

Workers  
of the  
World  
Unite!

# THE TRUTH

Who is it speaks of Defeat?  
I tell you a cause like ours  
Is greater than defeat can know  
It is the power of the  
SOCIAL  
As surely as the earth rolls round  
As surely as the glorious sun  
Brings the world moon wave,  
Must our Cause be won!

No. 27

14.

FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1920

WHOLE No. 157

FIVE CENTS.

## WORKINGCLASS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

**"Culture for all, spiritual deliverance from the yoke of capital--that is the watchword of the party of the workingclass, the Communists."**

According to Pertinax, the famous journalist of the Echo de Paris, who is credited with being the ONLY newspaper man initiated into the proceedings and decisions of the secret interallied council sessions at Boulogne, England is going to refuse to pay her war debts due to this country. The refusal of England to pay her debts, will mean the refusal of all other European countries who fought on the side of the Allies. Due to the fact, that England loaned the other countries the money, which she in turn borrowed from the U. S. A. WHO SAID THE COLLAPSE WAS COMING? It is here!

Say you Communists, will you please take a back seat and allow the capitalist class to read their own funeral service. Comrades, on the eve of Independence Day, allow us to introduce you to Sir George Paish. Sir George is one of the most eminent of England's financiers. This is what Sir George states:—

"This week the value of the British pound, (of course this statement was made some few weeks ago), which normally is equal to \$4.86 in American money, fell to \$3.18, a depreciation of 34 per cent. The franc fell to a still greater extent. Normally, only 5.18 francs have to be given for an American dollar, but at the current rate nearly fifteen francs have to be given for an American dollar, a depreciation of over 65 per cent. Normally, only 5.18 Italian lire have to be given for an American dollar. Now, no fewer than 18.82 lire have to be given, showing a depreciation of nearly 74 per cent. Normally, the German mark is equal to 23.83 American cents. Now, it is equal to only one cent and therefore shews a depreciation of no less than 96 per cent. The value of the Austrian crown and the Russian rouble, and the currencies of Roumania, Servia, and the other Balkan states shows enormous depreciations, amounting indeed to not very far short of 100 per cent. In other words, their currencies in American dollars have very little value. All this implies that unless some step is taken to enable the European countries to purchase American goods, that the value of their currencies in American dollars will fall practically to the vanishing point, and that they will be unable to purchase. This means a money famine of unexampled intensity, a money famine which at the present time, when Europe so urgently needs the food and raw materials of America. ENTAILS SOMETHING FAR MORE SERIOUS THAN A MONEY FAMINE. (Caps ours. Ed.) It involves shortage of food in Europe to an extent which will bring starvation to many millions of people, and the lack of raw material to an extent that will throw many millions of people out of employment. Moreover, unless the situation is dealt with effectively, a complete breakdown of the exchanges of credit, of commerce, and of trade throughout the world will become inevitable."

In reading the above statement by Sir George Paish, it is well to bear in mind the

fact that when Sir George visited this country, he was turned down flat by the financiers of Wall Street New York city and La Salle Street Chicago. It is also well to bear in mind that Carter Glass, then secretary of the Treasury, stated that Europe could not depend any more upon America. Now coolly weigh up the position!

England, with the rest of the European nations, according to reliable capitalist journalist, is going to repudiate her debt to America. Not because England is necessarily crooked in financial matters, but due to the fact that England cannot do any-

thing else. Because England is unable to meet her financial obligations, that is why she has "betrayed" France and America and made secret agreements with Soviet Russia. England's trading agreement with Comrade Krassin of the Soviet Government of Russia is the last mad throw of the gambler. She is now making a bid for the Russian trade, for the sole purpose of rehabilitating herself. There stands her arch foe, the foe of all that England calls greatness. On one side you have Communism, represented by the Soviet Government of Russia and on the other hand you have Imperial-

ism, represented by the bloodiest empire the world has ever known, the British Empire. Both conceptions of life are diametrically opposed to each other. **THE SUCCESS OF ONE SPELLS THE DEATH OF THE OTHER.** Yet England, who but a few months ago stated that to recognize Soviet Russia was like "shaking hands with blood", is compelled to negotiate, and at the same time betray her Allies, with the alleged bloody government of Russia! Well might the gods laugh!

What a situation the capitalists of the world find themselves in! Factories closed down for the want of raw materials. The nation that could assist the capitalists of Europe and so prolong the capitalist system, refuses to send those much-needed raw materials to Europe. Closed factories mean unemployed workers and despite you and your laws, Mr. Palmer, unemployment in these times means **REVOLUTION.** Workers of America, you are celebrating the anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. On one hand you are offered capitalism with its mad world. It offers unemployment and starvation and on the other hand you are offered Communism, which points to you the road that leads to universal freedom. Communism will not make you free, simply by understanding its principles. It requires of you all, that you shall be men and women of courage. It asks of you that you shall organize together and in one vast organization of your class, erect upon the ruins of world-imperialism the new social order, Communism.

Turn back to yesterday and think of what your masters told you. Then think of your position today. Betrayed and outraged you find that your position today is far worse than that of yesterday. Millions of your best members were slaughtered upon the battle-fields of Europe and the beautiful forms of those that once fought side by side with you in the industrial trenches, now serve to fertilize the fields that were once the scene of the greatest and bloodiest battle in all history. Those who were not killed, returned home to find starvation their lot. Millions of children are dying for the want of the bare necessities of life. Those who have dared to protest against these things find themselves behind the prison bars. So mad are your masters, that they keep behind the prison bars, that wonderful and lovable soul, **EUGENE V. DEBS.** The rights that were formerly yours have been taken away. They were only given to you, because your masters thought that you would not use them. But finding that you are at last awaking from your age-long sleep they have taken away from you. **WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO?**

Upon this **FOURTH** of JULY, we call upon you to stand your ground like men. Organize with your class and understanding the aims and principles of Communism you will march unitedly along the road that leads to freedom. It is going to be a hard struggle. Many times you will meet with



**MR. WILSON, Look This Man in the Face and Repeat Your Statement.**

THE FIRST AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or ABRIDGING THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, or of the right of the people to peacefully assemble and to petition the government for a redress of their grievances."

**Eugene V. Debs.**

"Wars have been waged for conquests, for plunder, and since the feudal ages along the Rhine the feudal lords have made war upon each other. But they did not go to war any more than the Wall Street Junkers go to war. Their predecessors declared the wars, but their miserable serfs fought the wars. The serfs believed that it was their patriotic duty to fall upon one another, to wage war upon one another. And that is war in a nutshell. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, and the subject class has had all to lose and nothing to gain. You need to know that you are fit for something better than slavery and cannon fodder."—Eugene V. Debs, in speech, June 16, 1918, at Canton, Ohio, which resulted in his imprisonment at Atlanta for ten years under the Espionage law.

