

THE TOILER

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Rank and File To Vote On Wage Reduction.

OFFICIALS WILL NOT ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY FOR RAIL STRIKE.

The matter of acceptance of the railroad wage cut of 12 per cent ordered by the Railway Wage Board to take effect on July 1, has been put up to the railroad union membership for acceptance or rejection.

This action was decided upon at the meeting of 1,000 General Chairmen of the Railway Brotherhoods assembled at Chicago which concluded its sessions last week. It is expected that other standard railway organizations will subscribe to the brotherhoods' decision and bring the number of workers pledged to a uniform policy up to 1,500,000.

Would Abolish Time and Half.

The Chairmen and Brotherhood Chiefs frankly confess that the acceptance or rejection of the wage cut ordered, and which is now in effect in reality, involves too big a problem for them to decide without a referendum expression of the membership. A resolution containing the decision reached contains one paragraph of especial significance. It reads:

"Whereas, They (the R. R. workers) are required not only to consider a wage reduction, but in many instances railroad officers have given notice of intention to abolish time and one-half for overtime in road, freight and yard service, and in addition thereto to revise schedules for the benefit of the railroad by abolishing many rules and conditions, which in the aggregate means the loss of much money and the creation of less favorable conditions for various classes of employes."

Want No Strike.

It is generally believed that the union officials are against a strike.

It is further stated in the resolution that the officials consider a wage cut unjustified, but continues in the following strain calculated to win moral support from—the working-class?—oh, no, from the "public!"

"It is the earnest desire of the representatives assembled to do everything possible, compatible with their duty to those whom they represent, to avoid any inconvenience or loss to the public."

The Resolution further cites the fact of the flouting of the Railroad Labor Board's authority by the Missouri and North Arkansas and the Atlanta, Birmingham and Atlantic Railroad in disregarding its decisions.

The Resolution names September as the date not later than which a referendum giving an unbiased statement of the principles involved shall be issued to the membership under the laws of the various railway unions.

From various parts of the country come reports of the liquidation of rail shop strikes which occurred when the wage cut became effective. Workers are accepting the cut—other shops which closed for a number of weeks are opening at reduced wages.

ON THE PACIFIC COAST.

The building trades lockout is still under way and the employers seem determined to make this Town "Open Shop". All the jobs that I see under way have policemen to guard the slaves at work. One humorous phase of the situation is that at the last election here the policeman had been voted a substantial increase of salary. Practically all the Unions endorsed their petition and on election day the vote for them was much heavier in the working class districts than in the district occupied mainly by the employing class. It gives one great pleasure to tell them that they should not complain of the action of their "BROTHER" the capitalist or their fellow workers in uniform for giving a fair days work (clubbing their fool heads) for a fair days pay.

The marine strike is also on its last legs. The employers refused a conference with the marine workers (who were anxious to get an excuse to lay down) on the grounds that their ships were running on schedule and they had no time for parleys. The old war horse Andrew Furuseth is not able to lead them out of the trap they are in. All the battles he won or thought were won are now DMA, that is, they don't mean anything. As Napoleon very truthfully said "The battles you win don't count, if you lose the campaign." Old Andy in his old age is now drinking the bitter draught of defeat. The working class can congratulate themselves that thousands of so called "Labor Leaders" are taking the same bitter dose.

Yours Fraternally

W. Costley.

39 Cities Show Unemployed Increase

Thirty-nine cities in the U. S. showed unemployment increase in June according to the U. S. Department of Labor. Only twenty-six cities show decreased unemployment. Four Ohio cities, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati and Youngstown show increased unemployment running from five to twelve and a half per cent. Only two, Toledo and Dayton show a percentage of decreased unemployment.

Thomas Holds Job.

An event significant of the degree of radicalism among the railroad workers of Great Britain occurred in London on July 5, when J. H. Thomas was confirmed in his position of supreme executive of the National Union of Railwaymen.

Thomas had been criticised by extremists among the railwaymen for preventing the Triple Alliance strike threatened last April, when the coal miners asked for the active support of the other unions. To test the strength of the extremists, the executive of the National Union of Railwaymen put forward the recommendation that Thomas be removed. When a vote was taken at a conference of delegates the recommendation was rejected by 57 votes to 17.

The Philadelphia Red Raids.

By ERASMO S. ABATE, Editor of La Conquista.

The City of Brotherly Love was the scene of a spectacular Red-raid conducted in the Palmer style the night of April 25 last. The Red hunters' city police, acting under instructions directly emanating from Mayor Moore's office, made it their business to arrest during that night all suspected radicals who could be found walking in the streets at a late hour. In one case they rushed in to a house without having a search warrant and seized twelve men and a woman upon the seeming presumption that a meeting of the United Communist Party was being conducted there.

The house was afterward ransacked by the law and order gentlemen and valuable articles were stolen including one hundred dollars in cash.

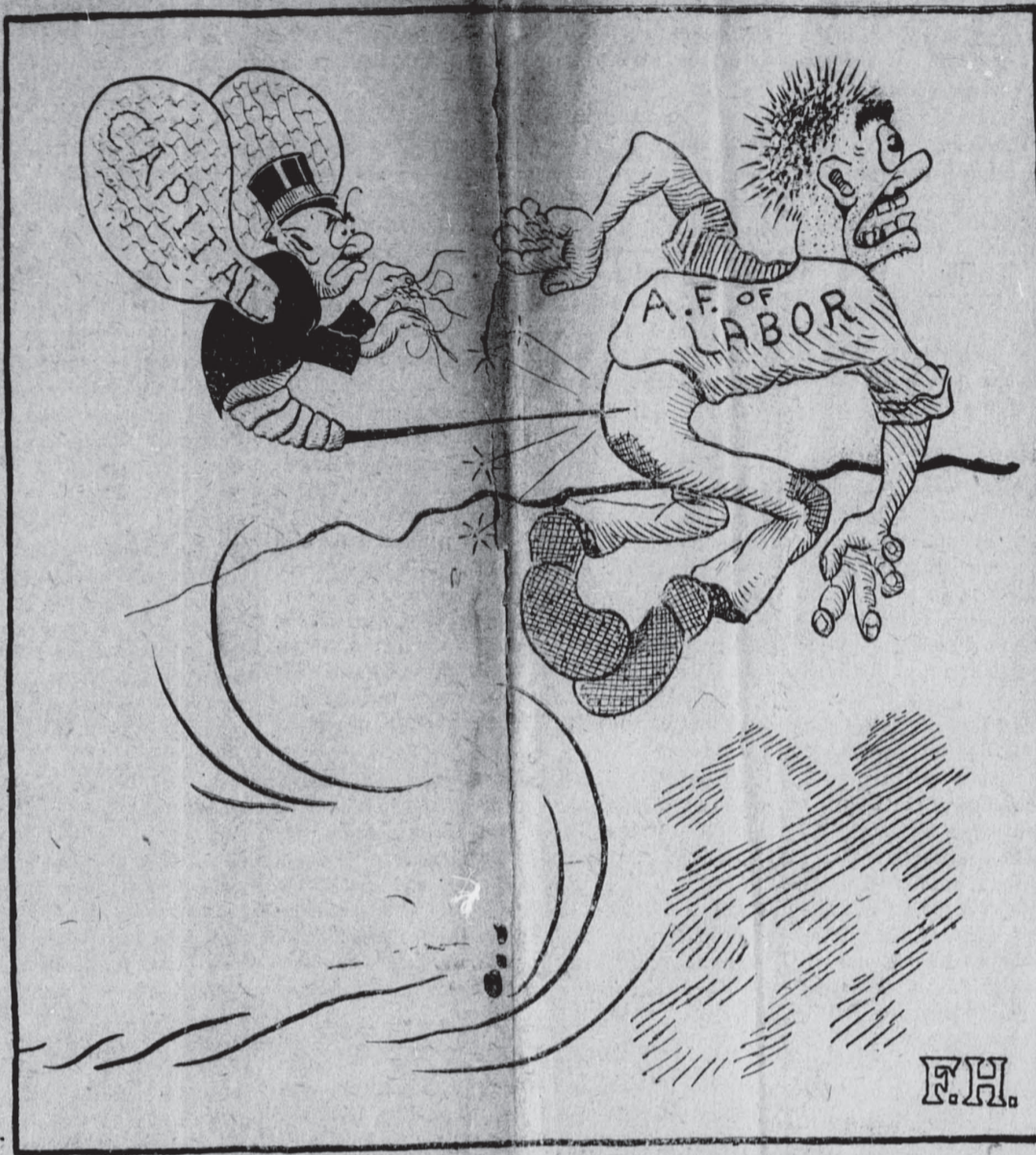
There was some wine in the basement and the "honest" guardians of the law got drunk, came to a fight and shot each other. Of course they say the shooting was accidental and denied stealing. Naturally the crooked drunken officers got whitewashed pretty quickly of their crimes and who do you think the criminals are now claimed to be? The occupants of the raided place.

Thirty-eight workers were arrested throughout the city during the night. While no preliminary hearing was accorded to any of the prisoners, a true bill of indictment was found by the grand jury against all the men under the state Anti-Sedition Act which provides a penalty upon conviction by a jury, ranging from one to twenty years imprisonment or ten thousand dollars fine or both.

Through a great effort all the imprisoned comrades have been released on bail of 5,000 dollars each. An additional bail of \$1,000 had to be provided for twenty rearrested on deportation warrant by the emigration authorities.

