

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat is the organization of the advance-guard of the oppressed as the ruling class, for the purpose of CRUSHING the oppressors." Lenin.

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MILLION R. R. WORKERS FACE WAGE CUT.

MORE PROFITS FOR OWNERS DEMAND LESS BREAD FOR WORKERS.

July 1 will mark the day when 1,000,000 unskilled railroad workers will go to work at decreased wages by an order issued last week from Chicago by the Railroad Wage Board. The proposed wage cut was made public last week when the Board set June 1 as the date when the amount of the wage cut would be announced and July 1 as the first day of its effectiveness.

The wage cut constitutes the second storming of the defenses of the workers by the Labor Board, the first being the abrogation of the National Agreements some weeks ago. The idea that labor is entitled to all it can get for the commodity it sells—its power to labor, finds no justification in the text of the Board's announcement wherein it declares: "prevailing conditions justify to some extent, yet to be determined, a readjustment downward of the wages of the employees of the carriers." To the thousands of section men, construction workers, cheaply paid clerks and other elements of lower paid railroad workers, it will come as a surprise that living conditions have grown so cheap as to justify a wage cut. It is the opinion of railway officials that the reduction of wages of unskilled workers will be immediately followed by a corresponding cut of the skilled workers which will bring the total up to 2,000,000. Hearings on proposals of the roads to cut wages of skilled men will be held June 6.

Officials Happy.

The wage cut brings joy to the camp of the railroad officials who disclosed their elation with such expressions as "the statement is encouraging but the benefits we will get from it will depend on the reduction that is made." Evidently the rail owners prefer to get all they can while the getting is good.

The persuasive power of the railway officials over the Labor Board appears to be complete. All negotiations of the roads and the men before it in disputes have resulted so far in losses to the workers, while only on minor matters such as the desire some weeks ago of the roads to cut wages without sanction of the Board was disapproved. The Board now proposes to do the cutting itself. Certainly its action will have a weight of authority not contained in a like action by the roads themselves. Railroad officials have expressed themselves as "pleased" with the course of events.

The serfs of the railway exploiters are to be classified by the Board into 17 major categories and these again divided into 119 groups which are in turn to be classed in distinctive grades. This, the Board states, is for the purpose of so grouping positions that wage and other data reported by the railroads to the interstate commerce commission and the Board may be used for administrative and public purposes, and will not erect any jurisdictional lines, occupational boundaries, etc.

In Washington too. While the Labor Board is hard at work in Chicago finding "justification" for wage cuts of the workers on the railroads, the owners of the roads thru the officials are fully as hard at work in Washington before the senate interstate commerce committee investigating the transportation situation. For two weeks the officials have been telling their hard luck stories, seeking a raise in rates and "more rope" and other incidentals to the successful pocketing of more millions of profits.

The Southern Pacific could not wait until wages came down and reduced expenses but filed an application for an increase in freight rates. Julius Kruttschnitt, chairman of the board of the S. P. testified that that road must have a billion dollars a year either in increased freight rates or decrease in wages in order to operate the road "properly". Kruttschnitt is long in his howl for decreased wages as are all the other officials who have testified before the committee. Lower freight rates, say the officials will not stimulate traffic. The solution of the railroad situation according to the officials, is to employ an army of underpaid serfs devoid of economic power and establish as high rates as they can squeeze from the interstate commerce commission—all in the interest of the "public".

The attitude of the train service employes toward the reductions is to be determined at a conference of

State Department Wants American Prisoners Freed.

AFTERMATH OF WILSON REGIME STANDS IN WAY OF TRADE.

By PAUL HANNA (Fed. Press Staff Correspondent)

Washington.—An ultimatum to Russia has been issued through the newspapers by the State Department. It is that the United States will never recognize the Soviet government unless all American prisoners are first set free in Russia.

Secretary Hughes does not say that Russia will surely be recognized after the prisoners are freed. Russia must take her chances on that; America's dignified attitude is that all the alleged spies and counter-revolutionists sent into Russia by the Wilson administration must be turned loose as a condition prior to "friendship" between the two countries.

The State Department makes no mention of Russian citizens held in the prisons of the United States. It does not promise that they, also, will be set free if Russia sets the American prisoners free.

As reported in the Washington press, "The number of Americans now prisoners in Russia is estimated to be from 20 to 35. Reports to the State Department indicate that the condition of these Americans is distressing, that they have insufficient food, are improperly clothed and are subjected to other privations."

As for the privations suffered by the American prisoners, everyone in Russia suffers from privations, thanks to the American blockade and other causes. The State Department has been frequently and reliably informed that the American prisoners are not confined in narrow cells, as they are housed in former private dwellings and frequently allowed to travel about the city streets in the day time.

This newspaper ultimatum is another indication of the State Department's increasing nervousness concerning Russia. Events of the past few months have shown that Russia can get along very well without American recognition. It has won the formal de facto recognition of Great Britain and is right now importing a considerable quantity of American merchandise through the countries with which it has concluded trade treaties. Secretary Hughes is left holding the empty bag of the last administration's hatred of Russia.

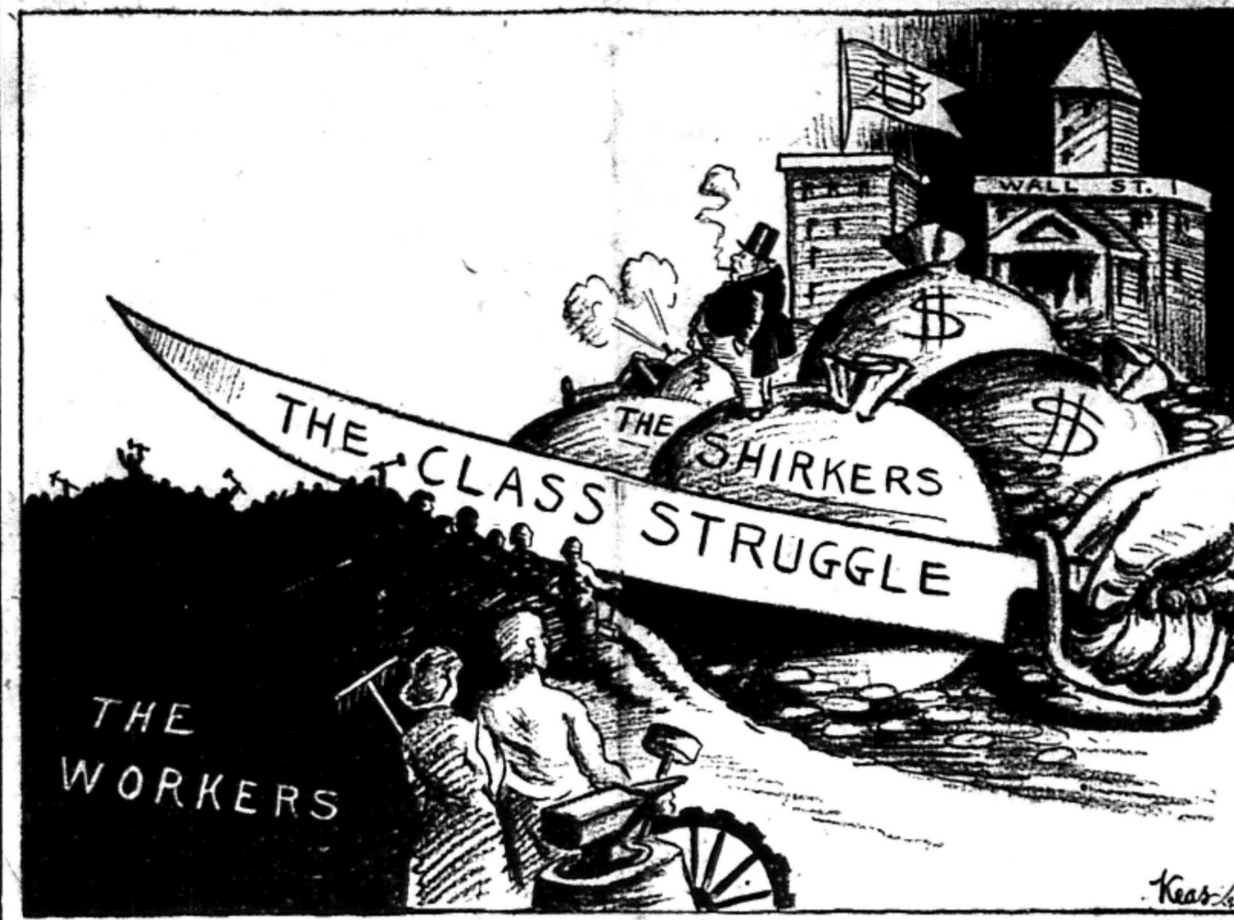
DEVELOPING THE OFFENSIVE

By GEORGE RESTA.

