

## IN THIS ISSUE

### Labor Goes in For Banking

—Bertram D. Wolfe.

### Manifesto of Provisional Council of the Red Trade Union International

### The Anti-Counter-Revolution Committee Informs Russia

### Envoy Martens' Farewell to America

### The Amalgamated Spirit

—Mary Heaton Vorse.

### The Conspiracy Against Sacco and Vanzetti

The facts in the case of Nicholas Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two workmen of Massachusetts, charged with murder will be presented by F. G. Biedenkapp of the Workers Defense Union of New York, at the North Church, 72nd and St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, Feb. 15th at 8 P. M. Some of the facts in this astounding conspiracy against two workers whose efforts on behalf of the workingclass have been noteworthy are here set forth by the Sacco Vanzetti Defense Committee which is raising funds for defense.

The legal presumption of innocence in favor of the prisoner at the bar has faded into a myth in these United States when the prisoner in question is a black man in a Southern dock or a foreigner in a Northern Court, especially if he is charged with the special kind of crime which the public has been trained by lurid newspapers to expect from one of his race. It is common knowledge that the charge of rape against a man of negro blood primes the Southern jury or lynching party for immediate action, and that a Northern jury does not examine the law and the evidence impartially when a murder accusation is leveled against a member of that Mediterranean race whose reputation is colored with the fanciful visions of the Mafia that furnished the Sunday-Magazine reader's mental diet for so many years. And when the Italian laborer is also listed as a "red" by the Secret Service, the prejudice against him is so extreme that the weakest circumstantial evidence is sufficient to convict.

Seldom has weaker evidence been presented against men charged with a capital offense than will appear against Nicholas Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two intelligent and hard-working Italians who face trial for their lives at Dedham, Massachusetts, some time early in the year.

The formal accusation against these men is that they killed Special Officer Alexander Beredelli and Paymaster A. Parmenter on April 15th last in South Braintree, Mass., and then made off in an automobile with the \$18,000 payroll that was being conveyed to the Slater & Morrill shoe plant nearby. Already since the arrest a conviction and fifteen year sentence has been secured against Vanzetti for attempted murder and assault in connection with an unsuccessful attack on the pay-truck of the L. Q. White Company in Bridgewater on the 24th of December preceding.

#### Lawlessness of the Secret Service.

Andrea Salsedo and Robert Ella were two young Italian printers of Brooklyn on whom the agents of Mr. Palmer were endeavoring to pin the odium and responsibility for the abortive May Day riot of 1919 and the peculiar explosions that occurred on the June 2nd following. They were held without any indictments or other legal authority, in the secret chambers of the Department of Justice at No. 21 Park Row, and subjected to all the rigors of secret examination for more than two months, from February 25th till early in May. But finally the facts about their disappearance began to leak out. Vanzetti went to New York and allied himself with other Italians in the effort to secure genuine counsel in place of the unfit Attorney Donato who was afterwards publicly branded as a Department of Justice accomplice. Mr. Palmer's operatives saw that they would not dare to hold the men much longer and at the same time they were afraid to release them after certain things which had happened.

#### Tragic Death of Salsedo.

Early in the morning of May 3rd some time before dawn, Salsedo left his prison in a violent and terrible fashion, his body crashing from the fourth floor window to a bloody mass on the stone paving below. The street was almost deserted at the time and no one from below saw whether he threw himself out or was pitched headlong to his death.

Vanzetti, Sacco and other Italians took prompt steps for the release of Ella. Mr. Walter Nelles, a member of the New York bar, had been employed in place of Mr. Donato, and plans were made for mass meetings of protest that money might be raised to supply the necessary funds for Mr. Nelles' work in New York. Vanzetti came on to Sacco's home in South Stoughton to arrange for a meeting in Brockton where there is a large Italian colony.

#### Arrest Prevents Protest Meeting.

The swift counter attack of the authorities prevented the meeting from being held. They were arrested in Brockton on the evening of May 5th through the agency of the local police while the memoranda for the handbills advertising the mass meeting was still in their pockets, and they were taken to the Brockton town hall and police station and grilled about their radical beliefs. A temporary charge of carrying revolvers was laid against the men while the authorities cast about for some more substantial reason for holding them.

A "red" charge was unctuated then in view of the "momentary" popular derision over the exploded Palmer prophesies of the May Day Revolution which hadn't occurred, and the momentary opposition to the secret police. So the authorities fell back on the same methods used in the famous Tulsa oil case against Charles Krieger when the removal of an agitator was desired. They were charged with regular criminal offense. The murders at South Braintree were laid against both men and the additional charge of taking part in the Bridgewater affair was placed against Vanzetti who had been more prominent in the agitation over the outrages committed on Salsedo and Ella.

No steps were omitted to clinch the charges. Witnesses of the Bridgewater and So. Braintree crimes were brought into the police station where they saw the Italian prisoners surrounded by police officers. It is well known that Italians look more or less alike to the eyes of many Yankees, but in spite of this several witnesses said positively that these were not the men they had seen. But others took it for granted that the men the police were holding must be the right men. The police made, then assume the crouching positions and other poses that the bandits were said to have taken in action, and then they were placed in an automobile roughly similar to the bandit car and taken over the routes followed April 15th and December 24th.

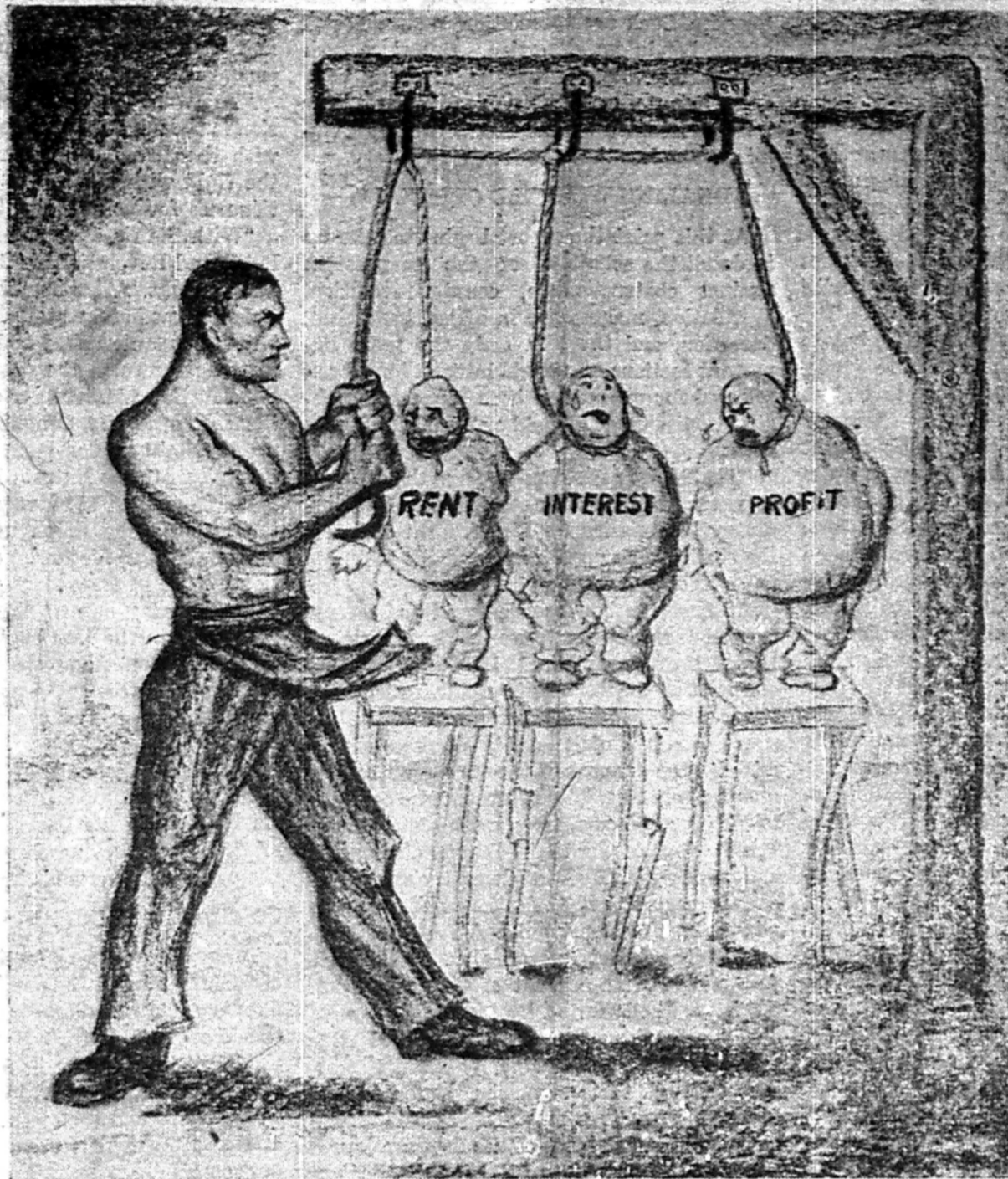
#### Partial Trial of Vanzetti.

