

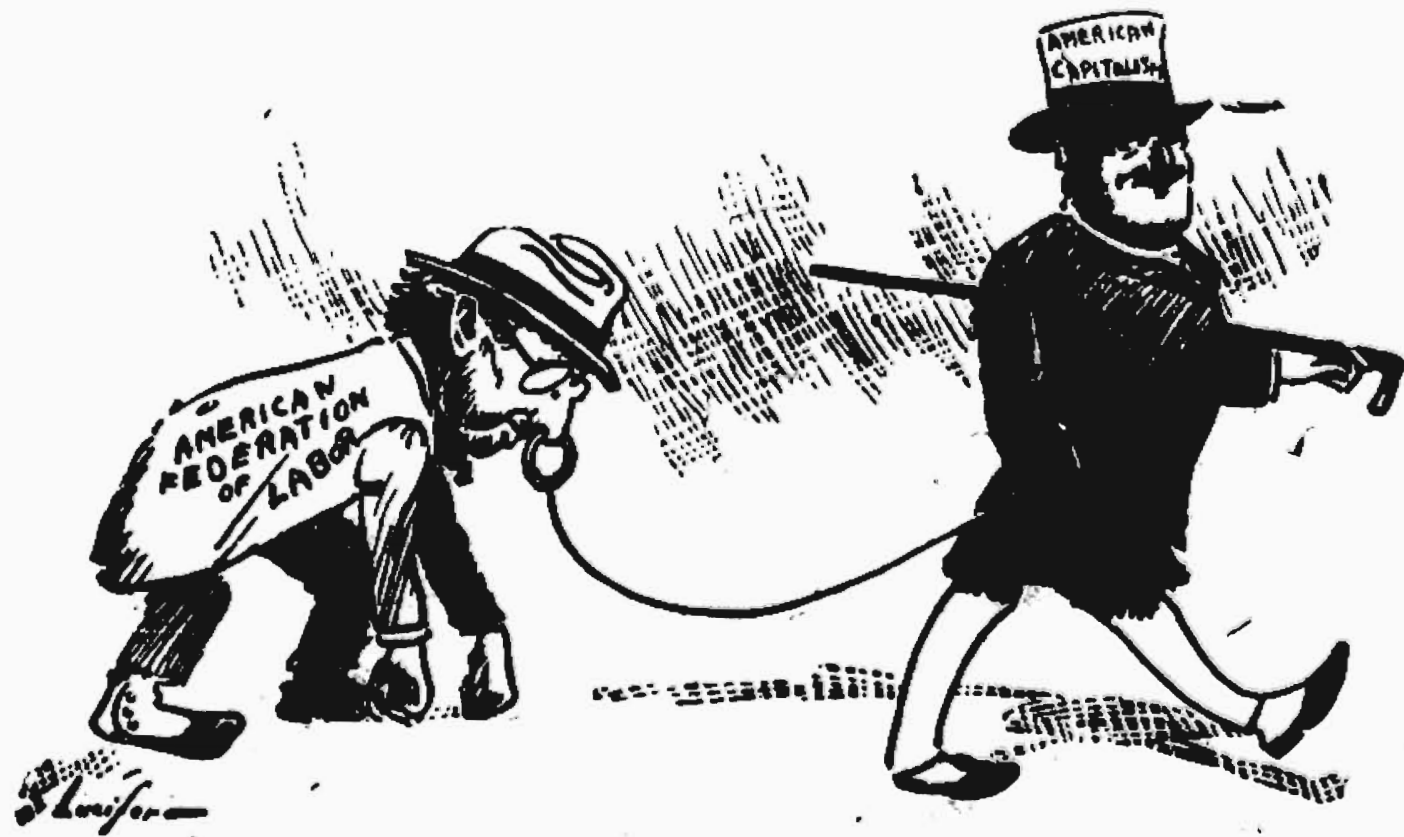
The Voice of Labor

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PRICE FIVE CENTS





"Economic Power in Politics"

UNDER the above heading the New York Times editorially discusses the growing use by the workers of their economic power in order to achieve political ends. It is such a good heading that we have retained it. The Times gives the following excellent summary of some recent instances in which the workers have made successful use of their power in industry to bring pressure to bear upon the government:

Will labor in this country use its economic power in politics as we have remarked its exercise in other lands as well as our own? In Germany the Kapp Government was able to survive that method of campaign by labor only five days. In Denmark only a few weeks ago King Christian, according to Social-Demokraten "was compelled to bow to the firm will of the people and the road is now clear for the democratization and socialization of the State." Whatever the merits of that solution of an industrial crisis, Americans would not like to see it adopted in their affairs any more than Denmark did. Under the stress of the situation amnesty was granted by the King, but less than a month later three trade unions were fined 300,000 kroner for the paralysis of Denmark's trade for three months. The decision was given by the Permanent Court of Arbitration and Industrial Disputes, at the suit of employers for damage for violation of contract, a method more available to unions than to employers. Possibly some employers might be as treacherous as some unions, but there is the difference that the employers are mostly responsible in a property sense, and in the Denmark case the unions expended their funds in the strike for which they are penalized.

Hardly a day passes without cases of the use of this novel force in politics. The International Seamen's Conference, sitting in Genoa, this week demanded that the blockade of Russia should be stopped, and that warfare should be ended by the abolition of competition among nations. The political proposal, which has nothing to do with conditions of employment, was introduced by an American, opposed by England, and adopted "almost unanimously". American labor seems to be internationally minded industrially if not politically. Also this week we learn by cable that the Irish labor organizations are considering a "levy of 10 per cent on

farmers and shopkeepers" in aid of Sinn Fein. In Peru a strike was called "to enforce a demand upon the Government that it annul the decree recently issued intended to put into effect the constitutional provision establishing compulsory arbitration."

Quite in that fashion we are passing through a strike in this city to enforce the application of the eight-hour law in a manner better suited for adjudication than for presumption of the merits of the law in this specific case, apart from the general merit of the matter.

It may be that American capitalists, for whom the Times speaks, may not like to see the political strike become one of the weapons of the American workers, but the workers of this country will learn to use that weapon as the workers elsewhere are doing.

The workers are beginning to understand that the state which wields political power, as present existing everywhere except in Russia, an instrument in the hands of the capitalists protect capitalist interests. They are beginning to realize that for them to expect to be able to achieve anything for themselves through the capitalist state machinery is foolishness. Therefore they resort to their own institutions. They use the unions through which they have been fighting the capitalists for better wages and working conditions in the industries, to bring pressure to bear upon the capitalist state.

The reason this development gives the capitalists spasms of fear is because they realize that once the workers begin using their economic power against the government they are placed in direct opposition to the government. As they are involved in such struggles again and again the workers begin to realize that their real enemy is the government and they rely more and more upon their own organizations to achieve their aims and thus there is developed an organ of workingclass power alongside of the capitalist government. Once the workers organizations wielding political power exist alongside of the capitalist state, there naturally emerges the struggle to overthrow the capitalist state.