With the Communist party driven "underground", the I. W. W. leaders in jail, and the Socialists ousted from the Assembly, the capitalist class is now hammering at the A. F. of L. The first trenches of this last stronghold of labor have already been taken; wages are being reduced and hours lengthened. Without slackening pace, the enemy is already starting the last stage of its long offensive. The objective of this final drive is nothing less than the break-up of the trade unions and complete victory for the capitalist class.

Big Business means to succeed. A fundamental right co-existent with the trade union movement, the right to picket, is already in the hands of the executioners. Injunctions are being freely issued to prohibit picketing, regarding whether violence is used or not. In fact, two New York State Supreme Court Judges have just recklessly denied that the right to picket ever existed. In the words of Supreme Court Justice Van Slicen of New York: "There is no such thing as legal picketing. If it is lawful, it is no use to the union. The purpose of picketing is interference, one way or another, to the injury of somebody."

Van Slicen's formula is not based on law, which clearly defines "peaceful picketing", nor on logic. One could just as well say: "There is no such thing as legal selling. If it is lawful it is no use to the merchant. The purpose of selling is to extort profit, one way or another, to the injury of somebody."



ON WHICH SIDE ARE YOU?

BOURGEOIS and PROLETARIANS

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the middle ages, feudal lords, vassals, guildmasters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs — — —

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat — — —

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential products — — —

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air — — —

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern laborer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an over-riding law. It is unfit to rule, because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within its slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage-labor. Wage-labor rests exclusively on competition between the laborers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their involuntary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

Marx and Engels.

Delegates Assemble in Moscow for International Communist Congress.

Arrangements for the holding of the Third Congress of the Communist International are being completed in Moscow as the opening day (June 3) approaches.

Delegates from all countries of the world, East and West, North and South, of all races and colors of men are arriving and being assigned their quarters as guests of the first Workers' Republic and the Communist International, the revolutionary political party of the world's proletariat.

Moscow presents a gala appearance as under the guidance of an artistic section of the Communist Party of Russia, and the inspiration of the ideal of Communism, banners and arches of welcome are erected in honor of the Congress, of victory of Communism in Russia and the struggle of the workers of the world for power.

For the organization of the Congress, the preparations for receiving and entertaining the guests a special commission consisting of members of the Communist International, the trade unions, the Moscow Soviet, and the Commissariat for Education has been formed.

In all, four congresses all pertaining to the struggle of the workers for power over capitalism are scheduled to be held in Russia this summer.

June 3 the Third Congress will be called to order by G. Zinovieff, President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. This congress will be followed by that of the Red Trade Union International, the Young Communist Party and the Women of the East.

The Emancipator.

This so-called civilization makes cowards of us all. Horrid leering faces, tiny little souls, Pettiness, rudeness, and the crudeness of it all! Men fallen from their high estate, greedy, graveyard ghouls.

Thank heaven for communistic minds (Pure, divine redeemers of the race) That drive away the ignorance that blinds, Making the earth at last a decent place.

Edward J. Ervine.

STATE ARMS AGAINST MINERS IN W. VA.

BOSSES USE STATE POWER TO FIGHT UNION MINERS.

The tool of the mine barons, the governor of West Virginia, declared martial law in the Mingo-co coal fields on May 20. After a week of quietude on the scene of hostilities, the weapon of the mine owners was brought into play against the strikers who have resorted to arms as a means of defense against the coal owners.

Paralling the declaration of martial law in the coal region by Governor E. F. Morgan on May 20, is a call issue by Charles F. Keeney, president of District 17, United Mine Workers of America, to the non-union miners to strike in solidarity with the union miners now out in the "strike-lockout" which has been in force for one year. Embodied in the strike call were promises of union benefits to those willing to cease their support of the mine barons and join the workers.

The Governor's declaration cites various disorders, riots, shooting and blood shed committed by "large bodies of armed men" as the reasons for the establishment of martial law and declares the county authorities are unable to "put down or control such insurrection."

Quiet precedes Governor's Step.

A week of quietude preceded the Governor's declaration of martial law in the disturbed region where miners have been out for an entire year in an effort to establish the principle of unionism in the Mingo-co mines. No concerted renewal of hostilities from either the strikers or the strike breakers, gunmen and deputies have been reported but the maintenance of an armed state prevails and an occasional shot rings out from some covert on the mountain side.

The miners are showing no weakening in their determination to stick together to whatever end awaits them in their long and suffering campaign to establish the right to form unions in this district. Opposed for years by the mine barons and the armed power of the State, they have fought on year after year for the simple right accorded human beings any where else in the world—the right to organize into unions for protection against the exploiters. More than once the struggle has reached the stage which now prevails—that of arms against arms.

Business Men Arm.

The President Harding has as yet refused to send in federal troops, the declaration of martial law by the state is fulfilling the same end. Captain Brockus, commanding the state police has distributed several hundred rifles and pistols to business and professional men in Williamson and other W. Virginia towns who have been sworn in as special officers. West Virginia has no national guard but a body of about 100 men constitute a Department of Public Safety which has now been augmented by the swearing in of hundreds of citizens exclusive of miners and union men.

An attempt to gain the support of the A. F. of L. to secure a government investigation of the Mingo situation was made last week when conferences took place at Washington between President Gompers, Frank Morrison of the A. F. of L. and Fred Mooney, secretary and treasurer of the U. M. W. of A. and its attorney, Harold W. Houston of Charleston. Conciliators of the department of labor were also interviewed with a view to federal mediation between the miners and coal operators.

Point (G) however, deals with the advocacy of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and the hackneyed liberals of the W. I. U. can't digest it. Read the shallow and clumsy arguments advanced by the renegade leaders of the W. I. U. I will quote these Kautskyan sophistries in length.

"We can apply no better argument against this section (G) than to produce the following lines of the Declaration of Principles of the W. I. U. They cover the tactical requirements in America for our movement."

The first paragraph of the preamble is quoted. And the report continues "This language is plain and to the point. It is in conformity with American institutions, history and traditions. It is the outgrowth of our experience in the American Labor Movement. To adopt the Dictatorship formula would mean that we abandon our present declaration (Continued on page 2.)"

The W. I. U. and the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions.

By M. H. ROGERS.

The report of the W. I. U. to the July 1st congress of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions which appeared in their weekly official organ "The Industrial News", of April 30—offers the most palpable exhibition of opportunism and a complete abandonment of revolutionary principles.

That the W. I. U. should echo the discarded principles of the obsolete Second International and re-incarnate Kautskism in their report is startling.

Yet these opportunists have the temerity to demand recognition of their organization by asserting "that upon giving careful consideration to our principles and tactics we feel that the congress will be convinced that the W. I. U. is entitled to admission and recognition by the congress as the clearest and best expression of revolutionary socialist industrial unionism of the North American Continent."

The preamble of their organization is quoted in full and De Leon's comments on the preamble are also quoted at length in order to prove to the congress the infallibility of their organization and its tactics.

After extolling the wisdom of De Leon as "one of the greatest exponents of socialism since Marx," the report again reiterates, "the W. I. U. of the United States maintains that its tactics are peculiarly adapted to the advanced capitalist conditions prevailing on the North American Continent."

co-Syndicalist, I. W. W." Nearly one third of the report is taken up in citing the alleged commissions of sins and crimes of the I. W. W.

Petty incidents of no significance, things which are long forgotten and passed into oblivion, are recalled. Documentary proof is presented in order to prove that the I. W. W. is counter-revolutionary; that the I. W. W. approved of the operation of Kolchak, Denikin, and Wrangel against the Soviets.

The O. B. U. and other I. W. W. papers are quoted in order to substantiate these charges against the I. W. W. Though the report admits that John Sandgren, editor of the O. B. U. Monthly, "the original prototype of the Anarco-Syndicalist I. W. W. was removed because of the protest of this piece of work—the boycott of the "O. B. U. Monthly" killed that paper and also buried Sandgren in the debris."

The long cherished rancor and decision against everybody who is not of their kind constitutes a part of the W. I. U. creed. The report reveals its flunkeyism and opportunism when it deals with the advocacy of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

"The W. I. U." continues the report, "can agree with all the requirements outlined in the Manifesto and Declaration of Principles calling for the organization of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, except point (G). All the rest of the manifesto reads as the program of tactics followed for the last 15 years by the W. I. U."