Vanzetti was rushed to trial in the following month for the Bridgewater attack while the public mind was still sear-heated with sensational stories about "Italian hold-up men." He was practically convicted before the first witness was called. Vague identifications of the "foreigner with the mustache" were accepted, and no credence was given the alibi furnished by eighteen respectable fellow townsman who established his movements for the entire day of December 24th, when he was too busily engaged in his regular pursuits as fish salesman to be in Bridgewater twenty-eight miles away. The police collected a thousand dollars reward.

#### Murder Witnesses Fail.

Indictments for the South Braintree murder followed a preliminary hearing given Sacco before Judge Avery in the East Norfolk District Court, no preliminary hearing being necessary in the case of Vanzetti, already held on the other charge. The indictments were based on the doubtful testimony of three employees of the Slater & Morrill Company, Louis L. Wade, Miss Frances Deylin and Miss Mary C. Splaine. In Judge Avery's court Mr. Wade admitted that "I might be mistaken." (Page 36, official record.) He said he was fully eighty paces away when the shooting occurred.

(Continued on page 4.)



A JOB TOO-LONG DELAYED.

### Soviet Envoy Martens' Farewell Message to America

By LUDWIG C. A. K. MARTENS.

In taking leave of the United States, I wish to say a word of grateful appreciation for the great personal kindness and courtesy which I have received from many Americans in all vocations throughout the country. It has been a source of constant encouragement to me to find everywhere men and women who have not allowed hysterical fears or prejudices to move them from their sympathy with the cause which I have represented.

My departure has come as the logical and inevitable consequence of the policy of the American Government toward Soviet Russia. So long as that policy was not declared, so long as I could not secure from any responsible official of the American Government any frank expression of that policy, my government was justified in keeping me here to strive for the establishment of normal political and economic relations between the United States and Soviet Russia.

The order for my deportation, however, arrived at after long deliberation



Ludwig C. A. K. Martens and his Aide, Gregory Weinstein.

and signed by a member of the cabinet, was an unequivocal declaration of policy. The policy thus declared was that which has actually guided the conduct of the American Government in the past two years; namely, an absolute refusal to recognize even the de facto existence of the Soviet Government, and a refusal to permit the resumption of trade between Russia and America.

The decision of the Secretary of Labor was directed not against myself, but specifically against the government which I represent. The decision said, in effect, that the American Government would not permit any representative of the Soviet Government to approach America for the purpose of establishing political or economic relations.

This was the answer to the several communications which I addressed to the Department of State immediately after my appointment as the representative of the Soviet Government in this country and to which the Department of State did not see fit to reply.

My mission here would have been terminated much earlier if the Department of State had been willing to take the responsibility which was finally assumed by the Department of Labor. This, however, is a curious matter of American official procedure, which I do not pretend to understand.

My government accepted this declaration of the policy of the American Government toward Russia and instructed me to close my bureau and to withdraw from the United States without delay.

I have no knowledge of the future plans of the American Government, nor can I tell in what direction this policy of ignoring the existence of the established government of the largest country in Europe will lead. I know that the Soviet Government is more firmly established, beyond fear or danger of foreign or internal assault, than it was on the day when I first approached the American Government on its behalf.

I know further that the industrial and economic conditions of the world, not excepting America, are such that the resumption of normal economic relations with Russia has become an imperative necessity upon all nations.

I cannot say how the American Government will solve the problem involved in these circumstances. I can only say that when the American people are prepared to approach this problem, the government of the Russian workers and peasants will be ready to meet them in a reasonable and friendly spirit.

### Labor Goes In For Banking

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

Now it is seriously proposed that labor go in for banking. The "In-Law" railroad union officials are back of it; the A. F. of L. officialdom is back of it; the Independent and the Literary Digest, the New York Call and the Federationist—yes, and a certain proportion of the rank and file of our American trade unions see in it a big step "forward."

"Why, see here," argued one of its official advocates with me, "why not fight capitalism with its own weapons? Our unions are pretty big business organizations. They have hundreds of thousands—several millions in fact, of dues-paying members. Dues are pretty high (too high, thinks I). Then there are strike funds aggregating through the nation many millions of dollars, sickness-death-and-benefit funds and such, making millions more."

"Why should we deposit all that money in capitalist institutions, where it is loaned to our exploiters, and strengthens them at our expense? Every cent we deposit in their banks is just an added cent paid into their hands."

"Then there are labor newspapers and co-operatives to be financed. There are the mortgages on our big Labor temples, and funds and trusts of every description. And besides, the big unions of Germany and Belgium and other European countries have banks, so why shouldn't we?"

"We could form an International Labor Bank-Clearing House (and he rolled the big-sounding words out of his mouth as if the very sound were dear to him), and who knows, if the millions of toilers in the land got the idea and deposited their individual savings in our bank, the other banks would lose most of their depositors, and we might even be able to compete capitalism out of existence."

"Why, take the case of the Mackinac Island local that just paid the boss's mortgage, and when the banks threatened to withhold credit if he didn't introduce the open shop, they promised to finance him and became partners in his business. Now there's an example."

But I had listened as long as I could and now it was my turn. "Look here," says I, "every strike nowadays is an outlaw strike, isn't it? Yes, but what's that got to do with it?" "Wait a minute and you'll see. Every big union of the A. F. of L. variety, and some so-called "red" unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

(Continued on page 5.)

### Inside Story of Gomper's Victory for Presidency of Pan-American Federation

By Lina A. E. Gale.

Mexico City, Jan. 17 (By Mail).—Samuel Gompers today won his last victory in the Pan-American Federation of Labor.

It took almost superhuman efforts to elect him President of the Federation. Next year it will be an impossibility. It was almost impossible today.

