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MOSCOW SAYS REVOLT COLLAPSED.

End of Fabricated Uprising Near.

Anti-Soviet Press Reports Greatly Inflated. Disillusionment Follows Breakup of Counter-Revolutionary Plans Instigated by White Guards.

(By The Federated Press.)

New York (N. Y. Bur.).—The "revolts, mutinies and uprisings" which once more—in the columns of the anti-Soviet press of France, England and America—are bringing about the "collapse" of the Russian government, consisted in fact of czarist and foreign plots, plus an unsuccessful attempt to foster strikes in Moscow and Petrograd following an equalization of food rations which cut off extra rations to employees of the government printing factory. The Petrograd and Moscow disturbances ended almost immediately. The Kronstadt revolt does not menace Petrograd, and dissension and fighting already is in progress among the mutineers.

These facts—the first complete and authentic ones describing this latest propaganda assault upon Russia—set forth in detail by the Russian Telegraph Agency, the official Russian news bureau, in dispatches received here from Moscow. The news was given out by the Soviet Russia Bureau, which received the facts by Marconigram from Christiania. The dispatches add that the counter-revolutionists and Finnish White Guards, making up the principal forces in the Kronstadt adventure, already realize the hopelessness of their situation.

French Inspired Revolts.

A further significant fact, the Moscow dispatches state, is that Paris newspapers printed stories of "revolts" in the Baltic fleet on February 13 and 14, before any signs of revolt occurred. "The whole affair," the Marconigram continues, "was a deliberate plot by French agents."

The first radio, dated Moscow, March 5, follows in full:

"In view of the persistent rumors abroad, alleging uprisings, mutinies, etc., the following are the facts: Moscow and Petrograd are now absolutely quiet. A week ago, on the insistence of the workers, the food rations were equalized, there-upon the workers of the government printing factory who had been getting extra rations, protested, sending delegates to different factories, unsuccessfully endeavoring to foster strikes. The workers in other factories, insisting that the government measures were right and justifiable, refused to join the demonstration which ended immediately.

Soldiers were Loyal to Soviets.

"The soldiers maintained that the strike was without justification and wanted to demonstrate their disapproval of it. This is the only foundation for stories of soldiers' mutiny. A similar incident occurred at Petrograd, where the workers in a factory who had been getting extra rations objected to the equalization; but that was also quieted immediately.

"Kronstadt is a separate incident and the facts are as follows: The fortress of Krasnaya Gorka, which dominates Kronstadt from the land, is maintained in our hands. The garrison of Krasnaya Gorka is absolutely hostile to the mutineers and is eager to fight them. In Kronstadt, in the forts of Peredovoi and Ustye, the same condition prevails. Until now the mutineers have not been dispersed only because the military authorities wish to spare the battleship Petropavlovsk; but if it should prove necessary, Krasnaya Gorka will force the mutineers to surrender.

Workers were victimized. "Disensions are breaking out among the mutineers, one faction

supporting General Koslovsky, the other being against their officers and actually attacking them.

"In Petrograd there is complete quiet. Even in the factories where food and fuel difficulties caused demonstrations by some, the men now understand that they were made tools by a capitalist conspiracy. Eight thousand Petrograd sailors have held a meeting and unanimously passed resolutions supporting the government.

Traitors Pretend Neutrality.

"On February 28, at a meeting on board the 'Petropavlovsk,' a reactionary resolution was adopted, but rescinded on demand of the ship's crew. On March 1 a new resolution was adopted demanding the re-election of the Kronstadt Soviet, which was agreed to. The election there-upon began, but conspirators obstructed it, demanding that it be held on board the 'Petropavlovsk.' On March 2 an actual mutiny commenced, the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionists taking an active part, calling themselves non-partisans. The nominal leaders were Petrichenko, former purser of the 'Petropavlovsk' and Turin; but the real leader is Captain Burksar, one of the former Czarist officers. General Koslovsky is a person of lesser importance.

"Following upon the meeting came the inevitable disillusionment, in spite of the frantic efforts of the aforementioned officers to maintain the morale of the mutineers by holding out hope of Ethonian help. In a military sense Kronstadt was never for a moment in danger of coming in the control of the mutineers to the extent of menacing Petrograd, as it was constantly covered by the guns of Krasnaya Gorka. 'Zinoviev mutiny now is no greater,' said Zinoviev in his address to the Petrograd Soviet, 'the time has come to completely liquidate this farce.'

"Zinoviev was followed by other speakers, including Kalinin and a Kronstadt sailor, Feodorov, formerly under Burksar. The meeting then adopted a proclamation calling on the workers, sailors and soldiers in Kronstadt to divulge the real sources of the conspiracy, and stating that no attempts against Soviet power would be tolerated and calling the

(Continued on page 4)



CAPITALIST PRESS LIES FAIL TO TOPPLE RULE OF RUSSIAN SOVIETS.

In a last long-drawn out attempt to discredit the Russian Soviets and the Communist leaders, the capitalist prostitute press has stirred its ink cans into a mighty swirl of lies, contradictions and falsifications. Day after day the most visionary tales of the succumbing of the Soviets to the anger of the enraged and disillusioned proletariat have been pictured.

These wild tales have been hung together by the flimsiest threads, easily broken by any one at all conversant with the conditions in Russia and the outside world. Tales, manifestly of the most brazenly lying character have been cabled to all parts of the world. Emanations from the White Guard centers of Helsingfors, Reval, and Paris, all too specious in make-up, contradictory in the extreme, weak to the point of absurdity as to definite dates, persons and places, have been smeared in one monster brazen lie across front pages of thousands of newspapers.

Any one of these daily reports taken by itself will reveal a half dozen statements which cast upon them not merely a doubt of their truthfulness but forces a conviction of their unworthiness. "Petrograd is in flames, the reflection being plainly discernible at Helsingfors," reads one. Another, "Schrapnel from the guns of the rebels at Kronstadt broke the ice and 800 Bolsheviki troops were drowned." We presume that the splash was plainly visible to Kerensky in Paris! The old tricks of disposing of the leaders, Lenin and Trotsky by flight have of course been resorted to.

How many times in three years has this rotten game been played by our esteemed and truthful press! Many times, so many in fact that even the editor of

that black reactionary sheet, the Cleveland Plain Dealer, fails to fall for the bunk he prints on the front page and in an editorial expresses grave doubts of the truthfulness of the statements for which he writes a seven column headline reading, "REBELS BEATEN BACK NEAR PETROGRAD." "The cry of 'Wolf! Wolf!'" says he, "has so often come out of Russia that it has ceased to excite either hope or fear." We are glad to note his arrival at this new conception of Russian affairs. In view of the fact that he has fallen in worship before every reactionary handit, either in or out of Russia, who has secured a following against the Soviets, we realize he is conceding much when he belittles his own "news" on the front page.

There has been some slight disaffection in Russia—a disaffection encouraged if not inaugurated from the White Guard agencies in Paris. It has been noted that each time there was a likelihood of the opening of trade relations with Russia and the world, a new series of lies have been promulgated against Russia. Indications are that these same forces have prepared these latest evidences of the hatred of the bourgeois governments for the first workers' government of the world.

The Soviets still rule. The leaders of the Russian masses have stood firmly in their places. The Red Army has performed its revolutionary duty. Communism in Russia is working out its program; a program which no mountain of capitalist lies can again cast a shadow upon.

All honor to the leaders who have stood firm. All honor to the Red Army for its loyalty. All Power to the Workers of Russia and the World!

2ND INTERNATIONAL ROTTEN WITH SELF-CONFESSED CONSERVATISM.

SPLIT WITH COMMUNISTS IS FINAL.

Creators of 2½ International More Conservative Than the Yellows, Claims Huysmans in Interview.

By LOUIS P. LOCHNER (Federated Press Staff Correspondent).

Brussels, Belgium.—Where is the Second International? one may well ask upon visiting the Maison du Peuple—the People's House—at Brussels, which for many years has been the seat of the Socialist International. There is a spirit of desolation about the place. A political refugee from Lithuania receives such few callers as come from time to time; a Hungarian journalist sends out press notices spasmodically; and Camille Huysmans, for years the active secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, finds his work as leader of the strong Socialist faction in the Chamber of Deputies, and as candidate for the Mayoralty of the commercial metropolis of Belgium, Antwerp, so absorbing that he is at the bureau only occasionally. There is no technical help—clerks, stenographers, typists—such as one might expect at a bureau serving the Socialists of the whole world.