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

(12th Installment.)

EVENING SITTING OF AUGUST 5.
(Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 7, 1920.)

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

Organization of Soviets.
Comrade Zinoviev is given the floor, to report on the organization of Soviets.

The fundamental principles of the Communist Party on the question of Soviets raised no doubts or disagreements in our midst. From private conversations with comrades, and from the exchange of opinions in the committee, Comrade Zinoviev has come to the conclusion that all are unanimous in recognizing the need of Soviets. Further the Soviet idea has become so popular among the working masses and among toilers, that Comrade Zinoviev considers it superfluous to spend any time on this matter. The question simply is, when and why should Soviets be organized?

In analyzing the attitude toward the Soviet idea, Comrade Zinoviev notes that in Italy for example Soviets have already been organized, but that there the attitude toward them is not exactly what it should be. Comrade Zinoviev warns against a trifling attitude toward the Soviet idea. He says that this idea must be popularized always and everywhere, but that until all the premises for the organization of Soviets are realized, until the masses see clearly the need of Soviets and are organized to support them, and until the broad masses of toilers understand clearly the aim and significance of the Soviets—until then the Soviet idea should not be compromised.

However, it does not follow that we should wait until the learned ones have worked out an ideal system of Soviet power. The Russian Communist Party in opposition to the German, strove to realize Soviets before the exact and scientific system for the Soviet authority had been worked out, but nevertheless it must be noted that we have had the Soviets, that they represent a kind of system, while our German comrades to date have only a system.

It is not of course a question of the best system for Soviet authority, but a question of strict observance of the main principles, and of organization. From this point of view it is very important that Soviets should strive from the very first days of their existence to be organizations of a governmental character. It is on this point that we differ radically from Mensheviks, and the Independents headed by Kautsky. These constantly insist that Soviets should be a class organization, and that they should not assume governmental functions."

Comrade Zinoviev insists most definitely that Soviets represent the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that the victorious proletariat must of course first of all strive to retain in its hands the apparatus of governmental compulsion and unity. Soviets must be organized exclusively for the purpose of opposing a governmental apparatus of power of the proletariat that is striving for dictatorship, to the governmental power of the bourgeoisie. Soviets should function exclusively in this field, the field of constant and concentrated struggle against the bourgeois States and for governmental power.

From the above it may be concluded that Soviets should not be demanded of anyone, and that they can be organized only when all the premises for the organization of Soviets are at hand. It goes without saying that then Soviets will occupy themselves with the work

which history has assigned to them as their particular task."

When Comrade Zinoviev concludes his report it appears that none of the delegates wish to oppose him in this question. His theses are put to a vote without debate and are adopted unanimously. None abstain from voting."

Trade-Unions and Factory Committees.
The floor is given to Comrade Radek to report on the work of the committee appointed to discuss the theses on trade-unions and factory committees. Comrade Radek outlined the differences of opinion between the majority of the committee and the American comrades, and quotes from some official organ of the United Communist Party of America on the question of the attitude of the party conference toward the Federation of Labor. "Thus," says Comrade Radek, "the differences of opinion are not accidental but are the reflection of the view of the party they represent, which party definitely stands for the policy of leaving the Federation of Labor and organizing new councils. We therefore, should not only establish the definite position of the Communist International with respect to trade-unions, but also we should emphasize a specific supplementary amendment, that the revolutionary proletariat considers the position of our American comrades absolutely incorrect."

"The position of Comrade Bombacci is even more incorrect. He is personally an active worker in the trade-union movement and, nevertheless, does not believe at all in the possibility of the revolutionary work of trade-unions, and even proposes not to form new trade-unions. We should declare once for all that we are always with the working masses, and we should end once for all a tendency toward sectarianism, toward the organization of sects."

With respect to industrial councils Comrade Radek believes it is necessary to follow different tactics: "We should break away separate groups of workmen who are represented in the trade-unions from Legien, from Socialists-Traitors, without opposing in itself the form of trade-unions, striving to

* The Moscow Izvestia of August 7, 1920, gives the following additional item relating to this same sitting: "After the speech of Comrade Zinoviev, and the statement made by Comrade Fraina, the theses are put to a vote, and are adopted by a majority, against a minority of 8."

"Then Comrade Zinoviev reads the amendment proposed by Comrade Radek on the need of supporting in every possible way the Red International of Trade-Unions that was organized in June. Inasmuch as some comrades oppose this, considering that the organization of this International is artificial, Comrade Zinoviev explains that the Red International contains all the Russian trade-unions, with about 5,000,000 members, the Italian (about 2,000,000), French, German, and Bulgarian, and certain others, making a total of about ten millions. Thus this is not a mere handful and an artificial formation. It is the one weapon of the world revolutionary movement against the yellow International, because the principal enemy of the revolutionary proletariat is not Brussels but Amsterdam—that is the yellow International of trade-union organizations. By overthrowing Amsterdam we shall deal the most terrible blow to the capitalist order, but this blow can be dealt only by the Red International of trade-unions. By an overwhelming majority the amendment proposed by Comrade Radek is adopted by the Congress."

make more frequent their militant action and protests against trade-union bureaucracy, striving to increase in them the revolutionary spirit." Radek then draws a parallel between the views of trade-unions and of the Communist Party on the possibility of realizing Socialism: "If we take the position of the trade-unionists and propose that Socialism should be realized by a free agreement among trade-unions, then we shall be in a position, where individual trade-unions, more numerous and better organized or simply performing functions more important for society, will inevitably secure a privileged position. To prevent this possibility there should be recourse to the assistance of an organization which in its functions will correspond primarily to our Russian Supreme Soviet of National Economy."

In concluding his report Comrade Radek makes a strong plea to the Congress for unanimity.

Then speak Comrade Reed and Gallagher, who repeat the arguments which we already know from former sittings, in favor of a schism in the trade-unions. On other points the same American comrades who spoke in the committee again speak.

Comrade Zinoviev answers them, saying that the road indicated by the former speakers might lead to the collapse of the International and of the Communist movement, and not to the collapse of the compromise Socialists: "Only by creating small groups in the trade-unions of all countries shall we be able to overthrow the Amsterdam yellow union of trade-unions and deal a mortal blow to the capitalist order. But only the Red International of trade-unions, organized in Moscow in July, is able to deal this blow."

The report of Comrade Radek is accepted by the Congress by an overwhelming majority.

EVENING SITTING OF AUGUST 6.

(Given only in summarized form in the Pravda. The fuller report given in the Izvestia of Aug. 8, 1920, is therefore used.)

DEBATES ON BRITISH LABOR PARTY.

Comrade Rosmer speaks as reporter on the question of the tasks of the Communist International and relates in detail the course of the work in the committee. He states that the question of the fusion of the British Socialist Party with the Independent Labor Party was decided favorably by a majority of 4 to 1. An amendment was introduced to the theses on the admission of new parties to the Communist International to the effect that before the date of the present Congress two-thirds of each such party should have been Communists.

An amendment was also introduced to Article 5; the content of this amendment is that Communist Parties are warned against artificially forcing the revolution when there are not at hand objective premises of revolution. In this event it is necessary to prepare the proletariat by means of the system of a series of revolutionary acts, which create, as a general result, a revolutionary juncture. The question of the Italian Socialist Party was decided in the sense that the latter is to call a Congress, and at this Congress, discuss all the decisions of the III International.

international. If individual members of the party do not accept these theses, by this very fact they are automatically excluded from the party.

Then Sylvia Pankhurst is given the floor in the order of speakers signed. She draws a parallel between England and other countries, and notes the fact that in England it is also very difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the ideology of various social and political groupings. Frequently it happens that for this same reason it is difficult to determine the political physiognomy even of a particular individual. Thus, for example, many consider Williams practically a Communist and in any event a champion of the Soviet authority; but in actual fact we have recently learned that he is giving assistance to the sending of military equipment to Poland.

Then Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst dwells on the relations which have developed within the Labor Party. The political acts of individual representatives of the Labor Party are controlled by its central body in the strictest manner. If we enter the Labor Party we shall therefore come under a political control which is most undesirable for us, a control further complicated by the old democratic and parliamentary traditions of this party. In deciding the problems of the English revolution Russian experience can not be taken as the point of departure, because the conditions are quite different. If the Communist International shall decide the question in the positive, then the British Socialist Party will of course enter the Labor Party. But the Congress should know that by such a decision it will be turning over the fate of the revolution in England into the hands of the Labor Party.