The Latin-American delegates, who outnumbered the Americans, were determined not to have Gompers head the Pan-American organization again. Luis N. Morones, the brilliant young leader of the Mexican Federation of Labor and an avowed Socialist, was their choice, and for a time it appeared that Morones would be almost unanimously elected. The prize was in the hollow of his hand. Gompers, seeing the overwhelming sentiment against him, declared he would not accept a reelection. James Lord, President of the Mining Department of the A. F. of L. and an ex-Socialist, who was looked on with favor by some Latin-American delegates, and John Frey, editor of "The Moulders' Journal," had declined nominations. Morones had stated that with his duties in the Mexican Federation and as head of the government munitions plant which employs 9,600 men, he feared he could not do justice to the leadership of the Pan-American Federation, but had not withdrawn and Delegate Carrazo of Guatemala, who nominated him, had refused to take back the nomination.

Gompers called on Secretary Canuto A. Vargas to read the name of the one candidate, Morones. In a moment more Morones would have been elected by acclamation. Dan Tobin, Chester M. Wright, Frey and Lord sat with jaws shut tight. They knew they were helpless and that the representatives of the rising rebel movement of Mexico and Central South America could do what they wanted.

Convinced that the battle was over and that he must take his medicine as gracefully as he could, Gompers delivered his farewell address to the delegates that he would be free to serve Pan-American labor as a private in the ranks than as official head. He reminded Secretary Vargas that he has declined the nomination when made some time previous and that Morones was, therefore, the only nominee left in the field.

On the very threshold of the second when his name would have been accepted by a viva voce vote, Morones arose. Twice before he had said that he left the matter in the hands of the Guatemala delegate who, of course, would not withdraw his name. But now he said that he had already explained that he was unable to give the position the time it should receive, and that since Delegate Carrazo had not withdrawn the nomination, he must decline to run. He added that he had just received a message from President Obregon asking him to come to the National Palace at once and would have to leave the convention. "I ask you to excuse me for the afternoon," he said, "and also ask the secretary in my absence to record me as voting for Samuel Gompers."

Morones left the room and the tide had turned. Carrazo was nonplussed. He had been on his feet several times insisting that the delegates did not want Gompers again and that Morones was the man of the hour. There was no other Latin-American delegate of sufficient reputation and ability to propose. He had made a stiff fight and he knew that two-thirds were with him, but what could he do?

Delegate Grajeda of Mexico again suggested James Lord but Lord again refused and then nominated Gompers a second time.

Santiago Iglesias, head of the Porto Rico Federation, in Spanish addressed the Spanish-speaking delegates and made a fervent appeal for Gompers. "The most correct and able man," "our grand leader" and other bonquets were thrown at Gompers by the Porto Rico delegate, and he wound up by saying that it would be "a great misfortune" if another President were chosen, especially if such a result came about thru the action of the Latin-American delegates.

Then Mether Jones came to the rescue of Gompers with a fiery speech calling on the congress to name him again and make the election unanimous. The convention, admiring the 81-year old rebel who has fought the battles of the strikers of the United States so many times, forgot its detestation of Gompers in its enthusiasm for "the mother of the miners."

Lord spoke briefly referring to "the peculiar power and influence that he (Gompers) brings into this convention." Gompers, seeing that he was saved, wasted no time in further declinations and seized the opportunity without delay.

"Are there any other nominations?" he asked, and without waiting for an answer, he started to put a motion to make the election unanimous.

"Carrazo of Guatemala, gritted and determined not to give up, was waving his hand for another chance. Somebody had suggested to him that since Morones had left the hall, it would be possible to stampede the convention for Morones and prevent the machine stampeding it for Gompers, and he wanted to try it, but Gompers' heavy voice and the thumping of the gavel drowned out the persistent little Central American."

"All those in favour of making the election unanimous, raise their hand," shouted Gompers, and 9 hands went up. "Opposed, the same," and 5 hands were raised, among them that of Carrazo and that of Castro from San Salvador, who had previously declared that the Pan-American Federation must have a "complete renovation" and "new leaders." About a half of the delegates did not vote.

Even after the vote had been taken Carrazo protested that the convention had disregarded his previous request to have a secret ballot taken so that nobody might be afraid to vote against Gompers, but the Guatemala man was shut off. The machine had triumphed and was in no mood to hear rebels any longer.

The rest of the officers were elected by acclamation and in short order. Canuto A. Vargas, Spanish-language secretary, was re-named amid general applause. Chester N. Wright was re-elected without opposition as English-language secretary and James Lord as treasurer.

"Foghorn" Tobin then rose to suggest Guatemala City as the place of meeting for the convention of next year and the proposal was unanimously accepted.

Gompers and the A. F. of L. machine had won again but by the skin of their teeth. The Spanish-speaking delegates were openly sulky and sore, with a few exceptions such as Iglesias, always Gompers' faithful supporter, Kanabrit of Santo Domingo, and Eufasio Marriz, secretary of the Mexican Federation of Labor, who altho frankly a Radical, acquiesced in Morones' decision to let Gompers be re-elected again "for international reasons."

Why did it happen? Why did delegates like Albarrasin from Colombia, who also represents the Socialist Party of his country, and delegates like Martinez, Trevino, Grajeda and Juarez of Mexico, all openly Radicals, let Gompers have another term? Why did Morones do this?

(Continued on page 2.)

### Three Steel Strike Books

Which every worker should read are these:

- MEN AND STEEL —By Mary Heaton Vorse ..... \$1.00
- THE GREAT STEEL STRIKE —By William Z. Foster ..... \$1.00
- THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT —Report on the Steel Strike ..... \$1.50

Mrs. Vorse handles with consummate skill the human side of the great Steel Strike, the determination, the suffering, the reflex of this great social effort in the lives of the men, women and children who waged the lost battle against the "principality of steel."

Foster's book deals with the strike from the organizer's viewpoint, the viewpoint of a new kind of labor leader.

The Inter-Church Movement Report is that of men who went into all the causes and conditions of the strike, with multitudes of facts crammed into 277 pages of an indictment of the Steel Trust. This report is what caused the capitalists to kill the Inter-church Movement.

THE 3 BOOKS FOR \$3.00

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# The Anti-Counter-Revolution Committee Informs Russia

**EDITORIAL NOTE:** The following article recently appeared in the New York Evening Post and claims to be a translation of a pamphlet entitled "Two Years of Conflict on the Internal Front," issued by the Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution of Soviet Russia. This review of the activities of the Commission in dealing with the varied activities of counter-revolutionary elements in Russia during the three years of Soviet Rule explains fully the causes which provoked the establishment of this powerful force for the defence of the Revolution and points out the tactics which proletarian revolutions in other countries will probably have to adopt in the struggle with the opposing forces of reaction.

### "CONDITIONS WHICH CALLED INTO EXISTENCE THE ALL-RUSSIAN EXTRA-ORDINARY COMMISSION"

"Every state is an apparatus of violence. This has always been so, is so, and will be so while the state as such continues in general to exist.

"This will end not earlier than classes disappear together with the class struggle.

"In a society based on classes one class always contests power with the other; the suppressed class attempts to escape from its condition of dependence and to take the place of the class wielding power.

"Therefore a class possessing power must have an apparatus specially adapted for conflict with all forms of discontent, which blaze up sometimes in the vivid flames of revolt and revolution.

"The monarchist government overthrown by the February revolution (1917) serves as a clear example of this adaptation for the conflict with other (revolutionary) classes.

