in hand. Sentries were posted. Patrols were organized. No one undressed in all this time. They ate and slept on the floor above. Were it necessary they would throw themselves to the defense of the revolution with their life and blood. Just what chance their number would have against a far superior force they did not ask. Perhaps they figured that only a part of the enemy would be against them, while another part would join them. However that might have been, they were ready. They came to fight and to die. Thus it was all over Russia. This is not merely a part of the programme, it is a terrible reality.

When the Poles took Minsk what was the first thing they did? They slaughtered the Communists. When Denikin or Petlura have taken a city in Ukraine, who were the first victims? The Communists. When the "whites" had possession of Baku, whom did they shoot as one shoots mad dogs? The Communists. In Vladimir a commissar told me how, escaping from Baku, he passed through Charkow to Soviet Russia. It was like a story from the Arabian Nights. I could not believe that a human being would be able to go through all that and remain alive. Of one thing he was positive: if they learned that he was a Communist they would shoot him on the spot.

I met with many Communists and spoke to them not as a newspaper man but as a good acquaintance of theirs. I spent many weeks in the houses of active Communists. And do you know what I heard in the most sacred moments, when hearts open and secret thoughts are uttered? "We will always be hung." I heard more than once. If the revolution should fail, if a change should come about, the Communists will be the first ones to be shot and hung. They know that. They don't deceive themselves. And they stick right to it. They lose no courage. They keep active.

A Communist must be ready to sacrifice his life. You should have been in Russia in September, October and November, when the Russian army retreated before the Poles and Wrangel kept moving north, ever nearer. Russia was at that time as if under

(Continued on page 2.)

The Bolshevik Interpretation of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International: Petrograd-Moscow 1920

THE WORK OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE III INTERNATIONAL.

(Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 13, 1920.)

Report to the special session of the Petrograd Soviet:

At a special session of the Petrograd Soviet, held yesterday, Comrades Zinoviev and Bukharin reported on the work of the 2nd Congress of the III International, which has just closed.

Zinoviev's Report.

At the time when the World Congress of the III International held its sessions in Moscow a congress of the II Yellow International was in session in Geneva. It is not known to a certainty what parties were represented at that Congress in Geneva, but if we deduct the parties which sent their representatives to the World Congress in Moscow what we shall get will be a quantity very close to zero. The German Social-Democracy is represented there through the party of Noske and Scheidemann. Hungary sent two representatives, one of whom was a provocatory agent under the bourgeois republic, while the other is now in the service of Gen. Horthy. We can see clearly that the Congress in Moscow represented the working class of the whole world, while the Congress of the Yellow International was a kingdom of phantoms and represented the decayed Social-Democracy.

There is as yet no complete information as to the decisions of the Congress of the Yellow International. It is only known that the Congress adopted a resolution, according to which the workmen may, in case of extreme necessity, make use of the general strike. By means of this resolution the Congress attempts to lay a coat of gilding on the Black or the Yellow International. It offers the general strike as a means of last resort. But the workmen, not only of Russia but also of the other countries, have already gone much further. Armed rebellions have already flared up more than once, and the workmen understand that you can not go very far using only the strike. The remnants of the II Yellow International strive to drag back the masses of the proletariat, to hamper the natural course of the world revolution. The III International leads the proletariat forward to its final liberation from capital, to the triumph of the proletarian revolution.

The parties which were represented at the Congress are not all uniform.

FROM "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," PUBLISHED BY THE RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

After four years of tempestuous and difficult times the working class of every country has undergone great changes. The working class had to find itself anew. It is natural that new moods and tendencies must have sprung up in the working class, and they were fully represented at the Congress. We had there representatives of Communistic tendencies and of tendencies that have not as yet assumed definite form, e. g., the Syndicalists, the Industrial Workers of the World, and others. They are not Communists, and sprang into being in the process of the World War. They are, strictly speaking, a huge fist raised over the perishing social order. We differ with them on many points of principle. And the question came up at the Congress as to whether or not we can admit them into the Communist International. In its time the II International had a negative attitude to all such new formations. The III International could not repeat these errors. We must understand that if these new formations have not as yet reached the stage of maturity of the Communist International they constitute, nevertheless, a definite menace to imperialism and a future support of the proletariat struggling against it. We and they follow the same road, and we openly extend our hand to them, inviting them into our ranks.

We can not shut our doors in the face of the purely proletarian and revolutionary elements which come to us. We must take in tow this formless mass and pour a definite meaning into it. After two weeks of work at the Congress we must recognize that we did exactly right in admitting these new formations into the midst of the European proletariat. In this manner we have acquired hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of fresh working units. We admitted them into the III International in order that, together with us, they would be able to give decisive battle to the world imperialism.

Characterizing another non-Communist group which was also represented at the Congress, Comrade Zinoviev explained the tactics which were adopted by the Congress with respect to the French Socialist Party. The French Socialist Party was represented at the

Congress by Comrades Cachin and Frossard. Of these two, the second was always opposed to war in a manner similar to that of Longuet, while the first came to Russia during the Kerensky regime in order to conduct propaganda for an offensive by the Russian Army.

Now, this representative of a party of repentant sinners sincerely asks for forgiveness for himself and for his party. This party, which was opportunistic before the war, is now ready to join the III International. However, the Congress has found it necessary to fortify in every way possible the entrance to the International whenever the opportunistic parties are concerned, and therefore worked out 21 conditions for admission into the Communist International. For the party of the opportunists to slip by these 21 "obstacles" will be just as easy as for a camel to squeeze through the hole of a needle. But, not satisfied with this, the Congress handed to the representatives of the French party an open letter to the French workmen, which they must publish in their newspapers and which must open the eyes of the French workers to the true nature of their leaders. In this manner the Congress hopes to break up the French Socialist Party into layers and give it an opportunity to cleanse its organization of the opportunists.

A similar line of tactics was applied partially to the delegates of the German Independent Party. The Congress could not, of course, fail to take into account the fact that in the ranks of this numerically powerful party there are many workers who are real militants for the revolution, and that even now 11,000 revolutionists are languishing in the German prisons. But the Congress succeeded, nevertheless, in introducing some division in the midst of the representatives of the German Independent Party, two of whom have joined unreservedly in all the decisions of the Congress.

But that is not the important thing. We are certain that this division in the form of stratification will reach the very depths of the German Party, and that eventually there will emerge from the Independent Party a mass

Communist Party, which will have in its ranks not only the Spartacists but also the revolutionary elements of the Independent Party.

The workmen of France, England, and America have had a bitter experience with their parties, which have betrayed their interests. The workmen have lost faith in their parties; they have ceased to believe that their parties will not betray them at the critical moment, that their parties in the persons of their parliamentary leaders will continue loyal to the proletariat to the very end.

It is necessary to combat this lack of confidence not by words but by deeds. It is necessary to prove that a party, as such, can be at the height of its calling and true to the interests of the working masses under any circumstances. At the Congress we pointed out the Russian, German, and Hungarian Communist Parties. Only such parties can direct the work of the organization of the new life. A corresponding resolution was adopted unanimously. All the groups voted for it. This is the most powerful blow for the bourgeois social order and for the II International. The new grouping which seemed to be taking shape hazily should not and can not be brought into being. The possibility of such a grouping, which would have been a toy in the hands of the bourgeoisie, has now been definitely averted.

The Congress has also emphasized the need of a united Communist International organization and has worked out its statute, according to which the executive committee of the III International is given very wide powers, including that of expelling from the International a whole party for violation of discipline. An international general staff of the revolution is thus created, charged with the duty of maintaining international proletarian discipline, since the experience of the Russian revolution has shown that without firm party discipline Soviet Russia would not have been able to withstand the attacks of her numerous enemies, within and without.