Comrade Mac Lean gives many facts which refute the point of view of Sylvia Pankhurst. He considers that the Labor Party is simply the political expression of the state of mind of the English workmen organized in trade-unions, and that work must be continued within the Independent Labor Party. In his opinion it is fully possible to accomplish this work, inasmuch as the rights of political agitation and of freedom of speech do not to date come under any limitations within the Labor Party.

Comrade Gallagher says that this question has been discussed in England for 20 years. It is proposed here that it is necessary to enter the Independent Labor Party in order to maintain contact with the working masses: "But in Scotland, for example, we work under most difficult conditions outside the Labor Party, and yet much has been done for the revolution." Comrade Gallagher recalls the former trips of Lloyd George with his clique, police, and his Socialist patriotic agitation, etc.: "Nevertheless the workmen of Glasgow remained loyal to proletarian ideology and proletarian interests." Comrade Gallagher asks that the English Communists should not be hurried or forced to enter the Labor Party. All their activity to date arouses in them aversion to such a step. He asks that this fact be taken into careful consideration.

Then Comrade Lenin speaks. He says that the fact that this question has been discussed

for 20 years in labor circles of England, shows its importance and vital character. Despite the opinion of Comrade Mac Lean the Labor Party does not express the political state of mind of the working class of England as organized in trade-unions; it expresses the views and state of mind of its leaders, who are the most bourgeois, reactionary handmaid of British imperialism. It is necessary that the party should effectively represent the ideology and interests of the proletariat. Of course, the British Labor Party contains elements that are not of a sufficient high quality in the Communist sense, but although Comrade Gallagher is right in this respect, he nevertheless does not notice or, more correctly, does not call attention to the fact that in the party, and outside it, there is a considerable number of workmen-revolutionists, who, till now, constantly struggled against the opportunism, and Socialist-treacherous tactics of the handmaids of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, these traitors are at the head of the Labor Party, which presents an unprecedented situation, for the latter expresses the political will of 4,000,000 workmen organized in its ranks.

"You say that you may be excluded from the party if you conduct yourselves like Communists; but I think on the other hand that if you conduct yourselves like Communists, then you will be able to exclude them from the party. The British bourgeoisie is a most intelligent one, and instead of organizing, as you wish to do, small parties that have no influence or significance, it is seizing authority over 4,000,000 politically organized workmen, putting at their head its own commissioned agents. In your press and agitation, at your meetings and gatherings, you should definitely set forth the physiognomy of Henderson and other Socialist traitors. In the conditions which are put down in black and white in our theses, you see that it is precisely for this purpose, and only in the event of the possibility of realizing this purpose, that you are entering the Independent Labor Party. It is impossible also to work outside of parties. If Comrade Gallagher and others would work in an organized manner, would enter a Communist Party, then it is scarcely possible that we would have such a situation as we note in Ireland, where 200,000 English workmen and peasants, armed and equipped as soldiers, carry out a most criminal national oppression, and the violence of capitalists, with respect to the Irish people. You are constantly speaking of the differences between the conditions in England and those in other countries. In so far as you enter the Communist International, you must remember that you must be guided not only by the experience of England but also by general revolutionary experience."

After the speech of Comrade Lenin the theses are put to a vote. Comrade Zinoviev proposed to vote first, and separately, on the thesis relating to the entrance of the British Socialist Party into the Independent Labor Party of England. This thesis is adopted by a majority of 48 to 24 with two abstaining. Then the theses are adopted in their entirety by a majority of 68 to 2, with one abstaining. The sitting is concluded by the singing of the International and the Carmela, accompanied by thundering applause; for a long time resounded the shouts: "Long live proletarian Russia," "Long live the leader of the world proletariat, Comrade Lenin," "Long live the world revolution." (Next week Solemn Closing of 2nd Congress of III International.)

THE W. I. U. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

(Continued from page 1.)

of principles. This means that we outlaw ourselves and would have to crawl into the conspiracy ratholes which the Communists now occupy."

These utterances by an organization professing to be revolutionary must be very agreeable to the ear of the bourgeoisie.

No wonder the renegade leaders of the W. I. U. were immune from ferocious attacks and persecution by Palmer and his agents while thousands of Communists and I. W. W. have been and are ruthlessly persecuted and incarcerated in prisons.

son was elected in 1912 the discipline of democracy demanded that the defeated Republicans, Progressives and other groups respected the verdict of the election. And they did—so to advocate a dictatorship in the United States would be incompatible with, ridiculous and flying in the face of all the facts, pertaining to the situation in America."

The Declaration of Independence is quoted to substantiate these shallow arguments. However, I shall not fatigue the reader in quoting these sophistries advanced by these renegades. If the ruling class would only know what stanch and stalwart supporters of the capitalist laws the W. I. U. are, they would exalt their leaders to the highest ranks, would bestow upon them all good things, would give them millions to carry on such a propaganda.

"The question of the Proletarian Dictatorship" says Lenin, "is the question of the relation between the proletarian state and the bourgeois state, between proletarian democracy and bourgeois democracy," and goes on dialectically to show "that the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is an authority maintained by the proletariat by means of force over and against the bourgeoisie and not bound by laws." But the opportunist W. I. U. rehearses the

Kautskian interpretation of the state and bourgeois democracy.

I am constrained to quote again the report which so admirably interprets the bourgeois arguments against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"To appeal for a dictatorship of the proletariat before we have tried the peaceful method of the ballot box is out of the question in America." Like blind puppies these opportunists cannot see the simple truth, though it is plain as noonday. War and revolution should have ere now proven this error to everyone, but these refined flunkies would crawl on their bellies to the ballot box for two thousand years in pursuit of a "peaceful method."

Comrade Lenin in his illuminating book "The Proletarian Revolution" points out very explicitly: "The more developed democracy is, the nearer at hand is the danger of a pogrom or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which threatens the existence of the bourgeoisie." To manifest such sheer ignorance and monstrous stupidity, not to comprehend such simple truths that bourgeois parliaments are directly controlled by the stock exchange and bankers is unpardonable. Another absurdity is presented in

justifying their opposition to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat by asserting that "America is one of the countries where a peaceful solution of the social question is possible."

L. Kamenoff defines the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as: "an organization of the State and a form of administration of state affairs which in the transitional stage from capitalism to communism, will allow the proletariat, as the ruling class, to crush all resistance on the part of the exploiters to the work of Socialist reconstruction."

Continues comrade Kamenoff—"It is thus clear that the question itself of the necessity, the inevitability of a proletarian dictatorship for every capitalist country is connected with the question as to whether the resistance of the exploiters to their expropriation by socialist society—or more precisely, by society marching towards socialism."

"In the same way, the question regarding the degree of severity of the dictatorship, the extent and conditions of the limitations of the political rights of the bourgeoisie, and limitation of political liberty in general, the application of terrorist methods etc. is indissolubly linked with the question of the degree, forms, stubbornness and organization of resistance by the exploiters."

The possibility of a peaceful solution through the method of the ballot box; the organization of all the workers under the banner of the W. I. U. and other like utopians are advanced as arguments against the dictatorship of the proletariat, constitutes the gist of the report.

The report ends with the assertion—"We are small in numbers, perhaps the smallest, compared with other unions but we are certain we have the tactics and the principles necessary for success in the United States."

"These we will not compromise." Thus the utter perversion of revolutionary principles; thus the opportunistic trend of an element claiming to be revolutionary, but which, unless it perceives its errors may join the blackest forces of reaction to uphold the laws of the bourgeois State to keep the toilers in slavery and degradation.

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COMMUNIST TACTICS AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

There arrived at The Toiler office recently a letter the main portions of which we are herewith reprinting for important reasons. The letter is from comrade Ruby Herman, personal friend of The Toiler Editor and ex-State Secretary of the former Socialist Party of Washington.

There is embodied in this letter a question of tactics, communist tactics, which deserves elucidation. In that the letter deals with a very grave workingclass problem, that of unemployment, the necessity for a clear comprehension of the particular tactics to be pursued in dealing with it constitute the reasons for our taking this column in quoting the letter. The opening paragraph of the letter reads:

"I was much interested in the symposium on unemployment which appeared in THE TOILER for April 9th and think it a splendid idea for the paper to gather together those reports from different parts of the country. However, I have wondered if the reports from other parts of the country are as inadequate and unjust as that which appeared from Washington. If so, it seems to me that a few more details would add greatly to the value of the reports. Actually, the manner in which the situation was handled by the unemployed themselves, and by the organized labor movement, shows progress to a very hopeful degree."

