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CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP, MARKS MAY 1 BEGINNING OF STRUGGLE

BOSSSES GAGE GAINS AGAINST WORKERS AND FURTHER DRIVE TO BREAK UNIONS.

If there was any doubt that America is faced with a serious clash between Labor and Capital, it faded away on May 1 when hundreds of local unions in scores of trades and cities held sessions and made decisions as to agreements between themselves and employers.

Facing an army of 5,000,000 unemployed on the verge of desperation from lack of work and means of sustaining life, the unions were clearly up against a foe of double strength. The drive of the employers for the break down of the power of the workers in their unions is some six months old. May 1 marked the point where they were able to count their gains in a weakening of labor's resistance.

Building trades, street car employes, iron molders, printing trades, dozens and scores of skilled crafts were faced with the problem of maintaining their previous wage scale and in some of shortening the hours in accordance with past made agreements. Practically all progress in "reconstruction" is held up pending the final settlement of questions of hours, wages and working conditions.

The workers in some lines are showing remarkable determination to uphold the workers' end and hold to present wage scales and even to gain a bit. Others have shown a less class-conscious spirit and appear to have fallen victims to the malady of fear to face a show-down.

SHOW OF REAL POWER.

While the workers were attempting to sift out the true facts of conditions in safeguarding their welfare and maintain livable conditions for themselves and families, the bosses brought forth other instruments of warfare against labor for use in case the workers should in desperation seek to question their power.

Scared stiff by a wide distribution of Communist literature in industrial centers, the bosses, thru their government, prepared for the use of "armed force and violence" against

the workers if need be to maintain themselves as the ruling class. All the implements of war, tanks, machine guns, soldiers, extra police, arsenals of small arms etc. were brought into a number of cities to be used as the final arbiters. The bosses were prepared to maintain their dictatorship over the workers by the only resource of any "democracy" if the workers grow recalcitrant.

Parades of workers, radicals, communists and socialists were held in a number of cities where the capitalist class felt secure in granting such permission. In other cities, notable among them, Cleveland, where the bosses maintain undisputed power and a weak and conservative labor union movement rules, clearly under the ideology of Gompers and his reactionaries, no public manifestations were held. The spirit of Labor's International Holiday however, was manifested in distribution of Communist literature, arrests of some distributors, searches of homes and decisions of some local unions to take a holiday Monday however went the decisions in respect to hours and wages.

In view of the fact of an army of unemployed of portentous dimensions, the Open Shop drive of the bosses having already reached the point where they are able to practically dictate wages and hours, the first of May in this country marks the point of a general tightening of class lines and an intensification of the struggle which constantly takes on new and fiercer forms.

While the Revolution in Europe is several laps ahead of that in America—all the causes and conditions of revolution are ripening here and he who would claim we can avoid the ultimate conflict between the workers and owners in industry must be classed among those who see not.

The first of May is past. Long live the spirit of the International Workers' Holiday!
Long live the Revolution!

WHO CAN SAVE THE UNIONS?

By J. P. CANNON.

The Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York has just adopted three recommendations of a special committee of twenty-five appointed to devise ways and means to combat the "open shop" campaign of the bosses. The unions cannot fight the open shop by the measures proposed; in that respect they have no value. But as striking examples of what not to do they may serve a useful purpose and, from that viewpoint, should be considered and analyzed. This is what the special committee recommended:

1. To organize a speakers' bureau which will present the case for unionism to civic bodies, church forums and similar organizations.

2. To amend the constitution of the central body, permitting the seating of fraternal delegates from non-labor organizations interested in unionism.

3. To seek greater co-operation with such bodies as the Inter-Church World movement, and other organizations felt to be working for union labor.

All three of these undertakings are based on a misconception of the nature of the struggle. The impression seems to be that labor's troubles in the present crisis are mainly due to a "misunderstanding" as to the aims of the labor movement on the part of some pious people who don't work for a living, but who are "felt to be working for union labor." But the real misunderstanding is in the minds of the delegates who adopted this program. Civic bodies, church forums, "non-labor organizations"—the elements who go to make up such groupings are poor props for the unions to seek to lean upon. They may "feel" for organized labor, but the organized workers never feel it in the shape of substantial support in their fight.

The "open shop" campaign is one of the manifestations of a state of war that exists in society between two opposing classes; the producers and the parasites. This war cuts through the whole population like a great dividing sword; it creates two hostile camps and puts every

man in his place in one or the other. Those to whom the New York unions would turn for aid are beneficiaries of the present system of labor exploitation. Their interests lie with the system and, as a general rule, people do not allow their sympathies to interfere seriously with their interests. They live in the camp of the enemy. Their material welfare is bound up with those who aim to destroy the unions.

No, the labor unions can get no help in their struggle outside of the working class. More than that, they need no other support. The working class has the power not only to defeat the effort to destroy the unions, but to end the system of exploitation altogether. The principal thing lacking for the quick development of this power is the mistaken point of view illustrated by the program of the New York Central Body.

Let the labor unions put aside their illusions; let them face the issue squarely and fight it out on the basis of the class struggle. Instead of seeking peace when there is no peace, and "understanding" with those who do not want to understand, let them declare war on the whole capitalist regime. That is the way to save the unions and to make them grow in the face of adversity and become powerful war engines for the destruction of capitalism and the reorganization of society on the foundation of working class control in industry and government.

Haywood Arrived.

CHRISTIANA, Norway, Apr. 28.—The Federated Press correspondent here has just received the following message from William D. Haywood, at Moscow:

"Have just arrived here and will remain until after the congress of trade and industrial unions which is to be held here, and for the meeting of the Third International."



"Now I'll be a Republican and see if I can get something!"

Labor Unions and the Unemployed.

By C. P. JACKSON.

But a short time ago Woodrow Wilson, ex-president of the United States, talked grandiloquently about the Land of the Free, the Home of the Brave. The United States was truly a land of equals!

We went to war that Democracy might not perish from the face of the earth! Now that the camouflage and lying smokescreen of the capitalist press has cleared away, we are given an opportunity to witness REALITY. Those who really fought the war, i. e. the workers, are now walking the streets, hungry and cold, without shelter, comfort or clothing.

It is quite in order, therefore, to remind those who were responsible for the war and the present unemployment situation, of the state of things. On the workers' side we find 60,000 killed in the world war, nearly 200,000 wounded and crippled for life. On the side of the capitalists, billions of profits made from war supplies, more billions from necessities of life, new colonies and foreign markets, opportunities to exploit foreign peoples.

As far as the workers are concerned, this Land of the Free merely grants them the freedom to walk the streets, if not interfered with by the police; freedom to work long hours at low wages; freedom to starve and suffer cold; freedom to wreck their families' health; freedom to submit to virtual slavery. This is the true meaning of Wall St. Democracy!

If a worker is courageous enough to complain about this sort of freedom, he will soon feel the end of a policeman's club; if he actually tries to do something to alleviate his misery, he is called a Bolshevik; he is given a dose of machine guns and bullets.

The product of the war is 4,000,000 unemployed, misery and suffering for the workers; 10,000 new millionaires who revel in luxury, wealth and power. This is a state of things not peculiar to the United States alone. The total unemployed all over the world is 33,000,000 on the one hand—and tens of thousands of war millionaires on the other!

As to the democracy that was preached with so much eloquence, we have only to regard the hundreds of political prisoners in American jails, injunctions against strikes and picketing, the use of troops, constabulary, and police against strikers; gunmen, thugs operating against workers, with the benevolent tolerance of the government. Continued profiteering and graft without interference on the part of the government! In Ireland, there reigns the British terror and murder. In Hungary and Finland, thousands of workers have been hanged and shot. Tens of thousands lie in dungeons and jails. There is universal terrorization and suppression of the workers. In the meantime, the capitalists are preparing more suppression and enslavement. They are organizing secret armed societies of every description. And to crown it all, the capitalists of the United States are organized to destroy union labor. The open shop is their slogan; they demand injunctions against anything that the workers inaugurate, in order to protect themselves and their interests.

Employment to-day! Unemployment to-morrow! This is a problem for the entire working class. It must be solved particularly by those who, by virtue of their organization, are in a position to compel unified action.

If the old hypocrite Gompers and his yellow associates really intend to lead the workers out of this chaos, then let them prove their ability to do so!

Boris Reinstein Condemns the American Socialist Labor Party.

By J. PRICE.

"The Worker", official organ of the WORKERS' COMMITTEES of Scotland, on March 26, published an interesting interview of William Paul of Scotland with Comrade Boris Reinstein, who was at one time a leading figure in the American Socialist Labor Party and a close friend of De Leon and who is now one of the most active workers in the proletarian government of Russia.

Speaking of the S. L. P. of America which, according to him, "died soon after De Leon was buried" Comrade Reinstein said:

"In America it had passed into the hands of certain theoretical maniacs, who had learnt nothing from the great war, and who had even been unable to grasp the wonderful lessons which the experiences of the Bolshevik revolution made clear to every well-poised Marxian Socialist. But, added Reinstein slyly, the British S. L. P. seems to be in as bad a way as the American bunch. He thought at one time that the British S. L. P. was going to steer clear of all the doctrinaire rocks that had wrecked the American section."