At the time when the members of the Entente mistrust each other, make every effort to deceive each other, and play at war, the

International Congress forges a unified program and works out a unified line of action. It is felt that the fraternal unity of the world proletariat becomes ever stronger, while the bourgeoisie rushes about aimlessly, losing the last links of the chain which formerly bound it together.

Comrade Zinoviev concludes his speech by expressing his conviction that the World Congress is the forerunner of an International Soviet Republic.

Bukharin's Report.

Up to now the general directing line of action of the Communist parties of western Europe has been against forcing the revolution. An examination of the tactics followed by these parties leads one to the conclusion that they were afraid of the revolution. They feared isolation in case of the movement of the working class in the given country. In Hungary the Soviet Republic fell, finding itself isolated. It was impossible to retreat at the necessary moment, as the territory was limited. The Italian Socialist (now Communist) Party feared similar isolation, facing the risk of losing imported coal. The same thing has been observed in the Communist parties of the other countries of the West. The Bohemian comrades said about the same thing. The Austrian Communists were afraid to seize authority, fearing the cessation of the importation of raw materials.

We stand on the threshold of two great epochs—the dying imperialism and the resurgent proletariat. The workmen of all countries are passing from the tactics of defense to the tactics of offense. In all the countries there are mines ready to explode at any moment. The imperialistic press of Europe is full of cowardly shouts, "The Bolsheviks are at Europe's gates." Everywhere we can see the growing impotence of the bourgeoisie and the increasing strength of the proletariat. This will determine the general line of tactics of the 2nd Congress. The time has arrived to speed up the revolutionary process and similar activities of the united proletariat. We can see this in the boycott of White Poland and White Hungary. We shall do everything in our power to deepen and extend this struggle. This is one of the greatest problems solved by the 2nd Congress. Our Red Army will march forward to new conquests, but the western proletariat will march together with it, clearing its way in the struggle with imperialism.

The Duties of a Communist in Russia.

(Continued from page 1.)

A heavy cloud. Fear and disappointment prevailed everywhere. A middle-aged woman, a mother of three sons, of whom one was in the Red Army and the other two members of the Young Communist League, said one evening in a quiet, deep and slow voice, "If this be the end of the revolution, I don't want to live any more." Thus felt millions all over the wide and dreary prairies of Russia. Even the Mensheviks issued a call to their members to join the Red Army. But who really went? Who occupied the most dangerous positions? Who bared his breast to the enemy in the front lines? The Communists. "We, Communists of the committee of the Russian Communist Party of the Don region, have decided in order to support the Red Army, to mobilize five members of the committee on the Don, one member from each of the region committees, 400 members of the Rostov Nachachiv organization, and 10 per cent Communists of the Don district." "We, younger Communists of Zarizin, have decided, all of us, to go to the western front." "We form a separate volunteer division of cavalry and join the Red Army." "We, the committee of the Communist Party of the government of Tomsk, have decided to send 500 Communists to the Red Army."

Communists Assume Life Risks. So in every city, in every locality. People went voluntarily because Communist honor demanded. They were obliged to go because the Central Committee ordered it. "Communists, save Russia!" the Central Committee wrote to the communists. And it was figured out how many communists each state had to supply. I read the figures: 270 Communists were to be sent to the front in May from Jekaterinburg, but 295 went instead. In June they were to supply 500, and 510 were sent. In August they had to send 90 against Wrangel, 95 were sent. And in September they mobilized again 400. In every city the Communists got together and said, "Friends, we must go to the front to save the revolution." And they went. Nobody wants to die. They all hate war. But if one is a Communist, one must go. The situation demands it. It would be shameful if friends should know

they did not go. It is not nice to be a coward. Therefore they must go. Even such Communists went who, at times, took a bigger ration for themselves than was coming to them, who seldom forgot their own little interests in favor of the interests of the Republic. They went, they fought, they were wounded and died, because they were Communists and a part of a strong political machine.

And when they arrived at the front they must be in the front lines, lead the others, strengthen the weak, encourage the despondent. And all the time they know that once in the hands of the enemy their lives are lost. A captured Communist is a dead man, no matter where he be in the hands of Wrangel, the Poles, Petlura or the Ukrainian bands. You may ask, how is it learned that one is a communist. The answer is, there are spies everywhere. Sometimes the other captives betray. But the chief way of finding this out is to order the captives to join the army of their captors. A Communist, therefore, has every chance of being shot.

Are "Jimmie Higginses" A Communist must not refuse physical work. About the Communist Saturdays. All Communists take part in that, with the exception of those who are sick and those who happen to have an important meeting at the time. There is plenty of work for a Communist at other times as well. Whenever there is a crisis in a city, the Communists are the first ones to offer to help.

When I was in Russia, mainly in the months of November and December, the condition of the Red Army was rather deplorable. Then everybody busied themselves to improve whatever could be improved. To start with, people prepared clothes for the soldiers. The women communists put patches on the soldiers' shirts, darned their socks, put sleeves into their heavy overcoats and washed their underwear.

shake off all these heavy responsibilities.

What Communist Discipline is. A Communist must obey. He is under a discipline more severe than is the soldier in time of war. What the committee thinks ought to be done is done. The command of the Central Committee is law. I spent several weeks going around in different villages with a Communist, a peasant, who used to be an under-officer in the Red Army in Turkestan. We spoke together for many hours. With a peculiar pride he repeated the words of one of his commanders. "A Communist," he quoted, "is nothing but an instrument in the hand of the social revolution. A Communist is material for the future. The revolution will dry up your flesh, drink your blood, suck the

marrow out of your bones, and then will throw you away as an old rag. And you will have nothing to complain about, because you but do what is your duty. You are a communist." My peasant friend repeated this teaching whenever and wherever there was an opportunity, and believed in it wholeheartedly. Maybe some other leader, Lenin, for instance, has a much finer conception of the role of the individual Communist, but that is the general idea.

A Communist must obey. Today he is in Baku. He has established himself, got acquainted with local conditions and has made many friends. He feels quite at home. His work is satisfactory, he is honored and appreciated. At last he has found his place. But

just because he is known as an able man he receives a letter from the Central Committee requesting him to go to Penza, where the party work is going on rather slowly. And he goes without question. He has no one to complain to. He may have to break the most cherished threads that bind him to other people; he may have to break up his family. He goes, for he is as an officer of the army in time of war. The work he has to do stands above everything.

Hundreds and thousands of Communists are being shifted every year from city to city, from village to village, from one end of the country to the other. What is more, it is not proper that a Communist should begin to feel too comfortable in one place, should be well established and begin to feel himself one of the elite of the city. This weakens his courage, cools his revolutionary fire, and develops in him, as they say in Russia, a petty bourgeois psychology. This is the reason for the party's general rule continually to shift Communists from place to place. The eighth Congress of the Communist Party decided that all responsible, active Communists, those who used to be workers, or belonged to the intelligentsia, should from time to time go to the factories and remain there, working for several weeks as ordinary workers. This, it is said, would be an excellent remedy against breaking away from the people. This decision was not often applied, because the country was continually at war and the active Communists could not be spared. They are, nevertheless, not given an opportunity to become well established in any place. Now that war is over they will be shifted from place to place more frequently.

A Communist must obey. Every capable Communist must register in the agitation division of the local Communist committee, and not less than once a week he must speak at a public meeting. No use offering an excuse; it is not accepted. One wakes up in the morning and receives a message which reads, "Comrade So-and-So is going to speak at a meeting on such and such a subject. An automobile (or horse and buggy) will be sent for him in time." And one goes—sometimes fifty versts from the city, because party discipline demands it. "In the name of party discipline" the committee may demand from the members everything. Here is a notice from the Soviet "Pravda": "As the party and the Soviet schools of the Republic are very

much in need of simple Communist text-books, the Central Committee has decided to authorize several responsible writers in the party to compile such text-books. They are therefore completely, or partly relieved from all other work and duties. Instructions for such comrades follow:

1. Bubnoff. "History of the Communist Party." Time, one month. He is being freed from all work in the Central Committee, but must continue his work at the headquarters of the textile industry.

