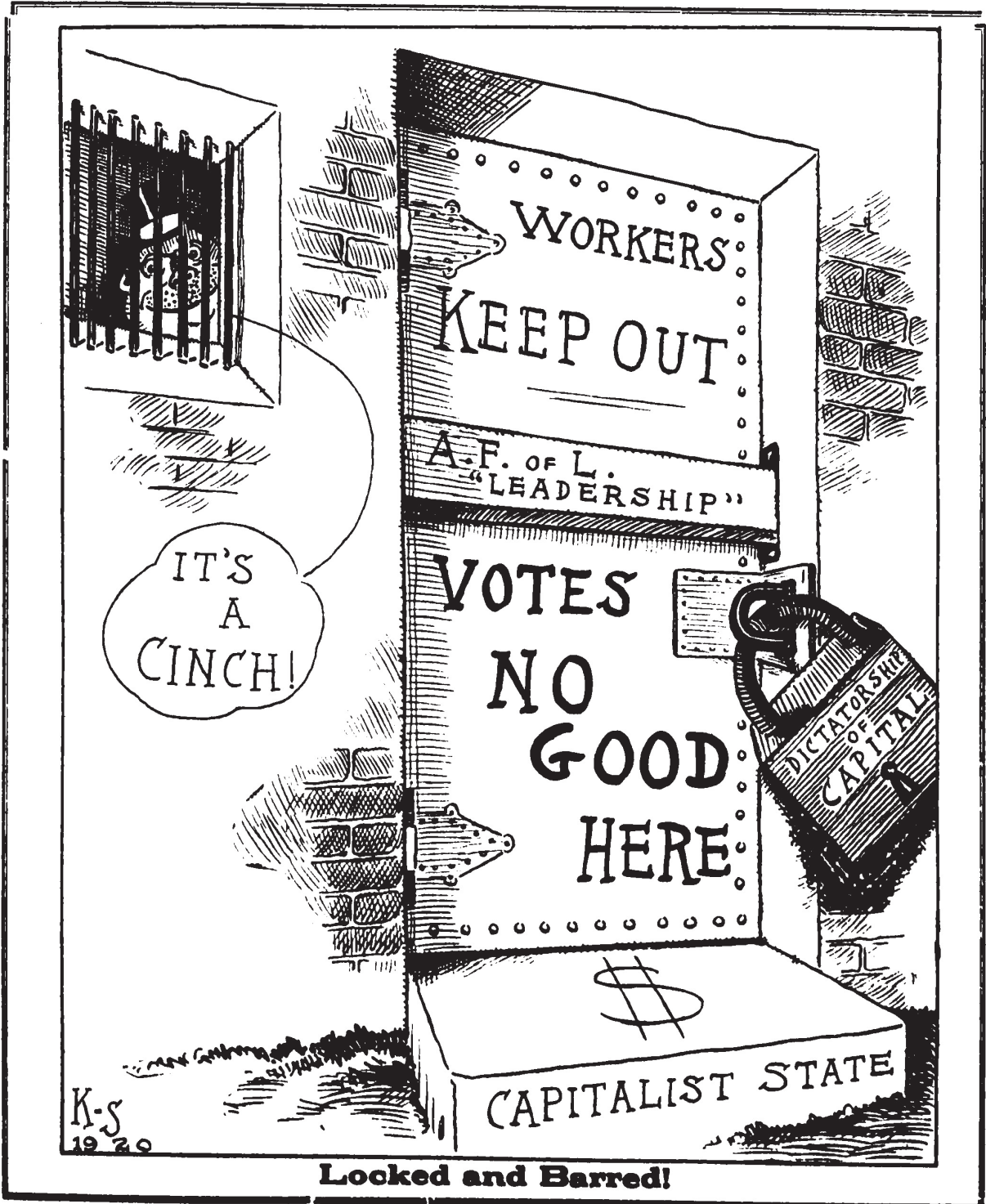


The TOILER

No. 132.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, AUG. 13, 1920.

Price Five Cents.



Locked and Barred!

The Illinois Miners Strike.

The capitalists are learning that while they may scare union officials by use of the courts and other government forces, into making agreements which betray the interests of the workers, that does not mean that the workers on the job are going to meekly accept such betrayal.

At their convention in Cleveland last year the coal miners drew up a program covering the conditions which they thought should prevail in the industry in order to give them a decent living and tolerable working conditions. They instructed their officials to call a strike if their demands were not granted by a certain date.

The strike was called. The conditions were such that the workers were bound to win. The strike was called during the winter months. A general shutdown of industry, cold and suffering, were threatened after the strike had been underway only a few weeks.

Then the government stepped in. It secured its famous injunction tying up the union funds and threatening the union officials with prison sentences. The men were ready to fight to a finish for their demands in spite of the governmental action, but the union officials compromised, proving themselves traitors to the instructions they had received from the convention.

The award made by the commission which President Wilson appointed to arbitrate the strike did not satisfy the miners, but they were forced to accept by the action of their officials.

Since that time there have been rumblings of discontent throughout the coal fields, which broke out in the strike of the Illinois miners.

The situation in the coal industry is seriously threatening the whole industrial system. The inability of the railroads to furnish cars for the shipment of coal had already caused a shortage which was becoming acute. Coal shipments to the northwest are far behind those of previous years and supplies which the big coal consuming industries have on hand is limited. Even without the strike the prospects for the coming winter were bad.

Since the government has now become the agent for the capitalist class in all disputes which threaten the whole industrial system, it was but natural that President Wilson acted at once in this situation. He promptly wired the striking miners that the strike was "a violation of the terms of the award of the Bituminous Coal Commission and your agreement with the Government that the findings of the commission would be accepted as final and binding."

It will probably be a surprise to most of the miners to hear that they had made an agreement with the government which was final and binding. The rank and file of the

miners union were not consulted in making that agreement. In fact it was a betrayal of the instructions they had given their officials at their convention.

Also, it is like rubbing salt in an open wound to throw in the face of the miners the immorality of violating a contract, when that contract was forced upon them by the government threatening them with imprisonment and with use of its soldiers against them.

The important point about the strike, however, is the fact that the union officials have arrayed themselves against the workers. President Lewis of the United Mine Workers, joins President Wilson in denouncing the workers for going on Strike. This betrayal of the rank and file has become quite the custom in labor disputes. The workers on the job are becoming militant. They are not satisfied with half measures, and the reason they are not satisfied because they are the ones who are up against it. The union officials, holding fat jobs, have lost touch with the workers in the mine. They are becoming part of the capitalist machinery for keeping the workers in check. This is the part that the Executive Committee of the United Mine Workers and President Lewis is playing in the Illinois strike.

The experience in the present and previous similar situations will probably teach these workers that the only way they can make gains for themselves is by throwing out their reactionary officials. The first step in this direction is to unite the militant groups among the strikes. This can be done by the miners creating an organization which will represent the militant rank and file. The shop committee system applied to the mines, and these committees linked together in local councils offers them a method of combating those who betray them.

KARACHI, India.—About five hundred men of railway carriage and wagon workshop struck work and marched in procession through cantonments and civil lines to Burns Gardens where they joined other railway strikers of the locomotive department, and were addressed by strike leaders. Altogether there are 2,000 railway strikers at Karachi.

The North Western Railway strike in the Punjab is still continuing. The government is spending money most lavishly to bring about a settlement, and is coercing the strikers into submission. It is also throwing out strikers with their wives and children from their homes — the railway tenements. The strikers have been reduced to heart-rending privations. Homeless, penniless and foodless, these unfortunate workers and the members of their families are moving about like walking skeletons. And yet they refuse to yield, and are willing to accept nothing but

A Call for a Red Labor Union International.

