

The seventh commandment says, "Thou shalt not steal." Carlyle laid down a new commandment for the workers, "Thou shalt not be stolen from."

# THE TOILER

## A. F. of L. WRESTLES WITH PROBLEMS IN 41st CONVENTION AT DENVER.

Stands against O. B. U. principle. Opens formal fight against wage reductions. Gompers has competitor.

True to its character of a dyed-in-the-wool conservative craft labor organization, the A. F. of L. at its 41st annual convention at Denver, Colo., has appealed to the politicians of the capitalist State for assistance in a proposed war against reductions of wages that are fast making inroads upon the standard of living of millions of workers and members of organized labor in this country.

After 8 months of severe unemployment and wide-spread wage slashing the convention took formal notice and instructed the executive council of the Federation last week to take steps that no further reductions in wage scales were made. Its first step in this direction was an appeal to enlist the support of President Harding, secretaries of labor, commerce and agriculture and members in congress in support of this enterprise. Dennis K. Lane presented the case of the Chicago packing house workers as an example of the extent of wage slashing that has taken place in recent months. "They are now receiving a wage which furnishes them a bare existence far below the cost of living," he said. The convention has these matters under consideration this week.

### At The Crisis.

President Gompers, in his opening statement to the convention, declared that the great unsolved post-war labor problems facing the convention constituted a crisis which must be met now. More than 500 delegates from the U. S. and Canada attended the opening sessions. J. H. Thomas, President of the Railway Workers' Union of England is present as a fraternal delegate. Thomas is classed as a traitor in the ranks of labor by British militants because of his opposition to the Triple Alliance upholding the present British miners' strike by a sympathetic walk-out. John Mooney, brother of Tom Mooney, now serving a sentence at San Quentin for complicity in the San Francisco preparedness parade bombing was present and spoke in favor of continuing the agitation among labor unionists for his release. Indications are that John L. Lewis of the miners will oppose Gompers for election to the presidency. Claims are made that he has an exceptionally strong backing in the convention.

Gompers assailed the German workers for not taking action to stop the war in the early stages of its development. "The failure of men to act at a time of crisis is faithfulness to a common cause," he stated. Gompers has undoubtedly taken the method of the pot in calling the kettle black, to set his own sins upon the shoulders of the German workers.

### Many Problems.

The convention has a grist of major issues before it among which are the following according to Gompers.

"The condition of unemployment, of which estimates run as high as 5,000,000 workers.

"The un-American movement to crush labor and blast its spirit through what is called, with miserable disregard for the truth, the open shop movement.

"The railroad problem, involving the nation's chief means of transportation.

"The immigration problem, with its vital bearing on American standards of living and of citizenship.

"The problem of Russian affairs, the cancer that is eating at the vitals of world civilization.

"The problem of how best to meet conditions brought about by court decisions, a problem unhappily not decreasing in importance and for that reason demanding more than usual attention."

Without discussion, the convention voted solidly in sustaining the action of its Committee on Organization in not concurring in a resolution brought by a W. Va. delegate, calling for "one body of workers thru amalgamations, federations and protective agreements," and urging all national and international unions to insert clauses in their working agreements whereby they can "render such assistance as is needed by any and all crafts, when called upon to do so." It also declared for the setting of expirations of union contracts with employers at one and the same time. Scant courtesy was shown the negro delegation when a resolution condemning mob violence and the activities of the Ku Klux-Klan was denied the floor thru objections raised by a

few delegates. A letter from Eugene V. Debs was read in which he thanked Gompers and the A. F. of L. for their efforts in attempting his and other political prisoners' release. The convention called for an investigation of the lock-out of the seamen. The convention is running strong for federal investigations. A resolution calling for the investigation by Congress of the cotton mills of the South was also adopted. A special committee to investigate unemployment and possible Congressional relief and a measure designed to abolish the color line in the Federation were likewise adopted.

### Wants No Irish Support.

J. H. Thomas, fraternal British delegate spoke upon the Irish question. No support for the Irish revolutionists will be rendered by this convention if Thomas' advice is followed. "British labor stands for Irish freedom; the only limitation we insist upon is that Ireland shall not be allowed to become a menace," he stated. Being interpreted this can only mean that British labor according to Thomas, is in favor of Irish freedom when the Irish do not constitute a danger to the British capitalists. That would be altogether too much for traitor Thomas. In an attempt to discourage the Irish sympathizers in the convention from taking any steps favorable to their oppressed brothers in the old country, Thomas said, "I warn you against trying to create in their minds the feeling that you can solve their difficulties." There will be no revolutionary solidarity on the score of Irish freedom if Thomas has his say. His speech brought a storm of protest from the Irish sympathizers in the convention who are however, divided upon immediate tactics.

## Coal Owners Loud For Open Shop.

ONLY SALVATION OF PROFITS SAY THE EXPLOITERS.

"An Open Shop in every coal mine in America," was inscribed upon the banner of the Michigan-Ohio-Indiana Coal Association at its convention at Cedar Point, Ohio, last week.

Tom L. Lewis and C. E. Maurer voiced these sentiments to a loudly applauding audience of coal mine owners. Lewis is a former President of the United Mine Workers of America but now secretary of the New River Coal Company. His changed status from miner and miners' union official seems to have considerably changed his viewpoint. Economic interest seems to still be working in the same old way of determining one's views upon the operation of mines as well as other things.

### Labor "Intoxicated."

Concerning the labor situation in the mining regions, Lewis expressed himself as of the opinion that the miners "have been intoxicated" with their success of the last few years" and that this "intoxication" would work their ruin "unless the methods of the labor leaders are radically changed."

Lewis is strongly against the lowering of the price of coal—one basic commodity that has remained at the war price in spite of the tremendous, lessened demand. He stated that salvation for the coal owners lay, not in Congress and legislation but in the "education of the American people." That apparently means that if the people are continually forced to pay high prices for coal they will "get used to it."

C. E. Maurer, of the Glen Run Coal Company, attacked the government's policy of mine control and voiced approval of the Open Shop in the coal mines. "An Open Shop policy will have to prevail in every mine in the United States before coal can be produced at a profit," he declared. Pity the poor Coal Barons!

The convention closed with a dance—at which it is presumed no one went away hungry—or thirsty.

## CRIME WAVE ROLLS HIGH.

Sheriff Stannard of Cleveland, O., states that the crime wave is rolling too high for him. Altho he "has a nice jail, it can't handle the rush of prisoners," he states. All cells are occupied by two prisoners and many are sleeping on the floors of corridors.

## Two Important Announcements.

The national convention of the Socialist Party will be held in Detroit beginning June 25th.—Many questions having an important bearing upon American and international working-class problems are on the agenda of the convention.

The Socialist Party claims to be the best expression of militant socialism in the United States. Workers here, are therefore vitally interested in how it will sustain that claim in its convention. The officialdom has definitely repudiated the Russian revolution and condemned the principle of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as a working-class weapon in the struggle for power over the capitalist class. It has condemned the Third International, the greatest revolutionary force in the history of the world. Just what is the Socialist Party and what it stands for are, we repeat, matters of importance to American workers.

The Toiler will report the convention proceedings for its readers. From the moment the gavel falls on the opening day until adjournment our representative will be in the hall.

Probably no one present will be better qualified to give a correct and true report of the convention than our representative, Thurber Lewis. Having a sound knowledge of the principles of Marxism and a thorough conception of the various principles and elements which make up the revolutionary movement here as well as abroad, comrade Lewis' reports are sure to be both accurate and interesting.

### FOSTER'S SPECIAL ARTICLES ON RUSSIA.

William Z. Foster, leader of the Steel Strike of two years ago, author of "The Great Steel Strike" and the later booklet, "The Railroaders' Next Step," is now in Russia attending the Third Congress of the Communist International and the Congress of the Red Trade Union International.

He is writing a series of special articles for the Federated Press on Russia as he sees it now. These articles are sure to be exceptionally interesting and instructive. The Toiler will begin publication of this series very soon. Watch for them.

## Should Syndicalists Join The Communist Party? THE DIFFERENCE.

Translated by Frederick A. Blossom.

"La Vie Ouvriere," weekly organ of the organized revolutionary minority in the French Confederation of Labor, has been conducting a symposium on the above question. The following article translated from a recent issue, is signed "A Communist Doctor."

One reply, signed Albert Lemoine, interested me, especially by its clear character, above all in the following declaration: Either the Communist Party will admit only workers, in which case it will uselessly duplicate the labor unions; or it will admit members regardless of their class, and then the class struggle it preaches becomes an absurdity or a lie.

