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"Opportunism is a repudiation of Revolution in deeds, while applauding it in words." Lenin.

THE TOILER

NO. 178.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1921.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

Proceedings of the S. P. National Convention at Detroit

NATIONALISTIC SPIRIT RULES. DELEGATES REPUDIATE AFFILIATION WITH THIRD INTERNATIONAL. LEFT WING HOPELESSLY WEAK. "MILWAUKEE SOCIALISM" IN COMPLETE CONTROL.

Special Reports to The Toiler—By THURBER LEWIS.

At last they have performed the task! Hillquit and Berger have done what they have been trying for years to do—they have divorced the Socialist Party from the Revolution. And the Party, if one is to judge by the delegates, for the most part glory in the separation.

This is just what was expected, but it was not anticipated that it would be done so sweepingly. It took but one day to cook the goose and eat it. It took but one afternoon to silence the upstarts of the Left. The machine worked beautifully.

Our Chairman, Mr. Hillquit. The ceremonies were enacted in the auditorium of Northeastern High School, Detroit. It was very kind of the School Board to grant them this privilege, and judging from Secretary Branstetter's financial report, it was a timely donation. Branstetter opened the convention. He refrained from making an opening speech, as he said, "to expedite matters," but in fact, because he wanted Hillquit to do it. Of course Hillquit was elected Chairman and upon nomination of his crony, Berger. With this, Secretary Branstetter gleefully remarked that this was the ninth time, successively, a Socialist Party Convention was honored by comrade Hillquit's initial gavel.

Comrade Hillquit was every bit himself—both as to his usual consciousness of his superiority and as a purveyor of soothing salve. He opened his speech with this remark, "This is not a convention, it is a conference. The purpose of a convention is to convene, of a conference to confer." (It was later noticeable that it was neither, it was a walk-over.) Then came the sob-stuff. The Socialist movement has been crippled by the war and the peace. It has been reduced to one fourth of its original membership. It has lagged way behind the movements of other countries. What is needed, he went on, is to rebuild the movement (at which one was struck by the thought that it needed it, badly). And then, waxing optimistic, "The capitalist order of society has sustained a deathblow from the war." Is their still not a large sentiment for socialism as the elections demonstrated?

One would expect that so experienced a chairman would remember to strike a key-note, but he either forgot it or purposely avoided it. One remark, however, stood out in bold relief over the creamy remainder, "No matter what stand we take, no matter how revolutionary, in the eyes of the Communists and the Third International we shall always remain a handful of social-patriots and traitors." Which was true and which henceforth will be more true than ever. He closed with, "we are here to perform a tremendous, historic task" (he forgot to add, infamous). And they proceeded to do it.

The Preliminaries. Dan Hoan, of Milwaukee Mayor fame, was elected Vice-Chairman. There was considerable trouble getting a secretary, six declining. Jones of New Jersey was finally drafted by Hillquit. The agenda came up. It made no provision for a constitution committee. Berger moved for its provision, "it might be necessary to change it a little", and added that it ought to expedite matters somewhat and he wanted to get home quick.

Report of N. E. C. Branstetter reported for the N. E. C. He deplored the very deplorable condition of both Party finance and members. There are not even sufficient funds to tour speakers. Three organizers are being served notice. Hardly any progress is being made, "even in the industrial centres." After tendering the bad news, he entered upon an appeal that reminded one very much of a failing business man, advising his help. What we need is a little more religion in our work. We have got to make sacrifices. We must do more work with less cost. In ending, the reporter reminded the comrades of what struggles "we" went through and what sacrifices were made fifteen years ago. All in all, the report must have indeed been a tasty morsel for our once proud and haughty Socialist Party.

International Relations. For the past two years the eyes of the radical world have been watching for the Socialist Party to take a definite stand on International affiliation.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

(Editor's Note:—Through the mass of lies which have been told about Russia it has been difficult for American workers to perceive the truth in the situation in the new republic. It was for this reason that The Federated Press nearly three months ago commissioned William Z. Foster, best known to the American Trade Union movement as a leader in the recent steel strike, to go to Russia and write of conditions as he found them. The first of Mr. Foster's articles follows:)



By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER (Federated Press Staff Writer) (Copyright, 1921, by The Federated Press.)

Moscow, May 11.—The Russian revolution is one of the very greatest events in human history. It is full of the most vital significance for the workers of the entire world. At all hazards they must become acquainted with what it really means. Unfortunately, up to the present time, because of the machinations of the employers and the exploiting class generally, the great masses of workers have not grasped its true import. Particularly is this the case in the United States. Hence, in order that American workers may be put in possession of the facts and thus awakened to the importance of the tremendous movement here, The Federated Press has commissioned me to write a series of articles on the Russian situation, as seen by a trade-unionist. Therefore, as I go along, I shall describe as best I can, the existing institutions of Soviet Russia: how the workers think, act, and live; their struggles against their oppressors, and their prospects for the future.

To begin with, however, it will be necessary to caution American trade unionists to lay aside their prejudices against Russia. Almost everything they have heard or read about this revolutionary country is malicious falsehood, poison-gas propaganda set afloat by reactionary interests to discredit the Russian revolution, which is the most profound and important

movement ever undertaken by any working class on the face of the globe. Russia is Victim of Liars. For American trade unionists it is no new thing to see working-class movements misrepresented and vilified by the kept press and other hangers-on of the exploiters. In fact, practically our entire machinery for giving expression to so-called public opinion, and for bringing the news to the people has degenerated into a propaganda agency of organized Big Business, with the chief goal in view to discredit and destroy labor organization of every kind. But all our experience with the hired liars of America is as nothing compared with the experience of the Russian workers. Their vast movement is of incomparably greater volume and moment than ours; it threatens the very existence of the capitalists of the whole world. Consequently it has aroused a tremendous opposition. Universally the social parasites, desperately alarmed, have called to their service the entire body of united liars and defamers and vilifiers of every country. Every device known to man has been exhausted to convince the world, and before all the working-class, that the toiling Russians and their leaders are monsters in human form and that their revolution is subversive of all that is good in social life.

American Workers Misinformed. The worst of it is that great armies of workers in outside countries have been duped by these deliberate fabrications. Again I say that this is particularly true of the United States. In every other country at least the organized sections of the workers have been able to rise above the employers' propaganda and to understand the situation so that they have been led to pledge their moral support to the Russian workers in their gigantic fight for liberty. But not so with us; our trade union movement alone is openly hostile to the Russian revolution, and to its sad discredit has joined hands with the dark forces of Imperialistic Capitalism that are seeking to destroy it. We have swallowed the employers' propaganda hook, line and sinker. Our conceptions of the Russian situation are on a par with those of the New York "Times" and have been drawn from the same sources.

We have not even taken the trouble to examine the situation for ourselves. Ours is the only important labor movement in the world that has not sent a commission to Russia to find out for ourselves what is really going on in the revolution. This is a pitiable condition. It is a disgrace, and it is high time that we wiped it out and got into tune with the organized workers throughout the world by extending to the Russians our heartiest sympathy and support in their hard struggle.

(To be continued.)

State's Expert Confused at Trial.

By John N. Glas Beffel (Federated Press Staff Correspondent)

Dedham, Mass.—Captain William H. Proctor, head of the state police, who has given expert testimony in more than 100 capital cases, testified on the eighth day as a gun expert for the prosecution in the Sacco Vanzetti trial. Certain defects in his testimony, shown up in cross-examination by the defense, raise a large question as to how much weight Proctor's statements will have with the jury.

He was shown the Colt automatic 32-calibre revolver alleged to have been taken from Nicola Sacco, and the bullet which caused the death of Alexander Berardelli, payroll guard, in the holdup at Braintree last year.

Proctor expressed the opinion that this bullet was fired from the revolver before him; the appearance of the bullet was consistent with that belief, he said. He was able to tell, he explained, because the markings on the bullet were characterized by a left twist.