We reprint from the New York Times the following quotation from an appeal for the formation of a Red Labor Union International, as part of the Communist International, issued by the Executive Committee of the latter body:

"The mighty strike movement that is stirring up the European Continent, North America and the whole world of industry shows that the trade unions are not victims of decay, but will soon assume new forms. The trade unions cannot remain indifferent toward the extremely important questions that at present are exciting the attention of the entire world and which are dividing the human race into two sections—the Reds and the Whites. It is the duty of every trade union to come to an understanding on the questions of mobilization, demobilization, the introduction of obligatory military service, direct or indirect taxation, the paying off of the war debts. Government ownership and operation of railroads, mines and the more important branches of industry, etc.

THINKS TIME FOR BREAK IS HERE.

"The Communist International thinks the time has come for the unions that are freed from bourgeois influence and from the social traitors to reconstruct their international organization, as well as that of the whole trade union movement and of the various trade and professional associations. We must oppose the Yellow Trade Union International, which is trying in Amsterdam, Washington and Paris to call together the agents of the bourgeoisie, with the genuinely proletarian Red Trade Union International, which fights on the side of the Third, the Communist, International.

"In many countries the trade unions are undergoing a decided transformation; the chaff is being separated from the wheat. In Germany, the cradle of the Yellows, i. e., the bourgeois trade union movement that was guided by a Legien and a Noske, many organizations are lining up on the side of the proletarian revolution. Already the old leaders, who had sold out the movement to the capitalists, are being cleaned out of the unions. In Italy nearly all the trade union associations stand for the rule of the Soviets. In Scandinavian trade unions the proletarian revolutionary tendencies are becoming stronger from day to day. In France, England, America, the Netherlands and Spain the majority of the trade union members reject the former bourgeois tactics and demand revolutionary methods of fighting. In Russia 3,500,000 members of the trade unions voluntarily and unconditionally support the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the Balkans the majority of the trade unions are in close organizing relations with the Communist

Parties and fight under the latter's victorious banners.

"The First International, led by Marx and Engels, endeavored to gather within its folds working class organizations of all kinds, including the trade unions.

"The Second (now destroyed) International did, indeed, also invite the trade unions to its congresses, but was not connected with them by any firm organizing band.

BACK TO FIRST PRINCIPLES.

"The Third, the Communist, International, wishes to follow the lines of the First International in this matter also. The trade union associations themselves, after being freed from the errors mentioned above, will on their part seek to establish relations with the proletarian vanguard that is organized in the Third, the Communist, International.

"The intelligent opinion of the working class demands the unity of all the organized powers of the proletariat. Arms of all kinds are indispensable for the attack upon capitalism. The Communist International is obliged to serve in every way the international struggle of the proletariat, and consequently it strives for close relations with those revolutionary organizations that have grasped the demands of the times.

"The Communist International wishes to unite, not only the political organizations of the proletariat, but also all other working class organizations which recognize in acts, and not merely in words, the revolutionary struggle and fight for the dictatorship of the working class. The Executive Committee of the Third International is of the opinion that not only the political parties but also the trade unions that stand for the revolution ought to take part in the congresses of the Communist International. These workers' organizations must unite upon a common general basis and form a section of the Third International.

"We address this appeal to the trade unions of the whole world. The same development and the same division is bound to take place in the labor movement as has already taken place in the political movement. Just as all the great labor parties have severed connections with the Second Yellow International, so will the various trade unions be obliged to break with the Yellow Trade Union International in Amsterdam.

"We call upon the organized labor men and women of all countries to bring up our appeal for discussion in the trade union meetings, and we are fully convinced that all the class conscious workers of the world will grasp the hand extended to them by the Communist International.

"Long live the new trade union movement, freed from the plague of opportunism!

"Long live the Red Trade Union International!"

Some Thoughts on Tactics.

— By **NESS EDWARDS** —
in "Workers' Dreadnought"

Parliament a Dying Institution.

That which is near to us we generally fail to see, at least in its true perspective. What may appear to a superficial observer as a fluctuation of the importance of Parliament or the abuse of power by a coterie of ministers, may turn out to be the signs of a dying institution.

It is rather peculiar that our "evolutionary Socialist" friends, who boast of their "historic poise," have not seen the historical significance of this phenomena, and still only view it as an "abuse of power." It is not a compliment to the Macdonaldites that they go no further than such bourgeois papers as the **Daily News** in their criticism of this phenomenon, and that they see nothing of a positive character in it. Whilst the form of power—the vote—is given to an ever-increasing number, the actual power is centred in the hands of a few "great men." But the attitude of these "great men" towards the House of Commons is the true measure of the impotence of it, and a sign we should not fail to notice.

Legislation in the Hands of the Industrial

Magnates.

Legislation is in the hands of the industrial magnates behind the scenes. Bills are prepared by the Ministers in conjunction with city men, bankers, and the heads of the large industries. We know that all the forces of British politics are following the trail of oil in these days.

To the extent that industry becomes more centralised, and the new markets become fewer, the capitalists consider it necessary for the national politics to be controlled directly by the industrial magnates. To that extent also they consider it essential for Parliament to be more and more ignored and the Minister to become more autocratic. The more this tendency emphasises itself and crystallises, the more must the masses be bluffed by the pillars of democracy.

Industrial Unions Assume More Power.

On the other hand, another tendency must be

noted. The trade unions are assuming more power, and the trade union headquarters becomes the point of opposition to Government departments. The effective opposition, from the workers, toward new industrial and political movements of the capitalists, too, are arranged by the trade unions. Direct action becomes of greater importance than the Labour M's.P. or the Labour Party. The acknowledgement of the necessity of direct action is a sign of the Parliamentary impotence of Labour. The capitalists and their puppets make Parliament conform to their desires, whilst the workers are compelled more and more to resort to direct action, and to rely less and less on Labour M's.P. These are sure signs of the decay of the Parliamentary institution.

Trade Unions versus the Capitalist State.

As the antagonisms in capitalist society develop more and more; as the capitalist class consolidates itself into more powerful groups on the one hand, and the workers strengthen and solidify their trade unions on the other, the possibilities of revolutionary crises become more numerous. The more the highly-concentrated capitalist executive has to rely on the use of the State forces, and the more brazenly they act in that respect, the more wide awake becomes the proletariat.

Workers' Demands Exceed What Capitalist Industries Can Bear.

As the workers make demands upon the production of industry which the industry fails to bear under the present system (witness some of the Government subsidies), the State forces are brought in to check the workers.

The State Intervenes.

This creates a new set of circumstances. Whereas the negotiations, of days gone by, for wage advances, etc., used to take place between craft unions and small sections of employers, we now find huge national industrial unions making demands upon national sections of capitalists. In many cases, the magnitude of the disputes has been such that, "for the safety of the public," the State has had to interfere. Now a break between the State and the Trades

Unions in disputes creates an event of national importance, a revolutionary crisis. As each union comes to be a national industrial union, so will these crises increase in number.

The present financial position, which can hardly change for the better at least under five years, will compel the workers to increase their demands, whether the industries as at present controlled can bear them or not. Thus the number and magnitude of the crises will grow. The education of an increasing minority of workers at the Labour colleges and classes will give this force direction. As this conscious direction comes to dominate these movements more and more, especially during this period of turbulence, the revolutionary possibilities become greater.