2. Steklow. "History of the Labor Movement in the West" and "The History of the Internationals." Time, two months. He is at the same time to attend to his regular work at the "Ivestia".

3. Bukharin. (a) "Historic Materialism." (b) "Political Parties in Time of a Proletarian Revolution." Time for the first book, a month and a half. He is freed from party work but must attend to his duties at the office of the "Pravda". In the same manner eleven books were ordered written.

In Russia even literature is being created "in the name of party discipline".

A Communist must know. He must be thoroughly familiar with the external and internal situation of Russia, must be familiar with facts and figures about agriculture, industry, transportation and military institutions. He must be able to give a clear answer on all questions. It is not a pleasure to be a Communist. To be a Communist means to have grave duties. From this it will be understood why people do not flock to the Communist Party, although that party is in power. From this it will also be clear why some Communists think of themselves as the elite and figure that they deserve more than other citizens. But some time we shall discuss such depraved Communists.

had been driven to. I wondered, how does the patriotic program work toward those that came back crippled, who, in the words of Harold A. Little-dale of the New York Evening Post, "are still waiting, exploited, neglected, forgotten."

They are workers, all the "10,000 disabled veterans who are quartered in cellars, poor houses, and insane asylums." They are workers, all those who "as a rule are never visited by Federal officials to see whether they are properly cared for or whether the institutions in which they are confined are even fire-proof or fit for human habitation." The workers, the "5,000 mentally disabled and 4,000 tubercular in urgent need of hospital treatment, and are not able to get it because of the lack of hospital facilities."

Now that "the country is settling down to a patriotic program," what is being done for those unfortunate workers? I went through some numbers of the New York Times for information. Here are some interesting headlines:—

May 16. "Memorial Pegeant to Honor War Dead: American Legion, other patriotic societies, 4,000 school children to take part. 600 mothers are guests."

Plenty of honors for the dead, not a damn thing for the living. Has something already been done for the living? Read this:—

May 18. "Legion Says Government Rent Houses on Saranac Lake and Appoint Physicians. \$75,000 needed for adequate housing of tubercular service men."

You see, nothing has been done and only 75,000 dollars are needed to do something. That the government is too poor to provide; but in the same issue of the Times we read: \$350,000,000 For Army of 170,000 is appropriated."

Millions for disabling workers, not a penny to provide for them when they are disabled—that is the patriotic program.

May 24. "Harding Here Weeps Over Soldier Dead... Offers Plan For Funding Allied Debts."

He weeps, he dries his tears, and talks of important things. Who will second the motion of a vote of thanks to Mr. Daugherty for telling us to what the country is settling down?

SUMMER REDUCTIONS

—ON— BOOKS FOR TOILERS 10 TITLES FOR 75c.

- Don't "lay off" on your self-education this summer. We have set prices so low on a number of the best educational pamphlets that you will want to use every golden hour to the best advantage. Look over these titles, check the 10 titles you wish, enclose list and 75c in envelope and mail. They will reach you by return mail.
- STEDMAN'S RED RAID, Robert Minor 10c, 12 for \$1.00.
- ROLE OF LABOR UNIONS IN SOVIET RUSSIA, Losovsky, 5c, 20 for \$1.
- COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Marx and Engels 25c, 5 for \$1.
- SOCIALISM UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC, Engels 25c, 5 for \$1.00.
- THE CLASS STRUGGLE, Kautsky 25c, 5 for \$1.
- BRIBING THE WAR PRESS 5c, 20 for \$1.
- NICOLAI LENIN, HIS LIFE AND WORK, Zinovieff 15c, 8 for \$1.
- COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM, Bishop Wm. M. Brown 25c, 6 for \$1.
- COMMUNISM and the FAMILY, Kollontay 10c, 12 for \$1.
- INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Mary Marcy 10c, 20 for \$1.
- DREAM OF DEBS, Jack London 10c, 12 for \$1.
- INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE and INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, Losovsky 10c, 12 for \$1.
- DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, Kamenev 10c, 12 for \$1.
- CONSTITUTION OF SOVIET RUSSIA 10c, 12 for \$1.
- SOCIALISM and RELIGION, By H. S. P. of England 10c, 12 for \$1.
- OPEN THE FACTORIES, Mary Marcy 10c, 12 for \$1.

THE TOILER 3207 CLARK AVE. CLEVELAND, OHIO

THE TOILER

ONE YEAR | SIX MONTHS | FOREIGN
\$2.00 | \$1.00 | 1 year, \$2.50

Address all mail and make all checks payable to THE TOILER 3207 CLARK AVENUE, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

BUNDLE ORDER PRICES

Bundle orders in any quantity... Bills upon bundle orders of 100 or more rendered monthly. Bills must be paid upon presentation.

Order a bundle of Toilers weekly and sell them to your shopmates.

Published weekly by the TOILER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION TELEPHONE: LINCOLN 3639.

The Socialist Party Convention.

Delayed a month the Socialist Party will hold its national convention in the city of Detroit on June 25. Seventy-five members will sit as delegates.

We do not know by what happy coincidence Detroit happens to have this questionable honor. Whether the Socialist Party's attempted steal of the House of the Masses from the Communists, which Bob Minor has so aptly characterized in his pamphlet as "Stedman's Red Raid", had any thing to do with its selection as the convention city or not we do not know.

The spectre of the Third (Communist) International will be present at the convention just as it has been present at every Socialist Party convention in every country held within the past year. The socialist press of Europe has been filled for months with discussions concerning it and its visits to various conventions in every country.

In stating that appearances indicate a final count, we take our cue from the official socialist party press. Massachusetts has selected a solid delegation opposed to affiliation with the Third. Other states, if we recall correctly have done likewise.

J. Louis Engdahl, of the present Left Wing in the S. P. will lead the fight for unconditional affiliation. The following article taken from the N. Y. Call gives Engdahl's views of the present situation and affords a sufficiently close-up for an understanding of what's on the screen.

Much as we would like to think otherwise, there is but one issue before the Detroit national convention of the Socialist party to be held June 25. This issue is bound up in a resolution sponsored by the party's national secretary, Otto Branstetter, which may be summarized as follows:

"All members of the Socialist party supporting or endorsing the Third (Communist) International, or advocating affiliation therewith, shall be subject to expulsion. The national executive committee is instructed to enforce this decision."

For two years now the party officialdom has been busy expelling and driving out of the party those comrades who have taken a stand with the Third International. Yet the desire for affiliation with the International is still alive among what remains of the party's dwindling ranks.

As one who supports, endorses and advocates affiliation with the Third International, as a member of the Socialist party, I confidently assert that the party officialdom can no more crush the spirit of the world social revolution, born of the victory of our Russian Comrades over world imperialism, no more than the Wilson-Burleson regime could crush the spirit of American Socialism during the great war.

The Detroit convention may, in a temporary fit of blindness, adopt the Branstetter proposition. The national executive committee may set out on a campaign of heresy-hunting unrivaled in American history, only to find that where vacant places have been left by Third Internationalists thrown out of the party, others are ready to take their places and carry on the struggle for true Socialism.

Does the membership of the Socialist party wish to have the party organization become the laughing stock of the working class organizations of the world? If so they will favor the Branstetter resolution. They will urge their delegates to vote for it at Detroit.

I would be very grateful to Branstetter if he would name one single political party of labor in the world that has even considered such a proposition.