**Woodrow Wilson.**

"Republicans chorused a ponderous note of protest against the administration and enforcement of the Espionage Act and some other measures that were of vital necessity during the war. Yet I defy the Republicans to prove that the power given the government during the war has ever been unjustly used against the people; that a single citizen has been unwarrantably punished for any act of aggression or disloyalty against the nation; that any man has been punished for expressing his opinion. I have read charges to the contrary, but in each instance I have had the matter thoroughly looked into, and am in a position to contest the accuracy of any statement that the rights of a single citizen have been unjustly invaded."—Woodrow Wilson, in interview at the White House, June 18, 1920.

DEFECTIVE PAGE

rebuffs and find yourselves cast into prison. But if you are real men with red blood in your veins you will utilize every mad act of your masters as a means to weld you closer together. We Communists say to every member of the workingclass: "Many thorns lie in our path, but we must, without losing courage, go forward. The great Revolution which has turned the entire old world upside down, cannot run smoothly, one cannot accomplish it with kid gloves: it is being born in pain. These pains must be endured, patiently, its purgatory must be endured in order, finally, to get free from the iron vise of capitalistic slavery." These times we live in, demand courage and determination. You have displayed that courage and determination on many previous occasions. What you enjoy today, you enjoy because you had the manhood to organize and fight for it. With the pleasant memories of the successful skirmishes of the past; with a knowledge of our mistakes, we shall march with heads erect singing the songs of the day.

**ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS!  
RELEASE ALL POLITICAL AND  
CLASS-WAR PRISONERS!!  
SUCCESS TO COMMUNISM!!!**

## WIN VICTORIES IN TOIL, TROTSKY ORDERS ARMY

**Diminish Fighting Rear of Soviets' Defenders  
to Minimum to Strengthen Labor Front,  
Russian Minister Declares—Points  
Need for Reconstruction.**

### FIRST REVOLUTIONARY LABOR ARMY—

The fervor of the war against the counter-revolutionists was directed in the spring of 1920 to the war against under-production. Trotsky, president of the Revolutionary War Council of the republic, turned his abounding energy from the tactics of defense to the tactics of regeneration.

The brilliant diversion of the army of fighters into an army of workers, executed by Trotsky is shown in the fourth and last article on the transformation printed today.

The task was a serious one. Not only was it necessary to remake the psychology of men used to the excitement and rigors of battle, but it was necessary to awaken in the breasts of the peasants a fellowfeeling for the workers of the city.

**Appeal to the Third Army.**

The appeal to the workers and peasants for unity, the response of the Cossacks to the call and the broad results of the campaign have been given in the three previous articles just received in the United States.

Trotsky's ardent appeal to the Third Red Army was as follows:

**Memorandum-Order to the Third Red Army.**

The Third Army has fulfilled its military task. But the enemy has not been destroyed on eleven fronts. The hired troops of the Entente menace Soviet Russia from the West. White Guard bands still occupy Archangel. The Caucasus is as yet not liberated. For those reasons the Third Revolutionary Army remains under arms, preserves its organization, its internal unity and its war spirit in the event of the Socialistic fatherland calling upon it to new military feasts.

"2. But, imbued with a sense of duty, the Third Revolutionary Army is eager to waste no time. During those weeks and months of respite which had fallen to its share it has decided to utilize all it means and forces for the economic uplift of the country. Remaining a fighting force, the terror of the enemies of the working class, it, at the same time changes into the Revolutionary Army of Labor.

"3. The Revolutionary War Council of the Third Army enters into the Co-War Council of the Labor Army. In this council the members of the Revolutionary War Council will join the representatives of the chief economic institutions of the Soviet Republic. They will secure the necessary guidance for the various spheres of economic activity.

**Dire Need of Food.**

"4. The starving workers of Petrograd, Moscow, Ivan-Voznesensk, the Urals and all the other industrial centres stand in dire need of provisions. The chief task of the First Revolutionary Labor Army is the systematic collection of all surplus of bread, meat, fat

and forage in the region of its situation; the exact registration of the food provisions collected, energetic and rapid concentration and dispatch to factories and railway stations and its loading into wagons.

"5. Industry is in need of fuel. The most important task of the Revolutionary Labor Army is the cutting and sawing of timber and its delivery to factories and railway stations.

"6. The workers in the preparation of fuel are in need of living accommodations. The Revolutionary Labor Army must build where that is necessary a number of barracks and secure for the workers and for those who may subsequently take their place comfortable living accommodations.

"7. Spring is approaching, the time of field work. The output of new agricultural implements of our exhausted factories is very small. But there is a great quantity of old implements which are in need of repair in the possession of the peasantry. The Revolutionary Labor Army will offer its workshops and smithies, locksmiths and carpenters for the repair of agricultural machines and implements. When the field work begins the Red shots and the Red cavalymen will show that they are able to follow the plough, to till the Soviet land.

**Friendly Relations Needed.**

"8. The proletariat and the peasantry of the Urals and of Siberia live and work in close connection with the workers-soldiers of the Third Army. Part of the labor army, its red soldiers, its commanders and commissars, must establish comradely relations of friendship and collaboration with all the workers.

"9. All the members of the army, from the highest to the lowest, must bear an attitude of fraternity, and attention to the trade unions, to the local councils and small and large executive committees clearly bearing in mind that these are the organizations of the laboring masses. Work in all localities must be carried on in agreement with these latter, the army taking upon itself to explain to them the importance of the work which the Soviet government has directed it to do and appealing to them for an active support of this great initiative.

"10. It should be the first task of the Red Army to take all possible measures that in the locality of its work not a single factory should suffer from a scarcity of food. All honest Red Army soldiers who vie to do as much work as

a factory worker must, at the same time strive that the workers obtain, through the army apparatus, an equal amount of food.

"11. Untiring energy in work as in battle. All skilled workers and specialists in the army must be registered and kept ready so that the entire army machine begins to work upon its new field simultaneously, unitedly, smoothly and rapidly, without interruptions or intermissions.

"12. We must have an exact registration of the force that is expended and of the results that are obtained. A careful and honest control over all appliances and over material expended. Not a pound of Soviet bread, not a log of the national wood is to be left unregistered or wasted. All this must go to form the basis of the Soviet edifice.

"13. The commanders and commissars are responsible for the work done by their men as they are on the field of battle. Discipline is to remain as stringent as ever. It is not to be weakened even by a hair breadth. These Communist circles are to be an example of efficiency and perseverance in work.

"14. The unity between the various parts of the army must be strictly preserved. Watchfulness must, in no case, be weakened. The fitness and hardness of the workmen must not be relaxed.