"During its many years of existence, it brought this apparatus for conflict with rebellion to a state of perfection.

"A giant who has not yet learned his strength is not dangerous to anyone.

"No one applied this truth better than the former state. All of its energy was directed to the end of rearing the people in ignorance.

"For this end there were at the service of the old government—the school, the church, and the barracks.

"The programme of the schools and the text books were all directed to the one purpose of raising obedient and convinced slaves of the ruling class.

"The church continued the work of the schools and up to the door of the tomb held firmly within its tenets the spirit of the many-millions masses of the people, pressing forward toward the light.

"What part of the free spirit remained alive after the school and the church, the barracks killed.

"Whoever passed through this dual school became a spiritual invalid, a pawn, a submissive tool in the hands of the possessors of power.

"The strong Russian giant, who had within him enough latent force to shake the whole sphere of earth, could not throw off from his back the bourgeois class, which, like a vampire, sucked the vital energy of the people for its gratification.

"The giant had not yet learned his strength. But when, despite this clever mechanism, freedom of thought began to appear among the people, they began to beat it out with the lash and to uproot 'treason' by the prison, exile, hard labor, and expropriation, and there was established the apparatus of internal espionage (Okhrana), the secret section, and the special corps of the gendarmes, not to mention the police.

"Such an apparatus was necessary to the ruling class, for only on this basis could it continue its rule.

### AUTOCRACY TYRANNIZED WISELY.

"There was nothing abnormal about this; it was all in the natural course of things and could not be otherwise. To defend existence is a natural and comprehensible phenomenon. It would have been stupidity from their side not to do it. They had enough sense to stand up for themselves.

"They established their dictatorship.

"But this class had no firm ground under its feet. It was a condemned class, and the February revolution tore the power from its hands.

"Its successors found themselves in no better situation. They were threatened by the workers from beneath and by the Czarist officials from above.

"The February revolution did not destroy classes and the class struggle, but spread the fire still more broadly.

"The state remained a class state and needed an apparatus of compulsion.

"We see how Kerensky established his counter-espionage and put people in prison and executed his Bolshevik opponents.

"He established a militia, legalized the death penalty, and blessed the massacre.

"All this was in the order of things: the new power must defend its existence and beat its adversaries.

"The October revolution made the class struggle still sharper. The proletariat hurled its challenge to the entire old world. The struggle became a fight not for life, but to the death. For the class which stood in power, the proletariat, it was necessary to endure attacks by the bourgeoisie of a character never before known. The bourgeoisie fought not only on the open external front, but also in the rear. Opposing both secretly and openly, betraying our secrets, and preparing plots, it destroyed our security in the rear, lessened our fighting ability and thus prepared victory for the White Guards on the external fronts.

"The October revolution did not destroy classes; the bourgeoisie was driven from power but not destroyed.

"For the victorious proletariat it was necessary to preserve the state, that apparatus of violence, an apparatus for establishing the achievements of the proletarian dictatorship.

"Hence all further conclusions. This state must create special agencies for conflict with the conquered class, with counter-revolution. This state must have its own army and its own internal espionage.

"Thus a correct understanding of the class struggle and the class state was dictated to us; thus spoke the experience of the former state, which held so long the former power, despite the fact that it was based only on a minority.

### A PRACTICAL QUESTION.

"The Workers and Peasants' Government correctly estimated the situation and established a special agency for fighting counter-revolutionary disturbances in the rear.

"This agency was created in the form of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution, speculation, and sabotage.

"The need for this agency was felt the more keenly because the Soviet power had no apparatus for spiritual transformation.

"The school remained as formerly. The teaching force and textbooks could not be changed at one stroke. The school continued to work in its former spirit, or, at best, was inactive. The Church, that powerful agency for confusing the free spirit, worked in its former direction. The barracks needed new leaders.

"The masses of the people were still filled to a large degree with the old spirit, and could not always break away from their former slave-like thinking, and not infrequently went together with their class enemies against their former comrades. Hence the sharp necessity for an apparatus for compulsion and purification.

"This was not a fruit of theoretical thinking, but was dictated by vital necessity. It was necessary to beat those who were beating us. More than that; it was necessary to avert possible attacks of counter-revolutionaries, to preserve the life of our comrades and the apparatus of Soviet power. Only hypocrites or idiots would deny the necessity of a special organ for fighting the counter-revolution.

"The Extraordinary Commission now has behind it just two years of work. This work speaks for itself. Our task is to show this work in its broad outline. Then let every reader judge for himself whether the Soviet power needed this apparatus or not.

### THE COMMISSION'S SCOPE.

"The sphere of work of the Extraordinary Commission was defined by the activities of counter-revolutionary elements. But since there is no sphere of life into which counter-revolutionaries did not penetrate and give evidence of their destructive work, the Extraordinary Commission frequently had to interfere decisively in every sphere of life: in food supply, in transportation, aviation, the Red Army, the fleet, the militia, the schools, consulates, industry, distribution, etc.

"The Extraordinary Commission had to concern itself not alone with direct counter-

revolutionary activity. There are deeds committed quite without the intention directly to harm the Soviet power, but simply for personal advantage, not considering the consequences. Such are speculation, malpractice in office, banditism, desertion. But since such deeds do the Soviet power no less harm than direct counter-revolutionary activities, they were prosecuted by the Extraordinary Commission no less than the former."

### DEALING WITH OLD OFFICIALS.

At this point the report begins to take up in detail the activities of the commission against obstructionism, counter-revolution, speculation, malpractice in office, banditism, desertion, and the like. Only the more important sections of general interest have been selected for publication here. Concerning obstructionist tactics by old officials, the report says:

"The Soviet power had to force the officials to work. This task the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Fighting the Counter-Revolution took upon itself, and the task was not a light one.

At first the bourgeoisie paid the former officials salaries not to work. Thus, when on the 15th of November, 1917, there began a strike of all the workers in credit institutions, the central administration of the All-Russian Union of Credit Society Workers organized for the support of the strikers a central-strike committee. This represented a coalition of all groups, beginning with Mensheviks (right wing of the Social-Democratic party) and ending with Kadets (Constitutional Democratic party), and in it the chief role was played by the Mensheviks. A fund for combating the Soviet power was established. (Here follows an account of the method of collection of the fund.)

"Only by depriving the officials of this material aid was it possible, by exerting pressure through their stomachs, to force them to submit to the new power. In the second month of the existence of the Soviet power it was finally possible to destroy the source of the fund: and the officials began to get to work.

"However, obstruction did not cease. Officials often did not work as they should or worked in ways harmful to the Soviet power.

"Obstructionists were shot by us and put in prison; but, despite this, they still conceal themselves from us in considerable numbers and disorganize our apparatus for food supply and transport. Such activity is nothing less than counter-revolutionary. It was so considered by the Extraordinary Commission, and obstructionists were punished without mercy. To this struggle the commission devoted its best energies, and is working now in various institutions. There is only one way to get rid of this sore—burn it out with a red hot iron. This the commission is doing.

### FIGHT WITH COUNTER REVOLUTION.

"The October revolution turned the entire former world upside down... The former slave, the worker, or peasant became master, and the former master became his subject... The land was ceded to the peasants... The factories were turned over to the whole people. Large capital funds were confiscated in favor of the state. Debts were cancelled.