British Labor Party to Wet Nurse 2nd International.

This is not a criticism of those in charge of the Brussels bureau. Technically, they are no longer supposed to conduct the International office. By vote of the congress of the Second International, held at Geneva some time ago, the bureau was to be transplanted to England, and the British Labor Party was to form its mainstay. Ramsay MacDonald and Harry Gosling were selected to conduct the activities. But one thing after another turned up, and still the bureau of the Second International is hanging somewhere between Brussels and London. Huysmans, though no longer secretary, is still doing such secretarial work as must be conducted. The journalist has tried hard to get to London to take up his duties there; but though the Belgian government has repeatedly intervened on his behalf, England has refused him admission without assigning any reason.

The impasse into which things have thus come explains in a great measure, I believe, why a congress of Socialists is being held at Vienna, to establish a new International, or, as the Communists jokingly refer to it, the "2½ International." This group is made up of men and women who will not accept communism and the "21 points" of the Third (Moscow) International, but who consider the Second International dead.

Conservatives to lead Yellows.

"What do you think will come out of the Vienna congress?" I asked Camille Huysmans.

"A nice resolution," he replied whimsically. "These men will all finally come together with us again. They claim, to be sure, that they represent a more radical point of view. But just look at the men individually! My good friend Longuet of France is more conservative than I am when it comes to action; Adler of Austria likewise. All of them may now clamor for more revolutionary action, but when they are face to face with responsibility, they are more conservative than we are. No, Vienna is not to be taken seriously.

Opium fed Socialists—and "Progress."

"Just see how our movement here in Belgium has grown! Before the war there were 76,000 workers in our labor movement. Now there are over 750,000—all affiliated with the Second International. More than that, the religious question has been definitely put out of the way as a stumbling block. Thousands upon thousands of our workers are Catholics. In fact, I should say that 90 per cent of our people go to church. The fact that they are joining a Socialist organization no longer bothers them.

"All this means that we of the Second International can point to definite progress. I feel quite confident that sooner or later there must be a rapprochement of the Socialists of the world, both of the Second International and of the 2½. With communism, on the other hand, the split is probably complete."

Thousands Swarm Soup Kitchens.

(By the Federated Press.)

Detroit.—The general unemployment situation here daily grows more critical, those who had put aside a pittance for a "rainy day" finding themselves penniless as they join the army of unemployed, which has sought work in vain for the last three months.

Tens of thousands of organized workers, locked out in an "open shop" were not strong to resist wage reductions and co-operating in the operation of soup kitchens and other relief stations.

The Workers' Educational Association, owners of the House of the Masses, has donated the use of its kitchen, dining-room, gas, lights, cooking utensils and dishes for the general relief of the unemployed, while the commissary and kitchen in the Auto Workers' Temple are serving 600 meals a day.

The East Side Unemployment Association is operating a relief kitchen in the Jewish Labor Lyceum, while the Metal Polishers, Patternmakers, Cooks and Pastry Cooks, and other trades unions are serving meals to unemployed members.

The Cigarmakers' Union is resisting efforts to reduce wages in the "Judge Ganey" cigar factory, which has joined the R. G. Dun firm in opposition to unionism.

The Sheet Metal Workers' Union has placed 11 firms on its unfair list, while the Auto Workers' Union is resisting efforts of the Packard, Cadillac and Hupp automobile, the Fisher Body and the American Auto Trimming plants to cut wages.

N. J. COURT FREES COMMUNIST.

Trenton, N. J.—The Supreme Court of New Jersey has ruled that Section 3 of the sedition law, relating to membership in the Communist party, is unconstitutional. The decision was made in favor of Walter Gabriel, who was arrested in Newark, N. J., during the "Red" raids of January, 1920, and was convicted for being a member of the Communist party and for "advocating the overthrow of the government of New Jersey and the government of the United States by force."

The New Jersey Supreme Court in acquitting Gabriel ruled that to believe in overthrowing either the state or federal governments by force could not of itself constitute an offense against the laws of the state of New Jersey.

The judgment of the court maintained that no party with a perfectly legal purpose and program could be convicted under the sedition law of New Jersey.

Attorney Rose Weiss, counsel for Gabriel, said that most of the 23 states which had enacted sedition laws had based them on the law passed in New Jersey and the declaration of the unconstitutionality of clauses of the New Jersey act could not help having a far-reaching influence elsewhere.

THE PARIS COMMUNE MARCH 18th--MAY 28th, 1871.

By H. D. WENDELL.

MARCH 18—1871.

This day is memorable in the annals of the Proletariat. It marks the first even temporarily successful attempt of the workers "to render themselves masters of their own destinies by seizing upon governmental power."

workers had been armed. The new governments' only assurance of unquestioned power after the capitulation to Bismarck, was to disarm them. This was easier said than done. On March 18th, fifty years ago, the workers of Paris, unstrung by the bestiality of war, weakened by a long and frightful siege, humiliated by a traitorous surrender and smarting under the insults of their own depraved politicians, refused to surrender their arms and drove the reactionary government out of Paris. Thiers, the "tiger" of '71' with a straggling and enervated remnant of an army betook himself and his official crew to Versailles.

Paris to take over the Government: the Central Committee of the National guard. This Committee was composed of three delegates from each of the twenty arrondissements of Paris elected by the legions, battalions and companies. Organized for purposes of defence, the National Guard was in reality the proletariat with arms very generously placed in its hands. Belonging to the Committee were, Varlin, Pindy, Jaques Durrand and other young and intrepid members of the First International. On the 26th, the Central Committee, up until then the Provisional Government, supervised the elections of the Commune. The next day, two hundred thousand people, with red flags flying, drums beating, gathered about the Hotel-de-ville. Amid cries of "Vive la Commune," and the sing-

ing of the "Marseillaise," the Central Committee read the list of the elected and proclaimed the Commune. True, not all of the elected were workmen, but those who were not desired to obey the mandate of the people and among them were communists guided by the principles of the First International. They were the chosen representatives of the proletariat, determined to be masters of their own destinies. Meanwhile, the slave-driving Bourgeoisie were not sleeping. Thiers had been madly reorganizing his army from the rurales and returned prisoners of war. It was not a week after the establishment of the Commune that the Versailles opened fire on Paris. The defence of the City demanded the incessant attention of the

Council and what with their inexperience and lack of organization it was not to be expected that under such conditions they would work wonders in the laborious building of the workers' state. We must not judge too hastily of this pioneer movement. THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COMMUNE. For all that, the Communards did heroically well. They turned over to the organizations of the workers the abandoned factories of the frightened and fled owners. They abolished the standing army and conscription, separated the Church from the State, and protected the workers from the land-lords by postponing rent payments. The work of the Council was (Continued on page 4)

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

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

2nd Installment.

SPEECH OF COMRADE LENIN.

Congress passes to the order of the day. Comrade Lenin makes a report on the international situation; he is received with loud applause, which becomes an enthusiastic ovation.

"In my report I shall dwell somewhat in detail on the international situation.

Main Features of Imperialism.

"The basis of the entire international situation as we find it to-day is the economic situation of imperialism. During the entire twentieth century this new, higher and last stage of development of capitalism became fully defined. Of course you all know that the most characteristic traits of imperialism are found in the fact that capital attained enormous proportions. Monopoly replaced free competition. Capitalists of gigantic size in insignificant numbers were able to concentrate in their hands sometimes whole branches of industry. They set about to establish unions, syndicates, cartels, and trusts of an international character, seizing financially and on the basis of property rights, and in part also with respect to production, entire branches of industry, not only in individual countries but with respect to the entire world.

"On this foundation they developed an unprecedented and unheard-of rule of an insignificant number of banks, the rule of an insignificant number of financial kings, of financial magnates, who in fact converted even the freest republican countries into financial monarchies, as has been admitted by the writer Lessis (?), who is not at all a revolutionist.

Division of Colonies.