After having expressed his high admiration regarding the teachings of De Leon, and pointing out that "whenever a chance presented itself he was a firm believer in the unification of all true revolutionary forces," that he "clearly indicated that the political agitation of the revolutionary masses would have to be backed up by Force," that to "certain sentimentalists in America, who were afraid of the term Force, he showed that the proletarian conception of legality and morality was not inspired by Capitalism, but was drawn from the needs of the revolution itself," and that "in the writings of De Leon there lies, in the germ, most of the propositions upon which the Communist International was to be built," Comrade Reinstein again turned to the S. L. P., "which was the party so closely associated with De Leon's life work" and which has "so miserably failed when the Communist International urged for the formation of a united Communist Party in America and in Great Britain."

"The party, in both countries, he said, had passed into palsied hands and the individuals who controlled it seemed mentally incapable of developing De Leon's tactics beyond the point where the great Marxian had laid down his life's work. Development was the quintessence of De Leonism. Like every great revolutionary tactician he had no time for stick-in-the-muds or for the narrow vicious mind that can only move along the narrow rut of bigotry. He was audacious and courageous and was ever ready to change his weapon just as the class war changed its form. The great war and the still greater 1917 Soviet revolution would have thrown out new ideas to him and the need for new tactics. He who stood forth as the Marx of his age would also have become the Lenin of Western Europe. With what scorn he would have castigated the puny persons whose mental development ceased in 1905—the year when the "Preamble" was published. He might have used his wonderful and

THE BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE

A WARNING.
By TOM CLARK.

The British miners' strike is a most striking confirmation of all the revolutionary teaching of the past ten or fifteen years. It embraces so many features of the struggles of the workers for emancipation that it must be held up to the workers today as a lesson and a WARNING!

In February, 1919, the British government appointed a royal commission to investigate the coal industry. This commission, at the head of which was Justice Sankey, rendered its report in June, 1919, after more than three months of intense investigation. The report recommended government control for three years and State ownership of mines. It recognized that the industry was facing a severe struggle owing to the tremendous unrest in the country and to "the constant strife between modern labor and modern capital." The report was agreed to substantially by Frank Hodges, who also was on the commission.

The government completely ignored the report. In October, 1919, it provoked a railway strike, owing to an arbitrary attempt to reduce wages. The present situation is the result of a similar attempt on the part of the government to abolish control, contrary to its promise, five months earlier than the date provided for by an act of parliament. As a consequence of the de-control bill, the mine owners made an offer to the miners, which represented a reduction in pay and required the abandonment of the miners' demand for a national pool of profits.

The immediate causes of the strike, however, are not important for our consideration. The attitude of their leader, the conduct of the leaders of the railwaymen and transport workers, and the stand taken by the government, are the chief things to be analyzed.

Traitorous Leaders.

The miners were firm in their demand that the wage question should not be considered apart from the national pool of profits. They gave their leader, Hodges, strict instructions. They had suffered enough in the past from the trickery of the Lloyd George regime and knew that a rigid stand would have to be taken before negotiations could be entered into. The instructions that they gave their representative, they expected him to adhere to. But Frank Hodges, faithful member of the Independent Labor Party and a timid sponsor of the workers when in the presence of the representatives of the capitalist class, was told that by demanding a national pool of profits, he was entering the sphere of political affairs. This so confused the man that rather than go on, he surrendered. When pressed by labor members of parliament, Clynes and Henderson among others, Hodges offered to consider the matter of wages alone, leaving the national pool in abeyance. A subsequent meeting of the Miners' Executive however, rejected his offer at once and sternly reproved him for his act. The miners knew what they wanted—the miners remained out on strike. THE MINERS' LEADER BETRAYED THEM—the leader and those in parliament who pretend to stand for the working class against the will of the capitalist! Hodges is charged with ambition: he wants to be put in charge of the International Secretariat of the Miner's Federation!

But the trail of treachery did not stop there. The remainder of the Triple Alliance which had been vociferous in its protestations of willingness to stand together as one man, and which, at a joint meeting, had issued a call for a general strike in support of the miners—fell down flatly, when the miners stood by their original demands. Thomas, who with "tears in his eyes" had called the strike, and Cramp, who were in charge of the railway men and transport workers, recalled the order, leaving the miners to fight their battle alone. Rather the side of the government and the mine owners than that of the workers! The effect of the cancellation of the order was electric. "The miners have been deceived." "The railwaymen and transport workers have acted as traitors."

(Continued on page 2.)

SLANDER CAMPAIGN AGAINST HAYWOOD DRAW I. W. W. TO CLOSER TIES.

The slander campaign instituted against Wm. D. Haywood by so-called liberals and enemies within the labor movement to discredit him in the eyes of the American working class because of his departure to Soviet Russia under instruction of the Communist International, instead

of to the penitentiary at the behest of the capitalist courts, has failed to darken the luster of Haywood's record as a fighter and leader in the working class.

"I hope that hereafter when any person addresses me as comrade, he will be ready to fight for the establishment of the Soviet in America. I shall return to America when I have finished the work assigned to me by the International Council of Trade Unions and when the interests of the workers demand my return."

This was Haywood's final statement to American workers before setting sail for Soviet Russia just previous to the order for his incarceration for 20 years in Leavenworth prison. With this cudgel Haywood lays in the grave all the rumors of cowardice with which he was assailed when his departure became known.

That the I. W. W. and the class- (Continued on page 2.)

REWARD!

A free hand drawing of himself hanging on a gallows on the morning after the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is established in the U. S. will be given the government agent who stole The Toller Editor's fountain pen on the night of the recent search of the office—providing he returns the pen. The Toller's best cartoonist has offered his services and promises to do a good job on the likeness. Bring in the pen!

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

(9th Installment.)
EVENING SITTING OF JULY 29.
(Petrograd Pravda, July 31, 1920.)
STATEMENTS OF THE GERMAN INDEPENDENTS.

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

The evening sitting of July 29 begins with the appearance upon the floor of Dittmann and Crispian, representatives of the Party of Independents of Germany, who in their speeches note the evolution of their party, which now numbers within its ranks some millions of workers of the most revolutionary portion of the German proletariat.

"It may be," they say, "that our party committed many crimes in the past, but it is now straightening out its political lines. A number of the largest demonstrations recently took place in Berlin, under the banner of the Independent Party, and with the slogan: 'Hands off Soviet Russia.'" "The refusal of the Congress to include the Party of the Independents in the III International," says Comrade Dittmann, "may have serious consequences for the German revolution. The German proletariat can not remain without an international policy and international ties, and perhaps it will be compelled to create its own international organization."

In response to these representations, Comrade Lozovsky and a number of other orators warn the Congress against including the Party of Independents of Germany in the III International, for experience has shown that in the fateful moment of the revolution, the German Mensheviks, as well as those of Russia, may find themselves on the other side of the barricade and betray the German revolution.*

*The Moscow Izvestia of July 31, 1920, gives the following longer report on this sitting:

The evening sitting begins with a statement by Comrade Milkich, who says that the analysis of the program and tactics of the party of Jugoslavia, made by Comrade Zinoviev is correct in so far as it refers to the past: "At the present moment our party is a purely Communist one, and has nothing in common with opportunism. We still have certain individuals who act like reformists and opportunists. But the party as a whole is struggling energetically against these elements, which are to be found in every Communist Party, and even in the party of Bolsheviks," Comrade Milkich brings forward many facts of a documentary character, which prove the genuinely Communist line taken by the Jugoslavia Party.

He says that the party in both its legal and illegal activity aims to realize the Soviet authority, appeals to the masses and organizes Soviets, and that many of the responsible workers of this party, including one member of the central committee, have been turned over to military courts as a result of their activity.

Comrade Bombacci believes that no dispute can arise on the essence of the question that has been raised at the Congress. To admit non-Communist parties into the Communist International would be the same as to admit the entire II International into the III International. The position of the II International, and of its separate organizations, is absolutely clear, so far as it has manifested itself during the 30 years of its existence. Making specific reference to the Italian Socialist Party, Comrade Bombacci affirms that 70 per cent of its leaders are reformists. Therefore, on principle, there should not be even discussion of admitting to the III International the German Independent Party or the French Socialist Party. If, however, as a matter of tactics, it seems necessary to do so, then the only way out of the situation is to institute the strictest registration of all members of the parties admitted, like the constant registration which has become part of the system of the Russian Communist Party. In general, it is necessary to resort to this method of including in the Communist family alien elements only where there is an extreme emergency, and always on the condition of registration.

Comrades Poliano, Mayer, and Wynkoop also express themselves most categorically against admitting to the III International the Independent Party of Germany.

Comrade Lozovsky also speaks against admitting into the III International all political organizations which do not state formally, why, with whom, and on what platform they wish to unite. Comrade Lozovsky recalls the role of the Russian Mensheviks at the beginning of the October (1917) revolution, who proposed to disarm the workmen and to admit the Cossacks into Petrograd on the verbal guarantee that no mass killing of workmen would be allowed. "The elements of the Centre," says Comrade Lozovsky, "may very well perform a similar service for the III International in all those countries where the revolution is at the stage where we were in October, 1917."

The floor is then given to the delegates of the German Independent Party, Comrades Crispian and Dittmann.