The political strike leads to the Workers Councils and the demand for "All Power to the Workers". That is why the capitalists fear it.

Michaels, Stern & Co. vs. The Amalgamated

THE Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America must pay all or part of \$100,000 in damages to Michaels, Stern & Co. of Rochester, N. Y., the exact figure yet to be determined by Justice Rodenbeck. A permanent injunction is ordered; the Amalgamated may not attempt to organize this shop, except at peril of more damages. His Honor means to protect this clothing business against the further savageries of the Amalgamated.

But unionism and "the right to strike" are piously upheld. Like all the other "rights" of the workers under the class rule of the capitalists, the "right to strike" is carefully preserved. Safe-guarded as a legal fiction, but not for use.

The new trick which the employers and the judge have worked out in this case is the use of a dummy union by which to defeat the real union. It is to be exact there were three parties to the trick, of the judge, the employer, the A. F. of L. What is it? A. F. of L. supplied was a charter in the United States of America. It gave this charter to one of the members of the plaintiff corporation, who came from Rochester to New York and paid the regular fees for his charter.

There was such an organization as the United Garment Workers back in 1914. At that time 30,000 members broke away to form the Amalgamated. Now the Amalgamated numbers 175,000, while the United Garment Workers exists as a name—and as Gompers's weapon against the Amalgamated secessionists.

Now, Michaels, Stern & Co., together with Gompers & Co. have won a great legal victory.

Justice Rodenbeck held that the Amalgamated, in attempting to organize the plaintiff's shop, was engaged in an unlawful undertaking. Not that he meant to declare union organization unlawful, hardly that. But what need was there for Amalgamated unionism when the boss had gone to the trouble to supply unionism himself? What the Amalgamated wanted was not unionism, but a monopoly. Wasn't there already a United Garment Workers charter and contract in the shop? Besides, the court found that the Amalgamated was too rough in its strike methods, though this was not at all apparent from the evidence, and it is not at all clear whether the "violence" or the

attempt to secure a union monopoly was the real basis for the decision.

The only explanation for the intercession of the Amalgamated was that it wanted maliciously to destroy the plaintiff's business. Therefore, the judgment for damages.

A coincidence—the clothing workers at Rochester are the poorest paid in the industry. In 1914, before the advent of the Amalgamated, the average earnings of the clothing makers were 20% below the minimum subsistence budget. Since then there has been an average increase in wages of 154%, with a maximum increase for New York at 212%. Meanwhile the increase for Rochester has been 107%, hardly more than the increase during the same period of the cost of subsistence. For the whole industry, in 1914, there were 27% who received \$5 to \$10 per week, 35% who received \$10 to \$15; but 3% who received over \$25.

In the immediate sense this lawsuit reveals one more method for outlawing union organization, by fake agreement with a dummy union. The A. F. of L. will undoubtedly have reason to regret its service to the plaintiff corporation in this case, because other employers will take advantage of this lesson against the A. F. of L. itself.

Again the A. F. of L. is spot-lighted in its miserable role of labor betrayer even though the point made against the Amalgamated is likely to prove a boomerang to the A. F. of L.

Whatever comes of the appeal from this decision the signs of the times point to an imminent crisis in the life of unionism in the United States. There are two definite alternatives: a unionism which begs for concessions from the employers in exchange for political support of the capitalist system, a "respectable" unionism which carries its respectability to the point of direct opposition to the general working class movement. This is the Gompers brand of unionism. The other alternative is a unionism which fights for gains by whatever methods are forced upon it; and therefore fights ultimately for the overthrow of the capitalist system, since it is allowed to make no other fight within the capitalist scheme of things.

No militant unionism will be allowed to develop along peaceful legal lines. The contract—and—arbitration unions will be legally tolerated, but

(Continued on page 7)

The Breakdown of Transportation in the U. S.

FOR something more than two years the newspapers have been picturing the deplorable conditions of the railroad system of Soviet Russia. They have been telling the workers of this country that transportation had broken down in that country because the working class had taken control of the government and of the means of production and distribution.

Nothing was said about the effect of the blockade upon the railroads. The fact that the poorly developed system of transportation which existed under the government of the Czar had had to bear the strain of five years of war and was broken down before the Bolsheviki gained power was not mentioned. Nor did the further fact that Russia had been dependent upon other countries for the greater part of its locomotives and freight cars and for spare parts to make repairs, which have been cut off by the blockade, figure in these stories. Russia has a Communist government and the fact that the government is Communist accounts for the deplorable state of the system of transportation.

In spite of all these pessimistic stories, the Communist government has been able to make the railroads work well enough to fight the armies of the Allied imperialist bandits on a half a dozen fronts at one time and smash these armies. It is now administering the same kind of lesson to the Polish imperialists—the latest tools of the Allies.

Compare this achievement by the Soviet Government to the situation in the United States. The railroads in this country were untouched by the war, so far as the destruction of rolling stock is concerned. There has been no interruption of the production of railroad material nor of locomotives or freight cars. All the things necessary to build up the most efficient railroad system are on hand in any quantity needed in the United States at the present time and have been on hand during every day of the last ten years.

Yet the railroad system is not functioning. The capitalist newspapers are carrying scare-head headlines warning the people that unless present conditions are remedied they will freeze next winter and many industries will have to shut down.

There are good reasons explaining why the Russian railroad system is not in the highest state

of efficiency, but why are the capitalists of the United States not able to make the railroads of this country fulfill their purpose? Why does the working class of this country face the danger of unemployment and freezing next winter?

The war in which the United States participated ended eighteen months ago. Why have not the men of "superior brains" who claim it is their right to take enormous fortunes for themselves out of the product of the workers because of the great services they render society, kept the transportation system up to the standard required to serve the needs of the country? Must the workers pay them great profits and then freeze and starve because they make a mess of the business which they have in hand?

In the program of the United Communist Party there is this statement concerning the working of the capitalist system:

In a large part of Europe capitalist economy is no longer able to function so as to produce even the bare necessities of life.

In the United States the machinery of production and distribution is disarranged and choked by widespread strikes in the basic industries, strikes compelled by the need for the bare necessities of life.

This breakdown has not resulted from mysterious unforeseen causes, but from forces innate in the capitalist system, forces accurately charted by the Communist pioneers three quarters of a century ago.

It is forces "innate in the capitalist system" which have brought about the breakdown of railroad system in the United States. The struggle for better wages resulting in strikes is one of the innate forces which makes it impossible for the capitalist system to function. The looting of the railroads by high finance during the last half a century has developed financial forces which are producing the same effect.

