

# THE TOLLER

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## R. R. BUCCANEERS ON THE DEFENSIVE

### WALSH BATTLES ATTERBURY-FOR RETENTION OF NATIONAL WORKING AGREEMENTS.

The battle between W. W. Atterbury, vice president of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Frank P. Walsh, counsel for the A. F. of L. Railroad Unions before the Railroad Board is still on and going strong.

When the present period of liquidation of prosperity began the railroads hastened to attempt to cut wages of the workers on all railroads. Then they ran up against the snag interposed by the Railroad Board which stood pat on the national agreements entered into between the roads and the men during the war. Instead of each road being enabled to slash wages at its wish or could, they were held to the wage scales previously established under the Board's supervision. But what the roads could not accomplish in wage cuts, they have partly done in the extensive laying off of workers.

One outstanding feature of the hearings before the Board concern the 8 hour day. Atterbury, while disclaiming an opposition to an 8 hour day, makes the general statement that he is unalterably opposed to the whole scheme of national working agreements which are now in force. Attorney Walsh, by skillful

questioning has brought out the evidence that all railroads in this country are in agreement upon all matters relating to their own particular interests, while they insist upon the abrogation of uniform agreements with the workers. They want each road to handle its own labor problems in its own way. One big union of railroad workers, or even a general working agreement with them is altogether a too bitter pill for the daily appetites of the transportation buccaneers.

In the meantime there are signs appearing that the government will be soon asked to assume responsibility for the railroads' management while the profits of the owners are guaranteed. And also—there are signs that the railroad workers are waking up to the need of a closer affiliation and more concerted action in their own interests. If Atterbury and his backers succeed in their present plans they will learn that they have touched the match to the fuse that means the eventual blowing up of their power. And, something has to light that fuse—why not Mr. Atterbury.

## SOVIETS AGAIN OFFER TRADE TO U. S.

### READY TO ESTABLISH FRIENDLY RELATIONS. RENOUNCE PURPOSE TO FOMENT REVOLUTION HERE.

The resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia have been put squarely up to this government.

For the first time since the deportation of Ludwig Martens, Soviet representative here, the Soviet Government has sent an official message to this government offering to send a trade commission here for the purpose of establishing a basis for trade, friendly relations between the two countries and eventual recognition of the Soviet Government.

With the signing of trade agreements between the Soviets and England and the development of trade with Italy also, it is believed that this country cannot long lag behind action along similar lines if she wishes to maintain a place in the lead in world commerce.

The Soviet message comes direct from M. Kalinin, President of the All-Russian Executive Committee and is as follows:

"To the Congress of the United States and his excellency, President Harding, Washington.

"Have the honor to transmit as instructed by my government following message signed Litvinoff, plenipotentiary, representative of Russian republic to Estonia.

"March 20. "From the first day of her existence, Soviet Russia had nourished the hope of the possibility of a speedy establishment of friendly relations with the great republic of North America and had firmly expected that intimate and solid ties would be created between the two republics to the greater advantage of both.

"At the time when the entente powers had begun their invasion of Soviet Russia, unprovoked and without declaration of war, the Soviet government repeatedly addressed itself to the American government with the proposal to adopt measures for the cessation of bloodshed. Even when the American troops, together with the others, participated in the attack upon Soviet Russia, the government of the Russian republic still expressed the hope of a speedy change of America's policy towards her and demonstrated this by its particularly considerate treatment of the Americans in Russia. But President Wilson, without cause and without any declaration of war, had attacked the Russian republic, showed

during his whole administration a growing hostility toward the Russian republic.

"Soviet Russia hopes that the American republic will not persist in obdurately following this path and that the new American government will clearly see the great advantage for the two republics of the establishment of business relations and will consider the interests of both peoples, which imperatively demand that the wall existing between them should be removed. The Soviet republic entirely absorbed in the work of internal reconstruction and of building up its economic life, has not the intention of intervening in the internal affairs of America, and the all-Russian central executive committee makes herewith a categorical declaration to this effect.

"At the present time, after Soviet Russia has concluded treaties and established regular relations with numerous states, the absence of such relations with America seems to Soviet Russia particularly abnormal and harmful to both peoples. The all Russian central executive committee makes to you the formal proposal of opening trade relations between Russia and America, and for that purpose the relations between the two republics have to be on the whole regularized.

"The all Russian central executive committee, therefore, proposes to send a special delegation to America which will negotiate upon this matter with the American government in order to solve the question of business relations and of resumption of trade between Russia and America.

"President of the all Russian executive committee, M. Kalinin; secretary, P. Zalutsky."

Latest reports give the information that Secretary of State Hughes has dispatched a reply to the communication from Russia stating as the opinion of the government of the United States that the basic conditions for trade with the Soviet government do not exist and no trade relations can be established at this time. This reply, instead of putting an end to the Soviet negotiations may induce them to set about to prove to this government that all the conditions for successful trading, and commerce do exist. Plainly, the next move belongs to Soviet Russia. Doubtless it is prepared for it.



RATHER CARELESS WITH HIS MATCHES!

## GERMAN COMMUNISTS ANSWER BATTLE CALL

### Increasing Unrest Among Workers Strikes Blaze to Smoldering Revolutionary Fires.

Armed revolts led by Communists have again broken out in many cities of Germany. The smoldering fires of revolution have spurted up into flames of armed attacks upon the government and the military power. Many cities have been captured by the rebellious workers who in all reports, are claimed to be in possession of great quantities of arms and ammunition.

Scores of lives have been lost on each side which are using all methods of modern warfare. Government and city buildings have been made the targets of the communist forces as well as the capture of shipyards, mines and other industrial plants. Fighting, in which small armies within the cities are engaged, still continues. The city workers have received support from the agricultural districts in men and war materials.

Conflicting reports are current as to the immediate cause of the revolts. One claim is made that the government has forced the revolt with the purpose of convincing the governments of the Entente that the retention of arms by the German government are necessary in greater quantities than the Peace Treaty allows. Allegations are of course made that the revolts are financed by "Russian gold", ignoring the fact of utter misery of the German masses and the discontent with the traitorous "socialist" government, which has long rankled in the workers' hearts and beneath whose Noske's iron heel the Spartacan revolution was crushed and drowned in proletarian blood.

The future will disclose if this is the REAL revolution in Germany for which all proletarian Europe awaits and hopes for.

## BETWEEN BOSSES AND WORKERS.

London, March 16.—A summons to its 3,000,000 members has been issued by the International Transport Workers' Federation to meet at Geneva on April 18. Many subjects are listed for discussion in the resolutions on the agenda.

One, in the name of the executive, for instance, congratulates the workers of those unions that prevented the transport of munitions to Poland and those intended for the blockade of Hungary and declares that "the most effective weapon against militarism and imperialism in every country is the organized strength of the trade union movement."

bitrarily reducing wages about 24 per cent.

All but two of the Western Washington commercial mines are idle. Owners of the Roslyn-Cascade and Bellingham mines, having refused to sign the operators' agreement to cut wages, are still working and are paying the miners' scale.

That the operators, in attempting to cut wages, are breaking faith with the government is claimed by the miners, who state that the report of the Coal Commission's hearing shows that W. M. Barnum, president of the Pacific Coal Company, informed the commission the operators would abide by the decision.

Milwaukee.—The minimum wage for women and children has been increased from 29 cents an hour to 37 and the working hours for the week set at 48 by the Wisconsin Industrial Commission.

The manufacturers vigorously resisted the proposed raise and even wanted no minimum. The commissioners supported the labor representatives in their claim that the cost of living was going up.

Milwaukee.—That industry and labor in conditions there are better than in many cities in the United States, was the assertion here of W. L. Vail, vice-president of the Trust Company of Mexico, and member of the good-will committee of Mexico business men, now on tour of the United States to re-establish trade relations.

San Francisco.—Seventy five delegates, representing as many labor unions, at a meeting here endorsed the American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia, which was established here last February to foster the movement for trade with the eastern republic.

Altoona, Pa.—Efforts of the Pennsylvania Railroad to disrupt the shopmen's union in this city have failed, declared H. O. Kelly, editor of the Labor News. A Mutual Benefit Association has been used by the company officials to alienate workers from the unions, but so far with little success, as only the supervisory forces, a few clerks and here and there a shopman have been induced to join.

Detroit.—Fixture Hangers Union No. 154, Electrical Workers, have signed an agreement with ample employing contractors for a 44-hour week at \$1.00 an hour.