In other words, Lemoine, like many active revolutionists, wants a revolution made by the workers against all the other elements of the population, and he has more faith in the labor unions than in a political party.

Now, "working class" and "labor unions" are not identical and both will stand a little closer examination. I know an industrial city where there is a political group and a union of metal workers.

The political organization does not ask its members whether they work iron, steel, literature, wood or leather. It asks them, "Do you stand for a communist social revolution?" And the advocates of such a revolution are admitted to membership.

The labor union, on the other hand, does not question applicants as to their opinions. It merely asks them, "Do you work in the iron or steel industry?" And the metal workers join the union without necessarily being partisans of the Social Revolution.

But lo and behold! the revolutionary unionists scorn the revolutionary party (whose members come from different trades and callings but are all of the same economic and political opinion) and they expect the revolution to be put across by the labor union, which draws its members from a particular trade without reference to their opinions—an arrangement which makes it possible for anti-revolutionists to join and to feel perfectly at home—and even, at times, to constitute a majority.

Apparently, an organization cannot do effective work for the revolution unless it is composed of members who are not required to be revolutionists, but merely to prove that they can cut steel, tan leather or saw wood!

And yet Lemoine is one of the railway workers who were discharged for their activity in the strike last May. He must have seen and learned many things. Has he forgotten certain "fellow workers" to whom he is partly indebted for the loss of his job? Jack, for example, who took part in the strike only in order to do his work as stool pigeon for the company? Or Jim, a member of the union, who said that, since the strike seemed to him to have a political object which went beyond the proper limits of a labor union, he refused to take part in it? Or George, who, timid, spineless, nagged by his wife, quit the strike the very first day?

And that is not all, for Lemoine does not speak merely of the unions, but, more broadly, of "the working class." Well, don't Tom, Dick and Harry also belong to the working class? Tom, a member of the scab

### By TOM CLARK.

The clothing workers of the country and of New York in particular are claimed by the Socialist Party as staunch supporters of the party. A large number of the most active workers in this industry, however, are Communists. In all the internal struggles, in the strikes, the Communists have taken a leading part, fortifying the organization from within and without.

During the late strikes, the needle workers (according to statements of the party itself) have been remiss in their duty toward the Socialist Party. Taken up with union troubles, they let "politics" go by the board.

What did the Communists do during the strikes? What do Communists do just during strikes?

Then Communist activity becomes keenest. Then the class struggle, which the Socialists claim is basic to their movement, is most apparent. Then the workers are most alive to the bitter problems that they must solve, most accessible to the needs of better and more formidable organization, more effective fighting methods and more conscious, more energetic leadership. The lessons of the class war are easiest to inculcate. The necessity of being on the firing line—in the actual fight, draws the Communist to the front. Then the party functions best—then the Communist is doing his party work in the real sense!

The Communist shows up the weaknesses of the organization. The vulnerable points must be strengthened, the form, possibly, must be changed. The rank and file must be put in control. The will of the membership must prevail. Every act of the leaders and officials is subjected to searching criticism. The rank and file must make the demands: forces must be organized so that the leaders dare not betray them. With the slogan of maximum demands, the leaders dare not turn back. If they compromise them, the workers must be in a position to oust them at once.

Communists point out the attitude and action of the government toward the workers. Court decisions, injunctions, the use of gunmen and thugs by the employers and tolerated by the authorities—finally the use of troops to break the strike and crush the workers into submission—these are the object lessons that the Communist teaches the workers in the struggle itself—in practice, in action. Then the workers learn best—they discover who their real enemies are and how to combat them.

Communism is no hobby for after working hours. There is no returning to it after the economic struggle has been settled. Communism is the force driving the workers in the midst of their struggle!

That is one of the differences between Communism and Socialism—the positiveness of the Communist movement against the negativeness of the Socialist movement.

## Prosecution Witnesses Weak in Accusations Against Sacco and Vanzetti.

Moore's Cross-Examination Makes Witness Confess Former Lies.

Dedham, Mass.—Every witness put on the stand by the prosecution to identify Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti as automobile bandits during four days of testimony-giving has either failed to identify the defendants or has thoroughly discredited his own testimony.

Louis Pelser, shoemaker, went to pieces on the stand while a courtroom packed with spectators watched the process of collapse. Pelser tangled himself up in lie after lie.

Pelser was in the cutting room of the Rice & Hutchins shoe factory when the shooting began. The windows there are opaque, and must be raised if one would look outdoors. One window was open three or four inches, Pelser said, and he looked through this opening. Berardelli was lying on the ground. Pelser opened the window fully. Immediately the bandits began firing at that window, but Pelser asserted that he stood up amid the rain of bullets and did two things—he wrote down the number of the approaching bandit automobile and he made a mental note of the appearance of one bandit who was standing in the road shooting at the fallen Berardelli.

This bandit, Pelser declared, was dark and wore dark green pants and khaki shirt with the collar tucked up around his neck. In the collar was a pin. Assistant Prosecutor Harold Williams asked Pelser if he could pick the bandit out in the courtroom. Pointing to Sacco in the prisoner's cage, Pelser answered: "I wouldn't say he is the man, but he is the dead image of him."

At this point Defense Counsel Fred H. Moore cross-examined Pelser. He reminded the witness of a lengthy statement made by Pelser on March 26 to Robert Reid, investigator for the defense.

"Did you tell Reid all the truth?" Moore asked.

"No; I told only part of the story."

Then Pelser admitted he had told Reid that he had not seen any of the bandits, that the highwaymen were all in the automobile by the time he looked out of the window, and that he ducked under a bench as soon as the shooting turned toward that window.

"Why did you lie to Reid?" asked Moore.

"Because I wanted to avoid being a witness." "You hold your word so lightly," said Moore, "that you would lie to avoid being a witness." "Yes," said Pelser.

He denied he had ever discussed the case with anyone representing the prosecution, denied he had discussed it with Assistant Prosecutor Williams. But five minutes later, under Moore's heavy bombardment, Pelser admitted that he talked with Williams and that he had been told to go into the courtroom before the session at which he was to testify, so he could look Sacco over. Next he denied that he had ever discussed the case with any one previous to Reid's interview with him, and later was trapped into admitting that he had talked with a state detective previous to that time.

Further cross-examination by Defense Counsel Jeremiah McAnarney revealed that Pelser was the only person who noted the bandit car's number and this information he withheld from the defense all these months.

New testimony to refute Mary Eva Splaine's identification of Nicola Sacco as an automobile bandit was given by one of the prosecutor's own witnesses. Hans Behrsin, chauffeur for E. W. Slater, one of the firm from which the payroll was taken at Braintree last year, testified that he was only 10 feet from the bandits as they fled, and saw one man leaning out of the car as Miss Splaine had said, but he could not identify Sacco as that man.

There is large significance in this. Miss Splaine was in a second-story window 80 feet from the fleeing car, and her observation was made while the bandit-automobile traveled 35 feet at high speed. At the end of that 35 feet, her view was cut off by a cobbler shop. Yet she offered a minute description of the invisible bandit, and identified Sacco as that man.

Behrsin was sitting in an automobile at the roadside in front of the cobbler shop, directly in front of Miss Splaine's observation point, but 50 feet nearer to the fugitive car. He had an unobstructed view, and was able to state that there were five men in the automobile, a seven-passenger Buick, but he could not describe the one man who was leaning out.

## 25 PER CENT ARE JOBLESS.

One out of every four workers in the 22 leading industries is now out of a job, says a Federal Reserve Board survey.

Unemployment is most severe in the rubber industry, with building trades second.

Kansas City is the jobless center. It has less than half as many employed as a year ago.

Developments indicate that unemployment in July may be most severe in the iron and steel industries. Unskilled day labor in Cleveland has fallen in some cases to as low as \$15 a week.

In Louisiana rice fields many are working for \$1 a day.

Eastern dockbuilders' strike, which lasted three months, settled. Wages reduced an eighth.

Strike of American marine unions cut sailings of American merchant ships from New York 35 per cent in May.

Number of strikes now in the United States nearly three-fourths less than year ago.

About 60 out of every 100 soft coal miners are out of work.

Union wage scales now average a fifth less than the war peak.

## FRANCE IN BERLIN.

Senator France of Maryland, who recently sailed from New York for Russia, has arrived at Berlin. A dispatch states that the Senator asserts Leonid Krassin, Soviet Trade Commissioner will soon be in America on important trade business.

