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MAY DAY

By TOM CLARK

May Day is here! Once more the workers of the world will go out into the streets and demonstrate. Once more they will assemble in their halls and listen to stirring words of revolutionary fervor. Once more they will assert their international solidarity. Once more they will make resolves—resolves that may turn into revolutionary actuality. Once more they will sing the "Internationale"—millions of workers in all parts of the world, pledging their energy, their life and even their death to the emancipation of the workers.

May Day comes in the midst of revolutionary activity in several countries of Europe. The workers have been ground down, beaten and crushed, so that there is only one way for them to rise from the degradation and slavery into which they have been plunged: by REVOLUTION! They had been promised many things: they had been given the "democracy" that millions of their fellow-workers had died for—and all they got was CHAINS, HUNGER AND MISERY!

Europe is in the midst of turmoil. In Rumania, the workers are being driven from pillar to post. The unions have been disrupted, the radicals and revolutionists jailed. The workers are being persecuted, even if they dare to strike. In Hungary, the white terror reigns supreme. The slaughter of Communists and radicals is the pride of the Horthy regime, that boasts of its ferocity. The Horthy regime is recognized by the Allies, who maintain the corrupt government of Hungary as a barrier against the spread of revolutionary ideas from the East, from Soviet Russia. That the Allies, however, dare to talk of "brutality" on the part of the Russian Communist Government, while it recognizes and supports the White terroristic government of Hungary, reveals the endless hypocrisy of which they are capable.

In Poland, even the peasants have rebelled. The conclusion of the war between Poland and Russia was a dire necessity for Poland. Poland was on the very verge of ruin. The war, the ravaging of the country, the overwhelming debt, the dissatisfaction of the people, the overbearing attitude of the bourgeoisie, and, above all, the treachery of the sham-socialist government, Pilsudski and Daszynski at their head, who acted as the lackeys and tools of the Allies, and especially of France, in conducting the nefarious war against the workers and peasants of Russia—all this combined to bring Poland to the brink of revolution, from which the government extricated itself only by peace with Soviet Russia. This peace was dictated by the inability of the Polish government to continue the war and by the unwillingness



LESSONS FOR WORKERS!

of the Allies to continue supporting a losing cause. For the workers in France and Great Britain were being aroused to the dastardliness of the Allied venture in Russia and were threatening their capitalist governments. The economic situation of Poland is one of destitution. The workers are utterly impoverished, the factories are closed.

The workers of Austria are debilitated. Crushed by the war, their stamina broken, poverty reducing them to a stage of practical non-resistance to any attacks of the

bourgeoisie, the workers are too weak to raise themselves from the lethargy into which they have fallen. Industry is practically at a standstill, the suffering is acute. The people are living, to a considerable extent, on the "charity" of the Allies. But it is just this "charity" that is sapping the life of the Austrian proletariat.

Italy is in the midst of raging civil war. The Italian proletariat has reached a stage of desperation to which the bloody struggle is preferable. Battles between the Communists and workers with the Fascisti, the cowardly

white guards of the country, are daily events. Hesitating at nothing, secretly and openly assisted by the Italian government, which is reserving its last strength for the final struggle with the outraged workers, the Fascisti are carrying on a campaign and struggle that soon will result in one organized fight between the workers on one side and the government and bourgeoisie on the other. The split in the Socialist party, which resulted in the formation of a determined Communist Party, has imparted more bitterness to the fight. The yellow Socialists and trade unionists are lying low. The "unified" Socialists under the leadership of the timid and short-sighted Serrati, prefer the stand of the yellows to that of the Communists. Despite their stand, the Fascisti are burning down headquarters indiscriminately. Anarchists, Communists, Socialists, laborites, unionists—the Fascisti, assisted by the scum of the city (jailbirds, vagabonds and hoodlums of every description) are trying to break up the organizations, using the weapon that the capitalist class and the government inevitably will use against the workers' arms. The election campaign in Italy is marked by bloody encounters. The repetition of the occurrences in Russia between March and Nov. 1917. Widespread terror is being exercised by the white guards; the election in all probability will result in an overwhelming victory for the nationalist candidates. The defeated Socialists will be obliged to join the Communists in the final fight against the government. The revolutionary workers led by the Communists will overturn the Italian government and institute a Soviet government of the Workers and Peasants. The training of the war has capacitated them for the erection of the Workers' Dictatorship. The continual warfare between the workers and the Fascisti is steeling the workers for the coming fight.