"No other revolver except the Colt makes a left-twist marking," declared Proctor.

"How long have you been making examinations of Colt revolvers?" asked Defense Counsel Jeremiah McAnarnay in cross-examination.

"About 20 years,"

"Don't you know," demanded McAnarnay, "that at least two other kinds of revolvers make a left-twist marking?"

"No, I don't," said Proctor.

"Don't you know that the Spear and the Sauer guns both make a left-twist mark?"

Proctor didn't know. He said he had never seen either kind of gun, never heard of them before. Both are German makes, and occasionally one of them bolts the pawnshop.

McAnarnay asked him to take the so-called left-twist revolver apart. Proctor tried to comply, struggled with the weapon for several minutes, tried various holds on it, got redder in the face than usual, and finally dropped the gun to the floor. Perspiration streamed from his face as he stooped to pick up the weapon. Judge Webster Thayer came to the rescue by suggesting that another expert make the attempt.

Then Captain Charles Van Amburgh, of the military, another prosecution expert, took the revolver apart in a few seconds.

Reliable information says that Proctor receives at least \$50 and possibly \$100 for his services as expert witness, in addition to his regular salary. But the astonishing fact about Proctor is that all the exhibits used against the two accused labor organizers in this trial have been in his care for months. They have never been officially impounded, never marked with any distinguishing signs, never sealed in a vault in the presence of persons representing the defense—provisions which strict enforcement of justice would naturally dictate.

After lengthy discussion at the bench, Judge Webster Thayer ruled that the prosecution could not introduce any of the statements about social beliefs alleged to have been made by the defendants to the police on the night of their arrest. Presumably this ruling will shut out all evidence which might be introduced to show that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti are radicals or "reds".

Max Holz, Communist leader in the German uprisings of last March has been sentenced to life imprisonment on 50 charges.

The American Federation of Labor Convention at Denver

As Seen by The Toiler Correspondent On The Ground.

By Caleb Harrison.

(Special to The Toiler.)

Upon my arrival in Denver, late Friday, June 17, I found "everybody" out of town, so far as the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention were concerned. Saturday was not to have any sessions of the convention and the delegates were preparing for an outing to the Home for Consumptives of the Printers Union at Colorado Springs. Saturday it was impossible to see anyone; Sunday the delegates were still far scattered.

Monday the convention opened on time, 9:30 A. M., but were not ready for work. President Gompers called off the entire list of 14 committees but received no response. After stalling for a half hour a motion to adjourn until 2:30 P. M. was made, in order to give the committees time to prepare their reports.

It was very apparent that the two day's recess were not used for any committee work. At the reconvening of the afternoon session it was learned that again the committees were unprepared thus causing the convention to remain at a standstill. Delegate Mahon moved the convention stand adjourned until 9:30 the next day when immediately, Max Hayes offered an amendment for a recess of 15 minutes with the instructions to the President to get in

touch with the committees and learn how soon the convention could get some action.

The amendment carried. In fifteen minutes it was again impossible to find a committee that was ready, but someone found the Rev. J. Henry Tihen, Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Denver, to deliver an address.

Preachers Help Kill Time.

The Rev. Tihen said in part: "That no man who loves his country can be indifferent to the conditions of labor in his country. The prosperity of a nation can be gaged by the condition of labor in that nation, and so also can the nation's standard of civilization be gaged by the same criterion." With this statement no one can quarrel but as the Rev. proceeded it was very apparent that he could only see a state of society where capital and labor existed.

Like the A. F. of L. itself, it is his conviction that labor has "the right to organize, to make the condition of labor as nearly ideal as it is possible to make the condition of labor." To realize this condition the Rev. expressed the only methods understood by the delegates to the A. F. of L. convention: "so long as you base your deliberations and legislation upon the fundamental bases of the love of man,

of justice, of honesty, of truth, and of fairness, so long your deliberations are going to be successful and efficient."

Such sentiments, expressed in vague and indefinite language, dominated the deliberations of the convention. Much enthusiasm followed the address of the right Rev., then Gompers replied in very words, praising the language of the speaker and assuring him that "it is the purpose of the A. F. of L. to lift America, to help us we can the whole world, to that higher and better time and life which has been the great hope of Humanity from all time and for all time."

Later on there were two more speakers, Doctor Powers, who spoke on "Control of Cancer;" and Doctor Hoff, who spoke on "Control of Venereal Diseases"—thus they helped to wile away the day, and the rendering of a labor ballad "All Stand Together" marked the closing of Monday's sessions.

Gompers and Irish Worry Delegates.

All during the evening one noticed many groups about the hotel holding little caucuses on the matter of boycott of English made goods to help Ireland in obtaining its freedom and also little gatherings were held for the canvassing of votes for the opponent of Samuel Gompers, John J. Lewis.

The first announcement of the candidacy of John J. Lewis for the presidency was put forth Monday noon.

On my arrival at the convention Friday, I met a representative of the International News Service who informed me that Gompers was to be defeated as the opposition was very strong, much so because they all would like to see a new and stronger administration at the head of the American Federation of Labor. On walking amongst the delegates I found them discussing what to do with the old man; should they pension him or give him some soft position within the American Federation of Labor or should they make him president emeritus with a comfortable means to live on the remaining years of his life.

Amongst the delegates seeking another administration, I inquired the nature of the issue and learned much to my surprise that there were no issues but just general dissatisfaction with the old administration and just wanting a new one in its stead.

Knowing that a general dissatisfaction does not get results until it crystallizes into some definite issue especially when the opposition has to deal with a powerfully entrenched machine I had to be very sceptical about the prospects for the defeat of Gompers.

The Irish Resolutions.

When the press first announced a possible opposition to Gompers as president of the American Federation of Labor, it was stated that the supporters of Irish independence would fight him because of his failure to fulfill the desires of the Montreal Convention expressed in the Irish resolution. But the Irish question appeared to be too remote and unimportant to turn the majority of the delegates against Gompers. Most of the delegates who voted last year for the Irish resolution considered that an expression of sympathy for Ireland was sufficient, and again the A. F. of L. "Friends of Irish Freedom" are just now having their own troubles over a question of the nature of a resolution to present to this year's convention for adoption.

There are in the hands of the resolution committee four different statements issued by four different groups who want Freedom for Ireland, namely Resolutions numbers 3, 101, 117, 119. All of these condemn Great Britain for the atrocities that have been committed upon the Irish race and praise the Irish people for their consistent stand for absolute freedom. In all of the resolutions offered there is only one that speaks out for itself and demands action of a nature that has never been asked of the American Federation of Labor before, and that is resolution No. 119 which asks for an immediate boycott upon all English made goods and English insurance in America and English transportation.

(Continued on page 4.)

Haywood's Views on Conditions in the United States of America.

By William D. Haywood

Now in Russia Attending the Third Congress of the Communist International.

From "Moscow" the daily organ of the Third Congress of the Communist International.

Never has the outlook for the working class in the United States been more deplorable than at the present time. There are more men and women out of work now than during the ravages of the periodic panics—industrial and financial—that have stricken that country. The difference between the present conditions and that of the panic times is that now the capitalist class is deliberately and consciously responsible for the terrible miseries suffered by the workers. While panics and industrial depressions have at times been brought about by the manipulations of a few, which may be termed, top-capitalists, or, as in 1917, when the panic was a direct result of a struggle between big interests.

The present crisis is the development of a gigantic conspiracy, which amounts, in fact, to an open war against the workers, the purpose of which is to reduce wages to a pre-war basis. The first move was to close down the mills, factories, parts of the railroad industry, mines and lumber industry. Some of these have been almost totally closed down since last July.