Communist Party Must Be Moulded for Crisis.

As the periods of apathy tend to become shorter and crises appear more often, it is essential that the Communist policy should be moulded so as to cater for periods of crisis.

Right Wing Policy Created for Apathetic Period.

The chief folly of our evolutionary friends is that their policy is outlined on a basis of apathy, leaving out of consideration the revolutionary possibilities of a crisis; in other words, satisfies only the conditions of periods from which we expect the least results.

Our policy should be one of making the most of the upheavals of a decaying society, not only to hasten its decay, but, by that very process, to encourage the growth of those institutions of the new society.

Parliamentary Action Postpones the Revolution.

Now with Communists there is no question about the permanent use of the Parliamentary system, so the question is: "How can we best hasten the decay of Parliament and the growth of the Soviets?" One section of the Communists have for a good while advocated the entrance of their representatives into Parliament as destructive elements, using the floor of the House of Commons as a propaganda platform. This section also believed until recently that Parliamentary representation gives a chance to the peaceful solution of the great question at issue.

Let us take the last consideration first.

The impotence of Parliament is an undeniable fact and the tendency is for it to become more impotent. As the workers are forced to rely more and more on direct action, the "great question at issue" is taken away from the Parliamentary sphere, and so the solution of it cannot come from Parliament. But let us grant it that Parliament does offer a chance for the peaceable "solution of the question," this can only be materialised if the revolutionary possibilities of crises are rejected. To reject these chances is to betray the trust of the workers and to postpone indefinitely the social revolution.

Revolutionary action is the acts of crisis, and, in a sense, is abnormal action.

The second reason, that of using the House of Commons as a propaganda platform, we can safely leave to the controllers of the newspapers of the country. The first reason, that Communist M's.P. should use their position as destructive agents is, perhaps, the best reason.

Communists in Parliament Bolster Up Dying Institution.

But the method of asking workers to give votes to Communist candidates, at the same time telling them that their votes are worthless, in asking them to send a representative to a worthless institution, is giving them a contradiction which will not go down. All that it does is to give a representative character to a worthless, decaying institution. To waste the energy and enthusiasm of the workers in this would lead us nowhere.

The question of Parliamentary action is being settled under our noses. Democracy becomes a shadow, a cloak for the concealment of the rule of the capitalist executive, and as that executive has to ignore the institution and rob it of its power, the workers are forced to rely upon industrial power. The future fight, then, is not between the political party of the workers and the State, but between the great trade unions, including the workers' councils, and the State; it is in the struggle between these forces that the issue will be settled.

Not Parliament but the Soviets.

At the same time the posture of the Soviets versus Parliament is not only a positive at-

(Continued on page 14.)

Communism and the Family

By Alexandra Kollontay,

Commissar of Social Welfare of the Russian Soviet Government.

(Continued from last week.)

The Mother's Livelihood Assured.

But now, with the bringing up gone and with the instruction gone, what will remain of the obligations of the family towards its children particularly after it has been relieved also of the greater portion of the material cares involved in having a child, except for the care of a very small baby while it still needs its mother's attention, while it is still learning to walk, clinging to its mother's skirts? Here again the Communist State hastens to the aid of the working mother. No longer shall the child-mother be bowed down with a baby in her arms! The Workers' State charges itself with the duty of assuring a livelihood as she is suckling her child, of creating all over maternity houses, of establishing in all the cities and all the villages, day nurseries and other similar institutions in order thus to permit the woman to serve the State in a useful manner and simultaneously to be a mother.

Marriage No Longer a Chain.

Let the working mothers be re-assured. The Communist Society is not intending to take the children away from the parents nor to tear the baby from the breast of its mother; nor has it any intention of resorting to violence in order to destroy the family as such. No such thing! Such are not the aims of the Communist Society. What do we observe today? The outworn family is breaking. It is gradually freeing itself from all the domestic labors which formerly were as so many pillars supporting the family as a social unit. Housekeeping? It also appears to have outlived its usefulness. The children? The parent-proletarians are already unable to take care of them; they can assure them neither subsistence nor education. This is the situation from which both parents and children suffer in equal measure. Communist Society therefore approaches the working woman and the working man and says to them:

"You are young, you love each other. Everyone has the right to happiness. Therefore live your life. Do not flee happiness. Do not fear

marriage, even though marriage was truly a chain for the working man and woman of capitalist society. Above all, do not fear, young and healthy as you are, to give to your country new workers, new citizen-children. The society of the workers is in need of new working forces; it hails the arrival of every newborn child in the world. Nor should you be concerned because of the future of your child; your child will know neither hunger nor cold. It will not be unhappy nor abandoned to its fate as would have been the case in capitalist society. A subsistence ration and solicitous care are assured to the child and to the mother by the Communist Society, by the workers' State, as soon as the child arrives in the world. The child will be fed, it will be brought up, it will be educated by the care of the Communist Fatherland; but this Fatherland will by no means undertake to tear the child away from such parents as may desire to participate in the education of their little ones. The Communist Society will take upon itself all the duties involved in the education of the child, but the paternal joys, the maternal satisfaction—such will not be taken away from those who show themselves capable of appreciating and understanding these joys." Can this be called a destruction of the family by means of violence? or a forcible separation of child and mother?

The Family a Union of Affection and Comradeship.

There is no escaping the fact; the old type of family has seen its day. It is not the fault of the Communist State, it is the result of the changed conditions of life. **The family is ceasing to be a necessity of the State, as it was in the past;** on the contrary, it is worse than useless, since it needlessly holds back the female workers from a more productive and far more serious work. Nor is it any longer necessary to the members of the family themselves, since the task of bringing up the children, which was formerly that of the family, is passing more and more into the hands of the collectivity. But, on the ruins of the former family, we shall

soon behold rising a new form which will involve altogether different relations between men and women and which will be a **union of affection and comradeship, a union of two equal persons of the Communist Society, both of them free, both of them independent, both of them workers.** No more domestic "servitude" for women! No more inequality within the family. No more fear on the part of the woman to remain without support or aid with little ones in her arms if her husband should desert her. The woman in the Communist city no longer depends on her husband but on her work. It is not her husband but her robust arms which will support her. There will be no more anxiety as to the fate of her children. The State of the Workers' will assume responsibility for these. Marriage will be purified of all its material elements, of all money calculations which constitute a hideous blemish on family life in our days. Marriage is henceforth to be transformed into a sublime union of two souls in love with each other, each having faith in the other; this union promises to each working woman simultaneously, the most complete happiness, the maximum of satisfaction which can be the lot of creatures who are conscious of themselves and the life which surrounds them. **This free union** which is strong in the comradeship with which it is inspired, **instead of the conjugal slavery of the past—that is what the Communist Society of tomorrow offers to both men and women.** Once the conditions of labor have been transformed and the material security of the working woman has been increased, and after marriage such as was performed by the Church — this so-called indissoluble marriage which was at bottom merely a fraud — after this marriage has given place to the free and honest union of men and women who are lovers and comrades, another shameful scourge will also be seen to disappear, another frightful evil which is a stain on humanity and which falls with all its weight on the hungry working woman: prostitution.

No More Prostitution.

This evil we owe to the economic system now in force to the institution of private property. Once the latter has been abolished the trade in woman will automatically disappear.

Therefore let the women of the working

class cease to worry over the fact that the family as at present constituted is doomed to disappear. They will do much better to hail with joy the dawn of a new society which will liberate the woman from domestic servitude, which will lighten the burden of motherhood for woman and in which, finally, we shall see disappear the most terrible of the curses weighing upon women, known as prostitution.