Comrade Crispian notes with satisfaction that the members of the III International are evidently well informed as to what is going on in Germany. He speaks of that very difficult task which presented itself to the German Socialists when war was declared. The conditions of military dictatorship, the enormous apparatus (one million members of the legal party and two and one-half million members of trade-unions)—this was the enormous mass, among which the handful of Socialist leaders had to try, with the greatest difficulty, to fix their line of policy. From the beginning of the war this line could be made clear only in a very restricted illegal literature.

In the latter part of his speech Crispian tries to give an analysis of the charges directed against the German Independent Party by individuals taking part in these debates. He says that the party

has of course made many mistakes, but that its leaders are acting not under the pressure of the masses, but in accordance with their own conviction. The masses elect these leaders because they trust them, because they know them, and know them not only by their words but also by their deeds.

The composition of the Independent Party is proletarian and not petty bourgeois as is that of the followers of Scheidemann. "We ourselves understood," says Comrade Crispian, "that a schism was necessary, that among us there were elements which should not be with us; but a schism is a bitter necessity, and we must take this necessary step only with the greatest caution. It is necessary to remember that the revolutionary elements of Germany are now still scattered in four parties: Independents, Spartacists, the Communist Labor Party, and one party with anarchist tendencies."

In conclusion, Comrade Crispian expresses confidence that the Congress will take the point of view of reuniting sincerely revolutionary elements, as otherwise the revolution in Germany will find itself face to face with new and very serious obstacles. "However, whatever your decision," concludes Comrade Crispian, "we shall leave this Congress with a feeling of sincere conviction that we are comrades no matter how we look on each other. Of course, the millions of workmen who are members of the German Independent Party can not be deprived of the right to participate in international activity and to have international connections. If the Congress does not admit us to the III International, then we shall be obliged to create our own international organization."

Comrade Dittmann then speaks, explaining in detail the role of the German Party of Independents in those organizations which were established as links between the Russian Soviet Republic and the Republic of Germany from the very first day of the revolution.

He says that Haase, in his conversation with Comrade Radek about the two trains with grain, which the latter proposed to send in the name of the Russian Soviet Republic, immediately declared that he saw that this proposal was first of all a symbol of the international solidarity of the proletariat. From this point of view the further line of conduct of Haase is in part to be explained, when he refused to take the grain from the starving Russian workmen, being able to do this on the account of the capitalistic United States of America.

The expulsion of Comrade Joffe was decreed before the Independents became members of the Government (German); they immediately demanded his return, but were not successful.

The arrest of Comrade Radek took place mainly because of the threats of the Right Socialist section of the government which acted on the basis of the possibility of a breaking off of the armistice with the English and French, whose interests were affected by the activity of Comrade Radek.

As for the conduct of the Independent Party in the recent period, it is sufficient to note of those great demonstrations which took place in Berlin under the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia."

Comrade Dittmann insists that the Independents have always felt their duty of solidarity with the Russian proletariat and with the Russian revolution. Individual statements of individual members of the party perhaps compromised the latter, but they were not able to alter its attitude and the general political line, or even bend these. At the present moment, with the struggle against the bourgeoisie and the Right Socialists becoming very acute, it is necessary that the proletariat should close up its ranks on an international scale.

SITTING OF JULY 30, 1920.

WHAT PARTIES TO ADMIT TO THE III INTERNATIONAL.

The sitting of July 30 begins with Comrade Rakovsky on the floor, who dwells in detail on the expulsion of the Russian Embassy from Berlin, and the refusal to permit a Russian mission in Austria. He shows that these facts, like other facts indicating the hostile attitude of the bourgeois government of Germany toward the Soviet Republic, were quite natural and inevitable. "Nor are we surprised at the circumstances that Comrades Dittmann and Crispian, representatives of the German Party of Independents, do not understand, and did not understand earlier, that the collaboration of classes can not produce any other results. They do not understand that up to the present they have been essentially servitors of the Right Wing Socialists and of the Entente, and that gives rise to the fear that they will remain the same henceforth."

Comrade Rakovsky lays upon the party of Independents the responsibility for the defeat of the proletarian social revolution in Germany, a defeat which was the result of compromise tactics.

Comrade Rakovsky uses even sharper language in referring to the representatives of the French Socialist Party. He notes a number of reservations and omissions in the declaration of the French Socialist Party, reservations which leave open a wide field for all sorts of changes of political lines, and even for treason and treachery.

Comrade Rakovsky propose to augment the controlling power of the Central Communist International and give it the right of broad and effective direction over the activities of individual organizations.

Thereupon Comrade Serrati takes the floor, and says that the Italian Socialist Party strives for the accomplishment of a world revolution. "We are procuring," says Comrade Serrati, "the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, who are responsible for the war. We will procure this with the aid of the proletariat, and with the aid of those resources which the proletariat has at its command. All those who are capable of carrying on revolutionary struggles for our common aims should be admitted to the Communist International. Who, then, is capable of carrying on this struggle?" Analyzing the political situation of individual countries Comrade Serrati does not find ground for revolution in France, and adds that for this very reason the French Socialist Party should not be admitted to the International. "We observe just opposite conditions in Germany," says Comrade Serrati, "where the revolution is already an actual fact. The Party of Independents in Germany therefore should be included in the membership of the III International."

"So far as Italy is concerned, she is experiencing distressing economic difficulties and a decline of the powers of the State. Discontent is growing every day among the workers and peasantry. A revolution in Italy is inevitable and we shall accomplish it. So far as the opportunist elements of our party are concerned, of course, there can be no dispute about that on principle. The only question is as to when we must get rid of them. And in this sense we would ask to be allowed to take advantage of the most favorable moment we may find to do this with the maximum utility for the cause of the revolution."

Comrade Serrati dwells in detail on the activities of certain Italian opportunists and shows that they are after all of much benefit to the party and to the revolution. "If they should attempt to do us any harm," concludes Comrade Serrati, "then we will know how to do our duty to the Italian and world revolutions."

STATEMENT OF COMRADE LENIN.

The floor is taken by Comrade Lenin who goes into a detailed analysis of the speech of the Independent Crispian. Comrade Lenin says that the speech of Crispian is a valuable document, setting forth as it does the position of the right wing of the Independents in Germany. He also remarks that the view of Crispian on the dictatorship of the proletariat identifies him in the closest manner with Kautsky. Similarly it is not accidental that Crispian maintains complete silence about the struggle of tendencies both in the Congress

and the Party of Independents. In his capacity as one who showed up the opportunism of the Independent Party in a clear light, Comrade Lenin notes their break, that came too late, with the Scheidemannists.

Comrade Lenin then gives an analysis of the views of the Independent Party, or rather of their Right Wing, upon terror and violence. Comrade Lenin asks what the course of the Independent Party in Germany would be toward the murders of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and toward the reactionary officers, speculators, marauders, Krupp, Stumm. Toward certain elements of the counter-revolution, any other policy, a policy not connected with violence and terror is completely unthinkable. No dictatorship of the proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence against the bitter foes of the proletariat and the laboring masses.

"You say," continues Comrade Lenin, "that Kautsky no longer has any influence in your party. But do you know that you yourself are a living example of the fact that through you, through your mind and feelings, and your ideology, he is exerting his pernicious bourgeois influence on the masses in the Independent Party of Germany? We can not work with Kautsky in the same International."

"We are also unwilling in according admission to the International to be guided by an analysis of the political situation in a country, as suggested by Comrade Serrati. We existed even in the most counter-revolutionary situation in Russia—in old Russia the Bolsheviks struggled for the revolution. And, on the other hand, there were Martov and Chernov who at the height of the revolutionary conjuncture, were complete counterparts, with respect to their social significance, of the Italian Socialists Turati, Trampolline, and other opportunists. Whatever the situation may be, we must carry on the necessary fight against the opportunists, and in view of the revolutionary situation, a still more bitter fight than at a moment of the decline in the revolutionary struggle."

Following Comrade Lenin the Spartacist Comrade Levi speaks and sharply objects to the admission of the German Independent Party to membership in the Communist International. Comrade Levi offers much documentary data, in his opinion convicting the Independent Party of systematic deviation from true revolutionary lines and of inclination to Wilsonism and to compromise.*

* A somewhat longer account of this sitting.

THE BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE.

(Continued from page 1.)

But the miners fought on. More determined than ever, and embittered, they insisted on their demands and were willing to go down on these demands.

Capitalists' Interests Served by State.

Realizing that fight with the miners, railwaymen and transport workers, the Triple Alliance, representing a body of nearly 2,500,000 men, would involve more than 4,000,000 men; and that the unemployment, misery and starvation in England had reached a stage at which Revolution might break out at any time, the British government ordered out all reserves. Recruiting began immediately. The parks filled up with tanks, guns, war supplies. Airplanes were requisitioned. Soldiers were put into training in the parks. A defense force of 100,000 was organized as a permanent body to act in any emergency.

As soon as the dispute between the miners and mine owners arose, although it primarily was caused by an act of parliament, the GOVERNMENT PUT ITSELF SQUARELY ON THE SIDE OF THE OWNERS! In the negotiations, it sided openly with the owners; from the first moment, it was hostile to the miners. Refusing a national subsidy for the miners, but allowing profiteering to go on unabated, the government showed what every radical and revolutionary knows today—that the government is the instrument of the capitalist class for protecting the interests of that class.