The employers have announced that when work is resumed, wages will be reduced 22% in the textile industry; 37% in the needle trades, which means the manufacture of all kinds of clothing, 33% reduction in the lumber industry. The railroad companies have publicly announced that their savings, which will accrue through wage-reduction alone, will amount to 500,000,000 dollars a year. It must be understood, that every dollar taken away from the worker's wages, deprives his wife and children of the necessities of life, which can be provided only with the wages received. It is also understood that these machinations on the part of the employers are in the interests of the gambling stock-holders and share holders of the companies. Production in the United States is not conceived to be for the comfort and building up of its people, but is conducted for profit alone.

An almost unimaginable thing, which takes place in the United States which could scarcely be conceived by the Russian people, is the malicious and deliberate destruction of vast quantities of food by the capitalists. I know that I will perhaps not be understood when I explain that commission-merchants send their representatives out into the rural districts to purchase for example, large fields of potatoes consisting of hundreds of

acres; the crop is bought while it is in the ground, many thousands of bushels are never harvested but simply allowed to rot. The capitalists find that a smaller supply can be easier handled and that scarcity inflates the price. The same culpable thing is done in the orchard districts of Michigan, where they buy apples upon the trees, never intending to pick them, they fall and rot. It is not the intention to convey the idea that the entire crop is destroyed in this way, but that only a limited part is brought to the market.



William D. Haywood.

Another example is that of the rice-growers of the state of Arkansas who caused to be destroyed all but two thirds of an immense crop of rice. The coffee merchants have ships loaded with bags of coffee, carried out to sea and throw them overboard. The newspapers report from time to time the loading of barges with oranges, bananas and melons, sending them out into San Francisco Bay to be dumped in the water, and all of this curtailment of foodstuffs is that greater profit might be made on the limited amount that remains. This dastardly story, can be compared with a similar story of the French government, which compelled the natives of the Pacific islands to destroy all banana trees and other fruit upon which they lived, forcing them to gather coral for which they were given a mere subsistence. This brief story may be concluded by explaining that the Cotton Growers Association in convention deliberately agreed to limit the acreage to be planted in cotton, giving as the reason that with a smaller crop they could get a higher price.

So it will be seen, that in the United States, the capitalists who control the lands and industries, will for profit, cast aside the bountiful gifts of Providence.

The Bolshevik Interpretation of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International: Petrograd-Moscow 1920

ARTICLES BY RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIST LEADERS.
"The General Staff of World Revolution."
By L. Kamenev.
(Village Commune, July 18, 1920. Also Krasnaya Gazeta.)

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

The bourgeois governments of the whole world have long been accustomed to frighten the imagination of their citizens with underground conspiracies of revolutionists to bring about a social revolution. A conspiracy of the socialist proletariat against world capitalism is unquestionably now at hand. But how different is this conspiracy from the pictures drawn by the frightened imagination of the petty bourgeois citizen.

To triumph one must be strong. To be strong one must be organized. Inasmuch as the war has been declared on an international scale, in order to triumph the proletariat army must be organized on international proportions. But this international organized army of the progressive proletariat of Europe and America has enormous reserves. These reserves are the people of the Orient, oppressed by colonial imperialistic slavery, who have come to understand clearly and feel that they can be liberated from slavery only with the cooperation and under the flag of the III International. The III International is the general staff of this world army, which has started to move and is marching to victory.

proletarian Communists, which attracts and holds the attention of the entire world. The bourgeoisie grows weaker daily; the proletariat irresistibly rises to power. This is the formula under which the world movement of the last three years has developed. At the present moment all realize this: Quantity is about to become quality; the moment will soon come when mankind will take the long-expected jump from the kingdom of necessity into the kingdom of freedom. During the 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International, international Communism was simply a tendency. At the present moment, on the eve of the 2nd World Congress, international communism is no longer simply a tendency; it is a powerful organization. "What has been won and inscribed" was how Comrade Lenin formulated the results of the 1st Congress. The 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International simply formulated and inscribed what had been won.

of Switzerland, the Socialist Party of Spain, the Socialist Party of America, and other parties. A new period has already begun; the old Socialist parties, which only recently adhered to the II International, under the pressure from working masses are declaring their desire to enter immediately the ranks of the III International.

Not in a dark cellar with artificial lighting but in the clear light of day with full publicity on an international tribune, in the face of all mankind, the international proletariat through its best representatives now discusses the plan and tactics for the overthrow of the bourgeois governments of Europe and America. The oppressed masses of all countries are taking part in this conspiracy.

Yes; this is a conspiracy. But it is a conspiracy that can not be crushed, one in which millions participate, which is supported by tens of millions—a conspiracy in which the reason of history finds embodiment and which, therefore, is destined to triumph in the end.

But what, in fact, had we won by March, 1919, speaking on a world scale? Only the fact that the idea of Communism had begun to become the "idea of the fourth estate." No more. And now? Now the II International has been smashed to pieces. Now only one mass organization remains in the hands of the Socialists-Traitors. I mean the international organization of trade-unions. But even this international union has begun to crack. Differentiation has set in. And unless we shall make supernatural mistakes the time is near when we shall capture this last fortress of Socialist-Patriotism.

During the last days the telegraph brought news that the Menshevik Social-Democratic Party of Bulgaria resolved definitely to enter immediately the ranks of the III International. This Bulgarian Party is a party of the most established opportunists. The leaders of this party have frequently sat in a bourgeois parliament and have helped the bourgeoisie in every possible way. But the workmen are pushing even this party into the ranks of the Communist International.

Helpless against this conspiracy the governments are incapable of doing anything to prevent the general staff of world revolution from quietly discussing the plan of war. The conference is taking place in that fortress of the proletariat which is inaccessible to the old world—that is, in Soviet Russia, which has fortified the congress and its work against all attack by a steel circle of proletarians armed and hardened by three years of fighting.

"2nd World Congress of Communist International."

Six months ago there began an epidemic of breaking away of old Socialist parties from the II International. From the yellow II International went out one after the other, the Independent Party of Germany, the French Socialist Party, the Independent Labor Party of England, the Socialist Party

The Communist International, of course, will think ten times before it admits to its ranks the above-mentioned parties. In each case it will secure serious guarantees that adherence to the Communist International will not be simply adherence in words. But in any case the fact that all the oldest Socialist parties, which only recently belonged to the II International, are asking to be admitted into the ranks of the Communist International is an indirect proof of the extent to which the Communist International rules over the minds of the proletariat of the entire world.

By its imperialistic war and its imperialistic peace world capital released the civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie of all countries throughout the world. The Communist International takes civil war as the point of departure for all its acts and for all its tactics.

By G. Zinoviev.
(Petrograd Pravda, July 18, 1920.)

neither to pay the reparations nor to disarm the counter-revolutionary organizations nor to punish the guilty capitalists.

At the same time before our very eyes the Orient has waked up. The revolutionary events in the Orient have only just started. The role of the Communist minority in oriental countries, however small this minority may be numerically, will be colossal. No one will be able to say where the victorious revolution will be completed the sooner—in the West or in the Orient.

In this war it wishes to triumph. It must triumph in this war if it does not wish to be destroyed physically and morally. Victory in this war can mean only one thing—the replacing of the dictatorship of capital, which prevails throughout the world, by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

On July 4—17, 1920, in Red Petrograd, opens the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International. Exactly three years after the memorable July days! Who of our most daring optimists dreamed after the defeat in July, 1917, that in three years we would make such gigantic steps forward? Is this not a symbol? In that very city where exactly three years ago the white-guardist bourgeoisie with impunity crucified workmen to the crooning of an international band of imperialists—in that same glorious city which has suffered so many storms and trials—now gathers the world congress of

In truth we can now say: The interna-

tional bourgeoisie, all these leagues of nations, the bourgeois constituent assemblies, international diplomats, and stock-exchange kings now are unable to make a single step without first thinking whether it will not strengthen the Communist International.

