

The TOILER

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A. F. of L. Officialdom -- "Obey my orders or it's the Pen for you!"

For the Workers Councils

With the change in the form of "The Toiler" adopted this week goes a new policy. In the past this paper has been devoted to a general presentation of news regarding the working class movement and editorial comment on political and industrial developments. While a newspaper of this character has an important function to perform, this policy does not lead to any definite form of action.

The development of the working class struggle during the last three or four years has thrown in sharp relief the kind of organization which the workers must build up in order to successfully combat the capitalist class and its organs of power. It is through the Workers Councils that the power of the working class is mobilized and united for the struggle against the capitalist class. These Workers Council have their basis in the shops, the factories, the mills, the mines and railroad.

It was on the shop organizations and shop committees that the power of the Russian Soviets was built. In Germany the Workers Councils appeared as organs of the workers' power in every struggle against the junkers and the capitalists. In England the shop organizations are the basis of the shop stewards movement, which is both a challenge against reactionary trade unionism and a mobilization of the workers' power for militant action.

In Italy the workers are consciously proceeding with the work of organizing workers councils in preparation for the time when they will be compelled to assume the burden of carrying on the affairs of that country a day not far distant.

In the United States the workers are handicapped in the struggle against the capitalist class by a Trade Union organization more reactionary than that of England. The American Federation of Labor is seeking to be admitted to partnership in the government and with the capitalist class, rather than fighting the workers' battles in the class struggle. While many of the members of the A. F. of L. are ready to carry on an uncompromising struggle against the capitalist system, their efforts are fruitless because the machinery of their reactionary organizations sabotage every action which is not in accord with the conservative policy of their leaders.

The steel strike, the miners strike and the "outlaw" railroad workers strike, stand as a monument to the treachery of the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor and the Railroad Brotherhoods. In place of rallying the whole organized working class to the support of these striking workers, these officials either openly sold out the workers and joined with the capitalists in fighting

against them, or aided the enemy of the workers by their cowardly and vacillating policy.

The system of shop organizations and shop committees, ultimately to be united in the Workers Councils, offers and effective means of combating the trade unions and of uniting both organized and unorganized workers for common action. The shop committee is in close touch with the rank and file and responsive to its will. It does not represent the interests of any particular craft, but of all the workers in the shop. If there is a strike all the workers go out together. When the shop committees are united for a particular industry, they can swing all the workers in that industry into action. United in the Workers Councils they can bring to bear the whole power of the working class.

If there had been Workers Councils in every great industrial centre at the time of the steel strike and the miners strike, the workers would not have lost these strikes. The workers would have had the machinery at their command through which they could have taken united action to force the capitalists to their knees.

The part which "The Toiler" will play in the class struggle in this country in the future will be to carry on the agitation for the organization of shop organizations, shop committees and Workers Councils. Together with this agitation will go the advocacy of industrial unionism.

In carrying out this policy first hand information will be secured in regard to the conditions which the workers face in the industries. Close contact will be maintained with the actual life of the workers in the shops. Every strike of moment will be covered.

Those of the present readers who are ready to support this policy are urged to increase the influence of "The Toiler" by ordering bundles for sale to the workers in their shops and by securing subscriptions.

The shop organization, the shop committee, the Workers Councils, along that line lies the action that will hasten the day of the workers emancipation.

"Outlaw" strikes.

"Unauthorized" strikes.

"Illegal" strikes.

"Runaway" strikes.

"Unofficial" strikes.

Strikes against the Boss.

Strikes against union officialdom.

Strikes against the government.

Strikes against the "conciliators."

It really looks like capitalist conciliation fails to conciliate. What next?

In Your Shop

How are things in your shop?

Everybody satisfied? Wages right, hours of work what you think they should be? No unhealthy conditions, no machinery that is not properly guarded and endangers your life?

Is work made as pleasant as it can be made? Are all the improvements that will make things easier put in and do you have a voice in deciding how things shall be run?

It would be a wonderful shop to work in if things were in that shape, wouldn't it? And why shouldn't things be in that shape?

Of course they are not that way now. More than likely everybody is dissatisfied? You are constantly fighting to get a little higher wages in order to keep up with the cost of living. The hours are long. The management doesn't care much whether the surroundings are dangerous to your health or whether unguarded machinery cripples or kills a man now and then. Your boss probably acts like a czar who expects you to get down on your knees whenever he's around. You haven't any say in how the shop shall be run.

You know why the shop is run in that way. It's a money-making machine for the bosses and they are going to make as much money out of you as they can. Higher wages, shorter hours, sanitary surroundings, safeguarded machinery all these things cost money and mean less profits for the boss's bank account. He isn't going to cut down his profits in order to make things more comfortable for you, unless you make him.

How are you going to make him?

He owns the shop. He can fire you when he feels like it. He has behind him, upholding his right to do as he pleases with his shop the police, the soldiers, the courts — the whole machinery of government, which is in existence for that particular purpose.

Maybe you have tried the Trade Union? It has helped some in the past, but it hasn't got you anywhere. It will help you less in the future; it splits the workers up into little trade groups who fight the capitalists separately, in place of uniting all of them in a big fight for what the workers want. Most of the big Trade Union officials are afraid of the bosses, particularly when the bosses use the government as their agent, and are always ready to sell out the workers rather than come to a showdown.

You have probably learned, as the workers most everywhere are learning, that the Trade Unions can't do the job. They belong to the time before the bosses got together and organized their One Big Union and when there was

more skill required for a trade than in the present day of machinery.

The way to fight the capitalists today is by organizing all the workers in the shop for united action. In a garment factory the cutters, the machine operators, the finishers, the pressers should belong to one shop organization, and elect a shop committee to represent them in the fight with the management. In a shipyard all the workers of every trade should unite on the job and do business with the bosses through their committee. The workers in an auto factory, no matter what particular part of the work of building, packing or shipping the auto they do, should get together and elect a shop committee to handle all the negotiations with the management.

If you are organized on the job in this fashion you can make the bosses listen to you. You can make your wishes felt in the management of the shop. You can force the bosses to give you a voice in deciding things that effect your work and the conditions under which you work.

Some bosses have organized shop committees on their own account. They hope by putting in dummy committees which they control, that they can prevent the workers from building up real fighting organizations.

Don't have anything to do with them. Your shop organization and shop committee must be your organizations. Their purpose is to fight the boss, not to help the boss.

Why not start building a shop organization and shop committee in your shop NOW!

Get together the most active fellows you know. Start agitating. When you get a good part of the shop lined up, organize.

Your shop organization will help you in the fight now for better wage and working conditions. It will also give you the foundation for the bigger fight against the whole capitalist system.

A big mass-meeting was held in Byesville, Ohio, July 25th, for the purpose of demanding recognition of the **Outlawed Railroaders**, and of course all the comrades living in that burg had to be on hand to help fan the blazes which were started in the valley when the outlaws first came out. The miners came out for about ten days with the railroad men but were persuaded to go back. When they drew their pay they had been fined \$1.00 a day for each day they were off, then there was hell again and the fines were finally remitted, but the men have been on edge ever since. They are crazy to join the Chicago Yardmen's Asso. and I understand that miners are being taken in in some localities. Say, we are going to have the One Big Union almost before we know it.

—CORRESPONDENT.

The Communist Trial Day by Day

— By H. AUSTIN SIMONS, —
Staff Correspondent, The Federated Press.

CHICAGO, July 26.—Seymour Steiman and Socialism were eulogized, along with Samuel Gompers and the A. F. of L. officialdom, for their "conservatism and loyalty during the war," by Marvin L. Barnhart, assistant state's attorney, in opening final arguments in the case for the State.