The manner in which the organized labor movement of Everett handled the unemployment problem is told in the next two paragraphs as follows:

"The situation was taken in hand by the Central Labor Council, which appointed Committees to organize the unemployed, attend to relief work, AND CONDUCT SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE SITUATION. Unemployed mass meetings were held regularly, twice each week; the organization took on a form crudely modeled after the soviet idea; relief work went forward with dispatch and effectiveness, so that actual suffering was reduced to a gratifying minimum. The farmers were appealed to for help, and through their Grange organization and as individuals, responded generously. Farmers, themselves in deep water thru the industrial collapse which has thrown hundreds into the 'wage-worker class (also unemployed!) provided potatoes, carrots, onions, apples, and even canned fruit, and milk and eggs in lesser quantities. It is more than probable that the feeling of good fellowship and fraternalism generated by the Farmer-Labor Party campaign of the preceding summer and fall had much to do with creating this spirit of helpfulness upon their part. The Everett Co-operative Society (Rochdale) carried many needy families thru the winter, the stockholders foregoing the usual quarterly dividends and turning all profits back into the extra fund that this might be done. BEST OF ALL, the systematic study of economics was carried on under the efficient tutelage of an uncompromising Marxist, as 'revolutionary' as any Communist could wish."

"The Everett unemployed made a decidedly 'collective demand' for work, and the Park Board of the little city scurried around and found some—insufficient, to be sure, but as much as could be expected from a little burg like Everett. Quite a number of men were put to work, in alternating shifts, each shift working three days per week and receiving the magnificent sum of \$10 for the three days. When one remembers the city's limitations, and that the work was of an entirely unnecessary nature, this doesn't seem so bad! The city also provided other little jobs of minor character and importance. A tract of timber land, some few miles from town, was given over to those of the unemployed who wished to cut wood from it. Several availed themselves of this opportunity, and it undoubtedly helped some."

It is with the above enunciated methods of handling an acute unemployed problem that we wish to quarrel. As will be seen the efforts of the Council lay along three distinct lines. First, immediate relief work, feeding the starving thru gratuitous gifts from the farmers, themselves in terrible straits from inability to sell their products on a profitable market. Second, demands upon the city; and third, certain educational work, meetings etc.

We will have to accept comrade Herman's statement that the educational work was all that it should be and as "revolutionary" as even communists could demand. But we think there is a great deal in the program as carried out that would prove nauseating to many class conscious workers much less revolutionary than "communists" are supposed to be. We certainly see little in the program that any communist could accept as good tactics. With the exception of the "collective" demands made upon the city for relief (and the educational work carried on, which we have accepted at face value) we find nothing at all revolutionary. In fact we find that the work was of the yellowest variety possible. It is just what might be expected from a summer flirtation of the Farmer-Labor Party with the Working Class.

What is an unemployment problem—looked at from the viewpoint of the Communist? Comrade Herman seems to think a revolutionist should view it as a heavenly opportunity to erect soup houses supplied by the unemployed workers and farmers from their own scanty stores—with a study class in economics in connection. Far from it. The communist must regard every crisis in capitalism as an added opportunity to undermine and weaken the capitalist class and its State. Instead of scouring the countryside for gifts of carrots from the mortgaged and penniless farmers, the capitalist State must be made to purchase those supplies from the farmers at regular market prices and give them free to the workers. They must be made to pay unemployed benefits and regular union rates of wages. In short, capitalism must be made to support the workers instead of the workers and poor farmers gathering up their tiny hoards into a pile and dividing it up among themselves leaving the capitalist unobligated to those he has exploited and thrown out of the factories.

Comrade Herman states that thru the efforts of the unemployed farmers' gifts suffering was reduced to a "gratifying minimum"

Doubtless it was gratifying to the capitalists of Everett who are now slowly opening up their mills and preparing the same process over again.

A period of unemployment such as is now prevalent must be regarded by revolutionists as a supreme moment of revolutionary ACTIVITY. Not only must scientific economics be taught in classes and meetings but all action for relief must take the form of demands upon the capitalist State. The capitalist State must be made responsible. It must be made to find food, clothing and housing for the unemployed. Demands, demands it is incapable of granting must be made. The real purpose of communist activity is NOT to find immediate relief for the unemployed, not the co-operative effort described as taking place at Everett. We may well leave such alleviating activities to the Salvation Army and other capitalistic agencies which support capitalist robbery in this manner. Communist activity should take the form of cultivation of the elements of revolution; to create in the mass mind a desire for control of the land and machinery of production and the will to obtain it at any cost. The working class must be made to understand that they and only they have a right to the products of labor and they must be led away from this solicitation of alms from other elements of the workers for this only strengthens the capitalist class. Activities less revolutionary than these are only palliatives which weaken labor, strengthen the robbers and poison the minds of the workers.

At the time when graineries are filled, when cotton is being disked under unharvested, when all fruits and provisions necessary to man abound in unlimited abundance, how criminally foolish are such tactics as were carried on at Everett—and elsewhere. And, it must be added, how perverting and pernicious of true revolutionary tactics are such measures. How destroying of the revolutionary spirit and how satisfactory to the capitalist class—when the impoverished farmers and unemployed workers deal in such a shallow manner with a problem so filled with revolutionary possibilities.

The fact that the workers managed to secure some relief from the city affords a significant rift in the cloud. Perhaps that success excuses other mistakes. May they recall it another time and make their demands doubly effective, and carry on a real revolutionary activity in all respects.

The Scope of Bolshevik Activity.

By JACK FRANK.

In No. 13 (March 5) on its front page, the PRAVDA published "The Appeal of the MOSCOW TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL to American Workers."

At the head of this APPEAL is an introductory article of about 120 words, from which I will cite the following passages as the object of my criticism:

"...For the workers of the U. S. of A. this Congress will be of special significance for, today it is practically assured, that there will be represented their only economic revolutionary organization, ... the I. W. W. Many are of the opinion (?) that the I. W. W. are called upon to play as important a role in the economic revolutionary movement of the working-class, as the Bolsheviks do on the political field..."

This pretense, of having "MANY OF THE OPINION" can not save the person responsible for this introductory article for the blame for all the harm done through this MISCONCEPTION OF BOLSHEVIK'S ACTIVITY and its IMAGINARY LIMITS, and fields of action.

Any student of MARXIAN PHILOSOPHY any student of revolutionary history of the working class knows, that the field of Bolsheviks' Activity is ALL-EMBRACING, UNIVERSAL. Revolutionary history teaches us beyond all doubt, that wherever a revolutionary undertaking by the working class was in any way limited to only some particular fields of action and was not all-embracing, it was bound to be a failure and was a failure.

To persuade ourselves, we have but to go once more over the records of the historical activity of the Communards, the Spartacan Revolt, the seizure of industries by the Italian Syndicalists. ... They failed, because they themselves had limits, they were not all-embracing.

At these limits, the bourgeoisie was able to gather its forces, reorganize, and launch its disastrous counter-attacks, which wiped out all the benefit the workers wrested from the capitalists, and only augmented the gigantic sacrifices in killed and mutilated thousands which the workers brought upon the altar of their foolishness, thinking that their movement had to have limits.

Bolshevism has no limit, no particular field of action. All fields fall in its scope.

Like a rotary saw, lodged in the heart of capitalist society, it is cutting it up in all directions. It does so through exposure of the deceptive and conspiratory character of the Capitalistic-Democratic institutions, does so through the general education of the working class; it does so by training the working class in the practical art of Class Warfare through Boycotts, Strikes, Demonstrations and armed insurrec-

tion. Any economic revolutionary workers' organization is revolutionary only through its actions, and not by "merely calling itself revolutionary."

That means that it has to benefit by, and utilize as a weapon all the revolutionary experience that has been brought out and crystallized during the last phases of the general class-war. It will have to change its form of organization and tactics, in accordance with this new revolutionary experience, the need of which has been proven during the alternate failings and successes of the recent onslaughts of the proletarian masses against the machine of the bourgeoisie, not only in Soviet Russia, but in Germany, Italy, England and the U. S. of A. They all paid dearly for their inexperience in Russia, for the hesitancy of the masses to support the Spartacan Revolt in Germany, for the yielding to the treacherous leaders of the Socialists in Italy, Hungary and Poland.

There can be no duality in Bolshevik activity, there can be no splits, no division, no dissipation of energy among class conscious workers!