The woman who is called upon to struggle in the great cause of the liberation of the workers—such a woman should know that in the New State there will be no more room for such petty divisions as were formerly understood: "These are my own children; to them I owe all my maternal solicitude, all my affection; those are your children, my neighbour's children; I am not concerned with them. I have enough to do with my own." Henceforth the worker-mother, who is conscious of her social function, will rise to a point where she no longer differentiates between **yours** and **mine**; she must remember that there are henceforth only **our** children, those of the Communist State, the common possession of all the workers.

Social Equality of Men and Women.

The Workers' State has need of a new form of relation between the sexes. The narrow and exclusive affection of the mother for her own children must expand until it embraces all the children of the great proletarian family. In place of the indissoluble marriage based on the servitude of woman, we shall see rise the free union, fortified by the love and the mutual respect of the two members of the Workers' State, equal in their rights and in their obligations. In place of the individual and egotistic family, there will arise a great universal family of workers, in which all the workers, men and women, will be, above all, workers, comrades. Such will be the relation between men and women in the Communist Society of tomorrow. This new relation will assure to humanity all the joys of the so-called free love enabled by a true social equality of the mates, joys which were unknown to the commercial society of the capitalist regime.

Make way for healthy blossoming children; make way for a vigorous youth that clings to life and to its joys, which is free in

(Continued on page 14.)

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EDITOR Elmer T. Allison

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* * *

The Kansas miners seem to care little about the action of the state government in passing laws making it illegal for them to strike. They decided they wanted a five day week in spite of wishes of their bosses—both mine owners and national union officials. When they were fined by the Industrial Court for putting the five day week into effect, they simply refused to work at all. President Howat has invited Governor Allen and Attorney General Hopkins “to see if they can get the men to return to work..” When the workers really have the courage to use their power and stick together to get what they want, there isn’t much hope for the capitalists.

* * *

I can’t afford to keep 15,000 employes working when there is no demand for their production” says President Wood of the American Woolen Co. Which means that workers can’t have work when Mr. Wood doesn’t get the profit he thinks he should have for his stockholders. It is perfectly all right to drive the workers back to work through injunctions and soldiers even if they think that their wages are not what they should be, as the government did in the coal miners strike.

* * *

In a previous issue we commented on the program of industrial slavery drawn by a committee of the National Chamber of Commerce. This program provided that the workers are to work as many hours as they can without breaking down, are to receive just enough wages to keep them fit for work and are under a “social obligation” to produce the output required by society. It demanded the open shop and the prohibition of strikes on public utilities. The program was submitted to a referendum vote of the local Chambers of Commerce which are united in the National organization. The result of this referendum, which has just been announced, is the adoption of the program by an all but unanimous vote. The average vote for the various items of the program was over 1600 in favor and not more than 3 opposed. The capitalists now stand united for a program of unlimited skinning of the workers. Will the workers have sense enough to get together on a program of their own to wipe out the whole system of skinning?

* * *

The ‘Outlaws’ Win.

The Switchmen’s Union may have won governmental recognition and have curried favor with it and the railroad kings, but the Chicago Yardmen’s Association, the new industrial union of the outlaw strikers has won the men and the power that ensures future success.

The Switchmen’s Union is surrendering its contracts in all parts of the country. It is giving up its strongholds to the scabherding Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. Thousands upon thousands of its former members have deserted it, refusing to become parties to its decayent policies and officials’ control. Only a skeleton now remains of the former mighty Switchmen’s Union. The body which formerly gave that skeleton life and animation has deserted the dry bones of craft unionism and

Unle Sam doesn’t mind if the workers know how little they get out of the wealth produced by them. According to a Washington dispatch the government has just put under the noses of the workers the fact that only one family out of every ten in this country earns enough to live in “deceeny and comfort”. The Department of Labor has figured out that in order to live in “deceeny and comfort” a family of five should have at least an income of \$2,260 per year. It appears, on the other hand, that only 2,000,000 persons have an income of \$2,000 per year. That many made income tax returns which are required of everybody who earns \$2,000. If these two million represent that many families, there remain some hundred million people, or about twenty million families whose income is below \$2,000. If the workers were smart they would take the hint and proceed to find out why almost all of them get less than enough than is required to buy “deceeny and comfort” for themselves and their families, and then get together and make such changes in the industrial system as will stop the two million from robbing the other hundred million of the opportunity for a decent living.

* * *

The wrong way of gaining shop control is illustrated in an agreement entered into by the Leather Goods Workers Union with the manufacturers association of that industry of New York City. The union entered into a contract for one year, providing for a joint board of sanitary control, a joint employment bureau and other similar arrangements. In place of keeping their own organization separate and relying upon their own power to compel the manufacturers to make such improvements as they demand, they have entered into a partnership with the bosses to help them manage their factories. The usual result of such partnerships is to unite the union officials with the bosses to keep the workers in line for what the bosses want. The shop control which the workers should fight for is control

the A. F. of L. It now resides in mighty force in the new militant Yardmen's Association. The Switchmen's Union, or rather, what is left of it, is now holding the empty sack of its former contracts with the railroads. It is finding itself powerless to fulfill those contracts, for without membership no fulfillment is possible.

In an effort to meet this situation and to prevent future outlaw, unofficial strikes, W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen has hit upon a scheme which reveals in an illuminating manner the scab herding propensities which animate the general run of the "grand officers" of craft Unions.

Lee's scheme is simply for the Brotherhood to assume the contracts of the defunct Switchmen's Union. It does this by merging road and yard seniorities to such an extent that in case of the workers again kicking over the traces in an unauthorized strike, brakemen could be forced to take the places of striking

switchmen and vice versa. In this manner, the union officials would have in their control a perfect scab herding machine with which to keep the workers in line and to defeat them if they refuse to be 'led' by their officials.

In this effort of reactionary labor officials to surround the workers with barriers to curb their efforts to secure more benefits of organization, the spirit of reaction is paramount. But conditions do not permit of the workers long toleration of such barriers. Sooner or later, the railway workers will again be confronted with the necessity of tearing down these barriers and the puny efforts of the scab herding, slave-making officials will be wrecked. In spite of the efforts of the officials to keep the workers lined up at the job of creating and unlimited and never ending stream of profits for the boss, economic conditions are forcing them to give battle to both the boss and their officials. The future belongs to Industrial Unionism.

THE USELESSNESS OF PARLIAMENTS.

LONDON, Aug. 4.—Communist participation in parliaments is favored in resolutions adopted by an overwhelming majority at a meeting of the Third Internationale at Moscow, according to a despatch to the Herald, organ of labour. The proposal was submitted by M. Bukharian, editor of the Bolshevik organ Pravda of Moscow, who urged that parliamentary action be adopted as part of the Communist programme in all countries where the Communist party has been organized. He declared each member elected to office

should be required to sign an undertaking to surrender his seat in a parliament at the first request of the party.

"We cannot fight the way we please," the despatch says Nikolai Lenin declared when the resolution was strongly opposed by several delegates, "but must use that system to show its uselessness for revolution. We must convince workers by experience, if we cannot convince them by theories. If we cannot devise new ways of revolutionary action, we must use those provided by historical developmet."

A strike of all Paterson textile workers has been called by the Amalgamated Textile Workers and the United Textile Workers unions, as a protest against the attempt of the mills to establish the "open shop" at a wage slash of 30 per cent. At least 12,000 workers will be included in the movement, according to A. J. Muste, general secretary of the Amalgamated.