**Exact Labor Messages.**

"15. The commanders and commissars are to send exact labor operation communiques on the amount of the gathered, loaded and transported corn, of the cut and saved cubes of wood and of all other works. These communiques are to be published in the daily paper, 'The First Labor Army', with the exact mention of every regiment and every separate labor group so that the most diligent and zealous of the regiments should enjoy the respect they deserve, whilst the backward, slovenly and lazy parts should be made to strive to improve and to rise on a level with the former.

"16. The political department of the army is to carry on its work with doubled energy, educating a warrior in the workman and preserving the workman in the warrior.

"17. Tens and hundreds of thousands of printed appeals and speeches must be distributed to make clear to the most backward of the Red Army soldiers and all the surrounding workers and peasants, the idea of the great work which the Third Red Army is beginning.

"18. The revolutionary tribunal of the army punished loafers, parasites, passive strikers and plunderers of the people's property.

"19. A strict registration should be made so as to prevent all dishonest leave-taking.

"20. A deserter in work is just as dishonest and contemptible as a deserter on the field of battle. Both are to be severely punished.

"21. Most conscious and intelligent fighters, foremost workers, revolutionary peasants, Red Army soldiers ahead to first places! Let your untiring energy and self-sacrifice be an example to hie others enlisting them to take the same role.

"22. Let the rear be diminished on its minimum; all superfluous men are the foremost line of labor!

"23. Begin and end your work, wherever possible, under the sounds of Socialist hymns and songs, for your work is not the toil of slavery but a supreme service to the Socialist fatherland.

"24. Soldiers of the Third Army, now the First Labor Army! Your initiative is indeed a great cause. The whole of Russia will become a quiver with life to respond to you. This present moment the Soviet radio telegraph is carrying the world over the great news that the

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"The President of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic, L. TROTSKY."

## IRISH CITIZEN ARMY IS READY

Organization Founded by Larkin Prepares as Britain Sends in Troops.

While the British are sending soldiers, armed to the teeth, and equipped with all refined machinery of death, into Ireland, the Irish Citizen Army, founded by James Larkin and James Connolly, is calling for recruits from the ranks of labor.

The Citizen Army, which played such a great part in the Easter Rebellion, and which has always been prepared to do its work, now steels itself for what appears to be another supreme effort to free Ireland. The recruiting posters, which have just reached America, read:

**HALT!**

"Are you a member of the Irish Citizen Army? If not, JOIN NOW."

"The Irish Citizen Army stands for economic as well as political freedom."

"It supports the workers in all their demands for better conditions. It stands for the Workers' Republic advocated by James Connolly."

"It holds that Ireland, a nation, might be as free as the American and French Republics, but the workers of Ireland may yet be in slavery."

"It holds that as long as any class within the nation is not free the people of the nation are not free. The people of Ireland will not be free as long as the workers of Ireland are enslaved."

"Workers of Ireland join the Irish Citizen Army, which stands for your freedom in the New Irish Nation."

"The Citizen Army is open to all Trade Unionists. The employers

have an army at their disposal which they use against you, if necessary, in strikes to enforce their will upon you and keep you enslaved."

"You are organized industrially. Organize Militarily now and form the Army of the Irish Workers' Republic."

"Remember Larkin and Connolly founded it. Connolly and Mallin were executed for standing for the cause of champions. Madame Markievicz received life sentence, W. Partridge was sentenced to 10 years and was murdered in jail, Sean Connolly and 14 of our comrades fell in the fight."

## JAP PEACE PLAN

The Central News states that General Oi, Commander of the Japanese Army in Siberia, is ready to open formal and de facto negotiations with the Government which was established at Verkhne-Udinsk, east of Lake Baikal, in the beginning of this year, with the view of securing order in Eastern Siberia.

Krasnochemoff, the chief of the diplomatic department, lately sent to the Japanese Army, on behalf of this "Pri-Baikal" Government, a declaration adopted by the Legislature of the Government relative to the establishment of a Republic of Eastern Siberia, which would serve as a buffer State between Japan and the Bolshevik territory.

General Oi replied that now that the withdrawal of the Czechoslovak forces is about to be completed, the Japanese troops were prepared to evacuate Siberia as soon as the conditions in Eastern Russia become established. Before entering into negotiations, however, the Russians should discontinue hostile actions against the Japanese forces at Chita, and a neutral zone should be established.

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# Gompers Finds Trade Union International Not Only Disobedient But Engaged In a Dangerous Flirtation With Socialistic Ideas

## A. F. of L. Head Finds European Delegates So Recalcitrant That He Asks Montreal Convention to Vote on Question of Continued Affiliation.

By J. CHARLES LAUE.  
(N. Y. "Call")

Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, abhors the Socialist International. Moscow is anathema to him, or, at least, so he professed at the Montreal convention, but he is getting small comfort out of his own international, the International Federation of Trade Unions, which is, to say the least, Socialistic.

The irritation of the unionist was reflected in the report he made to the delegates on what happened to him in Europe. Apparently the only friend he had was W. A. Appleton of England, and only by repeated threats to leave the Europeans to stew in their own juices did he have his way, and he did have it at times. Appleton was elected president of the new trade union international, and Carl Legien of Germany was soundly trounced on all occasions, as Gompers wished. The following information is obtained from the report:

"The conference in form the International Federation of Trade Unions convened at the Concertgebouw, Amsterdam, Holland, July 28, 1919. J. Oudegeest, president of the Dutch Federation of Labor, delivered an address of welcome. He early struck a discordant note when, in dealing with responsibility for the war, he declared it to have been a capitalistic war, prepared for and caused by the capitalistic class. Whereupon Daniel J. Tobin of the American delegation replied as follows:

### Tobin's Conception.

"The address of welcome just delivered again refers to the question of the responsibility for the war. The statement of the chairman that all the suffering, all of the trouble, all of the deaths resulting from the war was caused by the capitalistic class endeavors to place the responsibility for the war on another element besides the element that we American delegates believe responsible for it.

"I am not going to defend the unjust capitalists, but I, as one of the American delegates, propose to object to any such statement. We contend and we believe that the war was absolutely caused by the monarchial, militaristic system of Germany and Austria and will not subscribe to any other declaration made by the chairman of this convention. The United States forces, the British forces and the Allies all combined have forever destroyed the systems that were responsible for that awful destruction of life and property and happiness."