The danger of freezing and starving because the railroads are breaking down, against which we are being warned, is just an example of the general breakdown of capitalist production which will produce the same widespread misery in this country that it has produced in Europe, if the workers do not use their power to end the rule of the capitalists in industry.

Trade Union Movement in the Soviet Republic

From "Bolshevism at Work" by William T. Goode.

TRADER'S UNIONS are here called Professional Alliances, they embrace not single and local trades, but whole industries. At the office of the Moscovsky Council of Professional Alliances I saw the Secretary, Melnichansky, who discoursed freely on this side of Soviet life, and answered all my questions with the greatest ease. As Secretary of this huge organization, I imagine he is in the right place. He is soaked in his subject, and had no need to consult any note or book during the three hours the interview lasted.

The building where I found him in the center of Moscow is so striking, both in itself and in the contrast between its present and its past, that it deserves word to itself. This Labor Temple (the building of the Moscow Alliances of Unions), it is now, is the former place for the meetings of the nobility, an immense building containing fetes of offices and a vast marble staircase leading up to a gallery surrounding two sides of the magnificent hall, where fetes used to be given to the Czar when he visited Moscow. It is perhaps the largest hall in Russia; a noble oblong of great height, finely proportioned. The sides are lined with white marble pillars supporting the cornice, behind them are two wide promenades, above them is a gallery which runs round three sides. The old lustres remain, and the lighting is continued by a concealed fringe of small lights behind the edge of the cornice.

My imagination quickly peopled it with a glittering throng of courtiers and nobles, splendid in dresses, jewels and orders, and contrasted it violently with its present use, filled with chairs for the meeting of the conventions, a big platform at the further end. It can be made to hold from 3,000 to 4,000 persons, and I thought that the workers of the Soviet Republic can congratulate themselves on having as a home perhaps the largest, and certainly the most splendid and significant hall in the world. It was given to them by the government after the October Revolution. Its condition was dirty and unkempt, for it had been used during the Great War as work-rooms for the making of uniforms. But the workers cleaned it, and in the suite of rooms forming a long gallery the scutcheons of nobility in the wall panels

are replaced by shields bearing the emblems of the Republic, the Professional Alliances, and various trades, modeled in plaster. And in the center room of the gallery, where formerly were pictures and emblems of the Russian generals of the Napoleonic period, on walls and ceiling are now simple red panels, against two of which are busts of Marx and Lenin, resembling, but not particularly fine works of art. In the part of the building given up to offices is a fine circular council chamber, the meeting place of the nobility, where the very chairs bear witness to the former character of the place, for on their backs are the heraldic emblems of former occupants.

The contrast between the past and present is almost stupefying, yet it is so full of meaning, so indicative of things that are happening here (where Commissaries of the People are lodged in the Kremlin itself) and in Russia generally, that it is worthy of careful note.

Melnichansky's lucid explanation of the Trades Union system under the Soviet I shall try to reproduce as clearly as I can.

There is a difference between the Russian form of organization and the English, where members are members of local and special unions according to trades; or the I. W. W., which runs a general mixed organization. Russian workers are organized by industries, as metal, wood, textile industries, embracing all trades. Thus the Metal Workers' Union takes in some 290 trades. But all are united in one central organization—the All-Russian Council of Professional Alliances. There are thirty Professional Alliances, which unite all trades by the industries in which they are employed. In most of the cities (1) they are organized by localities; (2) they are then united by Provincial Councils; (3) these are connected by National Councils. There are thirty National Councils, which are united by the All-Russian Councils of Professional Alliances. This, omitting the part of the Ukraine, which is at present in the hands of Denikin, rules some 3½ million members. This organization has been largely developed by the Soviet regime, for at the February Revolution there were only three trades' unions in Moscow; but at the time of the

October Revolution all trades here had been organized, and the present all embracing system evolved.

This conclusion seems to have been a natural one. The Revolution of February was a purely political one; the Czar had been got rid of, but the condition of the worker remained unchanged, and this political character was retained by the Kerensky Government. Strikes were in progress in Moscow and all over Russia to secure advanced wages in order to meet the stringency of food prices. Nearer to the period of September and October it was evident that strikes should be avoided. A little consideration showed that they would be to the advantage of the masters, whose source of profit, war orders, had dried up, and who would have welcomed the strikes. Two months before the October Revolution it was seen that the only thing for workers to do was to fight the Provisional Government and secure Government by Soviet, which would be able to change the economical condition of the country.

It would also produce the effect of giving each worker a direct interest in the governing body in its elections. For every man is a member of some alliance (union), which elects its own members to the Soviet. At the same time it elects the Executive Committee of the Alliance, which, in turn, elects its members to the Soviet, at least two, at most five, according to the numerical status of the members of the Alliance.

There is thus a direct participation in the Government, both of the Alliance and of the country, for the members are elected by and from the workers. The Soviet, though superior to the organizations of the Alliances, who require its approval before their conclusions can become law, can thus devote itself to the political development of the country, while the Executive Committees can care for the conditions of the industries they represent, and through the Central Organisation of the Alliances, for the economical development of the country.

A question regarding rates of pay brought information concerning strikes. These are not recognized. Indeed, one must confess they would be illogical—you do not strike against yourself. Formerly, he said, strike-breakers were considered as traitors to the cause of the workers; now it is strikers or people wishing to strike who are the traitors. In other countries strikes were and are the only weapon in the workers' hands for

securing a change of conditions. Here, on the contrary, the various Alliances have Tariff Committees, who followed the movement of prices, and, where necessary, work out plans for changing the rate of wages. These plans are passed through the Central Council, thence through the Soviet, and so become law.

On Hours of Labor and Rates of Pay I have already spoken in "Bolshevism and Labor".

Unemployment and Sickness have been tackled by the Alliances with success, though Melnichansky frankly admitted their early difficulties, both in creating a fund and in finding out ways of distribution. His frankness was but a repetition of what I have constantly found—the readiness to admit mistakes and blunders, and to confess the difficulty of finding successful ways and methods of action under conditions of great stress. The school of experience of the leaders of the Bolsheviks has been a hard one, but they have profited by it.

They got over their difficulty of raising a fund for insuring the workers against sickness unemployment by requiring the proprietors of factories, all of whom had done sufficiently out of the war period, to pay to a Central Committee elected by the Alliances a sum equal to 4 per cent of the total wages paid by them, which provided a fund against unemployment; and a further sum equal to 10 per cent of the wages sheet, which formed the fund against sickness. In this way a fund was formed sufficiently large to begin operations, which were the more necessary because of the disorganization of industry and the unemployment caused by the disorganization of industry and the unemployment caused by the stoppage of the intense production caused by the war.