Next to the American Farmer-Labor party, probably the most conservative party of labor in the world is the British Labor party that holds its congress this month. The British Labor party pretends to only a pale pink strain of Socialism. Yet branches of this very moderate party, that sent its spokesmen, Henderson, Clynes, Thomas, into the capitalists' war government, urge affiliation with the Third International and will have their proposals considered at the party's congress, without being subject to expulsion.

The Branstetter proposition is the most insane reaction yet produced by the 21 conditions of affiliation announced by the second congress of the Third International. And every party member knows that there has been a regular tidal wave of hysteria, partly sincere, much of it very artificial.

There is but one "International" in the world today. That is the Third International. The so-called "Second International" professes now to be nothing more than a "reconstruction committee," with J. Ramsay MacDonald as secretary, paid by the British Labor Party. The 2 1/2 (Vienna) International also professes to be nothing more than a "reconstruction committee" under the high-sounding title of "International Working Union of Socialist Parties," the original purpose of which was to unite fragments of parties to secure more favorable terms of admission to the Third International.

The Third (Communist) International is not only the one real international, but it is also the only international of any kind that stands for true Socialism.

Although the start of the world war crushed the frail organization of the "Second International," it could not root out the Socialist hope in the hearts and in the minds of the world's working class.

True Socialism came to life during the war in international gatherings held at Zimmerwald and Kienthal, Switzerland, and at Stockholm, Sweden. At these gatherings the real Socialists of Europe pledged themselves against the world war, against international capitalism and imperialism. It was at the

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

Stockholm conference that our European Comrades welcomed and applauded the St. Louis proclamation of the American Socialist party.

Then came the Russian overthrow of the Czarism, the establishment of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, and the liquidation of the international organization built at Zimmerwald, Kienthal and Stockholm, into the Third International, organized at Moscow, the capital of the Workers' Republic, in March, 1918.

In little more than two years the Third International has become the greatest power in all the world, not only because it is an expression of the Russian revolution, and has behind it the prestige and power of the first Socialist Soviet Republic, but because the numbers of its adherents among the workers in all the nations upon earth are growing with increasing rapidity.

While oppressed subject nations and nations of enslaved workers look with hope to the International, born of the great war and the Russian revolution, the Branstetter resolution calmly asserts that the Socialist party should go on record as declaring that Comrades who serve the interests of the Third International serve the interests of the American capitalists.

Perhaps we ought to offer a prize for anyone able to solve the puzzle: "How could a proposition like the Branstetter resolution originate in the brain of anyone calling himself a Socialist?"

This is the hysteria and the insanity that has helped, more than any other one thing, to bring the party to its present deplorable condition. Or is it an evidence of something else? Are the real betrayers of Socialism in America on the verge of revealing themselves? J. LOUIS ENGDahl, Chicago.

The resolution to which Engdahl takes exception reads: "Whereas, the Communist International is attempting to disrupt and destroy the Socialist party of the United States, as evidenced by numerous declarations to that effect; and

"Whereas, in their reply to the application of our party for affiliation, they make the following appeal to their sympathizers among our membership:

Workers: Leave the American Socialist party. It is your enemy and ours. Already in America there is a revolutionary party, the United Communist party, the American section of the Communist International. These are our true Comrades. Thousands of them have suffered for the revolution. This is the party of the revolutionary working class. Join the United Communist party!

And Whereas, those of our membership who are honestly in accord with the Communist International and who accept its conditions and dictation will, in response to the above appeal, either withdraw and join the United Communist party or will remain in our party only for the purpose of creating dissension and attempting to destroy our organization.

And Whereas, it is our duty to protect our party against such treachery on the part of the unprincipled and unscrupulous members serving the interests of either the Communist International or the Department of Justice, and in either case serving the interests of the American capitalists.

Therefore, Be It Resolved, That until such time as the Communist International has officially withdrawn the above appeal and others of a similar import, members of the Socialist party supporting or endorsing the Communist International or advocating affiliation therewith, shall be subject to expulsion by their respective branches. And be it further

Resolved, That the National Executive Committee be instructed to enforce this decision.

The First International.

By N. COLEMAN.

The Communist Manifesto, written on the eve of the revolution of 1848, closed with the classic words "Workers of the World, Unite!" This battle-cry came too early to become a living reality at once. History had not yet prepared the ground for such a union. The revolution of '48 had failed. The counter-revolution and the great industrial development that was then taking place broke off the thread of the revolutionary movement.

In the sixties, the effects were already evident. In England, a modern proletariat had been developed. Organized in strong trade unions, and led by progressive, farseeing men, it already had engaged in bitter struggles with the master class. In Germany, the factory system began to grow in the sixties and did away with the old system of handicraft, impoverishing the craftsmen, and driving them into the factories. In 1863, Ferdinand Lassalle organized the first political labor union. In France, the old system of small-scale production was still prevalent. Nevertheless, in spite of the dissensions of Proudhon, who abhorred the formation of workers' associations, more than 3,000 workers had been sentenced for participating in about 750 associations between the years 1853-1866.

The International Industrial Exposition held at London, in 1862, to which a deputation of French workers headed by Toloun were sent, furnished the occasion. They were welcomed by the English, who expressed a desire of "finding some international means of connection that would form a new link of love which should unite the laborers of every country." The French proposed the establishment of committees of workmen for the exchange of correspondence upon the questions of international industry. Subsequent gatherings were held upon the occasion of the Polish Revolution, which led up to the great meeting of Sept. 28, 1864, in London. There, the initial organization for the formation of an International Association of Workers was proposed. To Karl Marx, who was there representing the German workers, was entrusted

the colossal task of drawing up a program which would not shut the door to the English Trade Unionists, the French, Belgian, Italian, and Spanish Proudhonists, and the German Lassalleans. This he accomplished in the Address, Preamble and Rules. He declared in the Preamble that the "emancipation of the workers was to be accomplished by the working class itself... that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class meant the complete abolition of every kind of class domination... that the economic emancipation of the working class was the great aim to which every political movement must be subordinated..."

Marx was not satisfied with the International becoming a correspondence bureau, but wished it to be a center of all endeavors pointing to the emancipation of the workers, and ultimately to become the organ to lead the workers of Europe in a general rising. But to accomplish this, the utopian ideas and sectarian tendencies which were survivals of the period of Utopian Socialism and which flourished in those countries where the factory system was breaking up craft individualism, would have to be pushed into the background. The Cooperative enterprises under State support which Lassalle advocated and the People's Free Credit Bank which Proudhon proposed, though containing some proletarian qualities, were reactionary, as their objects were to reestablish the independent craftsman. Between the years 1865-1867, Marx struggled against the Proudhonists and overcome them.

working class of the world. The alleged position of Marxists has been so much condemned by syndicalists and others that it would do well to quote the resolution at length to learn Marx's views.

Unionism and Revolutionary Struggle.

"Trade Unionism arose from the attempts of the workmen to resist the despotic hegemony of Capital and to prevent or at least to check the competition among the workers themselves, in order to obtain such conditions which would raise them above simple slavery. The immediate aims of trade unions is therefore confined to the daily struggle between capital and labor, or in short to wages and hours of labor. These activities are not only legitimate, they are absolutely necessary—they cannot be dispensed with as long as capitalism exists. Moreover they should be made general through an alliance of the workers of all countries.

"The Trade Unions form, however, on the other hand centres of organization for the whole working class, just as the guilds and corporations formed in medieval times the centres of the rising middle class. If the trade unions in their former capacity are absolutely necessary for the daily contests or guerillas between labor and capital, they are all the more important as organized bodies for the abolition of wage labor and of the domination of capital. They should act consciously as the fact of the organization of labor in the interest of their complete emancipation. They should support all social and political movements which tend in the same direction. They should act as champions and representatives of the whole working class so as to emancipate the downtrodden millions."