This started the scrap. The secretary read a list of 14 countries and 92 delegates, representing 1,741,000 workers. Since then, according to a report received in Montreal last week, the number of affiliated countries has increased to 46. The names of the organizations represented are the following:

| Name of the Organization.                                                                                                           |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| AMERICA—American Federation of Labor.                                                                                               |
| BELGIUM—Commission Syndicale du Parti Ouvrier et des Syndicats Independants.                                                        |
| BOHEMIA—Odborove Sduzeni Ceskoslovenske.                                                                                            |
| DENMARK—De Samvirkende Fagforbund i Danmark.                                                                                        |
| GERMANY—Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften Deutschlands. Gesellschaftskommission der Freien Vereinigung deutscher Gewerkschaften. |
| ENGLAND—(a) General Federation of Trade Unions; (b) Trades Union Congress Parliamentary Committee.                                  |
| FRANCE—Confederation Generale du Travail.                                                                                           |
| HOLLAND—Nederlandsch Verbond van Vakvereenigingen. National Arbeids Secretariat.                                                    |
| LUXEMBURG—Commissions Syndicales de Luxembourg (G.-D.).                                                                             |
| NORWAY—Arbeiderne Faglige Landsorganisation i Norge.                                                                                |
| AUSTRIA—Gewerkschafts kommission Deutsch-Oesterreichs.                                                                              |
| SPAIN—Union Generale de Trabajadores.                                                                                               |

SWEDEN—Landsorganisation i Sverige.  
SWITZERLAND—Schweizerischer Gewerkschaftsbund.

The first thing accomplished was the removal of the headquarters of the international from Berlin to Amsterdam "thereby fulfilling one of the important objects of our mission," as Gompers said.

The second object was to improve the method of voting. Under the old system, each national trade union center was entitled to two votes so that it was possible for the delegates coming from different small countries with about 100,000 organized workers to have a greater voting power, proportionately than the large industrial countries of Great Britain, United States France and Germany.

It was also possible for an organization such as the International Workers of the World representing a national group in America to have the same vote as the numerically much larger American Federation of Labor. A humorous incident in this connection is the convention of the old International Secretariat in Budapest, in 1913 when William Z. Foster the delegate of the I. W. W. almost had James Duncan, first vice-president of the American Federation of Labor thrown out of the meeting because he was a member of the Civic Federation. This has been changed.

### New Proportional Method.

Due to the insistence of the three American delegates to the recent Amsterdam convention, the voting was changed so that they would secure proportionate representation as follows:

Each national trade union center is entitled to one vote for 250,000 members or less.

Two votes from 250,000 to 500,000.

Three votes from 500,000 to 1,000,000.

And one vote for every 500,000, or fraction thereof, over and above 1,000,000.

At first the American delegates wanted a vote for every 250,000 members, but the small countries objected strenuously because they would thus be dominated entirely by the big national groups so it was agreed to cut down the voting power above 500,000. Daniel Tobin, president of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, represented the A. F. of L. in these matters.

The next great fight was on the Charter of Labor contained in the Versailles Peace treaty. A report was brought in by a committee, of which John J. Hynes, president of the Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers International Alliance, was the American representative.

This committee severely criticized the insufficiency of the labor charter. The convention was silent on general education for children, was ineffectual on the eight-hour day or 48-hour week, since it only stated that it was to be aimed for, but providing no machinery for achieving it. The charter provides only 24 hours continuous rest over Sunday and not 36 hours, fails to obrogate the laws restricting immigration, guaranteeing a fair living wage, but making no provision for its realization, those were some of the objections stated.

### Gompers Rises to Protest.

Gompers, from the floor, took immediate exception to the criticism, stating that, as the representative of the United States to the Commission on International Labor Legislation at Paris, he presented a number of propositions more far-reaching than the other representatives of labor would accept, especially France, mentioning his "labor is not a commodity" plea, free speech, assembly and press and the freedom of seamen, which had the approval of the British delegation, but which were voted down.

He recognized, he said, that the labor charter was not satisfactory but added that it could be changed and that efforts so far made should not be condemned, adding that the German influence on the committee had compelled it to make a "hypercritical" report.

## 46 Nations, Counting 17,741,000 Workers, United in Federation

The International Federation of Trade Unions that arose out of the debris of the old International Secretariat, which was wrecked during the war, is now functioning, 46 countries being represented therein. The dominant countries, however, are those that participated in the first conference at Amsterdam last July, in which national trade union federations on behalf of 17,741,000 organized workers of the Occidental world were represented.

The number of trade unionists in the various countries and the balance of power in the federation at the first convention is given in the following table:

| Country        | Membership | Votes  |
|----------------|------------|--------|
| America        | 3,600,000  | 9      |
| Great Britain  | 4,750,000  | 11-20  |
| France         | 1,500,000  | 4      |
| Belgium        | 450,000    | 2      |
| Luxemburg      | 21,000     | 1-7-27 |
| Germany        | 5,400,000  | 12     |
| Austria        | 60,000     | 1      |
| Holland        | 500,000    | 2-15   |
|                | 223,000    | 1      |
| Switzerland    | 45,000     | 1      |
| Sweden         | 200,000    | 1      |
| Norway         | 235,000    | 1      |
| Denmark        | 122,000    | 1      |
| Spain          | 255,000    | 2-7-22 |
| Czecho-Slovaks | 150,000    | 1      |
|                | 230,000    | 1      |

Total 17,741,000 51 Votes

It will be noticed that Germany has the largest number of organized workers, but that the Entente countries have a majority vote. A conspicuous absence is that of the trade union movement of Russia.

By a vote of 31 to 20 the committee's resolution was adopted, despite Gompers.

The final report recommended, however, that "considering that the working classes should remain quite independent in formulating and setting into effect their own policies, the Amsterdam Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions ratifies the minimum program of Berne and instructs every national labor movement to strive for its complete and early realization."

### The Charter's Provisions.

Gompers' views, in essence was the following:

"The convention provides for improvement in the condition of the workers; a wonderful advance in labor's struggle for the new concept between man and man and the nation; the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded as a commodity or article of commerce; the right of association; an adequate living wage; the eight-hour day; weekly rest of 24 hours; abolition of child labor; equal pay for men and women for equal work performed; a system of inspection in which women shall take part. Surely I can not understand how this wonderful stride can be sincerely attacked."

He had another bitter controversy with Legien, one of his boon companions before the war. During the discussion Legien had the temerity to say that anyone who voted against the proposals of the committee was in the pay of the capitalist class. The insinuation was directed against the American delegation, which alone, at that time, opposed the report.

Gompers said in reply that the statement made by Legien, so far as concerned the unfaithfulness of the representatives of the American labor movement and their being in the pay of any element outside of the labor movement, was a mean, contemptible lie and the man who uttered it an unmitigated liar; that this statement of Legien was evidently intended to cover up the negligence and inefficiency of the leaders of the labor movement in Germany and of the old International Federation of Trade Unions located in Berlin, and that this outburst was another evidence of how utterly unrepentant they are as to the cause of the war and how arrogant and domineering they are even now.