Germany, the country of many treacheries and many woethe land of many hopes and many disappointments—is in the midst of latent civil war. The accumulation of wealth has proceeded in Germany at a rate unprecedented either in German or Allied history. A small group of bankers and magnates has amassed the most prosperous industries of the country. Not content with their booty, they have reached out to Austria, have investments in France and have made offers to Russia. The 1918 revolution in Germany was the purest sham as far as the workers were concerned. Although they overthrew the Junkers, the only reward that they received for their act was the dominion of the bourgeoisie, which

(Continued on page 3.)

HAYWOOD ON REVOLUTIONARY MISSION.

Command of Communist International Takes Class Fighter to Moscow on Eve of Prison Term.

In the matter of the departure for Soviet Russia of William D. Haywood, the Pan-American Agency of the Communist International makes the following statement under the signature of its Secretary, Charles Edward Scott.

"Comrade Haywood did not leave the United States of his own accord, but at the direct command of the Communist International, of which he is a disciplined member and whose authority he recognizes as the highest in the world. He will be present at the Third Congress of the Communist International on June 1st. He will also attend the First International Congress of Trade and Industrial Unions on July 1st, at Moscow, as one of the true leaders and spokesmen of the militant workers of America. His advice and assistance are required by the Communist International and it was his revolutionary duty to obey its summons to go to Moscow instead of to prison, where too many of our best men are already buried alive.

The Communist International denounces in the strongest terms those lawyers and "liberals" who criticize this soldier of the revolution for "breaking faith" with the capitalist courts; who worry more about one man who escapes than about the score who go to prison. We trust that no member of the I. W. W. will share this silly bourgeois prejudice. Comrade Haywood is no coward. The scars on his body give the lie to his accusers.

Karl Liebknecht was called a coward by the German capitalists during the weeks that he was in hiding before they murdered him. Lenin, too, was accused of cowardice when he remained in hiding after the uprising in Petrograd in July, 1917—not answering the taunts of Kerensky, but working night and day for the overthrow of the Kerensky government.

So, also, will William D. Haywood work—as a trusted advisor of the

General Staff of the World Revolution and subject to its command. He will continue to aid in the destruction of the barbarous capitalist dictatorship which enslaves the workers and holds their best men in prison. In the place of the dictatorship of the Gary's, he will work to bring about the dictatorship of the workers, that will smash open all the prison doors and release the working-class prisoners, and jail the jailers of today.

Comrade Haywood did not desert his fellow-workers as he is falsely accused by the capitalists and their hirelings and apologists. Comrade Haywood went to Soviet Russia on revolutionary duties, openly and undisguised. Openly and undisguised he will return to America; but the time and manner of his coming will be determined by the requirements of the revolutionary class struggle and not by the decrees of capitalist courts.

To the members of the I. W. W. and the other true defenders of the cause of labor, who suffer today in the prison hells of America, the Communist International sends its most affectionate greetings and its solemn pledge to strive by every means to rouse the toiling masses to action in their behalf. Fellow workers, do not be deluded into the childish belief that the ruling class will listen to appeals for clemency. Put no faith in petitions—those "scraps of paper" which our oppressors only laugh at and throw into the waste basket. Revolutionary mass action of the workers is our weapon. Revolutionary mass action is the way to force open the prison doors. Revolutionary mass action is the way to smash the capitalist system and free the working class.

Pan-American Agency of the Communist International.

Charles Edward Scott, Secretary.

April 21, 1921.

SEARCHED!

Some time between darkness and dawn of last Friday night federal agents or police entered "The Toller" office by the approved housebreakers' method of jimmying a window. Whether the art was an old one learned previous to the agents' entering the service of the government, and revived for occasions when the State turns thief is only a guess, but the method is the same.

To any who subscribed to the illusion that the Millineum had arrived with the installation of Republican officials in office, we would announce that if the gang has changed the methods so heartily and effectively introduced by A. Mitchell Palmer in getting "evidence" on so-called "Reds", is still in force and apparently working "overtime".

A toilet window provided the means of ingress for the worthies of our perfectly respectable and laudable State. The State has great respect for and affords absolute protection to private property. Witness several articles of house-keeping thrown from the toilet room into the court and the rear door unlocked for the entry of any brother-thieves who might be prowling about. If you are in the business of house-breaking we suggest that you connect with the government agents and the police—they will obligingly take all the risk of breaking in and leave you only the nominal danger of doing the sacking.

That the office had received a thorough going over in an apparent search for some specific articles was evident at a glance when it was opened on Saturday morning. Desk drawers stood ajar and the only one which is ever locked had been opened by the same artful method as was used in entering.