British organized labor has suffered the worst blow that has been struck in years. The British miners, betrayed by their leader, and their confederates of the Triple Alliance, are beaten. They are the first to suffer from the systematic attacks that

will be made on organized labor. Their defeat is the prelude to the defeat of the other organized bodies which will be compelled to strike to stop the downward trend of wages and the demands for higher output made by the capitalist class. Disintegration of the labor organizations is the menace! The State stands by, ARMED, ready to shoot down the workers who dare to fight for the right to live!

To Save the Situation.

If labor continues on this course, it will be fighting a lost fight. Something new is required: the Triple Alliance is dead. Federations of union organizations do not suffice. There must be an integral organization of the labor bodies—an amalgamation into one solid body which will act as one unit. That is the sole form of organization which will be able to fight the organized capitalist class. "Down tools" must be an order not left to the pleasure, discretion and interpretation of single leaders—it must be a signal for mass stoppage of work—mass revolt!

There is also the warning that the control of union affairs must not be left to the bureaucrats and leaders. There must be immediate control in the hands of the rank and file. The leaders must not be allowed to act or refuse to act, leaving the result of their actions to the contemplation of the members. The rank and file must have full power to check up every act of the leaders and to compel action. The unofficial rank and file movement in the form of Shop Committees is the immediate issue.

Strikes will occur with increasing frequency. Provoked by employers and the government, which, today, is entering more openly into all disputes between employer and employee, the workers must provide themselves with weapons to fight. Shop Committees, created by the

workers in the shops, and electing, governing and recalling all the officials at will, are the whip that the workers must hold.

The present leaders must be ousted. Compromising when facing a fight, surrendering every demand if it means a struggle, betraying the workers and selling them out through bribery, flattery or the offer of position, the leaders stand between the workers and their emancipation: the leaders aid the capitalists and the government in keeping the working class in subjection.

The role of the government is clear: the State, once regarded as the neutral to keep the balance between the workers and the capitalist, plays the part of the capitalist, whose agent it is, using every means to suppress the workers.

Final Struggle Approaches.

The capitalist government has no solution for this problem. Unemployment is increasing. The jobs and the working masses are in a bitter struggle to keep body and soul together. No longer relying on peaceful means to obtain amelioration—having had demonstrated to them that the ballot and parliament and congress are only shams maintained by the capitalist class to blind them—the workers are resorting to other methods in the struggle for existence. Against organized capital they must pit centrally organized labor. Against capitalist tyranny, they must pit the general strike. Against governmental force, conditions and circumstances are teaching the workers the application of more efficacious methods of struggle.

The Russian Proletarian Revolution and the struggles that have been going on in Italy and Germany are showing the workers what they ultimately must do. The interrupted

giving speeches from other foreigners and a speech by Zinoviev, is found in the Izvestia of August 1, 1920, from which the following extracts are taken: Ember-Droz supports the same thought in relation to the Swiss Party, which does not even recognize the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Dauemig describes the evolution of the political frame of mind of the laboring masses, entering and now to be found in the Socialist Party of Independents, and speaks of those difficulties which confront the leaders of the party in the process of guiding the revolutionary line of the party.

Comrade Stecker states that in the Congress and in private conversation with him, various comrades expressed the wish that the Independent Socialist Party of Germany should be differentiated definitely, and bring about a schism. Comrade Stecker admits that there exist in the ranks of the party of Independents certain tendencies and views upon the dictatorship of the proletariat, upon the Constituent Assembly and upon the Soviet system, but that the entire conjuncture of the political life of Germany and the natural development of ideas within the party of Independents at the present moment do not yet dictate a schism: "We have an army a million strong of revolutionary peasants, but we also have counter-revolutionary peasants. In counterdistinction to our Russian comrades we have an army a million strong of proletarian intelligentsia—technicians, commercial employees, etc.—who will class-consciously defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and facilitate its realization. So far as terror and the use of violence are concerned, there is no difference of opinion among us on that question. I myself said at Leipzig that under certain conditions revolutionary terrorism is a necessity. When the German revolution begins to feel the knife at its throat, as was felt by our Russian comrades, that necessity will be a real one. The difference between the evolution of the Russian Communist Party and that of the Party of Independents is explained by the fact that we had no sort of connections with Russia. Not only we, but all other Communist parties represented here, were not interested in the question of terror and threw no light on it in their program." In conclusion, Comrade Stecker expresses confidence that other representatives of the Independents will also remain revolutionists and, in Germany, will go hand in hand with the Communist Party.

In the closing speech Comrade Zinoviev summarized the debate which took place on his report. He again emphasizes the dangers which threaten the III International, through association with parties retaining opportunistic lines of action, such as the French Socialist Party and the German Independents. At the same time he strongly insists on the necessity of purging those parties of the reformist elements which have already joined the III International, such as the Italian, Danish, and the Norwegian.

He finds that the orators replying to him not only did not refute his assertions, but, on the contrary, only corroborated them. But at the same time, Comrade Zinoviev, with no little firmness, replies to those comrades of the "Left" who categorically rejected all thought of admitting intermediary parties under any sort of conditions whatsoever. He calls such a point of view "futurism," using an expression uttered by Comrade Gullbeun, and calls it, besides, a very superficial and frivolous one. It is very important for the International not to thrust aside those masses who come in the wake of intermediary parties, but on the contrary to attract them to its ranks.

In conclusion, Comrade Zinoviev proposes to refer the question to the committee for the final working out of resolutions.

The Congress so orders. (Next week in Memory of Soviet Hungary.)

fight in England clearly demonstrates what is coming.

SLANDER CAMPAIGN AGAINST HAYWOOD DRAW I. W. W. TO CLOSER TIES.

(Continued from page 1.)

conscious workers generally have heartily approved of Haywood's action in continuing his work for their ultimate emancipation is evidenced by statements made wherever workers congregate to discuss their problems.

One instance of such approval is seen in statements of speakers made at a meeting held in the Debs auditorium of the Rand School in New York last week. "It was to Bill Haywood's credit that he obeyed the call from the Red International to go to Russia," was a loudly applauded statement of Jeanette Pearl, a local I. W. W. "Bill was not consulted as to whether he wished to go. He was conscripted," she stated. James P. Cannon characterized as a disease the willingness of the I. W. W. to allow lawyers and liberals to do their talking for them. The I. W. W. membership generally has approved Haywood's action and the men who have gone to prison have no regrets that he is not among them, he said.

"Petitioning for amnesty will not release the class-war prisoners," he stated. "The only thing that will get our leaders out of jail is to win back their spirit which these men themselves had. The new spirit which the organization needs is nothing but the old spirit of the early I. W. W."

Three others of the convicted number besides Haywood are unaccounted for at Leavenworth, the authorities state. One is known to be in Russia, one in Europe and the whereabouts of the other are not known.

THE TOILER

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AMNESTY.

Standing out like a shaft of light in a murky atmosphere is a statement issued by the One Big Union of Lawrence, Massachusetts on the question of amnesty for American political prisoners. One's faith in the value of popular petition and such like expression of "public" sentiment to move the powers that be in any humanitarian matter must indeed be a large and naive one to adopt such means; but when such measures are adopted to empty America's political prisons of Labors' most devoted champions, in view of their past records as antagonists of Capital and Capital's government, then, indeed, does the action become the expression of a silly and misplaced hope.

The statement is virile with clean-cut class-consciousness and vibrant in its challenge of the soft and useless methods practiced by the less clear minded among the proponents of amnesty. The statement follows:

"To President Harding, Attorney-General Daugherty, the Congress of the United States and to the Organized Labor movement, the Socialists, the defenders of civil liberties and all who still have faith in the so-called free institutions of the country.

"We workers of Lawrence, Mass., called together by the One Big Union of the country and concluded that justice is a joke in the United States and the vaunted freedom of this land a myth.

"We are tired of pleading for pardons for the champions of Labor. We have no longer any faith in your constitutions and laws and courts and the arguments of learned counsel.

"At the very moment when Labor in America is pleading for amnesty a venal Supreme Court grinds its iron heel contemptuously into the face of Labor with its decision that sends scores of members of the L. W. W. to the living death of their prisons.

"We think it is useless to ask for amnesty and we think Labor can no longer afford to call for justice from the corrupt courts and councils of Labor's enemies.

"Therefore we call upon Labor in America to recognize that we have a condition of oppression in this country such as Russia suffered under the Czar and Labor must prepare to act accordingly.

"Let us abandon these everlasting appeals and prepare at once to release the class-war prisoners in this country by direct action."

(Signed) BEN LEGERE EMIL LEMAIRE ANTONIO POLITELLA.

WASH. STATE COURT UPHOLDS WORK OF LUMBER BARONS' FIENDS.

STATE SUPREME COURT DENIES RETRIAL OF CONVICTED I. W. W. MEMBERS.

The conviction of seven members of the I. W. W. for murder in the second degree in connection with the Centralia, Wash. Armistice Day deaths was upheld by the State Supreme Court at Olympia on April 14. A new trial was denied.

Shortly before the decision was rendered, The Toiler received a letter from one of the convicted, Britt Smith, in which he gives an account of the history of the case. We are publishing this letter herewith believing the facts stated in it are well worth the attention of our readers as showing the beastly fiendishness of these responsible for the raid on the I. W. W. headquarters, the conviction of innocent workers and the character of the Courts of the master class. The letter follows:

Editor The Toiler:— I am one of the seven victims of the Centralia mob when the American Legion raided the Industrial Workers' Hall in 1918. Our hall was all smashed to hell; what furnishings were not stolen for their own use were burnt. Ropes were placed about the necks of some of the fellow-workers and they were landed in jail.