Thus the law is swiftly grinding, steam rolling these thirty-eight victims of the present capitalist system.

Attempted Railroad. Attorney I. Lasker Greenberg is in charge of the defense. It is due to



"THE A. F. OF L. WILL CONTINUE TO GO FORWARD"—Gompers.

Would Put Aliens In Leash

SECRETARY OF LABOR WOULD PROTECT THEM FROM NAUGHTY REDS.

Secretary of Labor, James J. Davis has a deep and abiding love for all foreigners—which he admits to the U. S. He loves them so much that he wants to keep up with them in all their wanderings up and down the country looking for jobs. He wants to make "good Americans" of them. In order to perform the operation successfully, James J. thinks it is first necessary to lasso the victim, after which he can be hog-tied at will and a periodical examination made as to how he is coming on.

In a speech to the Loyal Order of Moose convention at Toledo on June 29, the Secretary of Labor revealed what he will do for and to the aliens who reach this side of the immigration offices when the laws are fixed up a bit. Says the Secretary:

"Until now we have let the alien newcomer roam about the country pretty much without guidance. I want to keep track of the man—not to regulate him, but to help him, to teach him and encourage him.

"We need to know the whereabouts of these people, if it is only to protect them from the insidious poison of Red propaganda. To guard against this, I would have every immigrant register, wherever he is, every year; not in order to spy on him, but only to be sure of his safety. I would charge him a nominal fee for his certificate of registry, and add this to the department's funds."

How nice of him to allow the victim to pay for the rope!

Knox Fears 'Strange Doctrines'.

Philander C. Knox, U. S. Senator, is worrying considerably about the foreigners who come to our shores. Philander C. Knox is much afraid of the ideas which the aliens bring over with them, and, unfortunately, can't be left in the immigration offices as they pass thru. Philander spoke at Philadelphia on July 4. He let fall

The National Convention of Ex-Soldiers.

By T. M. McKNIGHT.

(Special to The Toiler).

The rank and file of the U. S. army that fought to make the world safe for democracy and have since been disillusioned held their National Convention of the World War Veterans in Chicago on July 1, 2 and 3. Delegates from thirty states represented a membership of 500,000 ex-soldiers of all ranks from "hog-riber" to "belly-robber" and from "buck private" to "top kick."

With a firm faith in the constitution of the U. S. "as it is written" and with the determination to tolerate no interference with it whether the interference be "official or unofficial" they passed a number of resolutions calling on Congress to make investigations of many matters and to see that the constitution is upheld.

A Progressive Trend.

In these resolutions they showed

there some heavy statesmen-like wisdom which is worthy of being picked up and passed on for future generations to ponder over.

Knox warned his hearers (we do get such a lot of warnings these days) against the encouragement of "fantastic and untried ideas of government imported from the old countries—doctrines born of the ills of the lands from which they come."

He thinks that the aliens coming over will pollute the traditions of our free government and knock the whole kibosh into a cocked hat unless we turn our backs on these strange gods.

We will have to infer that Knox is speaking of Bolshevism as that is the only idea in Europe that Knox and his kind are afraid of. Knox told his hearers that:

"Were their new theories tried, had they been effectively used by any race, had any people or nation risen to wealth, power and happiness under them, we might hope that adjustment thereof to our environment would make them tolerable. But such are not the facts."

(Continued on page 2.)

UNVEIL REED STATUE

COMMUNISTS STAGE IMPOSING CEREMONIES IN HONOR OF REVOLUTIONIST.

Riga, July 6.—A statue in memory of John Reed, the American communist who died from typhus in Russia in 1920, was unveiled in Red Square, Moscow, July 4, says a wireless dispatch from that city. Imposing ceremonies were held, in which the delegates to the Congress of the Third International participated, making a pilgrimage to his grave near the walls of the Kremlin.

What They Doin' With 'Em?

A correspondent at Mason City, Iowa, writes: It has been reported to me that pawn shops here receive 20 to 30 calls a day for firearms. They can't supply the demand.

Wait until winter sets in, no food, no work, no shelter. Something is surely going to break. The undercurrent of unrest is apparent.

The above makes us wonder, in the words of Bob Minor's recent cartoon in The Toiler, if the workers are going to carry the firearms "for the boss". Yes, we wonder.

Ideas, Not Murder Real 'Crime' Of Vanzetti

Prosecution Thunders 'Slacker' at Defendant When Life Story is Told.

By John Nicholas Beffel Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

Dedham, Mass.—Heavy guns were fired in the Sacco-Vanzetti trial on the twenty-ninth day. The prosecution at last disclosed its hand. It corroborated the often reiterated charge that the two Italian labor organizers are being prosecuted not for payroll murders, but for their political beliefs. It forgot about crime and began to wave the flag so that the jury, chosen from country towns, might be duly impressed.

Bartolomeo Vanzetti was on the witness stand in his own behalf. He had told his life story freely and frankly, told of his dreams in Italy, his dreams and struggles in America, had traced his tortuous career as a pick-and-shovel man on the railroads and construction jobs of New England.

And then he came to the spring of 1917, when he went away from Plymouth, where he had lived for several years. He went away, just before draft registration day, to Mexico. Bit by bit the story unfolded, under direct examination by Defense Counsel Jeremiah McAnarney.

"I went to Mexico," Vanzetti explained, "because I didn't want to go to war as a soldier."

Vanzetti spoke with the tone of a man who is sure of himself. Surprise swept over the courtroom. Some of this surprise was experienced by the prosecution. Vanzetti's voluntary statement on the draft question took some of the wind out of the commonwealth's sails.

All along the defense had fought to exclude every reference to Socialism, Communism, anarchism, the war, and political beliefs, and had succeeded. The prosecution was planning a surprise; it expected that the defense would continue this policy throughout, and when Vanzetti got on the stand Prosecutor Frederick Katzmann would thunder home the big accusation that Vanzetti had evaded going to war.

Defeated in this, Katzmann made the most of the situation. His red face flaming, the prosecutor opened his cross-examination with a sneer.

"So you ran away from Plymouth in May, 1917, to dodge the draft?" he demanded. Vanzetti did not flinch.

"Yes," he answered in firm tones. "And you stayed away till all men of your class were drawn?"

"Not exactly."

"You were physically fit?"

"It was not a matter of physical fitness, but of my civil condition. I would not have fought if I were in Italy."

Katzmann rang in various changes on the draft question, making the walls resound with his thunders. Vanzetti never hesitated, but answered each question confidently.

The prosecution witness had identified Vanzetti as the driver of the bandit car at South Braintree. Katzmann now asked Vanzetti if he hadn't driven a motor truck at Springfield.

"Nobody can prove I ever drove an automobile anywhere," said Vanzetti.

Under direct examination by Defense Counsel McAnarney, Vanzetti accounted for all of his time from the morning of April 15, 1920, the crime date, up to the night of May 5, when he was arrested. Hour by hour he revealed his movements, told who he met each day and where he slept.

"When I was in the Brockton police station that night," he said, speaking of his arrest, "a policeman came to my cell, unloaded a revolver, showed me the cartridges, reloaded it, pointed the revolver at me, and said: 'Tomorrow you will be lined against a wall and shot.'"

He said that the police said nothing to him about any payroll murders that first night, but had asked him about his political beliefs. And next day when Prosecutor Katzmann examined him, he said, Katzmann asked him if he was a radical, an anarchist or a communist; whether he believed in the government of the United States, and whether he believed in changing that government by means of violence. Not until the second night, Vanzetti said, did the authorities accuse him of the murders.

A belated report from Norway informs us that a general strike was in progress in that country the last of May. The capitalist press seems strangely silent these days regarding industrial upheaval in Europe.

A HARVEST SCENE IN THE LAND OF PLENTY.

BILL BONEHEAD GETS STUNG INTO ACTION.

By T. T. Woods.



THE SIGNIFICANCE of the AGRICULTURAL TAX

By N. LENIN

INTRODUCTION.

The question of the Agricultural Tax at the present moment is attracting considerable attention and is the subject of considerable discussion. This is quite understandable, for it is indeed one of the most important questions of policy under the present conditions.

It will be all the more useful, therefore, to attempt to approach this question, not from its "everyday aspect," but from the point of view of principle. In other words, to examine the background upon which we are sketching the plan of the definite, practical measures of policy of the present day.

In order to make this attempt, I permit myself to quote extracts from my pamphlets, *Tasks of Our Times*, *On 'Left' Childishness*, and *Petty-Bourgeoisism*.

The polemic is now unnecessary and I leave it out, but I retain what relates to the discussion of "State Capitalism" and to the basic elements of the economics of the present period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

This is what I wrote:

THE PRESENT ECONOMIC POSITION OF RUSSIA

(From a pamphlet published in 1918)

"State Capitalism would be a step in advance in the present state of affairs of our Soviet Republic. If, for example, State Capitalism could establish itself here, during the next six months, it would be an excellent thing and a sure guarantee that within a year Socialism will have established itself and become invincible."

I can imagine the noble indignation with which some will scorn these words. What! The transition to capitalism in a Soviet Socialist Republic a step in advance? ... Is this not a betrayal of Socialism?

It is precisely with this point that one must deal in detail.

In the first place, one must analyze the nature of the transition from capitalism into socialism, which gives us the right and the foundation for calling ourselves a Socialist Soviet Republic. Secondly, one must expose the error of those who do not see that the chief enemy of Socialism with us is the petty bourgeois economic conditions and the petty bourgeois ideas rampant in the country.