As to what invaders expected to find, your guess is as good as ours. Several searches of the office made during the reign of Mitchell Palmer resulted in naught of value for the searchers. If the new regime has found any "incriminating evidence" in our absence, we congratulate them.

Our guess is that the 1st of May is approaching and our guardians suspected that a revolution was tucked away somewhere in one of our desks.

"REVOLUTION!"

By ESPERANTO.

"Revolution" is heard at all labor meetings here (Kansas City, Mo.) even at the Central Labor Union, Sunday April 10th, a conservative, bald-headed delegate, who was inclined to wait for official action from the A. F. of L., as to whether the United States should condescend to accept Russian gold in exchange for needed commodities, asserted:

"I tell you what, if conditions don't change there's goin' to be a revolution, we had one on't—and the common people won."...

Not a hiss, cat-call, or "Sit down you Brush-shiski," greeted this outburst.

In fact many "con" Labor Representatives present, smiled indulgently.

"Revolution, I tell you is coming; people I tell you are starving. Since the first of the year, 50% reduction in working force, all crafts have occurred in the Kansas City Terminal, Railroad Co.—that is the union depot where eight railroads load and unload passengers."

Many of his brother workers heard him say this.

They all nodded approval. They all carry a card, in a union affiliated with the A. F. of L.

"Revolution is coming if the bosses keep on acting as they are and have been," said a car-shop employee of the Burlington.

"Our regular force of 170 men has been reduced to 95 and every payday, a few more are laid off."

Not any of his dear brothers proposed painting him yellow.

"Revolution is coming, nothing in God's world will stop it. The railroad officials made a contract, a sacred contract, now they tell us to go to H.... Two-thirds of the force where I work—that's the Missouri Pacific—have been laid off, the mechanical department is closed down and now a notice has been posted, for reduction in wages May 1st, and the same notice asks, that union officials, meet in conference with railroad officials at St. Louis, April 21st, to decide the amount."

The Common Laborers, were having a meeting in the Labor Temple, they are the largest union in Kansas City,

'NORMALCY' HITS MINERS.

A wave of normalcy has stricken the coal miners of Alabama. Thousands of miners and their families, estimated at 40,000 persons are on the verge of starvation and actually destitute of the most meagre means of sustenance as a result of the nation's return to that halcyon condition for which the last national political campaign which placed Warren Gamaliel Harding in the President's chair, was waged.

Relief organizations thruout the south are rushing plans to aid the thousands of men, women and children who are destitute following an unsuccess strike.

Brigadier Simonsen, commander of the "Dixie division" of the Salvation Army, estimated that 18,000 persons are facing starvation and that several thousand of these are already "absolutely destitute."

According to operators, lack of demand for coal makes it impossible for them to provide work for the miners, who struck several months ago, but called off their strike Feb. 22.

An arbitration settlement of the issues went against the miners on every point.

Defeated in the strike, their union food and clothing rations discontinued, and re-employment denied them, most of the miners and their families are living in tent colonies, having been turned out of company-owned houses.

the halls, stairway and first-landing was jammed, with a seething mass of discontented workers, representing many races of mankind and many more nationalities;

"Revolution is comin' if the bosses don't deal with the unions, I tell you."

"G—D— it, havn't they got sense enuf to know, we got to eat and hungry men are dangerous?" and this disgusted worker, squirted a mouthful of tobacco juice with unerring aim, at a cuspidor, as he received grants of approval from his fellows.

Such as the above dire prophecies can be heard any night, one moves among the workers at the various union meetings here.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR DAY.

By J. PRICE.

Some thirty-five years ago, in 1886, the American Federation of Labor declared May First the day on which the workers of America were to demonstrate for an 8-hour day.

The first congress of the now deceased Second International, held in 1889, made one step forward by declaring May First an International Labor Day, on which workers all over the world were to agitate, peacefully, for the 8-hour day as well as for international peace.

Since then the idea of "May Day" has grown more and more popular among the workers of the world and has become a permanent, well established institution. At the same time it has grown more and more revolutionary in character.

From year to year the workers of even the most reactionary and backward countries of the world have laid down their tools to demonstrate their power, to openly declare their demands and to raise the banner of international solidarity of labor.

And from its very start, this international Labor Day, the only real proletarian holiday, met with the bitterest hatred and fear on the part of world Capital.