"This rule by an insignificant handful of capitalists reached its complete development when all lands were finally divided up, not only in the sense of seizure by the largest capitalists of the main sources of raw material and production, but also in the sense of a final preliminary division of colonies. Thirty years ago the population in these colonies did not exceed a quarter of a billion, and they were subjected to six large powers. On the eve of 1914 the population in the colonies was about 600,000,000, and if we add such countries as Persia, Turkey, and China, which were in fact in a semicolonial condition, then we have a population of 1,000,000,000, which was oppressed by the richest, most civilized and freest countries by means of colonial dependence. And you all know that colonial dependence means unheard-of economic and financial oppression, means a whole series of wars, which the 'pacifist' European petty bourgeoisie does not even consider wars because frequently these wars are merely clashes in which European armies, armed with the best equipment, beat up the unarmed and unprotected inhabitants of colonial countries.

Imperialistic War of 1914.

"As a result of this dividing up of the entire earth, and of this rule of capitalistic monopoly, of this rule of an insignificant number of the largest banks—not more than four to five banks dominate the entire life even in the most rich, enlightened, and free country—as a result of this rule the imperialistic war developed inevitably. The purpose of the war of 1914 was to redistribute the world; that is, determine which one of this small group of States, England or Germany, would receive the possibility and right to rob, oppress and exploit the entire world.

"You know how the war decided this question in favor of the English group, and as a result of the war we have an immeasurably increased sharpening of all antagonisms.

Results of the War.

"The war immediately threw about a quarter of a billion of the population of the earth into a situation which was practically that of colonies—Russia, with its population of 130,000,000; Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Germany, with populations totaling 120,000,000. The war, which led to the complete defeat of these countries through the Versailles Treaty, imposed on them such conditions that these civilized peoples have become dependent, like the colonials, and like the latter, ruined, starving, and without rights. For many generations they are doomed to this condition by the treaty, a condition in which formerly no civilized people ever had to live.

"You know that the Versailles Treaty forced Germany, and a whole series of conquered States, into conditions of absolute impossibility of economic existence, into conditions of complete absence of rights, of utter humiliation. How large a number of nations profited by this? In order to answer this question we must remember that the population of America, which profited most

of all from the war, being converted into a rich country from a country that had a mass of debts, does not exceed 100,000,000; the population of Japan, which profited much by remaining outside the actual conflict, seizing the Asiatic continent, is 50,000,000; the population of England, which profited very much in the colonial sense, is 50,000,000, making a total of 200,000,000. Let us add a few neutral States with small populations, which became particularly rich during the war, and we have a quarter of a billion. Thus you have a picture of the dividing up of the entire earth as the result of the imperialistic war. A billion and a quarter of population of oppressed colonial countries, which are partitioned alive like Turkey, China, and Persia, and not more than a quarter of a billion of population, in countries which have maintained their position in part in southern and central America and in part of Europe, but which have fallen into economic dependence on America.

"I draw you this picture in detail because all the fundamental contradictions of imperialism and capitalism which lead to revolution, yes, and all the fundamental contradictions in the workmen's movement which have led to the bitter fight against the II International and have ended in our victory (about which our president, Comrade Zinoviev, told you)—all this is closely bound up with this dividing up of the earth, which is illustrated by these figures only in its fundamental outlines.

"Comrades, it is natural that on the basis of such a dividing up of the earth the exploitation of financial capital, of capitalistic monopoly, should develop. Not only the colonial and defeated countries are falling into a position of dependence, but within each victorious country all these capitalistic contradictions also have developed.

Increase of Debts.

"I shall show you this fact in brief outline by certain examples. Take, for example, the debts. You all know how debt obligations have increased. During the period 1914—1920 the debts of the most important European States increased no less than seven times. In this connection a paper by an English diplomat, Keynes, entitled 'The Economic Consequences of the Peace,' is most valuable.

"Keynes, on instructions of his Government, took part in the negotiations at Versailles, studied and observed the peace conference from a purely bourgeois point of view; and having studied it in detail, participated as an economist in all its sessions. He came to a conclusion which is more forceful, clear, and constructive than any conclusion a Communist-Revolutionary might have reached. For an acknowledged bourgeois, a pitiless opponent of Bolshevism, makes these conclusions, and Bolshevism presents itself to him, an English bourgeois, in its most ridiculous and monstrous forms. Keynes came to the conclusion that Europe, by the Versailles peace, will bring the entire world to bankruptcy, and he resigned, hurling his book as his farewell to his Government and saying, 'You are doing a senseless thing.'

"He brings out the following figures (I translate them into gold rubles, reckoning a pound sterling at 10 rubles): The United States has assets of twelve billion rubles. Other countries are now its debtors, while before the war United States owned England. Comrade Levy in his report at last Congress in Germany, April 14, 1920, just said, 'There remain in the entire world only two countries which stand out as independent—England and America. Of these two powers only America is absolutely independent financially. All other powers are in its debt.'

England's Debt.

"England's assets are seventeen billions and her liabilities eight; that is, she has become 50 per cent. debtor, in part, to America. Further, England's assets include six billion of the debt which Russia owes her, Russia's debt for the Russian war contracts filled by England. Quite recently, when Comrade Krassin was talking with Lloyd George about the commercial treaty, Comrade Krassin declared to the leaders of the English Government: 'If you expect to receive anything on this debt, then you are very much mistaken.' (Applause.) Of course it is not that the Russian revolutionary Government, because of its revolutionary character, does not wish to pay this debt. No Government would be able to pay

it, because these debts represent the usurers' percentage on the debt which had accumulated earlier, which England has received back from us already tenfold. And this same bourgeois, Keynes, who does not at all sympathize with the revolutionary movement, and is in fact its enemy, says: 'You can not reckon in these debts, because you will never collect them.'

France's Indebtedness.

"France's assets are three and one-half billions, while her liabilities are ten and a half; that is three times more. And this is the country of which one used to say that it was the usurer of the entire world, the financial monarch. This is the country which has lived as a progressive civilized country because its savings (colonial thefts, called savings), made it possible for her to lend billions to other countries, and particularly to Russia. In spite of this fact, France is now in the position of a debtor.

All Debts Must Be Annulled.

"A German historian says that the debts of England and France (victorious countries) amount to 50 to 55 per cent of the entire national wealth; that of Italy, 60 to 70 per cent; that of Russia, 90 per cent.

"But, as you know, these debts do not worry us, because we (even before the book of Keynes appeared) followed his good advice: Annul all debts. (Applause.)

Wages and Prices.

"From these brief figures you see that the economic war has created an impossible situation for the victorious countries, and that internally there has grown up an enormous disproportion between wages and prices. Even in the most progressive countries prices have increased far beyond wages. The Supreme Economic Council, which represents an institution defending the bourgeois order of the whole world against growing revolution, on March 8 of this year adopted a resolution which describes certain fundamental traits of the economic situation, and concludes with an appeal for order, industry, and economy (on the condition, of course, that the workmen should live as before in slavery to capital). This supreme organ of our opponent—the Entente—pointed out that the general increase in prices during the period of the war amounted to 120 per cent, while wages increased 100 per cent. In France the increase in prices was 300 per cent, and in wages 200 per cent. And thus it is in all countries. (I take only the victorious countries.)

"And when they tell us that Bolshevism is disorder, a scarecrow, we can only smile, for from the statistical data of the Supreme Council we see why the workmen can not live according to the old standards. Because even if all Bolsheviks should disappear entirely, even in America—recently America sent us 500 Communists (applause)—even if America should send not 500 but 5,000 Communists—there would still remain the disproportion between prices and wages, a disproportion which America can not solve because private property is sacred (although in Russia we have forgotten all about this), while against this new power of capital, against these tens of billions collected by the war, you can accomplish nothing. No strikes, no parliamentary struggle, no elections, no reforms can accomplish anything here, because they have this sacred private property. Through private property such debts have accumulated as will subject the entire world to complete slavery.

"While need increases among workmen even in the most progressive countries, profits also have begun to increase in an unprecedented and unheard-of manner. Comrade Laninsky, in a pamphlet prepared for publication entitled 'The World and the English Bourgeoisie,' points out that in England the profits on exported coal have been twice what was expected in official circles. In Lancaster the stocks of weaving industries have increased 400 per cent; the incomes of banks have increased 40 to 50 per cent. We know that bankers are able to conceal the best, the lion's share, of these incomes, so that it does not appear in the accounts as income, but is hidden under the form of various remunerations and such.

"Bourgeois statistics prove conclusively that the wealth of insignificant groups has increased, and all this in the most progressive countries. In particular one should note the change in the value of money.