A few weeks before our hall was raided the Commercial Club and the Elks Club held a meeting to find ways and means to drive us out of town. In the camps and mills the fellow-workers knew what the lumber barons were planning. I went to the Mayor and demanded protection for the hall but it was not granted. Everybody in that part of the country knew what they were planning to do to us.

we didn't. They smashed up the hall in great shape.

Four of the Legionaries were killed. They beat one of our defenders almost to death, knocked out all his teeth, beat him with guns and clubs and then threw him in jail in front of us. He was bleeding at the nose, mouth and ears. They would not give him a drink of water but only blows and kicks.

About 7:30 that night the mob broke down the jail door and dragged Wesley Everest out. His last words to us were, "I'll be true to my class." He was an ex-soldier of the World War. They took him in an auto to a railroad bridge. On the way one of the fiends took a razor and castrated him while he was alive. They hanged him on the bridge over the river and shot him full of holes. The following night he was brought to the jail and shown to us in order to make us believe the same fate awaited us.

We slept on the cement floors without blankets for a week. Our lives were constantly threatened. The treatment drove one fellow-worker insane and he was declared so at the time of the trial. We had a mock trial and were convicted by the lumber barons who were at the bottom of the whole conspiracy. But no matter how the appeal of our case goes, we will stand true to our convictions which is the abolition of this cut-throat system and that will come before long. We were given from 25 to 40 years each for defending our property and opposing the lumber barons.

Yours for Industrial Freedom Britt Smith

Z N A N J E South Slavic Weekly For Rates Address 2741 West 22 Street Chicago, Ill.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

THE EVOLUTION OF CENTRISTS.

By JAMES SMITH.

The Second International, the 2 1/2 International, the 2 3/4 International and so on ad infinitum. This is the evolution that many of the so-called "lefts" in the Socialist Party of America are going through at the present time.

A little mathematics will explain the matter. Assume that a tank of water is to be emptied and one undertakes the task in the following fashion. First one empties half of the contents, then half of the remaining half, and continually half of the remainder. It is clear that, in this manner, the task will never be completed. With each successive operation, one gets nearer to the bottom, but the VERY bottom is never reached, for there always remains that fatal half which it is impossible to remove.

In mathematics, this process is called infinitely approaching a limit, but never reaching it. The "left" Socialists make the Third International their goal; they approach it, but will never get into it!

The Chicago and New York "lefts" like Engdahl, Glassberg etc., were formerly for the Third International not so much because they approve of it, but because they support the Russian Revolution. Now they declare for the Third, accept all the Theses, Statutes and 21 points of admission, with the object of cooperating and boring from within the Socialist Party.

Having organized a left wing in the Socialist Party, they intend either to carry out their policies at the coming convention of the Socialist Party, or to split away from the Socialist Party all who adhere to the Third International. These gentlemen, therefore, have infinitely approached the Third International; they have recognized the Third International in the abstract—they profess to believe, accept everything that adherence to the Communist International implies.

But we are dealing here with a very concrete Third International, which demands quite definitely and concretely that, in a country like the United States, where a Communist Party cannot openly advocate and work for the overthrow of the capitalist government and carry on revolutionary propaganda in the army, a Communist party should function as an underground organization. Furthermore, there must be but one section of the Communist International in each country, and that section must be known by the name of the Communist Party.

To attain this goal finally and completely, is something that the "lefts" cannot do. It is the necessity of underground work which prevents them from taking the determined step to join the Communist International.

A few questions to these half-baked Communists and revolutionary Socialists may be apropos.

Walter Cook was State Secretary of the Socialist Party of the State of New York in 1919: At the time of the split, in the name of which International did you recognize large organizations as locals Kings, Bronx, Rochester, Buffalo, by expelling the majority for their adherence to the Left Wing, of which yours is but a poor imitation?

Engdahl, Official Editor of the Socialist Party: In the name of which International did you help the Socialist Party as one of their spokesmen to expel 80,000 revolutionary members of the Socialist Party, adherents of the Communist International, with which you are now flirting?

Why was it wrong to organize a Left Wing in 1919 and why is it right now? Why did you stick to the yellow Socialist Party at the cost of principles (?), while 80,000 cast off the party as worn out? Has the S. P., since then, become more conservative so that even you cannot remain in it any more, or has the revolutionary wave risen in America? Engdahl, Glassberg, Cook and Co.: What did you do to Ben Gitlow, Jim Larkin, John Reed, Charles E. Ruthenberg, and I. E. Ferguson? You expelled them, you ridiculed them and their revolutionary "romanticism," as you chose to call it. They went to jail for their ideals—for Communism, while you remained at liberty, enjoying your beloved legality, being practical, sober, skeptical about any revolutionary outbreak! Now you follow in their footsteps. You are organizing a left wing, you accept their program. But one thing you lack: that very revolutionary romanticism which you ridiculed in them. You lack their spirit, their determination—their revolutionary manhood.

In 1919, when the revolutionary wave was at its height, when the wave of Communism swept over Hungary and portions of Germany and when the World Revolution seemed about to embrace the whole world; when, however, it was not certain whether the Russian Revolution would survive; and when, again the reaction in America was at its height—then you did not believe that the Russian Revolution had come to stay. Out of pure physical fear, you did not associate with the Revolution. Now that revolutionary Moscow has become a pre-dominating power not only among working class organizations all over the world, but also in world politics; now that the reaction, the white terror, has subsided somewhat in America—now you are trying to draw strength from proximity to the Third International, without particularly compromising yourselves in this country!

Only academicians who exult in revolutionary scholasticism behind closed doors, only empty souled politicians, who contemplate no political action, but rejoice in the possession of revolutionary phrases and gestures—only centrists who dare much in words but completely fail in action, will be cajoled into joining your ranks. The petty bourgeoisie will rally round the banner of the Socialist Party, after your expulsion, clearly and definitely opposed to the class struggle and for bourgeois democracy after the style of the Berger-Stedman-Hillquit combine. The revolutionary workers, of America gather in their masses into the party which is outspokenly for, and with the Third International.

MEXICO?

By GEO. N. FALCONER.

To these contemplating a trip to Mexico in the belief that conditions here are sublime, as pictured by Paul Hanna of the Federated Press staff, and leaders of the A. F. of L. who were recently in Mexico City, having a good time, the following items are submitted for your consideration. The first is from "The Mexican Review," a high class capitalist journal. Sometimes such a paper tells the truth; this is one instance:—

Advice to Those Contemplating Visiting Mexico.

The American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico City gives some pertinent advice to those who are contemplating for any reason seeking employment in Mexico: Mexico is not a poor man's country.

Laboring men cannot compete with the day laborer in Mexico.

Professional men, without a knowledge of Spanish and money, take a long chance in coming here.

There is an over supply, of school-teachers, stenographers, bank clerks and such.

Please advise people to this effect and save many heart aches.

The second item is from the "El Paso Herald":

45,520 Are Out of Work Following Strike Tieup.

Mexico City, Mex., April 11.—(By Radio Dev. Co.)—Figures on unemployment in industry as a result of the national railroad strike, filed with the ministry of industry, show 48,820 workers have been thrown out of work in factories and similar establishments.

In the coal mining region, 400 car-loads of coal are mined and ready at the mines for shipment, but cannot be moved, according to information received by the ministry. This has resulted in a blockade at the mines and a stoppage of work.

MEXICO SENDS HELP TO 1,500 REPATRIATES

Mexico City, Mex., April 11.—(By Radio Dev. Co.)—It is announced the ministry of foreign affairs has received a message stating 1,500 Mexican miners have arrived in Juarez, having been obliged to leave Arizona, Texas and New Mexico because it was considered their presence was prejudicial to the interests of American workmen.

The repatriated Mexicans arrived in wretched condition, with nothing to live on.

The truth about Mexico will be told some day—especially when all magazines and papers—radical, labor and socialist included—will demand ugly truths in preference to beautiful lies.

REPORTS OF THE RUSSIAN RECONSTRUCTION FRONT.

"Machovik" reports that a group of 613 workers who have returned from America have issued a manifesto to the Russian workers and peasants in which they express their wonder over the heroic achievements of the Russian proletariat, and after an account of their sufferings in America and their efforts to return to their homeland, they affirm their readiness to enter the ranks of the Russian workers and peasants to fight and work for the development of Communism.

The peasants of the village of Kaspianna (Province of Smolensk) have decided to convert their church into a peoples' club and theatre.

"Pravda" reports from Baku that a floating agricultural information bureau has been built which operates along the River Kura and serves the needs of the villages and settlements along the river.

Direct railway communication between Baku and Tiflis has been resumed.

Since the ratification of the Russian Lettish postal convention, the first mail from Soviet Russia arrived in Riga on March 29th.

A fleet of floating workshops is operating on the Don and repairing the implements of the farmers in the districts along the river.

The government of the Republic of the Far East has made the proposal to the United States to conclude a commercial treaty. The Republic wishes to conclude such a treaty with England also.

The progressive Chinese press finds that the time has arrived to enter into commercial relations with Soviet Russia. In Shanghai a large amount of exportable goods are stored. The press galls upon the Chinese government not to be led by political considerations but to resume the business relations at once which are so imperatively demanded.