In an article entitled "The Prospects of World Revolution," written immediately after the 1st Constituent Congress of the Communist International, the writer of these lines expressed the hope that in a year or so we would begin to forget that a struggle for the Soviet authority was taking place in Europe, because the struggle for Soviet authority would be transferred to other parts of the world. These last days we had occasion to read an article by a bourgeois German professor, who quoted this portion in our article with glee and maliciously asked: "Well, what about it? The year has passed, and the struggle for Soviet authority in Europe has not yet been concluded." We can calmly note this joy of the respected bourgeois professor. "Well, what about it?" we shall say to every bourgeois: "Yes, perhaps we were wrong; not one year, but two or three will be necessary for all Europe to become Soviet. You still have a short period of grace before you will be destroyed. But if you have now become so modest that you rejoice at these few months of grace, or a few years, then we, in any case, congratulate you on your unusual modesty."

At the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International are present representatives of the workmen's organizations of practically the whole world. This is the genuine General International Soviet of the leaders of the international proletariat. The 2nd World Congress of the Communist International came into history on that very day and hour when it opened its sittings.

Wholeheartedly and with a full realization of the great historic importance of the event taking place, the workmen of all Russia, and, first of all, of Red Petrograd, where this world historic Congress opens, welcome and greet the Communist International.

G. Zinoviev.

BILL HAYWOOD-REBEL.

By GEO. N. FALCONER.

"Courts for cowards were erected,
A fig for those by law protected,
Liberty's a glorious feast,
Churches built to please the Priest."
Robert Burns, Scotch rebel poet.
"THE EXIT OF HAYWOOD."

"We must be able to trust one another.
Any man who will deceive your enemy, will also deceive you.
If you and other workers were to unite in practicing deception, sabotage, slugging, or any other foulness, upon the employing class, this would prove to each of you that the others could not be trusted.

Such methods hurt the working class far more than they hurt the capitalist class. They undermine character.

Look at some of the Russians, for example.
Long years of underground activity against the unspeakable czar—where it would have been justified if ever—left them so used to underhanded methods that they have used such methods against the Socialists of other countries.

Early in 1919 we American Socialists were enthusiastically defending the Russian comrades against all comers.
To our grief and amazement we later discovered that, at the very moment, they were secretly undermining the Socialist party of America. They succeeded in splitting it wide open.

"I was awakened by a thunderous pealing of church bells on March 24 and informed I was in Moscow, the capital of the workers' republic. The dream of my life had come true."
Wm. D. Haywood.

For the benefit of the illustrations members of the U. S. Secret Service be it said, Burns, the Scotch rebel poet, is no relation of Burns, the present head of the U. S. Secret Service. Robert died in 1796. Tho' dead, however, the truth he announced still holds good:
"Courts for cowards were erected,
Churches built to please the priest!"
And all exploiters of labor.

One of these days all persecuted I. W. W., Socialist and Communist rebels will agree with Bobbie Burns and act accordingly.

HAYWOOD'S EXIT.
Berger's editorial, relative to Haywood and the "wide open split" of the Socialist party calls for comment, in view of the fact that the capitalist "Milwaukee Leader" is still believed to be a socialist paper, or in some way a representative of labor.
The Socialist party, Mr. Berger

should know, was not "secretly" undermined in 1919 by "Russian comrades," who had learned to work secretly under the "unspeakable czar." The "split" actually occurred in the Indianapolis national convention of the party in 1912. There the dirty work was done, engineered by the Bergers, Hilquits, Spargo and their kind. It was THERE the anti-sabotage plank was injected into the Party constitution, thus making it a crime for a member of the party to advocate industrial unionism, direct action or any real revolutionary tactic. It was THERE resolved to rid the Socialist party Executive Committee of Comrade Haywood, who was then a member. The referendum sent the membership, for the recall of Haywood, proved conclusively to many of the rank and file, that a Socialist politician was worse, tho' NOT MUCH, than either a Democrat or Republican! Such action was of course natural to people wearing a ready made uniform of Socialist belief, but to many workers tinged with idealism, the surprise, the shock, was great. The "split" referred to, therefore, took place in 1912, not 1919. And the reason for the split is today self-evident: the revolutionary group, of which Haywood was one, sensed the coming danger to the workers' cause; they desired to point the way to the American proletariat, and help them WIN at the point of production—in the mine, mill, field, factory and shop—where their interests lay.

The socialist parliamentarians frowned on this program; they forbade such action, and resorted to underhanded political methods of the cheapest kind to rid themselves of their fancied enemies, the red, or industrial element in the party. The reds tried to raise the workers (theoretically of course) to a higher level; the others blocked the way, as do all "defenders of the Faith." They failed then as now to see that splitting up into new formations means a higher stage of development; that organizations based on wrong ideas are a menace, and are therefore doomed.

The Socialist Party instead of being an "advance guard" of the workers, had generated into a mere "collective agency" to help finance certain political careerists of the Berger-Hilquit type. These gentlemen, however, should feel comforted: tho the Socialist party candle has been dimmed, the sun of the revolution still shines!

HAYWOOD AND DEBS.
"Contrast Haywood's case with that of Debs," moans Berger.
"Debs is setting an example of ut-

ter honesty and nobility of character which is an inspiration to the workers everywhere. It makes for optimism and encouragement.

Character is absolutely necessary in the working class movement."
"Jesus on the cross and Debs in prison," ecstatically exclaims Rev. J. H. Holmes. "What an inspiration!"
What holy twaddle, say we. Religious puff, christian buncombe, patriotic sob-stuff; sterilized socialist baby-food for half-baked Henry Dubbs! "Jesus on the cross" has delivered few rebels from jail and has double-crossed thousands. This "inspiration" stuff is an opiate that has made many of our reds and wobs groggy, if not dippy. They should read Bobbie Burns more, the Milwaukee Leader less. A live rebel, free, is better than a prisoner behind the bars playing "martyr." It may be noted in passing, that Berger prefers Milwaukee to Leavenworth. "Inspiration" for the Dubbs, but a good stein of beer for B. "Genius," says Edison, "is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration." Substitute revolution for genius and you get the point.

CHARACTER?
Of course! Character is absolutely necessary in the working class movement. But what kind of character? Bandits or rebels? Capitalists or proletarian? Slave masters or slaves? Exploiters or laborers? Law makers or law breakers? Which?
Nearly all the big characters, lauded and admired to-day by our prosperous and ever-fed bourgeoisie were one time rebels, slaves, law-breakers! From Jesus to Debs—all disobeys, broke the law, bucked the courts, cursed the priests and damned the law makers, and—suffered accordingly.

WILL HE REALLY?
Come back to these U. S.? Haywood says, "I will return to the U. S. without question." Not right away, we hope. If Bill returns on schedule, we will never forgive him. What! Exchange Red Russia for Leavenworth, twin hell of Kansas! Swap a "dream" for a nightmare? An "Earthy Paradise" in the making for a capitalist hell-hole? Surely not, Bill! You know, as do so many others, that prison is

no place for a MAN, a rebel. You know it's true that,
The vilest deeds like poison weeds
Bloom, and wither together.
It is only what is good in man
That wastes and withers there:
Pale Anguish keeps the heavy gate,
And the Warden is Despair.

And in so many cases, never a human voice comes near
To speak a gentle word:
And the eye that watches through the door
Is pitiless and hard:
And by all forgot, we rot and rot,
With soul and body marred.

No, William, don't set a bad example; remain in the Red Land and help in the big change. Agitate, educate and organize the workers of the world, preparatory to their running the big show themselves. The capitalists have botched the job; it is up to you and others to rectify their mistakes. Help the workers of Europe to do, what Jack London dreamed of doing—cleanse the cellar of our present social hell-house. Build a new habitation for mankind, in which there will be no parlor, in which ALL the rooms will be bright and airy, and where the air that is breathed will be clean, noble and alive. A good job this, Bill, a job worthy of a god!