*NOTE.—The construction of the sentence often is very awkward because of the careless preparation of these reports; the translation has had to follow the original.

Depreciation of Money.

"Money has depreciated everywhere, as a result of the enormous issues of paper money. However, the Supreme Economic Council at its session of March 8 of this year pointed out that in England the depreciation was about one-third, in France and Italy about two-thirds, in Germany, nine-tenths and even 96 per cent. This fact shows us how the machinery of the world's capitalistic economic system is breaking down completely, how it will be impossible to continue all the trade relations on which are based the securing of raw material and the marketing of products, simply because of the change in the value of money in one of the richest countries. And this very rich country will not be able to trade—it will not be able to sell its products and buy raw materials. On the one hand, America has become so rich that it can buy everything, but there is nothing for it to buy and it has no way of selling.

Wilsonism.

"This same Keynes depicts for us these Versailles negotiations where the shopkeepers Clemenceau and Lloyd-George showed Wilson up as a fool and put through a policy of most open robbery. Keynes describes how Wilson appeared at the meetings of these people like Clemenceau and Lloyd-George, who understood something about the business in hand, and began to present to them the 14 points and phrases about peace and justice. He describes how Wilson was completely befuddled, how Wilson came to the conference thinking that he would fool all of them, that he would realize a social peace, and in the end he left the conference a worn-out man understanding nothing and did everything just as his opponents wished.

"And there were some Socialists, both in the III Communist International, who shared Germany and France, who wished to join this Wilsonism, these illusions on the possibility of peace on the basis of capitalistic relations. There were even some scientific books written about the principles of Wilson's policies. I trust that the writers of these books will perceive, from the book of the bourgeois, Keynes, that these principles amount to a complete absence of understanding of politics.

War Frenzy Passes.

"The war brought with it an unprecedented sharpening of all contradictions, and an increase of poverty and need throughout the whole world. This is the source of that deep revolutionary movement which is growing throughout the world and is spreading farther. During the war all the writers of all bourgeois countries lost their heads in glorifying war. Only now, when the war is over and German imperialism has been unmasked, the Versailles peace, which was to represent the victory of the bourgeoisie, has revealed itself as the defeat of the very aims of the war. The resignation of Keynes from the Government of which he was a delegate to the Versailles conference shows how hundreds of thousands of bourgeois intellectuals (there are hundreds of thousands of literate and educated people in the West)—how they all were obliged to follow the road taken by Keynes, an economist, a bourgeois, who resigned and flung in the face of his own Government the book that unmasked it. He merely showed in a demonstrative manner what is taking place with hundreds of thousands of conscious people, when they see that everything for which they fought was sheer deception, and that as a result only an insignificant number has become rich, while the rest have been ruined, and that as a result there has come an order of things which they will not be able to preserve.

"Keynes himself says that the English, in order to save themselves and English economic existence, require that free international trade relations be reestablished between Germany and Russia. But how are they able to bring this about?

"Keynes advises first of all to annul all debts. This book, and the citations from this book appearing in newspapers, are read not only by people who have definitely exhausted their brains, but also by live workmen and peasants. The latter will read what this bourgeois economist says, namely, that there is no way out except the annulling of debts, and therefore—but cursed be the

Bolsheviks, usurpers, who have annulled debts! It seems to me that such an agitator for Bolshevism as this bourgeois pacifist could have a telegram of greeting from this Congress of the International. (Applause.)

"Comrades, Keynes says: 'If the situation has become absolutely impossible it means that the victors themselves have become the weapons of complete disintegration.'

"We see the growth of the unconquerable revolution. Masses of oppressed, exploited and robbed see clearly that the truth, from which the bourgeoisie must perish, has been deceitfully concealed from them.

League of Nations.

"Having revealed this truth, we now realize the significance of this dependence of a billion and a quarter people, who have been placed in impossible conditions of existence. The peace of the League of Nations is presented to them, according to which the League of Nations is proclaimed as the beginning of a new period in the history of mankind, which will put an end to war as soon as this treaty becomes operative.

"Until it becomes operative they have continued to deceive the workmen and peasants by saying: 'Wait just a little; everything can not be done at once; but when peace is concluded, then you will see how it will be.' And everyone waited, and when the peace was published, then the most bitter opponents of Bolshevism were obliged to renounce it. When they began to apply the peace and start the machine in motion, then it immediately became clear that the machine had fallen to pieces.

Wars of Entente Against Russia.

"We see this in the case of the wars against Russia, because these wars were against weak, ruined, oppressed Russia, backward Russia, carried on by the league of rich nations, whose fleet alone rules over us. But we proved victorious! Why? Not because we became stronger in the military sense—that of course is absurd—but because there was no shade of unity among them, because one power acted despite another. France wished a strong Russia, while England wished Russia divided up. England tried to seize the Baku oil, but you know how that ended.

"England strove to establish relations with the border States of Russia. Six months ago English minister, Churchill, counted up a dozen States at war with Russia, which were to capture Petrograd and Moscow by December, 1919. We know what these States were worth, but throughout the world they were considered real States. England based her policy on this fact. England and America gave them hundreds of millions, which went to the bottom of the sea.

League of Nations—The Best Agitator.

"This is the situation that has now developed in the League of Nations. Every day of the existence of this treaty is the best kind of agitation imaginable. We, revolutionaries, would have been worse agitators because it is supposed to be our habit to prophesy trouble.

"On every question the powers of the Entente held the knife at each other's throats. Conflicts developed between England and France over Syria, Mesopotamia, and the division of China. The most solid conservative press of one country is filled with attacks and unprecedented bitter statements against its own colleagues of another country because the latter are carrying away part of the booty. Complete disintegration above, complete disintegration in that small handful of the richest countries, first of all, because it is impossible for a billion and a quarter people to live under the system which advanced civilized capital wishes to establish; and, in the second place, because a mere handful of the richest powers (England, America, and perhaps Japan, which because of geographic conditions can rob the eastern Asiatic countries, but which has no independent strength, either financial or military, without the support of other countries) can not harmonize their economic relations and can not direct their policy along the line indicated by the League of Nations.

Hence the World Crisis.

"These economic factors represent the main reason why the Communist International has attained such brilliant success, why ruined Soviet Russia receives the thousands of streams of the revolutionary movement. The powerful States which aroused a dozen and a half States against us have finally reached the point where they send against us one State at a time, in order to furnish, through the Red Army soldiers, lessons in good behavior to each bourgeois robber in turn. (Applause.)

Continued next week.

THE TOILER

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THE UNEMPLOYED.

The situation of the unemployed has taken a distinct turn within the past two or three weeks. The great unwieldy mass is beginning to assert itself. Two plainly discernable changes in its morale and economic position are visible.

Soup kitchens are springing up wholesale. Industry remains at a deadlock. The hope held out for an early opening of industrial operations is no longer tenable. Wages are being cut at an unprecedented rate.

In this situation, which is only in the beginning, to all appearances, it is a healthy sign to note the increasing organized activity of the unemployed. That they should organize at all with real programs of action is a good sign of a new consciousness among the workers.

Unemployment meetings are being organized in all industrial cities and are well attended. "Councils of Action" are being organized to find remedies for unemployment.

These activities are proof that the workers are responding to the urge of necessity. They refuse to be victimized by a profit system which treats them worse than slaves to be used when needed and thrown out to starve when no longer profitable to the bosses.

The conscious organization of the unemployed and all workers against the bosses and the profit system must be carried on. All hands to the job!

MOONEY LOSES.

Tom Mooney has lost another chance of liberty. His jailers are victors in the recent attempt to set him free. Freedom for Mooney and Billings now seems as remote as ever.

MacDonald made a confession of perjured testimony given by him at the time of Mooney's trial. This he swore to in an affidavit and went to San Francisco to tell the truth to the Grand Jury if they would grant him immunity from prosecution.

The frame-up conspirators and enemies of Mooney have been excessively busy during the late investigation. All the black forces behind this monster iniquity have gathered together to prevent justice being done.

However, while the present victory is theirs, they are greatly weakened by MacDonald's confession. In spite of the fact that the Grand Jury refused to hear MacDonald he must now be accepted as an unreliable witness at the first trial, and next to the infamous Oxman for whom no one has the slightest confidence, he was the outstanding witness against Mooney.