In the last few days 160 wagons of flax and hemp have arrived at Riga from Soviet Russia.

In Odessa the students of the Economic department of the High School have been mobilised for work in connection with the trade with the Balkan countries.

The Council of Commissars has voted a sum of 5 million gold rubles for the purchase of important laboratory equipment. Professor Eichwald will leave for Berlin in the next few days in order to be present at the purchase negotiations in the role of specialist.

"Gudok" reports that a representative of the Afghan government has arrived in Tashkent in order to take up trade with Soviet Russia. The Afghan merchants have supplied a large list of products which are available for export to Soviet Russia.

The peasants of the district of Bachmut have put their fields together as a result of which the work is being done much more quickly and better.

The Week of the Red Farmer began on April 1st during which time many factories worked exclusively for the needs of the peasant.

The committee of universal labor service in the Province of Iwanowo-Wognesensk has mobilised 70 tin workers, 200 smiths, and 100 carpenters for work in the factories for the repair of agricultural implement.

The engineer Nechlidanov has invented a machine for the unloading of salt, coal and similar materials which is capable of doing the work of 120 men when operated by one person. A number have already been manufactured and delivered to mines and factories. The inventor and his co-workers have received special rewards from the Council for Mining.

A group of 70 skilled workers from Germany arrived at Petrograd March 28th. Further groups are awaited shortly.

Successful trials have been made in Baku for the production of sugar from maize. Special refineries are being set up for this work.

In Baku, of the 96 naphtha ships 45 are already repaired. The work on the remainder will be completed by the middle of April. During one trip these ships can transport 3 million poods of naphtha.

In Bobruisk a trial took place of 33 illiterates who in spite of several orders had not attended the school for illiterates. They were sentenced to three months imprisonment, but sentence to be suspended if they at once reported for instruction in the schools.

In Odessa at the present moment there are 80 river steamers undergoing repairs.

In Odessa on March 26th the closing exercises of the naval college took place. The young sailors passed a resolution in which they said that they would put their whole strength at the service of the Red Fleet in order to persevere the gains of the revolution.

In the shipyards at Rostov on the Don work is going on feverishly. Six passenger ships and 20 towing tugs are undergoing repairs.

In the District of Samara 452 river ships are in course of construction.

According to a statement of the Statistical Department of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade the amount of flax and hemp available for export is as follows. 26,000 tons of flax which is 10 per cent of the pre-war export, and 10,000 tons of hemp which is 20 per cent of the pre-war figure. This is a very small quantity in comparison with the requirements of Europe and naturally

Russia will export it to those countries where she is able to exchange it for the machinery which is necessary for the economic reconstruction of Russia. The amount which will be available for the following year will naturally be much greater.

Kremlevsky, the delegate of the Black Sea Sailors at the Congress of Transport workers stated that the harbour authorities of Odessa have taken all necessary measures for the speedy repair of a number of ships, and that the traffic would be fairly heavy at the reopening of navigation. As a result of the agreement with England, the raising of the blockade, and the setting up of the Soviet power in the Caucasus, free traffic on all routes of the Black Sea could now be resumed.

All shipyards in Petrograd and Kronstadt are busy on the preparations for the opening of navigation.

According to the statistics of the Estonian Ministry of Commerce the following goods have passed over Esthland to Soviet Russia: The figures are given in poods. Salt 51,192. Various food 417,171. Leather and leather goods 85,363. Wood 281. Wooden ware 188. Paper and printed matter 29,587. Textiles, clothing and footwear 125,125. Iron and steel, raw or partly worked 23,504. Steel wares and hand tools 96,837. Various iron-ware 70,317. Zinc and copper wares 110,655. Agricultural machinery and implements 435,781. Instruments, apparatus and measures 7,120. Stone wares including grindstones 22,345. Coal 69,670. Mineral oil and fat 6,375. Rubber wares 8,428. Various oils 623. Chemicals 120,589. Various wares 45,405.

French Socialist-Communist Youth's Manifesto on Military Service.

The other day Rene Viviani, special envoy to the U. S., said: "The children of France will pay the debts contracted by their fathers in the World War." But the "children of France" are preparing to do something else beside pays debts. The following manifesto was issued by the Socialist-Communist Youth and appeared in the L'Humanite:

The capitalist regime which is based on force and oppression needs an army as the main prop for prolonging its existence.

During the present imperialist period of capitalism, bourgeois militarism has developed into a powerful and aggressive machine. Unfortunately, the French workers have not only undervalued their own organizations, but have still more underestimated the real cause and meaning of militarism.

In their struggles against militarism, they are too often satisfied with merely demanding a reduction in the length of military service, as was lately done by the former United Socialist Party, or the establishment of a militia which cannot be other than capitalistic, or the utopian scheme of general and simultaneous disarmament.

This last demand is the principle slogan of the National Federation of Young Socialists of the right, who fight with reformers, radicals, and philanthropic petit-bourgeoisies. Under the present system, to dream of the abolition of armies, and binding arbitration by the League of Nations! How foolish!

The Young Socialist-Communists reject these errors. They dedicate themselves to the task of fighting the old institutions, which they are seeking to destroy completely, and of urging upon the proletariat the necessity of arming themselves for the defense of their revolutionary conquests.

Revolutionary Youth has always carried on this battle. Their anti-militarist action is not of recent date. The International Congresses of Stuttgart in 1907, of Copenhagen

in 1910, of Berne in 1915, have proclaimed the absolute necessity of such action.

In flying bourgeois militarism in all its forms and the system by which it is produced, the Socialist Communist Youth also denounces the colonial adventures of the capitalist class and their marauding expeditions abroad.

They point out to the workers and to the young that standing and temporary armies, no matter what the manner of their recruiting, can, under a capitalist regime, guarantee only the defense and preservation of private property. These armies result only in bolstering up capital and in oppressing the working class.

Above all, the Y. S. C., in their anti-militarist campaign denounces the delusion of the possibility of a peaceful development of socialism, and affirm their revolutionary, Communist sentiments. They declare that the army which they are combating today as the instrument of capitalist domination is, in their opinion, not only necessary but indispensable to assure and maintain the Proletarian Dictatorship and State. Accordingly, they are preparing the young workers for the idea of arming themselves in the near future, and for the transformation of the bourgeois army into a proletarian Red Army.

For these reasons, also, the Y. S. C., strictly refrain from making appeals for desertion or insubordination and from favoring the spread of such ideas by an attitude or tactic that might be misunderstood.

Standing on the ground of the struggle against militarism, they are energetically fighting all principles and suggestions which are not in harmony with these of the Communist theses.

Translated by Rosa Spanier.

Russia will export it to those countries where she is able to exchange it for the machinery which is necessary for the economic reconstruction of Russia. The amount which will be available for the following year will naturally be much greater.

Kremlevsky, the delegate of the Black Sea Sailors at the Congress of Transport workers stated that the harbour authorities of Odessa have taken all necessary measures for the speedy repair of a number of ships, and that the traffic would be fairly heavy at the reopening of navigation. As a result of the agreement with England, the raising of the blockade, and the setting up of the Soviet power in the Caucasus, free traffic on all routes of the Black Sea could now be resumed.

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All shipyards in Petrograd and Kronstadt are busy on the preparations for the opening of navigation.

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According to a statement of the Statistical Department of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade the amount of flax and hemp available for export is as follows. 26,000 tons of flax which is 10 per cent of the pre-war export, and 10,000 tons of hemp which is 20 per cent of the pre-war figure. This is a very small quantity in comparison with the requirements of Europe and naturally

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The World Revolution and the Immediate Tasks before the Industrial Organizations of the British Workers.

By J. T. MURPHY.

A crisis unprecedented in the history of modern industry is upon us. The wheels of industry are steadily slowing down. Millions of workers are being thrown on to the streets to starve. Not a single capitalist government can see a way in which to deal with the situation. Each and everyone of them are trusting to luck and waiting for the economic forces to beat out a solution to the terrible tangle into which humanity is driven. "Victory" and its "Peace" are the most dismal failures history can record. The war got beyond the control of the nations. The consequences of the war are equally overwhelming.

The imperialists have shattered Western and Central Europe to fragments, competing groups, which are either victims or tools of the great powers. The economic unity so necessary to Europe and the world at large is, under the present circumstances, an impossibility. Imperialism rides rough-shod hither and thither, all to no avail. The mountains of debt do not dissolve, the markets do not expand, the workers of Russia refuse to be beaten, and within the contracted arena of capitalism the mad gambling of financiers contrasts with the rumbling of great multitudes of workers on the move towards the revolutionary struggle for power.

Afraid of this mighty army, and panic stricken with the prospect of losing their hold upon the world's resources, the governments of capitalism drop their masks, and in spite of all their democratic jargon make machine guns and terrorism their final arbiters. From every country under capitalism, come appeals for aid, protests against oppression of the workers, news of the banning of trade unions, the persecution of revolutionists and the insistent aggressive application of the dictatorship of capital. The class war is in full swing, and any approach to the problems before us without a clear recognition of that fact is doomed to produce futile results. It is for us to recognize our position in this world-wide class war and take the measure of the tasks before us as the vanguard of the British Working Class movement.