A payment by the proprietors of wages for three months of their employes who were not needed was decreed, but on the plan that it should really be paid only for half that period, the payment for the other half being made to the Central Committee to strengthen its funds. It was argued that the Russian factory worker, being in most cases connected with a village, would in six weeks, if he had not secured work, have returned to his village. Unemployment generally is a thing unknown in the Soviet Republic; in cases of workmen being out of work, they are fitted with employment by the appropriate State Department.

(Continued on page 12)

The Labor May Day

A Soviet radio of May 3rd gives details of the "Voluntary Labor Day" organized by the Communist Party on May 1st. At Saratov, 80,000 persons participated, of these 70,000 workers continued their previous work in undertakings of primary importance. The Union of Doctors and Pharmacists organized the collection of medicinal plants. On the railway, one locomotive and 17 wagons left the large repairing shops, in addition to about 100 trucks of all sorts rendered serviceable. In all the theatres, clubs, and cinemas free performances for children took place, followed by excursions and river outings up the Volga.

Zinoviev, writing in "Pravda," and quoted in a Soviet radio of May 5th, says that May Day this year was in truth Labor Day. It was difficult to preach the benefits of labor to men who for scores of years had been bowed under the yoke of the capitalists, just as it was difficult to preach discipline to soldiers who had suffered under the old regime. But this period is now over; the worker is transformed; he has realized that labor is now no longer a prison but an occupation worthy of a free man. A symbol of this was seen in the products of their manufacture which the Petrograd workers decided, on their own initiative, to carry in procession through the streets, during the May Day demonstrations. "I see in this a new psychology evolving, in which the worker is proud of the results of his labor for the common good. Petrograd presented on this day an extraordinary spectacle. In a few hours, as the result of the work of a compact mass of volunteers, the Champ de Mars was transformed into an attractive park. On the railways several groups decided, on their own accord, to continue working until one o'clock in the morning. In the kitchens of the Consumers' Commune, 10,000 persons were at work; altogether 150,000 persons; while the rest passed through the streets in great processions with sacks of sand or building materials. At every step a fraternal spirit of affection, a true unity of the proletariat, made itself felt.

On the Exchange Square a crowd of 30,000 spectators furnished a memorable example of spontaneous and irreproachable discipline in spite of the absence of representatives of public order. Something new has arisen in the relations of man to man, in the organization of Labor. The Com-

munist idea has come down to earth. The Communist idea of Labor has become clothed in flesh and blood!"

Meshcheriakov gives a similar picture of the day's events at Moscow and declares that all the telegrams from the provinces bear witness to the enthusiasm not only of the proletariat, but of the whole population. At Kostroma, 17,000 workers took part; at Rybinsk, 20,000; at Smolensk, 30,000; in a small town of the Yaroslav province—Mologa—which has less than 6,000 inhabitants and hardly any industrial workers, 2,000 workers (i. e., all the able-bodied population of the town) took part. The enthusiasm of all Russia may be discerned from that of this tiny town, far removed from any railroad.

The voluntary labor was devoted principally to the cleaning of towns, the improvement of transport, the loading and unloading of waggons, and the repairing of locomotives.

Michaels, Stern & Co. vs. The Amalgamated

(Continued from Page 3.)

only on condition that the employers keep the upper hand through the courts, the police and the military.

An end of the war advantages in labor bargaining, the coming of new immigration, the deliberate capitalist offensive against militant unionism, —expressed through anti-labor decisions and laws, also in the capitalist political and Chamber of Commerce programs,—all these point to a near crisis. The unionism of peaceful progress, big treasuries, no strikes, retention in whole or part of the craft segregation of the workers,—this unionism will definitely emerge in a partnership with the employing class, corresponding to the small-scale transaction between Michaels, Stern & Co. and the United Garment Workers.

All unionism which does not definitely line up against the working class as a class will soon become I. W. W. unionism, that is, what I. W. W. unionism represents at its highest apex of militancy.

This One Big Union movement scorns injunctions, awards of damages, jailings, and all the other trivialities of capitalist law which stand in the path of the determined mass of workers.

The Voice of Labor

All Power to the Workers!

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channels.

“WAGE earners aspire to be something more than numbers on the books of an industrial plant, something more than attendants of a machine, something more than cogs of an industrial system dominated by machinery owned and operated for profit alone. The workers insist on being masters of themselves.”

These proud words were adopted by unanimous vote of the Montreal convention of the A. F. of L.

The same convention voted solidly for the League of Nations, that is, for the alliance of the great financiers against workingmen in any country who “insist on being masters of themselves”—in action as in words.

The same convention voted against the Russian workers and peasants who are making the greatest struggle in all history to free the workers of all countries from capitalist industrial slavery.

Nevertheless, the words above quoted, even though they come from the A. F. of L., are worth reading again and remembering.

A recent estimate, appearing in the *New York Times*, shows that the wealth of the United States now amounts to \$4,540 for each of the 105,000,000 inhabitants of this country.

Have you got yours? What prospect of saving it out of your wages? How many wage-workers do you know who are worth \$4,540?

Two-thirds of the American people own 5% of the national wealth. One-third of the people own 95% of the wealth. On the estimate of 500 billions of national wealth, something over 350 billions belongs to 2% of the population.

The workers' share of this generous “per capita” of \$4,540 is to produce out of their toil the interest and dividends for the owning class.

Meanwhile we are supposed to take a patriotic pride in the wealth of the U. S. of A.

THE J. P. Morgan mansion in London is offered as the home of the American embassy. President Wilson has transmitted this offer to Congress, neither approving nor disapproving.

What could be more convenient? It would save so many trips back and forth.

STANDARD OIL is making the best of its dissolution punishment. Purged of its monopolistic wickedness in 1912, when the Standard Oil of New Jersey became the Standard Oil of New Jersey, of New York, of Indiana, of California, etc., the Standard Companies have managed to pay out in dividends since then the tidy sum of \$747,754,366.

The party platforms for 1920 are discreetly quiet on the subject of trust-busting.

What they consider most seriously is strike-busting.

FIVE European ministries tumbled during one June week, those of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Italy and Poland. The Millerand ministry in France is shaking.

Europe has come to the stage where the politicians of capitalism are strictly up against it.

One ministry on the continent weathers such assaults as were never before directed against any government in history, the Lenin ministry. There is only chaos and anarchy in Russia?

SECRETARY of State Colby and Mrs. Colby were the guests of honor at a dinner party for 18 given by “the Russian Ambassador” and Mme. Bakhmetieff.

This is an unusually interesting society item. Just at the time of this dinner party came another announcement that the United States government will oppose trade relations with Russia so long as the Soviet Government is in power.

Bakhmetieff is the “ambassador” of a government two and a half years dead. He is being kept up in proper style by the American government as the “white hope” for future dealings with the kind of Russia which Bakhmetieff formerly represented.