Legien was told that that attitude of the representative of labor of Germany and that they, and evidently a large part of the German people, have not yet understood the result of the war; that the time had gone by forever when "Deutschland uber alles" could be regarded as the triumphant acclaim of the German people; that the peoples of the democratic countries of the world, and the labor movements of those countries, had determined that for themselves and for all nations, large and small, the opportunity to live their own lives shall prevail and will be maintained at all costs.

### Radicals' Proposals.

There were two radicals who caused Gompers more trouble, Saeveliet, representing the Dutch National Trade Union, a minority group, and Fritz Kater, representing the minority German group of syndicalists. They proposed that: The International Congress, re-

sponding to the appeal of the labor classes of the Soviet countries to support their struggle by means of demonstrations and strikes with a view to force the imperialist governments to raise their blockade and stop their military intervention expresses its satisfaction on the joint efforts undertaken by the proletarian class of several countries on the 21st of July.

Resolves to promote and undertake a renewed joint action for that purpose.

The Americans pointed out what an utter fizzle the general strike of July 21 had been, but their alarm was unnecessary since the resolution was overwhelmingly defeated. Gompers took pains to point out that:

### Don't Disregard Experience.

"We have no limits to the action of American workers or the workers of the whole world to secure the rights and interests and the welfare of the working people. We shall urge that every action be taken in order to protect and promote the well-being of the working masses of our country and all other countries. So long as the results of trade union activity prove successful to bring light into the lives and the work of the toiling masses, we hold that it is our plain duty not to disregard experience and results, not to fly in the face of dangers of which little can be known. Our trade union movement, our federation, is not destructive either in character or in action; ours is a constructive movement to build up and to make life the better worth living, and to help usher in a better day for all the toilers of the world."

It was in the report of Gompers' own committee which gave the leader of the American Federation of Labor his heaviest drubbing. The committee was composed of the following delegates:

S. Gompers (America), Broy (Germany), Kater (Syndicalist, Germany), Hansen (Denmark), Williams (England), Stenuis (Federation of Trade Unions), Saeveliet (N. A. S. Holland), Martels (Belgium), Krier (Luxemburg), Janzon (Sweden), R. Hansen (Norway) Besteiro (Spain), Graspierre (Switzerland), Heuber (Austria), Merheim (France), R. Taverle (Czecho-Slovaks).

The committee defeated the resolution submitted by the Dutch syndicalists calling upon the workers of all countries to protest against the blockade and to declare a general strike to secure the removal of the blockade against Russia and Hungary by 12 to 2. The Dutch and German syndicalists and Luxemburg did not vote.

The spirit of the discussion, however, was that every restriction of economic freedom should be condemned.

### U. S. Delegates Fight Blockade Measure

The committee asked the convention to condemn the blockade against Russia and Hungary, declaring that it was the duty of the national centers in their respective countries to secure the early termination of the blockade.

The only countries to vote against it were America and England.

The American delegates, however, did vote in favor of making an investigation into the trade union situation in Russia, the German syndicalist delegate voting against the proposal.

The committee unanimously agreed to ask the convention to declare that "the economic disorganization accentuated by the war has been caused by the impotence of capitalism to insure the well-being of the masses of the people."

Gompers balked entirely at the next resolution, which declared that "it is imperative that the efforts and the activities of the working classes of all countries should be directed to obtaining complete trade union organization as the necessary basis for the realization of the socialization of the means of production." He was the only delegate in the committee to vote against this.

Gompers rallied enough votes in favor to the next proposal, that socialization was only feasible after normal production had been scientifically and continuously developed.

### Sees Implied Criticism.

A resolution adopted by the committee to the effect that "the International Trade Union Congress declares that 'if the labor classes would prevent the League of Nations reaction and oppression, they will have to organize internationally and attain in this way a power that they become an effective controlling organ of the League of Nations.'"

Gompers abstained from voting for this because of the implied criticism of the League of Nations, while the two Syndicalists voted against it for the opposite motive. The extremes met.

The election of officers then ensued with following results: president, W. A. Appleton of England; first vice-president, L. Jouhaux, France; second vice-president, Cornelle Mertens, Belgium; treasurer, L. Oudegeest, Holland; secretary-editor, Edo Pimmen, Holland.

Gompers nominated Appleton and the Germans nominated Oudegeest of Holland and when the latter was defeated as well as Legien for first vice-president, the latter became so enraged that he asserted the German delegation would take no further part in the deliberations. Another row along nationalistic lines broke out, but Gompers, always the diplomat, made a soothing speech in which he outlined the views of the American labor movement. He stated that in his judgement the American Federation of Labor and the American trade union movement would go as far as possible in aiding the work of international labor and its best ideals; that America's workers were not in such a position as would, under ordinary circumstances, require the aid of the workers of other countries, the situation and standards being so different, that they were willing to help to the fullest of their ability, but that one thing must be reserved and that is the right of national self-determination, there would probably be no difficulty in securing expression and action, and that the affiliation of the American Federation of Labor and the maintenance of that affiliation with the best results for the toilers for all time to come.

The real fun only commenced, however, when Gompers got home to America. Here he received a walling letter from Appleton, the man he put in as president of the trade union international telling about tricks the others had been up to while the American "cigar-maker-schoolmaster" was away.

## Appleton, Conservative Choice, Wins as President, but Finds Himself Flouted by Radical Officers—Open Break at Congress Is Barely Averted.

The faux pas was the circularization on May 1 of all affiliated trade unions of Europe on the official letterhead of the International Federation of Trade Unions and signed by the officers of a manifesto, based on resolutions adopted at the congress. This circular, in typical European style, bore the slogan:

### Officers' Manifesto.

"Down With Reaction; Up With Socialism."

Its contents deal mostly with the Von Kapp revolution in Germany and called on the 20,000,000 workers of the trade union international to work against the reaction and also urged the German workers, now split into factions, to unite against the militarists.

"Ill-digested theory, very badly expressed," was Appleton's comment to Gompers in a letter as recent as April 15, to which Gompers, in a cablegram, replied:

"Responding to your letter of April 15, American Federation of Labor is in entire accord with you."

Appleton, in his letter, said further:

"With you I am always frank, and I desire to say without any equivocation that, had it been decreed that my election to the presidency of the International Federation involved my acceptance of Socialism or any other political 'ism,' I should most emphatically have refused nomination. I stood as a trade unionist, not as a

politician, and by a trade unionist I mean one who has asserted and practised his right to combine with his fellows for the purpose of selling his labor at the best possible price."