Many times in the past eleven years, from Copenhagen to Denver, did we hear you explain the class struggle, and you did it bravely and well. Again and again we heard you say: "My faith is in the working class." And—"the stairway of time is ever echoing with the wooden shoe going up, the polished boot descending," and "the workers must organize industrially, if they are ever to win." It is quite easy to understand, Bill, why so many workers, everywhere, have come to look upon you as their loyal comrade and fellow-worker, their champion. And this is so because, as you might truly say of yourself—
And the forge of hardships wrought me,
Fashioned me, and taught me
That life's flag of hope is Red!
To the utmost of my trying
I have kept in clean and flying,
May it cheer me when I'm dying,
May it shroud me when I'm dead.

STATEMENT OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

TO THE ALLIED ULTIMATUM ON REPARATIONS.

Berlin, May 11.—The following are the most important passages of the statement made by the Communist deputies in the Reichstag in voting against the Allied ultimatum.

"The acceptance of the ultimatum by the bourgeois-socialist government does not at all bring a solution of the present crisis, despite all their promises, the Cabinet will be able

neither to pay the reparations nor to disarm the counter-revolutionary organizations nor to punish the guilty capitalists.

Almost all the governmental parties have clearly revealed their camouflage during the two years of their rule. With the ultimatum accepted, they will reduce the German proletariat to actual starvation. They will try to squeeze from the laboring masses all the expenses of the State.

To satisfy the demands of the Entente they will try to humiliate the armed conquerors, and in place of disarming the bourgeoisie, they will rob the proletariat of all means of defense.

The acceptance of these conditions, under the decadent capitalist regime in Germany, is just as onerous as a refusal would be. The only possible escape is the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the suppression of the capitalist system. That is why we Communists question the right of Capitalist Germany—of the German bourgeoisie and their agents, the Right Socialists—to decide the fate of the German proletariat by accepting or refusing the allied conditions.

Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat will the German bourgeoisie be disarmed and the howlers for imperialist war be crushed.

As long as capitalism lasts, there will be no peace. The world proletarian revolution constitutes the only safeguard for the suppressed classes of all countries.

Translated from the l'Humanite by J. W.

THE STATE.

By MARY MARCY.

The state is an organ of the domination of a class. It arose only where classes of exploiters and exploited existed, to protect those who take from the productive classes, and to make them secure in their exploitation. It aimed, and everywhere, save in Russia, still aims to prevent conflict and to coerce the workers into docility, while every system of exploitation renders class struggles inevitable. At such times the powers of the state are employed to subdue the workers.

In a society where there exist no classes the state has no function. There is nothing for it to do, no reason for its appearance.

No capitalist state has ever served or can ever serve to abolish the causes of class struggles and class antagonisms. It pretends to reconcile antagonistic classes while it maintains an economic system that is based on classes and class interests. It is the great protector of the wages system.

The state springs up with the rise of classes in society, adapting its form to meet the needs of the economically powerful class. The state protected the slave-owning classes and evolved into a state fitted to the requirements of the feudal ruling class. The capitalist state arose to further and maintain the wages system. It protects the capitalist class in its ownership of the means of production, the mines, the factories, mills and shops so that the working class is compelled to sell its labor power for something like one-fifth of the value of its products, in order to live. It protects with laws and courts which speak through armies and policemen.

The proletariat need not look for aid from the capitalist state in its struggles for a release from the profit-system, because the state is the servant, and not the ruler, of the capitalist class. It was constructed to serve this class and cannot function against it with organs which it, does not possess.

Today in some degree the state protects the interests of all property-owning classes. It offers no protection nor security to the working class

whose only hope of existence lies in its ability to sell its labor power to a capitalist, for wages.

Thus the proletarians form the only truly revolutionary class in the world today. Possessing nothing, hoping for nothing from the capitalist class or its servant state, they have nothing to lose and turn, inevitably to their own class and revolution.

Democracy.
Capitalist political democracy is not democracy at all. It is the dictatorship of a very small minority of capitalists, over the vast majority—the working class.

To-day Russia possesses the nearest approach to a democracy in the world, expressing itself in the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, wherein the majority of the people (the working class) has become the organized ruling class, exercising the powers of the proletarian state to abolish all forms of exploitation and the last remnants of capitalist production.

When the workers of Russia abolish all exploitation, the Russian democracy of the workers—the Proletarian Dictatorship—will have no further function to perform and will ultimately disappear as the new society without classes becomes a living fact.

The next step in social evolution in all capitalist countries will be the democracy of the poor, of the majority, of the working class, together with a Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is the only class capable of leading the masses to communism. This can come only through the rise of the proletariat as the organized ruling class, whose purpose will be the abolition of a class society.

When the social slogan has become: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs" there will no longer be need of a state even for the suppression of the oppressors. "The authority of government over persons will be replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the processes of production." Then only shall we enjoy the full flower of communism.
(Read Engels' Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State and N. Lenin's State and Revolution.)

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Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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BABSON, GOD AND ECONOMICS.

Roger Babson is a noted statistician on labor and industrial conditions and problems. To some his word is as that of the law and the prophets. He renders confidential advice to a large clientele of business firms thru his reports upon international economic conditions.

Europe's income from all sources is dependent upon volume of trade, which is falling off every week. Europe's expenses are fixed, and the constantly growing deficit brings bankruptcy nearer and nearer unless the United States comes to the rescue.

Europe owes merchants and bankers of this country vast sums. Upon Europe's ability to pay depends our prosperity for some years to come. It will be a few years before we are able to restore prosperous times unless Europe is able to do business with us.

Statistics show the difficulty with business today to be that we have been trying to run industry by the will of Congress, judges, labor unions, and board of directors rather than by the will of God. The trouble with American business is that we have temporarily forgotten God.

That is why new railroads are not being built today; that is why there is a shortage in houses today, and that is why there is much unemployment today. The teaching of the old economic professor that everything comes from labor and natural resources is wrong. The truth is that prosperity and civilization come from three factors: (1) natural resources, (2) labor, and (3) that intangible spiritual quality which led the Pilgrims to these shores three hundred years ago, which stretched the railroads across the prairies a hundred years ago, and which built factories, steamships and other things during the past decade.

The railroads should either raise rates or lower rates or do something to see if prosperity would not return. This idea of arguing about rates in advance without a trial is a good deal like arguing as to the winner in a horse race before the race occurs. One of the best barometers of prosperity is the freight car "surplus" or "shortage" figures. One of the quickest ways to get prosperity back is to get the idle cars moving freight. There are now 600,000 freight cars idle.

If the railroads would reduce rates, wage workers reduce wages and retailers reduce prices until these 600,000 freight cars get filled and moving, then we could get started. Then the railroads could gradually put back their rates, the wage workers put back their wages and so on along the line, moving gradually from low gear into second and from second into high. Then the train of prosperity would soon again be going at full speed without danger of stalling the engine.

We need only the spark of religion to again start the wheels of prosperity. I hope we will get this spark soon; but large groups move slowly—I see no hope of a turning point for the better before 1922.

Babson's avowed job is the saving and perpetuation of capitalism. Always he preaches the gospel of revival of the system. However deeply it may sink into the mire, the High Priest's faith in its eventual rising remains unshaken.

Consider the above paragraphs. It is generally conceded that the facts are about as stated in the first two quoted. The "revival" of war torn industry is not saving Europe from bankruptcy. Steadily the deficits pile up in billions. The billions of credits extended to her by American financiers and the government are still inadequate to lift her from the bog of insolvency into which she was driven by the war. European welfare as well as American prosperity depend upon American products. If Europe cannot buy our products, we are deprived of a huge customer. And Europe cannot do this now because she has not the wherewithal to purchase. American financiers have extended all the credit the account is worth and refuse to give more. There is a deadlock between purchaser and seller which only the solvency of Europe can break. But Europe cannot become solvent without credit and no credit is available. Prosperity for America is impossible until Europe becomes solvent and can buy goods. And there you are.