"Thus the former *pomieshchik* (estate owner) was left without land and income, the former manufacturer without profits, the banker without percentages, and the Czarist bureaucrat without power, place, or money. They did not relinquish the hope of restoring the old order and went to work for the overthrow of the Soviet power.

"All this brotherhood constituted the direct counter-revolutionaries, those who know what they are after and why, and who cannot fail to fight with their foes—the worker and peasant, who pushed them out of the saddle.

### Moderate Socialists are Stupid.

"But there is another sort of counter-revolutionaries—those who are counter-revolutionaries for lack of clear thought.

"These are people often sincerely desiring the victory of the working class, but not comprehending how to achieve it. These are all the 'Socialist' parties consenting to an agreement with the enemies of the working class, the bourgeoisie. There are several such parties among us: Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

"They do not believe in the power of the working class and therefore wish to bargain with its class enemy, the bourgeoisie. They forget that civil war is war not for life but to the death, in which prisoners are not taken and agreements are not made, but the opponent is beaten down.

"The work of the Extraordinary Commission is thus divided into two parts—the fight with the direct counter-revolutionaries and the fight with those who are counter-revolutionaries for lack of clear thought.

"With the first counter-revolutionaries the Petrograd Revolutionary Military Committee had to fight. After our first victory the officers immediately started an uprising... but they were crushed and arrested and sent to their homes in the provinces. After the People's Commissariats and the institution of the Extraordinary Commission had been set up, the fight passed from the Revolutionary Committee to the Extraordinary Commission.

"In December, 1917, was liquidated a counter-revolutionary union under the name of 'Saving of the Motherland and the Revolution.'

"In January began the fight against the adventure in the Don region.

"At the same time was inaugurated a new counter-revolutionary organization under the name 'Union of the Constitutional Convention.'

"After the dispersal of the counter-revolutionary Constitutional Convention, which refused to ratify the Declaration of the Rights of the Free Working People, the activity of the counter-revolutionaries was intensified.

### COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CATALOGUE

Among the affairs further listed and discussed in detail in the pamphlet are "The Enrollment of Polish Legionaries in Murman," the "Lockhart Affair" (Lockhart was a special British emissary in Soviet Russia, who carried on negotiations with the Bolshevik Government and was accused of aiding plans to overthrow them at the same time, including proposals to blow up railroad bridges and disorganize food and raw material supply); a "White Socialist-Revolutionary Plot" in Moscow, an "All Russian Monarchist Military Union," the organized attacks of assassins on the Soviet leaders—Lenine, Uritsky, and Volodarsky—the second of whom was killed, and "counter-revolutionary plots" in Ryazan, Kostroma, Vishne-Volochka; a "Black Hundreds Plot" in Velizha; various plots in Kiev, Saratov, Chernigov, and Astrakhan; the union of "Great United Russia," the "Southern Army," the "Romanov Order," the "United Officers' Organization," the "Polish Military Organization," the "Monarchist-Socialist-Revolutionary Organization," revolts in Krasnaya Gorka and Kronstadt, the "National Centre" (alleged to have been an organization of spies of the Entente Allies and Denikine), the "Military Organization of the Staff of the Volunteer Army," and various activities of officials of the Greek Orthodox Church, which had been the state Church of Russia, for the purpose of creating sentiment against the Soviet Government.

There follows a criticism of the "counter-revolutionaries for lack of clear thought, or through stupidity." In this category are included the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Menshevik Social-Democrats, who held the reins of the administration up to the Bolshevik seizure of power. These parties are criticised for having formed coalition governments with bourgeois parties, for having continued the war against Germany, and for having imprisoned Bolsheviks who argued in favor of seizure of power "by the workers alone." From the time of the Bolshevik overthrow of the Provisional Government, says the pamphlet, began the "mad activities of the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries."

Similarly, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries are attacked as 'counter-revolutionaries' for opposing the Soviet Government in connection with the signing of the separate peace with Germany at Brest-Litovsk. They are charged with having formed secret "fighting staffs" to organize revolts and to seize and hold Soviet officials and disorganize their power.

Among alleged Left Socialist-Revolutionary plots are listed revolts in Veliki Luki, Chembera, Mtislavi, Kazan and Ryazan and plans for explosions in Moscow, including the Kremlin.

The Mensheviks are characterized as "a

party of dreaming commoners, a party of invertebrate intellectuals, consisting of people who do not believe in their own strength and who consider that the people, the workers and peasants, are not capable of administering a state, that they have not developed to that point." They are accused of fomenting agitation against the Soviet power in Petrograd and Moscow, of organizing strikes, and of participating in the Siberian Government of Kolchak and supporting the "Committee for the Constitutional Convention" of the Samara Government.

A few paragraphs are also devoted to the anarchists, who appear to have opposed the Soviet Government as actively and consistently as logical-anarchists oppose any form of government. There is a description of the fight in which Soviet forces captured by storm, after artillery fire, the "Anarchist House" on the Malaya Dmitrovka in Moscow, and of fights with anarchist bands in various provinces of Russia.

Then follow charges of brutalities committed by antagonists of the Soviet power in dealings with Bolsheviks captured in the course of the various anti-Soviet campaigns, and descriptions of the struggle against speculation, crimes committed in office by Soviet officials, and desertions from the Red Army, opposition by well-to-do peasants, especially peasant moneylenders, and various village revolts. The following tables, completed up to the middle of 1919, give the official Soviet figures regarding the work of the Extraordinary Commission:

Revolts suppressed	344
Killed on our side	1,150
Killed in suppression	3,057

### COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS DISCOVERED.

Kadet	28
Black Hundreds	107
Right Socialist-Revolutionary	34
Left Socialist-Revolutionary	50
Menshevik	18
Miscellaneous	175

Total	412
Bandit	35
Speculative	4

### SHOT FOR VARIOUS CRIMES

For espionage	102
For revolts	3,082
For participation in counter-revolutionary organizations	2,021
For summoning to revolt	455
For speculation	71
For banditism	643
For desertion	102
For crimes in office	206
Miscellaneous	1,704

Total	8,389
-------	-------

There follow tables of the different types of crime committed in office, with penalties other than execution, such as imprisonment and fines, or the taking of hostages, and a list of important Soviet officials killed in the course of fighting with antagonists of the Bolshevik Government. There follows a "conclusion," which sums up the case as follows:

"By a decree of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee Soviet Russia is declared to be a military camp in a state of siege. This emphasizes the truth that in a civil war the whole country is one united front. We have lived all the time as on a volcano. Counter-revolutionary elements, reinforced by all the dissatisfied and short-sighted, organize militarily and threaten to burst forth from their illegal positions and overwhelm the Soviet power by raising a revolt. If there had not been the Extraordinary Commissions, defecting and warding off such endeavors, we should long ago have ceased to exist. The counter-revolution would have swallowed us.

"Although at a dear price, the price of blood, we have arrived at the truth that in a civil war there are no superfluous people, and there is no work which is shameful if it is done for the aid of the revolution.

"Every citizen should be a warrior and guard of the Soviet power. Every citizen should be a Red Army soldier and an assistant of the Extraordinary Commission. Only in this case shall we conquer."

### INSIDE STORY OF GOMPERTS' 'VICTORY' FOR PRESIDENCY OF PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION.

(Continued from page 1.) movement of all Latin-America, relinquish the honor that lay in his grasp? Why, indeed?