"Just now I am greatly perplexed. If I were to follow my personal inclination I should immediately cut clear away from conceptions and policies which threaten the stability of society and the interests of all classes—including my own class. My duty, however, to my own committee and my relationships with the A. F. of L. compel me to put the whole matter before them and you before I take action so decisive."

### What Increased His Troubles.

He admitted that his difficulties were increased because the British Trade Union Congress had passed general resolutions in favor of nationalizing the mines and railways and the means and instruments of production. It was held that the Parliamentary committee was committed to the policy of Socialism.

And Gompers ends his report to the Montreal convention with these words:

"May 1st has come and gone, with the results of the proclamation known to all."

"The question of continuance of the affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions is placed before this convention for decision."

## Camouflaged Terror

Horthy Plans to Deceive the British.

### ILL-TIMED POGROM

From Daily Herald Correspondent

VIENNA, May 23.—While in Vienna the members of the British Labor Delegation repeatedly asked Hungarian Socialists: "Why did Horthy's Government invite us to come to Budapest?" To which the invariable response was: "To deceive you, of course." How true this explanation is emerges from facts I have just received from the Daily Herald's special investigator in Hungary. These facts disclose lavish preparations made by Horthy in the hope of bamboozling Wedgwood's party.

Our investigator has learned at first hand that the Hajmasker internment camp was elaborately camouflaged before the arrival of the British representatives.

Several hundred interned men were taken from Hajmasker, crowded into railway wagons, and shipped to the vicinity of Zalaegerszeg, where they are forced to live in cattle trucks. An inquiry was made as to prisoners at Hajmasker who could speak foreign languages, and all such were removed before Wedgwood could speak with them. Then 250 "reliable" prisoners were selected, and told what they must reply when questioned by the Mission.

### Tightened Grip on Press.

Michael Pervanger, formerly a minor Soviet official, was executed in Budapest on Monday, but the Press was forbidden to publish this fact owing to Wedgwood's presence. All the Budapest newspapers, however, reprinted Commissioner Hohler's whitewash of the delegation's arrival.

Further details of Wednesday's anti-Semitic riot in Budapest indicate that it was most inconveniently timed for Horthy, who was busy explaining to Wedgwood that there is no White Terror just at the time that more than 100 Jews were being severely injured by the onslaught. Horthy has announced that the program was staged by Bolshevik agents-provocateurs, with the intention of impressing the Labor delegates! The fact is that this latest outrage is merely a continuation of similar performances which have occurred uninterruptedly throughout the Terror. Horthy has not yet troubled himself to explain the massacre of more than 700 Jews in Transdanubia.

## Revolution Aims At Socialism In Europe, Rosa Luxembourg Said

Article Never Before Printed Here Gives Martyr's Ideas on Bolshevism.

"The revolution now commencing in Europe aims at, and can have no other result, than the realization of Socialism," Rosa Luxembourg, the martyred German Socialist, says in a message on "Bolshevism" never before published and now translated from the International Esperantist Socialist Review.

"The proletariat," she continues, "must, before all, take into its own hands the power of the state. Political power, however is only a means to an end. The end which we wish to attain by that means is the total transformation of the whole of human society."

She then sketches the conditions obtaining in the world today: the centralization of wealth, the exploitation of the many by the few. She says:

"Today the capitalists are entirely and absolutely masters of all the productive forces of the world. What will be produced, how it will be produced; how, when, and how the products will be distributed—all that is fixed, regulated and decided by the all-powerful capitalist. The workers, the producers, are only machines, to be used for labor and nothing more."

"In a Socialist society all this will be altered. The capitalist will disappear. Production will not have for its object the enrichment of any single person whatever; it will aim to deliver to society the means for supplying the needs of all. The whole aspect of wealth production will therefore become changed."

"Such a situation must be changed; mankind neither can nor will tolerate it any longer. All social wealth, the earth, with all the treasures hidden in its interior; the means of production of all kinds, must be taken out of the hands of the exploiters. The first task of a proletarian regime must be to declare the principal means of production common possessions and place them under the control of society."

"Afterwards will commence the tremendously difficult task of the reconstruction of society on a world-wide basis."

In conclusion, she answers the question of what is "Bolshevism": "If, in that manner, society becomes a community of workers, so also work itself will become changed in character. Today work is an evil, a nuisance, a punishment, something unworthy and base. In a Socialist society, labor, made as agreeable as possible by all the means at the disposal of mankind, will be a pleasure and a general privilege."

"This is the aim of Bolshevism. Help us to destroy the old, decaying world and to construct a new one."

# JACK CARNEY WILL SPEAK ON "MAD REACTION", SUNDAY EVENING, JULY 4th, WOKKERS HALL, 19th AVE. W. 1st ST.

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### They Might Have Smiled!

In the city of Amritsar, India, some five to seven thousand Hindus had gathered together to protest against the enactment of repressive legislation. As the audience was listening intently to the remarks of the speakers, a regiment of British soldiers, led by one inhuman monster named General Dyer, WITHOUT WARNING the soldiers poured the contents of their rifles into the audience and after the smoke of the rifles had died away, a ghastly scene confronted the eyes of the spectators, who had been drawn to the scene by the sound of firing. FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE LAY DEAD AND FIFTEEN HUNDRED LAY WOUNDED.

What do you think would make a British General order the shooting and killing of so many people? Draw upon your imagination an endeavor to find some available excuse for such an outrageous act. You will think of all manner of excuses, but you would never believe what the General himself said was the cause of the shooting. Read the excuse of the General:—

"THEY WOULD HAVE ALL COME BACK AND LAUGHED AT ME IF I HAD NOT SHOT."

"IT WAS A MERCIFUL ACT AND THE PEOPLE OUGHT TO BE THANKFUL TO ME FOR IT."

The people might have laughed at him and so they were cruelly murdered!

Yes, members of the workingclass we are getting too damned serious. We are afraid of our masters and we advise you here and now to laugh. Laugh at the childish laws that your masters pass, with the vain hope that they might stem the rising tide of industrial unrest. Laugh at a mad world! Laugh and after you have laughed, sit down for a moment and realize what dam fools we all are. We work and work and our masters shirk and shirk. My god why don't we laugh. Those that work, receive nothing of the good things of life, and those that do not work receive all the good things of life. So why not laugh? We will laugh at our masters and then we will laugh at ourselves. The other day we read of a case where a man was arrested and fined for starving his mule, but you never heard of a man being arrested for starving his employees! Let us laugh!

It is a mad world alright, so why should we not laugh. Say General that was a dam good joke haw haw, na jove how interesting! They might have laughed at you and so you shot them. Good for you General! But remember that the position might be reversed and possibly you might find some humor in the situation and then if you laugh, think on your punishment will be far worse than that inflicted upon the poor Hindus. Dam you, we will make you work!