Marx called for the organization of political parties, and, furthermore, tried to harmonize the conduct of the working class in the field of world politics. Thruout the General Council of the International, he declared against the Muscovite danger to Europe and the necessity for the re-establishment of a free and united Poland. Upon the re-election of Lincoln, Marx wrote in the name of the General Council, praising him for his struggle against the "oligarchy that had dared to inscribe slavery upon the banner of revolt." In later years, he defined the position of the International toward the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune. At the same time the International was influential in checking the importation of cheap labor from the continent into England to be used as a strikebreaker; it collected funds for the aid of strikers, in many cases the aid of the International contributing actively to the victory of the workers. The International came to be blamed for any strike that broke out on the continent.

Growth of the International.

By the year 1870, groups and associations of workers in England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Switzerland Hungary, Poland, as well as America, had become members of the International. The National Labor Union of America in convention held in Baltimore passed resolutions similar to those adopted at Geneva, and by 1870 Cameron announced the adherence of several hundred thousands of American workers to the principles of the International. The latter became the fear of statesmen as it became the hope of the class-conscious workers. But it was a fear inspired more by the vast possibilities of the movement than by the actual strength. At the opening of the year 1870, Europe was much disturbed by working class activities, and it appeared that the gigantic program of Marx for a general rising of the European proletariat at least in the great centres might soon be realized under the guidance of the International. It was the only body that had either the information or the brains at its command to give the various movements in different countries a definite and, eventually, a combined organization. The Franco-Prussian War and the defeat of the Paris Commune were soon to destroy these hopes. But more than that, it was to expose the real conditions, that action was still lacking.

The occupation of Sedan and Metz by the Germans aroused the national hatred of the French, and shattered the fraternal ties between the French and German workers. Marx early saw the lack of cooperation between the workers for fundamental revolutionary action. When the Paris workers rose, he foresaw the movement doomed to failure because it could not win

the support of the proletariat of other countries in a general rising. He tried to dissuade them from uselessly sacrificing their lives. He, however, supported the Commune energetically and after the defeat declared "The Paris of the workers with its Commune will be celebrated as the glorious herald of a new society."

But with the bloody defeat, the English and French workers began to lose heart. The International, because of its connection with the Commune, was placed under a ban throughout Europe. The differences in tactics which had long been kept under cover fully came to light again in the International. The sects began to flourish and the utopian vagaries of Bakunin found fertile soil.

The Decline.

But the English trade unionists had become frightened by the ban that the States of Europe had declared against the International. They were dissatisfied with the part the International played in the Commune, and hastened to withdraw. The intriguing of Bakunin also weakened the movement. In vain did Marx call for union at the Congress of 1872. "Solidarity!" he declared. "We shall attain the great end for which we stand only if we establish this life giving principle as the firm foundation for the workers of all countries. The example of the Commune of Paris, which fell because a great revolutionary movement did not break out in all the capitals of Europe, in Berlin, in Madrid, at the same time—a movement which should have made common cause with the powerful rising of the proletariat of Paris should inspire all workers with the need of solidarity."

But the appeal was in vain. The Marxists expelled the intriguing Bakunites and transferred the General Council to New York, in order to place it beyond the grasp of Bakunin. There it was formally dissolved in 1876.

The International had outlived its usefulness. It had pointed out to the workers the need for political and trade union activity. It gave the proletariat of the world a common philosophy. It had become impossible to conduct the affairs of the proletariat from one center. Capitalism had not yet developed internationally, and the proletariat from one center. Capitalism had not yet developed internationally, and the proletariat of each country was concerned with its national problems. As the General Council of New York in its final address declared, "We have abandoned the organization of the International for reasons arising from the present situation of Europe. Let us give our fellow workers a little time to strengthen their national affairs and they will soon be in a position to remove the barriers between themselves and the workmen of other parts of the world."

Taking The Greatest Pleasure.

By JOHN WESLER.

The capitalist class has, of course, not accepted the whole of Marxism. But it has always been very adaptable in picking the best of every social theory.

Seventy-three years ago, Marx wrote in his Communist Manifesto: "Our bourgeois not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives." The members of the capitalist class have always doggedly upheld this theory in practice in the face of harsh and bitter criticism.

Today, however, one no longer meets this intemperate criticism—at least among the more informed classes, like preachers, editors, corporation directors, etc.

For example, take the Stillman affair. The case is neither unusual nor uncommon. James Alexander Stillman, president of the powerful National City Bank and director in a score of corporations, states that his wife is the mother of a child of which he is not the father. She declares that he, under the alias of "Mr. Leeds," is the father of a child of which she is not the mother.

But our better class of preachers, editors and corporation directors know better than to censure this affair. They are too well practiced in the theories of "Marxian" sexology, and economic determinism.

Soberly speaking, one cannot help remarking that it is this putrid capitalist class of ours that spread the foulest lies about the heroic proletariat of Russia. And it is these same hireling preachers and editors—so silent concerning the orgies of their masters—whose fertile brains devised that monstrosity, "Nationalization of women in Soviet Russia."

Capitalist Owners Responsible for Industrial Losses.

American Engineering Council says managements responsible for only 50 per cent production of capacity.

By JOS. POORE.

Consternation and pandemonium reigned in the ranks of the American Engineering Council, at St. Louis, Mo., on June 4, when a committee appointed by the Executive Board to investigate industrial stagnation, charged the employers and capitalists with wilful waste in the management of its industrial plants.

The American Engineering Council was reorganized by Herbert Hoover, a member of Harding's cabinet, as a bulwark against the growing strength of the labor movement. Its program calls for unqualified support to capitalism and voices vigorous opposition to organized labor. The report which holds the employers responsible for 50 per cent waste in American industries, has created a great stir and may lead to a split between the conservatives and liberals.

The conservative members tried every trick to stifle the report and thus prevent its publication. Things looked rather ugly when a compromise was agreed upon, the conservatives consenting to the publication of the reports as the findings of a "committee."

Million Always Idle.

The report points out that the "margin of unemployment amounts to more than a million men." In plain English this means that a million men are compelled to be idle even in normal times in order to create a labor market for the employers. A larger labor market means cheap labor, low wages and a 10-11-12 hour work day. Furthermore "billions of dollars are tied up in idle equipment." Capital demands the same rate of profits it made during the war and will not open its plants until it gets it. Naturally this means that millions of workers must walk the streets to satisfy the inordinate greed of the employers.

Another element contributing to waste "is the high labor turnover." This signifies that the bosses keep on hiring and firing in order to obtain the cheapest labor possible. From four to five million workers were idle during the first three months of this year, which means a loss in wages of a half a billion dollars. The report charges:

"Maintenance of high prices," the report continues, "on the part of the owners influences the situation; collusion in building trades is a restriction; legitimate (?) restrictions are often practiced by owners of patented, or trade marked articles."

Preventable Sickness Another Cause.

Charging that the annual economic loss in the country through preventable diseases and death amounts to \$3,000,000,000, the report urges a more "general use of safety methods." The reports adds that "42,000,000 persons lose 350,000,000 days from illness and disease; 42 per cent of the waste caused by ill health is preventable; in 1917 there were 3,000,000 industrial accidents resulting in an economic loss to the country of about \$553,000,000."

Summing up, the report says that 50 per cent of the waste is directly traceable to the culpable neglect and indifference of the employers whose only motive is increased profits and dividends. In view of the fact that the American Engineering Council is a highly reactionary body working hand in glove with the exploiters of labor, its accusations against the gigantic greed of the employers in keeping factories shut thereby aggravating unemployment, are doubly significant.

While the report does not suggest a replacement of the present capitalist system with communism, yet intelligent workers must conclude that the only solution to the unemployment problem lies in the control of the factories, mines and mills by the workmen and their operation for their own use. All the methods are mere palliatives.

THE IRISH PEOPLE For Workers of Irish Birth 1 year \$2.50. 262 West 23 Street New York City

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE TULSA RACE RIOT.