It probably isn't good manners to add to a society item the notation as to who paid for the “eats”. But in this case it happens to be Uncle Sam himself who footed the bill, by way of “war loans” to Russia,—loans actually used for anti-Bolshevist propaganda in the United States and for Bakhmetieff's society affairs.

Do You Earn \$2,500 a Year?

THE United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in August, 1919, made a study of what it cost to maintain a family of five—a man, his wife, and three children—at a minimum of health and comfort in Washington, D. C. This budget includes the actual necessities of life, and in addition an extra hat and ribbon or two, a little insurance, education, a magazine or a movie once in a while, and such sundries. It is by no means a luxurious standard. It includes no Packard—and no Ford. It implies excellent management. Revised to May, 1920, this budget is \$2,533.97 a year. It is not “the American standard of living,” but, according to the report, “a bottom level of health and decency below which a family cannot go without danger of physical and moral deterioration.” Professor W. F. Ogburn, formerly statistician of the National War Labor Board, calculated a similar budget, on a somewhat stricter basis, for a miner’s family in Pennsylvania. Corrected to May, 1920, this totaled \$2,182.51. A budget prepared in the autumn of 1918 by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, on a basis which is much nearer the bare subsistence level than to the minimum of health and comfort, now comes to \$2,095.09. We may therefore assume that it takes the family of average size between \$2,000 and \$2,500 a year to live decently. That means a regular weekly wage, without vaca-

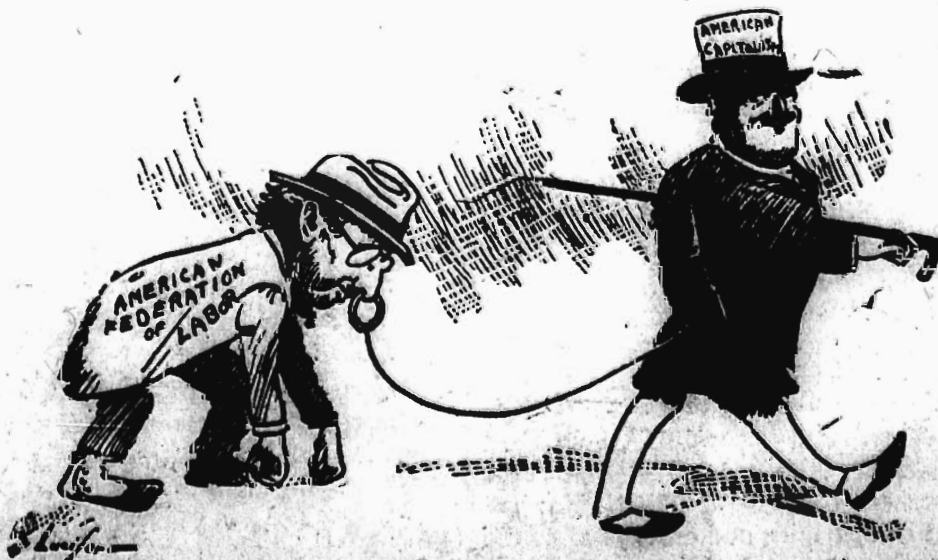
tions or unemployment, of from forty to fifty dollars, or a daily wage—at a maximum of 306 days a year—of from \$6.50 to \$8.15.

GERMAN workers are asked to feed themselves, pay the usual rates to the capitalists of Germany, and in addition a minimum annual indemnity of 3,000,000,000 marks at gold value, these annual payments to be kept up for 35 years.

For this purpose loans are to be made to Germany, it being proposed that England shall hold back in collection of interest on loans made to France, the United States to hold back on war loans made to England. In other words, the tax burdens of France, England and the United States are to be lightened by way of the German indemnity. German capitalism is to be built up under military control, the German workers to become the special slaves to meet the tributes of world finance.

It is probably figured that the German workers will be too tired to fight to restore Germany to a place of economic and military leadership. No doubt, but it is remarkable how the fighting power for revolution comes out of the toiling masses when they appear utterly crushed.

The treaty will never get all the way out of its shell. The German revolution against German and Allied capitalism will soon be resumed.



A Demonstration of Solidarity

HUNGARY has been in the grip of the White Terror since the Allied Imperialists succeeded in destroying the Soviet Republic through their economic pressure and the use of the Roumanian armies.

The government of the capitalists and land owners, which replaced the Soviet Government, proceeded to wreak vengeance upon the workers for having dared to take control in their own hands and begun the work of destroying capitalism, through the seizure of the industries and land in the interest of the workers.

Tens of thousands of workers were killed. Many thousands were imprisoned. The country was drenched with the blood of the working class. Reaction was in the saddle and when capitalist reaction gains power after having temporarily lost control, it seeks to frighten the workers through every extremity of the White Terror that is at its command.

The slaughter of the workers after the Paris Commune, the massacre of the Finnish Socialists and the condemnation of tens of thousands to starvation, the atrocities of Kolchak and Denikin in the Russian territory in which they temporarily achieved victories, were examples which were followed by the Hungarian rulers once they again found themselves securely in the saddle.

The horrors of the White Terror in that country, which have been going on unchecked for many months have, however, at last aroused the working class of the neighboring countries to action.

Answering the call of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the workers of Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Germany and other countries having direct connection with Hungary declared a boycott against Hungary until such time as the White Terror ceases. The organized workers of these countries refused to move freight intended for Hungary and refused to transmit communications to that country.

The effect was felt immediately. The Hungarian government began sending out apologetic statements to the effect that the White Terror did not exist, that a few irresponsible officers had been responsible for the atrocities committed against the workers and that their activities had been ended. The apologies and excuses were the

best sort of evidence that the boycott was effective and accomplishing what it was intended to do.

The spirit in which the workers of Hungary's neighboring countries undertook this boycott is one that should be emulated by the workers elsewhere. The workers' interests are international. "An injury to one is an injury to all" should not only apply to a craft, or the workers in an industry or in one country, but must be made the International slogan of the workers.

The international working class against the international capitalists, that is the division in class war that is already under way.

The successful pressure brought to bear upon the Hungarian government to compel it to stop its persecution of the workers of that country should give the workers the courage and enthusiasm to use the same weapon against the international imperialist bandits who have again and again tried to destroy the Russian Soviet Republic.

"Workers of the world unite" must become a reality—is becoming a reality.

B RITISH Imperialism builds itself mainly on exploitation of India. There has been considerable nervousness about the contagion of Bolshevism in India. In this time of uneasiness occurred the Amritsar massacre, the turning of machine guns on a peaceful mass of 20,000 men, women and children gathered for the celebration of the Hindu's New Year. There was an order against assemblies, but few of the natives knew anything about such an order. Without any real warning or provocation, with the mass in flight, the guns were aimed at the gates through which the thousands were fleeing. One estimate is 1200 killed, 3600 wounded.