## DEPORTED TO AMERICA.

Patrick H. Reid, arrested at Montreal, Canada, last winter for participation in bread riots and food raids on restaurants has lost his appeal on an order for deportation. Reid, the a British subject, had taken out his first papers as a citizen of the U. S.

## A FAIR WAGE.

A fair wage is all that the A. F. of L. asks for: nothing less and absolutely nothing more. Capitalist and worker shall each have his just and "rightful" share of what labor alone produces. "It always has been and will be," reason the brilliant A. F. of L. philosophers and courageous fighters.

One of the consequences of this line of reasoning is that the capitalist takes good care to get his "rightful" and just share, leaving the crumbs for the workers.

So the A. F. of L. has to be content now with any wage—the "living" wage. In the struggle to reduce wages, the capitalist calculates as follows: The workers must have a fair wage. A living wage (subsistence wage, it is called), is surely a fair wage. Hence take the wage of any class of workers. Look for a lower class wage. Then reduce the former to the latter: what the latter can live on, the former must! In this way all along the line—in all "fairness," without prejudice—particularly now that there are so many unemployed.

"A fair day's wage for a fair day's work"—A. F. of L. and capitalist motto!

## CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM ACT MAY BE INVALID.

Oakland, Cal.—The State Appellate Court has announced that it has temporarily abandoned the case of Anita Whitney, convicted under the California criminal syndicalism act, pending the outcome of an attack on the constitutionality of the act, at present being made before the State Supreme Court on behalf of John C. Taylor, formerly state secretary of the Socialist party and later member of the Communist Labor Party.

The Appellate Court has already declared the act constitutional, and the probability is that the Supreme Court will concur; but meanwhile Miss Whitney is out on bail pending appeal. Taylor is already serving his sentence of one to fourteen years at San Quentin prison.



# The Bolshevik Interpretation of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the Communist International: Petrograd-Moscow 1920

"TRADE UNIONS, UNITE UNDER THE BANNER OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL."

(Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 5, 1920.)

Appeal to the trade-unions of all countries from the International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions:

Comrades, the growth, of the trade-union movement of all countries, which was caused by the unprecedented distress falling upon the international proletariat as the result of war, sets persistently before the workmen of the world the problem of establishing an international staff of trade-unions.

### Two Camps.

The daily facts of our class struggle demonstrate that there can be no salvation outside an international struggle. Now as never before class opposes class; all the forces of the international bourgeoisie, all its means and resources, have been united in one international organization. The bourgeoisie has its own staff in the League of Nations; it concentrates in its hand the entire enormous apparatus of contemporary capitalistic States, in order that it may at the first sign of social danger throw there all its strength and resources.

But the bourgeoisie is not only strong because of its class consciousness, of its organization, and of its deep conception of the international character of the developing struggle; it is even stronger because of the backwardness in class education of the broad masses, and mainly because it finds support in labor organizations while fighting the workmen. This is monstrous, yet it is a fact.

### The Treachery of the Trade-Unionists.

In fact, what have the trade-unionists done in large and small countries during these years of war? How did they fulfill the great

FROM "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," PUBLISHED BY THE RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

covenants of international class solidarity and of proletarian fraternity? The trade-unionists were in a large majority solidly for the war policies of their Governments. They cooperated with the bourgeois nationalistic mob of their country; they aroused in the workmen the lowest chauvinistic instincts. That the war lasted so long; that we no longer find in our ranks millions of our brothers; that Europe has been converted into an immense cemetery, and the masses of people have been thrown into despair—for all this the major share of guilt falls upon those leaders of the revolutionary movement who betrayed the masses and who, instead of the great slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, unite," started and supported the new slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, kill and strangle one another."

### The Foolish Shepherds.

And these are the very people who for many years have been the servants of their Governments, which employed all of their energy in mutual exterminating of peoples. These people have set about to reestablish the international of trade-unions which they had demolished through their treachery. In Berne and Amsterdam there assembled the war-tested fighters for the interests of the bourgeoisie—the Legiens, Oudegasts, Jouhaux, Effiltons, Gompers, and others—who, after long nationalistic quarrels and mutual chauvinistic accusations, established an international federation of trade-unions.

### The International of Yellow Unions.

What is the principle of this Federation? What is its program? We find our answer to these questions in the fact that the organizers and leaders of this federation of trade-unions in Amsterdam are at the same time the chief actors in the famous Labor Bureau attached to the pirate League of Nations, which bureau was composed of the representatives of organized entrepreneurs of national unions and of the "central" bourgeois governments. The main task of this bureau is, as you know, the continuation and the strengthening of class cooperation which is the basis of the entire war policy of imperialistic countries, for the further exploitation of workmen by international capital. Thus it becomes perfectly evident that the Amsterdam Federation is only a screen for the yellow leaders of the trade-union movement who definitely went over to the imperialists and are attempting now, as they did during the war, to use the organized strength of the labor unions in the interests of capitalistic society. The natural result of such an unnatural combination of interests of the two so absolutely opposed classes is the utter futility and complete inability of both organizations. The Amsterdam Federation and the Paris Labor Bureau attached to the League of Nations are at all events responding in very small measure to the everyday interests of the working class, because both organizations respond to the everyday interests of the bour-

### A Revolutionary Staff of Trade-Unionists Is Necessary.

The trade-union movement of the whole world can not be satisfied with the mere statement of this fact. The social struggle is becoming acute. The civil war has long since crossed national frontiers. In this bitter struggle between the two hostile worlds, the two hostile systems, the revolutionary class unions are taking, and they can not fail to take, active participation side by side with the Communist Parties of various countries. It becomes evident that the Amsterdam Federation of Trade-Unionists, by playing a supplementary role to the League of Nations can not serve as the directing center for a revolutionary, class, trade-union movement. Such a center and such a staff must be created in opposition to and in spite of the Amsterdam Center, and such was established July 15 in Moscow by the trade-unions of Russia, Italy, Spain, Yugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, France, and Georgia, under the name of The International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions.

The new general staff of the revolutionary trade-union movement, comprising already about 3,000,000 members, is beginning its activity, and appeals to the unions of the whole world to finish with and to break away from those who conduct the criminal policy of agreement with the bourgeoisie, and to unite under the banner of relentless class struggle for the liberation of oppressed mankind. Not

peace, but the sword, is the International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions carrying to the bourgeoisie of all countries.

All this defines the substance of our activity and of our program: The overthrow of the bourgeoisie by force, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a merciless class struggle on an international scale, a close and inseparable union with the Communist International.

### On Both Sides of the Barricade.

Whoever thinks that the working class will be able to solve the social problems through negotiations and agreements with the bourgeoisie; whoever thinks that the bourgeoisie will voluntarily yield to the proletariat all the means of production, if the proletariat can only gain a parliamentary majority; whoever believes that at the time of the great break-up of old conditions, when the destinies of the world are being decided, the unions can remain neutral—let all these gentlemen heading the trade-unions know that we consider them our class enemies, and that we shall conduct a relentless war against them, and against the combines created by them.

The International Soviet of Trade and Industrial Unions and the Amsterdam Federation of Trade-Unionists are on the opposite sides of the barricade; on one side of the barricade there is social revolution and on the other side social reaction. The choice for the proletarians and for the honest revolutionist is not difficult to make.

Long live the world proletarian revolution! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat. Long live the International Union of Trade and Industrial Unions! Long live the III Communist International!

The International Soviet of Trade Unions, Moscow, August 1, 1920.

## PITY THE POOR PACKERS.

By MORITZ J. LOEB.

The poverty stricken packers are out on the streets begging again! The recent begging experiences when the impartial arbitrator gave them some few tens of millions of dollars, (out of the pockets of the stockyard workers), seems to have been a pleasant one and they are seeking to repeat it. This time they are making only a modest demand. All they ask is that they be permitted to reduce the wages of the workers a paltry five cents an hour, thus camouflaging another extortionate wage cut, which really amounts to an additional 14%, they are once more appealing to a gullible wage arbitrator and, alas, an even more gullible public.

For this time it is the farmers whose interests are being jealously protected by the ever benevolent pork-barons. The farmers, they say, are being ruined because they are being forced to accept less than it costs to produce their products. Labor, the cause of all of our worldly troubles is again to blame for such an intolerable state of affairs. And so the packers, ever on the watch to champion the cause of the downtrodden and the poor have assumed the burden of wresting some of labor's ill-gotten gains that the farmers may prosper.