Bolsheviks on the political, I. W. W. on the economic field of action? A fine confusion in the ranks of the working class!

To mean anything in revolutionary economics, a workers' organization must plunge itself into the general fight for its revolutionary aims. The proletariat class that calls itself "owners of factories, mines and the land," have all the armed power to protect their loot, and will not give it up without a fight, whether we believe it or not. A fight is a political action for power!

The I. W. W. had all the test it needed to recognize that the possessing class does not contemplate any peaceful transformation of capitalism into an Industrial Commonwealth, or Communism, in other words. They must have learned by suffering!

Since the industrial action-on-such-a-large-scale as the I. W. W. contemplate and most sincerely aspire to... is bound to arraign the armed bourgeois machine against the general-working-class, it follows, that an industrial action is industrial in character only for so long as it organizes and prepares the workers for a fight, an important fight, and that the moment the fight is actually launched, it becomes a struggle for power—a political action.

It is armed force that speaks to the workers through the mouth of the government telling us that, whether we starve or not, the good things of life we produced belong to the bosses, the capitalists, who can let these things rot as they please, and starve us out as they please!

If the I. W. W. will not obey this armed brute force that speaks to us through the mouth of the government, then immediately they will have to fight it. That means, the armed force of the capitalists will be used against us! It is a struggle for

THE FAKE OF 'LAW AND ORDER' UNDER CAPITALISM.

By J. FRANKLIN.

Intellectual development and knowledge, among the working-class, is of course against the hogish comfort of our capitalists.

In a society organized for brigandage and loot of the working class, the most important necessity is an arrangement or special organization that shall protect the brigands and looters from the wrath of the workers.

To get hold of the fruit of the labor of millions of working men, women and children, the big hogs, the pride of our Nation are obliged to employ an evergrowing army of brutish mercenaries, secret agents and thugs.

There are still too many among us wage slaves, who are unable to imagine any other system of society than the present one, where the few useless people live in fabulous luxury, hoggish idleness, and swollen pride, and the overwhelming many, the useful workers in an almost criminal poverty and destitution in spite of all abundance and wealth of the Nation.

It is those wretched working men, women and children, who are intellectually so low that they cannot imagine or grasp a Social Order based on economic equality; it is this unresponsive mass of workers that insures the success of organized brigands against all inroads which the class-conscious labor attempts upon the entrenched power of the capitalists.

This cattle-like stupidity of the

working-class is the greatest asset to the ruling capitalists. The capitalists must cherish and preserve this stupidity of the workers by all means.

In proportion as the ruling capitalist class will have to use force and violence, in that proportion the revolt of the workers will grow in scope.

For this reason alone, the capitalists ruling this country are extremely careful in the open use of their armed, uniformed mercenaries, be it against strikers as a mass, be it against the intelligent, devoted fighters for the cause of the workers, that comprise the vanguard of the struggle.

In the uniformed man, every worker recognizes the mercenary, the servant and protector of our exploiters, the open enemy of useful labor. Therefore the capitalist rulers resort more and more to the use of the secret-service thug. The Plain-clothes Brute is especially more advantageous for the service of assault and violence of individual intelligent workers.

In spite of enormous numbers employed in this service, the plain clothes men are a great invisible force, great invisible enemy of the working-class.

They dress like workers, act like workers in the shops, mines, factories, public places, and play a role in the Unions as the masters in the Chambers of Commerce dictate.

But there are moments when they cannot deceive the workers as a whole, any longer. That is in the Courts. The Courts must deliver the goods.

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power, and as such it is a political action, whether the I. W. W. cherish the name ECONOMIC or not. Why so stubbornly stick to a name that does not at all define their action, but only their aim?

THE ACTION being a clash between the mighty awakening giant—the working class and against the armed power of the big bosses... the fighting or battle-field of the general working class is one and indivisible, and not divided as the Pravda tries to make believe.

Even in its preparatory stage, with its apparent industrial aspect, there can be no division or separation in its broad sense, but simply subdivision or departmentalization for the sake of higher efficiency, and for no other purpose.

In the bitter reality, there is only one front! All real organizations, and all their resources must have only one central direction.

To prepare the workers for running and directing the industries only, for that the workers can make use of the too many bourgeois schools. The workers have not got the industries yet, and therefore the paramount question is, to prepare the workers for the fight, in which to wrest the industries from the bourgeoisie, in spite of the armed machine of their government.

The fight may begin in the shops, in the mines... it may begin in the armories or streets... it makes no difference where. But the fight must be all-embracing, universal!

For this the workers must be prepared and ready by shops, by trades, by industries, by military units, by administrative units, by educational units.

And all this without a real division, simply as parts of one and the same machine all parts of which move simultaneously forward against the machine of the bourgeois government, crushing it, and preventing its reparation, through the dictatorship of the workers, until there is no opposition, ... no classes.

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taking orders? What is a Magistrate, what is a court that does not take orders from the capitalists? What are its decisions? A HUGE JOKE! That's all! They are and can be nothing but a camouflage to deceive the working class into the belief that they have any say in the matter, a camouflage as brazen as parliamentary representation, calculated to hide the fact, that force and violence is ruling and nothing else.

Magistrate or no Magistrate, Court-Decision or no court-decision, ... the three fine men acquitted by the court, surrounded by their families, were violently seized by the bulls, handcuffed, their wives and children thrown against the walls screaming in terror, their attorney shoved to a corner, his clothing almost torn from his body.

All this, done by the almighty bulls, the plain-clothes brutes, that rule the U. S. of A.

It is a pity the workers from all the factories, mines and railroads cannot go to court and see for themselves what is ruling the country, or better said, what is ruling them.

And this fact comes to the advantage of the capitalists. They do not want the workers to know. As long as the workers do not know, they believe in capitalist-laws, democracy and parliamentary representation. But if they saw, they would understand, that parliaments, National and State-Congresses and Law-Courts if they disagree with the Money-Bags are nice Places of Cheap Talk, but devoid of all power, and useless.

What rules, is the armed brute force hired by the exploiters of labor, brute force that must grow from day to day, to cope with the growing impatience of the Giant, the Working Class!

The race for Power between Capital and Labor is on! Where do you stand, reader, brother?

A Patriotic Program

H. M. Daugherty, Attorney-General of the United States, says: "The country is settling down to a patriotic program."

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"The United States Shipping Board is determined to do everything it can to fight the men."

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Never forget the program. And don't bother writing to your congressmen; speak to your fellow workers.

Make them think about it. Make them feel it. Wake them up!

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Stedman's Red Raid (ON THE COMMUNISTS) By Robert Minor

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Stedman's Red Raid.

By ROBERT MINOR.

(3rd Installment.)

The Denial.
Stedman did not at first deny the truth of his actions in this case. Nor did he see any need of denying it. Of thoroughly law-abiding point of view, he saw no wrong in utilizing the arrests as an opportunity to obtain the property. This he explained to the writer in conversation in the lobby of the Ten Eyck Hotel during the latter part of the winter of 1920. Asked whether he had instituted suit to wrest the property from the Communists in Detroit while they were under arrest, he replied with emphasis:

"Yes, I did. I had to do it. It was the only way I could save the property from being lost. If we don't get it, it will be taken from them anyhow, and will be a total loss." (Stedman recently published a false version of this conversation in a letter through the National Office press service.)

It is clear that Stedman though himself perfectly within the right. He considered the Communists guilty of planning to overthrow the government, and so told the court and offered to prove it. That there remained in the Socialist Party any considerable number that would think his action wrong, seems not at first to have occurred to him.

Only when the story of his action in Detroit began to seep into the Socialist Party ranks in other parts of the country did Stedman and his associates in the National Executive Committee realize the need of a denial of the facts. Then the ghost of Stedman's Detroit actions began to follow him.

Recently a suggestion of the truth was brought out in a widely reported debate in New York. Stedman then excitedly and injudiciously denied that "anything of the kind" had occurred. He even branded as a "lie" a verbatim quotation from his own written Bill of Complaint in the Detroit court records, published in the Liberator magazine. The matter once opened, the National Office of the Socialist Party through Otto Branstetter came to Stedman's defense with a statement full of invective, branding the general charge as a lie and spreading Stedman's and Davidow's denials broadcast in such of the Socialist press as would print them. Davidow declared the story to be a "deliberate lie." Branstetter, as the official voice of the party, declared it to be "a plain unvarnished lie."

The Record and the "Stenographic Record."
Stedman and Davidow very carefully base their denials upon the "stenographic record." They carefully avoid using the term "court record," but loudly defy any one to "produce any stenographic record of any statement of that kind." (Davidow's words.)