The answer is simple and plain. Mexico is forever in danger of intervention. Always the Dancoles' sword of American invasion hangs over the head of her people. The Mexican workers do not want war. They want to keep

their country for themselves and they know that if they can save it from being swallowed up in the northern empire of finance-capital, they can eventually work out their own salvation and take over the industries. They know that intervention would cost thousands of lives and rivers of blood. They know that they would find themselves serfs in another India lacerated and strangled by that newest and worst Juggernaut, American capitalism.

In their hearts they despise the reactionary leadership of the American

Federation of Labor. Their contempt has cropped out all thru the convention. But they believe that the aid of the American Federation of Labor is indispensable if intervention is to be staved off. And they believe that to turn down Gomperts at this time would be to lose the cooperation of the A. F. of L.

This is why Morones, confronted with the opportunity to accept the post that would make him the leading figure in the organized labor of the entire continent, chose to refuse.

By sufferance, thru belief that such a policy is necessary to save Mexico, Gomperts still heads the Pan-American Federation of Labor. It is the last time. Intervention or no intervention, come what may, organized labor of Latin-America will neither accept Gomperts nor any other conservative leader again.

Unemployment is a disease. Just as we need a doctor when we are sick, so does society need a doctor when it is sick. There is no unemployment in So-

viet Russia. They claim to have cured this disease. There are five million people in the U. S. who wish to know the name of the doctor and the prescription he used. I heard one fellow say that the doctor's name was Lenin and that the medicine was Communism.

An increase in the police power of the State means that the State is becoming less democratic and the people are becoming more re-pressive.

### What I Saw In Russia

By GEORGE LANSBURY  
Editor London Daily Herald

PRICE \$1.50

A general survey of conditions in Russia obtained in a two month's sojourn by the noted Editor of England's greatest Labor Paper. The difficulties of transportation, general condition of labor, problems of food and health are described. The cultural activities of the Soviet Government showing its great results even in the midst of war, blockade and blockade are thoroughly discussed. Address The Toiler.

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Comrade Martens' Departure

When the United States of America set up its government after throwing off the monarchical yoke of Great Britain, it sent an envoy to Russia for the purpose of gaining "recognition" and establishing trade relations.

To-day the reverse of these conditions obtains, or rather did until this government outstripped the Czar in maliciousness by deporting Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, envoy of Soviet Russia, a few days ago.

But it is only the ending of a chapter of a story that will continue. Comrade Martens and his official family left these inhospitable shores amidst the cheers and well wishes of thousand assembled upon the docks and piers of New York's harbor.

A "Committee of Action"

The Convention of the United Mine Workers of District No. 6 which convened at Columbus, Ohio, Jan. 11, followed the usual custom of labor union conventions and passed a sheaf of Resolutions most of which will be promptly forgotten the moment the convention adjourns.

There were three Resolutions however that deserve a place on the schedule of future activities of the miners and which bespeak for them a degree of social vision deserving of commendation.

Resolution No. 2, taking them in the order of their adoption, after calling attention to the fact that the Espionage law, passed to catch spies, but which was used to silence and jail labor men of opposing views to a "certain faction," declares for a joining of forces with organizations that are seeking the release of political prisoners.

Resolution Nos. 4-5 declare for the opening of trade relations with Soviet Russia. Naturally the basis for this Resolution is the pressing unemployment problem.

It is however, Resolution No. 22 that the rank and file mine and forward looking worker everywhere should seek to put into effect at as early a date as possible.

The Amalgamated Spirit

By Mary Heaton Vorse.

I first saw it in a union meeting in Philadelphia. I didn't even know its name at the time. In a small room at the top of a steep flight of stairs in a converted private house a swarm of girls were packed in together at a union meeting of the Amalgamated.

It was the Amalgamated spirit. I next saw it in a little mining town with a group of shining excited little girls, American born and of various descents.

I remember one excited youngster saying to me: "I know how to act when you are on strike. You get a pan of rocks and nail scabs with them."

It is the Amalgamated spirit which shouted "No!" to the employers' seven impossible demands, and backed up this shout with the call for a million dollar fighting fund.

Monday morning is always the critical time in any strike. Then if even the employers are going to use every means to intimidate the pickets, then if ever they are going to bring in their paid strike breakers, they are going to see to it that the pickets are arrested.

This Monday morning before light a big crowd gathered outside the New Casino waiting for the doors to be opened at six o'clock.

"What's all this?" he said. "Have you got a permit to open this hall so early? What are you holding a meeting for at this time of day?"

The firm of J. Friedman never fails to furnish excitement Monday morning. If there are any things they are around his shop, if there are any arrests they occur there.

Two weeks ago was the only snow of the year. When the usual procession started out to picket the factories a discouraging gray had taken the place of dawn, slash under foot and a penetrating rain that dampened everything.

I went with the pickets who went to patrol the clothing shops of J. Friedman. What a glorious spectacle met our eyes!

A Moscow report states that large quantities of medical supplies and ambulances have been recovered in the wake of General Wrangel's troops.

The Fourth International (Nationalist, Social-patriot, Menshevik and White Guard Socialist) will attempt to get itself launched at Vienna February 22nd.

RESOLUTION NO. 22

Whereas, Capital, with its chambers of commerce, Manufacturers Association, etc., has openly declared war on organized labor, with the avowed intention of establishing the open shop, which would mean the complete destruction of the trade union movement...

Whereas, We cannot help but feel that this declaration of war on the part of capital will mean the death of all organized labor, not excepting our own organization, unless union labor marshals all the forces at its command...

Resolved, That the United Mine Workers of America of District No. 6, in convention assembled, elect a committee of three, to be known as the "Committee of Action," which shall take immediate steps to bring about an alliance between the United Mine Workers of America, the railroaders and steel workers...

Labor Goes In For Banking

(Continued from page 1)

ers too, has built up a powerful office holding clique, its own "servants" paid by its own dues and "strike" funds, whose principal task is to thwart the will of the workers.

"You might sum up the most important duties of these self-confessed labor lieutenants of the capitalist class under three heads: (1) collecting the dues to insure fat salaries; (2) sitting on the lid to thwart the will of their rank and file; (3) scabbing on the "outlaw" rank and file strikes.

"Now the only thing that makes them pay any attention to the will of the rank and file, is the fear of losing the dues-payers and their handsome salaries. Make them independent of dues, put the workers' savings in labor-official-controlled banks, build up a big fund, and you remove the last method that the worker has of controlling his "servant," you make the labor-leader completely independent of the worker.

"But that isn't all. Concentrate all your funds in a labor bank. Then if the government wishes to break a union in the interests of capitalism, it seizes its funds, the whole war chest captured in one move.

"You picket, or you boycott, and an injunction is gotten out against you in a capitalist court. You disobey, and the employers attack (which in plain English means steal) your funds.

"The workers have nothing to lose but chains, and their "leaders," turned bankers and financiers, are afraid of bank failures and "expropriations." They have fortunes to lose. Just as the possession of the big co-operatives, and newspaper plants and labor temples of Germany tended to make the Legion labor aristocrats conservative "property-owners," just so and in even greater degree would the labor banks work in the United States.

"And as for competing capitalist banks out of existence, don't kid yourself. You can no more do that than the co-operative industries have competed capitalist industries out of existence.

"Remember the case of Ponzi, the money-wizard? He discovered a method of making a profit out of international exchange, and incurred the enmity of bigger financiers than himself by scabbing on them and paying more than the average rate of interest on investments—in place of 6%,—60%.