At any rate this is what we are led to believe from soul stirring appeals of this group of capitalists. Not satisfied with their success in chopping off huge sums from the already meagre wages of the notoriously exploited packing-town workers, they have come again for more, covering their lacerious greed with spurious propaganda.

This new pose of the farmers' friend must appear somewhat grossly amusing back in the country of cattle raisers and grain producers. For where the farmers live and toil, the most generally and cordially hated group is these very same meat packers who are now standing as the saviours of the agriculturists. For years and years, the meat packing industries, virtually controlling the food supply of the country have carried on the most reckless exploitation of the farmers. Using their control of the banks to tighten the credit strings, the packers have systematically been able to force the farmers to sell when the packers were willing to pay.

"We are running our plants absolutely without profit," screams the packing trust. Yet on LaSalle street, Chicago's Wall Street, in the window of one of the banks controlled by the Stock Yards interests appears the sign, PACKERS' BONDS ARE SAFE INVESTMENTS. Listed below are over \$300,000,000 worth of bonds, paying from 6 to 8 per cent interest. All of these are offered by packer-controlled banks as bonds that are safe investments.

With the estimated 100,000 stockyard workers, that means that for every worker there are \$3,000 worth of bonds that must pay interest safely year after year, whether the worker

gets high wages or low wages or whether the worker gets laid off and no wages at all. Besides this is the millions upon millions of stock which keep on drawing dividends for their owners. Packers' bonds are safe investments. Packers' stocks are safe investments. But for workers to invest their lives, their health, the welfare of themselves and their families in the tender mercies of stockyards employment is a very risky investment indeed.

It is true that the packing industries are being run without profit—without profit for the workers, without profit for the farmers. But they publish their own lies when at the same time they advertise their poverty and the glowing pictures of safe and lucrative investments in packers' securities.

How are the stock yard workers and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Union going to react to this last move of the packers? After having taken so meekly the overwhelming defeat administered to them only a few months ago when the packers won a tremendous wage cut and a commanding position in any future disputes, will the workers submit again to further ruinous terms? Will the unions again meet the situation with futile gestures and further betrayal of the working class?

Undoubtedly the packers would welcome a strike which they believe would result in the final destruction of the unions. It is true that situation is fraught with danger to the unions that take up the battle with the bosses in this period of depression and unemployment. BUT LET THE LEADERS OF THE STOCK YARDS UNION REMEMBER THAT IT IS THEIR LACK OF COURAGE AND MILITANCY IN THE RECENT WAGE CONTROVERSY THAT HAS PLACED THEM IN THE PRESENT PREDICAMENT. Flushed with victory and confident that the unions will not dare to resist their demands, that the union leaders are afraid to call a strike, there will be no end to the insults and fearful conditions that the packers will fling at the helpless workers.

AND LET THE RANK AND FILE WORKERS OF THE STOCK YARDS REMEMBER, THAT A UNION THAT LEADS THEM ONLY TO DEFEAT IS NO BETTER THAN NO UNION AT ALL. LET THEM REMEMBER THAT THEY ARE FACING EVEN MORE INTOLERABLE CONDITIONS THAN THOSE THEY ENDURED BEFORE THE WAR. LET THEM REMEMBER THAT THEY HAVE THE POWER IN THEIR UNION IF THEY WOULD BUT USE IT. AND LET THEM KNOW THAT TO FIGHT NO MATTER WHAT THE OUTCOME, IS BETTER THAN TO BE CRUSHED WITHOUT OFFERING RESISTANCE.

## O. B. U. PRINCIPLE WINNING AMONG FOOD WORKERS.

By J. O. REBAUDEL.

Gompers and his best friends in the American Federation of Labor do not want to be affiliated with the yellow International of Trade Unions in Amsterdam. This organization, which proved itself so reactionary toward the Workers World Revolution, is still far to "revolutionary" in the estimation of Gompers and his friends. Sam Gompers' ideas are that the workers of all countries must line up firstly with their capitalistic governments and must never dare to stick up for their own interests through showing real working class solidarity.

If it would be up to "Sammy" and his straggle workers of this country would have to remain hopelessly divided in their craft unions and working class solidarity never should get a hold on them. Therefore every move toward industrial unionism is counteracted by those "labor leaders" at the very beginning any time through the power of their trade unions. This was plainly shown at the last A. F. of L. convention, held last year in Montreal, Can., by declining to establish a food workers' department within the A. F. of L. Gompers does not want any more "departments" of industries created, it smells to much like industrialism.

It was therefore certainly a good move made by workers in New York City when they decided to amalgamate all independent food workers' organizations located in that city into the "One Big Union" of the food workers, an organization called the INTERNATIONAL WORKERS IN THE AMALGAMATED FOOD INDUSTRIES. This organization now in existence only a few months, has already a membership close to 20,000. The foundation for this organization is the shop itself and the preamble and constitution show that new ways are found at last for the food workers, to carry on their fights and struggles on a new basis.

Branches of this new organization now exist in more than half a dozen cities. Most of them are in the eastern states, but their branches located in Cleveland and Chicago show that it is moving westward. Especially, Chicago proves itself a wonderful field for the "One Big Union" of food workers. The workers are joining here not only by the hundreds as individuals but whole organizations up to now affiliated with the A. F. of L. are coming over.

The first organization to take such a step was Local 865 of the International Cooks and Pastry Cooks organization. It was done by adopting the following resolution at a recent meeting at which more than 1,000 members were present.

Resolution of Affiliation. Whereas: We the undersigned members of Local 865 after a careful study of the situation before us, are more convinced than ever that under

our present system of affiliation, we are unable to meet the onslaughts of the Hotel and Restaurant keepers in their determination to reduce wages, re-establish the split watch and destroy our organization, and, "Whereas: The Hotel and Restaurant Keepers are powerfully organized throughout this entire country while we, the workers, are divided into craft unions with separate organizations, separate treasuries, separate sets of officials; in fact, we are hopelessly divided against ourselves, and unable to develop any clean cut plan of action, and

"Whereas: In this emergency all such confusion must cease, we must unite into one solid compact organization, wherein it must be the duty of the rank and file to become active workers and assist in the management and development of the organization, with the elimination of unnecessary officials, and

"Whereas: The Chicago Cooks and Pastry Cooks Association, Local 865 is now unable under its present affiliation to present a united front against the Hotel and Restaurant Keepers. As new times demand new tactics, therefore be it

## BREWING WAR.

By GEORGE WESSLER.

Lenin is again stirring up trouble He tried to embroil the U. S. in a war with Japan by giving Washington B. Vanderlip concessions in Kamtchaka. This Asiatic plot failed, due to its exposure in the capitalist press.

But the Muscovite never sleeps. He glided East, sliced off the nose tip of the Kamtchaka Peninsula, paddled it out into the Pacific, and anchored it within the triangle formed by Japan, Guam, and the Philippine Islands.

In his cynical way he named this island Yap.

Now with twisted-up face, Lenin gleefully watches his enemies, the American and Japanese governments, yapping over Yap like two snarling dogs.

Whether the war will actually break out over the Yap controversy, as the French papers seem to believe, no one can foretell. Europe weathered its Fashoda, Marrocco and Agadir affairs, but finally plunged into war over the assassination at Sarajevo.

Under imperialist capitalism, robber wars can be put off but never eliminated. The war between the U. S. and Japan is as inevitable as was the war between Germany and England.

markets that exist in order to keep its own surplus capital and labor at work. For stagnation in production and unemployment above a certain level means revolution. To stave off revolution in which the workers take up arms for themselves, the capitalists naturally prefer war where the workers die for their masters.

The interests of the American and Japanese governments clash in the markets of China, Siberia and the Pacific Islands. They may adjust the Yap affair. But they will sooner or later have their Sarajevo.

The rest is easily done. The prostitute press drops the slogan "Kill the Huns", and shrieks "The Yellow Peril". Incidentally this cry was first used by the Hunnish Kaiser in an attempt to sidetrack the late Czar's activities to the east and away from France.

The capitalists of the U. S. and their political retainers are busily preparing for this war. Within three years they hope to have "the biggest navy in the world." The Pacific fleet in particular is being increased "to guard our 2 1/2 billion dollar trade with Orient," as one of our editors puts it. The Monroe doctrine is being brought into play to prevent the Japanese from gaining the slightest foothold, military or economic, in the "sovereign" states of Mexico, Colombia, Costa Rica and so on.