The International Association of Machinists, which has for months been conducting a nationwide agitation for the restoration of American trade with Russia, was greatly pleased upon receipt of the Soviet trade offer. Its officers declared that American and European labor had been virtually a unit in demanding that trade with Russia be resumed, and they felt that the United States could not afford to wait until British manufacturers had taken the cream of the Russian orders before clearing the road to competition which would revive business in this country.

Vancouver.—Electric railway and other public utility companies have refused to accept the award of a government conciliation board thereby forcing union electrical workers in Vancouver and Victoria to call a strike.

Seattle, Wash.—Approximately 2300 miners, half of them heads of families, are on strike in Western Washington coal mines as the result of the action of mine owners in ar-

## Among the Class War Prisoners.

The case of the twenty members of the Communist Labor Party at Chicago, accused of sedition under the state sedition law, will be heard before the State Supreme Court August 1st. The appeal to the higher court was decided upon after Judge Hebel had reaffirmed the original sentences, which varied from one to five year sentences and fines of \$1,000. Each of the accused have been admitted to his former bail.

Lebourg, Emile Giraud, manager of the newspaper Soviet, and Louis Rabilloud, manager of the newspaper Communiste.

a delegate of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Paris, March 17.—When the prosecution was unable to prove its contention that they had plotted to overthrow the French Government in connection with the May day strike of last year, the court, before whom they had been on trial since February 8, today—on the 50th anniversary of the Paris Commune—acquitted the 10 Communist leaders charged with the plot.

Williamson, W. Va.—After a trial lasting 46 days the 16 defendants arrested in connection with the death of Albert C. Felts, member of the Baldwin-Felts Detective Agency, last May, at Mattewan, have been found not guilty. They are being held, however, on six other indictments charging them with having been implicated in the death of six other private detectives.

Minneapolis.—A petition for amnesty for Eugene V. Debs, bearing 9000 names of citizens of Minnesota, has been assembled within seven days by Mrs. Grace Keller, former neighbor of the jailed Socialist leader in Terre Haute, Ind. By the time the list is sent to President Harding it is expected it will be signed by 15,000 persons.

Prominent among the freed men are Pierre Monatte, Souvarine, Loriot and Gaston Monmousseau, all of whom have been severely grilled since their incarceration last May in the government's effort to establish a chain connecting the French Communists with an alleged Moscow intention to set up immediately a proletarian dictatorship in France. A prelude to which, according to the French official contention, would be a series of strikes for the purpose of paralyzing the country. The other defendants were Jacques Sigrand, Henri Bott, Marius Hanot, Alexandre

Everett, Wash.—Pat Cantwell, convicted of criminal syndicalism in Superior Court here and sentenced to serve from 14 to 18 months in the state penitentiary and to pay a fine of \$500, will appeal the case to the Supreme Court.

Rockford, Ill.—On the motion of the attorney for the state, William Johnson, to nolle prosequere the indictments against eight alleged Communists made in the Circuit Court here, the last of the Communist cases here was wiped from the court slate.

Those whose indictments were nolle prossed are Carl G. Lind, Alfred Nelson, Mrs. Alice Beale Parsons, Emil G. Peterson, William Romanovsky, Joseph Raskevich, William Steintorf and Oscar Wehlstrom.

Olympia, Wash.—Conviction of Frank Hastings and Ella Matson here under the criminal syndicalism act was upheld by the Washington Supreme Court. Hastings claimed he had torn up his I. W. W. card before his arrest and therefore was not a member.

Vienna.—Bela Paulik, political commissar for the movie theaters in Hungary during the Bela Kun regime in 1919, has been found guilty of "agitation" and sentenced to serve two years in jail, says a report just received from Budapest. The Horthy court acquitted Paulik of having caused riots and violations of personal liberty.

## DEBS INVITED TO WASHINGTON.

### RELEASED FROM PRISON TO DISCUSS OWN CASE WITH DAUGHERTY.

Released temporarily from Atlanta Prison, Eugene V. Debs, dressed in civilian clothes and without guard visited the White House on March 24th. This was on the special invitation and summons of Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty, who now occupies the seat among the mighty lately vacated by Mr. Palmer of opprobrious memory. The purpose of this unusual circumstances was to discuss the question of freedom for Debs.

Mr. Daugherty explained that as Debs acted as his own attorney at his trial in Cleveland, three years ago, it was unnecessary to consult his attorneys as to the merits of the case.

HARDING APPROVES VISIT. The invitation to Debs was extended, Mr. Daugherty explains after he had consulted the President who approved. Debs arrived at the Department of Justice at 9:45 and was in consultation with the Attorney General for two and one half

hours. Just what were the particular matters which they discussed in the privacy of the Attorney General's office has not been made public as yet! But that this discussion will decide one way or the other the matter of Debs' release is believed. Mr. Daugherty has made no statement as to what course events will take. Mr. Debs left Washington at 3:30 the same afternoon unescorted for his prison cell at Atlanta.

Milwaukee.—With the deportation of two alleged Milwaukee radicals, victims of the January, 1920, "red" raids, it is thought that Federal Judge Ferdinand Gieger will hand down a decision in the cases of at least 30 more in a few days. The two who were deported are Russians and former members of the Communist party.

## FIVE MILLIONS

### Are Asking "WHY ARE WE UNEMPLOYED?"

The Toller will answer that question in next week's issue which will be a special UNEMPLOYMENT ISSUE. The special price for distribution among the unemployed is 1c per copy. Order this minute all you can afford to pay for with the help of your friends and get them into the hands of those who want an answer to this question.

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THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE 3rd, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920

4th Installment.

SPEECHES OF FOREIGN DELEGATES.

After an intermission the representatives of foreign Socialist parties who are participating in the Congress of the III International are given the floor. The first speaker is the representative of France, comrade Rosmer.

SPEECH OF COMRADE ROSMER.

Comrade Rosmer, in the name of French workmen and peasants, expresses thanks for the reception, which deeply touched all. "A happy thought came to you when to-day you brought all delegates to Smolny, to make them see through what sufferings and heroism the Russian proletariat has passed, to attain the victory which we are to-day celebrating."

He says that the words of Comrade Kalinin, that it is time for the international proletariat to show clearly its solidarity with the Russian proletariat, have fixed themselves firmly in the minds of all present. The French working class had, however, already realized that perhaps it had not shown sufficient energy in coming to the assistance of the Russian people, simply because confused by the libelous propaganda, it did not know sufficiently well the latter's condition, and was not as yet sufficiently strong to carry out its own will.

"But now, having been here, the French delegates will be able to acquaint French workmen and peasants with what is going on in Russia. They intend and promise, to strive with increased energy, to the end that French workmen and peasants may understand that here people are fighting and dying for the common cause of the entire proletariat; they promise to increase their efforts to the end that all French proletarians and workmen shall enter actively into the ranks of the great international proletarian army. They promise to call attention to the great services of the proletariat of Red Petrograd, which has manifested particular heroism, self-sacrifice and steadfastness, taking the lead among hero proletarians. He proposes the following resolution:

MESSAGE OF CONGRESS TO THE WORKMEN OF PETROGRAD.

(Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.)

"Brothers, the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International, in opening its session in Red Petrograd, sends its warm greetings to you, Petrograd workmen and workwomen, Red Army soldiers, sailors, and all toilers."

We, the delegates of labor organizations of the whole world, considered it our duty to open the first sitting of the Congress in your Petrograd, in order thus to pay the tribute of respect and affection to the proletariat of Red Petrograd, which was the first to rise up against the bourgeoisie, and with heroic concentration of strength and will-power overturned the authority of capital in one of the most important forts of the bourgeoisie world.

"The proletarians of all countries know how much you proletarians of Petrograd have suffered during the last three years, how you have finished, how many of your best sons have perished at the front defending the great cause of Communism. The workmen of the whole world love you, particularly because you did not hesitate for a minute at the time of the great crisis that threatened Petrograd and the entire Soviet Republic, but defended the bloodsoaked Red Flag with the courage of lions, with tireless daring, and with the steadfastness of the Petrograd proletariat."

"The Communist International says to you: The Petrograd Commune carries on in a worthy manner the cause of the Paris Commune, avoiding the weaknesses and mistakes of the latter and leading the proletarian battalions to victory."

"The Communist International is convinced that the workmen of Red Petrograd will continue to represent the best detachment of the world army of labor."

"Long live the glorious Petrograd proletariat!  
"Long live the Communist International!"

SPEECH OF COMRADE SERRATI.