Thirdly, one must properly understand the distinction between a Soviet and a Bourgeois State.

Let us examine these three points.

There is not a single person, it seems to me, who, examining the economics of Russia, would deny their transitional character. There is not a Communist, it seems to me, who would deny that the expression "Socialist Soviet Republic" means the determination of the Soviet Power to realize the transition to Socialism, and does not by any means signify that the present economic order is regarded as socialistic.

What is the meaning of the word—transition? Does it mean, when applied to economics, that in the present system there are elements "partly capitalism and partly socialism"? Everybody will recognize that this is not so. Not everybody who recognizes this thinks of the numerous kinds of elements of the various socio-economic strata we have in Russia. And this is the very crux of the question.

EDITORIAL NOTE:—The capitalist press has recently spread broad and malicious lies about the assertion that the Soviet government has returned to the capitalist form of production—a "complete return", one enthusiastic press dispatch stated. A great deal of comment and inquiry has been made from many sources as to just what the Soviets have done along the line of establishing industry upon a more productive and workable basis. Therefore, we are publishing in this and the subsequent issues of *The Toiler* Lenin's explanation of the Agricultural Tax, of the reasons for its introduction and the purposes which it is expected to fulfil in the Soviet economy.

- Let us enumerate these elements:
1. Patriarchal, i. e. to a large degree primitive peasant production.
 2. Small Commodity production. (This includes the majority of peasants who sell corn).
 3. Private Capitalism.
 4. State Capitalism.
 5. Socialism.

Russia is so large and so varied that all these varying types of socio-economic strata are interlaid in it. The peculiarity of the position lies precisely in this.

The question is which is the predominating element. It is clear that in a petty peasant environment nothing else but petty bourgeois ideas can prevail. The majority, and the vast majority at that, of the peasants are small-commodity producers. Our other shell of State Capitalism (corn monopoly, control of manufactures, merchants and bourgeois cooperative societies) is broken, first in one place and then in another, by speculators, and the chief article of speculation is corn.

The main struggle develops precisely in this sphere. Between whom is this struggle conducted? Is it between the fourth and the fifth elements, in the order in which I have enumerated them above? Certainly not. It is not a struggle between State Capitalism and Socialism, but a struggle between the petty bourgeoisie, plus private capitalism, fighting against State Capitalism and Socialism. The petty bourgeoisie resists every form of State interference and control, no matter whether it is State Capitalism or State Socialism. This is an absolutely indisputable fact, and the failure to understand it lies at the root of quite a number of economic errors.

Those who do not see this, reveal by their blindness their servitude to the petty bourgeois prejudices.

State Capitalism is incomparably higher economically than our present economic system. That is one point. And secondly, there is nothing in it that is terrible for the Soviet Government, for the Soviet State is a State which guarantees power to the workers and the poor.

STATE CAPITALISM IN GERMANY.

In order to make this question clear I will first of all quote a concrete example of State Capitalism. Everybody will know this example: Germany. Here we have "the last word" in modern, large, capitalist technique and systematic organization subordinated to junker-bourgeois imperialism. In place of the military, junker, bourgeois imperialist State put another State, but a State of another social type, a State with a different class content, a Soviet, i. e. a Proletarian State, and you will get the sum of conditions which gives Socialism.

Socialism is impossible without large capitalist technique constructed according to the last word of science, without systematic State organization, subjecting millions of people to the strict observance of a uniform standard of production and distribution of products. We Marxists have always said this, and it is hardly worth wasting even two seconds in arguing this point with people who do not understand it, like the anarchists, and the greater part of the Social Revolutionaries.

Besides this, Socialism is impossible without the domination of the Proletariat in the State. This is also a pure and simple matter. History (from whom nobody except first class menshevik idiots expected that it would smoothly, peacefully, simply and easily produce "complete socialism") has proceeded in such a peculiar fashion that in 1918 it gave birth to two separate halves of socialism, like two chickens born within the same shell of international imperialism. Germany and Russia in 1918 embodied in themselves, on the one hand the most obviously materialized realized economic, industrial and social conditions, and on the other hand the political conditions for socialism.

A victorious proletarian revolution in Germany would immediately, and with tremendous ease smash the whole shell of imperialism (unfortunately constructed of the finest steel and therefore unbreakable by any kind of "chicken"), and would for certain bring about a victory of world socialism, without, or with very little, difficulty, granting of course, that "difficult" is understood not in a narrow sense, but from a universal-historical point of view.

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION.

If the revolution in Germany is delayed our task becomes clear, to learn State Capitalism from the Germans, and to exert all our efforts to acquire it. We must not spare any dictatorial methods in hastening the Westernization of barbarous Russia, and stick at no barbarous measures to combat barbarism.

At the present moment in Russia, it is precisely petty bourgeois capitalism that predominates, from which a single road, through the same intervening stations, called national accounting and control of production and distribution, leads both to State Capitalism and to Socialism. Those who do not understand this commit an unpardonable error and either do not see facts, cannot look them in the face, or limit themselves to the abstract contradictions between "capitalism and socialism" and do not enter into the concrete forms and stages of the period through which we are now passing.

It is precisely because this is impossible to advance from the present economic position of Russia with-

out passing what is common to both State Capitalism and Socialism—national accounting and control, that to frighten others and oneself by talking about "evolving towards State capitalism" is absolute theoretical stupidity. That means to allow one's mind to stray from the actual path of evolution. In practice this is equal to dragging us back to small private capitalism.

In order to convince the reader that my "high" valuation of State Capitalism is not made here for the first time, but was made by me previous to the Bolsheviks' taking power, I will quote the following from my pamphlet "A Threatening Catastrophe and How to Combat It"—which was written in September 1917:

"In place of a junker capitalist government, try and put a revolutionary democratic government i. e., a government that will in a revolutionary manner destroy all privileges and not fear to employ revolutionary methods in order to realize the most complete democracy. You will then see that State monopolist capitalism, under a really revolutionary government, will inevitably mean a step towards socialism.

"...For Socialism is nothing else than an immediate step forward from State Capitalist monopoly.

"...State Monopolist Capitalism is the most complete material preparation for Socialism, it is the 'porch' to it; it is one of the steps in the ladder of history between which and the step called Socialism there is no intervention step" (pp. 27-38).

The reader will observe that this was written in the period of Kerensky, that I speak here not of the dictatorship of the proletariat, not of a Socialist State, but of "revolutionary democracy." Surely it is clear therefore, that the higher we raise ourselves on this political step, the nearer do we approach to a Soviet Socialist State and to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the less imperative is it for us to fear "State Socialism"? Surely it is clear that in the material, economic, industrial sense, we have not yet reached the "porch" of Socialism, and there is no other way of entering socialism except through this as yet unreached "porch."

AGRICULTURAL TAX AND FREE TRADE.

In the above quoted arguments of 1918, there are a number of errors in connection with periods. Periods have proved to be much longer than was then assumed. This is not to be wondered at, but the basic elements of our economic life have remained as they were then. The peasant "poor" (proletarians and semi-proletarians) in large numbers have become converted into middle-class peasants. Out of this the small private ownership and petty bourgeois movements have increased, meanwhile the

civil war of 1919-1920 extremely intensified the ruin of the country, and retarded the reestablishment of its productive forces. To this must be added the bad harvest of 1920, the lack of fodder, the death rate among cattle, which still further retarded the reestablishment of transport and industry in that the transport of our chief kind of fuel, wood, was carried on by the peasants' horses. As a result, conditions in the spring of 1921 were such that it was absolutely essential to adopt the most determined exceptional measures for the improvement of the conditions of the peasantry and raising their productivity.

Why improve the conditions of the peasantry and not those of the workers?

Because for the improvement of the position of the workers it is necessary to have bread and fuel. The "holdup" which exists at the present moment in national industry in the largest measure is due to this, and there is no other means of increasing productivity, of increasing the stocks of corn and fuel except by improving the position of the peasantry and increasing its productivity. It is necessary to commence with the peasantry. He who does not understand this, he who is inclined to regard this as showing preference to the peasantry, and a "departure", or something similar to a departure, from the dictatorship of the proletariat, has simply failed to study the subject, and simply gives himself up to phrasemongering.

Thus, the first thing that is necessary is immediate and serious measures for raising the productive power of the peasantry. This is impossible, without seriously altering our food policy; and the substitution of the food requisitions by an agricultural tax connected with at least Free local Trade after the tax has been paid, is such an alteration.

What is the essence of the substitution of an agricultural tax for requisitions?

The Agricultural Tax is a form of transition from the peculiar "military communism" made necessary by extreme necessity, ruin and war, for the purpose of a proper socialistic exchange of products. Military Communism in its turn, is one of the forms of the transition from socialism with peculiarities created by the predominance of a small peasantry in the population, to Communism. The peculiarity of "military Communism" lay in that we actually took from the peasantry its surplus of produce and sometimes a part of that which was absolutely necessary for itself, for the purpose of maintaining the army and the workers. Mostly we took the produce on credit, for paper money. There was no other way by which we could defeat the landlord and capitalist in a ruined small-peasant country. The fact that we came out victorious (in spite of the support given to our exploiters by the most powerful states in the world) proves something more than the wonderful heroism which the workers and peasants are able to reveal for the sake of their emancipation. It proves also what lackeys of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the Kautsky and Co. were, when they blamed us for this "military Communism". This indeed should be placed to our credit.