"We have temporarily forgotten God," say the statistics. This is interesting. We would like to quote for our readers the statistics showing how our economic difficulties were erased by keeping God in mind. Unfortunately, Mr. Babson gives us none. The history of this country tells us that at periods approximately 10 years apart we suffer a great economic crisis—due we have believed to the inevitable workings of the capitalistic system of production and distribution, and not to a mere forgetting to say our prayers as the High Priest asserts. But if remembering to do so will really build houses and railroads and put the 5,000,000 unemployed on the payroll, then in the name of Heaven and prosperity let's do it regularly and loud.

Babson's enumeration of the three cardinal principles of our (former) prosperity are also interesting. The "intangible, spiritual qualities" which drove the Pilgrims here, history tells us, were economic, political and religious persecution. Those may be intangible to Mr. Babson but to the pioneers they were real enough. And if these intangibles manifested themselves thru the building of thousands of miles of railroads in times of prosperity, why was it that at the end of each period of such building we had an economic crash? Do we just forget God at these regular periods or has Babson got God and the profit system of modern machine production under the capitalist system somewhat mixed?

If our economist grows wobbly when dabbling in religion our high priest grows as much so when he turns economist, in para-

graph four. What to do with the railroads, now that certain fundamental "intangibles" necessary to our prosperity has envolved them out of the past, is a supreme puzzle to him. Here he is without a remedy, neither prayers, God nor the intangibles will help it seem. The railroads should raise rates, lower rates or "do something"—it apparently doesn't matter much what, just so a change is effected. Anything for action seems to be his motto when other remedies fail. The quickest way to coax prosperity back he says, is to get 600,000 idle freight cars moving. But that means when analyzed, the breaking of the deadlock between American financiers and insolvent. Europe which is an admitted impossibility. Therefore our priest and economic Saviour is again wandering in a circle.

However, the economist comes up again in the fifth paragraph quoted. Observe the contradiction between it and the third paragraph. He forsakes his theses in paragraphs three and four concerning the reliability of "remembering God" as a prosperity producer and declares for action on the economic field. We have now deserted the thesis laid down in paragraph three and have supplanted wage, rate and price reductions for the "will of God." God isn't consulted at all in these matters. Looks like we will have to take up the matters cited with just ordinary Labor Unions, Interstate Commerce Commissions, Retailers and Wholesalers Associations and other such worldly, man-made fixtures of our capitalistic regime. Poor God doesn't have a look in when Babson really gets in action. Wage earners will please observe that after wages have been reduced we will begin to raise them again. It's so easy to raise your wages! And the railroads are not to be neglected, everybody is to get a raise and we will soon be running full speed forward, for where we are now.

The priest revives in the last paragraph. The spark of religion will start us going. But Babson holds out little hope that we will catch this spark before 1922. Even optimistic high priest Babson must have his spells of blues and back-sliding. The prodigal son will not return to the fatted calf immediately. This reminds us that the captains of industry attempted to revive our memory of God thru the Interchurch World Movement, but gave it up when it failed to serve its purpose in the steel strike.

As an economist we are "off" Babson and we do not believe it is likely that he can revive humanity's dying faith in the myths of the past, however much such a belief would serve the predatory interests of the world's financiers.

TAKE IT!

The United States War Department is offering 10,000 eligible young men between the ages of 16 and 35 a whole summer month's vacation with all expenses paid.

Congress has erected a Citizens Military Training Camp in nine states and is calling upon citizens and non-citizens to fill the camps for 30 days of military training, fun and frolic, mixed with plenty of good eats, dental and medical service free, also a new khaki uniform and free transportation to and from the homes of the "guests". So reads the war department publicity.

Well, why not? You object because these military camps are an institution of the bourgeois State for the purpose of training what are expected to be future soldiers in capitalist wars? Admitting that is undoubtedly the purpose, what of it? Don't think that we believe the Department's publicity when it states that these camps are to constitute a part of the national system of training for "national defense". All capitalist wars are wars of defense. Every country engaged in the late conflict got in on a basis of "self-defense," insofar as war propaganda was concerned. We are only learning now in what and whose defense the war was fought.

Granting that the purpose is just what it is—in spite of camouflage—the training of cannon fodder to be used, not in defense against invading armies of another nation, but for purposes of aggressions upon and subjugations of weaker nations and the furthering of world interests of our American capitalist imperialism; and for use against rebellious workers at home, in strikes and other uprisings of the masses against this same capitalist imperialism. Granting all this, why should not young men—workingmen, class-conscious workers, knowing full well their class position take advantage of the offer?

Take the matter of defense. No class needs to know better how to defend itself than the workingclass. No class is more oppressed; no class is more subjugated, more despised and downtrodden than the workers. No class is more subjected to the whims and caprices of national and international capitalist imperialism than the workers. This oppression is growing in extent. Just now, there are 5,000,000 workers and their families oppressed with intense poverty because they have no work. No one should starve in a world of plenty. One so subjected should know how to defend himself against such a condition and against those who cause it. And if one, so all the more should five or ten millions know how to defend their interests as human beings and not be made slaves of, much less starve in such slavery. The intelligent and class-conscious elements of the workers should surely learn methods of defense against such conditions.

This is a matter of "national defense" far more importance to the workers just now than any future contingencies which may arise from foreign foes. Ten or fifteen million people on the verge of hunger, without employment, while factories stand idle and raw materials rot, is a serious matter. The victims should be on the alert and learn how to defend themselves against such things—and, it must be admitted—empty hands and no knowledge of methods are a poor defense against hunger. We can't think of a valid reason why open-eyed workers should not accept Uncle Sam's invitation.

The training camp publicity states that this year's course will be a "Red" course to be followed next year with a "Blue" course and a "White" course. Whether this means that the object is to graduate White Guards—is wholly aside from the question of the

A Pill For an Attack of "Left Sickness."

By H. D. WENDELL.

In the "New Age" of June 10th there appears an open letter by Comrade John Mulati. The inspiration for the letter was furnished by an article from the May 28th issue of the "Toiler" and was contributed by Comrade Jack Frank.

To begin with, the author of the letter diagnoses the case of comrade Frank as representing symptoms of "infantile disease". This Leninism has become quite the fashion. It is to be particularly noticed in radical controversies that this hackneyed charge is only too often made to conceal a dearth of argument or, worse than that, a "multitude of sins". But most peculiar of all, in this instance matters are actually reversed; the accused is found to be in health, while the accuser climbs into the wheel chair.

Comrade Frank is further charged with spreading "a piece of propaganda that does only harm to the revolutionary movement in the U. S." We shall soon see that comrade Mulati is obliged to make a similar charge against the Third International, for comrade Frank's only crime consists in reiterating what that body has accepted.

The case in point is an article that appeared in "Pravda" some time ago as an introduction to the appeal of the Moscow Trade Union International to the American Workers. The particular paragraph of contention reads: "Many are of the opinion that the I. W. W. are called upon to play as important a role in the economic revolutionary movement of the working class as the Bolsheviks do on the political field..." I might here point out that whoever writes that introduction might have avoided a tactical miscalculation had he taken the trouble first to read his subject. However that may be, the milk is spilled, and comrade Frank justly takes exception: "This pretense of having 'MANY OF THE OPINION' cannot save the person responsible for this article from the blame for all the harm done through this misconception of Bolshevik activity and its imaginary limits and fields of action." And again, "The field of Bolshevik activity is all-embracing, universal." But in spite of this timely opposition, comrade Mulati falls into the very error he was warned against.