In the name of the communistic, internationalist Italian Socialist Party, which is adhering to the Communist International, Comrade Serrati greets the brilliant Red Army, the defender of Soviet Russia, and the defender of the great ideals of the world proletariat."

He says that when the world war broke out, in Italy the traitors of the working class wished to convince the latter that it was necessary to go over to the side of the bourgeoisie; they spread the idea that once the proletariat gets hold of iron, once it gets hold of rifles, then it will be able to win its bread, and secure its liberty. "But from the very first day, the Italian party cut loose from the Socialist-Traitors," says Comrade Serrati.

"They said it was not a question of having iron and rifles in hand, and of fighting on the side of the bourgeoisie, but a question of fighting on the side of the working class against the bourgeoisie, with rifles or without, always and everywhere."

"And now the glorious Red Army has shown by experience that iron and rifles are a revolutionary weapon only when the working class as an army can control this weapon; this means only for the conquest

of the great ideals of the proletariat against the interests and intrigues of the bourgeoisie of the whole world."

"This brilliant army, which wins victory after victory, in the south against Wrangel, in the west against the Poles, this Red Army at the present moment is a unit. With it, directly or indirectly, are also the English workmen in Southham, the Italian sailors in Ancona, and the German sailors at Kiel, wherever the proletariat is preventing the sending of munitions to the Polish front."

"May the day be near when the Red Proletarian Army will consist not only of Russian proletarians but will consist of proletarians of the whole world. That will be a great hour, when the proletarians of all countries and the brilliant Red Army soldiers will be able finally to free themselves from their dependence with respect to war—military service—and will be able not only with cannon but by peaceful means to lead the whole world to a Soviet form of government and finally free the whole world from all that now represents oppression of the working class." Comrade Serrati proposes the following greeting to the Red Army and to the Red Fleet of the whole Soviet Federated Socialist Republic in the name of all parties represented at the Communist International:

MESSAGE OF CONGRESS TO THE RED ARMY.

(Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1921.)  
Brothers, the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International sends hearty fraternal greetings to the entire Red Army, to the entire Red Fleet and to each Red division, from the smallest to the largest."

To you, Red Army soldiers and Red sailors, to all of you and to each of you, and particularly to the comrades at the front:

The toilers of the entire world with bated breath fondly follow your struggle against capitalists and landlords, Tsarist generals, and imperialists. The workmen of the whole world share your defeats and celebrate your victories. The toiling population of the whole world enthusiastically notes with what great effort you have striven to overcome Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich, and Miller, breaking up the intrigues of French and English capitalists."

The 2nd World Congress of the III International heartily greets you, and the Red Army which at the present moment fights on the western and southwestern fronts against the white Polish nobles, whom the bourgeoisie of the Entente has sent in order to suppress the Russian Soviet Republic of workmen and peasants."

"Brothers, Red Army Soldiers! Know that your war against the Polish nobles is the most just war that history has ever known. You are fighting not only for the interests of Soviet Russia, but for the interests of all toiling humanity, for the Communist International. The toiling masses can not destroy the yoke of the rich, and wage slavery, except by war with arms in hand."

You were the first to turn your arms against the oppressors. You were the first to create a strong and powerful workmen-peasants' Red Army. You were the first to point out the road to the oppressed and exploited of the whole world."

Because of this the proletarians of all countries bless you. The Communist International knows that your victories over the enemies of workmen and peasants have been bought at the price of innumerable sacrifices and deprivations."

We know that you will not allow yourselves to be defeated. We know how many of the best sons of the Red Army have given their lives for our cause. Your heroism will never be forgotten in history. Know, comrades, that the Red Army is now one of the principal forces of world history!"

Know that you are no longer alone. The toilers of the whole world are on your side. The time is near when there will be created the International Red Army."

Long live the great, invincible Red Army!  
Long live the army of the Communist International!"

SPEECH OF COMRADE STEINER.

The representative of the Communist Party of Austria, Comrade Steiner, in a brilliant speech dwells on the international position of Soviet Russia, and calls on the workmen of all countries to render immediate assistance to the heroic country, which was the first to rise in rebellion against the power of capital."

"Workmen of Austria, Germany, England, France, Italy, and other countries, who till now have supported a white-guardist adventure on the territory of Russia and of its small neighbors, should immediately cease work in all organizations which are working for the support of the Russian, and therefore of the international, counter-revolution. Not a single shell should be permitted to reach the camps of the whites, and not a single cannon should be sent to the whites; not a single coat should be sent to the soldiers of counter-revolutions."

Speaking of the wishes of the proletariat of Hungary, after the international bourgeoisie had overthrown the Soviet authority in that country and had organized a systematic white terror, Comrade Steiner did

not see any way out of the situation that has been created, except a complete and definite destruction of the world bourgeoisie."

"The criminal bourgeois gang in its desire to wreak vengeance on the proletariat and stifle forever the workmen's movement in Hungary, does not hesitate at any crime. For this band there do not exist either Mensheviks, Communists, or nonpartisans; all workmen, without exception, are subject to the same persecution and to the same harassment. From the point of view of the present masters of Hungary, whoever has callouses on his hands is the most bitter enemy of the bourgeoisie."

Comrade Steiner concludes his speech with the words: "Soviet Hungary is no more. Long live Soviet Hungary."

SPEECH OF COMRADE MARKHLEVSKY.

The floor is then given to the representative of Polish Communists, Comrade Markhlevsky, who reports that the delegates from the Polish proletariat were already on the road, had already started for the Congress when news from Warsaw forced them to return, because the hour had struck for the direct conflict of the Polish proletariat for its rights. (Stormy applause.)

Comrade Markhlevsky then discusses the situation in Poland. Polish revolutionary workmen were among the shock troops of the Russian revolution of 1905-6. But the Polish proletariat was not able to take advantage of the results of the work it did. During the war of 1914 Poland was subjected to destruction, and the Polish proletariat was ruined and weakened. Polish Communists opposed this destruction with all their strength, by uniting proletarian forces, and their efforts led to the beginning of the awakening of Polish peasants and workmen."

"Now our Red Army is rapidly moving forward, and the proletarian revolution in Poland will go very rapidly. But you must remember that bourgeois Poland has as its neighbor bourgeois Roumania, which would gladly render it assistance. It is the task of the Russian proletariat to assist the Polish workmen and peasants in their struggle against the bourgeoisie, and to bring the war to a conclusion as quickly as possible, by a complete destruction of the Polish nobles. Polish Communists swear that they will not retreat a step from their aims, and they beg for assistance in this decisive struggle."

In answer to this appeal of Comrade Markhlevsky the Congress sends a message to the proletarians of all countries and particularly to the Polish proletariat, calling on them to fight for the liberation of Poland."

"TO THE PROLETARIANS (MEN AND WOMEN) OF ALL COUNTRIES."

(Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.)

The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International convenes at a moment when White-Guardist Poland, the stronghold of the capitalist world, reaction, is falling before the powerful blows of the Red Army of Russian workmen and peasants. What all revolutionary workmen and workwomen of the whole world fervently desire has now been accomplished."

Russian workmen and peasants have gone against the impudent Polish White-Guards just as they rose to suppress the Russian counter-revolution and the troops of Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich. The Polish capitalists and landlords have rejected the honorable peace proposals of Soviet Russia in the hope of receiving assistance from world capital and in the belief that Soviet Russia had exhausted all her strength in the struggle against counter-revolution. They threw their troops into Soviet Russia and are now on the eve of a great military defeat."

Their troops have fallen back from the Ukraine and White Russia, and the troops of Soviet Russia are pursuing them. The brigands of world capital,

the Polish landlords and capitalists, now wait that Poland is in great danger."

They are appealing to the governments of capitalist countries with requests for immediate assistance, so that European culture should not be destroyed by the barbarians of the Russian revolution. And we see how the English Government, which armed the Poles for their criminal attack on Soviet Russia, which together with its allies refused to leave Poland when Soviet Russia proposed on April 3 to begin negotiations in London—we see how that same capitalist England impudently threatens a new general attack by all the allies in the case Soviet Russia does not conclude an armistice with the Poles, who have advanced into Russia."

The directors of world capital, who are playing with the destinies of peoples as though they were cats, now come forward as the defenders of the independence of Poland. The French Government, which in 1917 was ready to abandon Poland to the Tsarist government of Russia if the latter would recognize the French pretensions with respect to the left bank of the Rhine, the English Government which frequently during the war declared confidentially through its agents to the German Government that it would turn over Poland to the Central Powers if German imperialism would evacuate Belgium, where it would be a danger to England—all these traders in human flesh now shout that Soviet Russia threatens the independence of Poland, and under this slogan are attempting to prepare the public opinion of the whole world for a new attack on Russian workmen and peasants."