Since the lapsing of the workers' contract, 14 weeks ago, there has been general unemployment, the silk mills at one period operating at about 15 per cent of normal. While this condition had improved in the last few weeks, weavers called back to work have been offered wages from 20 to 30 percent lower than their former scale. The determination of the mills to enforce the non-union shop plan, and their spreading of the apprenticeship system, have also aroused the two unions to take definite action. The unions, which are rivals in the field, have nevertheless been acting together in the crisis. A series of out-door mass meetings has been held jointly, and strikes have been

called in several individual shops of each union against the wage-cut.

* * *

The fight is on in Philadelphia. The contending forces are the employers who heeded the command of the Chamber of Commerce to abrogate their agreements with the unions and conduct "open" shops, and the International Association of Machinists.

Minneapolis labor is keenly interested in the composition of juries in local courts. The Minneapolis Labor Review contends that the employers manage to get about 15 representatives on the grand jury to one member of the working class. It quotes a judge as saying that it is a policy to put "men of affairs" on the grand jury.

The traction interests are said to have an employe who devotes his entire time and attention to petit jurors and the petit jury. The article concludes: "That grand juries in Hennepin county are controlled by big business is plainly out of the question. It is interesting to know that the situation is regarding the petit juries of Hennepin county."

"Guilty" -- By Order of Big Business.

Chicago, July 30.—Charges that the state's attorney's "red raids" and proscriptions of the I. W. W., Communist Labor Party in Chicago, where financed by big business were hurled in open court this afternoon while Clarence Darrow was concluding his two day argument in behalf of twenty members of the C. L. P. on trial here. This climax of the long trial developed thus: "Here are twenty men whom you can put in jail if you want to," Darrow told the jury. But do you think you can stop Bolshevism by doing so? Does the state's attorney think he can stop Bolshevism by these tactics? Do those in back of the state's attorney think so?"

Frank Comford, special prosecutor, jumped to his feet.

"I object, your Honor, to those insinuations that there is 'something back of this case,'" he shouted. These statements of Mr. Darrow are wilful malicious ugly lies."

Then Williams S. Forest, special counsel for Williams Bross Lloyd and Dr. Karl Sandburg, made his voice heard above those of Darrow and the others.

"I object to that statement of the prosecutor," he cried. "I know of my own knowledge that Mr. Darrow's statements are not falsehoods. I know that this case was managed by Harry Berger and was financed by members of the Chicago commercial exchanges. And the prosecution knows it."

The jury got this charge before it could be hustled out of the box. The courtroom was in uproar. Judge Hebel finally gained control of the situation.

"I sustain the objection of the state," he ruled. "But this court will not stand for any more improper language by counsel for either side."

This incident brings to the fore rumors which have been abroad for some weeks. Harry Berger is a former member of the state's attorney's staff. Some months ago he left the office to practice law himself. It is persistently stated that, when Maclay Hoyne, state's attorney, learned that federal operatives were to make raids on January 2. Berger was engaged to plan raids in advance of the federal raids.

According to attorneys for the victims of these raids, according to statements made from public platforms for several months, Berger then obtained from big business executives here a "slush fund" of from \$40,000 to \$60,000 with which to finance the raids and subsequent trials. Thus, the Chicago raids were made one day in advance to those of federal authorities.

All this sweltering day, while the courtroom was crowded with spectators, Clarence Darrow fought for the liberation of his client. High spots in his argument were refutation of the arguments of the state concern-

ing the Seattle general strike; scorching denunciations of Ole Hanson and the spy, Harry Wilson; defense of direct action; a plea for genuine liberty of thought and speech rather than the "legal free speech" to which Comorford has referred; and an analysis of the platform of the Communist Labor Party.

Wilson he characterized as a "crooked man in a crooked trade." He called Ole Hanson "a light-headed notoriety hunter, a painted patriot and a cheap vaudeville performer."

In the midst of his arguments, Comorford interrupted him by asking:

"Will you tell me, Mr. Darrow, what other methods there are of changing our government besides voting and the general strike?"

"Voting?" Darrow shouted. "The ballot? The ballot never got anything for the workers. The eight-hour day was recognized officially in the railroad industry only after the threat of a general strike. The Adamson bill was passed after the workers had fought the issue out and had won."

Chicago, August 2.—The 85th day of the trial of the 20 members of the Communist Labor party for violating the Illinois sedition law brought a verdict of guilty from the jury in Judge Oscar Hebel's court and pronouncement of sentences of imprisonment of from one to five years and fines of \$2,000 on three defendants and \$1,000 on two others. The prosecution is giving boastful interviews to the press terming this "a history making verdict which will silence sedition", and a "victory for Americanism"

State's Attorney Maclay Hoyne, who has made himself notorious by his anti-labor attitude, one of the most recent instances being his attempt to discredit the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, even went so far as to say in a signed statement:

"One important issue decided by this jury is that the red card of the I. W. W. is international and not American and that the only union card recognized in America is the card of the American working man in the American Federation of Labor."

Hoyne is up for reelection and is not unmindful of the charges that in the last election William A. Cunniff, of counsel for the defense, defeated him for the office he holds, only to be counted out by the machine. On the other hands Clarence Darrow of counsel for the defense said: "There is freedom for those who blow off the heads of the people with shotguns, but conviction for those who try to blow ideas into people's heads."

The prosecution was out for blood, and the moment the sentences were announced and the appeal for a new trial granted and the date set for September 25, Assistant State's At-

torney Barnhart asked that the convicted men who had been out on bond, be taken into custody. The court refused to gratify him and announced that the present bonds were sufficient. The prosecution discussed things freely and the Chicago capitalist papers announce that the trial which began May 10 cost the state \$2,500 a week. The Herald and Examiner frankly announced the trial followed an investigation lasting more than six months, largely by private detectives, under the direction of State's Attorney Hoyne, **AT THE REQUEST OF CHICAGO BUSINESS MEN.**

The men convicted and their sentences are:

Prison Sentence of from One to Five Years and, \$2,000 fine:

WILLIAM BROSS LLOYD, Winnetka millionaire, sergeant at arms at Communist Labor party convention.

LUDWIG LORE, New York, editor of "Class Struggle"; helped draft constitution.

ARTHUR PROCTOR, Chicago, owner of Clarion book store, member of county committee.

Prison Sentence and \$1,000 fine:
MAX BEDACHT, San Francisco, Cal.; member of national executive and platform committee.

JACK CARNEY, Duluth, Minn.; member of national executive committee, editor and publisher of Truth.

Indeterminate Prison Sentences:
L. E. KATTERFELD, Dighton, Kas. national organizer, said to have prepared party's platform.

EDGAR OWENS, Moline, Ill.; state secretary; helped draft constitution.

L. K. ENGLAND, Moline, Ill.; member of state committee.

NIELS KJAR, CHICAGO; member of national executive committee and Cook County propaganda committee.

One Year in Penitentiary:
SAMUEL F. HANKIN, Chicago; member of county executive committee.

MORRIS A. STOLLAR, Chicago, member of county executive committee.

JAMES A. MEISSINGER, Chicago, member of county executive committee.

CHARLES KRUMBEIN, Chicago, member of county executive committee.

SAMUEL ASH, Chicago lawyer, one of organizers.

One Year in County Jail:
PERRY SHIPMAN Rock Island, Ill.; member of state committee.

DR. OSCAR J. BROWN, DeKalb, Ill.; organizer, delegate to national convention and member of platform committee.

EDWIN FIRTH, Indianapolis, International delegate and organizer.