District Attorney Thomas Brady, states that the Mooney case will not be reopened in court at this time nor in the future on the strength of the Grand Jury investigation. This may close the incident in so far as any court proceedings at this time are concerned, but it must have an opposite effect upon the workers in whose hands the liberty of Mooney and Billings rests.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

A SKETCH OF COMMUNISM FROM UTOPIAN TO SCIENTIFIC.

By M. H. ROGERS.

Frederick Engels in his epoch making book, Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, wrote "Like every new theory, modern Socialism had at first to connect itself with the intellectual stock-in-trade at its hand however deeply its roots lay in the material economic facts."

Hence, the above statement served as a true measure in all countries of those humanitarians and middle class intellectuals imbued with the eighteenth century philosophy, that reason is the sole measure of everything. So quote Engels, "It was the time as Hegel says, the world stood upon its head."

THE EARLY UTOPIAS.

Then came the three great Utopians Saint Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen. One thing is common to all three, not one of them "Appears as a representative of the interest of the proletariat, which historic development, had in the mean time produced," says Engels.

These utopian ideas of emancipating not a particular class but the whole of suffering humanity transplanted throughout the civilized countries touched our continent as well.

At that period Northern America was still essentially an agricultural country; free land was possible for all; in a word it was in the pioneer stage of development. Industrial development east of the Mississippi was very nascent, hand tools were still the only means by which wealth was produced.

In the early nineteenth century Communistic experimentation by various fraternal and religious organizations was formed. The Shakers, the Harmonists and the Oneida communities are good examples. Men of high intellectual caliber and strong religious convictions; men like Brisbane, Emerson and John Thomas Codman and others worked with passionate zeal and ardor for the cause.

The German Communism of Weitling was of the same school. As Engels points out, "to all these, Socialism appeared as the expression of absolute truth, reason and justice and hence had only to be discovered to conquer the entire world by virtue of its own power."

THE CLASS STRUGGLE DEVELOPS.

Since steam driven machinery and the making of machines by machinery transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces developed with unprecedented rapidity unheard of before. The concentration of wealth in fewer hands, the formation of trusts and monopolies had a tremendous effect upon the various communities which were formed by the Utopians, resulting in the disintegration and disappearance of these Communities.

In the mean time the class struggle in all highly developed capitalist countries assumed a different character. The cleavage of society into classes became more apparent; class antagonisms became sharper. The proclamation of the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels; the introduction of modern scientific Socialism based upon historic facts, revolutionized the minds of millions of people throughout the civilized world.

The Paris Commune was the revolutionary mass movement of the period; also, it did not attain its objective, nevertheless it was an historic experiment of gigantic importance. Marx called it "The Storming of Heaven."

SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT IN U. S.

The persecution and prosecution of Marx and his followers drove many able and energetic socialists to seek refuge in the U. S.

* See W. A. Hands American Communism and Cooperative Colonies. (Kerr edition.)

Thus, the German Socialist laid a nucleus of a socialist movement in this country, based upon the teaching of Marx and Engels. In 1872 the First International headquarters, founded by Marx and Engels and their contemporaries, was transferred to New York from London.

Men of all creeds and ideas, lawyers, teachers, doctors, preachers, journalists, men of all professions flocked and rallied around the modern socialist movement, which at the time was quite a novelty to them.

Scattering sections existed throughout the country for a few years. There was formed a Social Democratic Workingmen Party at a convention held in Philadelphia in 1874, and in 1877 at a convention in New Jersey the name, Socialist Labor party was adopted, which is still preserved by one branch of the movement.

In 1897 the Social Democratic Party was founded, being superceded three years later by the Socialist Party. Mean-while, political reformers and opportunists of the worst type dominated the party. The Berbers, the Hilquits, the Spargos and Hunters reigned supreme.

Marxian teachings were completely abandoned. The Socialist Party became essentially a middle class party, espousing petty reforms.

In all countries, particularly in Germany the Social Democratic Party gained a strong foothold in the political arena. Socialist political organizations were organized in all countries. Some were more revolutionary, leaning toward the left, some were centrist, some of these organizations disseminated a doctrine termed Christian Socialism.

THE END OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

The Second International after the death of Liebknecht and Bebel became dominated by opportunists of the worst character and rendered little service to the movement up to its extinction at the outbreak of the World War in 1914.

At the outbreak of the world war the leaders of all the Socialist Parties affiliating with the Second International the Scheidemanns and Kautskys of Germany, the Hyndmans and McDonalds in England, the Longuets and Thomases of France and three years later when the U. S. participated in the world extermination to make the world safe for democracy, Spargo, Russell & Co. turned into social patriots of opportunism and social treason, joining the blackest forces of reaction. The collapse of the Second International followed.

In the early spring 1917 this country broke diplomatic relations with Germany and war was imminent with that country, an emergency convention of the Socialist Party was called at St. Louis, Mo.

The Spargos and Russells, like their European Social patriots and chauvinists submitted a minority report demanding that the S. P. should endorse the war and join with the militarists and capitalists to exterminate German Militarism. The majority report was sponsored by Hillquit and Berger and others opposing this country's participation in the world conflict, not from a revolutionary motive but from the motive of opportunism and political expediency. The then existing left wing in the S. P. supported the St. Louis resolution.

EFFECTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

Simultaneously, the Russian Revolution broke out; Czarism, hoary with age had created under the heavy blows of this tormenting war, a tremendous destructive power directed against itself. In a few days Russia was turned into a democratic bourgeois republic. The Mensheviks, says Lenin, "mastered in a few days all the tricks, manners, arguments and sophistries of the European heroes of the Second International."

The Social-Revolutionary Kerensky, superceded the ephemeral reign of Milnakoff. Thus, the policy and tactics pursued by Kerensky were in

complete harmony with the Entente Militarists and Imperialists.

The Social patriots and Chauvinists hailed Kerensky as the emancipator and democratizer of Russia. Even the pacifist and reactionary Socialists who subscribed to the St. Louis convention resolution looked upon Kerensky and his henchmen with profound veneration.

The November (Bolshevik) Revolution marked the successful struggle against the parliamentary bourgeois republic and the overthrow of the Kerensky regime. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat was established; the stubborn resistance of the Czarist elements and bourgeoisie was broken.

The Soviets assumed power and like a conflagration spread all over Russia. And for the first time in history the teaching of Marx was carried into practice by the world's greatest strategist and statesman Nikolai Lenin.

This, the world's greatest occurrence revolutionized the minds of millions of workers. The Bolsheviks after seizing power found themselves surrounded by Czarist conspirators and assassins from within and by menacing a world capitalism and imperialism from without. The Red Army was organized under the gallant leadership of Trotsky. The Denikins, the Kolchaks, the Wrangels vanished under the pressure of the valiant fighters. The greatest obstacles were thus far overcome and the soviets have so firmly entrenched themselves that no power on earth can destroy them.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL.

The Kautskys, Hendersons, Spargos and Russells loudly cry that the soviets are undemocratic, that communism in Russia is being superimposed upon the Russian people and that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is incompatible where democratic institutions exist.

These social patriots and traitors cannot conceive that the Soviet Republic is better than any bourgeois republic with a constitution assembly.

In March 1919 the Third International was founded in Moscow at a time when the world imperialist and capitalist nations including America, were tenaciously determined to destroy the Soviet Republic.

The Third International is the vanguard of the militant proletariat throughout the world, under its splendid leadership it guides and teaches the proletariat what action and tactics to pursue.

It is against the Kautskys, Scheidemann, Spargos, Thomases and all the chauvinists on the one hand, and against the Yellow Amsterdam Trade Union International on the other, that the Third International has declared a relentless war.

John Spargo who helped to make the world safe for democracy, complains that the war shattered his socialist theories, yet this mental pervert has the audacity to call himself a Marxian Socialist.

In lecturing before an audience at Rabbi Silver's Temple in Cleveland, Ohio a week ago, he availed himself of the opportunity to take a crack at Soviet Russia. He argued that he would rather go hungry and shelterless under capitalism than live in Soviet Russia under communism and be compelled to take orders from the Communist Party.

Again he asserted, that communist and socialists who called themselves internationalists are not internationalists at all; accused them of being un-national or anti-national, assuming that in order to be an internationalist you must first and foremost be a sincere and profound nationalist.