Barnhart consumed a whole day with his argument. William S. Forrest, for the defense, will follow. He will be followed by Clarence Darrow. Lloyd Heth and Frank Comerford will close for the state.

"At the time when the best blood of America had been called to defend that flag (the Stars and Stripes on the wall) these men condemned conservative Socialism because it tried to prevent revolution!" cried the state's attorney. "Think of it! These men—yellow!—instead of the red they wave—they urge others to start the revolution; they hadn't the courage or the nerve to do it!"

"This Communist Labor movement condemned the old conservative Socialist Party for the stand it took, sticking to parliamentary method. This much can be said for Germer and Steiman, that they stood manfully for the government and for the constitutional method of change."

Barnhart appealed directly to the class prejudice of the jurors.

"When I look into the eyes of you men—you Americans—you who are members of the berzhwazee! especially when I look into the eyes of you young men—I know this gang of disloyalists never will be able to carry out their program without violence."

At the time, the eyes of the three youngest jurors were closed in sleep.

Barnhart reviewed the entire case, both as to law and fact, preparing the way for argument on special points by his two associates.

CHICAGO, July 27.—William S. Forrest in opening final arguments for the defense this afternoon made the right of workers to go on general strike a major issue in the case.

"In my opinion," he told the jury, "this is the biggest case ever tried in United States, because the issues are big. For instance, there is the question of the general strike in relation to the government. You gentlemen will have to pass on that for the first time in the history of criminal jurisdiction."

Civil liberty he made another primary issue.

"I'd rather defend real Americanism by defending Lloyd and those other men in this case than be president of the United States," he declared. "I'm against Socialism. Rather than approve the doctrines of these defendants I'd have my tongue cleave to the roof of

my mouth. But I believe they had the right to say anything they wanted to say. For our country is founded on the principle of discussion.

"Unrest is everywhere, in Italy, France, Britain, Germany, Bolshevikia. It's cause is injustice—real or imaginary. What is the remedy? It is discussion—and justice, justice for the workers. You can drive men from the soapbox and platform to the cellar and the garret, but can't stop them from thinking, talking, complaining. You can't deport an idea."

He smashed at the Illinois statute under which the defendants are being tried with a broadside of technicalities. He declared the case instituted as a result of a raid instigated by the "Dictatorship of the Plutocracy."

Forrest's argument today had to do with the construction of the statute. In previous arguments the state had admitted that it had not proved acts of violence or force against the defendants. It therefore rested its case upon the clause "or other unlawful means" and held that the general strike was such, advocated by the Communist Labor Party as a means of overthrowing the government.

Forrest contended against this that this clause is surplusage. He held that, at best, this means any method forbidden by definite law instead, as the state assumed, any method unauthorized by specific statute. He argued that a conspiracy is an agreement to accomplish an illegal act by illegal method or to perform an illegal act with a legal purpose. But, he said, it is not conspiracy to commit a legal act for an illegal end. Thus, a strike is legal and it remains so even though its object be the overthrow of the government. Upon this line of contention the defense rests much of its confidence for acquittal or at least a "hung" jury.

Mr. Forrest began his argument at about noon today after Assistant State's Attorney Marvin E. Barnhart had argued a day and a half for the state.

CHICAGO, July 28.—William S. Forrest, for the defense for six hours today performed an operation on the platform and program of the Communist Labor Party. When he concluded its viscera had been totally extracted.

After he completed his interpretation of the statute under which the trial is being conducted, he turned his attention to the documents of the C. L. P. Sentence by sentence he read them and then interposed his belief concerning their principles. In many cases his belief was full denunciation of the beliefs of the defendants.

But before he reached that stage of

his argument, he presented dramatic episodes from history in trials similar, he said, to what now in progress. At one point he took from his pocket a New Testament and read from the ninth chapter of Acts another trial for "sedition."

Decisions of the Supreme Court in the Schenck, Steimer and other cases were presented, the contention being that the law demands a clear and present danger before the defendants can be convicted, and that the Communist Labor Party had not the power to cause a general strike or cause other imminent danger to the nation.

CHICAGO, July 29.—Clarence Darrow is pleading in defense of the Communist laborites here.

He launched his argument at 11:30 o'clock this morning. Although a sweltering hot afternoon, while throngs stormed the doors of Judge Hebel's court so that two bailiffs had to push them back, Darrow thundered and pounded the arguments of the state. At times he wept. Again, he leaned far over the railing of the jury to put a point of human liberty intimately to the jurors. And it is significant that the jury, wearied by eleven weeks of evidence and argument, gave its whole attention to the had not been gained by any previous pleader every moment—a thing that advocate in this case.

Human liberty was the cry upon which Darrow based his argument. First he assailed the jesuitism of the state's attorneys. He shamed them for appealing to mob passion in the jury. Then he began a four-hour interpretation of this trial as an incident in the struggle for human liberation. He did not argue class struggle; he pleaded for the right of thought and utterance, for sympathy with the oppressed whenever they voice their determination to change the conditions of their oppressions. In the course of this speech, he cried out for fairness toward Bolshevik Russia and for a return to civil liberty in the United States.

"Counsel accuses my clients, my friends, with believing that the people ought to take the land, and not pay for it," Darrow said. "It's true. But are those the only people who ever preached this doctrine? Why, men of the jury, it has been preached for ages. Moses preached it—but he's dead so you can't prosecute him—lucky for Moses!"

"When my learned associate (Mr. Forrest) argued that communism was a part of Christianity, counsel for state interjected with the paucity of wit that only a prosecutor is capable of, 'Are these cowards the lineal descen-

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Communism and the Family

By ALEXANDRA KOLLONTAY,

Commissar of Social Welfare of the Russian Soviet Government.

(Continued from last week.)

THE INDUSTRIAL WORK OF WOMAN IN THE HOME.

In the days of our grandmothers this domestic work was an absolutely necessary and useful thing, on which depended the well-being of the family; the more the mistress of the house applied herself to these duties, the better was life in the house and the more order and affluence it presented. Even the State was able to draw some profit from this activity of woman as a housekeeper. For, as a matter of fact, the woman of other days did not limit herself to preparing potato soup either by herself or to be prepared by the family, but her hands also created many products of wealth, such as cloth, thread, butter, etc., all of which were things which could serve as commodities on the market and which, therefore, could be considered as merchandise, as things of value.

It is true that in the time of our grandmothers and great-grandmothers their labor was not estimated in terms of money. But every man whether he was a peasant or a worker, sought for a wife a woman with "hands of gold" as is still the proverbial saying among the people. For the resources of man alone, "without the domestic work of woman" would have been insufficient to keep their future household going. But on this point the interests of the State, the interests of the nation, coincided with those of the husband: the more active the woman turned out to be in the bosom of her family, the more she created products of all kinds: cloth, leather, wool, the surplus of which was sold in the neighboring market; and thus the economic prosperity of the country as a whole was increased.

The Married Woman and the Factory.