(Continued next week.)

THE PHILADELPHIA RED RAIDS.

(Continued from page 1.)

prisonment for twenty years, the Act being apparently one of many hysterical and ill-digested measures growing out of the war."

And further:

"On May 10th, 1921, the Act was amended solely by striking from the definition aforesaid the words "which tends", and substituting the words "the intent of which is".

"It can hardly be denied that the change wrought by the amendment is so radical as to create in effect a different crime."

"The constitutionality of the Act is strongly assailed on sundry grounds; but in the limited time at our disposal we will not undertake to determine this question which is now pending for decision in Philadelphia. For the reasons above indicated, the motion to quash is allowed."

Following this sweeping victory, it became evident what would be the ultimate end of the Sedition Act. If the Act could not stand its first test it logically had to fall through in the following one. Though the trial Judge refused to set bail pending the decision on the appeal for a new trial and arrest of judgment after the conviction of Belavsky, there was good ground for hope that his indictment would be quashed. Five weeks he sat in jail and finally the expected decision came. It was Judge Andrew B. Smith of Philadelphia this time to give another mortal blow to the Flynn Act.

Needless to say, the constitutionality of the Act was not decided upon. In his decision Judge Smith asks the

question, "Is the Act of 1919 unconstitutional?"—but he does not answer his own query. He bases his decision mainly on the one given by Judge Fuller. He says:

"Under the former Act as was said by Fuller, P. J. in quashing an indictment under it (Comth. vs. Brukas, not yet reported in Luzerne County; "Criminal intent is entirely eliminated" for instance as this learned jurist illustrates "a newspaper who may innocently sell a newspaper containing any of the proscribed matters is guilty of a felony", and in various consequences although entirely innocent of wrong and who could spurn as infamous any suggestions" of wrong doing or intent."

"We may conclude that what was, under the Act of 1919, and charged in this indictment a crime but under the Act of 1921, is not;..... the conviction at bar was without warrant of law and no valid judgment can be pronounced thereon; there must be an arrest of judgment."

"And now June 27th 1921, Rule for arrest of judgment in this case is made absolute and the defendant Harry Belavsky is discharged under the present indictment."

District Attorney Peeved. While these decisions call for the immediate quashing of all indictments pending in similar cases, the District attorney has expressed the intent of appealing Belavsky's case and furthermore, continue with the prosecution of the others.

It is now evident that a long legal battle will have to be fought in order to hold the gains made and secure a final victory. One of these legal battles that costs much and can possibly be lost, no matter how good the

counsel engaged may be, should the necessary financial fund be lacking faces us. The defense treasury is empty and money is needed. Heavy expenses are to be met every day for both state and deportation cases and these must be paid on the spot.

The readers of *The Toiler* understand that if the defense should be hindered in its work by financial obstacles, it may mean a long sentence in the penitentiary for many comrades and deportation for many others. Some of the prisoners have large families that have to be provided for, others are political exiles from different countries and cannot be deported without risk of life and liberty in their home countries.

Will You Help?

So, what are we all going to do? Leave our comrades defenseless? Let their wives and children starve? It is the duty of all lovers of liberty to attend to this matter in the quickest possible way.

Get busy among your friends and comrades and collect all the money you can for this defense. Organize dances, picnics, mass-meetings in order to help this cause. Do not leave a single stone unturned to bring this case to a successful conclusion. Go to it comrades and show your solidarity for the victims of capitalist reaction.

Send all contributions to Ester Wiseman, Sec.-Treas., Workers Defense and Relief Committee of Pennsylvania—3914 Poplar St., Philadelphia, Pa.

WOULD PUT ALIENS IN LEASH.

(Continued from page 1.)

It can be seen from this that Philander is hopelessly petrified above the neck. Before HE will try a new idea it must first become hoary with age, weather-beaten and pronounced a howling success—then he will have the courage and statesmanship to adopt it—as a new idea. Philander is one of our modern statesmen and don't you forget it.

We had never suspected it but now we know that God had a lot to do with setting up the U. S. government. We suppose that He is also responsible for selecting such lights as Knox to keep it running too. Knox likes the old Gods as well as he does ancient governmental ideas. Knox is like the old farmer described by Sam Walter Foss, who "had gone to town that way so long that to think of a change he'd drop down dead." The

DOPE AND DUBB PHRASES OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE.

By A. W.

"If personal gain is abolished, there will be no incentive to progress."

This is the longest standing of the fallacies which are accepted by Henry without analysis. What it really means is that the only way by which the capitalist can satisfy his desire for personal gain is to provide the worker with the knowledge that if he does not fulfil the wishes of his master he will starve, and see his wife and family starve. That is some incentive to work.

Of course, the hope of personal gain is dangled before the worker also just as progress is obtained from a donkey by dangling a carrot at his nose, but the worker never touches it by working. It is only by becoming a merchant or employer, and picking other people's brains and labor that personal gain is obtainable.

Those who swallow this "dope" phrase no doubt occasionally need a doctor, whom they will pay only while they remain sick, and stop paying immediately they are cured. If he advises them to have their appendix removed they will pay two doctors, and the more cutting and scraping of the internals the doctors advise the more they receive in payment. So if doctors are only actuated by personal gain you'd be better to adopt the old kingly method of chopping off their heads if they did not cure you. G. B. S. deals at length with this aspect in the "Doctor's Dilemma."

The Editor has frequently pointed out great world geniuses who died in poverty, and at the present day the leading scientists have been compelled to organize themselves into a union to resist exploitation by the social parasites. I know of one professor of astronomy who does his lecturing work, rushes back to his observatory, works constantly on improvements in

very that of a change makes Knox weep.

In speaking for 110,000,000 other people, Knox said:

"To us, and for us, God has set up this one government founded on the equality of man. Our feet must not depart from the path He has marked for us. Ours is the duty to keep the faith untailed. We shall not wander after false Gods."

Now we know that bolshevism can never get a foothold in this country.

the mechanism of sidereal and other clocks, and on the perfection of our knowledge of the heavens. His predecessor had to have a subscription given him to enable him to live. Then our own acquaintances, who are "conscientious objectors," who work for their employer with an energy and eagerness unequalled in any field of labor, do they do it for personal gain? Assuredly not! They do from a mistaken ideal and a betraying education, which leads them to believe they work for the community's welfare while it is only for a selfish hang-on.

Then the crowning example to the lie is the opportunity which is at present denied to nearly two million people of working at all.

Personal gain is the curse of humanity. The only thing worth working for is social gain, and that necessitates purging the body social of its parasites and diseases, so that its members may work for its health without seeing its strength sapped from it by these malignant growths.

The Worker (Glasgow).

The raid upon Communist headquarters in London resulted in an interpellation by Clynes, Labor Party member, in the House of Commons. He was answered by Shortt, Minister of the Interior, who said that the raids took place because the main office of the Communist Party of England was the center of illegal propaganda, which advocated violence and murder. However, the government raids seem to have been general. Besides Inkpin, the secretary of the party, Robert Stewart, its administrator was also arrested. F. H. Binner, a miner and leader of the Communist Party in Rotherham was arrested and his home searched. The secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, Thos Mitchell, and Samuel Smith, contributor to "The Socialist" of Glasgow were also apprehended.

Milwaukee.—"Poor housing conditions, unemployment, and low wages are potent factors causing anti-social evils," said Judge Charles W. Hoffman of Cincinnati at the National Conference of Social Work.

effort to counteract the strategic importance of Jamaica.

Why this ungodly haste? Why "the biggest navy" program?

By GEORGE RESTA.

Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, among others, is demanding the cession of England's islands in the West Indies to the U. S. in payment of the debt England owes this country. There is no doubt Washington welcomes this propaganda. It has been, for a century, the settled policy of the American capitalist class to dislodge foreign control in the West Indies. This policy bore first fruit in '98 when Cuba was "freed."

The Wilson administration took up this task with increased vigor, buying out foreign control as in the case of the Virgin Islands, or seizing by force and violence as in the case of the independent Haiti.

The reason for this persistent and ruthless policy is not hard to find. The West Indies command the Caribbean Sea. The Caribbean Sea controls the use of the Panama Canal, which is the commercial and naval gateway of the Western Hemisphere, and particularly of the U. S.

England's most important possession in the West Indies is Jamaica. Because of its inner position, it is the key to the Caribbean Basin, and therefore to the Panama Canal (Admiral Mahan). This is the island that Senator Reed has in mind. The U. S. government is frantically laying its hands on whatever is seizable, or purchasable in the West Indies in an

effort to counteract the strategic importance of Jamaica.

Why this ungodly haste? Why "the biggest navy" program?

The imperialists of the U. S. are openly preparing for the next world war with the only serious competitor left—England.

When Harding and Admiral Huse declare that war with England is unthinkable, they knowingly are talking bunkum to the people. Baron Lee of the British navy, for instance, has just declared that war with America is neither unthinkable nor impossible.

The workers must not be taken in by the bluff of our capitalists and their henchmen. The working class must also prepare. They must prepare, by their own action as a class, to prevent this new imperialist war or to cut it short.

England's ruling class is too well aware of the inevitability of robber wars under capitalism and of the strategic importance of Jamaica, to fall in with the proposition of Senator James A. Reed. As the parrot Prince of Wales has put it: "The subjects of England are not on sale."