Every year, in every country of the globe the police, the army, the "Legions" and "Security Leagues" as well as all other tools of suppression, mobilize their forces to demonstrate their power and international solidarity on May First.

Every year hundreds of workers are thrown out of the factories, imprisoned and murdered for their determination to demonstrate on May Day their protest against exploitation and reaction.

But no power in the world can stop the workers from celebrating their only holiday. The proletarian blood shed on that day each year only helps to intensify the red color of that International Labor Day; it only helps to expose the true nature of the rotten capitalist system and

the capitalist State; it only helps to strengthen the determination of Labor to free itself from the clutches of the present system of exploitation and oppression.

The May Day slogan now, is no more "the 8-hour day," but "complete abolition of the capitalist system" and "all power to the workers."

The workers of America this year must join hands with their brothers of all other countries and together with them inscribe on their banners the slogans of world proletarian revolution.

Order Which Bars U. S. Emigrants From Russia is Confirmed.

Confirmation of the recent order of the Soviet Government closing the Russian borders to immigrants from the United States was received by Charles Reicht, legal representative in New York of the Russian Soviet Republic, in a cable from Reval signed by Gregory Weinstein, formerly secretary to Ludwig O. A. K. Martens in this country, and made public by Reicht here yesterday.

The cable is as follows: You are instructed to inform people desiring to go to Russia that in view of the absence of a representative of Soviet Russia in America no immigration to Russia will be permitted. Publish a warning that visas of consulates of border states are not sufficient for entering Russia. All persons securing such visas, and starting out on the strength of them, will not be admitted to Russia.

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

(8th Installment.) DISCUSSION OF COLONIAL AND NATIONAL POLICY. (Petrograd Pravda, July 30, 1920.)

SITTING OF JULY 28.

The debates on the question of colonial and national policy were continued.

SPEECH OF COMRADE SULTAN-ZADE.

In the name of the Persian Communist party spoke Comrade Sultan-Zade, who called attention to the fact that the experiences of the Russian proletariat in Kirgizia, Turkestan, and other regions quite undeveloped in a capitalist sense, have proven that the Soviet authority can be organized even in the absence of a developed industrial proletariat.

Comrade Sultan-Zade emphasizes the fact that the social revolution in India and Persia has a broad and solid base in the proletariat, and in the semiprotariat organized there by English trade capital by destroying the native carpet and textile industries.

The countries of the Orient are passing through a period of mass pauperization, associated with the period of the first accumulation of capital. Yearly over ten million persons are transferred from Asiatic colonies, while the peasantry carries on its shoulders the burden of landlords, clergy, capitalists, bureaucrats, and brigands in general.

Answering Comrade Roy the delegate from India, Comrade Sultan-Zade says that the social revolution will not come from the Orient and will not free Europe; but, on the other hand, the Communist International must come to the assistance of the toiling masses of the Orient in order to facilitate for them the process of social revolution.

The Situation in China.

Comrade Lau gives an outline of the situation in China. The Versailles Conference not only gave nothing to China but sanctioned the seizure by Japan of three Chinese Provinces. The Chinese masses answered by boycotting Japanese goods and by increasing the struggle against the Northern Government.

Socialist parties in China are winning

In addition even the ruling classes in oriental countries are not unanimous, since some are associated with the world markets and capital while others are associated with the national markets and capital. All these circumstances greatly facilitate the development of social revolution in the Orient and Persia, where already in 1905 the Soviet of Peasant Deputies—Anjuman—was organized.

Further, he points out that the experience of the National-Democratic movement in the Orient confirms the policy of assisting preferably the toiling masses through the intermediary of a Communist Party, rather than by supporting indefinite and unsuitable political organizations of a petty bourgeois character.

Comrade Graziadei speaks on the role of the Soviet Russian Republic for the development of social revolution, and expresses the opinion that its struggle against world capital at the present moment should be considered synonymous with the struggle of the III International, just as the defeat of the Paris Commune at its time represented the defeat of the I International.

MUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920

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

SITTING OF JULY 29, 1920. (Petrograd Pravda, July 30, 1920.)

SPEECH OF COMRADE ZINOVIEV.

Comrade Zinoviev proposes a number of changes in the theses concerning conditions of admission to the III Communist International. He speaks of the serious peril menacing the III International and the world revolution.

"After the first congress of the III International," says Comrade Zinoviev, "they hooted at us and said that the whole III International could be seated around one table. The old parties remaining under the flag of the II International did not at all express the desire to forsake it."

Comrade Zinoviev emphasizes the fact that the III Communist International is not a society of propaganda: "The III Communist International is an international militant organization similar to the I International, which did not leave a single great economic strike without active support."