But capitalism has changed all this ancient mode of living. All that was formerly produced in the bosom of the family is now being manufactured in quantity in workshops and factories. The machine has supplanted the active fingers of the wife. What housekeeper would

now occupy herself in moulding candles, spinning wool, weaving cloth? All these products can be bought in the shop next door. Formerly, every young girl would learn to knit stockings. Do you ever see a young woman now knitting her own stockings? In the first place she would not have the time. Time is money, and no one wants to waste money in an unproductive manner, that is without getting some profit from it. Now every housekeeper who is also a working woman is more interested in buying her stockings ready-made than losing her time by making them herself. Few and far between are the working women who could take up their time in pickling cucumbers or in making preserves when they remember that the grocery store next door has pickles and preserves ready to sell. Even if the product sold in the store is of a inferior quality, and even though the factory preserves are not as good as those made at home by the hands of an economical housekeeper, the working woman nevertheless has neither the time nor the strength which must be applied in any extensive operations of this kind for her own household. However this may be, the fact is that the contemporary family is becoming more and more liberated from all domestic labors without which concern our grandmothers could hardly have imagined a family. What was formerly produced in the bosom of the family is now produced by the common labor of working women in factories and shops.

Individual Housekeeping Doomed.

The family consumes but no longer produces. The essential labors of the housekeeper are now four in number; matters of cleanliness (cleaning the floors, dusting, heating, care of lamps, etc.) cooking (preparation of dinners and suppers) washing and the care of the linen and clothing of the family (darning and mending).

These are painful and exhaustig labors; they absorb all the time and all the energies of the working woman, who must in addition furnish her hours of labor in a factory. But it is never-

theless certain that the task of our grandmothers included a much greater number of operations. And, in addition, they possessed a quality which is completely lacking in the household labors of the working woman of our days: the latter having entirely lost their quality of being useful to the State from the standpoint of national economy, for these labors do not create any new values; they do not contribute to the prosperity of the country.

The working woman would in vain spend all the day from morning to evening cleaning her home, washing and ironing the linen, using herself up in ceaseless efforts to keep her worn-out clothing in order, she might kill herself preparing with her modest resources such food as might please her and there would nevertheless at nightfall remain not a material result of all her day's work, and she would have created with her indefatigable hands nothing that could be considered as a commodity on the commercial market. Even if a working woman should live a thousand years there would never be any change for her. There would always be a new layer of dust to be removed from the mantelpiece and her husband would always come in hungry at night and her little tots would always bring in mud on their shoes.... The work of the housekeeping woman is becoming more useless day by day, more unproductive.

The Dawn of Collective Housekeeping.

The individual household has passed its zenith. It is being replaced more and more by collective housekeeping. The working woman will sooner or later need to take care of her own dwelling no longer; in the Communist society of tomorrow this work will be carried on by a special category of working women who will do nothing else. The wives of the rich have long been freed from these annoying and tiring duties. Why should the working woman continue to carry out these painful duties? In Soviet Russia the life of the working woman should be surrounded with the same ease, with the same brightness, with the same hygiene, with the same beauty, which has thus far surrounded only the women of the richer classes; in a Communist society the working woman will no longer have to spend her few, alas, too few hours of leisure, in cooking, since **there will**

be in Communist society public restaurants and central kitchens TO WHICH EVERYBODY MAY COME TO TAKE THEIR MEALS. ...

These establishments have already been on the increase in all countries, even under the capitalist regime. In fact, for half a century the number of restaurants and cafes in all the great cities of Europe increased day by day; they sprang up like mushrooms after an autumn rain. But while under the capitalist system only people with well-lined purses could afford to take their meals in a restaurant, in the Communist city, anyone who likes may come to eat in the central kitchen and restaurants. The case will be the same with washing and other work: the working woman will no longer be obliged to sink in an ocean of filth or to ruin her eyes in darning her stockings or mending her linen; she will simply carry these things to the **central laundries** each week, and take them out again each week already washed and ironed. The working woman will have one care less to face. Also, special clothmending shops will give the working women the opportunity to devote their evenings to instructive readings, to healthy recreations instead of spending them as at present in exhaustive labor. Therefore, the four last duties still remaining to burden our women, as we have seen above, will soon also disappear under the triumphant Communist regime. And the working women will surely have no cause to regret this. Communist society will only have broken the domestic yoke of woman in order to render her life richer, happier, freer and more complete.

The Child's Upbringing Under Capitalism.

But what will remain of the family after all these labors of individual housekeeping have disappeared? We still have **the children** to deal with. But here also the state of the working comrades will come to the rescue of the family by substituting for the family; society will gradually take charge of all that was formerly on the parents. Under the capitalist regime, **the instruction of the child has ceased to be the duty of the parents.** The children were taught in schools. Once the child had attained school age, the parents breathed more freely. Beginning with this moment the intellectual development of their child ceased to be an affair of theirs. But all the obligations of the family

toward the child were not therefore finished. There was still the duty of feeding the child, buying it shoes, clothing it, making skilled and honest workers of them, who might be able when the time came to live by themselves and to feed and support their parents in their old age. However, it was very unusual when a worker's family was able to fulfil entirely all these obligations towards their children; their low wages did not permit them even to give the children enough to eat, while lack of leisure prevented the parents from devoting to the education of the rising generation the full attention which it demanded for this duty. **The family was supposed to bring up the children.** But did it really? As a matter of fact, it is the street which brings up the children of the proletariat. The children of the proletarians are ignorant of the amenities of family life, pleasures which we still shared with our own fathers and mothers.

Furthermore, the low wages of the parents, insecurity, even hunger, frequently bring it about that when hardly ten years of age, the son of the proletarian already becomes in his turn an independent worker. Now, as soon as the child (boy or girl) begins to earn money, he considers himself the master of his own person to such an extent that the words and counsels of his parents cease having any effect upon him, the authority of the parents weakens and obedience is at an end. As the domestic labors of the family die out one by one, all obligations of support and training will be filled by society in place of the parents. Under the capitalist regime the children were frequently, too frequently a heavy and unbearable burden to the proletarian family.

The Child and the Communist State.

Here also the Communist society will come to the aid of the parents. In Soviet Russia, owing to the care of the Commissariats of Public Education and of Social Welfare, great advances are being made, and already many things have been done in order to facilitate for the family the task of bringing up and supporting the children. There are homes for very small babies, day nurseries, kindergartens, children's colonies and homes, infirmaries, and health resorts for sick children, restaurants, free lunches at school, free distribution of text

books, of warm clothing, of shoes to the pupils of the educational establishments—does all this not sufficiently show that the child is passing out of the confines of the family and being placed from the shoulders of the parents on those of collectivity?

The care of children by the parents consisted of three distinct parts: (1) the care necessarily devoted to the very young babies; (2) the bringing up of the child; (3) the instruction of the child. As for the instruction of children in primary schools and later in gymnasiums and universities, it has become a duty of the State, even in capitalist society. The other occupations of the working class, its conditions of life, imperatively dictated, even to capitalist society, the creation for the purpose of the young, of playgrounds, infants' schools, homes, etc. etc. The more the workers became conscious of their rights, the better they were organized in any specific State, the more society would show itself to be concerned with relieving the family of the care of the children. But bourgeois society was afraid of going too far in this matter of meeting the interests of the working class, lest it contribute in this way to the disintegration of the family. The capitalists themselves are not unaware of the fact that the family of old, with the wife a slave and the man responsible for the support and well-being of the family, that the family of this type is the best weapon to stifle the proletarian effort toward liberty to weaken the revolutionary spirit of the working man and working woman. Worry for his family takes the backbone out of the worker, obliges him to compromise with capital. The father and the mother, what will they not do when their children are hungry? Contrary to the practice of capitalist society, which has not been able to transform the education of youth into a truly social function, a State work, Communist society will consider the social education of the rising generation, as the very basis of its laws and customs, as the corner stone of the new edifice. Not the family of the past, petty and narrow, with its quarrels between the parents, with its exclusive interests in its own offspring, will mould for us the man of the society of tomorrow. Our new man in our new society is to be moulded by Socialist organizations, in which the child

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Workers: Will You Starve?