DR. KARL F. SANDBERG, Chicago; organizer and delegate to national convention.

NIELS J. CHRISTENSEN, delegate to national convention and member international relations committee.

(Continued on page 14.)

To British Workers.

Resolution of the meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Trade Unions and of the Factory Committees of Petrograd:

"After hearing the Labour delegates of the English Trade Unions, the general meeting resolves:—

"To request the English Labour Delegation to inform the proletariat of England of the following:—

"1. After defeating the counter-revolution, the Russian Proletariat concentrated all its efforts towards the peaceful upbuilding of Russia, in the hope that we can heal all the wounds of war and counter-revolution by intensive industrial and social labour. But hardly three months have passed since we began our peaceful labours, and once more we are attacked, and once more there grow up diplomatic difficulties. Poland, inspired by the Allies, instead of concluding peace, as proposed by herself, has suddenly thrown her armies into the Ukraina, and the Russian Proletariat is again forced to leave the shops and factories and again to take up arms.

"2. Instead of exerting an influence with Poland on behalf of peace, England is sending threatening notes to Russia, evidently seeking an excuse to attack Russia.

Once more we must neglect our industries and peaceful pursuits, and prepare to shed our blood in the defence of our Revolution.

"3. This struggle we have now been carrying on for more than two and a half years. Our best sons we are forced to send to the front, all our greatest energies we must again devote to the destructive work of war instead of, as we earnestly wished, to the labour of peace. Our means of transportation, our sources of food supply and distribution, all this must suffer because of the new war, and the chief responsibility for it all lies at the door of the ruling classes of Europe and America.

"We, the workers of Petrograd, have sacrificed thousands of our brothers on all the fronts of Soviet Russia, and in these last two and a half years we have gone through indescribable suffering and hunger.

"We, the workers of Petrograd, who have repeatedly repelled the attacks of counter-revolution, turn now to you, British delegates

and workers, with the following questions:—

"(a) How long will you permit, in the name of Great Britain, and therefore also in your name, that the best blood of the Russian proletariat shall continue to be sacrificed?

"(b) How long shall we have to wait till you call a halt to your bloodthirsty imperialists?

"(c) How many more victims will be demanded of the Russian Proletariat? How many more months or years must we bleed to satisfy the greed of the financial kings of London, Paris, and New York; how long yet, considering that the workers of England, France and America could with **one** determined blow free Russia from all these tortures and sufferings?

"(d) How long will it be before the proletariat of your country and of other countries realise that the defeat of the Russian Revolution means also defeat for them, and that **our** victory is also their victory?

"(e) When will the millions of British workers see through the lies of the yellow bourgeois Press, open their eyes to the truth of the Russian Revolution, and finally themselves put an end to this system of capitalist robbery and imperialist tyranny?

"The proletariat of Petrograd requests you, Labour delegates of Great Britain, to help answer these questions we ask with the utmost haste. We have the right to ask you these questions and we have the right to demand a reply, because we serve as the guard of the World Revolution.

"And, comrades, in sending these our heartiest greetings to the workers of England we express the intense hope that English Labour will quickly emancipate itself from the superstition and tradition of a revolution by peaceful means, and that with an iron hand they may sweep the imperialist masters out of their country.

"THAT is the answer, that is the help the Russian worker expects from his English brothers.

"By fighting your own revolution you will greatly aid the proletariat of Russia, but, first and foremost, you will thus liberate your own enslaved masses.

The Black Sheep.

Chapter XLIII.

Can A Leopard Change its Spots.

When the trial at Boise was over, and the surviving prisoners freed, Jack and Collins made their way to Nevada in search of work. This they finally found in one of the mines in the Tonopah district, after a tramp of about three weeks. This time they spent at several mining camps and sound the sentiment of the miners with regard to the industrial form of organization. The I. W. W. was at that time less than a year old, and it looked as if the entire Western Federation would endorse the movement. In fact, for a time they did, but it did not last long. The economic pressure had not yet prepared, and in all probability will never prepare, the mind of the average slave for so fundamental, and radical a change. Be that as it may. At this time the mind of Collins was aflame without the hope that the organization of the workers upon the basis of the industry, would supplant the idea of organizing them upon the basis of the tool.

The details of the adventures which befell the two, during their trip from Boise to Tonopah, need not be recorded. They are of no practical importance for our narrative. Their experiences were only the experiences of all migratory workers, who in those years wandered about the country in search of employment. There were workers who followed irrigation work. These went from job to job, as each job only lasted a definite time and then new employment had to be found. Other workers followed railroad construction, and of course met with similar conditions. Others followed the seasonal harvest; following the fruit harvest down the coast, and the wheat harvest, up thru the middle states. This gave rise to the term migratory or seasonal worker.

These migratory workers, were the logical outgrowth of capitalistic development. Their work was absolutely necessary, and yet, it precluded the possibility of establishing a home, or rearing a family, with the result, that for every man thus floating about the country, some woman remained homeless. Great numbers of women thus deprived of the privilege of a home, were forced into industry; thereby increasing the male floating population still more, giving rise to a social danger of no small import. The more intelligent among these disenherited ones of mankind, realized the seriousness of this problem, as well as its intrinsic injustice. They insisted that all men should be employed, and in order to bring this about they proposed to reduce the hours of employment, for those already at work, thereby letting

more men into industry. Then by increasing the pay of the workers they would be beighting their purchasing power for the goods that industrial labor produced, and ultimately, they hoped to reduce the hours and increase the pay of the workers to such an extent, that productive humanity should absorb all that it created.

Reasonable as these aims seemed to Collins, and just as they seemed to Jack, the owners of industry very naturally took an entirely different view. From the beginning they made a bitter and violent warfare upon this new organization. The better paid workers in established industry, who of course read capitalistic papers, and heard the capitalistic sermons, and saw the capitalistic movies, began to look upon these migratory wanderers as social outcasts, and therefore refrained from associating themselves with them. There were other factors that worked against the success of this new organization. These also had their roots in the fact that it was controlled by the migratory and hence homeless element. The migratory worker had no one dependent upon him. He was a free bird. His battle tactics were not to make contracts with the boss, and to strike whenever he saw an opportunity to gain an advantage. While this was practical for the migratory worker, it was not for the home guard or family man. He was not always ready to strike. He needed some assurance that wife and children would be fed from day to day, hence he gravitated to the old unions, with their sick and accident features, and who made contracts, during the life of which he was practically sure that he would not be called out on strike. If at the expiration of his contract with his master his union struck for better conditions, it generally had a war chest by which it took care of wife and children at least for a time.

Thus the knew organization, sound in basic principal as it doubtlessly was, found arrayed against it, the capitalist class with its educational facilities, as well as physical force, and the craft unions, with their economic advantages and reactionary policies.

No one realized better than Collins, how serious would be the battle for industrial organization, and how great would be the odds to be overcome. But he had a boundless enthusiasm and ultimate faith in the latent powers of the slaves to emancipate themselves, that nothing could shake.

Jack on the other hand, simply followed Collins. He worked with might and main, not to advance his own but his companions ideas. 'The leopard cannot change his spots,' and neither could Jack change his mind type. Try

as he would he could not help feeling that all their work was practically futile. At every meeting, in every boarding house, in every pool hall, he noticed the types. He found camps where the local unions had to fine men for non-attendance, in order to have them present at meetings where their welfare was discussed. From time to time, Collins would have to take him to task for muttering to himself such phrases as, "They are hopeless slaves" or "They live to swill and breed and die."