Of the three great imperialist powers of the West—Great Britain, France, America—Great Britain has certainly a record unparalleled for hypocrisy and grab. With unctuous righteousness, she colonized and conquered for the good of the world. In the name of "liberty," law and order, she has robbed, plundered and murdered the peoples of Ireland, Egypt and India, brought under her domination the Middle East, the border States of Russia, and no greater enemy of the Workers' Revolution exists than she. We in Britain are at the centre of the counter-revolutionary forces making war upon the world revolution. Upon the working class of Britain, the most powerfully organized working-class in the world, rests the tremendous responsibility of its preservation.

World Trend Toward Revolution. The external situation is such that we can safely say that the centre of the World Revolution (i.e., Russia) is secure. So great and magnificent has been the fight of the Russian workers and so keenly have the workers in the Western countries felt the significance of the struggle they were waging that today no capitalist government can raise a reliable army to march

against Russia. That the capitalist governments will not cease to make attempts to raise armies for that purpose I do not doubt. But, at the moment, the Russian workers are consolidating their position while the Western workers are moving steadily in the direction of Revolution. They have more powerful governments to overcome, greater forces of reaction with which to contend, more highly developed technical forces against them, and, consequently, a more tortuous path to travel towards the Revolution. Powerful as these forces against them may be, the inexorable economic forces of capitalism are weakening their power and driving the masses into ever more powerful combinations—first for defence, then defiance and conquest.

Struggles and protests, open conflicts with the "Whites" are enumerable throughout the capitalist countries. Distress is everywhere. The British Empire is being shaken as never before. War is being waged in Ireland. The millions of India are rousing themselves to action. The economic pull of the United States on Canada calls forth alarms and fears; the demand for separate representation of the Colonies in the League of Nations are all indications of the strain that is being put upon the Empire. And everywhere in the Colonies and dependencies, in friendly nations and unfriendly nations, in "Allied" countries and "enemy" countries, class alignments of forces are becoming clearly in the ascendant. International working class solidarity passes from the realm of utopia to practice. The masses rally toward Moscow. The reactionaries rally to Geneva. The one looks to the Communist International, the other to the League of Nations.

The Workers Lineup. These are the two extremes. We are in the period when the working masses are passing from one to the other. Large forces are already on either side. For long years the workers' organizations, especially the Trade Unions, have been under the domination of the ideas associated with the Labor policy of the League of Nations, the policy of adaptation to capitalism. The Second International fostered these notions. The Amsterdam International fostered and fosters these notions. The war destroyed the Second International and gave birth to the Third or Communist International which focussed and led the fight for the ideas associated with the workers' conquest of capitalism.

The transition proceeds apace. It is illustrated in the political parties by the tremendous rally to the Communist International and the attempt to constitute a fourth International. In Trade Unionism by the rally to the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions, the close ally of the Communist International, and the re-establishment of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam.

Phases of British Movement. In the face of this situation, we find that the British movement is still insular, almost unconscious of internationalism. Politically, it is dominated by a Laborism which is fabulously and nationalistic. Its Communist Party is exceedingly small and undeveloped and inexperienced in revolutionary practice. Industrially, the workers' movement is characterized by powerful unions strongly centralized and dominated by a reformist policy. Indeed, the tendency

is for the Trade Union Congress and the British Labor Party to merge, so closely allied are the political aspirations and the bureaucracy of the two organizations.

The revolutionary elements within the Trade Unions—The Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees—are widely scattered, indefinite in their objective, with unformulated policies, and lacking in the practice of the adaptation of revolutionary principles to immediate circumstances.

The failure of the Trade Union bureaucracy to act in the, critical hours of our working class history brought the extra-union organizations in their various forms into existence. This was overwhelmingly the case during the war. Since that time, with the passing of those extreme circumstances, the bureaucracy has become stronger rather than weaker, making more and more necessary the development of means for combating their reactionary power and influence.

We are now beginning the third sphere of our development as revolutionary factors in the history of British Unionism. The first phase was that of propagandists of industrial unionism and amalgamation of the unions.

The second was characteristically the period of action, the attempt to adapt industrial-union principles to the immediate struggle, and to take on the direct responsibility for the conduct of the fight against the boss and the State. In this fight we did not conduct the struggle so much against the officials, but rather ignored them and fought the employing class directly.

The conditions obtaining during the war period were particularly favorable to this kind of activity. The entrance to the third phase is marked by a complete change in the objective situation. The officials cannot now be ignored. They have to be fought. The employing class and its State machine have become more aggressive than ever, and instead of a shortage of labor we are faced with enormous unemployment. So great are the changes, and so many have been the new factors introduced into the situation that we must give them closer attention, in order to appreciate the various theses before the Conferences.

Up to well within the war period, the British working class movement, in spite of the class character, reflected the imperialism of its masters. Politically, it was not class conscious. It made considerable distinction between politics and unionism, turning its nose up contemptuously at politics and limiting the unions to affairs of wages, conditions, etc. This state of mind found its counterpart even in the revolutionary movement, being divided into industrialists and politicians. Even the Revolutionists belonging to a political party failed to make the party keep its membership from activities as industrial leaders. The role of the political party was never really grasped. The industrialists, disgusted with the sectional fight of the unions, were divided into amalgamationists and those who wished to destroy the unions and build new ones of new form and character.

Internationalism was phrase-mongering, very, very few in any part of the movement realizing its importance, and less applying it as a basic principle for action. Consequently the war broke with a movement absolutely incapable of offering resistance. But the rapidity of the changes forced in every direction, immediately began the development of the movement in an unlooked-for manner.

For the first time in our history, unemployment was quickly swept away. Trade Union regulations and Trade Union officialism were made subordinate to the Government. The Imperialist war forced the political issues upon the unions, and cut from beneath their feet any further pretence of having nothing to do with politics.

The Factory Committee Movement. Amalgamation and centralization became a necessity. The State became supremely interested in every industrial dispute and proceeded to evolve great schemes for the prevention of disputes, schemes which indicated the growing futility of the Parliamentary system.

On the other hand, the sharpening of the struggle in various industries, the transfer of vast masses of workers from industry, the growth of a consciousness of power among large sections of workers, arising out of the shortage of labor, the surrender of trade union and labor officials to imperialism, thrust the issues into the factories, especially in the engineering industry which was of enormous importance to the prosecution of the war. This situation was seized by the revolutionary workers, who developed the spontaneous movements which arose in the factories. Thus they became the revolutionary vanguard.

The political parties, however, played a very minor part even then, and the prejudice against "politics"

was well marked. In spite of that, however, important political issues could not be avoided, although this movement in the factories never formulated its political principles, nor produced a program of action. It remained in the realm of generalities on the one hand, and depended upon immediate issues cropping up, of which there were many, to keep it a real movement. It augmented these by stressing industrial unionism, and developing the idea of control of industry by the workers.

The Revolution in Russia added to its enthusiasm, and it early identified itself with it without getting down to the task of how best it could render help. The declaration of the armistice again brought about sweeping changes. Unemployment swept like a tornado through the country, shattering all unofficial organization of the factories. The hold of the Government upon the officials relaxed, thus permitting the operation of the ordinary union machinery as outlets for grievances. Even with the trade recovery, which came for a short time, the situation did not resemble that of the war period.

The engineering industry lost its pre-eminence, and the miners and the railway workers now held the key position. Consequently, the recovery of the factory committee movement was very meagre. But the importance of the reform committees and the vigilance committees of the railway men as driving forces in their unions was enhanced, while the shop stewards and the revolutionary industrialists in the engineering industry were compelled to give more attention to the unions. While all these movements had much in common, there was no contact with each other, even the miners of the various reform committees of the coalfields having never succeeded in making a co-ordinated movement. Viewing the industrial movement as a whole, from the armistice to date, we have to derive:

- (1) The rapid growth of centralization of the unions, increasing power of the bureaucracy;
- (2) Big amalgamation, with which the bureaucracy further enthroned themselves for long periods of office;
- (3) The popularization of the idea of the control of industry by the workers;
- (4) The passing of sectional strikes and the near approach of the class strike;
- (5) The emergence of the unions as definite weapons to be used for objectives. This has taken two directions—(a) the closer identity of the definitely reformist; (b) a challenge to the State arising out of the economic struggle, through the power of the unions as an opposing force, and the conscious threat of industrial strength to achieve a definite political aim such as Peace with Russia. (c) In these cases it was Revolution in essence.
- (6) The creation of new forms of organizations, such as the Council of Action on the stress of a political crisis, wherein the whole working class is aligned against the capitalist government.
- (7) The passing of parochialism and the definite entry of internationalism as a practical and urgent policy.

Throughout these developments two marked tendencies are apparent, one essentially reactionary, the other essentially revolutionary.

The amalgamations, the centralizations, of themselves good, were in the hands of leaders who are counter-revolutionists and are a veritable danger, assisting all kinds of twisting and traitorous deeds to the working class. In this country, they have assisted the reactionaries, increased their power, and turned the healthy demand for the control of industry by the workers, into a means for the provision of all kinds of specious schemes of joint control of industry by the capitalist state and the workers, nevertheless; the desires of the reactionary leaders by the very weight of organization produced political crisis wherein the existence of the capitalist State was threatened. Witness the miners and railwaymen's strikes.

Must Break Power of Reactionary Leaders. The control of the machine enabled and does enable the reactionaries to play a very important part in the hampering of the full development of three crises.