The last of May saw immense strikes in the coal and oil fields of Poland. Late news dispatches report the organization of a Red Army in certain districts, and the formation of Soviets.

The Agricultural workers of Denmark are on strike. Dairy maids are being locked in the stables and forced to do the milking.

"WHY AMERICA HAS POLITICAL PRISONERS"

A LECTURE BY EDGAR OWENS
Secretary of The National Defense Committee.

AT NORTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
72ND AND ST. CLAIR AVE., CLEVELAND, O.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 8 P. M.

As a writer and speaker upon workingclass problems, Edgar Owens is well known in the central West. He is one of the 20 members of the Communist Labor Party which have been convicted and sentenced to prison under the Criminal Syndicalism law of Illinois. Come and hear this Irishman discuss the problems of the workingclass. Bring your friends. Watch the clock—be on time.

Auspices National Defense Committee.

The Railroaders' Next Step

By WM. Z. FOSTER

Written just previous to his going to Russia.

The opening words of Foster's book state the subject and essence of his argument—"The supreme need of railroad men at the present time is a consolidation of our many labor organizations into one compact body.... This can be done successfully by the amalgamation of the sixteen principal railroad craft unions into one industrial union covering every branch of the railroad-service."

Foster gives us 48 pages of closely printed arguments for a close amalgamation of labor unions. And all the way thru he repeats; radicals, stay in your unions; don't leave them and form dual unions. His argument is incontrovertible.

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Wits, Tacticians and Communism.

James Oneal, one of the editors of the New York Call, official organ of the Socialist Party and Reaction, is establishing himself as a humorist and wit. Recent issues of the Call Magazine have added to their rapid and characterless pages a Comic Supplement with Oneal as editor. It is the special task of Oneal to reveal the humor contained in the circumstance and fact of various viewpoints of proletarian tactics, Marxism and other phases of the struggle of the masses for knowledge and for power.

We quote below that part of a recent Comic which refers to The Toiler and an editorial in our issue of May 28, entitled "Communist Tactics and the Unemployed", wherein we explained what constituted communist tactics as compared to non-revolutionary tactics in an unemployment crisis. Buffoon Oneal writes:

Now we reach an epoch in the development of "Marxism." We will put it in a question: Did you ever hear of the relation between carrots and Communism? Of course, not. That remains the secret of two eminent "Marxians," but will not be kept from the other tacticians and strategists any longer. We shall tell all about it and we shall be happy if it reaches the eyes of the Moscow Generalissimo himself.

We get it from the organ of the Pink Communists, the Toiler of Cleveland. There was a strike in Everett, Washington. The Washington "Marxians" got busy helping the strikers. They secured the co-operation and help of farmers to provision the strikers with carrots, potatoes, onions, apples, eggs, fruit, etc. This was followed up with a "systematic study of economics," which was "carried on under the efficient tutelage of an uncompromising Marxist, as revolutionary as any Communist could wish."

All this is submitted in an enthusiastic letter to the Cleveland "Marxist" for his learned opinion. The opinion is given in true "revolutionary" style. We quote the judgment of the Cleveland strategist:

We think there is a great deal in the program as carried out that would prove nauseating to many class-conscious workers... We certainly see little in the program that any Communist could accept as good tactics... In fact, we find that the work was of the yellowest variety possible... We may well leave such alleviating activities to the Salvation Army... Activity should take the form of cultivation of the elements of revolution... How criminally foolish are such tactics as were carried on at Everett... How perverting and pernicious of true revolutionary tactics... How destroying of the revolutionary spirit...

Here is a finished "Marxian tactician" talking to another "Marxian tactician" who is ashamed to find such contemptible little bourgeois ideas mixed with the true "Marxian" faith. Now what should those Washington "Marxians" have done according to the Cleveland "Marxian"? He has an answer ready. You cannot fool that guy when it comes to "tactics." Instead of "securing the countryside for gifts of carrots from the mortgaged and penniless farmers, the capitalist state must be made to purchase those supplies from the farmers at regular market prices and give them free to the workers." That is the true "Marxian tactics" when carrots are involved. Now you understand the relation between carrots and Communism...

Not being a wit and having no desire to pose as one, we shall seek to find in the realm of ordinary horse-sense and the everyday struggle of the masses our answer to the Comic Cavortist of the Call.

Taking the first paragraph. Of course it is not likely that our performer should see any "relation between carrots and Communism." Yet if he were standing on his feet instead of his head and were not as far removed from the workers' struggles as his lofty position of Official Wit compels him, he might possibly realize that the relation of carrots (food) to Communism is not as distant as appears to one maintaining an inverted position.

Why does Oneal lie to his readers in the second paragraph? Realizing that the truth is not always essential to a poser of such characteristics as Oneal has chosen to exploit, yet we shall not allow him to lie about us and get away with it. Nowhere in our editorial did we mention the word strike, nor did we consider the circumstances of a strike. Yet Oneal states outright that "There was a strike in Everett". Perhaps Oneal (disclaiming to be a tactician) does not realize any difference in tactics to be pursued in a strike and an unemployment crisis. Yet the differences are vital. We shall not grant him immunity from the accusation of lying in stating that a strike was the consideration of our editorial. He must have read it before it awakened his bump of wit to activity, we would like to have him point out where we have taken up the matter of a strike at all. Maybe it is considered a witticism in the Call office to lie about Communists, we will leave that to our readers to decide.

If the reader will go back to paragraph five of Oneal's attack, it will be noticed that he returns to the relation of "carrots and Communism". Now, if carrots had been the subject of editorial discussion, his misplaced wit might have applied. Unfortunately, we were discussing "unemployment". It is quite natural that a wit of the calibre and political beliefs of Oneal should evade the question of tactics as related to unemployment. According to him and his yellow associates, there is no question of workingclass tactics involved in such a crisis. Only wait four years and we will elect a socialist assemblyman at Albany and everything will be fixed!

Since Oneal has purposely lied as to the essential contents of our editorial it is necessary to re-state just what they were. This we will do by quoting a portion of the account of the circumstances at Everett as related by our correspondent:

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

"The situation was taken in hand by the Central Labor Council, which appointed Committees to organize the unemployed, attend to relief work, AND CONDUCT SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE SITUATION. Unemployed mass meetings were held regularly, twice each week; the organization took on a form crudely modeled after the soviet idea; relief work went forward with dispatch and effectiveness, so that actual suffering was reduced to a gratifying minimum. The farmers were appealed to for help, and, through their Grange organization and as individuals, responded generously. Farmers, themselves in deep water thru the industrial collapse which has thrown hundreds into the wage-worker class (also unemployed!) provided potatoes, carrots, onions, apples, and even canned fruit, and milk and eggs in lesser quantities. It is more than probable that the feeling of good fellowship and fraternalism generated by the Farmer-Labor Party campaign of the preceding summer and fall had much to do with creating this spirit of helpfulness upon their part.

With the use of the above tactics in an acute unemployment situation we disagreed. We stated in effect: that Communist tactics would have been radically different, that in every such crisis the workers must turn the condition into an attack upon the capitalist class and the capitalist State. That they should have followed a tactical line calculated to weaken the capitalist State and to place it on the defensive. We said, that in every such crisis, the workers should make demands upon the capitalist State which it was even incapable of fulfilling, that the workers must NOT seek alms from other sections of the workingclass, equally as poverty stricken as themselves, unemployed, penniless, their little farms mortgaged. We said that they should demand the means of life from those who held them in control—the capitalist class and its government.

We stated that these were the tactics to pursue because they would weaken the capitalist State, would create in the minds of the masses a class-consciousness and a realization of the conditions of robbery under which the workers live. These tactics would lead them on to revolutionary thinking and drive out of their minds the bourgeois ideas of the sanctity of the capitalist State; would lead them on to a desire and a will to take control of industry and the State and create of them new implements for their own use. In short, we in effect said: between the impoverished and unemployed workers and poor farmer, and the means of life, which they must have access to—stands the capitalist State. It is the implement of the capitalist class and is your enemy. Your duty is to weaken it, to strengthen your resistance against it and to eventually overcome it. These, we stated, were Communist tactics, were revolutionary tactics.

It is thus seen that communist tactics consist of taking advantage of any crisis, condition or circumstance in capitalist society and fashioning of it a weapon for use against capitalism. This is the realistic attitude of Communists in the workers' struggle. It is this particular point—this matter of attack upon the capitalist class and its State, which constitutes Buffoon Oneal's argument against us. Like the rest of the membership of the Socialist Party, Oneal would not injure the capitalist State, they will only "capture" it. In fact, are only awaiting the call of the capitalists to step in and save it just as has been done in Germany.

Of course Oneal does not openly question the principle of Communist activity—attacks upon the capitalist State. He evades the essential point and sees only "carrots and Communism." He cannot see the matter of unemployment—cannot see the possibility of turning it into a weapon against the enemies of the workers. Such things are not taught in the school where Oneal learned socialistic buffoonery.

Crisis in the Communist Party of Germany.

By Karl Radek in the "Moscow Pravda", May 7, 1921.

(Third Article.)