Workmen and workwomen of all countries! There is no need for us to explain to you that Soviet Russia does not entertain the slightest plan of conquest with respect to the Polish people, of Hoffman and Beseler. Soviet Russia was ready to conclude peace even with Polish capitalists, and in order to attain peace not only recognized the independence of Poland but ceded to Poland extensive border regions. Soviet Russia is closely bound to the Polish working masses by decades of common struggle. For Soviet Russia self-determination of the Polish people is a sacred and inviolable right, and if not a single soldier defended Poland, the Polish land would nevertheless remain the property of the Polish people, and the Polish people itself would determine freely its own fate."

But so long as there rules in Poland a band of capitalist adventurers and landlords who have drawn the country into a criminal military adventure; so long as the capitalists of the Entente supply Poland with arms, Soviet Russia is in a state of defensive war. Should Soviet Russia to-day give the Polish White-Guardists a respite and allow them to reestablish their shattered troops and again arm them with the assistance of the Entente, tomorrow Soviet Russia would be obliged once more to tear hundreds of thousands of her best sons from the plow and workmen's bench and send them to the front for a new defensive war."

Workmen and workwomen! If the capitalist filth of the whole world cries out about the attack on the independence of Poland, in order to prepare a new attack against Russia, you should know the following and it alone: Your employers tremble, fearing that one of the pillars of their rule, of their world system of reaction, exploitation and oppression is falling; they fear that if white-guardist Poland falls before the blows of the Red Army, and the Polish workmen take over power into their own hands, that then it will be easier for the German, Austrian, Italian, and French workmen to free themselves from their exploiters, and that the workmen of England and America also will follow them. If the capitalist filth wails that danger threatens the independence of Poland, it is because they fear that your slavery, your involuntary servitude, workmen and workwomen, may be replaced by liberation from the chains of capitalist slavery. Therefore it is the duty of the proletarians of all countries by every means to prevent the Governments of England, France, America, and Italy from rendering any aid whatsoever to the Polish White-Guards: Proletarians of the countries of the Entente! Your governments will continue to try to deceive you; they will insist, as heretofore, that they are not rendering support to Poland. It is your duty to stand guard at all ports and all frontiers, and see to it that not a single train or ship with food supplies or arms should leave for Poland. Take up your positions as guards! Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by false indications as to the places from which transports are being sent; such transports, you know, can be sent to Poland by roundabout routes. And when governments and private capital do not give way to your protests, organize strikes, act by force, and under

IN MEMORY.

By an Ex-hero.

"Allied troops invade Germany, war again declared"—these were the words that greeted me; "Allies announce they will take over German territory and make her pay the last mark."—In my mind came the vision of long lines of marching men, ruffling cannon and flying banners. Yes, cities to be occupied. The WORKERS must pay or fight other WORKERS—what fools we mortals are, what confounded jackasses!—French diplomacy wins over Lloyd George, on to the Rhine and TAKE OVER the FACTORIES. If this isn't the Dictatorship of Capitalism then what is it?"

Now, if the French workers would take over French factories and the Germans take over the German factories we wouldn't kick. BUT to

see these armed WORKERS representing the League of Nations marching in like heroes to take over the INDUSTRIES for their MASTERS and then in TURN work them for their MASTERS makes one feel like saying that after all old P. J. Barnum was right—on with the dance, its the LAST march and somewhere between the two oceans the Dictatorship of Capitalism will meet these same WORKERS on their WAY BACK, ready to take over their own factories.

Revenge, revenge and more revenge, the workers must pay, if they don't, we are done for, these darn Reds will mop us up—Germany pays or we will have a revolution on our hands and if Germany goes Bolsheviki we will have? perish the thought, begone from me!—impossible, why Russia is breaking down, who will the Germans hook up with?—we have no Reds amongst us, our workers are either LOAFING or in the army. Such is the song of the

wise ones, but deep down in their dear little hearts they know it to be a LIE. Capitalism is crumbling and breaking to pieces right before their noses and the WAR LORDS have assisted greatly in doing it. Across the long space eastward arises a new day, people born anew out of the agony and misery of capitalist war the Allied workers are headed in the right direction—who knows what their thoughts are? Let them march on with speed of the winds and let's hope that they never hear the command HALT until across the way the outstretched hand of the sons of the World's First Socialist Republic bids them WELCOME and together let them sing war's last RECALL, in memory of the world's workers, to those sons and daughters of the salt of the earth, the proletariat.

No more the rat infested trenches, the stink and skeletons that by night light up No Mans Land with ghostly rays—no more the parting, the an-

guish and living by the minute—no more heroes but JUST MEN living as such with all men. Happy, rosy cheeked children, contented wives, and workers without a fear of deportation; men amongst men, living and letting live. Speed the day when from war's last recall there will come PEACE and CONTENTMENT and the MEMORY of the WORLD'S WORKERS who fought and died that WARS will be no more. All power to the workers and may they MARCH ON and ON and OVER the RHINE and come back with changed banners and as members of the Workers League of Nations—the 3rd International.

The new day is dawning to the grim faced, ill fed, ill clothed Russian peasant and worker, we are indebted, he gave us the way of PEACE and out of a blood soaked world builded the new civilization where WARS are no more.

no conditions help the Polish landlords and capitalists to murder your Russian brothers. Proletarians of Germany! When white-guardist Poland falls then the capitalists of the countries of the Entente will be willing to conclude peace with German generals and with German capitalists; they will help the latter to equip large armies of hired troops, and these troops will suppress the German proletariat in order to convert Germany into a base of operations against Soviet Russia. The capitalists of the countries of the Entente will not hesitate to convert Germany into a heap of ruins, to become the advance post for the struggle against Soviet Russia and Soviet Poland. German workmen and workwomen! The hour has come when you can accomplish what you promised thousands of times during great manifestations, namely, to come over to the side of your Russian brothers, and together with them fight for your freedom. Do not allow on German soil any attempts to render assistance to white-guardist Poland, and do not allow any new recruitment of hired soldiers. Watch carefully all the trains going eastward, and keep a strict watch over what takes place in Danzig, doing everything that is required by the circumstances. Not a single freight car and not a single ship should go from Germany to Poland."

Proletarians of all other countries! Remember that the enemy now is white-guardist Poland. The task of the present hour is to crush this enemy. Proletarians of all countries! Remember that you must not give in to the deceitful speeches of treacherous or hesitating leaders of the workmen and to false promises of government. Now you must act, and you must gather all forces in order to blockade Poland. You must concentrate all forces in order to show in fact the solidarity of the world proletariat with Soviet Russia."

Workmen and workwomen! Your solidarity with Soviet Russia at the same time is solidarity with the Polish proletarians. The Polish proletariat, under the direction of the Communist Party, is struggling steadfastly against the war with Soviet Russia. The Polish prisons are filled with our Polish brothers, the Communists of Poland. The defeats of the Polish White-Guardists arouse the greatest enthusiasm in the hearts of Polish workmen. A wave of strikes is rising in Poland. Polish workmen are striving to take advantage of the defeats of their exploiters, in order to deal the last blow to their weakened class enemy and in order to unite with Russian workmen in a common struggle for freedom."

The blockade of Poland will represent direct aid to the struggle for liberation of the Polish workmen; it is the road that will free Poland from the chains imposed on it by the victorious capitalists of London and Paris, the road to an independent republic of Polish workmen and peasants."

The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International sends you this appeal: Come out onto the streets and show your governments that you will not allow any assistance to white-guardist Poland or any intervention against Soviet Russia. Stop all work and movement if you see that the capitalist clique of all countries, despite your protest is preparing a new attack on Soviet Russia. Do not let a single train or boat pass through to Poland. Show that the solidarity of the proletariat exists in actual fact and not simply in words."

Long live Soviet Russia! Long live the Red Army of Russian workmen and peasants! Down with white-guardist Poland! Down with intervention! Long live Soviet Poland!

SPEECH OF COMRADE LEVI.

The leader of the German Spartacides, the Communist Comrade Levi, outlined the treacherous role played by the Socialist compromisers, the followers of Scheidemann, in suppressing the Communist movement and uprisings in Germany. The entire Congress, and all delegates present at this sitting, once more paid their respects to the leaders of the Communist movement, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg."