It was only when the money they had made at Mullen, and thru the sale of literature was nearly exhausted that they settled down to a job, in one of the mines. They took their meals at the boarding house, and rented a little cabin which they used as a bedroom and study. However their spare time was almost entirely taken up with attending meetings, scattering literature, and watching the post office for possible letters from Olive.

Jack always read Olive's letters aloud to his friend, who in turn suggested much of what went into the replies. Collins always insisted upon a full and complete answer to every question dealing with economic matters. And he censored, not always gently, Jack's habitual digressions into the realms of abstract science. Discussion of natural phenomena was absolutely natural to the boy. He lived with the flowers, the insects and the birds, and thoughts of them were as natural to him as music was to a genius of the piano. His friendship for Collins, and not love for the wringing class, had led him into the life of an agitator, and while he was making good, it never was more than a side line to his main thought and ambition.

Then there was Olive. Her mind was more like that of Collins. Social problems held her, as if by hands of magic. It was she who urged him on in the fight, the receipt of each letter, she wrote, caused him to rededicate himself to the work she loved, but between letters, there were times that he felt as tho he ought to break away and flee into the mountains, or hide himself in the desert where he could commune with the things that appealed to his mind. Even as Rudolph had hidden himself in an old book store where he could be in constant touch with the poets he loved, and hence he talked and dreamed of a world freed, so Jack would rather be in the wilds and view the struggle in the abstract.

While Jack realized the truth of Collin's contention, that the best place to study man, was at his work, and that all study of man that did not lead to action for his social benefit was senseless, he nevertheless did not force himself to take the same whole hearted interest in the work of organizing the slaves, as did his friend. Jack hated

industrial work. The slavery galled him. He could not look upon it as did Collins, who said that the drudgery was necessary in order to get the slave's psychology. Whenever Collins made this statement Jack would reply, "I don't want his damned psychology. Slave psychology is what is wrong with the world, and the less I get of it, the better I like it."

"You cannot understand the slave's mind unless you have felt the slave's burden," Collins would insist. And to this Jack would reply that if the slave did not have a slave mind type he would not shoulder undue burdens. At this point the conversation would always end, because the big man hoped to kill the idea of the type struggle in the boy's mind by refusing to discuss it.

But 'the leopard cannot change its spots,' and men cannot change their innate desires. All of us are determined, first by our heredity, and then by our environment. No matter what Collins would do or say; no matter how hard Jack would try, in spite of the constant efforts of both, the boy's mind longed for the blue skies of the open range, or the verdant depths of the forest glades. And the more toil wearied him, the more he longed for the freedom of the wild. Toil did not lash his soul to rebellion. It awakened in him a desire to escape. He envied, rather than resented the hand that placed the yoke.

With Collins this was different. The more irksome his work, the keener his resentment, and the clearer his vision of the industrial republic. The more weary he was with toil, the more impassioned became his plea for industrial solidarity. The more urgent his call for the final battle of the international proletariat for race emancipation.

During those days he was taking part in the fight to industrialize the Western Federation of Miners, and Jack gladly and ably assisted him. The boy admired the matchless courage and Spartan loyalty of his friend. He was himself no coward. Danger fascinated him if anything. He had enjoyed the episode at Kellogg, and since then on several occasions company thugs had threatened their lives. It had not frightened the boy, but rather this was one of the bonds which tied him to the work, and which caused Collins to love him as he would a brother.

Olive too, fairly burned with a desire to participate in these struggles. To resist what she conceived to be evil was the very blood and marrow of her life. But Jack enjoyed her compliments, not without a certain sense of sadness. He did not like the idea of seeing her on a platform appealing to a crowd, to do what they ought to have sense enough to do without being told. He was already becoming wearied of the constant repetition of platitudinous advice, such as, "organize," "stick together," "control your job," "make your laws at the point of pro-

duction where nothing but your will can repeal them." True, he did this every day, but it was not because he loved to do it, but because he loved Olive, and admired Collins, and would have died, rather than offend either.

Secretly he wished that she was not so enthusiastic over the class war and more interested in natural history. He loved to day dream of her as floating down the Yukon, or the Amazon, in some well equipped skiff or canoe helping him photograph, and write about the birds and beasts, the plants and trees along their banks. He loved to think of her, as by his side, among the glaciers of mount Shasta, Whitney, Hood or others. To have her stand by his side on the top of these ram-parts of nature and watch the sun sail up over the rim of the world. But in all this Olive took but little interest, and what was more, Collins would hardly let him write about it to her, with the result that the best of the boy's thought and fancy never reached the girl's mind.

He always wrote to Olive as he would to a boy friend. His terms of endearment were few and formal. His discussions read like the books of scholars in philosophy. On a few occasions she had asked him for his views on love and marriage, and he had replied as if he were discussing the mating instincts of wolves or bears. He quoted Darwin on sexual selection, Havelock Ellis on the Evolution of Modesty, Carpenter on the Relation of the Sexes, Forel and Vonkraft-Ebbing on abnormality, finishing with his own observation on the generative phenomenon in animals and birds.

He read this to his friend, who observed that it was a fine educational article, and then after laughing good humoredly in the boy's face because his writing was what he had helped make it, he added "But why in hell don't you write a love letter to the girl? Why you poor simp, you got your head so damned full of abstract stuff that your heart can't act. Don't you realize that you are writing to a woman, and that a woman needs affection? I know that she will admire a dictionary or an encyclopedia, but these things make bum lovin'. I know if she were my girl I would at least have her wishing that she were here, or I would be there. You are so damned eager to acquire and give out knowledge that you neglect the human side of your nature entirely."

Even the Collin's speech might have sounded rough and while it was a little unfair, seeming that he was consciously trying to stifle the boy's natural inclinations, it did not disturb Jack in the least. He had learned to know the big man and realized that beyond the rough exterior lay the great and noble heart. He knew perhaps better than any one else, that this rough and often vulgar outspoken man, had in reality a wonderful fund of human sympathy for all suffering, and sorrowing crea-

tures. He knew that he gave his life, to allay the suffering, and assuage the sorrows of the toiling masses by endeavoring to raise them to a consciousness of their power and position in society. He therefore took no offense at this speech, but understood that his companion was giving him a friendly hint concerning his inefficiency in dealing with the fair sex.

Jack had grown up among boys; his parents lived in out of the way places. Since he had left home he had associated entirely with men. Having cut his home ties, Olive was now the only feminine influence in his life, and she was at a distance. Jack living entirely in a man's world had learned to speak only man's language, and he used it in his writing to her. He had no opportunity to learn hers.

On the other hand Collins was eight years his senior. He was raised in a family of girls. He had lived through a love tragedy, for he bitterly condemned himself and his parental training. By the light of his new philosophy he looked upon the face of his dead sweetheart, and beheld her a martyr to bourgeois stupidity, and accused himself of being the ignorant cause of her death.

It was his realization that Olive craved affection that brought the memory of his own tragedy widely before his mind, causing him first to admonish Jack, and then reminiscently to continue

"She was only a 'scissors' Jack, but this girl I lost was all gold, pure and shining beyond the possibility of adulteration I neglected her," and then after a pause he added with tremendous emphases, "no, damn me, I killed her with respectability. She went the limit for me, but I could not see it until she had slipped over the border." Again he paused, during which he apparently lived the unhappy affair all over again, then added, "Perhaps it is better so—this is a hell of a world, and I have no doubt that death is one long dreamless sleep. Still I am yet alive, and might have had her with me, had it not been for my hoosier concepts of morality." Then suddenly glaring at Jack, and pounding the table with his fist he added, "So take a hint damn your homely hide, and let her know that you are human, before it is too late. Don't forget you wear out the brain, if you don't inspire the heart."