That is the kind of trash this arch traitor is feeding the masses. However, I shall not waste energy and ink to quote the flagrant contradictory statements made by Spargo. Suffice it to say that Socialism in its development from Utopian to Scientific had its shortcomings, its misrepresentations, its traitors.

It is against the nefarious Spargo and his like that the class-conscious workers must be on the alert. The future belongs to the workers!

Three weeks before the Third Communist International was organized at Moscow, the Proletariat of Hungary under the leadership of the Communist Party seized power and formed a Soviet Republic. The Entente capitalists and imperialists through the Rumanian assassins, prostrated the country in utter ruins, relegated and annihilated the Soviets. A government was formed subservient to the interest of the Allied Imperialists and Militarists.



Ex Vice-President Marshall states that but two roads are open, one leading to disarmament, the other to hell. He is evidently trying to flag the capitalist system on its hell-bound journey. A thankless job at least.

The Transportation Act provided for a Railroad Labor Board to adjust wage disputes between the railroads and employes. In the first real crisis between the men and bosses, the Board decided favorably to the workers, declaring that their wages could not be reduced. But they have been reduced just the same. A general 25% cut for unskilled labor is being put thru.

When the roads needed an implement with which to fool the workers, they erected the R. L. B. Now that unemployment is the better weapon they can dispense with their R. L. B.

The Democrats, France and England have invaded Germany and there has not yet been a scrap. Perhaps all exploiters look alike to the German workers. Anyway, they must know about how much blood can be squeezed from a turnip.

One of the last acts of Wilson before retiring from the White House was to veto the alien exclusion bill which provided against the admittance of more than 3% of aliens who where here in 1910.

A delegation from Haiti has appeared at the White House with a petition for a redress of grievances. Since the Haitian government was deposed by the U. S. Marines in July 1915, the government has consisted of American bayonets, financial "advisers", and American customs receivers. 2000 Haitians have been murdered by the 100% American invaders.

Sounds something like ancient history doesn't it—say of the period just preceding the American Revolutionary War?

"Strike insurance" is being furnished industrial plants by an insurance company in Baltimore. This company writes insurance covering 37 trades in 25 states and claims it has prevented 75% of threatened strikes among its clientele.

Twenty-four thousand marine workers operating out of New York have organized into one big marine workers' alliance. Its first objective is to prevent the proposed wage cut by the American Steamship Association set for May 1.

The French government and the workers are not united on the demands of the German indemnity. Proposed demonstrations of the workers in Paris against sending troops into Germany were prevented by the police.

The United States Board of Mediation is taking a hand in the settlement of the Atlanta, Birmingham and Atlantic Railroad strike. The workers struck work and tied up all operations when a wage cut was made.

The first result of the Supreme Court's declaration of the unconstitutionality of the Lever Act is to stop legal actions against indicted food hoarders.

It's a shame to allow such a shadow to rest upon the backs of our respectable profiteers.

The wage cut fight of the bosses against the workers is moving head-on in Chicago. The Packers have announced their determination to abolish the 8 hour day in that industry. Building constructors have served formal notice upon the unions of heavy reductions in wage scales and strike threats are being circulated widely. John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor says of the present situation, "The American standard of living has not yet been reached by the working man, and now the profiteering-employers seek to bring the standard back to the starvation level."

The strike of the Mexican railroad workers is reported to have been won. The strikers were loyally supported by allied trades and the revolutionary movement.

"Felts fired the first shot," testified N. H. Atwood, at the trial of the Matewan, W. Va. miners case. Felts was a member of the Felts-Baldwin detective agency which drove miners from their homes and instigated the "Battle at Matewan" last summer.

The British government has lost in three consecutive bye-elections the past week, each time to a laborite candidate.

Mexican peons are at last receiving their allotments of land long promised them by the revolutions thru which they have passed in the last 5 years. Daily hundreds arrive in Mexico's capital to apply for allotments. Thousands of immense estates formerly owned by adherents of Diaz are being cut up and distributed by the former serfs of the parasites.

The U. S. policy toward Philippine independence will be determined largely by the report which General Wood brings back from the investigation which he is making at the instance of President Harding.

Maybe you can guess by that about when the Philippines will get their liberties.

Communism and Christianity: Analysed and Contrasted

from the Viewpoint of Darwinism, by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D. Paper, pages 184, artistic cover, price 25 cents. Six copies mailed for \$1.00. Comments by eleven persons:— One of the most startling and revolutionary books ever issued. — It comes like a meteor across a dark sky. — Send twelve copies. It is the best book I ever read to open the eyes and set the brain working. — It held me tight. I call it a sermon. The text is astounding. Banish gods from skies and capitalists from earth.— Bishop Brown is the re-incarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Aze of Reason.— Every comrade buys one and comes back for more.— It will do a wonderful work in this greatest crisis in all history.— I think it is one of the most important books of a Socialist nature issued in a number of years. It is full of marvelously good material and will open many eyes.— Sold twenty-five in a fifty word three hundred open many eyes.— The author, an Episcopalian, scientist, has for next meeting.— The author, an Episcopalian, scientist, has renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book he approaches the subject of Socialism from the new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all.— I can sell three thousand within sixty days.

Write for terms to book sellers and to propagandists. Twentieth thousand now in press.

THE TOILER

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FEATURES OF THE NEW YORK WAIST AND DRESSMAKERS STRIKE.

By JACKSON.

The strike itself is of a rather rare character. There is no demand for higher wages or shorter hours, it is a strike to strengthen the union by calling down the unorganized shops and organizing them. It is a demonstration strike to show the bosses that we are alive, healthy and able to increase our strength.

This strike has developed leaders from the rank and file. They have been very active on all committees of the strike. They are at the fore in pulling down shops that failed to obey the call to strike. They are using every opportunity to talk to the workers and rouse them to a militant understanding of the Class Struggle. Whatever aggression and enthusiasm there is in the strike is largely due to their untiring effort to safeguard the interests of the workers in every way and on every occasion.

The readers of this paper will remember about the struggle for the shop delegate system form of union management raised by the militants of this union and the miserable tricky behavior of our officials.

The only dark shadows cast on this strike are due to either their own ignorance of the class struggle or their reasonable personal selfishness.

Workers Tricked by Officials.

They recognized the contractors that do the major part of the work for the manufacturers as independent concerns. Settled and signed the contracts before they even consulted or presented same to the rank and file. This settlement involves the major part of the workers in the trade. In spite of all explanations of our slick officials this action strengthens the position of the manufacturers because the work will be done in the contractors shops.

Such a state of affairs could have

been avoided quite easily if the settlement would have provided a clause that the working force of the settled shops must not be increased above the usual standard and by having the shop delegate and committees see to it that no work is done during the strike without union permits attached to the garments certifying that there scabbing involved in it. This would have reduced the possibilities of manipulating scab work to insignificance, and at the same time would have permitted the settlement of such shops as were willing to settle. It would have forced the big manufacturers to terms, which owing to the slackness now prevailing surely will not be the case.

The officials themselves, are behaving like complacent business men. The pulling down of new shops does not seem of great interest to them. Presumably their entire interest centers in the renewed collection of dues and initiation fees. I am positive this is their chief reason for consenting to this strike. The workers however, are safeguarding their own interests and our union will not be weakened as a result of this strike. Much more could have been accomplished with a shop-delegate system and an office controlled by the rank and file, but then during strikes it is not advisable to fight amongst ourselves; the main thing is to lick the Bosses despite our officials. As a whole the strike was another showing of solidarity and strength of the workers in our industry. As a result the open shop appetite of our bosses has been spoiled very much.

The splendid participation and fighting ability of the developed leadership of the membership in this strike has greatly strengthened the confidence of the workers and their influence will be greater hereafter.

The Doers' Column.

"Books for Toilers" are going fine. Comrade Thornton is one propagandist who is on the job. He orders ten dollars worth of them.

"Not the destruction, but the conquest of the trade unions," quotes comrade Luff in an order for copies of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. He's right, we are builders, not destroyers.

Repeat orders for Christianity and Communism continue to arrive. Only words of praise for this book of Bishop Brown's.

Orders for The Toiler for use at mass meetings have recently been sent in by comrades. No mass meeting is complete without literature and Toilers. Be sure you do your part in getting them there.