"The Communist cause," says Comrade Levi, "since their tragic death grows and becomes stronger daily and hourly throughout all Germany. At the present moment the country is making an inventory of its Communist forces, which have established deep root in the proletariat, which latter is gradually freeing itself from the hypnosis of compromise parties. It is being pushed in this direction by the cruel actualities of present day Germany."

The speech of Comrade Levi does not leave any doubt that Germany will be one of the first to enter on the road of social revolution."

(Next Week Second Sitting of the Congress.)

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DECLARATION OF WAR.

War for the American workers did not cease on Armistice Day! War in a form more brutal and more insidious, since it is carried on without even the slightest suggestion of an "idealistic" goal, has been waged to destroy the last hope of the workers of America that they will be freed from wage slavery without resort to organized force.

There has not been the slightest intimation that the purpose of this campaign was to keep down "unruly" elements. It has been a bloody, ruthless attack of organized greedy capitalism on weak sections of the labor movement...

Organized greed is never satisfied. It was declared war on union labor—the closed shop must go. There must remain only the SHOP CLOSED TO THE UNION MAN! That is the aim of organized greed—consolidated into the one big union of the employers, who have prepared to throw the workers into the streets, to starve and beg.

What are the workers of America going to do about it? Had the workers of the United States declared war on the capitalists, the government would have sent its army into action against them. The jails and penitentiaries would be full of workers given a long vacation to think over their "criminal" acts.

The capitalists are carrying the game pretty far. They are carrying it too far for safety's sake! The government of the United States is allowing them to play with fire! It is supporting them in their bloody game of crushing the workers!

Labor is still unorganized. In spite of the fact that there reportedly are nearly 5,000,000 workers organized in America, there is still lack of cohesive force. Divided into hundreds of separate, almost autonomous organizations and sub-divisions, recognizing no single central authority...

But let the capitalists procure a few more decisions against organized labor; let them enact a few more laws forcing the workers to give up even the few primitive "rights" that they have acquired; let them continue their bombardment of organized labor just a little longer, persistently, relentlessly—then LABOR WILL WAKE UP!

WHAT WE GET.

By GEORGE WESSLER.

The politicians of Europe were deeply disappointed at the inaugural speech of Harding. It was a mess of obscure generalities. But, on the first day of business, the new administration gave the world a concrete example of what "America First" means in action.

The South American countries are not being fooled by the \$25,000,000 Republicans talk of giving to Colombia for her loss of Panama. They have had good reason to fear our rulers. They know that our Big Business can afford to pay for a veneer of "fair dealing".

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

freedom from the yoke of Spain to a practice of reducing them to mere colonies and spheres of influence of the United States. These Latin nations have, with dismay, witnessed the gradual loss of an independent foreign policy on important questions.

The workers of America cannot sit idly by and see the ruling class make this country a byword of hatred and oppression. They are the ones who will be called upon to expiate the crimes committed by the capitalist bloodhounds.

More terrible than all this, a second World War hangs over the heads of the working class. The murderous haste of our imperialists for colonies and foreign markets in South America, in Asia and even in Africa, must inevitably plunge us into another war more devastating than its predecessor.

RALLYING THE WORKERS TO MOSCOW

By J. T. MURPHY.

MOSCOW OR AMSTERDAM! That is the issue before the organized industrial workers of the world today. There can be no shirking on this matter. We are either with one or the other.

The policy of the Amsterdam International of the "Yellows" has been revealed and is being revealed continually as a policy of cooperation with the enemies of the working class, culminating in a full-blown gospel of "class peace" and apathetic wagging at the tail of the League of Nations.

The policy of Moscow has also been fully revealed by the Communist International and the Russian Trade Unions in particular. Both have set the place to the extension and development of their activities. The one in the growth of the Communist International and the other by constant appeals to the organized industrial workers of the western countries, and by taking the initiative in the formation of the Provisional International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, with the object of establishing a Red Industrial International.

Such are the broad issues before us and upon which we must decide. But clear as these main issues may be to those who see and read, it must not be forgotten that vast multitudes who, from time to time, are moved in one direction or another, do not see and do not understand.

'Dope' and 'Dubb' Phrases Analysed.

By A. W.

"Things have always been the same and always will be." This sentence seems to be the last resort of the lazy minds among the workers. Even a little reflection on their part would show them it is nonsense.

The phrase sometimes occurs in the form, "We've always had rich and poor, and always will have," or "the poor are always with us." This likewise is false, and is easily proved so.

Let me illustrate this from a lecture I heard on Alpine climbing. The lecturer was a well known capitalist, who, no doubt, drew a large sum annually for "directing industry."

The double condition of master and man, rich and poor, is due to the organization of society, and this is continually changing. As soon as you, the workers, take the trouble to understand the laws of social development, you can go forward consciously to abolish a system which makes you the hewer of wood and drawer of water to men who have never rendered any social service in their lives.

Kill these "dope" phrases and wake the slumberers!

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revolutionary forces, gather together those organizations which are determined to be loyal to the working class interests, and to fight consciously for the workers' victory over capitalism.

That is what "Rallying the Workers to Moscow" means—a shifting away from the "yellow" policy of bowing and scraping and appealing to the overlords who batter them for their pains, and a gravitation to the healthy heart of the Revolution which stirs and pumps the life blood of purpose, courage and power to rise from slavery to freedom.

ZINOVIEF CHALLENGES THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL.

OPEN LETTER TO MESSRS. JOUHAUX, OF PARIS, FIMMEN AND OUDAGEEST, OF AMSTERDAM.

Gentlemen:—

I have received the letter you sent me, written on behalf of the Amsterdam Trade Union International. As you requested me to do, I communicated the contents of your letter to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

You say that you speak on behalf of thirty million organized workers, no more and no less. Gentlemen, I do not believe you. You have no more right to say that you speak in the name of thirty million organized workers than has Millerand to speak in the name of the forty million inhabitants of France, or Ebert in the name of the sixty million inhabitants of Germany.

No, gentlemen, you will no longer succeed in deceiving anyone. In reality, you speak, not on behalf of thirty million organized workers, but only on behalf of a little group of Trade Union bureaucrats, a group which lends its support to the bourgeoisie against the workers when any fundamental questions arise.

There may be, of course, within your "yellow" International of Amsterdam, some leaders whose actions are disinterested, and who honestly believe that they are serving the interests of the working class. But these leaders are not those who influence is greatest within the Amsterdam International.

Capable business men, such as Albert Thomas, Jouhaux, the late Legien, the English Minister Henderson, Vandervelde, Troelstra, Branting, or even Renaudel himself within the Labor movement, as conceived by the Amsterdam International—such men know very well what they are doing. It is impossible that you all, with your varied experience, you that have been ministers in more than one bourgeois government, at times when the bourgeoisie was confronted with social difficulties and found it absolutely necessary to shed the blood of the workers—it is impossible for you not to know what you are doing.

This is becoming more and more obvious to the more conscious sections of the workers. And this is why one after the other, the Trade Unions in France, Germany, and elsewhere are abandoning the Amsterdam International, and are linking up with the International Council of Red Trade Unions established at Moscow.

You are alarmed because you find the ground giving way beneath your feet. Just as, during the last two years, the workers' political parties have, one after the other, left the camp of the Second International, so the Trade Unions are leaving the camp of the "Yellow" Amsterdam International. It is as inevitable as that the dawn should follow the night. It is as inevitable as the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

The first World Congress of the Red Trade Unions has been fixed for May 1, 1921, at Moscow. It has been convened by the International Council of Workers Unions, acting in conjunction with the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

All those Unions which really want to fight the bourgeoisie are invited to this Congress. We only lay down

one condition, which is that the unions which want to take part in our Congress should sincerely desire to fight against World Imperialism, and, therefore, against the instrument of World Imperialism, the "Yellow" International of Amsterdam; and you will see that this first Congress of Red Workers' Unions will be a triumph for the Third International, and will give the final death-blow to the treacherous International of Amsterdam.

Every step you take you launch against us; every service that you render to Imperialism, and such services have been your main task for some time, will only strengthen the Third International, and help to ensure the success of the World Congress of Red Trade Unions on May 1, 1921.

Your letter contains one practical proposal, that you should supply our organization with more detailed information as to your work. You seem to be anxious to start a discussion with us as to your principles and ours. I, therefore, gentlemen, let you know of the following decision of the Executive of the Communist International:—

"The Executive of the Communist International and the International Council of Trade Unions have resolved unanimously on the motion of Zinoviev, to accept a public debate with the Amsterdam International."