So, enters Mulati to the defense of the vanquished, armed with the hypodermic needle of "leftism". He throws out this gem, "The Communist Party is not a labor union (so?), hence the C. P. as an organization has no conflicting interests with the I. W. W." And since the A. F. of L. is also a labor union, this applies equally well to it. That is the point, as a labor union merely, the interests of the A. F. of L. do not conflict with those of the C. P.; but as a Gompersian bureaucracy, as a retainer of narrow craftism, as a cess pool of bourgeois ideology, as a plain bulwark of capitalism, there the analogy ceases. Likewise with the I. W. W., so long as it continues its policy of dualism i. e. declaring for withdrawals from the old unions, and persists in nursing from the bottle of European Syndicalism, its interests cannot be identical with those of the C. P.

Does not comrade Mulati believe that the work of Communists is universal, all-embracing? In his letter, the comrade quotes from the Thesis on "The Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution". But it appears that his reading of the document was restricted to the part that he quotes; had he read further he would have seen: "The fundamental principle for all organization work for the C. P. and individual Communists must be the creation of Communist Party nuclei everywhere they find proletarians and semi-proletarians—even in small numbers."

Comrade Mulati quotes thus from comrade Frank: "Revolutionary history teaches us beyond all doubt that wherever a revolutionary undertaking by the working class was in any way restricted to particular fields of action and was not all-embracing it was bound to be a failure and was a failure." Our physician's comment: "This

necessity of workingman training themselves for "national defense".

As we type the last line in steps a bourgeois, "They're organizing the White Guard", he greets us. "I got an invitation from a Colonel down at to enlist for 30 days in the Citizens Military Training Camp. The letter says they want to confine the enlistments to the most substantial elements of the country." This looks like some more of the democracy we got out of the war. Such discrimination should not be tolerated by intelligent workers, we insist.

seems to me a false alarm."

Does he try to show wherein it is a false alarm? No. He heeds the tocsin, turns tail and runs away. But is it not so? Was it not the case in the Italian "siezures", in the Spartacist uprising, aye, even in the Paris Commune? Was not the success of the Russian Revolution due to the all-inclusiveness of its scope?

Comrade Mulati asks the question: "Why cannot the I. W. W. be the economic organization of the workers of the U. S.? Is it because he (Frank) is afraid that the C. P. elements will not be able to gain control?" Although it would perhaps not be correct to say that the I. W. W. cannot become the economic organization of the workers of this country it is just as incorrect to presume that it WILL. On this matter, let us hear from one of the leaders of the I. W. W., George Hardy: "There is no official of the I. W. W. or any of its members (?) who think we can build a one hundred per cent organization even though we state in our programme that we must 'build the new society within the shell of the old.'" As far as the communists fearing they cannot control the I. W. W., that is nonsense. Have not the Communists set themselves the task of penetrating the A. F. of L. for control and is not that a hundredfold more difficult than pursuing the same task in the I. W. W.?

Comrade Frank: "There can be no duality in Bolshevik activity, no splits, no dissipation of energy among the class conscious workers. Bolsheviks on the political field and I. W. W.'s on the economic? A fine confusion in the ranks of the working class." Whereupon our alienist exclaims that the confusion resides in comrade Frank's head, and adds the brilliant discovery that "a member of the I. W. W. can be a GOOD communist."

In support of his ingenious contention that there must exist a division of tasks between the I. W. W. and the Communists, comrade Mulati refers us to the lumber industry in the West: "Hence in an industry as the lumber industry in the West, the Communists MUST join the I. W. W." Maybe so in that particular industry: the I. W. W. is the accepted organization of the lumber men, it is their leading spirit and is numerically stronger than any other. But this is the only large scale industry in which that condition exists. The comrade does not consider this. What reason does he give for the Communists to join the I. W. W.? "All the workers in the industry must be organized, the I. W. W. has room for them and the C. P. has not." Is that the reason? Well, so has the A. F. of L. room, so has the LOYAL LEGION OF LOGGERS. But wait a moment, comrade Mulati pointed out that where there were two unions fighting for job control the Communists should join the revolutionary union and NOT the reactionary. So, there you have the whole argument, nicely hog-tied by Lenin's helpful hand. But search and rack our brains as we will we can neither find or remember where Lenin advised the Communists, even in cases of THIS kind (and the reverse is certainly the more usual) NOT to join reactionary unions. We can however recall Lenin's admonition to stay with the old unions. We can, too, remember that Radek told us to vigorously SUPPORT the more revolutionary unions, even that we should join them, but not at the expense of abandoning the old unions.

Continues comrade Physician: "Furthermore, strikes for better living conditions must be carried on and again they must be carried on under the auspices of the I. W. W. OR SOME OTHER UNION (now our specialist shows signs of weakening) and NOT by the C. P." Ah! there's the rub, "or some other union." And under whose "auspices" are the major portion of these strikes conducted? Who will deny that the strikes and demonstrations of the A. F. of L. take enormous precedence (both numerically and in extent although perhaps not in intensity) over those conducted by the I. W. W.? And that is one of the chief reasons why the

necessity of workingman training themselves for "national defense".

As we type the last line in steps a bourgeois, "They're organizing the White Guard", he greets us. "I got an invitation from a Colonel down at to enlist for 30 days in the Citizens Military Training Camp. The letter says they want to confine the enlistments to the most substantial elements of the country." This looks like some more of the democracy we got out of the war. Such discrimination should not be tolerated by intelligent workers, we insist.

I. W. W. cannot presume to usurp the field of economic activity. But nothing prevents the communists from directing the sum total of all these strikes and manifestations THROUGH the I. W. W. as well as through other organizations. The duties of a communist carry him not only on the political field but also, well into the industrial field of activity. In the words of comrade Radek: ". . . by approaching this evolution of the unions on their way to a revolutionary struggle the Communists will be able to play the part of an element uniting the politically and industrially organized workers in their joint struggle for the suppression of Capitalism."

The last and most inspired words on the subject are had by comrade Mulati thus: "But certainly, the I. W. W. as a union will be the proper organization on the economic field IF it manages to get the masses of the workers within its ranks." There we have it. The word "if" speaks for itself, further comment is unnecessary.

Now let us draw some conclusions for ourselves. Let it first be restated that the work of Communists in this and every country IS all-embracing i. e. it is called for both industrially and politically. But the work of the Communists on the industrial field is carried on with a special purpose in view: control of industry. For gaining this end, Communists utilize not only the existing revolutionary and conservative unions, but seek also to create special instruments, such as factory committees etc. Now, the act of gaining control of industry is a political act. As comrade Radek puts it, "The industrial struggle becomes a political struggle." Why? Because in the process of taking over the industries the workers must inevitably meet with the armed forces of the capitalist State.

More particularly concerning the I. W. W. we shall hear from the late John Reed: "After all, the I. W. W. is not so much a regular Labor Union as it is a propaganda committee. Every year thousands of workers enter its ranks and every year thousands leave it. But the I. W. W.'s insinuate themselves everywhere, in all craft unions, in all factories, eternally preaching and arguing for industrial unionism and workers' control over industry." This was printed in the international magazine of the Third International and was read by the workers the world over. It is a splendid appraisal of the value of the I. W. W. which is not so much to organize the workers on a comprehensive universal scale as it is to serve as a source of revolutionary inspiration and leadership for the more backward and less aggressive workers.

But there is another side. Let us hear comrade Lenin again: "There can be no doubt that the Messrs. Gompers, Jouhaux, Henderson, Legien etc. are very grateful to such left revolutionaries who, like the German 'opposition-in-principle' Party (heaven preserve us from such principles) or like revolutionaries in the American I. W. W. preach the necessity of quitting reactionary trade unions and refusing to work in them." Which presents another, less noble, phase of the I. W. W. and shows the necessity for much educational work within it.