Comrade Staples continues to remit for subscriptions and to add to his list of book premiums.

"Just what is needed, saves reams of argument," writes comrade Underwood about the Toiler Cartoon Book. We will but add, we told you so!

New Toiler agencies have been recently established in Portland, Los Angeles, Seattle and San Francisco. The West is surely looking our way. We have filled orders for several thousands of pamphlets for these points just lately.

The Salineville, O., booster, comrade Hirst keeps up his space of subscription hustling. More power to him and more like him is what's needed.

Subscription hustlers are requested to remit at all times when sending in sold cards. By doing so, they assist in meeting current expenses.

Renewals are the spice of life in the Toiler office. We're getting lots of spice these days.

It is easy to sell a bundle of Toilers every week. Lots of readers are doing so. Several new agents have just gotten on the job. Why not you?

One of our good sub boosters is comrade A. W. Young of O'Fallon, Ill. Seldom a week passes but we have more subs from him. He writes, "I love to help make this world a better place to live in." You can't down a man with an ideal like that!

Literature and subscriptions are the specialties of comrade Markizon of Delaware. She knows what we all learn—that propaganda is the need of these times.

Comrade Cole of Michigan is another who orders from our bargain counter list of booklets.

From Belvedere, Mich., comes four subscriptions. Comrade Carlson is the booster.

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These low prices enable you to help in their distribution. Order a dollar's worth or more and circulate them among the workers.

THE TOILER
3207 CLARK AVE. CLEVELAND, OHIO.

The Paris Commune.

(Continued from page 1)

divided into departments, Education, Finance, Military, Labor, etc. Of all the departments, that of Labor proved most fruitful. At its head was an Austrian Socialist, Frankel. He gathered around him workmen of vision and revolutionary initiative. It was they who supported the decree of expropriation and prepared a measure for the suppression of pawn shops, saying that it was the duty of the State to care for the destitute and unemployed. They restricted the stoppage of wages, abolished night work and applied hygiene to industry. Indeed, an historic work was begun but, alas! it could not be completed.

THE BOURGEOISIE RALLY.

On the eighth of May began the bombardment of Paris. Two days later the Fort of Issy was evacuated. Every inch of ground was bitterly contested by the Parisians. But their generals, though courageous, were unskilled; the military commission, novices all, left advantageous points without artillery, withheld reserves and bungled troop movements. It was only the matchless bravery of the Communards that prolonged the hour of defeat.

THE COMMUNARDS' LAST STAND.

On the 21st of May the Versailles entered Paris. The tocsin was sounded; the whole City was in arms. Women, true to their revolutionary tradition, tended the wounded, exhorted the men to battle and themselves mounted the barricades. Children assisted at the barricades, carrying paving stones and swinging mattocks larger than themselves. Boys served as cannoniers. Paris was a bristling camp. They would not let slip their liberties uncontested.

With Paris in flames the battle raged until the 28th, Sunday. The Communards succumbed, fighting to the last on the heights of Belleville and Menilmontant. Varlin, the young and indefatigable leader of the French section of the First International, died bravely on the barricades. For an hour afterward he was dragged through the streets of Montmartre under a rain of blows and insults from the revengeful beasts of the reaction. This youthful martyr brings vividly to mind that great and fallen revolutionist of our day, Liebknecht.

THE SLAUGHTER OF THE WORKERS.

Then began the wholesale slaughter. Though the battle was over, 20,000 were murdered notwithstanding three fourths of these took no part in the fighting. On the least possible suspicion and often without justification the monsters murdered in cold blood. The breach leaders would not work fast enough against the walls, against which thousands of men, women and children were merci-

lessly slain. Such was bloody Sunday, an ineradicable stain, forever to decry the hideousness of Capitalist oppression.

It is with horror that one recounts the heinous vengeance of Bourgeois France. Twenty-five thousand men women and children killed during the battle or after; three thousand dead in the prisons; more than thirteen thousand condemned, most of them for life; seventy thousand old men women and children thrown out of France or deprived of their support. The Court Martials were allowed to continue for four years after. Over one hundred and ten thousand souls lost to their country. This, as the bourgeoisie said, in retaliation for sixty-three hostages killed by a mob in Paris. No, not that was not their crime; it was that these martyred workers dared lift their voices and their hands in the battle for freedom.

Thus is written the history of the Commune. A history of revolutionary proletarian bravery drowned in the bloody vengeance of black bourgeois reaction.

COMMUNE A CLASS REVOLT.

The undeniable class character of this revolt stands as a beacon light to the proletariat of the world, a proletariat which now stands ready to avenge the martyrdom of their comrades by the vigorous suppression of the historic counter-parts of their despicable butchers; by the realization of the things for which those brave soldiers of the revolution gave their lives.

Ah! yes, the Communards made mistakes. Adventurers and politros, adolescents and immature men were given responsible duties to perform; the bourgeoisie, with their flunkies were allowed to march off unmolested to prepare the counter-revolution; the bank of Paris with milliards of francs in its coffers was not taken over; little was the discipline and many were the tragedies caused by ill leadership. Still, the bourgeoisie of the world threw a fit of frenzy at the sight of mere workmen legislating affairs in their own way, declaring it to be time for the proletariat to use its strong arm in obtaining and holding those liberties, which, hitherto, had been denied them.

However, faulty, however weak, the Commune was a workers' government. The soldiery and police, protectors of the bourgeoisie were replaced by the armed popular masses. The pay of the functionaries was no more than that of the workers. Foreigners elected to the Commune were confirmed in their functions, a testimony to their internationalism. Either they effected reforms which the bourgeoisie had failed to carry out or they initiated measures directly in the interest of the workers. But with the counter-revolution returning fiercely to the attack little could be done. The Commune will be

MOSCOW REVOLT COLLAPSED.

(Continued from page 1)

men back to duty, promising that those who had been misled would be distinguished from the real plotters and would be treated conciliatorily. After the meeting the situation eased as indicated above.

Lenin Explains.

"In a recent speech Lenin explained the food situation, saying that large stores of food accumulated had been to confidently distributed, instead of being stored for a possible emergency, and that when heavy snowstorms and temporary shortage of fuel brought down the train arrivals from 120 every five days to twenty the consequent lessening of rations produced a protest. The usual number of trains are now bringing food and the shortage is over. It is obvious that foreign plotters are endeavoring to use the rumors of unrest to counteract possible trade relations with England and other countries. No uneasiness is felt here, as the demonstration proved that the great masses of the workers adhere firmly to the policy of the Government, and the soldiers immediately rallied to its support."

A second radio, dated Moscow, March 6, stated that the "final stages of the Kronstadt adventure are marked by utter disillusionment among the participants of the mutiny." The mutineers were declared to be fighting among themselves. The arrival of Trotsky on the scene, and the fact that stores of food ran low after the first days of pillaging were declared to have led to a situation in which the whole affair was expected to dissolve at any moment.

written in history as the first attack in the great Proletarian offensive against Capitalism.

THE UNFORGETTABLE COMMUNE.

The Paris Commune, defeated but glorious, has been monumentally vindicated by the crowning successes of the Russian Revolution.

Then, too, the tradition of the Commune still burns in the hearts of the French Proletariat. The noble work begun by the rebels of '71 and reddened by their unstintingly given blood and raised to the most promising heights by the Russian Proletariat, must inevitably be completed by their children.

The collapse of world capitalism is unavoidable. When the last of the bourgeoisie shall have bowed to the superiority of the workers' power; when the international proletariat shall have forever bid farewell to wage slavery, then shall the Commune be avenged.

Long live the International Proletarian Revolution!

Long live the Commune!