"Why then live on since our lives seem fruitless,  
Since peace is certain and death is rest;  
Since our masters tell us the strife is bootless,  
And Nature scorns her unwelcome guest?"

You who have climbed on our aching bodies,  
You who have thought because we have toiled,  
Priests of the creed of a newer goddess,  
Searchers in depths where the Past was foiled.

Speak in the name of the faith that you cherish!  
Give us the truth! We have bought it with woe!  
Must we forever thus worthlessly perish,  
Burned in the desert and lost in the snow?

### Emma Goldman and the Soviets

By Mary E. Narvy  
(Special to Truth.)

From more than one source it has reached our ears that Emma Goldman is not at all satisfied with Soviet Russia and that she yearns for the good old days in America before the war when bored society ladies derived a thrill from hearing her discuss sex problems and advocate "Free love" with the Lid off. In those affluent times a lady who disliked to soil her hands with the drudgery of honest toil could always be assured of a group of gushing satellites who were willing to pay for the privilege of being entertained.

We knew perfectly well when Emma was deported to Russia that she was not going to like it there. For she never did understand the laws underlying historical progress, nor the economic structure of society, nor the evolutionary trend of society. And she had about as much real use for the working class as John D. Rockefeller or Judge Gary.

She does not understand what has happened during the past five years nor what is transpiring in the world to-day. She does not really want a workers' revolution, and she says that industrial communism is tyranny. The conditions of everybody are too levelled up, as it were. In fact, after seeing Soviet Russia during war-time, when the Russian people are compelled to sacrifice personal comfort and leisure and the Arts, in order to protect themselves from the armies of the capitalist countries of the whole world, her thoughts turn back longingly to the "good old days" that are never coming back, anywhere, anymore.

Emma Goldman does not know that we have had ANARCHY in production for the past seventy-five years and that all the conditions of hunger war, despair, failures of the credit system, financial disasters are but the full fruits and blossoms of the sort of thing she prefers to Communism.

For many years in all the modern anarchistic, or capitalistic, countries we have had production begin and production cease solely at the dictates of a few owners of industry whose only thought was NOT of the needs of society, but of whether industry yielded a sufficient quota of profits for their own personal appropriation. Shops opened and closed; railroads were built and operated or were permitted to fall into disuse, solely on the basis of whether or not they yielded sufficient profits to the capitalists.

And this anarchy in industry, in production and distribution, brought about the great war; killed off ten million

## LEST WE FORGET!

WE hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that amongst these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their powers from the consent of the governed, that WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR TO ABOLISH IT, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

young men and maimed ten million more; ravaged whole nations and it is this anarchy, planlessness, individualism-run-mad that is to-day causing the collapse of the world's credit system; causing inflation and rising prices, that is choking off industry. It is anarchy or capitalism which is to-day unwillingly digging its own grave, destroying the foundation of the existing system and making revolution as inevitable as the stars in their courses.

It was anarchy in production and distribution and in finance that caused the collapse of the Czar's regime and that is causing the disintegration of the civilized world to-day—unbridled, capitalist anarchy.

But Emma does not know that industry and production are anarchistic in Europe and in the United States nor that the credit system has failed nor how the workers are exploited. She does not care that world-capitalism is warring upon Russia and that in the face of the collapse of the old system the Russian workers have not had time to re-build in peace but are forced to carry on their educational work and their great plans for socialized industry in the face of the combined capitalist armies of the world.

All that she seems to be interested in is the fact that in Russia people have lost their old time liberty of being able to graft off the ignorance of the people and that she is in a land where it is necessary to become a useful citizen or to go hungry.

There are several kinds of freedom that nobody is able to enjoy in Russia to-day and this is precisely what has made Soviet Russia the target of all the reactionaries all over the world, from the millionaire owners of industry to the petty grafters who prey on society. To-day, provided you are a healthy man or woman, you eat according to the work you do according to the service you perform.

Everybody who is a useful member of society is allowed his share in the food and clothing and pay in Russia. But nobody any longer is free to live off the labor of others or by the exploitation of men and women in any manner whatsoever.

The coming days may be rather difficult for the social parasites who do not understand the events of the times. They do not realize that CAPITALISM, or anarchy in production, has failed, and is bound to succumb in chaos and utter route because of its own contradictions.

We are going to have world revolution not because of the aims of any class, but because, through the failure of the capitalist credit system, capitalism is becoming unable to carry on production. The same money is deposited over and over again in the banks, and the bank deposits are increasing more than twenty times as fast as the gold supply. So that the banks are in a constant state of insolvency. They are no longer able to lend sufficient money to carry on business enterprises, to maintain industry. They are compelled to curtail credit when the United States, for example, needs hundreds of millions of dollars to be expended in extending and re-building and improving the railroads alone. They need either to print more unbacked paper money or to hold more and more money in the banks to partially protect their depositors.

Industry is being CHOKED OFF by Capitalism, not by the revolutionists, and every student of history knows that when production ceases, the inevitable result is revolution in self-preservation for the mass of the people.

And when Anarchy, or Capitalism, brings CHAOS, nothing on earth will lift society out of the disaster but SOCIALIZED production and SOCIALIZED PLANNING. When it actually becomes impossible to produce for PROFITS, men and women will either have to starve to death or RESUME PRODUCTION on the basis of HUMAN USE AND HUMAN NEEDS.

And so the socialism of Marx and Engels is on its way. No matter whether you are glad or sorry, no matter whether you may be working for it, or die trying to prevent its coming, it is as certain as the approach of spring.

We are bound to have a socialized world, socialized production and distribution—not because we do or do not want it, but because Capitalism is going to leave the whole world high and dry in utter chaos. There is only ONE WAY OUT!

### The Solidarity(?) of Labor.

We take the following from a recent issue of the New York Call:—

#### The Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The assessment of \$100,000 damages against the Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Rochester might just as well have been the ukase of the chief officer of Michaels, Stern & Co., so far as results are concerned.

The material interests of this firm have been embodied in this decision. The United Mine Workers have also been slugged for about \$1,000,000 in a number of recent strikes by the courts, showing that the latter are willing to distribute these "favors" in a general way among the organized workers.

The despicable part played in this struggle by the United Garment Workers smells to heaven, and this decision makes this organization an accomplice in strikebreaking and a partner of the exploiting firm. Any genuine organization of the workers would refuse to be a beneficiary of any such decision and would order its members out of the employ of such a firm. To order or allow its members to go into a plant when a strike had been called by another organization is treachery to every ideal of labor organization.