III. Lessons of the March Movement. When the workers of Central Germany arose to fight against the invasion of their district by the detachments of Hersing, the entire bourgeois, social-democratic and independent press raised an alarm about a "putsch" being engineered by the Communist Party which it was alleged was throwing the masses into an adventure for the reason of the danger that was threatening Soviet Russia. The movement was only at the beginning and it was impossible to predict what magnitude it would assume, when the former chairman of the party and the present renegade, Paul Levi, gave it the same appraisal as the bourgeois press. It is needless to assert that the Soviet Government and the Comintern only received information of the events in Germany after the Berlin wireless spread the news all over the world. The best proof of this assertion is my article in the "Pravda", the 25-th of March, in which I attempted to analyse the sources of the movement and very guardedly spoke of its possible future course. The Central Executive of the German Communist Party repeatedly emphasized that its decision of the 17-th of March about increasing the Party's fighting capacity was prompted by the home and foreign situation, and that neither the Executive Committee of the Comintern nor anyone of its representatives ever demanded that the Party should hurl itself into an open combat. The movement which followed a few days after the session of the 17th of March was provoked by the attack of the government upon the workers of the central mining district. We touch upon this side of the question only because it indirectly exhibits the renegade centrist character of the Levi group. Since when do we, Communists, dispute the right of the Comintern to offer any advice to all of its affiliated parties in

reference to their conduct of the revolutionary struggle? Only the Hilferdings and Crispiens reproached the Comintern for its tendency towards a Moscow dictatorship in its efforts to thoroughly centralize the conduct of the revolutionary struggle. Even if the German Communists, convinced that the existence of Soviet Russia is the guarantee of the world revolution, and basing themselves on this correct assumption, forced the course of events for the sake of Russia,—and this would certainly be a mistake, because the world revolution, cannot be artificially accelerated, this mistake would be a demonstration of revolutionary internationalism without which the proletariat cannot be victorious in any country. The apostasy of Levi and of those who did not straightway disavow him was proven by their outcry against the Moscow dictatorship and by their foul charge that the Central Executive provoked the struggle in order to hasten the victory of the proletariat in Germany and thereby render aid to the Russian proletariat. As we stated above, this charge is entirely baseless. The decision of the 17-th of March was dictated by the concrete situation and fully corresponded with the problems and interests of the Communist movement in Germany. The March events were the direct result of a brutal provocation by the Prussian Government. The Soviet-Democrat Severing, Prussian Minister of the Interior, in an article in the "Getreuer Eckard" cynically admitted that when he noticed the growing activity of the Communist Party, he decided to lure the Communists into a fight before they were prepared. It is possible to criticize the Central Executive for accepting the challenge, notwithstanding the very disadvantageous moment, but it is altogether inappropriate to speak of "Putschism". Putschism, in the mouth of a Marxist has a definite significance: this

term signifies an attempt by an insignificant minority. The Central Committee of the German Communist Party did not at this time aim to capture power. If Levi would have raised this charge against the Party, i. e. that it aimed to seize power, there could be some reasonable argument about "putschism". All the readers of Levi's pamphlet were convinced that this was really his charge and insisted that he shall produce evidence of the Central Executive seriously aiming at the capture of power. In the preface,—the German bourgeoisie fought savagely for this pamphlet and bought its entire edition in a few days,—he declared that he never made such a charge against the Party, but his accusation is that the movement was purposelessly organized by some middlehead representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. But in this same pamphlet Levi recognized that town after town in Central Germany was swept into the revolutionary movement and the workers fought heroically and died gladly. Levi emphasizes that all this was done by order of the Central Executive of the Party. But who among conscious revolutionaries will believe that hundreds and thousands of workers would go into battle without knowing what for, and blindly follow an Executive Committee of a young Party which did not command much authority, and what little authority it did command was weakened by the resignation of its most prominent members. Only an arrogant intellectual, isolated from the labor movement, alien to the conditions of life of the working class can argue to such absurdities. The workers of Central Germany fought heroically because they excellently understood the situation, understood that affair was a question of defence against the White offensive, which signified the beginning of an offensive of German Capital against the working class.

The charge of "Putschism" is nothing else than the concealment with Marxist phrases, of the abandonment, not only of the offensive tactics of Communism, but also of the policy of active defence. In charging the Central Committee of the Party with "Putschism", Levi does not say what the Party should have done when Hersing moved his troops into Central Germany. Should the Party have remained silent, or should it have asked Levi to make an eloquent speech of protest in Parliament?

By attacking the Party at the moment when the Courts Martial were most active, Levi automatically excluded himself from the Communist International. But if there had not been treachery, his position would nevertheless have been an abandonment of Communism, for he advocated a policy of inactivity, a waiting policy at the moment when the position above all demanded action.

In answer to this charge, Levi argues in favour of local action if the majority of workers in the particular districts are with us. But the advance which the Communist Party in Germany has made during the past year consists precisely in the fact that after scores of local defeats the Communist Party represents the united vanguard of the proletariat on a national scale, which avoids local defeats and renders possible the transition to fighting along the whole battle line. Realising the weakness of his position, Levi, in the preface to the second edition to the pamphlet we have already referred to, refers to a report which he submitted to the Central Committee of the Party on the 10 of March, in which he had developed a plan of action invented entirely out of his own head. This report merely proved that Levi was a dactrinaire who shielded himself from the actualities of life by clouds of vague schemes, for what indeed does Levi's plan consist of?—The German bourgeoisie are in a deplorable position. The Entente is imposing ruinous conditions which are arousing indignation among wide circles. The bourgeoisie would not agree only in alliance with Soviet Russia. But the acceptance of the Entente's conditions are so dangerous for the petty bourgeoisie and the Scheidemann elements that it is possible to rally large masses with the cry of alliance with Soviet Russia and war with the Entente. The struggle for an alliance with Soviet Russia might lead to a struggle for power.—This plan makes the error in assuming that, if it is impossible to move the Scheidemann workers into battle for the defence of their immediate interests it is nevertheless possible to move them into battle for the avoidance of the future consequences of the acceptance of the Entente conditions. Equally with the Entente—that they cannot be skinned more than once. They even speculate on the point that if the Entente will want to exploit them, the former will have to supply them with

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

(Editor's Note:—The following is the third of Mr. Foster's specially-written articles for The Federated Press. In previous dispatches he told of the similarity between the American trade unions and the revolutionary aims of the more determined and better disciplined Russian peasants and workers.)

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

Moscow.—A visitor to Russia, even though rich, would find it almost impossible to live by his own resources. This is because all the industries of the country are nationalized, and only those people who work (or who have been extended hospitality by the government) are permitted to use them. This is a workers' republic and the open sesame to everything is to be credited as a producer. Without that one is lost. Money is practically valueless, not because people have lost faith in the government, but because money has little or no function under Communism. You cannot buy anything substantial with it. A visitor trying to get along alone would be unable to go to a hotel because they are all owned and controlled by the government. Nor could he eat at a restaurant, since there are none; all the workers and visitors being assigned to the eating-places in their factories, homes and hotels. He could not buy himself clothes—and making of garments has been nationalized and the apportionment is in the hands of the workers' government. He would be unable to buy a newspaper, as they are given only to the workers in the shops. He could not go to a theatre, because the seats are not for sale. In Russia in order to go to a show one gets his ticket from the secretary of his labor union, each secretary being allotted a pro-rata share of seats from all the theatres.

It is conceivable, of course, that our rich visitor might be able to beat the communistic system temporarily in these days of revolution by dealing with the speculators in foodstuffs and other necessities and sleeping wherever he could. But at best he would lead a precarious existence and would probably find it convenient to go to some other country where the workers pluck more easily than they do in Russia. The government does not say that you have to work; it merely says that if you do not work you cannot have the benefit of the industries.

With the workers' government controlling all the principal necessities of life the reason for existence of retail stores has departed and practically all of them have closed their doors. To see the thousands of stores of every description nailed up tight is one of the sights of Russia. The famous Nevsky Prospect of Petrograd, with its hundreds of formerly rich shops, now boarded up, is a spectacle to make a petty-bourgeois weep tears of anguish. Almost the only stores open are those controlled by the state; although, by virtue of a recent law, small trading is allowed and one may purchase at fabulous prices, odds and ends from the peddlers and speculators.

provisions. The Scheidemann workers are wrong, but they will only convince themselves of their error after the occupation of Germany by the Allies. Levi's plan is the project of a thinker who believes that "he who today runs away from the battle-field of reality lives to fight another day". In the sphere of his fantasies, Levi, like Hamlet's father speaks of daggers in order not to employ his dagger. When comrades Zetkin, Brass, Geyer, and others declare that the point of view of Levi conforms to the principles and tactics of the Comintern, they are responsible for a very flat jest. From the very first day of its existence the Comintern said to the workers of the whole world that the last fight, the final victory, will not fall from heaven, but will grow out of the individual battles for the vital interests of the proletariat, out of the battles which the Communist Party must extend and deepen. To avoid these battles because at a certain stage they may result in defeat, means to abandon fighting altogether, and convert the Communist Party into a propagandist circle. Levi charges the Communist International with pretending to have the secret of pure Communism, but as a matter of fact if the Party followed his advice, it would become converted into a sect. The Party proved its vitality by rejecting the policy of Levi. This proof is the more valuable for the fact that the local and district organizations of the Party rejected Levi's policy in spite of undoubted defeats, and in spite of errors committed in the March days. (Continued next week.)

Just now Russia is suffering from a tremendous shortage of necessities, because of the terrible imperialist and civil wars. But such as the stores and services are they are placed absolutely free at the disposal of the workers. If you want to take a railroad journey you apply to the secretary of your union, who not only arranges for the necessary lay-off but also for the ticket, which is free. To ride on the street-cars all that is necessary is to show your working card. There are no fares, nor can non-workers ride. To mail a letter you just drop it in the box, no stamp being required.