He looked at Jack as if expecting a reply. The boy only grinned but did not answer. And Collins continued, "You're a lucky dog Jack, to have such a girl for a sweetheart. It keeps you clear, and uncontaminated by the social wives of the migratory and industrial workers. She fans fires of your ambition to a greater heat, and makes you useful in the only cause worth living for. Really I doubt if you would have gone into the work had it not been for her."

"And you, and Rudy," Jack inter-

(Continued from page 13.)

COMMUNISM AND THE FAMILY

(Continued from page 10.)

its sentiments and in its affections. Such is the watchword of the Communist Society. In the name of equality, of liberty, and of love, we call upon the working women and the working men, peasant women and peasants, courageously and with faith to take up the work of the reconstruction of human society with the object of rendering it more perfect, more just, and more capable of assuring to the individual the happiness which he deserves. The red flag of the social revolution which will shelter, after Russia, other countries of the world also, already proclaims to us the approach of the heaven on earth to which humanity has been aspiring for centuries.

THE BLACK SHEEP

(Continued on page 14.)

rupted, "But I will be frank with you Ed. and say that not even now do I feel entirely reconciled to the idea of devoting my life to this work. I grant its importance. I will admit that something may be accomplished—but—still—I would rather roam the woods and fields, studying nature and telling the city people about the great out doors, than to bark the gospel of industrial solidarity to slaves who will not understand or what is perhaps more true cannot understand.

At this Collins rose impatiently. "Oh, Hell Jack," he stormed. "I have told you a thousand times that you have too good a mind, and too splendid a courage to waste your days on stuff like that. Forget it I say—forget it."

"Can the leopard change his spots?" Jack quoted in reply. Then with a humorous twinkle in his eye he added.

The Chicago Federation of Labor is among the first to take up the gauntlet of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce against the establishment of the "open shop" as the "American" method of conducting industry. A committee of fifteen has been elected to devise means to defeat the capitalist combine.

Ten postal clerks at Chicago have been called on the carpet for attempting to organize the postal clerks. They are threatened with the loss of employment because they gave too much publicity to the miserable postal service and those officials who are charged with its conduct. But the men say they have incurred the

SOME THOUGHTS ON TACTICS.

(Continued from page 5.)

itude, but will raise the whole status of the Soviet propaganda to the position of an institution of opposition. The active, positive, boycott of Parliament, particularly during election times, drives the enthusiasm and attention of the workers into a constructive channel. A negative position only has been too long held.

In short, the policy of the Communist should conform and be moulded upon the increasing crises, and that during periods of apathy the process of education and organisation to be proceeded with. To accept this policy or capitulate to the Government must be the only choice left to the workers during crises.

"I wish you would write a model love letter for me. I am always afraid my stuff will sound too soft."

(Continued next week.)

"Guilty".

(Continued from page 10.)

JOHN VOGEL, Chicago member county executive committee.

No overt criminal act was charged. The state asserted merely that the Communist Labor party advocated the overthrow of the government. No denials were entered by attorneys Clarence Darrow, William Forrest and William Cunnea for the defendants. The defense rested its case on the right of free speech and the right to organize a political party, State's Attorney Hoyne in his statement said "the verdict of the jury has justified the raids and called a halt on a disturbance that will ring throughout Chicago and the country."

Hoyne made the raids January 1, a day before Palmer's agents pulled off theirs and thereby brought down on his head the vehement denunciation of the Attorney General. He arrested 161 "reds"—39 members of the Communist Labor party, 87 members of the Communist party and 35 I. W. W.s.

NORTH YAKIMA, Wash.—Members of the I. W. W., incarcerated in the county jail here, are never allowed to see any newspapers, nor to have any visitors, according to a letter smuggled out of the prison by one of several Butte miners serving sentences.

Other prisoners, accused or convicted as criminals, received all such privileges. As for the food, the letter says that the daily menu alternates beans and stew resembling hogsiop and "containing all vegetables except dynamite." The I. W. W. members were forbidden even to subscribe for one of the local capitalist newspapers, the letter declares.

enmity of Burlison because they made efforts at the Democratic convention to obtain a promise that he would not be reappointed and to have a plank inserted in the platform assuring postal employes more wages and better conditions. Since democracy has been made so safe we mustn't take any chances in letting any of it get loose among the postal employes.

The efficiency of the capitalistic system of production is lauded to the skies continually by its apologists. But there is a very great distinction between "produce" and "provide". A system that produces but doesn't provide deserves looking over.

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The Passing Show of Capitalism.

Sixty white collared bank clerks found the guts to walk off the job last week in Cincinnati. This was in response to the failure of the bank to reinstate three employes who had been previously fired. The clerks have joined the new union of bank clerks. Looks like even worms will turn—some times.

Long Island potato farmers are feeding their potatoes and string beans to the hogs. That's because the middlemen are offering prices below the cost of production. Needless to state the consumer is paying the same old inflated price for his murphys. Who said we live under the law of supply and, by the way, why tolerate a system of food distribution controlled by parasites standing between producers and consumer?

The Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives is visiting the Philippines to see if they have too much sense to allow another government to rule them. American newspapers at Manila asserted they didn't have even sense enough to rule themselves, result—the papers were suspended thru the walkout of native operators and mechanics. In view of that action we are in favor of giving the Philipinos a mandate over the backward U. S. A.

On August 4th, the League of Nations, in sessions at San Sebastian, Spain, took the first step toward ending all wars. At the same hour the British cabinet was in solemn conclave considering the question whether or not to make war against the Bolsheviki. Which will make headway the fastest?

Three hundred thousand babies are condemned to death in these United States this year. Same last year and the same next year according to the looks of things, and every year thereafter as long as capitalism endures. The National Childrens Bureau finds that these thousands of babies die from preventable causes. Chief among them is the fact of the parent's poverty and the resutling lack of care. Mothers working to help support the family increases the death toll.

Wouldn't it be hell tho to have a system

where mothers and babies counted first and profits last?

One hundred thousand natives of India have instituted a boycott of Great Britain. The movement is expected to unite the millions of Hindus and Indians in a resolve to end the rule of Britain. The boycott is a passive and silent one. All natives holding any kind of public office are urged to resign. The native army and police are to lay down their arms and refuse to obey orders. The people are to refuse to pay taxes. It looks like the sun may yet set somewhere OFF the British Empire.

The Independent Labor Party will submit a resolution for the arrest of Minister of War, Winston Churchill, at its annual convention Sept. 25th. The Laborities charge him with using the British navy in a private war against the Soviet government. Over here we give all those privileges to the president.

A committee of fifteen communists are in authority over the industrial city of Zittau in Saxony. A strike is on and there are no lights, heat or newspapers. Workers are demanding the establishment of soviets and a dictatorship of the proletariat.

German railwaymen have established a strict supervision over all freight toward the Polish boundaries to prevent the shipment of munitions to the Poles.

The agitation against the disarmament of the proletariat in accordance with the provisions of the Allies' terms is growing fast thruout Germany. Protest meetings of immense size are being held. Communists claim that the intention is to disarm the workers but not the reactionaries and monarchists.

Who's happy? Communists are!

TO BRITISH WORKERS

(Continued from page 11.)

"Long live the world struggle against imperialism!

"Long live the Soviet Republic of Great Britain!

"Long live the International Soviet of the Labour Deputies of the whole world."