We know quite well how little influence you have over the masses of the workers. On the other hand, your influence is considerable in the ministerial circles of the bourgeois government. So we have no doubt that M. Jouhaux will be able to persuade M. Millerand without much trouble that the President of the Communist International should be allowed, for the good of the cause, to visit Paris for a public debate with M. Jouhaux. And it is quite possible that Mr. Henderson will be able to obtain the same result in England, and M. Troelstra in Holland.

The Third International therefore proposes to take steps to arrange from February of this year for public discussion before the workers of London, Paris, Amsterdam, and other European capitals, so that the yellow International of Amsterdam can take part.

Gentlemen, it should not be difficult for you to obtain governmental consent to our proposal, through the mediation of the League of Nations, which is so favorably disposed toward you, and of the International Labor Office, which serves as a link between the Amsterdam International and the League of Nations.

Please examine our proposal as soon as you can among your own circle—that is to say the circle of bureaucrats of the Amsterdam International and the Home and Foreign Ministers of your Governments, and let us have a reply one way or the other as soon as possible.

We eagerly await your reply. You can be sure, gentlemen, that we quite understand the difficulty of your position, and that we realize what unpleasant circumstances caused you to write that letter to us, to which we are now replying. Accept our condolences for the rapid disintegration of your forces, with the whole world looking on; and accept our assurance that the advance guard of the workers of the world knows you at true worth, and that it also knows that, in order to overthrow the power of capitalism, it is also necessary to put an end to the treacherous organization called the Amsterdam International of Trade Unions.

Yours very respectfully, ZINOVIEF.

Petrograd, January 13, 1921.

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# INTERNATIONAL MANIFESTO

To all the Organizations Affiliated with the Communist International, and to the Workers of all Countries.

Comrades,—For the last two years, the workers of Spain, particularly those of the most industrial and active sections of the country, have been subjected to a most cruel and barbaric oppression on the part of the ruling class.

The Government, acting on behalf of the landlords who have greatly enriched themselves during the Imperialist War, is treating the workers of the country with ever-increasing severity.

For two years, all constitutional guarantees have been suspended, and martial law has prevailed. The Labor press has been suppressed, labor unions dissolved, and the right of assembly denied. The militant elements of the labor unions and even the ordinary workers have been cast into prison by hundreds of thousands, in accordance with the whim of provincial and local tyrants.

But our Spanish comrades have not bowed their heads before this brutal treatment. They have organized themselves for resistance, and, by maintaining their labor organizations in spite of everything, they have ensured the solidarity of their class.

In response to the violence of the Government, they are manifesting increased courage and energy.

The bourgeoisie of Spain, trampling under foot its own laws, is resorting to measures characteristic of the dark ages.

The militant workers have been deported to Fernando Po, in Africa, to Mahon, on the island of Minorca, and similar places. Others are being deported under convoy of gendarmes to the villages of their birth, being compelled to march on foot and subjected to various brutalities. Since the army and the police do not suffice—the Spanish bourgeoisie has let loose its White Guards against the workers. In a word, our Spanish comrades have become the victims of a White terror similar to that of Finland and Hungary. But they do not lose courage. They have taken up the gauntlet against all the forces of

the bourgeoisie, and they ask the workers of all other countries to come to their assistance, in this great combat against their bourgeoisie, maddened and enraged by their resistance. This assistance must be immediate, and must take form of a complete boycott of all Spanish products, which, in accordance with the recommendation of our Spanish comrades, ought to begin, on Jan. 15. Beginning with that day, the workers of all countries must decline to handle, to transport, or to unload any goods coming from Spain, or consigned to Spain. They must also refuse to use any products of Spanish origin. Thus isolated from the entire world, and renounced by the proletariat of all countries, the Spanish bourgeoisie will have to capitulate.

The Communist International Council of Labor Unions most urgently calls upon the workers of all countries to respond to the appeal of their Spanish brethren. The great struggle imposed upon them by the bourgeoisie, which they have thus far carried on so courageously, without any assistance, must end in victory for the Spanish proletariat. The support which they now stand in need should be given them immediately and without hesitation.

All the organizations affiliated with the Communist International should respond to the appeal of the Spanish National Confederation of Labor, which is itself a member of the International. They must do all in their power to assure the success of this movement. A victory over the Spanish bourgeoisie will be a victory of the proletariat as a whole.

We must show that the solidarity of the working class, manifest in action, is invincible.

Long live the Spanish proletariat!  
Long live the solidarity of the working class!

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Executive Committee of the International Council of Labor Unions.

# A LETTER FROM POLAND.

Poland is as yet a wall for international capitalism against Bolshevism and on that account did Poland get from the capitalistic nations the right to self determination.

Under the false pretense of saving Poland from the Bolsheviks they declared war against Russia. The war which Poland started in the time of the "Socialist" Government (the Bergers and Hilquits of Poland) had only one goal—the destruction of the Soviet Government. Thanks to them the bourgeoisie is still sitting in the saddle, but at the same time having turned over everything to the Rockefeller and Morgans. With tens of thousands of unemployed, starvation and disease are raging and any day may see a revolution break out.

You, in America have the illusion that the Proletarian movement of Poland is dead because of reaction. This is not true. Your press does not mention the struggle of the masses under the leadership of the Polish Communist Party. They make you think the masses of Poland stick to the Government against the opposition, but the fact is—when the Communist Party was legal the workers were with us; the calls for demonstrations were answered by thousands of workers, which ended in the death of some comrades. When the bourgeoisie with the help of the yellow Socialists took over the government their first task was the destruction of the Communist Party.

While we now are driven underground the masses are still with us. At one time the call for a demonstration was answered by more than forty five thousands organized workers.

On May first the call from the Communist Party was answered by thousands of workers, altho the war with Russia was still on. Without the Yellow Socialists' help the bourgeoisie couldn't exist. The sympathy of the Polish working masses for the Soviet Regime manifested itself when the Red Army marched into Poland and Galicia. The city and country workers in some instances armed

and fought the retreating Polish army. All organizations of the Polish Socialist Party came over to the Communist Party and fought against their own national army. When the Red Army was fifteen miles from Warsaw the Polish workingclass waited and hoped for the minute when the Red troops would march into Warsaw.

Had this occurred there would be a new Europe to-day: The retreat of the Red army from Poland cost many hundreds of lives to the workingclass who were shot by the government for working in Soviet institutions, and helping the Soviet Army. Now after the armistice between Poland and Russia is signed the Polish Government is still sending a Balachovich on Pinsk and Zeligowski on Vilna, but we are sure our comrades of Russia will clean them out like rats. Conditions for a Revolution are now ripe, unemployment, starvation, high cost of living, graft, reaction and the disappointed millions of soldiers who were promised land and work, all these are with us. The outbreak of the masses cannot be prevented. A Revolution must come.

Yours for Communism  
Zolmay.

# City and Farm Labor Must Unite.

By H. R. ADAMS.  
Comrades of the city, we of the farm need your help. Between us there has been built a wall of misunderstanding. Built by our two-faced masters manipulating their kept press. By insidious lies you have been pictured to the farmer as lazy, ignorant and over-paid; always grasping for more pay and less work.

On the other hand we are pictured to you as sleek well fed profiteers riding about the country in our automobiles. Forcing the prices of your food beyond reach. Both pictures are despicably untrue!

The class and social consciousness of most workers are dormant, the country-rides are barren of them; compared with the City it is a WILDERNESS. Here and there a man rises to the light of understanding but he is soon caught between the millstones of ignorance. Below him his fellows, ignorantly damning you strikes for living wages, as the cause of their troubles. Above him is your ignorance, which holds the farmer responsible for the high cost of the essential foods. These millstones operated by our joint MASTERS soon grind us both to powder. I have been to the City of Cities. Seen it pulsing with life, its blood corpuscles, the workers, functioning in every part. It's great masses of buildings machines and men. Most of all its massing of ideas.

There were workers striking, picketing; silent sentinels of protest, marching shoulder to shoulder. And I could see it was a fusing of ideas, as well as the presence and example of their comrades which supported them.

By force of contrast there rushed upon me a vision of the open country I had left. The farm proletarian—isolated from his fellows by great distances, long days of labor, and empty nights; plodding and alone, doomed to continued ignorance unless you carry the class struggle into the country.

The workings of the Masters' Game is very clear to me. With the cleaver of their press they are cutting the working class in halves. CITY and COUNTRY. As you of the city organize and grow more threatening in your strength they plan to retreat to us of the country for support and to that end are already building a misguided hatred in the minds of the farm proletariat. Their purpose is to starve us both into submission.