In such a social system of applied Communism, where all the luxuries and necessities are equitably divided among the workers, money, as I said above, is virtually useless. In fact, many of the workers here go for months without a bit in their pockets. Nor do they need it, except for such articles as the government does not handle yet. If there are any quantities of substantial products to be had the government deals them out free, anyhow. On the train with me coming into Russia were several revolutionary refugees from Estonia. They threw their money away on crossing the border, saying that in free Russia they had no further use for it. I have been in Moscow a week and have not had a cent in Russian money, and yet I have been to the theatre several times and otherwise comported myself in an extravagant manner.

There is a degenerate paper currency in circulation here, but all the active spirits of the new society hate it. They look upon it as the sign-manual of the enemy, Capitalism, and one of the most insidious weapons ever forged by human ingenuity to keep the workers in slavery. Curious to know what would happen to the counterfeiters of such a despised currency, I inquired of a very active militant. He answered: "Oh, of course when caught they are punished; but then, after all, they do a sort of service by relieving the strain on the government printing-presses." So has the god, Money, fallen in Russia!

The money here is really only a hangover from Capitalism. It may be confidently expected that when the new society gets thoroughly established, and, being fully recovered from the havoc of wars, is able to furnish the workers an abundance of supplies, all need for petty trading of every sort will disappear and the entire monetary system will be abolished. (To be continued.)

Why Communists Are Silent In England.

To the Editor of the Daily Herald:— Sir.—I must ask your permission to reply to a peculiarly ungenerous attack made upon us by Herbert Smith, as reported in to-day's Daily Herald:

"When the miners were about to take the action we have taken," said Smith, "the Communists said, 'Go along, it will be all right,' but now that we are in our present position I do not hear their shouting... Communists were out for revolution... but when the miners' trouble came they did not see any red flaggers."

Smith suggests that Communists are very noisy in asking for a fight, and run away when the fight comes. He asks where the Communists are now.

We can tell him. They are in prison. No less than 70 have been arrested since the lock-out for their championship of the miners.

How many of Herbert Smith's colleagues in the Labor Party have got into trouble for their support of the miners?

How many members of the M. F. G. B. Executive have been prosecuted? One. And that one the only Communist member.

Smith cannot "hear or see" the Communists. Maybe it is because their voices don't carry through prison walls.—Yours fraternally, Francis Meynell, Editor of the "Communist."

June 23, 1921.

An editor was sentenced to one year in prison in Poland for publishing an article by Debs which he had translated from the English.

Some Crimes of the American Legion.

By Arthur Warner in "The Nation".

EDITORIAL NOTE:—The Toiler is reprinting from "The Nation" of July 6, some excerpts from "The Truth About the American Legion," by Arthur Warner. In view of the fact that "To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will," are among the objects stated in the constitution of the Legion as being its own, it is interesting and instructive as well, to note practical examples of how the Legion has set about the accomplishment of its stated purposes. Mr. Warner promises more articles on the Legion. We advise our readers to read this series in its entirety in The Nation and regret that our limited space compels us to abbreviate much.

Editorial Control Thru Violence. In the autumn of 1919 the offices of the World, a socialist weekly published in Oakland, California, were entered, according to the newspaper's own account, by members of the American Legion, who broke the glass doors, smashed the showcase, and strewn books and papers in the street, setting fire to them. Antagonize Labor Unions. The official American Legion Weekly openly boasted that the organization in Providence (R. I.) had prevented Victor Berger from speaking there. Interference with socialist meetings reached such a stage toward the end of 1919 that in December a letter was sent from the national office (Socialist Party) in Chicago to Franklin D'Olier, then national commander of the Legion, in which it was said: "In city after city, delegations from the local Legion post would wait on the mayor and tell him that if the meeting scheduled for that town were not called off there would be bloodshed and murder... In other instances Legion posts have banded themselves together to prevent the organization of labor unions, such as in the case of the steel workers in Waukegan, Illinois, and the case of Bogalusa, Louisiana, where Legionaries murdered four union men for the crime of wanting to organize a labor union. Dictate To Federal Government. Opposition to the Nonpartisan League and the Industrial Workers of the World, in regions where those organizations are prominent, has been carried on by American Legion members even more bitterly and lawlessly than against Communists or Socialists. It will be recalled that the first conference of the Committee of 48 in St. Louis was almost prevented because Legionaries heard that the Nonpartisan League was to participate. A resolution of protest was adopted by a committee representing all the Kansas City posts, and according to a dispatch from St. Louis to the New York Times: Five men, each wearing the button of the American Legion, called about noon at the investigating bureau of the Department of Justice, in the Federal Building. They said they had notified the management of the hotels that the Legion would prevent the holding of the convention if the Government should fail to act in the matter. When more was learned of the character of the Committee of 48 (which contained many former Roosevelt Progressives) the opposition of the Legion was withdrawn, but the original attempt to intimidate the hotels and dictate to agents of the Federal Government remains. Some "Unofficial" Crimes. Concerning some of the Legion's "unofficial" crimes against the Nonpartisan League in Kansas, wherein it ordered the League to discontinue organization work there, Mr. Warner writes: F. W. Galbraith, then national commander, properly ordered the Kansas

Legion to call off its dogs, reminding the members that their organization was supposedly non-political. Thereupon, the membership organized independently, and on March 12, last, a mob of 200 men tarred and rolled in the grass (cheaper than feathers on the prairie) the State organizer and the State secretary of the Nonpartisan League, while J. Ralph Burton, formerly United States senator, and Professor Wilson—who were to have spoken for the League at Ellinwood—were "escorted" from the neighborhood. Mr. Galbraith condemned this action and ordered an inquiry, but the investigator whitewashed the Legion with the usual excuse that its members had acted "individually" and "unofficially." (Continued next week.)

Pershing Honors Stubby

By SANFORD HAMILTON.

Stubby was in the war. So was Richard. Stubby is alive. Pershing pinned a medal on him. Richard is dead. Sick and neglected, he killed himself. Stubby is a dog. Richard was only a worker.

Here are the facts, from the New York "Times" for July 7. "Washington, July 6.—Stubby, a brindle Boston bull terrier, which served overseas as mascot of the American Expeditionary Forces, was today decorated as a wounded hero of the World War by General John J. Pershing, Commander-in-Chief of the American forces in Europe during that war.

"In presenting the medal the General made a little impromptu speech, but Stubby made no reply. He merely licked his chops and wagged his diminutive tail."

"Washington, July 6.—Dr. Thomas W. Salmon of New York, who was a Colonel in the Medical Corps of the army during the war, testifying today before the Senate committee investigating the condition of wounded, ill and otherwise disabled ex-soldiers, made the statement that in 1920 400 former soldiers committed suicide in New York State.

"Most of those unfortunate men," Dr. Salmon added, "would be alive today if they had been given the proper attention."

Richard was one of the four hundred. He was in a fly-by-night "contract hospital," of which there are all over the country 1,100, operated by money-making doctors. Business is business. Medical attention costs money. The less attention, the more profit, Richard didn't get the right treatment. He suffered and suffered till he couldn't put up with it any longer. He committed suicide.

And Pershing, under whose command he was driven to the hellish horrors that shattered this health, is making speeches to dogs, pinning medals on bull terriers.

How many Richards—candidates for suicide—are there in the country? Tubercular and mental cases alone total about 100,000. And thousands of them cannot get beds even in "contract hospitals." Of the 1,725 former soldiers who last year applied in New York for mental treatment only 300 were taken care of.

And Pershing honors Stubby. Nero is supposed to represent the lowest dregs of vice of ancient Rome. He fiddled while Rome burned. He fiddled; he didn't make a speech to a dog. That honor waited two thousand years for a representative of our own gang of murderers by due process of law.

Pershing honored Stubby? No! Stubby honored Pershing by wagging its tail at him.

Stubby represents a higher standard of morality than Pershing. A dog will not fawn at a fellow dog, gain his confidence and then get a bite out of him. If he wants to bite—he goes to it. But capitalists the world over cringed before the workers with golden promises when they needed them to fight their battles for profits.

And now! You see how they treat us now. What are you going to do about it?

Are you going to let those man-eating hogs keep on ruling you? If you don't care for yourself, is there none whom you promised to love and protect? None to whom, bringing them into the world, you owe protection? What stuff is it running in your veins that you are satisfied to be flattened under the heels of degenerates who honor dogs and drive to suicide the thousands who survived their butchery of millions?

Workers of America, where is your manhood?

THE AWAKENING.

"Buncoed again!" that's the way L. U. 584 has it figured, and we are not the only ones. Throughout the period of the war there was only one thought in the minds of the brothers of L. U. 584—and I am sure every loyal union man and woman carried the same thought—that was "increased production" so the boys over there should not want for anything.

From far and near, from big em-

EMPLOYEES' MAGAZINES: POISON FOR THE WORKER'S MIND.

Fourth Article by Sanford Hamilton.

Jolly is the "Nameco Eagle" of the National Acme Company; chummy, intimate. How can one call innocent chat like this poison for the worker's mind?

"We hear that G. Ellsworth, sorting department, is in strict training for the one mile walking race next summer, using the upper and lower floors of the plant as his training ground, thus accounting for his boots requiring repairing every month."