An investigation has just been completed. There is every indication that the British government does not mean to condemn General Dyer for ordering this massacre.

The masses of India will respond to these massacres. Bloody Sunday had its answer in 1917. Amritsar will be answered.

—:—
POLAND quits. Who's next?

Boycott Hungary while the White Terror Reigns!

Proclamation issued by the International Federation of Trade Unions..

"To the workers of all countries:

THE International Federation of Trade Unions has decided to boycott Hungary, beginning Sunday, June 20, and to put a stop to all traffic with that country.

"It is nearly a year since the so-called order-loving elements in Hungary got possession of the Government. From that moment on, the labor movement there has been exposed to an oppression and persecution the like of which has never been seen in the history of the labor movement, and which actually exceeds the horrors in the Czaristic Russia that has been overthrown.

"Mere membership in a trade union that is nonclerical is enough to cause one to be thrown into jail, and an anonymous denunciation is sufficient to have a person kidnapped and locked up in the internment camps.

"Already at the beginning of the current year there were 9,000 men and women in the concentration camp at Hajmasker, 4,000 at Ospel, 2,400 at Zalaegerszeg, 2,000 at Komaron Sandberg. Altogether there were some 50,000 men and women locked up. The jails in the cities are overflowing, the prisoners and the interned men are exposed to the most horrible and refined cruelties; at the beginning of this year 5,000 workers had already been executed. Thousands and thousands have been murdered by bands of officers without any form of law. Other thousands have perished of hunger and illness. The reactionary detachments of officers are all powerful. He who falls into their hands is lost. Their victims is martyred and slain. There are cases well authenticated by sworn witnesses of unlucky wretches being scalped alive, of others whose arms and legs were broken, of others who were forced to consume offal, of others who were emasculated or similarly mutilated, and of others who were compelled to practice cannibalism.

"Husbands and fathers have been tortured and killed under the very eyes of their wives and children. Women and girls have been outraged before the eyes of their husbands and fathers. Every day men and women of the fighting working class disappear, and are only found as corpses,

after having been beaten or shot to death, and often horribly mutilated.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions has protested against these horrors to the Hungarian Government and to the Supreme Council of the League of Nations, and demanded that measures be taken to put an end to all these horrors. It has done no good. The White Terror reigns in Hungary the same after as before. The Supreme Council of the League of Nations evidently cannot, or will not, put the necessary pressure upon the Hungarian Government. The latter cannot, or will not, curb the horrors in its country, it either closes its eyes to them or encourages them itself.

"From official documents of the Hungarian Government that have come into the hands of the International Federation of Trade Unions it is evident that this Government incites the Judges to condemn even prisoners whose guilt is not proved by the evidence, and that it pays rewards of from 20,000 to 250,000 crowns for the making harmless—that is the murdering—of labor leaders living abroad.

"All these facts are known and established. The Governments that are acquainted with them do not wish to intervene; perhaps, they applaud the wiping out and murdering of the labor movement in Hungary.

"The international Federation of Trade Unions takes over the task of the Governments and calls upon the workers of all countries, beginning June 20, to refuse to perform any work that might, directly or indirectly, be of benefit to the Hungary of the White Terror.

"From June 20, 1920, no train may cross the Hungarian border, no ship may enter Hungarian waters, no letter, no telegram, may be sent to, or received from Hungary. The entire traffic must be stopped. No coal, no raw materials, no food-stuffs, no letter and no telegram may enter the country any more.

"During the war the ruling class in the belligerent countries fought its adversaries with the economic boycott. It did it after the war, and it is

(Continued on Page 14.)

Trade Union Movement in the Soviet Republic

(Continued from page 7)

But in the case of any fortuitous stoppage of a factory, through, say, want of fuel, as has occasionally occurred, this being a completely abnormal state of things, the workmen's pay is continued by the State. For sickness special committees elected by the workers' Alliances cater. They provide the clinics, the medical advisers, and the medicaments. But wider affairs of a national kind, tuberculosis and the like, are cared for by the State Department of Hygiene, on whom devolves the duty of providing the necessary sanatoria, advice and treatment. Melnichansky remarked that it had recently been said in the West that there was neither freedom of speech nor Press nor meeting for the workers and the Professional Alliances under the Soviet. In the great hall I had just seen he said they had quite recently called a convention of the Factory Committees to organize the best way of distributing all supplies of food and clothing in Moscow. A clear proof of freedom of speech and initiative, anyway, for it was quite an untrammelled convention.

As for the freedom of the Press amongst the workers, the dearth of paper causes curtailment, but he gave me a copy of an excellent monthly issued by the Central Committee, and of a weekly paper, distributed everywhere and devoted to the professional interests of the workers. Besides these, every Professional Alliance has its own monthly. In these the fullest discussion is permitted. As for freedom of meeting one might say it is an integral part of the system, but not during working hours. They are devoted to work, not talk, and if meetings must be held it must be out side the allotted time to work, in the workers' own time.

Meetings of the Sovietists are held every week for the discussion of political and economical topics, in which the leaders take part—for never did any people so well understand the power of propaganda, the spoken words, as these. And I myself have seen on the walls of Moscow notices of a Menshevik meeting, a proof that toleration is exercised, so long as it does not lead to counter-revolutionary activities.

Questioned as to the relation between his organization and the civil war, he declared that the

efforts of the Soviet to give the proletarian the simple rights of a man, to the workers a home, an income, and leisure, to the peasants land and the right to cultivate it, were destroyed at once in those parts captured by Denikin, who carried on ruthless war against all Sovietists, and reduced immediately the workers and peasants to their former condition. The Professional Alliances on their part were helping—they made a voluntary mobilization of the workers from time to time, sending 10 per cent of their members into the army; in parts of the country nearer to the fronts raising this to 50 per cent, and even at the front itself mobilizing the whole. Women workers were equally subject to this mobilization, taking up work for the Red Cross Service. He himself, after spending some time in the work of this Central Organization, would depart for a period of service at the front, returning afterwards to resume for another period his official duties.

Conditions vary very much, according to him, in different parts of the interior, and are likely to continue so until the chance of putting into practice there the very real constructive ability shown in the great towns has been given. Up to the present this reconstruction in the interior has had to go side by side with the destructive activity at the frontiers.

In conclusion he said, "You can see that we are not the monsters the Western World persists in describing us. I lived for six and a half years in New York, and other cities of the United States, a political refugee. My home was in the Bronx, and in spite of the violent nightly illumination of New York, I never went home from a meeting in the Bowery, without keeping a watchful eye in case of attack. Here in Moscow we have no lights at night, yet you can cross the city in any direction at any time of the night with perfect safety.

He further said that only a revolutionary Government could have produced such an effect. Its drastic measures, shooting at sight, were directed against the hooligans and bandits who came out in the social chaos to rob and kill. And he declared that the bulk of shooting of which the world had heard so much was of people of this kind.