This is not a plea for sympathy. It is a demand upon your intelligence. A warning that the success of the city workers' fight depends upon perfect understanding of the Masters' Game. For in understanding that you will realize that the fight will eventually resolve itself into a struggle to fill your bellies.

The city must be fed! The working class in the country which produces the food must be taught that the future of all Labor depends upon the successful struggle of the city proletariat to overthrow the Capitalist Class.

The great giant of Farm Labor is banker drugged. YOU, the organized workers of the city, must galvanize him into life!

Milwaukee.—Ten out of the 57 alleged radicals captured here in the January raid of 1920 have been deported to date, according to an announcement by Atty. Henry H. Stroud of the Department of Justice. Four others have left the country on their own initiative following receipt here of deportation orders.

Action on the remaining 43 radicals has been deferred indefinitely cases to higher courts will be heard by five habeas corpus writs.

# CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM AND COLONIAL POLICY.

A STUDY LESSON FOR WORKINGMEN.

By MILNER.

(Continued from last week.)

## 6) INVESTMENTS TEND TO DEVELOP PRODUCTIVE FORCES.

Capital invested by one country by another, has the same tendency as capital generally; to create more capital. The mines, fields and factories where capital is invested, exploit the cheap colonial labor and thus yield a surplus of profits. This surplus must be reinvested in productive enterprises again and so becomes in its turn a very great asset to the owners. But now the question is: how long can this circling go on? The bulk of the capital is growing and growing, it already could find no place for reinvestment in the home country and was sent out into the world. If the same multiplication takes place again—where will capital emigrate when the world will be too small for it? In 1914 the world already was too small for modern capitalism. The war was forced upon the peoples by the logic of capitalistic development. Stagnation is similar to death, capitalism can tolerate it for a while but not for a decade. To increase the rapidity of its process, it must annihilate some of its rivals, must capture their fields of operation and insure its own further development and postpone the day of reckoning. The development of the productive forces and the comparative shrinking of the world brought about the world war of 1914. Some of the rivals, Germany, Austria and Hungary, were eliminated from the international competition, but all their productive forces were not destroyed and could not be for instance the highly developed labor power is still there, but cannot be applied productively. The dilemma before these countries now is: to change their system of production or to perish. This system really means: to produce and develop, until reaching the point, where it cannot go any further, there it must blow up and destroy its own creation and start the same vicious circle anew.

## 7) MODERN COLONIALISM.

Modern Colonialism is modernized robbery. Colonialism of antiquity was also robbery, so the difference does not rest in robbery itself but in the form of it. Ancient colonialism manifested itself in the robbery of the accumulated wealth of those colonials who were conquered in open warfare. It also meant the driving away of the conquered peoples and converting them into slaves in the country of the conquerors. Modern colonialism aims to secure the raw materials from the colonies, that are needed for the home industries; for the disposing of commodities and for investing of surplus capital of the capitalistic nation. It not only takes from the colony but also gives to it. There are such cases in modern imperialistic colonial policy, where a country carries it on for a decade, investing and contributing for the maintenance of order and receives only a very small fraction in return. It seems queer why such policy is carried on, if it does not pay. But this is a phenomena of modern imperialism. The state becomes the greatest purchaser of the bulky commodities, like steel rails and rolling stock, boats and harbors, the building of which costs enormous amounts. Budgets increase from year to year, taxes on all life's necessities grow higher, it signifies general exploitation. The policy would be foolish and utterly ridiculous, if there be nothing else in it. There is however one class that profits by this kind of business, and that is the highly concentrated capitalist-imperialist clique. The producers of arms and ammunition; the makers of armour plate and men-of-war; the shippers of all of these commodities to the distant colonies; the food and clothing suppliers or manufacturers for the armed forces of the State. So, there is a powerful clique of the higher layer of the capitalist order that reaps enormous and unlimited profits from this destruction policy of modern imperialism and colonialism.

## 8) THE UNDESIRABLE IN MODERN COLONIALISM.

In order to exploit the colonial possessions more effectively, it becomes necessary to develop some forces which modern imperialism would not like to create, still it is not able to prevent their growth. With industrial development in the colonies, which involves within it all those who are able to work, turning them into slaves, chattel or wage, they have to permit them to gain some kind of technical knowledge. To acquire that, it is necessary to read and write, and when a slave class learns to read and write, it is quite hard to keep it from learning eventually what to read. The tendency of the capitalists is to not give any opportunity to the colonials for education, but they must at the same time prove to the home population that their intention really is not exploitation but development and advancement. Some of the petty bourgeois or middle men are granted same knowledge so that they can be used as drivers for the slaves and wage workers. When these nationals participate to some degree in the management of things, they inevitably gain national consciousness and strive to do all these things for themselves, that they have been doing for their foreign masters. On the other hand, large masses of workers are concentrated in mines, fields and factories, to toil for the foreign masters, under the guidance and supervision of their more advanced, nationals. Like in the motherland, so in the colonies, the modern industrial system tends to develop class consciousness among the workers and nationalism among the petty bourgeoisie. Although for different reasons, they both strive for independence.

## 9) INDEPENDENCE OF COLONIES—WEAKENING OF IMPERIALISM.

To enable the capitalist world to exist, it becomes indispensable to secure colonies, where the surplus capital of the billionnaires and trust magnates could be invested. If now after many years, the colonies succeed on their side to break away from their foreign masters, that will be a deadly blow to the economic system of the imperialistic nations. Such imperialistic nations, as Great Britain, are enabled to maintain their sinister order thru sheer robbery in the colonies. Great Britain recures immense revenue by the exploitation of India, Egypt and about half of Africa. The approximate forty million population of the United Kingdom, keep in subjugation 370 million of colonials all over the world. The British imperialists are in a position of grant concessions to the British workers, and still prosper on account of the colonials. The workers of the motherland can be satisfied so as to use them as marauders and suppressors for the colonies and dependencies, and thus perpetuate the imperialist system. The workers must familiarize themselves as to the results of their support of the imperialists, that it means nothing but the prolongation of their own tortures. The intentions of the colonial nationalists deserve their encouragement, if they succeed, it will clarify the issue in the colonies, and bring nearer the actual class struggle. The working class struggle in the colonies must be especially supported, for that means the actual weakening of the bourgeoisie as an international exploiter. It must be pointed out that their task is not only to break the yoke of the foreign imperialist, but also to crush their own developing bourgeoisie. Workers of every country must exclaim the imperialistic ambitions and national practice of their own, national, bourgeoisie. Military action against the colonies as a whole and the subjection of the unprotected workers, renders the metropoles workers struggle more difficult and harder. Extensive military caste, which develops in the metropole, extends its influence over all social life and brutalizes it. Instead of democratization, autocratization takes place in the industrially advanced countries. The paramount question now becomes: to overthrow the international imperialistic bourgeoisie, by the toilers of the world, or decay and downfall of modern civilization generally, thru mutual destruction in imperialistic wars.

## 10) THE U. S. ON THE ROAD OF IMPERIALISM.

The policy of conquest, which finance capital conducts for markets, raw materials and spheres for investment of surplus capital is imperialism. The United States as a country, are exercising this, above mentioned, policy. This being true, it is also true, that they are an imperialistic state, bound to carry on an aggressive policy against other countries and its weaker neighbors, aiming to conquer them. All the declamations of the petty bourgeoisie about the fine democratic ideals, of the generous and selfdenying people of this great land, is sheer nonsense and is used only to mislead and deceive the workers of this country and render them more submissive to their exploiters, for they must be kept thinking how wonderfully valiant and democratic they are, and will not comprehend the real situation. The petty bourgeoisie looks backward, for it dares not look forward, the future does not belong to it. That is why it worships the heroism of the past.