By E. T. ALLISON.

As one cannot understand any great social change or manifestation without a true conception of the economic basis for such, so, neither can one understand any lesser social phenomena without understanding the economic basis in which its causes find root, and out of which it springs.

The Tulsa race riot of two weeks ago is a case in point. The riot did not "just happen". There were very clear and definite causes for that outburst of savagery; causes which in the main now reveal themselves as economic in character. Not difference of color, nor creed nor race can account for it.

To attempt to separate the Negro race from the economic development of the United States in the early period of its settlement would be a witless procedure. The entire "civilization" of the far greater portion of this country was at that time based and grounded upon the slavery of the Negro. To understand the early period of this country's development one must not fail to reckon with the foundation upon which its economic, civil and moral superstructure was built—chattel slavery.

Ten million inhabitants of a country, even of the extent of the United States, bound together by ties of race, historical development and similarity of economic and social status, cannot be readily divorced from any calculation of social forces of that country. And it would be entirely erroneous to attempt such on the basis of the larger freedom granted the Negro since the Civil War. His changed relation to his masters and to the white society is an almost fictitious one, especially in the South where his greatest numbers still live and labor. The Negro race is linked up with unbreakable bonds (economic) with the white civilization. The labor of these millions is still preponderantly necessary in the realms of King Cotton and even in various basic industries of the North.

White capitalist society is as clearly in a conspiracy against the Negro here as is any pogrom ridden Eastern nation against the Jews. Here the lynching bee and the race riot, there the pogrom. The causes are the same as are too the results. The American Negro, and we must not forget that he is a truly American as are any of the whites, more so than many of them, who attempts to raise himself and family into a higher plane of life and social position is always damned and often doomed, by the white society which dominates the country. The Negro who is content to remain a "nigger"—and a vassal of the whites is held in the veriest contempt, but let him simulate the human aspirations of the white race for the larger life and then to this contempt of the whites is added a blood thirsty desire for vengeance which, at any moment may break upon his head.

Upon such a shifty foundation rested the lives and liberties of thousands of Negro men, women and children at Tulsa when the White Vengeance swept their homes and many of them as well, out of existence in a whirlwind of fury.

The main purpose and object of all white aggressions upon the Negro are to KEEP HIM DOWN, down under the feet of the white rulers, the white laws, the white politicians, the white masters. Any thing which will reduce the Negro to this place and keep him there as dirt beneath the feet of his masters—is good in the eyes of white civilization. As long as the Negro will consent to stay down, the bloodthirstiness of the whites may be appeased by only an occasional sacrificial offering of a black man or woman.

The magnet of industrial development drew many thousands of Negroes into the Northern and Western parts of the country during the war. Post-war conditions favored the retention of them north of the Mason and Dixon line. The opening of oil fields and the high prices for cotton were active agencies in attracting large numbers of them to the Southwest. High wages, high cotton prices, luck in the oil gamble made many of them comparatively well to do. Negroes established themselves in business competing with white firms. Negro newspapers were established, negro organizations grew. They settled down in that section as an established portion of the inhabitants.

Business interests establish the current that upon any public matter, whether it is the floating of a to-be-discounted 20 per cent liberty loan, or a decision upon adopting a scientific formula for conserving human life. Business, thru its publicity and legal organisms has the first and last say. The "lower classes" have little force in deciding anything. Whether white or black they are only the implements of the bourgeoisie.

It was white business interests which fomented the Tulsa riot. Whatever differences there may have been between white workers and black workers on account of undercutting of wages by the Negroes because of unemployment, it must not be assumed that these differences counted for anything with the white master class, except as an implement of possible use against the Negro when the whites chose to bring the mob into action. The business depression rendered the Negroes more of a menace than an asset to the white interests. The trap was sprung.

The Tulsa riot was the fruit of a long brewing trouble, not unexpected

FOR THE FUTURE

By CARL BLOOR.

This week I was offered the position of assistant branch manager in my concern; a situation opening the way for me to become a highly successful business man.

Yet a business man is a very pitiful sight. He is fat and flabby. No sparkle lurks in his pulpy eyes. The fire of youth is burned out. Even the dead ash is used, not in reading the semi-liberal popular novels, or light adventure stories, but in contemplation of boastful auto-biographies in business journals of the American magazine type. His ideal is to write a similar record of himself some day.

True, Mr. Business Man is a material success,—but how sad his existence. Always prating about his car, his machine, his chauffeur. Happiness? Achievement? The neighbors' flattery of his willful little son makes him happy. A few more dollars a week, a better car, a bigger house—these for him are achievement.

The days of experimenting youth seem long ago. He can hazily remember how, when at college, he had actually joined a radical debating society.

Since then nothing but deterioration. All bad form must be crushed out. He must think success so that success will come to him. He must talk prosperity and must not be a knocker, but always bright, cheerful and happy.

And now success has come to him. But he sneers at Shaw—thinks more of his table than of his bookcase.

Once our hero was caught by his friends buying The New Republic. His explanation that he merely wanted to prepare to answer the Red Menace saved his reputation.

Twenty years ago this man of affairs was an enthusiastic idealist. In twenty years will I be a flabby minded self centered business man?

So John Reed is dead. We can't write enough about such man. And how he lived! I wonder if there are any Harvard graduates, men of literary talent, who would deliberately throw over family, percept, wealth, to cast their lot with the workers?

When I was a high school student my mother worked for the movement—even as she does now—travelling up and down the country preaching rebellion. Money was often late in coming. Once when there was no money we lived for two days on a large Spanish onion. After class on the second day we walked to the office of a radical doctor and asked for a loan. But he himself had had nothing to eat except very ripe bananas that day, and had no money. He gave us several sample boxes of corn flakes to help us until our funds came, while he invited himself out to supper with a patient.

Every champion of the workers knows that he must often take his cornflakes without cream—if he is lucky enough to get the cornflakes.

But the comradeship! What revolutionist has not gone home in the evening down after an all night talk with his cohorts about tactics, new liberal books? Or how so and so is in hiding and what a fine boy he is; and how this red minister has dropped out of the fight and is now speaking for the protective league ministers? Someone remarks, they are economically unsound anyway.

Better to eat raw fish in a Finnish jail than caviar at a Chamber of Commerce banquet. For many of the keenest intellects are now or have been in jail. It is worth more than one night behind bars to hear McAlpine relate how he was a flippant coachman at Newport, or hear Mrs. Harmon tell how she threw the thugs out of her house that night. She is an engrossing story teller.

It is a treat to have broad-mouthed Bob Minor tell of his European incarceration, or Emma Goldman rehearse the time when, invited by mistake, she exhorted some Hooverizing women on anarchism, at their New York banquet.

Who is the great writer not con-

In some quarters. Many instances of white aggression upon Negro rights can be cited in proof of this. Negroes holding land upon which oil was struck were forced to sell to whites, were driven out of the country. Notices were stuck upon Negroes' houses warning them of white vengeance if they remained in that section. Many and various obstacles were placed in the way of Negro advancement. Violations of legal rights became the order of the day where Negroes were concerned. The Negroes were becoming an established competitive factor to white business. And because of it they were outlawed, and the sentence of death passed upon them. The riot ensued.

Whatever immediate circumstance set off the explosion that has found an echo of condemnation wherever men really think, down at the bottom must be recognized these fundamental causes, economic in nature, which are ineradicable as long as the present capitalistic system shall last.

taminated with revolt? Show me an inspiring picture that is not unconventional.

And so you did well, John Reed, to choose the movement. It brought you suffering and early death, but you kept your conscience free, kept your ideals, your right to intellectual development and expression.

I saw at your trials how the judges bowed to you. They who are profits' enuchs saw that you dedicated your life to virile truth.