Fifty thousand workers in the New England woolen mills are on the street out of jobs. From twelve to fifteen thousand rubber workers in Akron, Ohio, are reported unemployed. From all parts of the country come the reports that business is slowing down, that the shops and factories are lying off men on all sides and that unemployment is on the increase.

The Federal Reserve Bank bulletin says that as a result of the growing unemployment there has been a "notable improvement in labor." Business men everywhere are reporting that as a result of the fact that many workers have no jobs those who are working have been scared and are working harder and producing more for the capitalists. They are gleefully shouting that a change has come in the labor situation and soon the capitalists will have the upper hand again and the workers will be compelled to dance to their music.

That is all the capitalists are interested in. The hard times which seem to be on the way, interest them only

because it will give them a chance to make you work harder and get more profits out of your work.

But how about you, workingmen?

Do you remember the winter of 1914-15? Do you remember the millions who were out of jobs? There were soup and bread lines then. There were hundreds of thousands of working class families that didn't get enough to eat and who suffered from cold during that winter.

The capitalists needn't worry because hard times are on the way. They have rolled up enough millions of profits since the beginning of the World War so that they can take things easy for a while, particularly if at the same time they can teach you that they are the masters and put their game of skinning the workers back where it was five years ago.

The big capitalists are anxious to get a swat at the workers. They have had to give in during the war period and since because the industrial conditions were such that the workers had the power. Now they are going to get even. They are going to teach you the lesson which they think you need to make you crawl on your knees before the boss and jump lively when he gives his orders.

Are you going to submit?

Are you going back to that winter of 1914-15? Are you going to walk from shop to shop, from factory to factory, hoping against hope that you may be able to get a place to work? Are you going to see your family cold and hungry?

Do you realize what hard times will mean NOW? You know the prices of the things you eat and wear and of the place you live in? How long can you last without a job under the present conditions?

Or, if you are one of the fortunate few who still have jobs when things get to the worst state, are you going to submit to have the boss treat you like dirt under his feet? Will you be satisfied to have your wages cut and your hours increased?

Hard times with the present cost of living is not going to be a picnic for the working class. There will be suffering and hunger such as this country has never seen before. It will mean getting nearer to actual starvation than the workers have ever been.

And the capitalists will be laughing with glee because they have their foot on your neck again and can treat you like slaves.

Will you weakly put up with this, workingmen?

Or, will you begin organizing now so that you can have a voice in deciding how things shall go?

Your trade unions have never dared act to relieve you from unemployment. They have never dared to propose that the shops be kept open even if the capitalists

can not make as big profits as they greedily desire.

But you can act now to organize the power of the workers to meet the situation. If the working masses are united and can express their power through one organized body, the capitalists will listen when they demand the opportunity to earn a living.

Now is the time to organize to meet the crisis. Organize in your shop if you are still at work. Elect a committee to represent your shop. Send delegates to meet the workers from other shops.

The unemployed must be organized in the same way. Let each group of workers as they are discharged, organize a committee and elect delegates. Unite the shop committees and the unemployed committees in a Workers Council for your industrial centre.

With such an organization the workers will be prepared to meet the threat of hard times. They will be able to dictate their own terms to the masters of society who are now shouting gleefully because of the prospect of their suffering.

Organize the Workers Councils and their will be no starvation for the workers while the capitalists wallow in wealth and luxury.

Lying on a bed at the county hospital, penniless, friendless and 81 years old, Carl Raymond, song writer, repeated the words of one of his songs written years ago. Here is the verse he applied to himself.

As we walk down the street.
O, how often do we meet
Some poor old man whose life is
naught but woe;
And with age his form is bent.
In his pockets not a cent.
And for shelter he knows not
where to go.
With relations by the score
Who turn him from their door
And sneering, in the street just
pass him by;
If you ask him why 'tis done.
He'll answer you and say:
"I'm poor and old and only in
the way."

"That's my life in a nutshell," he said.

Raymond was born 81 years ago in the shadow of Bunker Hill Monument. He fought in the Mexican and Civil wars. As a reward for a usefully spent life capitalism gives him a pauper's bed in a Chicago hospital and after that—a pauper's grave.

Miranda Steele, age 84, has held down the same job in a mill at Clarepoint, N. H., for 67 years. The report fails to record the number of millions Miranda accumulated in this 67 years of honest toil.

When Miranda was a little school girl, capitalism deprived her of the right to an education, it also robbed her of her childhood and turned her into a machine for making profits. She has been working at it ever since.

67 years of toil in the same mill.

67 years of unremitting monotony.

67 years of wasted life.

No wifehood, no motherhood. No sons to be proud of, no daughters to love. No grandchildren to fondle. Just work, 67 years of it at one stretch. Same surroundings, same job over and over. Same jog to and from the mill day after day and year after year.

At last old age has overtaken Miranda, but still it is the same. No change, no cozy corner, no security, no quiet days in which to reverie over the events of those 84 years of life for Miranda. Perhaps she wouldn't want to recall them anyway, those 67 years of ceaseless toil.

With the end in sight, Miranda is still following the thorn strewn path of the mill slave, but how many beds of roses has her labor provided for her masters—in 67 years?

Uncle Sam prepared to distribute 35,000 "Victory Medals" a day to his World War veterans. The distribution started June 21, so far 50,936 medals have been applied for. Now, Uncle is wondering why the light demand. Maybe it is because the boys haven't been able to figure out wherein their victory lay.

House rents of Altoona railway workers have raised \$10.00 per month since the famous award. Now they are wondering how much they would have been raised had they received all they asked. The rent hogs are apparently striving to lay the foundation for another R. R. strike. Let us hope.

COMMUNISM AND FAMILY.

(Continued from page 7.)

will pass the greater part of the day and where intelligent education will make of him a Communist who is conscious of the greatness of this sacred motto; solidarity, comradeship, mutual aid, devotion to the collective life.

(Continued next week.)

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XLII

The Local.

A month after the Debs meeting, the people of Boulder were finding working class literature on their door steps; and the local news paper announced, that Pete Collingwood had organized a local of the Socialist Party in their midst. Olive, young as she was, soon became a moving, if not a leading spirit, in this new organization.

She was eager to use the political machinery of government for the improvement of the social and industrial condition of which she had heard and read so much. Collingwood and the "Appeal" had convinced her, that by political action, she could help to usher in the millenium of social righteousness. But fate did not permit her to remain long under this delusion, for in his very next letter Jack told her what he and Collins thought of the real value of political action, and what in their opinion it would ultimately lead to. Politics is the game of politicians. It is the governmental spirit of the present order, and is devised to safe guard the interests of its beneficiaries. A socialist when elected must therefore take an oath not to enforce socialism, but to administer the affairs of the present capitalistic state in a manner, acceptable to the class which controls that state." She read in Jack's letter of comment on the socialist party as a revolutionary force

He further told her in his letter, that the economic relations between worker and employer were such as to make the industrial arm of working class power the main lever, by which to force from both the political and economic masters all possible concessions.

When she read this, her mind reverted to the speech she had heard in Denver. Debs had spoken of both the political and industrial forms of organization, as two hearts with but a single soul. From this she decided to urge the industrial form of organization upon the newly organized local with which she was affiliated, and here she met with her first great obstacle, in fact, with a rock that was destined to wreck the ship of political socialism in the United States.