A few days ago a conference of regular army officers and the Adjutants of seven middle Western States was called to consider the mobilization of troops "in case they were suddenly called out." Speaking before this conference Colonel Upton declared: "Indications are plain that the next war will be with Japan and that this is the time for us to prepare."

### Also for the workers!

What can the workingclass get out of this war, this bloody scramble for oil fields and foreign markets?

What they get out of the war "to make the world safe for democracy" and "to make this the LAST WAR"—that is, bones bleaching over half a hemisphere; water-soaked bodies at the bottom of the Pacific; punishment camps under Hardboiled Smiths; prisons for rebellious workers; outrageous neglect for the living; monuments and speeches for the dead; millionaire-hog profiteers; unemployment; smash-up of unions; lower wages and longer hours—agony, slavery, death!

No schemes of utopian disarmament, Plague of Nations, Hague Tribunals can juggle this war away. Only the workers, by their own class apparatus and action, can possibly prevent or stop it.

They now say that Lenin is not at all to blame! It is admitted that Yap always existed (though without the knowledge of Wilson) and was assigned to Japan by England and France in a secret treaty months before Lenin seized power in Russia. For the capitalists, the First World War is the source from which all evils flow.

## The Young Communist International

ITS WORK AND DEVELOPMENT.

### HUNGARY.

The Young Communist League in which 20,000 members were organized previous to the Dictatorship, and during it 80,000 young workers of both sexes, has ceased to exist officially under the regime of the White Terror, though illegal groups are continuing the work.

### ITALY.

The Y. C. I., always true to the Banner of the Revolution carried on during the war an intensive anti-military revolutionary activity and is today leading the Revolutionary Movement in Italy, being the backbone of the newly formed Communist Party there.

### SWITZERLAND.

Though it numbers fewer members than most of the other sections, the Y. C. I. has been very active, having carried on an energetic anti-military propaganda during the war.

### FRANCE.

After having expelled the followers of Laine, the League joined the Y. C. I. in November 1920. The energetic anti-military propaganda carried on by the section, is of course being followed up by the bourgeoisie with an unrestrained persecution, which, however, has so far not deterred our comrades from battling on valiantly.

### BELGIUM.

The country being trained to a very high degree with social-patriotism the Communist Movement is but in its infancy. The organization had to overcome many serious difficulties.

### NETHERLAND.

In spite of its rather small membership the Y. C. I. is very active indeed. It has to overcome the resistance of the powerful social-democratic organization which is exploiting to the utmost the advantages given it by the fact that the country is also the seat of the Yellow Trade Union International of Amsterdam.

### SPAIN.

The Y. C. I. of Spain, after having launched a brisk propaganda for the III. International, has founded the Communist Party of Spain, the revolutionary party which is soaked to its very core with social-patriotism having proved impossible. The younger members have constituted anew a Y. C. I.

White Terror hinds away over the country, the bourgeoisie having declared all communists outlaws. Such means, however have never yet suppressed the Communist Movement and the membership of the Spanish section is increasing from day to day. In the spring of this year the Young People's Groups of Portugal also joined the Y. C. I.

### AUSTRIA.

The Y. C. I. of this country has developed out of the left groups which, on account of their revolutionary activities, were during the war expelled from the Social-Democratic Youth Federation. Though the Section has to struggle hard against the former social-democratic youth

movement, and in the country from which originated the "2 1/2" International, a great many of the young workers are heartily sympathizing with it. During the last two years the League has carried on a strong economic struggle.

### CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.

In the League has united the Social-Democratic Youth Federation of German-Böhemia, the Communist Youth of Czechien (left), and the Communist Youth of Slovakia. The well organized League is carrying on a brisk anti-military struggle, and marches everywhere at the front of the Communist movement. How it is feared by the bourgeoisie, is shown in the campaign of extermination commenced against it by the police in April last.

### THE BALKANS.

The strongest youth organization in the Balkans is by far the Y. C. I. of Bulgaria. The Y. C. I. of Jugo-Slavia has been declared dissolved by the Reaction which in doing so intended to do away once and for ever with the Communist Movement. The plan did not succeed, however, for the League is still carrying on its work. To this section belongs also the Communist Youth of Hungary. The Greek Section which is in its infancy numbers 1,000 members. The Communist Youth Organizations suffer from an especially brutal Terror in Roumania. In this country existed until a short time ago the Federation of Young Workers of Transylvania and of the Banat (formerly Hungarian territory) and the Social-Democratic Youth Federation of Old-Roumania, all of which organizations have recently united to a Y. C. I. of Roumania.

### ENGLAND.

In this country the communist movement amongst the youth is still in its infancy. It will, however, within a very short time develop into a powerful Y. C. I. for the revolutionary ideas have taken hold of the Proletariat, and especially of the young workers.

### UNITED STATES.

Though the Y. C. I. there is not yet very great, it is sure to grow rapidly in spite of the measures of suppression inaugurated by the Capitalist terror Government and its social-patriotic Gompers.

### MEXICO.

In the revolutionary movement in this country the Y. C. I. plays a leading part. It is the most definite exponent of the Communist idea in Central America.

### ARGENTINA AND AUSTRALIA.

In both countries Y. C. I. are developing.

### SOUTH AFRICA.

The Young Communist groups of Cape Town have joined the Y. C. I. in the first months of this year. In these groups are also organized Colored Proletarians.

### LUXEMBURG.

The Y. C. I. in this small country, with relatively many members, is very active.



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INDUSTRIAL COURT SLAVERY.

Alexander Howat, President of the U. M. W. of A. of the district in which is located the state of Kansas, has been sentenced under the Industrial Court Law of that state, to one year in prison for calling a mine strike in violation of the Court's injunction.

Howat, backed solidly by the miners, has appealed the case to the United States Supreme Court. The appeal is based upon the question of the constitutionality of the Industrial Court Law.

The industrial Court law provides that in certain industries, including coal mining, disputes between employers and employees shall be brought to the Court for adjustment. Strikes are not permitted.

Profit takers and exploiters of human labor have, since the ending of chattel slavery, searched for a means by which to keep their victims on the job producing—when production was wanted.

The Industrial Court law has been an object of veneration and worship by the ruling class in other states since its introduction.

If laws could stop human progress and the inevitable development of capitalism to a higher form, the masters might well sit in ease. Fortunately, such is not possible.

By all means let us have more Industrial Court laws!

Foster's Articles on Russia.

William Z. Foster, steel strike leader and author of "The Great Steel Strike" and "The Railroaders' Next Step," is now in Russia.

Foster's articles will be of especial interest to labor unionists for labor unionism and how it functions in Russia today will be one of his special objects of investigation.

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Say! Do you remember Sammy Gompers telling the world the A. F. of L. would not stand for any reductions in wages?

Oh Warren Stone, you certainly are some lucky guy to be at the head of such an easy bunch. Just to think

of jumping your salary from \$14,500 per year to \$25,000 when the labor-board has decided to cut the wages of the workers you represent.

The Third World Congress of Communists and The Problems Before It.

By MICHAEL DUFFY.

Convinced that all affiliated parties will agree that the best interests of the Communist International demand the immediate convocation of the Third World Congress, the executive committee of the Communist International decided to convene this congress two months before the time previously stipulated.

During the nine months that have elapsed since the Second Congress, the executive committee of the Communist International has taken a decisive stand and an active part in the organization activities of the parties in Germany, France and Italy.

The Italian and German Questions. Expression of sympathy for the Serrati faction and disagreement with the action of the executive of the Communist International in splitting the Italian Socialist Party resulted in the withdrawal of Clara Zetkin and Paul Levi as executives of the United Communist Party of Germany.

Two Red Internationals. The question of the autonomy of the Red Trade Union International promises heated debates at the congress. Shall there be two parallel organizations, the Red Trade Union International and the Communist International, or shall there be only one international, composed not only of political parties, but also of Red Trade Unions which are in principle with the Communist International.

Party Organization and Discipline. The construction of the Communist International and of the parties in the various countries will receive attention. It is generally agreed by the parties affiliated that the principle of centralization has to now been a talking point; that the organization machinery of the parties in their relation with each other and with the Communist International has not been perfected.

All parties and unions belonging to and wishing to belong to the Communist International are called upon to discuss in the press and at meetings these questions. The executive of the Communist International asks that delegates to the Third Congress be as numerous as possible and that they be composed of at least one third of the executives of the parties and two thirds from amongst the membership of the larger local organizations.