Americans should realize the state of affairs in this country, what it has in its lap for them, and that the worshipping of the old glory does

not help them now. What the American bourgeoisie condemns as Prussianism in Germany and England, it practices at home, on the American workers and applies it perfectly to its colonials. The Spanish-American war marked the beginning of the imperialistic era of the United States. In that war the U. S. acquired its colonies and dependencies, and applies the same modern tortures to them as the Germans and British did and do to their subjects. The road of imperialism for the U. S. is hard. The world already is divided up between the great sharks, and the weak and undeveloped begin to realize what imperialistic subjugation means, they are ready to resist to the utmost. So any encroachment by the late comer from America, will succeed only by the actual exercise of armed might. These are the real reasons why America builds its navy and why it increases its officers' staff. The petty bourgeois pacifists, who fight against militarism as a thing in itself, and wage no war on the capitalist system as a whole, are sky pilots who do not belong to this earth and its affairs. The cause of American militarism is American capitalism. Only that struggle can succeed which eliminates the root of the evil. This can be done only by the revolutionary workers who fight against the brutal imperialism of American finance capital. The revolutionary workers of this country must cooperate with the workers of the American colonies and contemplated colonies. This task is alleviated for the workers of America, by the fact that the present and future American dependencies are highly developed countries, with labor movements already organized. The Versailles "Peace Treaty", allotted for American slaughter-Mexico, Central and South America. These countries are not inhabited by savages, who are weak and unable to resist, they are as highly civilized as we are. Beware America, what thou art contemplating.

## QUESTIONS FOR STUDENTS.

- 1) What is modern capitalism and how differs it from primitive capitalism?
- 2) What role does credit play and what power does it wield?
- 3) How do banks organize and control big business?
- 4) How is fictitious capital created and what mission has it?
- 5) Foreign investments in money; forms of investments.
- 6) How are commodities invested in foreign countries?
- 7) What investments tend to develop in countries where they are being invested?
- 8) What is the real mission of modern colonialism?
- 9) Besides the exploitation of colonials what else is opened for exploitation?
- 10) In what sense does modern colonialism differ from ancient colonialism?
- 11) What undesirable factors does modern colonialism develop?
- 12) Shall these factors be accelerated by the workers of the metropole, if then for what reasons?
- 13) Is the U. S. an imperialistic country?
- 14) What particular hardships confront the American imperialists?

## SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

1. Lenin's, Theses on Colonial and National Questions.
2. Nearing's, "The American Empire," chapters: Manifest Destiny; The United States—A World Empire; The Challenge to Imperialism. Pages: 120 to the end.
3. Brailsford's, "The War of Steel and Gold."
4. Howes', "Why War?"
5. Howes', "The Only Possible Peace," a commendable book on facts and data, but loaded with petty bourgeois and pacifist ideas in its conclusion.
6. Th. Veblen, "The Nature of Peace," chapter: On the Nature and Uses of Patriotism.
7. Chas. A. Beard, "Contemporary American History," chapters: 7, 8, 9, and 10, from pages 164 to 282.
8. F. A. Ogg, "National Progress", chapters: 4, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17.
9. C. K. Hobson, "The Export of Capital," the book is an important contribution to modern imperialism, worth studying.
10. C. H. Taverner, "The World Wide War Trust" and "The New League Unmasked", speeches in the Congress of the U. S.
11. N. Bucharin, "The Program of the Communists," ch.: 12 and 19.
12. Lenin, "Proletarian Revolution in Russia," "Socialism and the War," page 92 to 135.
13. Trotsky, "Proletarian Revolution in Russia," Democracy, Pacifism and Imperialism, page 123 to 200.

# TO THE FOOLS OF ENGLAND!

There is a bright spot in England which will pass in history, even when the memory of our mighty rulers shall be dim and faint; that spot is in Lancashire, "that thinks-to-day what London thinks-to-morrow," and in Lancashire that place is Gorton, where we have an active branch of the Communist Party.

That bright spot in England is peopled by a set of fools that would defy the pen of a Swift.

They don the cap and they don the bells, and from the bottom of their emasculated souls they write. They write to their masters, Messrs. Robert Williams & Son, Embossers and Finishers of Chatworth Mill, Gorton:—

"Your employees have decided to approach you with the suggestion that our wages be reduced by 10 per cent."

"We hope that this offer will be accepted as it is felt that the present high cost of living exists primarily owing to the very high cost of production. Also, in making this voluntary offer, it is hoped and believed that our example will become contagious in other trades as well as our own, and the result would then be a lowering in the cost of living and consequent increase in purchasing power."

Contagious, forsooth! Even the masters did not dream they had such a pack of stupid fellows in their service, for the Evening Standard reports:—

"that the letter came as a pleasant surprise to the firm, one of the finest things it has ever been our lot to receive."

Inquiry showed that the letter was signed by 140 employees and not 5 per cent withheld their names.

The offer means the surrender of from 2s. 6d. to 15s. per week. The Ministry of Labor, informed of the existence of these willing slaves, and of their "contagious" example, bubbles with glee.

"Already it has expressed gratification at the action of the firm's employees."

It never rains but it pours. At the time of going to press, our office boy enters breathless, waving the latest edition of the Evening Star and M. U. G. S. Gazette.

In flaming headlines we see: "THE CONTAGION SPREADING—CITY MERCHANTS FOLLOW GORTON'S EXAMPLE—COMPANY DIRECTORS REDUCE THEIR DIVIDENDS—CABINET MINISTERS (amidst the cheers of the House) RENOUNCE THEIR SALARIES—CHURCHILL SWears HE WILL NOT RIDE IN A ROLLS-ROYCE, TO SAVE PETROL etc, etc.  
The Workers' Dreadnought.

# Capitalism Getting Cautions.

Criminal Syndicalist laws are becoming very common. Not only are there more than 29 States in the United States with laws of this nature on their books, but several other States are contemplating "enacting such measures, in order to 'protect society' from its 'enemies'.

The espionage act, however, revealed clearly that a law may be abused to such a degree that it loses all semblance of law and becomes a "perverse weapon" put into the hands of judges to wield as they please. The pleasure of the judge depends on the relative strength of the radical and revolutionary elements in the labor movement and the might of the capitalists in that particular region.

However, capitalists are becoming cautious. Not in the APPLICATION of these laws, but in the FORM in which they are drafted. Thus, the state of North Dakota now has a criminal syndicalist law reading as follows:

"Section 1. Criminal syndicalism is hereby defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial ends, and includes and comprehends all unlawful combinations of bankers, merchants or others which raise the prices of any commodities or merchandise above the supply and demand basis, or charging of higher rates of interest than is customary in communities where no combination exists.

"The printing or publishing, willfully or knowingly, of any false rumor or report which tends to destroy the confidence of the people in the government of the state of North Dakota or the United States or which tends to destroy the people's confidence in any industry in which the state of North Dakota or in which the United States is engaged; the entering into combinations or agreements by telephone, telegraph or railroad companies, bankers or any other group of men for the purpose of blacklisting or combining against any man or woman or group who work for wages; limits the rent on flat buildings, houses and other property to 12 per cent net return to the owner. The advocacy of this doctrine is hereby declared a felony."

There it states in bold, manly language that if "combinations of bankers, merchants or others" and further if "combinations or agreements by telephone, telegraph or railroad companies, bankers or any other group of men" do any of the criminal things pointed out in the law, they will be guilty of felony!

More than 30 banks operated by the farmers of North Dakota have been forced to close, owing to the

bankers of the East and Middle West refusing to help them over a period of stress. This is part of the vicious campaign conducted by the banking interests of the country, in order completely to discredit and destroy the Non-Partisan League and movement. And these same farmers now threaten to send "bankers or any other group of men" to prison for combining to raise prices etc!

True, the bankers and other groups of men—including telephone, telegraph and railroad companies, will do nothing to destroy the confidence of the people in the government of the United States. Why should they? THEY ARE the government. But let not workmen point out that fact. Let them not show that there is only one method of changing that government, so that it will represent workers' interests, and that not by electing Democrats, Farmer-Laborites, Socialists to office. Let them but say there is only one way—the way the workers in Russia did, the way the workers of Italy and Germany are preparing to do. Let them say that the working class will have confidence only in a government of the workers and that the capitalists of the United States will resist the establishment of a Government of the Workers by any means, legal or illegal—as they are now doing—THEN the criminal syndicalist law will go into operation.

The bankers of the country control North Dakota as they do every other State in the country. Laws against them on the statute books are only a mockery.

S. G.

## AS CLEAR AS MUD.

Shoes are high because leather is high.  
Leather is high because hides are high.  
Hides are high because they are scarce.  
Hides are scarce because butchers are killing less cattle.  
Butchers are killing less cattle because there is less demand for meat.  
There is less demand for meat because meat is high.  
Meat is high because cattle are scarce.  
Cattle are scarce because the demand is so heavy.  
The demand for cattle is heavy because hides are high.  
Hides are high because leather is high.  
Leather is high because shoes are high.  
Very simple, isn't it?

Ruthenberg, Ferguson Larkin and Wintzky are still in prison awaiting the time when the appeals of their cases to higher courts will be heard by five habeas corpus writs.