The greater part of the membership of local Boulder was made up of would be politicians, farmers, and christian Scientists. With the exception of Collingwood, there was not one who had even a faint conception of the fact that there was a scientific basis underlying all social phenomena. They were simply machine breakers. That is to say, they were eager to break into the

local courthouse through the barriers built up by the enumbent political machine. To get a comrade into the courthouse, was to their mind a step of supreme importance on the road to the millenium. But to reach the courthouse and higher, they needed votes, and in order to obtain votes, it was necessary to curry favor with the voters. It was of importance to them, that the voters be instructed in the underlying principles of society. Such instruction might offend them, and then they would not vote for socialism. If only they could get the people to vote for the comrades, then the comrades would fix things for the people, all of which sounded very beautiful, when it re-echoed in empty heads. Politician like they were ready to be all things unto all men, that during a time when jobs were scarce, they might suck the public teat. These so called socialists, office hungry, political shysters feared nothing so much as socialism. They were forever urging a series of don'ts upon the few men and women. Don't attack the church, we need the church peoples vote. Don't attack the saloon, we need the saloon man's vote. Urge an eight hour day, for all but farm laborers because we need the farmers' vote. In short the wind broken politicians horribly raped every principle and ideal of the socialist philosophy in order to get into office. Be it said to the credit of the native good sense of the American Public that very few of these gentry ever attained the goal of their ambition. Some did, and their record stands as a proof that politicians are as a rule not revolutionary factors in the Socialist movement.

In the newly formed local at Boulder, the above named type was in the majority. Whatever they proposed out of the fulness of their ignorance was of course effectively seconded by those who were not better instructed. Collingwood was the only one in the local who had a fair grasp of scientific socialism, and he was considered a hindrance to the cause and Olive was the only one who desired to learn the science and she was soon looked upon with suspicion. And no wonder. There wasn't a single wage-earner in the entire organization. Most of the members were socialists in name only; in reality they were simple populists, who had refused to die when Billy Bryan killed them in 1896. This type was the back bone of the Socialist Party in the middle states. They might be described as simple sons of discontent, with the emphasis on the simple. Their natural party had deserted them, and so they were left rudderless upon the political seas. They fastened themselves

to the Socialist Party because they realized that neither of the dominant parties, would either permit them in office, or consider their hobbies.

Instead of studying the principles laid down by Marx and Engles they brought to the new movement enmass the ideas of Populism. They fervently read the 'Appeal to Reason' believing it to be a complete exponent of Socialism for no other reason, than that in general it agreed with them. That paper however, was more familiar with the visioning of Bellamy than with the reasoning of Marx.

The influence of the 'Appeal' however, must not be underrated. It stirred up a great deal of discontent, but it never justified its title. It seldom appealed to reason, but ever to sentiment. It never unwaveringly defended socialism. It always had a tendency to pander to the prejudices of the agrarian population. Instead of fearlessly instructing its readers in the basic truths of social evolution, it ever tried to adapt the science of proletarian emancipation to the needs and views of the modern individualistic farmer. That is, it tried to fit socialism to the farmers needs, instead of trying to teach the farmer that he would ultimately need socialism.

It is quite true that it is impossible to teach a man against his economic interests. The farmer does not want socialisms. He wants his farm. He will use the Socialist Party or any other party to retain that farm. But the inexorable law of industrial evolution is greater than all men and all parties, and ultimately will drive the individualistic farmer out of existence and make the agricultural life of the nation a social service.

The 'Appeal' ought to have known this and directed its efforts toward the proletarian masses, but the sickened populism, groggy with its defeat in 1896 was casting about for a new ship on which to sail, and hence made ready rude recruits for the 'Appeal' army, which now became a terrific moral force in the nation. With their help the paper waged a splendid war in behalf of imprisoned and threatened workers, for the deposition of corrupt judges and the improvement of present conditions. It was forever pointing out the more hideous practices of capitalism, and in that way preparing the public mind more for political agnosticism than for constructive thought.

To Olive who had no working class experience, but who was powerfully impressed with the abstract beauty and moral appeal that she found in socialism as she understood it, looked upon the paper as a sacred, if not inspired word. And in this she was not alone. The 'Appeal' did build up an army of devoted warriors against encroaching abuses of the dominant class. But while it is true that 'The Appeal' harrassed capitalism, it cannot be said, that it

made many class conscious socialists. It lacked either the knowledge, or the courage to fearlessly stand by, and explain, the essential principles of the cause. Perhaps, because most of its readers were farmers and the law of economic determinism is a universal law.

They were not socialists but 'Appeal' readers, who, shortly after Olive arrived organized the local at Boulder, and later in the year, put a ticket in the field, on the usual middle west socialist party platform. The platform was composed chiefly of immediate demands. It decried high taxes poor roads, dishonest officials, and commission house rapacity. In short it was almost entirely, agrarian and reformist. The petite bourgeois elements, the struggling farmer, the hard pressed real-estate men called themselves the working class. They sought to get protection for their small individualistic interests; under constitutions and laws which are made, and administered, in the interest of large aggregates of capital. They reasoned from the view point of private owners, and hence fear to tell the truth about private ownership, and its destiny, lest private owners should refuse to vote. Vote for them on election day.

Olive who had been present at their Convention, sent a copy of their platform to Jack, and asked him for his opinion of its merits. This the boy gave in a letter of nearly fifty pages, in which he carefully sketched the evolution of the machine from its inception to the present time. He pointed out that at one time, in this country, every tradesman had been in a position similar to that of the modern farmer "The modern farmer" said he, "is the last of the economic Mobicans. He is a hold over from a bi-gone age. He is out of place in modern industrial society. The development of the machine as forced collectivism in industry, but the farmer still lags behind. As well might the dinosaur dream that he would be a deer, as the farmer to attempt to be a socialist. The modern farmer is unripe fruit for the socialist philosophy." And after dwelling at some length on this theme he said,

"There was a time when every tradesman owned his tools, his shop, his goods, even as the farmer owns, (generally subject to mortgage) his land, his tools, his grain or fruit, which he must sell in the open market." He pointed out that the advent of the spinning jenny and the loom, had driven the individualistic weaver into the factory, and had destroyed the home as an economic unit. The weaver no longer sells his products but is the source of a commodity, that is labor power. Which factory owners buy from him instead of his goods. In the olden times the weaver sold his product, in modern times he sells his skill and strength. In olden times the miner sold his product, so did the shoe-

maker, the miller, the tailor etc., but now they all sell their life to a master, that is they sell their power to work. This process has built up our large cities and developed an immense proletariat or as it may be called propertyless population. This population is the blood of the new order. From it must spring the new social state. Capitalism must first destroy the individualistic farm before socialism can touch the farmer. Of course there may be isolated exceptions, but these only prove the rule.

He argued, that the working man was not more virtuous nor honest than the farmer, but that the two approached political problems from an entirely different view point, and that consequently co-operation between the two could be little more than an idle dream. "The farmer," he insisted, "wants low taxes and for that reason finds it to his interest to vote against all appropriations for public improvements, which are not directly necessary for his welfare. The building trades need work, and find it to their interest to vote for all appropriations through which their crafts may be employed. This is but one example illustrating the natural antagonism of interests between "The House of Have," and "The House of Want." They could be multiplied indefinitely. The worker is not interested in the rate of taxes, he does not have to pay taxes. The farmer is not interested in the rate of unemployment, he has plenty of work. At every point of contact the wage worker and the farmers conflict.

The farmer is robbed by the assessor, the railroad, the commission man, the real estate shark, and he exploits his children, his wife and his hired help. Generally he is robbed to the limit and sooner or later enters the proletarian ranks. The slave on the other hand is exploited generally to the limit of subsistence, and further than that exploitation cannot go, without destroying the slave. This capitalism is not quite ready to do, for the slave is the goose that lays the golden egg.