CHRONOLOGY OF INFAMOUS TOM MOONEY FRAME UP

(Continued from last week)

- 1920.**
- Jan. 6—On motion of Assistant District Attorney Fred Barry before Judge Roche, seven indictments in the "Preparedness Parade bomb cases were dismissed, three against Tom Mooney, two against Rena Mooney, and two against Israel Weinberg. Attorney McNutt objected to the dismissal of the indictments against Thomas J. Mooney.
 - Jan. 7—Rena Mooney, Israel Weinberg and Ed Nolan cleared of all charges. Over protest of Fickert and his forces one indictment kept standing against Thomas J. Mooney and one against Warren K. Billings in Judge Griffin's court.
 - Jan. 8—Judge Mathew Brady takes office as district attorney and pledges himself to clear up the Mooney case.
 - Jan. 19—"We are with you until the ship sinks," was the message personally delivered to Tom Mooney by a delegation of seamen from all parts of the United States that visited him at San Quentin.
 - Jan. 21—Seamen's unions in convention assembled passed resolutions demanding new trial for Billings and Mooney.
 - Feb. 7—Death ends career of brilliant attorney Thomas M. O'Connor. Was taken sick in court, defending Anita Whitney. He took part in the defense of Weinberg and Mrs. Mooney.
 - Feb. 12—Tom Mooney instructs his attorney, Maxwell McNutt to demand new trial on the remaining indictment.
 - March 14—First convention of California Labor Party demands new trial for Mooney and Billings.
 - March 23—Illinois miners meeting in convention assembled in Peoria Illinois, again pass resolutions of protest against the frame-up.
 - May 24—Verdicts are created to order by juries operating in the criminal courts of San Francisco. The

- system was developed under the Fickert administration. A lawyer by the name of Riccardi demonstrates to the satisfaction of the members of the Grand Jury, his "ability" in that direction.
- May 6—Organized labor presents a petition to District Attorney Brady signed by tens of thousands of citizens, asking for new trials for the victims of the frame-up. District Attorney Brady promises to clear up the cases and states his belief that the convictions were a miscarriage of justice.
- May 14—The International Workers' Defense League adjourned and turned over its work in behalf of Mooney and Billings to the Mooney Molders' Defense Committee.
- June 10—Tom Mooney, in article in New York Call, urges defeat of Hiram Johnson for president of the United States, and called him "his chief jailer."
- June 12—John Mooney pickets the Republican National Convention in Chicago with the endorsement of the Chicago Federation of Labor, urging the delegates not to nominate Hiram Johnson.
- June 19—Mooney case again a vital issue before the American Federation of Labor convention. The executive council was instructed to apply to Governor Stephens to pardon both Mooney and Billings.
- June 18—The Labor Party in national convention assembled in Chicago demands that new trials be given to the victims of the frame-up in San Francisco.
- Aug. 18—First issue of Tom Mooney's Monthly.
- Oct. 27—Vidovich, one of the main witnesses against Billings and Mooney, died as a charity patient in a New York hospital, discovered to be in possession of \$125,000. His relatives charge that he was crazy at the time he gave testimony against Billings and Mooney.
- Nov. 12—Mooney and Billings frame-up barred to Mayor Rolph by Officer Draper Hand, who was as-

GOMPERS AND THE SOVIETS.

By GEO. N. FALCONER.

"Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class!" Well named are these Labor Leaders. An English lordling's flunkie, however would be a better epithet to apply to such a person as the official head of the A. F. of L. And there are others.

In the February (1921) issue of the American Federationist, Gompers editorialises about the wicked Bolsheviks and hands his followers "More Truth About Sovietism." Says Samuel,—

"The soviets do not constitute a dictatorship of a committee, or a clique, self-appointed and self-perpetuating by virtue of momentary control of a sufficient amount of force."

Of course the A. F. of L. is an ideal pure and holy democratic organization, all rule emanating from the bottom up. There is no dictatorship, no official ring, no suppression of truth; nothing mimical to Labor, is ever done within the sacred precincts of Samuels' holy office."

How alike are these modern petty middle-class shopkeeper parvenues, be they English or American Labor Leaders! Phillip Snowden, writing in the London "Labor Leader" calls the Bolshevik chiefs a "Gang of Imposters," who have "exploited a great ideal and associated it with a policy, method and aim absolutely opposed to the principles of communism. These communists are neither socialists nor communists. They are Bakounin anarchists, but without his (Bakounin's) courage etc." Sounds exactly like our belived Victor Berger, who recently assured his many followers that Bolshevism or Communism was in no sense the same as "socialism," Bergers brand! Yes, shopkeeper democracy is the same the world over!

SAMUEL LOVES NOT LENIN.

"Leninism is the legitimate successor to kaiserism and Lenin is the true heir to the mantle of the fallen autocrat. It is this autocratic creature of the world's most hated autocrat that the propagandists of Moscow and New York's intelligentsia now ask the United States to recognize."

"Russia is a country of regimented, ticketed, clock-work human beings, wretched in every physical aspect, disorganized in mental capacity, demoralized and degraded. It bares its fangs at every civilized nation, either openly or secretly determined to tear down the foundations of every democratic institution everywhere."

TO QUOTE THE FEDERATIONIST

How account for such drivels as the above? Old age? Sam is dying at the top. He is really dead, but doesn't know it. And he is a fit exponent of a dying social order. His vision is dimmed. He has eyes, but sees not; ears but hears not the red trumpets sound forth the glad-some cry, "Workers of the World Unite." The only sounds audible to Sam is the tinkle of the dinner bell, the pop of the champagne bottle, and the wheeze of the cracked American "Liberty Bell." He reminds us of an antique Ohio democrat: he can see a bug on a barn door a mile off, but cannot see the door.

What a difference in men! H. N. Brailsford, and enlightened Englishman, goes to Russia to see and hear for himself. What did he see? Many things strange, novel, original and interesting. The age long conflict between darkness and light, reason and superstition, is on in Russia and light and reason are conquering darkness and ignorance. Writes Brailsford in the "New Republic"—

FINISHING THE WORK OF PETER THE GREAT.

"Every village," said one of the agitators, Jesus was an agitator, was he not? "has its own character. A backward village elects old stagers to the Soviet. A progressive village elects youngsters, thinking they are now the rulers. In my village," she went on, "the priest worked hard to carry his own list. The younger people came forward against him with the cry, 'Are you going to vote for the man, who used to take your last crust?' He was utterly defeated. Even his sons have come over, and are organizing village plays, 'working for the anathema' as their father says."

This anti-clerical struggle has its ugly side. It was not pretty to see the young laughing at the old, as

they crossed themselves before a shrine in the main street of Vladimir. Yet any advance in Russia can be purchased only by a sharp breach with the mediaeval past. I got a glimpse in these villages of a clearer so primitive, that we of the west can barely with an effort understand it. The Communists are struggling to cross the gulf between the twelfth century and the twentieth. They stand for rationalism, for an intelligent system of cultivation, for education, and for an active ideal of cooperation and social service, against superstition, waste, illiteracy, and passive obedience. This elementary struggle matters, it seems to me, infinitely more in Russia than the controversial issues which divide Mensheviks and other intellectuals from the Communists. Youth is ranged against age in the villages, and the battle is really one between an Oriental conservatism and a modern and western view of life. Lenin continues the unfinished work of Peter the Great.

SOVIETISM VERSUS DEMOCRACY

Continues Samuel, uncrowned king of the American Proletaire: "Though Russia were a nation where wealth was in plenty for all, if the present condition of autocracy and slavery existed the American decision and determination must be the same. And after all, when the friends of the soviet autocracy say that the conditions in Russia are better than they are, what they say in truth is that the serfs are well cared for, which they are not. It is not a question of how comfortable the autocrats try to make things for the enslaved and enchained; it is a question of the autocracy itself, a question of the principle that is at the heart of it all.

While sovietism is sovietism democracy can have no compromise with it."

Correct. Sovietism and shopkeeper democracy cannot live together in friendly relations. One or the other must go, and the one "go" will not be Sovietism. The Soviets belong to the future. The Democracy of the Gompers, the Wilsons and the bourgeois plunderbund is of the past, and is doomed. "Ring out, wild bells, Ring out old shapes of foul disease, Ring out the narrowing lust of gold; Ring out the thousand wars of old, Ring in the thousand years of peace."

But Sammy and his profitmongering democratic, capitalistic-ridden companions do not understand. They are so practical, so wise in their ignorance. They constantly remind us of a statement of Montaigne, "Man is certainly stark mad; he cannot make a worm, and yet he will be making gods by the dozen." Democratic gods at that! But these "gods" also must go; they are dying, as all gods die. Like the fabled god of old, the present wage and profit system not only swallows up those who created and support it, but it subjects the vast majority of its worshippers to a life of penury and irksome toil. The present wage system must be abolished, and the workers of the world must do it. Soviet Russia has shown the way. Hal Soviet Russia! Viva Lenin. Viva Bolshevism! "All power to the workers."

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