The International Development. The Communist International has passed thru three stages. Prior to the First Congress a preparatory stage was experienced. Between the First and Second Congresses a period of agitation was covered. Sympathy for

the Communist International was widespread but was caused in the main by the victory of the Russian workers and the support this victory elicited among the workers of all lands and not by an understanding of the program and organization form of the revolutionary vanguard of the workers.

The Return of the Wrangel Soldiers. The Wrangel troops who have returned from Bulgaria have put themselves at the disposal of the Soviet farms for work, while they are waiting to be sent to their homes.

A New Factory. A new match factory has been set in operation in Rybinsk, the building began last summer.

In Moscow the factory workers have formed a sport club which contains 3,500 members.

No More Night Printing. Since the Middle of May night work in the printing shops in Russia has stopped and thereby thousands of printing shop workers will obtain the elementary right of human beings of working in the day time and sleeping at night.

The circular is signed by Zinoviev as chairman of the executive of the Communist International and by a majority of the members of the executive committee.

IN RUSSIA. The Cavalry On The Labor Front. Budenny, the commander of the Cavalry Army who has arrived in Rostov has made the following statement. In the Ukraine the cavalry prepared 40,000 dessiatins of land for the poorest peasants and set up and planted 4000 vegetable gardens.

Why Farmer Folk Should be Glad to Work 16 Hours Daily

(Items gleaned from recent issues of Capper's Weekly.)

STEEPS DOWN; STEAKS UP. Good beef steers at Chicago dropped from \$9.50 a hundred pounds on February 15 to \$7.45 on April 12.

A HEADLESS PROCEDURE. Last spring a Kansas farmer bought cattle and put a 300-pound gain on them. Now they are worth \$5 a head less than he paid for them.

STORY OF A FLEEING. When M. E. Haskins, Kansas farmer, shipped 155 pounds of wool to a commission broker in Kansas City two weeks ago, he asked the broker to send him a sweater and buy and pay for it out of the wool money.

FOUR LEATHER STRAPS. A. Clovis, N. M., farmer sold the hide of a yearling steer. He got 45 cents for it. Then needing four horse straps for a harness, he went to another store to buy them.

PAYING THE FREIGHT. The freight on cabbage from the Rio Grande District to Chicago is \$25 a ton, including refrigeration charges and war tax.

A PRODUCER. Forest Luther, Cimarron, Kans., recently shipped three cars of hay to Kansas City. After paying the freight and terminal charges and expense of baling, he had to put up 50 cents a ton out of his pocket.

TALE OF A BUSHEL. During the investigation of the cost of living by the Senate Committee it was found that a bushel of potatoes for which a farmer in Michigan received \$1 was sold in Washington for \$6.

PICKING BUT NOT CHOOSING. "I have made nearly 100 bales of cotton, and when I pay for the picking and the rent, I won't have enough left to buy a pair of shoes. I stopped my children from going to school to pick cotton to get enough to run us awhile. Guess I will catch it as we have compulsory school laws. But it was either pick or starve," writes a Texas grower.

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# Mechanics of Power in Soviet Russia.

From The New Republic--By Mossaye J. Olgin.

The problem of power is the most perplexing one in the Russian situation. What is it that keeps the Communists in control? How is it possible that a party of 600,000, of whom only a fraction are active, can maintain a dictatorship over 125 millions under the most trying conditions? "Why do they not overthrow the Bolsheviks?"

The conditions are trying, indeed. There is hunger in Russia. Not hunger for bread and potatoes, perhaps, but hunger for the most ordinary necessities of life. There is no white bread in the cities of Russia, and very little meat or butter or sugar or fat. Milk and eggs are being given only to children, seldom to the sick. Throughout my six months' sojourn in the Russian provinces, I saw no chocolate, no oranges or lemons, no coffee, no real tea, no cake. No tramways are running in the cities of Russia, no lamps are burning in the streets, outside of Moscow. In the winter, water pipes are bursting, canalization and sewage systems collapse, misery and hideous sufferings are inflicted on millions. There is a scarcity of medicines and soap, and an abundance of disease. The peasants have enough to eat, yet rural Russia is clamoring for salt and kerosene and cotton fabrics and nails and plows and scythes.

There is no personal liberty in Russia. The peasant is forced to yield part of his crops to the state without receiving the equivalent in manufactured goods. The peasant is moreover obliged to do menial work of the crudest kind: cutting wood for the railways, carrying it to the stations, loading and unloading cars. The workingman is bound to his factory or mine; his remuneration is fixed by agencies of the state; he cannot move without permit from the labor organization which is controlled by the state; he cannot go on strike; his very participation in a labor union is a duty, not merely a right. True it is that the peasants pay no taxes and receive about two-thirds of the national output of industries free of charge; true it is that the workman is secured a "steady job" and as much food as can be obtained by the state; yet labor, in village and town, is under semi-military rule, and personal freedom is incompatible with martial law.

There is no political freedom in Russia. Not only the bourgeois parties who lost every foothold in the country are under the ban, but even outspoken Socialists, the Mensheviks and Socialists-Revolutionaries, their Left Wing not excluded, are deprived of the means for political campaigns. They have not been actually outlawed, but they may not issue newspapers or magazines or pamphlets. They are not silenced at general "non-partisan" meetings or conventions, yet they are forbidden to call open meetings of their own. They are hardly tolerated. Their headquarters are often raided; their very existence depends upon the mercy of the party in power.

There is no equality in Soviet Russia. Food, the life-giver, denuded in Russia of its cultural embellishments, stands out in all its primeval importance. And this omnipotent factor is being handled not according to the canons of equality, but as an expedient in socio-political struggles. The worker in the essential industries receives more than the worker in the less essential; the member of the Communist party is better provided than the Non-Communist, the friend better than the opponent. This may be imperative from the standpoint of state administration, yet the numerous privileges would hardly tend to decrease the bitterness of the ordinary citizen whose soul has been scarred and battered by numberless privations.

## EXPLANATIONS OF COMMUNIST POWER.

Why, then, do the Russians not overthrow the Communist rule?

A number of explanations should be dismissed from the start as obviously false. "Terror" has been advanced as being the chief weapon of Communist control. True it is that the methods of the Soviet administration are implacably harsh. This will hardly surprise anybody familiar with the requirements of social discipline under stress of war. Yet the success of compulsory measures ultimately depends, everywhere, upon the loyalty of the army. It is apparent that the Communists are able to rule Russia only insofar as the Red Army obeys their command. Why, then, does the Red Army obey? There were some three millions of armed men in Russia at the end of 1920, with thousands of officers from the ranks at their head. By what miracle of shrewdness or meanness did a fraction like 600,000 manage to keep control over millions of armed sons of the masses? The popular reply is ready at hand: This is an army of mercenaries, abundantly fed and comfortably kept amid an ocean of destitution, so that

they will remain faithful to their masters and keep the masses in subjection. In the light of my observations this appears absurd. I traveled throughout Russia from west to east and visited many of the Red barracks, both in the provinces and in Moscow. The bread rations I found never to exceed a pound and a half a day, meat was not on the ordinary menu, dinner consisted of soup and porridge, with a smaller and inferior quantity of the same food left over for supper. Of luxuries the Red army knew none, and good coats and boots were received only by those who went to the front—immediately before departure. There was nothing in the life of the barracks that would suggest an attempt at bribing the Red force. And the bulk of them were real, full-blooded Russians, no Chinese, and no Letts, and no Bashkirs, as was suggested by many a clever reporter. All those millions, certainly loathing the war, and still more loathing to suppress the revolts of their own brothers in the rural districts, in either case remained obedient to the orders of the ruling party. I have heard of no serious mutinies in the army. There were none to my knowledge.

Another explanation explains no more. The Russians are dumb, it was said; they are inarticulate and slavish by nature; whoever happens to brandish the whip will secure obedience at small cost. The present temper of the Russian masses is in plain contradiction to this characterization. Six years of war and four years of revolution have wrought deep changes in the minds of the people. They have learned many a social and political lesson. Everywhere they discuss the actions of their administration. They are deeply interested in the business of the nation. They are stirred. They are alert. Sometimes they are loudly clamoring. Certainly, those who saw—as I did last December—a peasants' conference of over 3,000 delegates flaunting in Lenin's face the over-zealous handling of the food problem will forever dismiss the idea of mute obedience on the part of the masses.

## THE REAL SOURCE OF POWER.

Power in Russia is based, not on passivity, but on a final acquiescence after a great deal of deliberation and even resistance. Political equilibrium in Russia does not resemble a dead weight, crushing every obstacle underneath. It rather resembles a sensitive scale constantly losing and constantly regaining its balance.