Well, look at the make-up of the "Nameco Eagle." The size of a man's handkerchief. Twenty pages. Good paper. Twenty seven illustrations. Would the National Acme Company put out such an expensive magazine just for the sake of chatting about its slaves? Leonard Painter will answer.

Mr. Painter is editor of all the company publications of The Long-Bell Lumber Company, Kansas City, Mo. In an article on Employees' Magazines in the May issue of "The Mailbag," a journal of direct mail advertising he says:

"Reader interest is of primary importance, and often it is induced by matter that does not directly concern business. A man's home, his family, his hobbies, his recreations—even sometimes his dog or his garden—are the ways to his heart."

Do you see the trick now? All those intimate items about the men, their wives and their dogs—for all of whom the bosses have the same degree of respect—are intended to dope the readers' minds with personal warmth, so they won't possibly apply cold logic to things like this—

"DRIFTERS AND STICKERS"

"There are men, and women, too, who are continually changing from one position to another with the hope of bettering themselves.

"What becomes of them?" "Why, they waste so much time leaving one job and getting started in another that they generally land

in the no account."

The moral, of course, is: no matter how badly you are overworked and underpaid, stick to your job. You won't better yourself no matter where you go. As Bucharin points out in his "ABC of Communism," the capitalists always aim to make the workers believe that no other order is possible, except the one under which they live(?).

But a mind not doped with page after page of "reader's interest" might ask: isn't there something wrong with a social order under which the man who leaves a job, not out of laziness, but in the hope of bettering his condition in life, "generally lands in the no account?"

Where are those "certain inalienable rights" of "liberty and the pursuit of happiness"? I am not chained to my job with links of iron; but isn't necessity just as strong a chain? One employer exploits me badly. I leave him. The next exploits me still worse. I try to go up; I find myself going down. Is this "opportunity"? Is this "reward of initiative"? Is this "democracy"? Why, hell, this is "damnocracy!"

But the readers of the "Nameco Eagle" do not think that way as they read that and other such items scattered between chummy chats. That's the poison of employees' magazines.

I say it again, and you, Comrade, pass it on: the object of employees' magazines is to complete the control which the job has over the worker's life, to dope his mind with poisonous trash that will keep him from becoming class conscious.

Pass it on, Comrade, pass it on! We must not neglect a single chance to pull our oppressed, suffering fellow workers out of the mental darkness into which the capitalists are doing their damnest to plunge them.

Pass on the information of this article, pass on all the light you get in The Toiler. Do your duty!

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE AIDS PRISONERS.

The National Defense Committee has been organized to defend workers who are arrested and prosecuted by the government for acts in the interest of the working class. It will give publicity to all the cases. At the same time, it will send out a regular weekly bulletin service dealing with the economic problems confronting the working class. It will assume an impartial standpoint, hoping thereby to clarify many of the economic and political issues that the American people must meet.

The National Defense Committee, the New York Division of which recently held a Ten Day Drive for the relief and defense of class war prisoners, is becoming known to prison authorities by the work it is carrying on. Every week it sends money to prisoners in different prisons. Usually this is the only money the prisoners receive, and without it they would eat the poorest food and be without any of those privileges which, in modern prisons, can only be bought.

For months past the New York Division has been taking care of several prisoners in this way and at present is sending a weekly allowance to seven.

Sometimes this money is given by our representative when visiting, sometimes it is mailed. The following letter received by our representative shows how our work is becoming known. This letter is an official acknowledgment of the sum of \$10 which has been sent regularly each week during the past few months.

"Auburn Prison, June 29, 1921.

"Dear Madam:— I find from our records that C. Pavo, number 37410, is receiving money regularly from you, and being unable to find that you are a relative it will be necessary for you to advise me what this payment of money covers or for what reason it is being sent.

"An immediate reply will be appreciated and avoid further correspondence in connection with same.

"Your very truly, (Signed)

E. S. Jennings, Agent and Warden." The Committee wants to continue doing this for Carl Pavo and the others who are in prison for pro-labor activities. This is only one part, but an important part, of the work that our Committee is doing and must continue to do.

Send your contributions to Dr. Geo. M. Dunaf, Treasurer, 339 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn. Very truly yours, National Defense Committee.

overalls and earn his grub. Oh yes, he'll get a royal welcome where the hard work is done! Toiler Ed.

WHAT THE SCABS WON'T DO.

No scab would write back home and say: "Dear mother, I am scabbing; I'm working here in a vile bull pen. At the only job worth grabbing. I work, eat, sleep here on the job; Am pennied in like a crook, And have armed guards protecting me From the men whose job I took."

Nor would he write to Molly Dun And say: "My Molly, dear, I want to prove myself a man, And that is why I'm here. I'm praying for the day to come When you and I shall wed; I know, dear, you agree with me, 'Tis best to scab for bread."

Nor would he take his little kids And place them on his knee, And tell with pride of the time he scabbed On men who would be free. But the man who fights for his Union cause May tell with keener pride His dear old mother, way back home, Or the girl he would make his bride. Exactly what his pursuit is; He has no cause for shame; And the kiddies, too, are glad to hear Of the days when dad was game. "Electrical Trades Journal."

JOTTINGS By TOM CLARK.

Judicial Decisions. Nicky Arnstein, the so-called "master mind" in the \$5,000,000 Wall Street bond robbery, was recently convicted and given a maximum sentence of 2 years and a fine of \$10,000.

A Russian in New York City was alleged to have handed a radical leaflet to a fellow worker. The Russian cannot speak a word of English; nevertheless, the court denied him an interpreter. After arresting him, the police made a raid on his apartment without procuring a search warrant. The material thus seized was ordered returned by the court, owing to unlawful seizure.* (Seizure without a warrant is a daily practice of the bomb squad, which considers itself the upholder of "law and order" in these "free" United States.)

However, when brought to court, the district attorney used against the defendant the substance of the material that had been returned to him. On the basis of such evidence, which had no place in court where men dare to boast of "justice" and "equality," evidence which the judge, even had he pretended to interpret capitalist law, should have ruled out of court at once—on the basis of this evidence, the man was convicted of criminal anarchy and sentenced to 2½ to 9 years! Thus "justice" is meted out in the United States.

Judicial Bolshevicks. Is it possible that judges are franker nowadays, or less restrained, or have they simply turned bolshevik?

Several of them lately seem to have learned the Communist interpretation of the capitalist State. There is Judge Van Sicien, of Brooklyn, who declared that government must uphold the ruling class, and that class today is the capitalist class. Now Justice Van Oradel, of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, asserts that "the three fundamental principles which underlie government and for which free government exists are the protection of life, of liberty, and of property. The chief of these is property."

This is a new version of the Declaration of Independence. However, we agree with the judge. He has learned his Communist philosophy—his decisions will help teach the workers.

Mutiny in France and England. Rebellion has reached the army! A French regiment stationed in Strasbourg recently held a demonstration which ended with the slogan: "Down with militarism." A score of soldiers were sent to prison for the demonstration. The men thereupon assembled in the courtyard and protested against the verdict.

A French division was to set out for Triers. The "Marseillaise" was being played, but the whole division began to sing the "Internationale." There have been demonstrations against war at Nantes. Part of a regiment at Bar-le-Duc refused to retrain for the Ruhr.

Part of a British regiment and an Irish regiment recently went to excesses bordering on "sedition." The mutineers built a barricade and were only quelled by the action of a large military force.

Mobs. A negro in Georgia was "charged" with assault on a white girl. He was arrested. Just to show how much "law-abiding" citizens care about the law, a mob of "best citizens" went on a rampage, burned down a negro church, several houses belonging to negroes, a lodge and church buildings. They dragged out several negroes, who were so unfortunate as not to be able to evade them, whipped them brutally and even shot one down who dared to defend himself with a shotgun.

All because a negro was "charged" with an assault!

It seems as if negroes will have to do like the Irish. Organize and use the same weapons as their assailants use. Only organized opposition will

Dugouts in Peace. 100 jobless negroes learning from the experiences of the war, built a dugout village along the tracks near Chicago, patterning it after those back of the lines in France. They had their "town council," "judge advocate," "mayor," "quartermaster," "barber" and "guardhouse." Now this refuge has been taken from them, the Illinois Central Railroad having demanded its removal. The men have become the objects of charity—that being so much superior.

American Legion. The Executive Committee of the American Legion completely ignored the candidacy for National Commander of a man who opposed the Legion on its anti-labor stand and was strongly anti-militaristic. Instead, it selected a man who has not expressed himself on strikebreaking and participation of the legion in politics as a block.

Naturally! The Legion's record is clear. It is a perfect strikebreaking agency, 100% patriotic and militaristic, and ready for any war at the pop of the gun. So the new commander kept mum: he will continue the historical role of the Legion.

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Gale to be Tried. Linn A. E. Gale, who was recently denied a hearing of his case before a civil court, has been transferred from San Antonio, Texas, to Governors Island, New York, where he is to be tried before a military court for draft evasion.

Gale is held as a draft evader after deportation from Mexico where he edited a Communist journal. He recently attempted to have his case transferred to the civil courts alleging that he was not properly under military law when he went to Mexico three years ago.

Do You Feel This Way? EDITOR TOILER:— I see that my subscription has expired a little while ago. I am almost ashamed to think of my neglect in so important a matter as this. If we ever expect to get anywhere as a class, everything depends upon the support we give our press. So enclosed please find a couple of bucks to assist you in keeping your gun loaded for bear.

Yours with best regards, JOE SANDERS, Jamestown, O.

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