The reason for this is amusing. It is because their charges of violation of criminal law by the defendants were not spoken by word of mouth by them in court, but filed in the form of a written document. If not spoken verbally, the words would not appear in the stenographic portion of the record. Yet the first paper in the court record of the case is Stedman's Bill of Complaint, carefully written out in his office, with the deliberately stated charges. Not only do the full words appear in the court record, but the case was tried upon the foundation of them. Even at that, Stedman's criminal charges against the defendants do appear in the "stenographic record." This is because the judge referred to the charges in the Bill of Complaint in giving his opinion. In a curiously adroit effort now to conceal the existence of the document carrying the criminal charges, Stedman in his denial misquotes the stenographic record in a broad rendition of the judge's words so as to leave out the reference to his Bill of Complaint.

Using It Now.
At the moment when Stedman, in careful, double-meaning phrases, is denying the existence of the document quoted here—he is using the same Bill of Complaint on appeal in the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan in the same attack upon the red raid victims of Detroit.

The Shadow Behind the Denial.
During the early course of the Detroit trial, the bestiality of the attack upon the Communists softened the determination of some of the members of the Reverend Taylor's group. Seeing that the plan to obtain the property was to take advantage of the imminent danger of the arrested Communists, struggling against imprisonment and deportation, some of the members of the ex-minister's group began to complain that it was going too far. Mrs. Ida Ruth Stewart insisted, in the presence of the writer, that "Now is just the time to get the property away from them," but others became ashamed of Stedman's making use of the red raids by paral-

ling the criminal charges. Stedman was sent for the placate the dissenters. In order to quiet them he promised that he would not stress the "criminal" points, but would try the case purely on the "property issues."

This promise, whether kept or broken, is of little consequence, for the criminal charges were not to be withdrawn, but merely "not to be stressed." However, there appears to be behind Stedman's denials a faint shadow of reliance upon the pretense (not yet published) that after making the criminal charges against the defendants, he did not "stress" them. So let us look at the stenographic record.

The import of the questions in this record can only be understood when we remember that the concerted opinion throughout the country at the time was that proof of membership in a Communist party would bring automatic conviction with deportation or, in the case of citizens, ten years' prison condemnation. Stedman compelled the arrested Communists (with the alternative of giving up the property without making a defense) to take the witness stand and answer his questions of which we quote a few from the stenographic record.

Of one witness who denied that he was a member of the Communist Party, Stedman asked:

"Is it not a fact that you left that party after your indictment in Chicago, or arrest in Chicago?"

Another of the defendants under the criminal charge of being a member of the Communist Party, had denied being a member. Stedman asked him on the witness stand:

Q. You went to the convention at Chicago as delegate for the Communist Party in Michigan?

A. I went to the convention at Chicago for the Socialist Party of Michigan.

Q. Was there a Communist Party of Michigan at any time?

A. No.

Q. Were you ever Secretary of the Communist Party of Michigan?

A. I was secretary appointed temporarily by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Michigan.

Q. Did you ever use any stationery of the Communist Party of Michigan and write letters on it?

A. We had stationery in the office that was printed prior to the Communist Party convention in 1919, which was used. I do not know whether I ever wrote letters on it or not.

Q. I am referring to prior to the convention.

A. Prior to the convention the stationery was printed.

Q. You had stationery "Communist Party of Michigan?"

A. Yes.

Q. You wrote letters on it?

A. No, I did not.

Q. Quite sure of that?

A. No.

Q. You did not write a letter to I. Paul Taylor, signing yourself as secretary?

A. Not prior to the convention.

The Reverend Paul Taylor took the stand for Stedman and swore that he had received a letter from the above witness and that "in that letter he (the accused man) stated that he had been elected secretary of the Communist Party of the State of Michigan."

Of a witness of the Left Wing faction on the stand Stedman asked:

Q. Were you at the convention in August and September in Chicago?

A. I was not at the convention of the Socialist Party.

Q. Were you at the convention?

A. I was at the convention of the Communist Party.

Q. True. That is what we want to get at. You attended the convention of the Communist Party.

Then a fusillade of questions about the witness' affiliation with a Communist Party, it being understood that if the witness could be proven to be such member it would cost him ten years of his life in prison.

"You were a delegate?" "Did you present your credentials at the Communist convention?" "Did you hold any office at any time in the Communist Party?" "Did you act as advisor to the Communist Party when it was organized?" "Was the manager of the House of the Masses a delegate to the Communist convention?" "Was he present and helped form the Communist Party?"

To another Communist whom he had called in the same manner:

vention?"... Are you a political actionist?"...
It being the scheme of Attorney-General Palmer to send away to Europe on deportation ships those of the arrested workers who were not citizens, Stedman strove hard to prove that they were not citizens. The stenographic record shows that he asked such a witness:

Q. Are you a citizen of the United States?

A. I have first papers.
Q. Are you a citizen?
A. No.

As Attorney-General Palmer, to furnish a screen for his raids, had filled the newspapers with stories of "Russian Reds" about to overthrow the government, Stedman, who knew that cases are really won or lost in newspaper headlines, did all he could to prove the imprisoned workmen to be "Russian Reds." He brought out evidence that the Communist convention had been at the headquarters of the Russian Federation. Turning his attention to Detroit: "Did not the Russian branches grow from five hundred to three thousand in five months' time?" "Wasn't there quite a difference in the increase of the foreign speaking branches and the English speaking, proportionally?" "The largest increase was among the Russian branches, was it not?" "You have various nationalities who are members?" "How many Russians?"

Testifying in behalf of Stedman, Mrs. Blumenberg said, "...the larger delegation came from Detroit, Michigan, and the larger proportion of the delegates were the Russian Reds..." You might say the English speaking members present were in very small proportion."

Some of the workers attacked as Communists simultaneously by the Department of Justice and by Stedman, gave answers on the witness stand which would indicate that they were not thorough Communists. Their being Communists might further be questioned because they had always dissented from the actual Communist program, although they were Left Wing Socialists. When the judge asked Stedman against whom he filed his Bill of Complaint, he replied, "Those who are Communists and Left Wingers."

Stedman lost his suit on the technicality, that, in his haste to strike while the Communists were in prison, he made the error of going into the wrong court. The case is now being appealed by him in the Supreme Court at Lansing, Mich., where he is now using the Bill of Complaint carrying the same charges that he denies to you that he ever made.

Necessary though it has been to mention frequently the name of Seymour Stedman in telling this narrative, the matter is not to be dismissed with personal blame upon him. Stedman felt that he truly represented the spirit of the Socialist Party in all that he did. The question arises as to whether he correctly represented the policies and official beliefs of his party.

He did. His acts in Detroit are in definite accord with the character of the Socialist Party as its character has evolved since 1912. The Socialist Party of America has definitely set aside the Marxian conception of the state as a class instrument, and has accepted the German Social-Democratic belief that the state is an instrument of all persons alike. It is the definite discarding of the class struggle.

The Socialist Party officially does not believe that there is a "capitalist State." Its position was expressed in Assemblyman Louis Waldman's testimony before the New York State Assembly. He testified there under Stedman's and Morris Hillquit's guidance that he regarded the New York State Government as "not quite capitalist," but as "the people's government."

This, then, is the official position of the Socialist Party, or of what remains of it under the Right Wing leaders. There being no "Capitalist State," there are no "Capitalist Courts," but only the "people's" courts, capable justly to judge and condemn law-breaking workmen. The party being pledged to uphold "the people's" law, of which the Criminal, Socialist and deportation laws are part, they see no reason why its representative should not take advantage of those laws over "red" workmen who adhere to a revolution in which the Party does not believe.

The word "revolution" is in the Socialist Party reduced to a matter of passing laws through the existing Congress, to be administered through the existing courts. The Party is committed to the orthodox standard of legality and to the lawful walk of politics. In that walk of politics, unfortunately, such lies as Stedman told you in denying his part in this case are merely the necessary routine, as were the "formal" lies that Npkate told to evade the blame when his agents murdered the law-violating revolutionists, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

In spite of the fact that Russia had been completely isolated for a period of two years, and in spite of the fact that the blockade cut off our specialists from contact with the technical science of the West, Soviet Russia made enormous progress in the field of wireless telegraphy.

Previous to the October Revolution, the wireless apparatus was under the supervision of the Ministry of War, and was employed exclusively for war purposes. Following the October Revolution a special decree of the Council of Peoples' Commissaries was issued providing for the transfer of all radio stations excluding portable ones into the hands of the Peoples' Commissariat of Postal and Telegraph Service. The latter augmented the number of these stations and introduced considerable improvements in their technique.