The capitalist state is a political device for legalizing exploitation. From which it follows that any political action intended to put an end to exploitation, would immediately be outlawed by the existing order of society, long before such action was resorted to by anything like a majority of the voters."

Thus he argued that political action alone, would never bring about the ideal state of society for which Olive Anderson was striving. He pointed out that her ideals were revolutionary and that politics were nothing more than the modes of action, by which modern masters of industry gauge the temper of their victims, the slaves.

"Politics is the chain by which the government of "The House of Have," keeps "The House of Want," where it wants it.

Olive read the explanatory part, of

this letter to the local, with the result that she made no new friends, and created a good deal of suspicion. The general opinion among the bewhiskered saviours of the race was that she was a paid disrupter sent into the local, by the capitalist class. The charge of disrupter was a favorite accusation among the socialists of that period and was generally conceded to be a sufficient substitute for argument and logic. The fact that capitalists are what they are by virtue of their bargaining abilities, and that they could invest their money to a better advantage than to disrupt a bunch of bewhiskered, office seeking, political irregulars never entered their minds. Nevertheless the reading of that letter caused a discussion which proved to Olive that Jack was right in maintaining that the wage worker was the logical material for the new social state.

(Continued next week.)

THE COMMUNIST TRIAL

(Continued from page 4.)

dants of Moses and of Christ?"

Then, turning to Frank Comerford who had made the remark:

"Yes, they are! And you would have prosecuted Christ—for a wage—if you had been in Galilee at the time."

"Yes, the prophets, the teachers, the seers of all ages have taught communism, the common ownership of the land and the fruits thereof. And that doctrine has its place in you and you (pointing to the jurors.) It's in everyone who hates poverty—not so much his own poverty as that of others.

"I don't know if communism will work. You don't know; my clients don't; Lenine and Trotzky don't. But I do know that capitalism don't work, that it has turned the world into a frightful shambles, a travesty of civilization. But think you, you can pick out for slaughter and imprisonment twenty members solely because of their belief in this age-old dream? Think you, you can extinguish that dream simply by imprisoning these men?"

"They say that these defendants have endorsed the plans of Lenine and Trotzky. And they have, gentlemen, they have. What are you going to do about it? I'm willing to stand with them on that proposition. I don't know whether or not Lenine's government is right; but no man who loves liberty, no man who honors the principles upon which our own republic is based, would replace the new government of Russia with the old. If nothing good came out of the war, the end of the czars was good."

Darrow's highest flight of oratory was addressed to a eulogy of the Red Flag.

"I'll tell you why every tyrant—why every man whose heart is with his money-bags—hates that flag," he declared. "The Communist Labor Party didn't invent it. The Socialist Party didn't invent it.

"It flew at Bunker Hill and at the Battle of Brandywine. And Washington, according to Longfellow's poem, used it before the Stars and Stripes had even been devised. But the Red Flag was invented before those times. It was devised even before it was used by the working men when they first were admitted to the armies of ancient Rome. Its symbolism came from the red rays of the sun, before history began to write accurately of mankind.

And then it became the emblem of the common blood of all men. As such, it was the flag of the guilds of the middle ages. It has been the flag of the common people for centuries. And, whether or not you send these men to Joliet penitentiary, it will continue to be the flag of the common people for generations to come. For it represents the old oppression of the workers. It's the workers' banner and you can't take it away by this verdict.

You can't take it away until the ancient oppressions of the masses of men are removed—and it will fly to symbolize the common brotherhood of men!"

Before Darrow opened this morning, State's Attorney Lloyd Heth spoke for two hours in rebuttal of the arguments of William Forrest. But he quoted almost no law, devoting his period to highbrow denunciation of counsel for defense.

The New Russia

By Paul Birukoff.

Education.

Public education is under the control of Commissar Lunacharsky, a brilliant and learned man, full of energy and devotion for the cause. The Czarist regime left a legacy to the present system of a population in which more than 60 per cent. were illiterate. In order to enable the whole population to gain education, it was necessary at once to triple the number of schools. That is a task which takes time, but it is going on with a fine enthusiasm. The programme of one single type of school has been introduced. Teaching is free, both at the school and at the University.

The education of adults who have passed school age and are still illiterate is a most important question in Russia, and therefore a special department for education outside the school system has been set up at the Commissariat of Public Education. Lenin's wife is at the head of this department.

Madame Lenin. The Work School.

To give you an idea of the intelligence of this remarkable person I shall quote a few passages from her book, which she gave me with her own hands. She is a sweet and lovable person, though far from strong, and yet in spite of this, her energy is unequalled. One of her aims is to introduce manual work into the modern school system by setting up Work Schools, and she writes:—

"The Work School should have as its basic principle the combination of manual with intellectual work. Manual work in the Work School must not be specialised; on the contrary, it must be as diversified as possible. The child must model, design, paint, cut out, paste on, do carpentering, and so on. Manual work must be closely allied with the teaching of mathematics, natural science, geography, and history. It gives life to these branches of study, brings them nearer to the child, and thus makes them more intelligible. It awakens in the child interest in these studies, and teaches it to observe and to work out things for itself. In this way manual work brings

out the creative impulses in the child, develops the habit of perseverance until the end is attained, awakens interest in technical work, and gives the child the general idea of what work is. In such surroundings as the Work School gives it, the child's bent and natural aptitudes are readily brought out."

'Solidarity Through Education.

A little later, dealing with the school of the future, in terms at once more general and more definite, she writes:

"The school of the future must do everything possible to develop the sentiment of solidarity between the children. Every kind of restraint must be rigidly excluded. The school of the future must be, so to speak, a free association of pupils whose aim it is, by their common efforts, to clear the path which leads to the realm of thought. The teacher in such a school is no more than a beloved comrade who helps his pupils by his greater experience and knowledge, who shows them the practical ways in which knowledge may be acquired, helps them to organise useful work together, and teaches them how to help one another in the process of education. Only a school run on these lines can become a school of solidarity, a school which teaches mutual understanding and confidence. But the desire to be useful to men is not enough by itself. It is also necessary to know how to be useful. Schools at the present time make children unaccustomed to being useful. The child wishes to apply his knowledge as soon as he acquires it, and the school artificially prevents him from doing so. He is kept on dictation and useless problems, and the consolation offered is that after ending his studies and receiving a certificate he may perhaps be able to be useful to his relatives and to Society. But anyone with any knowledge of children realises that, especially in the higher forms, this compulsory idleness is a real torment to them, and they suffer because the most natural of their instincts, the desire to be useful to

other people, remains unrecognised. The schools of to-day artificially develop their ignorance of how to apply their energy and render it productive. At the completion of his studies a boy who has been to college looks everywhere without success for some work in which he might be useful to mankind, and he does not see the humdrum daily work, which is just as necessary, because he does not know how to apply himself to it."

Self-Government in the School.

The principle of self-government has also been introduced in the new schools, and Mme. Lenin shares on this subject the views of those American teachers, who believe in the greatest possible freedom for the development of their pupils' social instincts. She writes:

"Those who believe in a liberal education are resolutely opposed to scholastic discipline and constraint in any form, whether physical or moral, in the sphere of education. This must be the very basis of a liberal education, and it is an axiom which there is no need to prove. Once constraint has been done away with, measures of police supervision at once become futile, and such posts as 'prefects' (so harmful to the youthful mind), chosen in some schools from among the pupils, can be abolished. Having got rid of this mockery of self-government, we are able at once to substitute the principle of participation by all the children in the organisation of the school and of the teaching given there."