"They decided to break him, and they did so overnight. They broke the bank in which he had his funds deposited, by calling in its loans, depressing the value of its securities, and refusing it credit.

"And taking up your point about financing the workers' press and strikes. Do you suppose that a bank controlled by the A. F. of L. officialdom would finance a red paper like the "Toiler" that has declared a war of extermination against them?

"And finance strikes? Do you suppose they'd finance an outlaw strike. (And what strike that's worth anything isn't declared an outlaw strike?) More likely they'd finance the official strike-breakers employed by the labor lieutenants of capitalism in the name of the union."

I paused for breath, and discovered that I was now lecturing a very chastened opponent. "I never thought of those things," says he.

"To sum up," I declared, "labor banks would strengthen the bureaucratic officialdom, the union "leaders," by insuring their salaries, making them independent of the dues-payers, and giving them funds with which to hire scabs to break the outlaw strikes of their own rank and file.

"Secondly, we would strengthen capitalism by concentrating all our funds, such as they are, in one place, as an invitation to the capitalist class, and its tool, the government, to seize them, if we misbehaved."



The burning question of the hour is: have you 'adjusted' yourself to the requirements of capitalist production?

Which means have you and the wife and kids learned to live without work, eat without food, keep warm without clothes, pay rent without means—and suffer in silence?

If you haven't, I'm afraid you're bolsheviks.

A returned soldier broke into jail out at Des Moines the other day by taking a pot shot at the dome of the Capital building. "To a fellow who is down and out a jail isn't a bad home," he told the Judge.

"We want revolution. We want soviets." An audience of unemployed told a labor member of Parliament in London the other day. Demanding Soviets instead of charity shows progress. American Dubs have not yet gotten sufficient guts to ask even for charity.

"It is rarely we receive a request for aid from foreign born people," states the management of a Soup Society in Philadelphia which is ladling out soup daily to many unemployed. Them foreigners sure ought to be Americanized (pauperized).

Charles M. Schwab did not quite succeed in washing away with tears the accusation made before the Walsh Committee on Shipping Board operations that an item of \$269,543 charged to operating expenses had really been used for Schwab's personal benefit.

Attorney General Palmer states he is proud of the enemies he has made, especially among the radicals. The radicals are just as proud, Mr. Palmer.

The Society of Friends, Quakers, has sent a committee to Ireland for the purpose of investigation and relief.

The first number of The Irish People, a new publication of New York has appeared. Its aim will be to fill the place of the one time Harp published by Jim Connolly. Steadily the Irish cause gains workingclass support.

There are now 3,473,446 unemployed in the country says the Department of Labor after an exhaustive survey. The A. F. of L. after a similar investigation claims this figure is 1,000,000 shy of the actual number.

The Statler hotels have cut prices of luxury foods says a report. This is pleasant news to the jobless who dine thru the hotel windows.

Returned soldiers and unemployed practiced the same tactics recently in Montreal in getting food as they did earlier in France in getting "Heimle". They went after it. Several restaurants suffered an assault.

\$50,000, says Hugh S. Robertson, treasurer of Todd, Irons and Robertson, engineers, was paid Robert P. Brindell, President of the New York Building Trades Council for the purpose of preventing strikes of the members of his union.

What a great thing it is to have a labor leader as important as that!

So low has the price of tobacco fallen that Kentucky growers have decreed that no burley tobacco shall be planted this spring. Night riders have scoured the country warning farmers not to deliver tobacco to the warehouses.

An injunction to dissolve the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has been asked for by the associated clothing manufacturers. Natural enough. That's what courts are for, but this time the judicial machinery may fail to work.

At the rate the workers are disgorging, how long will it take them to lose all of the mess of pottage that Sam Gompers got them for helping English imperialism and American plutocracy to lick German ditto?—Oakland World.

It is reported that President Wilson wishes no ostentatious parades of the unemployed returned soldiers to accompany him when he departs from the White House next March.

Now that you are adjusted to capitalistic normalcy how would a fight for some more democracy strike you?

Communism and Christianity: Analyzed and Contrasted

from the Viewpoint of Darwinism, by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D. Paper, pages 184, artistic cover, price 25 cents. Six copies mailed for \$1.00. Comments by eleven persons: "One of the most startling and revolutionary books ever issued. It comes like a meteor across a dark sky. Send twelve copies. It is the best book I ever read to open the eyes and set the brain working. It held me tight. I call it a sermon. The text is astounding: Banish gods from skies and capitalists from earth. Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason. Every comrade buys one and comes back for more. It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history. I think it is one of the most important books of a Socialist nature issued in a number of years. It is full of marvellously good material and will open many eyes. Sold twenty-five in a jiffy; send three hundred for next meeting. The author, an Episcopalian ecclesiastic, has squarely renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book he approaches the subject of Socialism from a new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all. It can sell three thousand within sixty days. Write for terms to book sellers and to propagandists. Twentieth thousand now in press.

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AND I DIDN'T GET TO SLEEP FOR HOURS.

Not only because this book about the great steel strike had exalted me to the pitch of nervous excitement, but because, as a publisher, I felt sure (as I do now when I have finished the manuscript and find it big and pregnant with life and beauty and truth on every page) that I couldn't do it justice.

—HORACE B. LIVERIGHT.

MEN AND STEEL

By

MARY HEATON VORSE

Deserves YOUR reading it. Without exception the greatest story ever written of ANY strike. Order it now and enjoy and profit thru reading it.

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Along the Soviet Front

By Propaganda Pete.

Senator Johnson, of California has introduced a resolution in Congress de-

Ships of all nations are warned to keep 12 miles from all Russian coasts on penalty of being fired on says a report from Paris.

A split of the Spanish Socialist Party is expected soon. Two delegates to investigate Russia have just returned.

Poland and Rumania are proceeding with the formation of a military alliance for a Spring offensive against Soviet Russia.

Due to Krassin's continued stay in England, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee has elected Alexander Jemshanov as Commissar of Transport.

Cossaks of General Peter Wrangel's army stationed at Constantinople, who have been converted to communism by Bolshevik propaganda, were shot down with machine guns by French Colonial black troops when they attempted to disarm their reactionary leaders.

The American Labor Alliance for Trade with Soviet Russia has established headquarters in Washington, preparatory to the hearing on Russian trade before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Jan. 20th.

German communists parading on Jan. 15th in honor of the memory of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, murdered a year ago, were dispersed by Noske's White Guards and a number of people injured by rifle fire.

While the Allies diddle-daddle about their "duties" in Near East etc., the Black Sea is becoming a Soviet lake, reads a newspaper report.

Is this an invitation to the Allies to "jump into the lake?"

Trade with Russia and trade with the Lenin government are two different things," says the Wall Street Journal.

The Senate has adopted the Norris resolution calling on the Secretary of the Treasury to explain how much money the U. S. government has spent in maintaining the anti-soviet "embassy" of Ambassador Bakhmetieff, and how many dollars were loaned the defunct Kerensky regime.

It looks like the Senate was preparing to learn what has been going on in this country the last four years.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST SAOCO AND VANZETTI

(Continued from page 1.) The two women likewise lost their certainty of conviction in the court room. They were both office workers and claimed to see the aftermath of the shooting from the second story windows of the office building on Pearl and Railroad Streets.

"Do you say positively he is the man?" asked the defense attorney. "I do not say positively," she answered. Page 47, official record.