A business man neighbor of mine died the other day. All said, "he was a good man." He seldom staid out late at night and died without debts. At your death what can we say?

To those of us in all lands who drank of your enthusiasm and inspiration, you are still alive. You worked for the future. You did your share to fan the flames of discontent that are to totally consume our self-imposed prison house. You did your best to break the shackles of convention. You left us some excellent poems also. Your life was a poem, Jack, your masterpiece.

FOR RANK AND FILE ELECTION.

Mr. Editor:—

I got one of your papers by mistake through the post office, so I read it before returning same. Enclosed find money order for one year's subscription. I believe your paper gives news about my fellow working man that the United Press does not give.

I am working in a mine here, we have 1,000 members. Enclosed will find a Resolution we are sending all over the state of Illinois and where ever we think it will do good among our ranks; so if you have a small space to print it, some of the miners of Ohio may see it.

We do not think the A. F. of L. is doing its part and the only way to get solidarity is by electing our officials and then the rank and file of all craft unions may elect a solid and progressive set of officers.

Fraternally Yours
Ralph J. Malerich, Orient, Ill.

May 4, 1921.

RESOLUTION.

Orient, Ill., April 4, 1921.

To All Local Unions District No. 12, U. M. W. A.—GREETING:

WHEREAS, The membership of Local Union No. 303, thinks that the system now prevailing as to the election of officers in the American Federation of Labor does not give the rank and file a voice in the election of officers.

WHEREAS, The U. M. W. A., having the largest amount of members affiliated with the A. F. of L., demand that all officers of the A. F. of L. be elected by referendum vote or refuse to be affiliated with same; and

WHEREAS, The membership of Local Union 303 appeals to all Local Unions to send their full quota of delegates to our next International Convention instructed to vote for adoption of such resolution; and be it

RESOLVED, That Local Union No. 303 distribute this resolution throughout the various Local Unions for adoption; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we ask all affiliated organizations to draft similar resolutions in their respective Local Unions.

(Signed)

T. C. Mason, pres.
James Muir.
Ralph J. Malerich,
James Teague
Resolutions Com.
Endorsed by Local No. 303 April 13, 1921.
H. W. Miles, Rec. Sec'y.

EMPLOYEES' MAGAZINES: POISON FOR THE WORKER'S MIND.

Third Article by Sanford Hamilton.

The aim of employees' magazines is to complete the control which the job has over the workers' life, to choke in him the inclination to do—under the pressure of circumstances—a little thinking about his lot in the world.

The favorite method is to teach him an "Americanism" the first principle of which is "confidence in the Company" and doing everything "for the good of the Company."

Says "The Observer," which is published by the Bishop and Babcock Company and the Cleveland Machine Company: "Team-work means forgetting little personal things and doing it for the good of the Company." That is "Americanism" in all its beauty. Forget "little personal things."

Only you and your family suffer from a cut in wages. It is "a little personal thing." Forget it. Only you and your family suffer when you are out of work—"a little personal thing." Don't make a fuss about it.

Another employees' magazine that harps on team-work is "The Center Punch" of The American Multigraph Company. "Team-work," it says in No. 1 of Vol. 3, "can only be got by having everyone know their job, while having the fullest confidence in the other fellow." Team-work and confidence above all, confidence, confidence! And how does The American Multigraph Company use the confidence of its employees? Here, in the same issue of "The Center Punch," is a pretty story of—

10 HOURS WORK FOR 8 HOURS PAY

which is told in three little articles, the first of which is "A Plea From The Eight Hour Committee." The first few lines will do. Here the yare: "We, the Eight Hour Committee of the Multigraph Industrial Congress have guaranteed and pledged to keep up production in exchange for the shorter day." If you think that keeping up production does not mean turning out in 8 hours the same amount of work as was turned out in 10 hours, here is something from another article on the same subject under the heading: "The Hard Working Eight Hour Committee." Beginning with mush-and-syrup stuff about the committee, the article simmers down to something with a kick in it: "The eight hour committee has finished one big job, and now starts upon another. They have guaranteed that production figures SHALL NOT FALL."

But how do I know they used to work ten hours? I got it from a little sermon—in the same issue—by Phil Severance, Assembling Department. Phil says: "The fact that we are now working eight hours a day brings a feeling of satisfaction difficult to describe when compared to the old standard of ten hours."

So it is a case of doing ten hours work in eight hours. Nothing is said about any change in wage rates. That means—doing ten hours work for eight hours pay. In the light of these facts, turn now to this article:

"CUTTING A MELON"
By S. S. Schnell, Filing Dept.

"Did you ever read of a meeting of stockholders of a firm when they cut a melon? Well, they usually have flowers, music, eats and speeches. Then the treasurer of the company announces a handsome dividend on the stock, besides some undivided profits that enable each stockholder to increase his holdings in the concern."

"It certainly must be a grand and glorious feeling to be a participant in such a feast, but we have just had a dividend declared to the employees of the American Multigraph Company, viz. 150 hours to each employee for the next six months paid for by the company. This is worth about \$100 to every man and woman employed by the firm, or \$65,000 for the total number of people in the plant at the present time."

"To an optimist, this looks quite like cutting a melon."

THE POISON WORKS.
Mr. Schnell does not mention the blessings of the eight hour day. Too bad, he overlooked something else for which to be thankful to the company. He sees no connection between the two. It does not occur to him that this announcement of an "employees' dividend" is for the purpose of giving the workers something about which to have "A grand and glorious feeling," so they won't stop to think about the fact that they are now doing 10 hours work for 8 hours pay.

Do you wonder now why employees' magazines lay so much stress on implanting in the workers a confidence in the firm? It takes lots of confidence and bushels of employees'-magazine-Americanism to reduce normal men and women to such a state of idiocy that they are incapable of doing a little figuring.

THE FIGURES.
Mr. Schnell tells us that 150 hours run up to \$100. That means that they

are getting 66c an hour. Putting in 10 hours work for 8 hours pay, each employee is donating to The American Multigraph Company \$1.32 a day—close to \$8.00 a week.

Against that they get a bonus of \$100 in six months—\$2.00 a week. Each employee is robbed of \$6.00 a week. And Mr. Schnell says: "It looks quite like cutting a melon."

SATISFIED? NO!

Is the American Multigraph Company satisfied with the trick that makes its beasts of burden offer thanks for being robbed of \$6.00 a week—over and above the robbery that the wage system always is? No! You can see that from the following bit of noble advice by the editor of "The Center Punch."

"Make your interest in production a personal one. Watch the figures. When they go up—work all the more to shove them higher."

Can you beat it?
And now, Comrades, that you realize what poisonous stuff those employees' magazines are, it is your duty to point out to every worker whom you know to be a reader of some employees' magazine that he is getting in it a mass of fraud and sham and hypocrisy. Make it clear to him that they are making a fool of him, adding insult to injury.

Remember, Comrades, if those employees' magazines were not effective instruments for dulling workers' minds, Big Business wouldn't be spending so much money on them. We must shake the workers' confidence in those poisonous magazines, weaken their interest in them.

And when they realize that they had been fed with poison, they'll be ready for the antidote—revolutionary literature.

BRAIN TEASERS.

By SARGENT.

When Unions arbitrate grievances, and wage propositions before a committee composed of representatives of the Bosses, the fictitious Public, and themselves, it's two to one the Unions are beat.

The new Americanism, "the open shop" is in fact camouflaged cowardice on the part of the bosses. They hope to break up the Unions, then take advantage of workers individually. Organized business vs. unorganized workers, how nice the big interests try to cover their cant and hypocrisy in the name of Americanism.