Bourgeois Bureaucracy.

Lastly, I quote below a part of Mme. Lenin's political creed. Speaking of the organisation of the Commissariat of Public Education, she says:

"It would be both ridiculous and disastrous if the proletariat which had won power should set up organizations of the same type as the bureaucratic institutions of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat has most certainly not tak-

en power into its own hands merely to transform itself into the dominant class of oppressors, but rather to abolish every kind of exploitation, domination, and oppression. Because this is so, it needs organisations which are far different from those which the bourgeoisie needed. It must not follow the example given by the bourgeoisie, but rather the example of the revolutionary proletariat in progressive countries, such as the Parisian Proletariat which overthrew the former system and set up the Paris Commune."

Art, Music, and the Theatre.

Art is taught in special schools. Painting is taught in a number of special schools. Applied Art is one of the most favoured studies. The conservatories of music carry on as before, and most of the professors have remained at their posts. There are many theatres, and they are always full. The repertory is much the same as before, except that distinctively patriotic pieces are no longer played. The works of Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Tolstoi, Tchekoff, and other masters are frequently produced.

There are also many popular concerts, and scientific and political conferences of all kinds. One excellent means of education, apart from the schools, is given by what are called "The People's Houses." Many of the former houses of landowners have been changed into these institutions. In a great many villages, Associations of Culture and Education have been set up, whose function it is to arrange for theatrical productions, libraries, conferences and meetings for popular entertainment of various kinds.

Industrial Changes.

It is true that industry has suffered very severely, but it has never ceased to develop under the new regime. All factories are nationalised and administered by Councils of Workers, but the specially technical side is of necessity entrusted to engineers and specialists, who are often the same as under the preceding system. In some cases the expropriated directors have become salaried managers. I know one great printing establishment at Moscow at which 2000 workmen are employed. The Workers' Council took control of it, but the concern was not going well. Delegates were, therefore, sent to the former director, and he was asked to help them. He accepted on certain conditions, and now he is once again at the head of the business, which is making wonderful progress. The initiative of the workers, now that it has been set free from the yoke of capitalist exploitation, is making admirable progress. People who have first-hand knowledge have told me that the metal industry especially has made immense strides. A group of metal workers has invented and developed for use a new and ingenious process for steel implements. But industry in general, it is

perfectly true, has to overcome the very serious obstacle to its development, occasioned by the lack of fuel and raw materials. The iron mines of the Ural district are cut off by Kolehak, and cotton for the textile in-

dustry is only obtainable with the greatest difficulty from Central Asia. But is it difficult and most disheartening to tell you of all the harm that is being done throughout the country by the senseless Allied Blockade.

RUMINATIONS OF A REBEL

By Tom Clifford.

Our "scientific" government has just discovered that \$2,000,000 worth of garnishings that once comprised the insides of a German palace steamship, seized during the war, has vanished without leaving a trace. They can't even find the government warehouse to which it was supposed to have been toted. The newspapers carried merely a bare announcement and then suddenly closed up like clams. I suppose they considered that it wasn't worth while raising a big noise about a paltry two millions in these piping times of prosperity. What! You don't believe that to be the reason for their silence? Well, honest to gahd, I don't either. It seems more likely that the scent led right up to some of the bourgeois palaces on Fifth Avenue and Riverside Drive, and then the dogs were called off and the ever reliable gentlemen of the press notified to put on the glimmer. Of course the plunder could not have been secured without the connivance of government officials, but no thoughtful person these days expect them to withstand the lure of easy money. The corruption that was the main factor in causing the downfall of the Russian autocracy has its parrallel in this country, and when the climax is reached the bourgeoisie of America will meet the fate of their Russian prototypes. The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they get there eventually. Let us unite in prayer to the gods to throw the gear into "high" and speed up a little.

The financial pirates have been buncoed at their own game of making dollars produce simoleans by a scheme that for some unaccountable reason they had not thought of. A mere novice in the financial game down in Boston has raked off millions by buying foreign money in the United States, sending it abroad, and then having it returned in the form of "International Supply Coupons," which were here cashed at par through an arrangement entered into by the governments of Europe and the United States. It was merely a manipulation of exchanges. How the bourgeoisie came to overlook this opportunity for financial jugglery is amazing. Their minds are trained in the art of manipulation. Perhaps they are so accustomed to hide their crookedness in a maze of complexity that the very simplicity of this scheme was beyond their pur-

view. However, when they discovered that an inteloper had intruded on their exclusive field of conquest, a roar of indignation arose that shook the whole New England coast, and straightway the Postoffice authorities and Department of Justice were called into action to squelch this monstrous intrusion of their reservation by an Italian fruit vendor. And let it be noted the said governmental departments responded with alacrity, and are now on the job to compel this ruthless violator of reserved rights to quit playing ball in the financial backyard and return to the more modest game of peddling bananas and oranges, to which God, in his infinite wisdom, had originally assigned him. The intruder, however, demurs, and insists upon remaining on the job. He appears to be getting more enjoyment out of the discomfiture of the "financiers" than the millions he has secured.

In a street car the other day I noted an advertisement which I had to read twice before catching its import. May alert mind, ever on the watch for new sources of inspiration, focused on the following trite morsel of philosophy: "You may be a long time old before you are dead." It was one of those catchy epigrams used profusely by the bankers to transfer the dollars of the workers from the jeans of the latter to the vaults of the former. It occurred to me that a reversal of the sentiment might possibly express a startling truth. How does this sound? "You may be a long time dead before you are old." In most instances thrift is a vice, not a virtue. Its practice generally means the subordination of all other things in life to that of providing for the proverbial "rainy day." It becomes an obsession, and dwarfs the mental and spiritual development of its practitioner. He is "dead," so far as the accomplishment of things worth while are concerned, long before he is old. His life is on a level with that of the lower order of animals. Happily, thrift is not of universal practice. Were it so, there would be no social progress. The hope of society rests with those who have vision and ideals—with those who have their heads in the clouds—who are striving to so reorganize society that thrift will be unnecessary. These are the really "live ones." Are you one of them?

What American Workers Need

Who can deny the breakdown of the capitalist system of production? The railroad workers' strikes, the recurring miners' strikes, the shutting down of the textile mills, the strain of the credit system: these together with the wide spread slowing up of industry and the thousand and one other strikes that are constantly occurring indicate the impossibility of the continued functioning of the capitalist system in providing the masses of workers with the necessities of life thru their continued and steady employment.

More and more, as conditions of capitalist production near the point of collapse and conditions for the working masses continue to grow harder, the necessity for the workers to control the means by which they live, the industrial machinery and the land, asserts itself to their intelligence.

The outright parasitism of capitalistic ownership of industrial means and processes becomes ever more vivid to the exploited industrial slave as the facts of huge profits are learned while the worker, in spite of higher wages, bonuses etc., finds himself put to it harder and harder to meet the needs of his family with his daily wage.

Why should the workers, the producers of all wealth, thus strive from morning till night and year in and year out to the end of their days for the most meagre and shameful existence, while the parasitic profiteer rolls in luxury from the proceeds of unearned labor, himself producing nothing, or if it happens that he perform some labor of management, receives not only the wages of a manager, but also a heavy toll from each worker's labor?

It is only because of the recognition by the capitalist State of the right of a cunning few to own the means by which all men must live and to exact from the masses a major portion of their product for the privilege of working with these means of production that such a robber system continues. Thus we see that behind the ownership of industry by a parasitic few, there stands the State, composed of the owners of these means of life, organized into one compact and class-conscious body for the purpose of retaining their ownership and

power over the productive machinery and also to prevent the workers from securing control of or the overthrow of their State, the government.