Manifesto of Provisional International Council of Labor Unions to Workers of Great Britain

EDITORIAL NOTE: The Red International of Labor is in process of formation. The Provisional International Council which was selected at the Second Congress of the Third International at Moscow last summer is seeking connections with labor in all countries and is setting up national branches therein.

To the organized workers of Great Britain

Comrades and Brothers,

ORGANISED LABOUR HAS BEEN MISLED AND BETRAYED!

All the promises of the Governments and the constitutional Labour leaders are now proven to be lies. We were told before the war that conditions would steadily improve if we would be patient. Conditions have not improved. They have become worse.

Factories are closing down, long "holidays" are declared, and wage cutting proceeds apace. Reaction, starvation, bankruptcy are rapidly becoming the dominant features of the "victorious" and "defeated" countries alike.

Whether we turn to France or Germany, Austria or America, the British Colonies or Japan, we see the same "iron heel" at work, the same workless starving multitudes of the working class.

Instinctively the workers have flocked into the labour unions as a means of struggle or as a refuge. But the leaders of the unions in most cases have mis-led and are mis-leading the masses as miserably as they mis-led them during the imperialist war.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

with its headquarters at Amsterdam. This international is the international of the Trade Union Bureaucracy formed ostensibly to prevent international scabbing and to assist the workers of one country to help those of another.

Test the organisation and its leaders by experience. Practically every leader of this "yellow" Amsterdam International collaborated with their respective capitalist governments during the imperialist war.

When the workers of Russia threw out their capitalist government and seized the reins of power, did the leaders of this International respond as workers to the calls of the workers of Russia? Did they proceed to mobilise the millions of the West and rally them to the cause of world revolution and the destruction of international capitalism?

"Russia should be left to work out its own destiny," they said in the voice of the unctuous Liberals who believed that Bolshevism could be killed by trade. When Poland backed by their friends in the League of Nations made its attack upon the workers of Russia, the Thomas's and Hendersons talked the same cant about the "neutrality of Poland" that the capitalists talked.

Thus the leaders of the Amsterdam International stand condemned as leaders of the working class. They have preached peace where there can be no peace. They have turned to the capitalist international and scorned the Workers International.

From these conclusions there is no escape. The world is now divided into two great divisions, and

WE MUST MAKE OUR CHOICE

as to which camp we belong. On the one side is the capitalist class with its League of Nations, its Supreme Council, its remnants of the Second International, its "yellow" Amsterdam International, its Legiens and Jouhaux's, its Hendersons and Braces and Thomas's, its Gompers's and Barnes's, traitors all to the working class by their preaching of "class peace"!

We did not join our unions in order to betray our class or delay it in its struggles for emancipation, but in order to become strong enough to move forward against all our enemies. We have become strong. Millions banded together in unions is a mighty power.

For these purposes the revolutionary workers of every union must carry on in every union branch, in every workshop, mill and mine, an intense agitation against all forms of reaction, and bitterly oppose the propaganda and policy of class peace, which always leaves the workers victims of the capitalists.

The "Red" Labour Union International is now in process of formation, and the moment is opportune for the immediate action of every worker who is tired of the reactionaries, for every worker who is anxious to march out of the deadlock of human relations into which humanity has drifted.

- The delegates of the following industrial organizations, All-Russian Trade Unions, Bulgarian Central Council of Trade Unions, General Confederation of Yugo Slavia, The Syndicalists of Italy, The Italian Confederation of Labour, The Spanish Syndicalists, Social Revolutionary Unions of Germany, Transport Workers of Holland, Federation of Transport Workers of Dutch E. India, Regional Federation of Labour, Argentina, Minority Section of the French Confed. of Labour, Azerbaijan Council of Trade Unions, I.W.W. of America, I.W.W. of Australia, British Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees, Norwegian Industrial Unions, Trade Union Council of the Furthest East,

have therefore formed the PROVISIONAL INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF LABOUR UNIONS, and elected a provisional Executive Committee. This committee they have instructed to convene a WORLD CONGRESS OF ALL THE LABOUR UNION ORGANISATIONS unconnected with or prepared to sever their connection with the "yellow" Amsterdam International, and to consciously wage the class struggle in accord with the Communist International.

The provisional Executive Committee (composed of the undersigned) accordingly invites every industrial organisation, whether Trade Union or Industrial Union, National Shop Stewards' Committee or Trade Union Federation, to elect delegates to the WORLD CONGRESS OF LABOUR UNION ORGANISATIONS convened for May 1st, 1921, in MOSCOW.

We cannot escape these issues. They are bound up with the immediate every-day struggle everywhere. The unemployment, the cutting of wages, the increasing bitterness of the struggle to live,

"Charity"

By Jane B. Lee.

Final article. The source of funds and how collected. In previous chapters we have endeavored to show both the kind of work performed by charity agencies and the manner in which it is performed.

Private charities are maintained essentially on voluntary subscriptions. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, for example, expended the very modest sum of \$100,000 in 1914. It receives a number of bequests, to be sure, but the bulk of its funds are secured through subscriptions.

Professional beggars would do well indeed to take suggestions from these highly trained technicians whose art for bleeding is so superb that they find no difficulty whatever in raising the stupendous amounts, year in and year out.

Here is a typical specimen of their appeal for subscriptions: "Two of the sweetest little girls were found by our investigator, filthy, ragged, semi-starved. Father-lazy, good-for-nothing, will not work; mother backward, incompetent, unfit. Our Society had these helpless little ones removed from their homes and placed in a nice, comfortable home where they receive the best of care, motherly treatment, are contented and happy."

Curious enough, the same bourgeoisie who, in advertising his own wares, (himself) lies so flagrantly, seems to be thrown off his guard, when another shark resorts to the same despicable trick and, in reply to the artistically (woven) falsehoods contained in the appeal, sends a check for a goodly sum.

Another method having the same object is the annual banquet given by the Pres. or Vice Pres. of the Organization. These venerable gentlemen invariably belong to a social group which is considered a big trump from the standpoint of financial vultures and ward-healers.

are common to every country under capitalism. The pottering about with doles and charitable schemes become evermore futile, and step by step the fight takes on a revolutionary character as de-paying capitalism rallies its forces to oppose the onward march of organised labour.

To this call and challenge there can one reply—"We, the organised workers of Britain, will join with the Russian workers in the "Red" Labour Union International, and together with the Communist International, shatter the remaining bulwarks of capitalism, and build the world anew under the Red Banner of the WORLD-WIDE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT."

WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE! DOWN WITH THE YELLOW AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL! LONG LIVE THE RED LABOUR UNION INTERNATIONAL! Yours, with revolutionary greetings on behalf of the Provisional International Council of Labour Unions, M. TOMSKY, A. BOSMER, J. T. MURPHY. RESOLUTIONS

This meeting of (name of Union branch, committee, etc.) call on the E.C. of this organisation (name) to take all necessary steps to secure the proper election of delegates to the World Congress of Labour Unions to be held in Moscow on May 1st, 1921, pledged to support a revolutionary policy aiming at the world-wide dictatorship of the Proletariat, and to affiliate this organisation to the "Red" International Council of Labour Unions.

This meeting of (name of Union branch, committee, etc.) calls on the E.C. of (name of organisation) to sever all connections of this organisation from the Amsterdam Federation of Trade Unions, and to take all necessary steps to obtain the withdrawal of the Trade Union Congress from that organisation.