The three important crises—railway strike, miners' strike, and the threatened strike against war with revolutionary Russia—clearly indicate how history is producing, in spite of the reactionary leaders and what role they can play, even though new organizations come into being such as the Council of Action, so long as means are not created whereby the leadership of the masses can be taken away from them.

The Russian Revolution and the coming into being of the Communist International have proved the unions to be weapons of the revolutionary political struggle which must not be left in the hands of the reactionaries. This fact is emphasized by

THE POWER OF TRUTH.

By JOS. POORE.

In bourgeois society all values, however varied, are measured by the yardstick known as money. Money, says our modern money changer, is power and power is always given by the Almighty to those who have sufficient courage to take it. In Europe there are kings who control vast territories by virtue of which they receive enormous amounts of money from the poor peasants and the latter in their ignorance put these robbers on an equality with Jehovah and call them "Lords".

In capitalist America, the form is somewhat changed but in essence, the same cruel robbery goes on. Here we have King Oil, King Coal etc. These Kings, who are interested in nothing but wealth have so permeated the people's minds through their insidious and reptile capitalist press that money has become a shrine at which all the sophisticated pay daily homage. Professors prostitute their learning; Editors sell their "souls", the Church is ever ready to keep the slaves in subjection; and young women sell their bodies to the highest bidder—all in the holy name of money. With the development of the capitalist mode of production all these offensive symptoms of bourgeois society, enhanced a thousand fold, come to the surface in such rapid waves that the best "brains" of the master classes are unable to explain away the causes thereof.

The other day I felt quite ill and quite naturally I sauntered into the house of an M. D. When our clothes are out of shape we take them to the tailor for repairs, likewise the shoes, plumbing etc. There is always someone to mend the broken commodity. Hence when a person is not well he calls upon his doctor to "repair" him and get him into shape. But the human body is something more than a machine; it is a producer of surplus value, i. e. it (the human body) works twice as hard as nature intended in order that the boss might accumulate more profits.

Said I to the M. D., "Doctor, I am working in the labor movement and desire very much to remain in the city". The M. D. gazed on the ceiling, scrutinized me from the crown of my head to the soles of my feet, tightened his brain, squeezed his forehead and replied in the tone of an army officer: "Young man, it doesn't pay." There you are! Even the highly educated, scientifically trained Doctor measures a human action in the terms of money. Does it pay? When ever this dollar and cent policy is pronounced to me there immediately comes before me the undying and eternal example of Karl Liebknecht, of Rosa Luxemburg, of Frank Little, of Spartacus the French Revolutionaries of 1793 and 1871, and the great sacrifices of the Russian Bolsheviks who, surrounded by a world of enemies fight on with such zeal and enthusiasm that even their enemies are scared stiff.

My silent answer to the Doctor and all those who measure values by the yardstick known as money is: IT DOES PAY!

Now I ask myself what the reason is—why it pays? Why are thousands of comrades ready to face all dangers, persecution, tortures and even death itself in order to achieve the triumph of our cause—world Communism? Even the most stupid of animals run from fire, escape from the whip and guard against all vultures which wish to harm them. Why also do young men in the prime of life deny themselves such conven-

the creation of the Red International of Trade and Industrial Unions.

With these dominating features before us, and faced with a world breakdown of capitalism, it is necessary that the unofficial work within and without the Unions shall be intensified. The situation demands that the unofficial movement shall define its policy and tactics to the dominant issues of the day. It shall deal with unemployment—with the questions centering round the control of industry—with the role of the Unions in the working-class Revolution—and the relations of the rebel industrial movement to the Communist Party. In addition to this, it is necessary for the unofficial groups in the various industries to formulate a policy to be pursued in their particular industries with a view to unifying the forces of the workers and liberating them for action.

To give effect to this, a basis of unity will have to be found for the various rebel trade union groups and workers' committees operating in industry today, in order that the rebel worker will be able to swing his less class-conscious fellow-workers into action in this, the final struggle for the mastery of the world.

tional pleasures as dancing, bourgeois theatres, indoor sports, etc and instead attend lectures, meetings, read revolutionary books, plan and scheme how to increase the strength of the workers' organization and why, I ask the learned professors do these young comrades of Revolution choose the latter? And why do men of the stamp of Ben Gitlow, Jim Larkin, Winitzky, Ruthenberg, Ferguson go to jail? For love? No! For enjoyment? No! For honor? No! They go to jail for one reason namely TRUTH.

One is tempted to say that there are all kinds of truth: the professor who discovers a new mathematical formula cries out to the world the discovery of a new truth. The scientist who unearths some terrible bacteria prides himself on the fact that he has enriched humanity with a great truth etc. These men are sometimes given glory, put in Halls of Fame and placed on pedestals almost comparable to Jehovah himself. But our comrades and revolutionaries who have discovered the greatest truth of all, the truth that will eventually free this earth from the voracious, lazy, parasitic capitalist class that force surplus labor from the workers, these heroic men and women, the cream of the world, are put into dungeons, tortured and mas-

sacred with a ruthlessness that would shame the Destroyer of Sodom and Gomorrah.

But just as it is impossible to destroy matter, so it is impossible to destroy truthful ideas. Communism may be temporarily vanquished; but the idea of Communism as the only solution to the desperate condition of the world will spread and grow until it embraces the entire habitable globe. This is inevitable; the capitalists are unable to stem the tide of militant unrest. Like the French despots of 1792, the modern capitalist despots will be annihilated by the will and might of the working class.

Ignorance is bliss, said an ancient sophisticated thinker but I would add that Truth once thoroughly understood is so powerful that men will rather die than surrender to falsehood. World Capitalism to-day is doing its damndest to destroy the rising sun of Communism—the truth that will free mankind from the degradation of Human slavery. But fortified by knowledge, steeled by truth and conscious of the historical mission of the proletariat to overthrow and annihilate capitalism, we are determined to fight on until the ugly trinity of Rent, Profit, and Interest shall have disappeared from the earth.

A Railroad Strike That's Different.

By H. W. Garner

When the Ech-Cummins railroad bill was passed it seemed that it would provide a way whereby disputes between the management and the workers would be settled peacefully, without a strike.

The railroad workers opposed the bill for they saw in it an instrument which endangered their rights, but the bill had to be passed, yet something had to be done, the railroads were an industry which must be operated, the life of our great nation depended upon the railroads more than any other industry, and the bill was fair to the workers, so they told us, yet it is the greatest thing that has ever been done for labor; so the workers were told by the politicians stamping for reelection.

Then shortly after the bill was passed the switchmen who had been waiting for an increase in wages and some semblance of justice for so long a time, their patience exhausted decided to just take a vacation until something was done. Then following the example of their fellow workers out went the shopmen in some localities. No sooner were they out than they were declared disloyal, they were striking against the government, they were Reds, outlaws and everything that they could be called that would tend to mould public sentiment against them.

These were workers fighting for the right to live, fighting in order that hundreds of thousands of little children might have a little more to eat and to wear.

Now there is a railroad strike that is different. We are reading in the Capitalist dailies rumors of an impending strike on the railroad systems, but the fact is the strike is already on but this time it is the management that is on strike, and so far we haven't heard any cries of outlaw, red, radical or any other names commonly applied to the workers, when they are on strike. Neither have we heard of any arrests or of any raids being made upon any meetings of railroad managers.

No this is altogether different if it is not even called a strike, here is the situation: The roads are wanting abrogation of the national agreement, and a reduction in wages, claiming such action is necessary or the roads will become insolvent; they have been gathering data for the purpose of showing that the national agreement prevents economic operation of the roads in so far as it holds up production in the shops. Especially are they opposed to the seniority ruling, which gives the older men in the

service preference over the younger ones, for instance when a job in the shop is open it is advertised and the men have the right to make application for, (or as it is called) to bid for the job, under provision of the seniority ruling the oldest man in the service at that point gets the job. This prevents the boss from putting his pets on the good jobs and it also gives the workers an opportunity to change about from time to time, this the managements contend causes a great loss in so far as it allows men to bid in jobs, with which they are unfamiliar and therefore incapable of doing; but on the other hand they do not tell of the cases where the worker is assigned a certain piece of work to do. For instance he is assigned so many pieces to turn out on a machine, and will get out tools and set up the machine to turn out the job; about the time he gets started, the boss comes along and assigns him something else and so on until in the course of a day he will have started half a dozen or more jobs, completing none, or as the case may be will probably put in four or five hours taking parts off of one locomotive and onto another, to change them all back next day. No they are not telling of the waste incurred in this way, they are only interested in the national agreement, and the enormous wages, which they say must be reduced, and to make conditions favorable for a reduction in wages they have been reducing the working forces, laying off thousands of men. At some points the shops have been closed down entirely with the exception of running repair forces of just enough men at work to keep part of the trains running.

Now the papers are coming out with large headlines stating that the nation is facing a rail heap. Labor brokers, heads of labor organizations employed upon railroads and in the shops are openly admitting that their hardest job is keeping the men who haven't been laid off from going out.

Well, as there have been thousands of workers laid off in order that wages might be reduced and no one had been arrested, or it hasn't even been called a strike, there is one way in which some excitement may be stirred up over the present controversy, that is by those workers who are still on the job going out regardless of their International Officers who are having such a hard job keeping them at work.

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