Here we have the class struggle outlined before us. The propertyless wage workers dependent upon the use of the productive machinery to live, and on the other hand the owners, exacting from the workers a part of their product for the privilege of working and earning a living, backed up by their own government, the police and military power.

The struggle therefore, between these two antagonistic elements of society must become one for the ownership of the industrial machinery and the control of the State. Unless the workers are to remain enslaved forever to the lords of mill and mine and rail, and forever pay a tribute to them for the privilege of remaining upon the earth, they must dispossess the present capitalistic parasitic owners and transfer that ownership to the workers.

But immediately that attempt is made, however legally, then the worker learns with terrible emphasis the true character of the capitalist State, of the government of the capitalists for the capitalists. The capitalist State at once steps forward to prevent, with its police and military power if necessary, any encroachments of the workers upon the "sacred rights of private property". In other words, the capitalist government comes to the rescue of the propertied class whose instrument it is.

At once then must be seen the necessity for the erection of a workers' State more powerful than that of the enemy and one which will, in the hour of the breakdown of the capitalist system, such as we seem even now to be entering, be able to supersede it in the management of industry and the workers' affairs.

The A. F. of L. has no conception of this revolutionary necessity. The A. F. of L. is not a revolutionary organization. It is bound up body, boots and breeches in the continuance of the capitalist system of production and the continued exploitation of the workers. It has even become a bulwark of capitalism in keeping the American workers in subjection to their

exploiters. When American capitalism fears a revolt of the workers, it calls upon the A. F. of L. and arranges with its officials for the betrayal and enslavement of the workers. The A. F. of L. is the handy-man of capital in its dastardly deeds of crime against the workers. For its Judas — like betrayal it receives for its favorites a few crumbs of increased wages and better conditions. The great masses of workers are left to shift for themselves outside its beneficent "protection".

As the A. F. of L. in nowise conceives the present character of the class struggle, neither can it function as a means thru which the workers may achieve their emancipation and end this fierce economic war between the workers and the owners. The A. F. of L. is unfit in this struggle, a new weapon must be found with which to forge the foundation and the framework of the new industrial order and the State of the workers which is to function

as the directing force in the conquest of workers' power over capitalism.

The beginning must be made in the formation of a powerful One Big Union of all workers with the revolutionary purpose of the conquest of power for the workers. This One Big Union must propagandize not merely the control of industry by the workers, but also the correct method by which that control can be obtained, thru a machinery of shop committees in every industry. Without the power of the State resting in the hands of the workers no proletarian control of industry can be accomplished. The power of the capitalist class resides in the State, to dispossess the capitalists of their ownership of industry, they must first be shorn of their power—the capitalist State must be displaced by the new industrial State of Workers. A One Big Union of all class-conscious workers founded upon this principle is what American workers need.

Communist Unity

By Tom Bell in "Data".

August the first of this year is destined to prove a landmark in the history of the Socialist movement in Britain. On that date, a great rank and file convention is to be held in London and, for weal or woe, the formation of a Communist Party for this country will be an accomplished fact. Those of us who have been identified with the movement for Communist Unity are under no illusions as to the task that lies before us. But taking all the facts into consideration we are satisfied the time is opportune for such a move.

It is common knowledge that there has arisen in nearly every district in the country Communist groups of men and women, all of whom have ceased to have faith in the policies of the old Socialist Parties. Some are sick to nearly death at the compromise, opportunism, moderation or what you will, of their one time pet organisations; while others, on the extreme side, have awakened to the puerility of mouthing revolutionary formulas indulged in so copiously by pedantic prigs and which is too often but a cloak for inaction.

The travail of the Russian Republic coupled with the economic and political failure of West-

ern Democracy to offer any hope of a peaceful transformation in the social life of the working class of Europe, has brought about a depreciation in the estimated value of our pre-war methods of class warfare. All hope of a "constitutional" solution to the issue that divides the working class from the employers has evaporated in the experience of the last six years. That experience reveals as never before a struggle to the death. Capitalism is not going to yield unless forcibly crushed, and all talk of a "peaceful solution" is but so many words. Apart from the favoured position of our politicians to decide the time and the issue of elections, their executive control of the State; control of the press, printing and paper supplies; control of the hundred and one methods by which they can thwart or twist the will of a docile "democracy" — all these are as powerful as the majority vote. Indeed, are the very instruments by which that majority vote is manufactured. To look forward to the day when these shall be peacefully transferred to labour, is the emptiest of dreams. The power of the ruling class has to be wrested from them if there is to be social peace.

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The Passing Show of Capitalism

"We have repeatedly expressed the opinion that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with business conditions", states the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland to the press last week. Reading further we find that:

The future of business depends in great part upon whether railway workers accept their measley award and get down to "prewar efficiency" or whether they decide to throw a wrench in the profit making machinery of the bosses by another strike.

THAT: credit conditions do not justify any relaxation on the part of bankers and business men.

THAT: commercial failures numbered 65 as compared with 44 of the same corresponding month a year ago.

THAT: traffic conditions in the iron and steel industries have reached a more acute stage than heretofore.

THAT: there will be a shortage of coal in the northwest this winter, there being 5,219,000 tons less shipped previous to July 1-st than for the same period last year.

THAT: unemployment is on a rapid increase.

THAT: textile mills have closed indefinitely—no orders in sight upon which to reopen them.

THAT: the building industry is marking time due to the breakdown of transport.

COMMUNIST UNITY

(Continued from page 15.)

Instead, therefore, of the social revolution being a purely mental process, a change in ideas, as it was regarded by most Socialists before the war and even regarded as such in some quarters to-day,—the more clear-headed of the revolutionary workers now understand by social revolution a transference of the physical instruments of wealth production from the control of capitalists into the hands of the working class.

And since the evils of capitalism, or the serfdom of the workers, is contingent upon the profit-making system, that change must take place NOW. The Communists then stand for social revolution, and capitalism's difficulties must be the Communists' opportunity.

Summing up the report we would say that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with business except the fundamentally unscientific system of capitalist production.

Driven to desperation thru ill health and poverty, a New York mother advertised her two year old daughter for sale. Knowing she had but a fighting chance for life, and that unless she took that chance she must part from her child, she took this way to give her a home and to raise the needed \$250.00 for medical treatment.

That's capitalism. Russian Communists have found a better way. There, mothers and babies are the first consideration. Every child that is born is assured of the best food and care, and on top of that a free education even thru the highest university. No Russian mother needs to sell her children for money with which to enter into a quest for health.

A cotton raiser down in Georgia advertises that he wishes to marry a widow with 8 or 10 children. The economic value of children is realized if you know the facts of cotton raising. Aside from that, it is a great system that provokes a man to make a whore of his wife for the work he can get out of her children.

Railway workers at Marburg, Germany, halted a train loaded with troops and ammunition bound for Poland. The supplies were taken from the train, after which it was allowed to proceed.

The troops also were disarmed.

The boycott of Hungary by workers of surrounding countries as a protest against the White Terror used against the Hungaria workers is still on.

Negotiations looking toward a settlement of the boycott are underway at Amsterdam and similar discussions are taking place at Buda-Pest.

Six thousand Kansas coal miners are on strike because deductions in the form of fines were made from their pay because they refused to work on Saturdays. Looks like the Kansas boys are determined to get that 5 day week. And who can dispute that they know how?

Day laborers and drivers in coal mines in Indiana and Illinois have paralyzed the coal industry by a strike. They claim they were discriminated against in the wage settlement.