"In the sweet bye and bye." A phrase that sounds beautiful in one of the old hymns, but say Jack, how about the now? Are you working? Have you enough to eat? What wages are you getting? What kind of a place do you live in—if you live at all? Is your family well fed, and dressed—that is if you can afford to be married? How long do you work? Do you work very hard? Are you afraid of your unemployed brothers under bidding you? On the level Jack, are you waiting for the "sweet bye and bye"? You know that sky-stuff? You have got to submit it's a great promise alright. But tell me, how can brothers in the sweet bye and bye live in peace when you have to fight one another like hell, to live here, and now?

"Thou shall not steal" Leave that to the Bosses, highway-men, thieves, and politicians. All you have to do is keep on working. You don't know anything else but work anyway? You don't even know you are being robbed when you work? You don't know what wages are? How should you? When you believe what you read in the news-papers, what the boss tells you, and on Sunday what you hear the Preacher say in Church, then during political campaigns what the politicians spout. You are the play thing of all the trimmers, why don't you look around, feel of yourself and see if you are really alive. Not that you would by so doing, learn to do some stealing, but rather get next to yourself and help those who are trying

to bring about a change where stealing will be unprofitable.

"Love one another" while you are working like the devil to make both ends meet, suffering in heat of summer, and cold of winter. While the dear Boss and his family go to places of pleasure in either season. You should worry how much they trim you; keep on loving, you have a job, that's what you love, hey Bill?

"Love your neighbor as yourself" or "love your enemies" was highly exemplified in Tulsa, Okla. June 1st in the year of our Lord, 1921. When a mob in its frenzy murdered 30 or more people, burned down homes, ravaged and robbed, crippled women and children, and left them to their fate, devoid of clothing, in a state of fear and hunger. Hurray for Christian civilization and democracy. It is exposing itself in its true nature to all thinking men and women, in this grand and glorious age of progress. "Peace on Earth, good will towards men."

Free throat, and free expression in the colleges is ridiculous. Who is it endows those institutions? Isn't it the exploiters of labor? Well haven't they the supreme right to determine the policy, discipline and learning that should be dispensed? Reason says yes. Because, when they pay, they should get what they pay for. It should be understood they give in order to control, and the Professor accepts with very few exceptions on account of a little honor, but more the meal-ticket. Endowments are not made for the love of humanity, except in very, very rare instances; they are generally contributed on the basis of materialism. Possession inspires a desire for more possession and incidentally public adulation, and honor which is a cunning way of adding power to the possessor as a supposed public benefactor. Some day the mass of the people will become its own benefactor by taking possession of all educational institutions, also the means of production, and distribution. Thereby guaranteeing free throat, and free-speech, without restrictions. Then to think of suppression would be as ridiculous, as thinking of freedom now.

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM: Analysed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D. D. The writer, a Bishop of the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics.

Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalism from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all."

Published in October, 1920. Fiftieth Thousand now ready. 223 pages; cloth \$1.00; paper, 25c or six copies \$1.00, postpaid.

THE BRADFORD-BROWN EDUCATIONAL CO., INC., Publishers
140 South Union Street, Gallion, Ohio.

THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: ITS WORK AND DEVELOPMENT.

IN RUSSIA.
The first Young People's Socialist Leagues came into being as a result of the Revolution in March 1917. The Movement which has assumed a bolshevik character as early in Italy, developed tremendously after the November Revolution, The Russian Young People's League counting in October already 21,000 members, while at the second Congress in October 1919, as many as 96,000 were represented. The organization then developed also a brisk activity amongst the peoples of the East, with the result that today the membership of the All-Russian Communist Young League has gone up to 460,000. The organization is carrying on a systematic and extensive activity in the domains of political education, of economic problems, of the Soviet Republic and has as such a decisive vote in the solving of all problems the youth is interested in. It carries on a brisk activity amongst the youth of the peasantry. Time and against members were mobilised as well as for the economic front. The Y. C. I. is proud of its Russian Section.

THE STATES OF THE EAST.
Nothing could be more wrong than an attempt to minimize the movement of the working masses of the near and far east. Millions of workers and peasants are being exploited there to the utmost, and their movement which grows stronger from day to day, will still in time to come overthrow the Imperialism of the West for which the exploitations of its colonies is a vital necessity. The youth of the eastern peoples is everywhere in the front ranks of the Revolutionary Movement.

The first (from its very beginning bolshevik) Young People's Groups had sprung up in July 1917 in Tiflis (Georgia, Caucasus.) Under the most

difficult circumstances these groups developed into a League and joined, in June 1920 the Y. C. I., their development increasing tremendously after the Revolution in March 1921.

The organization in Persia now numbers 10 sections with 5,000 members. It carries on an energetic economic struggle and has brought quite a number of strikes to a successful end.

After Turkestan had been won for the Soviet Republic, the Young Communist Movement in that country grew tremendously, the organization there counting today 30,000 members amongst whom are many believers in Mohamed and also quite a number of girls. The organization has also done great services for the Red Army.

The organizations in China and Buchara has also developed a brisk activity.

The Youth's Movement in Siberia has been independent till the country was liberated of Koltchak, since which time it is a part of the All-Russian Y. C. I. Now it is taking form and developing.

KOREA AND CHINA.
In Korea and China the youth is but beginning to move, there being however in both countries illegal groups, and in Korea also an illegal official publication. Considering the character of these countries, it is but natural that the intellectual youth should take a leading part in the movement. They work in close contact with the All-Russian Y. C. I. and with the Undersecretariate for the Eastern Peoples, of the Y. C. I.

THE BALTIC STATES.
In the Baltic states which are being dominated over by the White Terror, the Communist Youth is forced to work illegally. But no matter how great the sacrifices, they will not put a stop to the intensive work of our comrades here.

FINLAND.
The powerful and well organized League, having at its disposal a number of papers and carrying on an extensive publishing activity, has in 1920 joined the Y. C. I. In spite of the fact that the working youth had to suffer heavily in the course of the Revolution in that country, the membership of the organization is steadily increasing. The League which still is being subjected to a pernicious persecution by the government, is one of the best sections of the Y. C. I.

SCANDINAVIA.
The Swedish League is one of the oldest, and like the other northern sections, well organized. Like the Norwegian League, it carries on an intensive publishing activity and employs in its propaganda only the most up to date methods. The Red Week of Propaganda instituted by it has become famous, while its educational activity represents a very high standard. The revolutionising of the Swedish party and its joining the III International—as well, is to a high degree the fruit of the work of the Swedish Y. C. L.

Most of what has been said of the organization in Sweden, can be repeated of the Norwegian section of the Y. C. I. Thanks to its efforts have the trade-unions become revolutionised, and the party accepted the 21 theses laid down by the II. Congress of Moscow.

DENMARK.
After lengthy internal discussions with the centrists, the Danish League has recently resolved upon affiliation with the Y. C. I. It carries on an intensive economic and military struggle. In Iceland the Movement is also beginning to make itself felt.

Since 1910 the three Scandinavian Leagues have joined closely in an Inter-Scandinavian Federation.

GERMANY.
The Communist Movement has developed out of the so-called Free Youth which during the War had been leading the opposition against the Social-patriotic tutors. Led by the Free Socialist Youth (called Communist Youth after the organization had been purged of the Independents) the German young proletariat have stood in the front ranks of every battle fought in the course of the German Revolution. The organization has at present a membership of 25,000. It is publishing quite a number of district organs as well. In September 1920 the followers of the C. A. P. (Communist Workers Party) split off and formed the Communist Workers Youth which is however, steadily decaying. During the last months the Communist Youth of Germany has devoted itself mainly to matters of an economic nature, recognising clearly the imperative necessity to win for the ideas of Communism the hundreds of thousands of young workers who are still at the mercy of the reactionary trade-union bureaucracy of the Sections for the Young. The corresponding organization of the Social-Patriots, which is, however, nothing but a club to arrange for games and excursions, has still a membership of 60,000.

(Concluded next week.)