This equilibrium is entirely due to the program of the Russian revolution and to the character of the Communist party. The October revolution embodied a certain number of principles: nationalization of the land with equitable distribution among the agricultural population (whether on the basis of long term holding or otherwise is a secondary problem), nationalization of the means of industrial production, nationalization and socialization of real property in the cities,—and this program, whatever its necessary modifications, remains ingrained in the minds of the Russians even at present. It is this social program, and not the system of voting, whether universal or by Soviets, that is considered the achievement of the revolution. It certainly is this program, and not the franchise (at present nearly universal) that even for the outside world marks the difference between Kerensky and Lenin. To the Russians, social revolution is no mere abstraction. They are in the midst of the greatest social change in the history of mankind. The Central Executive Committee of the Russian labor unions occupies the former conference hall of the Moscow nobility. Clubs of the Red army men have been established in the mansions of the former industrial barons. The largest and most modern apartment houses are occupied everywhere by families of workers. The factory knows no owner. The land knows no owner. Theatres, museums, concert halls, schools, universities have been thrown open to workmen and peasants. Eighty-one per cent of the Executive Committees of the Soviets, the actual local administration, are former clerks, workmen and peasants. The majority of the Communist party itself consists of Red army men, workers and a few peasants. The man of the masses, hampered in all possible ways prior to the revolution, actually feels himself in a new situation. He may at times scoff at the harangue of a Communist who declares that the workmen and peasants are now "their own masters." He may perchance compare this tempting declaration with the necessity of working overtime in the essential industries or with compulsory peasant labor for the state. Yet, fundamentally, he is aware of a great change. He has come to the top. He is a new man. Everything is being done in his name and for his welfare. In

principle he is the master. He enjoys the fruit of the revolution, no matter howirksome his everyday existence may be. He dreads to think of the recent past.

## CLASS DIFFERENCES WIPED OUT.

One has to live in Russia to realize this fundamental fact. Even in appearance the "lower classes" used to be distinguished from the intelligentsia and the men higher up. Now the difference has disappeared. Everybody wears the garb of the poor. College professors and bricklayers look alike. A factory hand in the role of a Commissar may be even better dressed than the former manager of the concern. This may not add to the happiness of the professor or the engineer, but it certainly thrills the man of the rank and file. Immediate want, anxiety, fatigue, rigid discipline and coercion may temporarily becloud his vision and make him forget the glory of his new state. Yet the consciousness is there. It is never erased. It affects his mind even against his will. He has risen to a new standing in society, he may in due course of time set an example to the world—and this he owes to the social revolution. This he knows well; it is too palpable to be overlooked.

Whoever fails to realize this enormous fact in the life of revolutionary Russia is apt to blunder in the most pitiful way. To him the Russians must seem a herd of terrified cattle driven by the club of a madman. The fact is, that only because the Communist party remained faithful to the principles of the October revolution, could it become the driving force in Soviet Russia. The revolution created a basis, the Communist party supplied the living spirit for the attempt at constructing a new society out of chaos. The masses followed because, immediate suffering notwithstanding, they consciously or subconsciously cherished the idea of this new order.

The Communist party grew in power because, out of the many factions of Socialists in Russia, it alone accepted the October revolution. When "All power to the Soviets" became a fait accompli the Socialists-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and all the other "friends of the masses" immediately withdrew. They were disgusted. They had not a vestige of faith in the rule of the Soviets. They strenuously opposed the October revolution, failing to recognize that it was not an uprising of the Bolsheviks, but a hurricane like movement of the masses. The field was left to the Bolsheviks. They were the only organized group working with the Soviets, i. e., with the workmen, soldiers and peasants, at that historic juncture. They naturally filled the most important offices. They occupied the strategic positions. They became indispensable in the management of the country. They acquired the experience of administration. In the course of time the inertia of power came to their assistance. There is inertia in political power when people grow to recognize a certain group as the natural leaders.

## A PARTY OF ACTION.

Inertia alone, however, is a poor support in turbulent times. The Communists could not manage to live on the merits of the past. Their main strength is in the present, always in the present. They are the only political party in Russia which has a program for every day, for every hour. They may err (as with management of industries by committees), they may underestimate a tendency (as with abolition of small trade), they may overreach themselves (as with last summer's march on Warsaw), yet they have always the courage and candor to acknowledge an error and take a new path. They are never afraid of their errors, and in the most crucial moments they are always ready with a new plan of action, a new series of measures, a clearly defined line which, in their opinion, must save the country and the revolution. They never forsake the principles of the revolution. At a time when some of the Mensheviks and Socialists-Revolutionaries were conspiring with the White generals in Russia and with the interventionists abroad, at a time when others, the Left Wing, were untruly complaining and whining, secretly cherishing the utopia of a return to pre-October times, the Bolsheviks alone vigorously defended the main achievements of the revolution, never seriously deviating from them in the construction of their program. By this they gained immensely in the esteem of the masses.

The Communists are the only party of action. They do not rely upon an abstract program any longer, they always appeal to concrete action. Whether it is the organization of the Red Army, the repair work in railroad shops, the raising of crops or the reconstruction of the Donetz coal mines; whether the task is to fight the Whites at the

front, to fight the fuel famine by cutting wood, to fight epidemics by a campaign of cleanliness or to fight illiteracy by schools for adults,—they always demand work, strenuous, ardent, exhausting work. They set the example themselves. They do not theorize, they work. They say to the peasant, "Put your hand to this work or that, if you wish to increase the produce of your land; help us carry out this task or that, if you wish to get in due time manufactured goods in return for your crops." They say to the workman, "Here is work for you, make an effort to do it, if you wish to secure a fair living for yourself and freedom from bondage for your class." They say to the Red army man, "We hate war, just as you do, but war was forced on us, therefore we have to see it through, and therefore keep firm, fight to the last ditch." The driving force of the Communists lies in their always setting an example. Their methods may be harsh and their manners often high-handed, yet nobody would blame them for shifting the burden on to others; not even an enemy would assert that they shrink from work. In a country where inefficiency is habitual and administrative laziness was a byword, this must have a colossal influence with the masses.

The Communists never eulogize, never try to gloss over a distressing fact. I have the impression that they sometimes paint the picture too black in order to alarm and stir the people to greater efforts. What they always do is to put the facts before the masses squarely. They are not afraid of the facts. Even mismanagement and lack of efficiency is acknowledged by them in dealing with the people. They call it "the expenses of the revolution," caused by the transition of the means of production from one social class to another, yet they admit the fact. They are ready to take suggestions from the ranks. They call upon the governed to come and control. Workmen's and peasants' control groups have been organized everywhere, and the doors, and the books and the machinery of each branch of the administration are open to them. The Communists have laid bare before the country the workings of the state mechanism, of the industrial mechanism, of the military mechanism. They urge everybody to see, to learn and improve. They can afford to be sincere. In their truthfulness is their strength. In a country where officialdom used to dwell in the clouds and the work of "government" was a sacred awe-inspiring mystery for the ordinary man, this plain, matter-of-fact frankness must be a relief.

## ENLARGING THE INDIVIDUAL VIEW.

"First persuasion, then coercion," said Lenin. Persuasion means educating citizens to an understanding of national affairs. This work of education is conducted on a stupendous scale. Groups of people who never had the remotest idea of state problems are now drawn close to the limelight of national life and made to realize their part in it and their responsibility for its progress. There is hardly a corner in Russia where the educational sweep is not awakening the most backward to new thought and new strivings. "Middle" peasants, poor peasants, Red army men, railroad men, peat diggers, mine operators, peasant women, everybody is made an object of propaganda, and propaganda in Russia is a means of making people think in national terms.

"Go and do it yourself" is not the least weapon in the Communists' arsenal. Their practice is to draw ever new groups and layers of people into participation in the management of national affairs. Lack of knowledge or experience is no obstacle with them: people may learn as they work. Youth is rather an asset; youth has no fear, it is not easily discouraged and it has that divine contempt for traditions which gives absolute freedom. The western observer would be astounded to find plain blacksmiths managing large industrial plants, to see youths of twentyone in command of army divisions, to discover important administrative departments under the supervision of former peasants. As the crisis in Russia became more acute, as the front demanded the best trained and most reliable men, as the army absorbed ever larger numbers of productive workers, and as the resources in man power of the better quality were heavily drawn upon,—new men and women from the masses constantly rose to responsible positions. In the labor unions, in the Soviet organizations, in the Communist party, in the factories and mines, hosts of newcomers filled the gap. In a short time many became experts in their respective realms, shouldering responsibility for the public weal. "To make every housewife a manager of the state" is no empty phrase with the rulers of revolutionary Russia.