Although I cannot accuse comrade Mulati of upholding this impossible view, at the same time it is a ten to one bet that the comrade is an old "Wobbly" who, though attracted by the glamor and partly convinced by the logic of Moscow, at the same time has not yet outlived his chronic infatuation for the three letters. And there are many more in the same condition. Remedy: a pill.

It is only to be regretted that pills of this nature lose much of their effectiveness by being coated with the proverbial sugar; in justice to himself, however, comrade Mulati would do well to swallow it—bitter as it is.

Prisoners in the Bytyski prison in Russia have the right to choose their own room. The prisoners, excepting the professional criminals, are grouped according to party affiliation. There are general rooms for Mensheviks, Right Social Revolutionists, Left Socialist Revolutionists and Communists. At a recent inspection there were one hundred and twenty Communist prisoners in this prison, charge with various offenses committed in the discharge of their duties as government officials.

Krassin, trade envoy for Russia, has concluded a deal for 100,000 tons of herring to be shipped from England to the Soviet Republic.

The number of typhus cases among the military and civilians in the whole Soviet Federation has been reduced from 401,800 cases in February 1920 to 47,280 in February, 1921.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE S. P. NATIONAL CONVENTION AT DETROIT.

(Continued from page 1.) presence of Kruse and Engdahl. In fact Algernon Lee later made clear, with a smile on his face, that even Kruse and Engdahl were not at one.

The speeches on International affiliation ranged all the way from revolutionary exhortations to downright white-guardism. There were four motions submitted covering every possible position. The first, supported by Engdahl, asked for complete acceptance of the twenty-one points of affiliation.

Engdahl Opens Debate. Engdahl opened the debate. He pointed out, quoting Hillquit, that if the party needed rebuilding it must have a firm foundation, this was to be found in the Third International.

For the "Two and a Half." Hoen, an unquestioned disciple of Scheidemannism, spoke for the third motion. Engdahl had spoken of the achievements of the Third International and mentioned incidentally, the risks taken by comrades going to Moscow.

The Third International tried to break up the movement in Italy, but the Italian Socialist Party is as strong now as ever before. Sam Gompers and Zinoviev go hand in hand, Sam from one side Zinoviev from the other. The Third International belongs to the same category as the Sam Gompers International.

Hillquit spoke for the fourth motion. A motion which brands the Socialist Party as a renegade movement, which disdains the outstretched hand of the embattled revolutionary workers of the world.

Berger Feels Called Upon. And then our old friend Victor Berger, of whom Engdahl remarked, "you carry the Socialist Party of Milwaukee in your pocket", takes a hand.

international, but an international must be a fraternal bond of all the socialist movements in the world. Suppose, he continued, we affiliate with the Vienna International. Although they present the soundest views of any international movement, at the same time they are not, strictly, an international. As for the Third International they have told us too often that they don't want us.

No Affiliation. The first three motions were lost. The fourth, for non-affiliation carried by a considerable majority. The socialist party is now free from all international obligations. It is strictly a national (and nationalistic) movement.

Smaller Fry Make Merry. With the exception, perhaps, of two or three, the rest merely followed in the wake of the master. But their declamations were much more blunt and vicious.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION AT DENVER.

(Continued from page 1.) The contrast of resolutions dealing with the Irish question can be noted in that of resolution No. 117 which asks that the United States Government recognize the independence of Ireland.

The result of the Irish resolution will be report in my next account, which follows within the next 3 days. The Executive Council's Report. Among the 13 questions in the report of the committee covering the Executive Council's report are several that deserve attention.

On the question of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign the committee tried to praise the political activities of the A. F. of L. with its program of "Reward your friends and punish your enemies"; but finds that there is little of which to boast.

Benj. Schlesinger also of the Garment Workers, declared very emphatically against the Moscow International and also is in hearty accord with the Machinists Resolution: "I am opposed to Moscow," he said, "because I was in Russia and I am a Socialist; and as a Socialist will fight recognition of Moscow even if I loose my membership in the Garment Workers Union."

is, "because we have a majority we are justified". The third motion rejected both previous ones stating that the situation had not developed sufficiently for consideration of that tactic.

Read next week's Toiler for concluding reports of the convention. The revolution is not necessarily to be associated with the restriction of the political rights of our opponents or with terror. The Socialist Party stands for Democracy and Majority Rule decision but that principle is not inconsistent with energetic measures in defense of the working class government.

Indeed, this entire campaign was unprecedented in American politics and the conclusions reached leave in doubt the political expression of the electorate upon the internal problems which require consideration and solution at the hands of Congress.

There is also the resolution of the delegation of the International Association of Machinists calling upon the officers of the A. F. of L. to immediately reaffiliate with the International Federation of Trades Union (Amsterdam). I have sounded out some of the delegates upon the question of international affiliation and I learn that very few recognize the importance of an international affiliation.

On approaching over 25 delegates upon this question, all but 3, frankly admitted they gave it no consideration. The delegates who are members of the Socialist Party, such as Machinists, Garment Workers, etc., are in favor of the Machinists resolution.

The inability of the Paul Levy group to connect with the rebellious proletarian elements was combined with the intention to attract to the Communist International the remaining layers of the proletariat with moderation and orderly forms of agitation.

Although the Machinists resolution has some support, the workings of the machine, compels me to believe that it will not carry a sufficient number of votes to enable it to be adopted. (Later convention reports will be published next week.)

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

By KARL RADEK, in the "Moscow Pravda," May 5, 1921. Translated from the Russian by J. Milner.

First Article. When in December last, the Union of Spartacus, numbering about 100 thousand members, united with the Left Independents, leading into the Communist International from the party of the Independents about 400 thousand workers, for every one knowing the situation in Germany, it was clear, that the unified Communist Party must go thru a whole series of crises before it really became a Communist Party.

Conflicts began when both chairmen of the Party, the ex-Spartacide Paul Levi, and the ex-Left Independent Daumig, in the most energetic way acted against the admission in the Communist International of the Communist Labor Party of Germany in the capacity of a sympathetic organization.

The Communist fraction of the Moscow Soviet has decided that 17 independents (non-party representatives) shall be elected to the executive. This to give representation to those workers who have not yet joined the Communist Party.

The first All-Russian Conference of Communist Women has been held. The conference was conducted in the Russian and Turkoman languages, and is a sign of the revolutionary awakening of the passive masses of women in the East.

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM: Analysed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D. D. The writer, a Bishop in the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics.

parties. Levy reproached the Executive Committee of the Comintern, with the identical charge which hitherto was the chief weapon of the Centrists against the Communist International: a reproach of sectarianism. To many this dissent appeared as brought about by lack of information about the situation in Italy and the intentions of the Executive Committee.

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NEWS FROM RUSSIA AND ELSEWHERE.

Despite the wonderful progress which has been made in education in Russia since the revolution, there are still millions who can not read. The number of adults who have been taught to read and write since the revolution is over four million. It will take fifteen years to abolish illiteracy in Russia.

Losovski of the Red Trade Union International, has proposed that 200,000 gold rubles be sent the striking miners in England by the Russian workers.

By a decree of the Council of Commissaries the board of health of the Bashkirs has received fifteen million rubles for the erection of a sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis by the Kumys method (feeding of patients with fermented horse milk.)

all opportunistic groups, wish do not reckon with revolutionary discipline. To hold a mandate in a party that demands from the workers that they go to battle on the first call of the Central Committee against the armed whites, is a post that cannot be left without the order of the party. The party's congress put Levy and those thinking like him in responsible party positions. Leaving these positions without the consent of the party, they proved that they are intending to put themselves above the party and dictate their conditions, as always was done by the intellectuals in the labor movement.

Foster's Articles on Russia. William Z. Foster's first article on Russia, for the Federated Press appears in this issue. Others will follow. Foster will probably give The Toiler readers the most interesting and authentic as well as the latest accounts of the workings of the Soviet government.

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