Whatever they may have been, I can confirm, not only from others' testimony, but from personal experience, Melnichansky's description of the order existing in Soviet Russia.

A Labor Program

THE idea of trying to get a government that has as its most important job to keep the workers in subjection for the capitalists, to adopt a labor program that will help labor, in itself sounds foolish, but it is only necessary to consider the program for which Mr. Gompers fought so hard before the Republican and Democratic platform committees, to realize that the whole business has no meaning to the working people of this country. Mr. Gompers' program, as presented to the Democratic platform committee, according to the press reports, contained the following principal demands:

First—Co-operative action by the Government to curb profiteers.

Second—The monthly issuance by the Department of Labor of statements showing the manufacturing costs of staple articles.

Third—Thorough investigation by the Government of manufacturing and retailing prices of staples, so as to determine whether there is profiteering.

Fourth—New immigration laws which would bar immigrants from this country during any period of excessive unemployment.

Fifth—An eight-hour law for all workers and the immediate extension of the same to all employes in civil departments of the Government.

Sixth—A more elaborate workmen's compensation law.

Seventh—Legislation calling for the exclusion from interstate commerce of all convict-manufactured articles.

Eighth—Election of Federal Judges for a six-year period by popular vote.

Ninth—Regulations which oppose Mexican intervention "because of unjust Americans who wish to enhance their financial holdings there."

Twenty-five or thirty years ago such a program might have appeared progressive, but the time has been long past when workers' enthusiasm can be aroused by such issues as those presented in it.

The question which is rapidly being formulated in the minds of the working people is, shall the capitalists continue to exploit and oppress us, shall they live richly upon the product of our labor,

(Continued on Page 16.)

The Right Spirit

THE following resolution, adopted by Lodge No. 2 of the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, and sent to other metal workers unions with the requests that they take the same action, shows the new spirit in which the workers are approaching international problems:

"Whereas, the imperialist cliques in capitalist-controlled nations are engaged in attempting to strangle the efforts for freedom on the part of Russia, Ireland, India and Egypt; and

"Whereas, capitalist-controlled nations which professed to recognize the right of self-determination of all nations, large and small, are now shipping arms and munitions to Poland and others in an effort to crush all attempts at freedom by force of arms; and

"Whereas, metal workers are the largest factor in the production of arms and munitions. Therefore be it

"Resolved, that we, the members of Manhattan Lodge No. 2 of the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, in regular meeting assembled on June 18, 1920, pledge ourselves to refrain from assisting in the manufacture of all arms and munitions. And be it further

"Resolved, that we urge all other metal workers to refrain from assisting in the production of arms and munitions, and all workers in the transport industry, to refuse to transport arms and munitions and other war material intended for the purposes stated in this resolution."

While this resolution does not place opposition to the manufacture of munitions to be used by the imperialists against Russia, Ireland, India and Egypt upon a class basis, the resolution shows the right spirit. When the workers become more class conscious they will refuse to aid any capitalist government in any way in attacking a working class government in another country, and will stand united as the international workingclass against the international capitalist class.

"He would have Mowed all Workers' Down"

THE use of force against striking working men is nothing new. Police, militia and the thugs of the strike-breaking detective agencies have figured in most strikes of recent years.

But in the past acts of violence against the workers have not been an open and avowed policy. The class war in this country has, however, reached a new stage. In place of a few broken heads and a man killed here and there as a result of strikes, these are becoming pitched battles between workers and soldiers and police.

This happened about two weeks ago in Waterbury. The 3,000 strikers were making a demonstration before one of the plants of that city, when they were charged by the police. The strikers stood their ground, pelting the police with stones. When it became apparent that the police were getting the worst of it, the city guardsmen were called and shooting began, resulting in the killing of one man and the serious wounding of two others, and many minor casualties.

During the fighting Captain David Lyons, of the city guardsmen, got his machine guns in positions, and it was reported that he "with difficulty refrained from opening the machine guns on the mob because of hundreds of men, women and children on their way to their homes for dinner had innocently become entangled with the strikers. Lyons said he would have mowed all the strikers down were it not for fear of killing hundreds of innocent persons."

Undoubtedly Lyons method of handling the strikers would have met with the approval of the bosses. While the "mowing down" of the workers with machine guns did not actually take place in this instance, it will not be long before we will have the thing done which this tool of the capitalists wanted to do at Waterbury.

The capitalist policy toward striking workers is well illustrated at Waterbury. Deny them the right of free speech, deny them the right to hold mass meetings in the open places of the city, deny them the right to picket the factories and to hold demonstration to influence the workers still at work, deny them the right to march through the streets, and if the workers rebel, if they insist on doing any of these things, shoot them, mow them down with machine guns. These are the

new strike tactics that soon will make bloody battles of every strike.

While the A. F. of L. and other reactionary labor organizations are licking the boots of the capitalist politicians in an effort to secure some favors, these politicians, acting as the tools of the capitalists are preparing to mow down with machine guns the striking workers that the A. F. of L. is supposed to represent.

The class war between the workers and the capitalists has reached the stage where there can be no compromise. Those organizations that stand for compromise and thus betray the workers must be swept away. Only an industrial organization based upon the principles of the One Big Union and willing to carry on the uncompromising class struggle can stop the capitalists from setting up a worse form of industrial slavery than exists, through the machine guns that appear so readily in every labor struggle.

Boycott Hungary while the White Terror Reigns

(Continued from page 11.)

still trying to do it for the purpose of overthrowing the Russian labor Government.

"The International Federation of Trade Unions calls upon the working class of all countries to now make use of the same means, now that it is a matter of halting the bloody rule of the Hungarian Government and of saving the lives and liberties of thousands and thousands of comrades in Hungary.

"Comrades, transport workers, seamen, railroad men and officials, postal, telegraph and telephone workers in all other trades, respond like one man to the call of the International Federation of Trade Union!

"From Sunday, June 20, on do not do another stroke of work for Hungary!

"The boycott by the working class against the White Terror!

"Long live international solidarity.

W. A. Appleton, President

L. Jouhaux, C. Mertens, Vice Presidents

Edo Fimmen, J. Oudegeest, Secretaries."

How the Italians Strike

THE action which the Italian post, telegraph and telephone workers have been taking, partly to enforce their own economic claims, but also in large measure to aid the striking workers of the Turin district, is known by the name of "obstructionism."

"Obstructionism" consists in simply obeying all the rules. Government employees who practice "obstructionism" do not perform a single illegal act. On the contrary, they execute all the legal acts which the bureaucracies of the departments order—they thereby render the functioning of the departments impossible.