Beginning with that period, the application of wireless telegraphy was put on a basis utterly unknown in former times. Taking cognizance of the supreme importance of the political education of the wide masses of peasants and workmen, the Peoples' Commissariat of Postal and Telegraph Service made it its business to install a widely spread system of radio stations embracing vast areas of the country. For this purpose all the radio equipments that were transferred to the Commissariat of Postal and Telegraph Service were made use of. Wireless operators were sent out to all the provincial towns and the work of installation was carried on at full speed under the direct supervision and guidance of the central authorities and the sympathetic cooperation of the Wireless Operators' Union. The larger towns were provided with radio stations first, then came the smaller towns, and towards the middle of the second year of this work of construction we find radio stations installed even in the villages.

All through the territory of Soviet Russia we have today 250 receiving radio stations and in addition 47 stations belonging to the War Department, but put at the disposal of the Commissariat for Postal and Telegraph Service. This makes a wireless system of about 300 units, which is the most powerful information agency on the Continent. The number of transmitting radio stations excluding those on steamers equals 47, which puts us first on the list of European countries in this connection.

All the powerful transmitting radio stations which we inherited from the Kerenski Government have been repaired and put into excellent state. With the assistance of the Central Committee of the Transport Workers' Union a staff of operators is now being trained to man the newly built radio stations.

Immediate Uses.
Thus radio telegraphic tentacles are now reaching out from the centre to the most distant and remote corners of the Republic. The untrammelled wireless telegraphy afforded the possibility of maintaining close communication between the cities and provinces surrounded by the enemy, where the encouraging messages coming from the centre and carried through the air-waves all over the vast area of Russia, was spread through the local press and the posters of the Russian Telegraph Agency imbuing confidence, enthusiasm and strength into the hearts of the fighters.

During the civil war a wireless telegraphy thus reconstructed did excellent service. It enabled us to keep in constant touch not only with Tashkent, Uralak, Baku and the Ukraine, but also with Soviet Hungary and with Germany, and afforded the opportunity of intercepting wireless messages from the hostile camps of Paris, England, Italy and Constantinople.

Wireless telegraphy thus reconstructed on a new basis and brought home to the wide masses of peasants and workmen became a powerful agency of propaganda and agitation in the hands of the Soviet Government. The installation of wireless stations and the development of wireless communication would proceed even at a much greater speed if it were not for the necessity of diverting the most skilled workers and most of the equipment for the needs of the war, and were it not for the fact that the production of wireless equipment does not keep pace with the work of installation.

New Inventions.
The recent abnormal conditions when the workmen holding the hammer and sickle...

Stedman, Berger, Hillquit, Germer, O'Neal, Branstetter and their colleagues are logically administering that kind of a party—a counterpart as nearly as possible of the present ruling Social-Democratic Party of Germany. The case of the "House of the Masses" in Detroit is but a forecast of the role it is destined to play.

A CURB FOR THE WORKERS.

By WALTER T. JOHNSON.

Professor Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Professor of Law in Harvard University, has written a book called "Freedom of Speech." I have not read the book, but I understand that it is "scholarly and accurate." It is a "sweeping indictment of the things perpetrated under the Espionage Act." By taking a middle ground between the two views that (1) freedom of speech may be ignored in war time, and (2) all speech is free and only action can be constrained, the professor arrives at the conclusion that the legislature and courts went further than the law allows.

That is what legislatures and courts do in times of crisis. Then, if the country jogs along in the same way after the crisis has passed, the very excesses of the government become interwoven into the law of the land and we have "precedents" for passing and administering all sorts of laws quite remote from what plain people would think could be based on the constitution. Then, when the next crisis comes along it will be quite all right for them to do us what Woodrow Wilson and Mitchell Palmer did.

If that were all, it would be enough. The next thing for us to know is that the war was not the crisis under cover of which these things were done to us. It was only part of the crisis. The country has not returned to normalcy. Today as I write this, the newspapers carry the news that William D. Haywood and seventy-nine other I. W. W.'s who were convicted before Judge Landis at Chicago in 1918 of attempting to obstruct the government's prosecution of the war, must return to the Federal prison because of the Supreme Court's refusal to review their convictions. The decisions made during the war are being upheld now. Or in other words, the crisis is not over.

After the war was over the laws were still being tightened. Red raids were made. The crisis continued. It is still with us. What is the crisis? Because of high prices, over-production and unemployment there is unrest. That is the economic crisis. Because of the seriousness of the economic crisis and because of the unrest among the workers, the government feels that the ordinary laws are not sufficient to deal with the situation.

The economic crisis is the result of the profit system. The government can not do away with the crisis and the unrest which it causes without doing away with the profit system. It can no more do away with the profit system than it can run industry without workers.

But the crisis is so grave that something must be done. The government therefore tightens up the laws and enforces them in such a way as to cause professors of law to open their eyes and write books about it.

Since the war, but during this crisis, Communists have been tried under apparently unconstitutional laws administered in a very one-sided spirit, and jailed without the usual opportunities for release on bail. The Ben Gitlow, Harry Wintzky, Jim Larkin, Ruthenberg and Ferguson and the Georgian cases are the result of this crisis, of this tightening up of laws.

Understanding the economic and political causes of this campaign to stamp out unrest by outlawing and jailing working class leaders, we do not express surprise. We do not write a book to urge that laws be more legal and courts more judicial. We expect to see freedom of speech and

the right to organize abolished. They are being abolished, and as the crisis becomes more serious they will cease to exist at all, legally.

We cannot expect to have freedom of speech. In Russia when the Czar's government was overthrown and the Kerenski party commenced to establish a political democracy such as we have in this country, what happened to the Czar's imperial ministers? They were arrested, just in the same way as King George's ministers would have been arrested by George Washington's State if they had stuck around, and just in the same way that Tories were arrested who did stick around. In the same way when the Bolsheviks took hold, when the workers rebelled against the business men, the new Government, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, arrested and took all steps necessary to curb the liberties of those who tried to overthrow the workers' government. In times of crisis governments always curb their opponents. There is always a crisis when the economic foundations of those whom the government represents are insecure, and when the economic condition, the standard of living of those opposed to the government, is bad enough to cause unrest.

When the Bolsheviks first assumed power the economic foundation of that government, the organization of production by the workers, was not established. At the same time the business men were restless because their standard of living was reduced to that of the workers, a lower standard than they were used to when they had exploited the workers under the Czar and under Kerenski. There was therefore a crisis.

At present in this country there is a crisis because industry is disorganized. Business men who are in business to produce only what we need do not know now what to produce or what to sell. Unemployment and wage reductions have reduced the workers' standard of living, and there is unrest. The business men's government feels the crisis and acts to strengthen itself by taking away our right to speak and organize.

We cannot afford to let the government's opposition to freedom of speech pass by without explaining the reason for it to all workers. Follow these cases. Talk about them to your shop mates and union members. Tell them to watch for the appeals. Let them understand that if these cases were ordinary criminal cases Larkin and the rest of them would be out on bail until the appeal was over, and Ferguson would be in his law office preparing technical defense for himself and his comrades. Let them know that we need funds to appeal the cases and that they should be appealed immediately.

Those of us who are working must show our solidarity by raising all the money necessary to fight the cases and to take care of deportees' families in distress, so that the government may know that we recognize an attack on our freedom of speech as an attack on our class, and so that we may strengthen our class by the feeling of unity and power which comes from acting together.

Send your money to Dr. George M. Dumais, Treasurer, National Defense Committee, 2764 Creston Ave., Bronx, New York, N. Y.

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The Soviet Government. It has been installed and equipped by our own means beginning with the simplest screws and ending with the most complicated apparatus.

Apart from this our specialists introduced a number of very valuable improvements in the technique of the wireless communication, and a number of new problems have been worked out by the radio laboratory at Nizhgorod upon which I cannot dwell now.

We can confidently state now that in the matter of wireless telegraphy we have become altogether independent of foreign capital; we can ourselves produce all the necessary apparatus which will not be inferior in any way to those produced abroad, while some of our apparatus even excel the European make. In the field of wireless telegraphy, we can say that not only have we made a good start, but we have achieved in a comparatively short time such real progress, as enables us to affirm that the productive genius of Soviet Russia has been aroused, and already provided evidence of its ability to successfully rival the capitalist West.

Rosta Wien