The Amalgamated is not a member of the A. F. of L., but that is no reason for any A. F. of L. organization scabbing upon it. By way of contrast we call attention to the idea of solidarity displayed toward A. F. of L. organizations by the Amalgamated. The latter organization, when the need for financial aid to organize the steel workers was vital, contributed \$100,000 to the organization fund, more than any other organization in the United States. It contributed more than any A. F. of L. organization. To be repaid by the United Garment Workers an A. F. of L. organization, in the way the Amalgamated was repaid at Rochester, is so revolting that it should cause a storm of protest by every decent organization in and out of the A. F. of L.

No organization of our time has been more faithful to all phases of labor struggles than the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Its remarkable work in winning for its membership higher standards of wages, hours and general conditions in the plants where it controls has been an inspiration to other organizations. To be repaid in the dirty way it has been by the United Garment Workers at Rochester is a crime. No excuse can be made for it.

As for the injunction and the fine assessed against the Amalgamated, this is an opportunity for all organizations to show their appreciation for it by rendering every aid that is asked when plans of the defense are made known. Organizations that cannot practice this solidarity have not advanced beyond a contractor's psychology and the ethics of the petty trader. This is a testing time that should reveal what organizations are worth while.

We agree with the New York Call when they state, "This is the testing time that should reveal what organizations are worth while." By what right, has the Call to chastise the United Garment Workers organization? The Call and those that are behind it are morally responsible for the state of affairs that has made possible the deplorable situation that has arisen between the above unions. Every attempt to bring about a closer understanding between the various forces of the labor movement has met with a rebuff, only insofar as such an understanding met with the approval of the leaders. On the other hand if it was a spontaneous expression of the rank and file, the Call frowned upon it. In similar manner the Socialist Party exhibited the same narrow-minded spirit. The Call is right when it states, "No excuse can be made for it." There is no excuse for it, yet at the same time are the hands of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers clean? We can recall addressing a meeting in the city of New York, some few months ago. The meeting was for the purpose of organizing workers' shop committees within the clothing industry. Before we had uttered a dozen words, a number of gunmen, sent there by the officials of the above union, entered the hall and commenced to beat up the audience. The expressions of the rank and file were silenced by the thugs employed by the officials. The officials of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers are receiving a dose of their own medicine.

We urge upon the rank and file of both organizations to come together and re-organize themselves into one big union of the clothing industry. Cast off your leaders and form your shop committees. Through your shop committee carry on the work of your organization. Your movement will then be a rank and file movement. We trust in you of the rank and file because we know that the fight means more to you than a job. Your officials become "pie-card" artists, because they are too far away from the actualities of life. Get busy with your shop committees and avoid the recurrence of this unfortunate affair by consolidating your power. Solidarity between the members of the clothing industry will bring about the one big union. Get busy!

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### SOVIET UKRAINE

We have received from Griffin Barry, lately our special correspondent in Russia, the following account of a visit to the Ukrainian city of Kharkoff, at the end of March.

London Daily Herald.

I have just visited the Kharkoff locomotive works with Captain Sadoul, the exiled French Socialist. The huge works are under full Soviet control.

Already, under the spur of Russia's need for transport, the rate of production is not far below what it was before the war. This in spite of the fact that many of the best machines are at the Red front; in spite of the incredible difficulties in hauling enough raw material; in spite of the nameless woes of civil war that touch every man Jack here in the Ukraine.

In 1913 4,000 men were employed; to-day more than 2,000, while groups of new ones are returning daily from the villages to which they fled when Denikin entered the city. They began to return the week that the Red Army drove out Denikin. Those days meant the end of reactionary armies, or so all Russia, believed, and division after division of the Red Army has been turning to work ever since.

#### The Return of Coal

Work began at Kharkoff in January with what little stocks of raw material were on hand. In February came regular shipments of coal from the newly reconquered Don Basin, sent by Red Divisions newly turned into an army of labour. Week by week the Soviets throughout the Ukraine sent squads of workers under instructions from the Commissar at Kharkoff for the mobilisation of labour.

"Now we have coal ahead for six weeks," one foreman told me, "and we can extend work as fast as the army gives us workers."

At present four locomotives are built monthly from top to bottom and four repaired. They are big machines of American type. I saw three ready to take the road.

I talked to many of the workers themselves.

What are the actual gains from the system so far to these Socialist workers behind the wall of their Red Army?

Freedom, so far, is the chief, almost the exclusive, gain. I concluded; freedom of vote, freedom of religion. There is not freedom to be lazy, nor does any intelligent Russian imagine that there can be while Russia's dire need continues. I heard no complaints whatever against the "militarisation of labour," so much shouted at abroad. But freedom of life, aside from the necessity of working, has clearly arrived, and that opens a new heaven to the Russian.

As work re-starts in each factory workers' clubs start also, with masses of free literature, with every conceivable opportunity to

discuss every conceivable subject. The worker in charge of these activities at Kharkoff, a highly skilled latheman, said he and his friends (none of them belonging to the Communist party, by the way, but voting for the Communist programme in the factory soviet just the same, "for this is our revolution," he said), had laboured for weeks, cleaning, painting and furnishing the club room.

#### Unvaried Food

As for solid additions to comfort, they don't exist—yet. Food is not short, but is coarse and unvaried. High wages are paid, and are differently graded according to different skill in accordance with schedules arranged in conference with the workers. But money buys little. Clothing is scarce, although not unobtainable.

However, I don't hear a single question asked as to why life is so difficult. Even the children can trace by heart the vicious circle that has hemmed in the life of every Russian during the long bitter years of the blockade. It goes something like this, that vicious circle: Nothing will greatly mend until the products of common use can be made and circulated; the products can't be circulated while the army needs the scanty transport, nor made in any quantity while it absorbs the best workers at the Red front; the armies must be kept until one of the big Governments makes peace (probably only English prestige can do it), and no existing Government will make peace with the revolutionary Russian workers until its own workers force it to make peace. That lesson the Russian have learned through the revolution, which has deepened and transformed 150,000,000 lives.

When will the English workers understand and act? That is the only insistent question I hear.

### British Shop Stewards

There was a representative gathering at the conference of all grades of labour, which the Coventry Engineering Shop Stewards convened in the town on Sunday.

It was resolved to work for a standard 40-hour week, with a minimum wage, and the conference also pledged itself to increase the power of the worker in all industries, and also to develop education in management, etc.

Another resolution carried was for the setting up of an Industrial Control Council with a view to controlling industry.

A. McManus, in speaking on the control of industry, said that a class war must be conducted every day in the workshop. Their business was to foment unrest in the shop. Those who tried to stop that were suppressing the working class. They must train to fight—like an army—otherwise they would be no good.

The meeting was adjourned so that a local Workers' Committee might be formed.