The postal workers examine each package to see whether it is sealed, weigh each letter to make sure it carries sufficient postage, refuse to deliver letters which bear a slight inaccuracy in the address, and the like. The telegraph sending operators query the receiving operators concerning each word of which there can be any possible doubt, refuse telegrams which bear any traces of smudging or erasure, and (still strictly according to the rules) delay transmitting more than ten telegrams until they have received assurance that the previous ten have been received with every word accurate beyond a doubt. This system quickly results in the piling up of undelivered letters, packages and telegrams.

What the telephone operators can do by strict observation of the rules of accuracy passes the wildest imagination.

The character of the recent sporadic railway strike in sympathy with the workers of the Turin district who are striking for the institution of Shop Councils, is suggested by recent events at the central railway station of Florence. Florence is several hundred miles from Turin, and the acts recorded have only an indirect connection with the purpose of the strike, which is to prevent large masses of troops being transported to Piedmont. The following despatch describes what happened at Florence:—

"Train 1721, which leaves for Rome at 6.15 P. M., departed 50 minutes late because the train crew would not permit three carabinieri to board a third-class coach.

"Train 1572 for Bologna left 1 hour and 44 minutes late because carabinieri who wanted to

ride on it were obliged to descend. Also train 1576, which should have left for Bologna at 11.55 P. M., was very late because Government Guards, carabinieri, soldiers and officers were found on the train. They were obliged to descend. The train which leaves at 7.10 P. M. from Pontassieve was unable to move before half an hour after midnight, because the carabinieri were unwilling to leave the compartments which they had taken."

It will be noticed that none of these soldiers was bound for Turin. The action of the railwaymen at Florence was rather a protest against the transport of troops for any purpose, or at least a warning to the Government against any attempt to transport them en masse for the purpose of suffocating strikes and revolutionary movements.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of these symptomatic events in relation to the revolutionary situation in Italy. The railwaymen are striking, not as they did last January, against the State as an employer, but against the State as a wielder of political authority and military force. It is for the first time in the history of the Italian Labor movement an act of solidarity between the railwaymen and the industrial workers. And it is a spontaneous act, undertaken without the orders or even consent of the Union Committee.

ONE of the after-effects of the war is a worldwide shortage of homes. The war itself brought about the destruction of thousands of homes and in addition the workers were withdrawn from building operations in order to produce instruments of destruction. Although the war is over, building operations are not being resumed on a scale that will result in the shortage being made good, because with the present high cost of materials building operations are dangerous from an investment standpoint. The shortage of homes which is apparent in every large city is just one more indication that the capitalist system has reached the stage where it is no longer able to produce the necessities of life for the masses. The workers must organize their power and sweep it out of existence to insure themselves food and homes to live in.

To The Workers of Europe and America

(An Appeal of the Kiev Soviet of Worker's and Red Army's Delegates.)

Comrades, on April 19th the town of Kiev, which is far from the front, which contains no forts, was attacked in the most dastardly manner by the air bandits of the Polish districts; bombs were thrown from airships. Seven children, aged between 8 and 13, two women, and one old man were killed. Thirteen persons were wounded. This occurred in the middle of the day, when the streets were full of people.

Comrades! The whole population of Kiev is indignant at this horrible crime of the White Guards. The working people of Kiev hold the leaders of the Entente, by whose support the reactionary Government of Poland is maintained, responsible for this crime.

You know that in reply to Lord Curzon our Government has declared a few days ago that it had amnestied the soldiers of Denikin whom we had defeated. Had Denikin been victorious he would have annihilated us peasants and workers of the Soviet Republic. But we do not wish to spill blood aimlessly—we do not desire any unnecessary sacrifices. And yet the Polish bourgeoisie, entirely dependent upon those in power in Paris and London, murders women and children in a peaceful town. It can hardly be expected that Messrs. Curzon, Lloyd George and Millerand, will now also think of "humanity," "culture," "justice"—now, when their blood-stained hordes are throwing their bombs at the heads of defenceless children.

We have many times offered the Poles peace; we were ready to make various sacrifices, but reactionary Poland continues to wage war against the workers of the Ukraine and Russia. It is trying to slay us in order to repeat the Brest peace. It demands from us that we hand over to the Polish property-owners the Ukraine workers and peasants for destruction. Under cover of peace negotiations Poland prepared for us a treacherous net at Borisoff.

Poland is waging war to get back the estates of the Polish property-owners which had passed under the administration of the Ukraine peasants. Poland wages war on behalf of the factories which formerly belonged to the Polish capitalists, but now belong to the Soviet Republic. Poland strives for the re-establishment of the power of the capitalists and property owners in the Ukraine. In this fight the Polish lackeys of world capital have found help in the person of the well-known adventurer Petlura. His (Petlura's) bands are pursuing and destroying whole villages, plundering the working people, organizing terrible massacres of Jews and terrorising the peaceful working population.

We desired to attain peace without war—the Polish butchers want war. And so we shall have to win peace through a victorious war. The Ukraine workers, soldiers, and peasants will for the last time concentrate all their strength, and together with their Russian brothers they will chase away Pilsudsky's army just as they have already destroyed the armies of Korniloff, Kaledin, Koltchak, Yudenitch, and Denikin. We shall defend our

liberties, and our independence. We shall save our villages and towns. We shall not allow the Polish nobility once again to enslave the Ukraine peasants and workers. This war is forced upon us, but we shall come out of it victorious.

Comrades! You know that capitalist Europe terms us the victorious workers and peasants, robbers and bandits. You know that the bankers and lords of the exchanges, the capitalists and property-owners of the West have attempted to crucify us by means of hatred and calumny. They have lied.

Comrades! In spite of everything we were victorious on all the numerous fronts, and now, when we wished to devote all our energies and strength to internal reconstruction, the last Polish front stands in our way. We appeal to you workers of Europe and America, demand with all your strength that the capitalists and bankers of the Entente should keep their savage lackeys of Warsaw in check. Demand that the armed Polish bandits should cease murdering children, women and old men. Put all your weight in the balance in favor of the Workers' Republic, in favor of the workers who are suffering under the yoke of the Polish bourgeoisie. Raise your voices against the Polish executioners of the people and the Revolution.

(Signed)

The Kiev Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies, under the Presidency of Andre Ivanoff.

A Kansas judge has granted a temporary injunction barring the I. W. W. from operating in the State of Kansas, on the ground that its teachings violate the criminal syndicalism law of that state. The only answer to such class laws as those which are appearing in various states under the name of "criminal anarchy", "criminal syndicalism" and "sedition" laws, all of which are directed against working class organizations, is to overthrow the government that enacts them.

A Labor Program

(Continued from Page 13.)

while we get the barest necessities for a living and live in constant insecurity, or shall we throw them off our backs and take control of production ourselves and run the industries to satisfy our needs and not the capitalists desire for profit?

To achieve that goal, there is but one labor program. Destroy the capitalist government and replace it with the Workers Councils and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.