Where persuasion fails, coercion is applied. Coer-

cion is not the cause, but the expression of power. Coercion is more severe in Russia than elsewhere in the world because the government there is closest to the people. Whatever may be said about the voting system or the shrinking of the Soviets under stress of war (efforts are now being made to restore the Soviets to their former power), whatever may be the deviation of the Soviet regime under Communist rule from what is known as "democracy" in the western world, the Russian government knows no barriers between itself and the masses. In fact, it is a mass government. "Ochlocracy" it was contemptuously named by opponents. This is true in one respect; the ochlos is here inseparably woven with the government and its ruling party. It is this absence of a clear demarcation line between government and governed that makes the most stringent measures appear less noxious than they did under autocracy. Coercion here assumes the aspect of self-willed effort, obedience seems self-restraint. The services demanded and exacted by the Communists in Russia would be impossible elsewhere. They would seem monstrous even to the Russians shaken by revolutionary storms, if it were not for the fact that they are accepted, consciously and unconsciously, as a series of self-imposed restrictions. Denial of a free press (if not of free speech) to the opposition, arrests of suspected counter-revolutionaries and execution of active plotters may be horrifying to an outsider, yet they seem natural acts of self-protection on the part of a society bent on carrying through a most difficult historic task and desirous of warding off any disturbance that might diminish its strength.

## MASSES MAKERS OF OWN DECLINES.

The machinery of power which now exists in Russia cannot be understood unless we hold clearly before our eyes that all coercion takes place in a society where class privileges have been, in principle abandoned; that coercion takes place not in the name and on behalf of a social group or class, but in the name of the masses themselves and for their ultimate good; that those who exercise power do not derive any benefit for themselves aside from the consciousness of power enjoyed by individuals as administrators (material advantages in the form of better salaries or a minimum of comfort are slight; private gain is a crime and heavily punished); that the rank and file are not only admitted but strongly urged to join in the work of administration and, consequently, to share the enjoyment of power; and that the final, the most irrefutable, the all-silencing argument, in war and peace, in town and village, admit hunger and fatigue is, "Will you suffer counter-revolution to be victorious? Are you ready to give up the fruits of the October overthrow?"

Above all, closest to the minds of the masses, is the consciousness of the fact that it is their own country. Unity between city and village may have been due to a peculiar historic combination of forces, which will not last; new cooperation between peasant and workman, on a plane higher than primitive self-defense, may require new efforts and new readjustments; the rights and immunities of the city population may assert themselves in the course of time and demand a revision of tactics; further concessions may be granted to knowledge, genius, or unusual achievements; the entire system may undergo modifications as it adapts itself to peaceful work and a program of reconstruction. Yet, what marks the new era, what has carried the revolution through in the midst of colossal trials, is the new consciousness of the masses, and their awareness of becoming the makers of their own destinies. Out of the darkness of ages, out of slavery and despair, they have risen to a spot where strong fires are blazing. Their heat may be scorching at times, yet the horror of darkness is compelling. Torn between hope and misery, between pride in the revolution and semi-starvation every day of the year, the Russian citizen harbors two souls within his breast—that of the revolution and that of the counter-revolution. When alone, left to individual feelings, confronted with mean realities of a miserable existence, he is morose, he is embittered, he blames the administration, he is even ready to disobey, to make obstacles, to revolt. When together with others, when a member of a social aggregation, a conference, a convention, a meeting, a unit of the army, his social feelings gain the upper hand, and the final decision is always in favor of the revolution. To keep this social sense alive is the main task of the Communist party, and because it has performed this social service it has become the most potent force in revolutionary Russia.

## IN A COUNTRY FIT FOR HEROES!

With mouths filled with hunger marched the six hundred.

'Here a hero for a week'. That is the slogan the Buck privates association used recently in Chicago to induce business to put jobless ex-service men on their pay rolls. In accordance with the association's plans, the jobless army marched through the financial district and main thoroughfares with placards that practically announced, to use the term of one of the daily papers, that it was 'a bread line of

heroes.' Hoboes would be more appropriate perhaps. The same paper announced the next day that no jobs were forthcoming. Jobs were coming very slow.

The white fronted gentlemen that watched from the balconies of hotels and millionaire clubs and from the windows of the board of trade had little pity. Self-interest does not allow for sympathy. Now if there is another war — — — that's different. More profits for the profiteer. More misery and poverty for the fighting workers. One profiteer's heart was touched evidently; for from the balcony of a hotel on Jackson Boulevard he threw coins in the ranks of the paraders.

His heart was made glad by giving; for how amused he looked as he saw the 'boys' scramble for the medium of exchange that meant "coffee and".

A few of the spectators removed their hats as the flag passed, sometimes an old woman would wave a handkerchief, the almost extinct species still enthused by war time "gratitude". After the parade ended in Grant's Park, moving pictures were taken as the "hoboes", pardon, heroes, went over the top carrying placards of "Hire a Hero!" "We want meat; not Medals". "In 1917 nothing was too good for us... Now what in 1921!" I could tell them; but I ain't got the nerve. A few of the men are waking up, at least three downright radicals were among the marchers. Others have numerous complaints but don't understand the struggle. As one of the parade, it will be with a red flag. Can paraders casually remarked, perhaps humorously, the next time they it be possible?

## A PARADER.

Z N A N J E  
South Slavic Weekly  
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## UNEMPLOYED WORKERS.

By EDWARD J. IRVINE.  
In the laundry office I  
Was told to "squeeze thru"  
The crowd of girls that  
Were waiting to earn  
The right to live.

I resented this,  
For if they had been  
Society ladies I'd have  
Been asked to "step aside"  
And let them pass;  
To make gangway for  
Their royal highnesses.  
Yet "there are no Classes  
In America."

But the working women are  
More virtuous than society dames.  
Tho the papers rave about them.

## SHOULD SYNDICALISTS JOIN THE COMMUNIST PARTY?

(Continued from page 1.)

same, if I were, I would prefer Elisee Reclus.

Politics in Labor Unions.  
Let me touch, in passing, on one question that is important, although something of a side issue here—the general fear of "introducing politics into the labor unions." We lose our

heads over phrases, without bothering to look into their meaning. Let me ask you, yes or no, does a social revolution have a political side to it? If you want the world to "change its basis of life," is that a change which affects the organized society, the "polis" or community—in short, partly a political change?

What a ridiculous contradiction of terms for revolutionists to cry "No politics!" This position is so clearly absurd that it can be turned right against them. "No politics in the labor unions" can mean only one thing—that the union confines itself strictly to trade questions—which, in my opinion, is its proper field, for the simple reason that it is an industrial group, composed of people who have the same trade, but not necessarily the same opinions.

One word more. Lemoine criticizes the Communists for admitting bourgeois intellectuals, on the ground that many of them turn traitor. Coming from a syndicalist, at a time when the French syndicalist movement is being betrayed by its own leaders, this criticism is a bit simpleminded. Let the syndicalists first get the traitors out of their own ranks!

I should think that revolutionists of the working class ought to join hands with revolutionists of other classes, sooner than with members of their own class who have so often left them in the lurch and always will do so,

except, perhaps, when victory seems certain. But revolutionists of different classes can combine, not in a labor union, but only in a political party.

The way in which a union recruits members makes it a purely industrial organization. As such, it cannot normally play a political role and cannot, therefore, be revolutionary, since one cannot speak of revolution without entering into politics.

I believe that there can be revolutionary syndicalists, but not revolutionary syndicalism, except for brief periods.

In closing, let me make my position perfectly clear. I wish that the power of the unions might be in the hands of revolutionists, but I maintain that their efforts, their activity, their propaganda can bring this about only oc-

asionally and in spite of the method of recruiting members—a method which is inevitable because it forms, so to speak, part of the very definition of a labor union, and which will always tend to bring the union back to what it really is by its nature, namely, a purely professional trade group.

P. S. As I was finishing this letter, I had an opportunity to talk with two workmen, as bitter as the bourgeois against any strike or revolutionary movement. They declared that they would not give any help, or even a crust of bread, to a striker or to any of the men who lost their jobs in the May strike. Now go on and make a revolution with the help of these congenial workingclass brothers against those damned intellectuals!

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