The Italian opportunist Modigliani admits that he is for admission to the III International, since that entails the obligation merely to send a postal card to Moscow once in two weeks.

Comrade Zinoviev further quotes another Italian opportunist who openly and cynically admits that he remains in the party because it is the means of accomplishing definite purposes. "We are standing before the evident danger," says Comrade Zinoviev, "of filling up the Communist International with elements of this sort."

Comrade Zinoviev further gives a detailed analysis of the political structure of the Italian and German Independent Parties and of the Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Jugo-Slav "Left" Socialist parties, and says that all these parties should in the most categorical manner put a stop to all the Socialist-Pacifist, bourgeois tendencies that are building their nests in these parties.

He speaks of the III Communist International being the International of the East, which opposes the International of the West. Events have shown, however, that there is neither an International of the East nor an International of the West, but upon the

one hand a Communist International, and on the other hand a bourgeois International which is trying to disorganize and demoralize the labor revolution with the aid of Socialist-Pacifist ideas.

The Communist International Will Not Be One-Sided.

Comrade Zinoviev reports that the central committee of the Russian Communist Party, analyzing the question of Socialist-Pacifists, had reached the decision that if the dilemma should arise as to a choice between a Communist International containing Socialist-Pacifist elements and solely a Russian Communist Party—at least formally we would prefer the latter.

Comrade Zinoviev expresses himself in the most categorical manner against proportional representation: "Proportional representation is a very worthless mixture of pink lemonade, deadly poison and a neutral ingredient of some kind."

Comrade Zinoviev again insists on the necessity of centralization and iron discipline, and expresses the hope that with the aid of the warlike qualities of the III International the latter will accomplish what is written on its flag—the liberation of labor.

Comrade Radek Appears.

Debate follows the report of Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Radek appears. He recalls the first days of the German revolution, when Soviet Russia offered her aid to the German Government, with which Haase was then connected.

"Of course, the scale upon which the proposed aid was to be given was not important, but it was extraordinarily notable and characteristic that the Socialist government, with the participation of the Independent Socialist Haase, refused that aid under the pretext that similar aid was promised to Germany by the bourgeois government of the United States of North America. This at once revealed the orientation which in reality was perfectly natural to the Socialist compromisers of Germany."

"Therefore we say to the working class: Be cautious, and be all the more cautious for the reason that through simply ignoring the revolution the so-called Independent Socialists often pass without much ado to treachery. In September, 1919, when Denikin and Yudenich were bending their

steps toward Moscow and Petrograd—when the very existence of the Soviet Republic was in danger—Hilferding said that the Soviet Republic would go to the bottom in two or three weeks and that there was no need to bind up one's fate with Moscow.

"Hilferding and Haase do not believe in the revolution; they betray the revolution even when they formally join it."

Comrade Cachin Appears.

Comrade Cachin then takes the floor and, in his own name and that of Rosmer, reads a declaration of complete solidarity with Comrade Zinoviev, as well as with the propositions advanced by him.

Comrade Cachin in the course of his speech further points out a large number of problems arising from these propositions and theses for the French Socialist Party and promises that on his return to France he will achieve complete unity on all these theses in the French Socialist Party. He also expresses the hope that the French Socialist Party will just as unanimously join them, and that Comrade Longuet will be among the sincere adherents to the new decision.

Debates.

Comrades Lefevre, Graziadei, Guillbeau, Herzog, Godenberg, and others participate in further debate.

All of them warn against too confiding an attitude toward the admission of individual, so-called Independent Socialist parties into the Communist family of the III International. They recall the new display of Socialist traitors and Socialist chameleons, and draw a parallel between Cachin and Turati, and extend that parallel also to other personages in Independent Socialist parties, demonstrating that all these are traitors to and betrayers of the revolution.

"Their ideological character will not by any means be changed by their admission or nonadmission to the Communist International. This will be pasting the red label of the III Communist International on the yellow content of the compromise parties. We accept these gentlemen only because the laboring masses still go with them and follow them. But the laboring masses should not make war with such means; they must be taught, they must be organized, and having been organized must be torn away from the treacherous and counter-revolutionary parties and organizations."

"Their inclusion, then, in the membership of the III International, through the instrumentality of the compromise parties, constitutes the gravest menace to the Social revolution."

BANQUET IN HONOR OF THE CONGRESS.

Yesterday, in the Column Hall of the House of Unions, was held a concert-banquet in honor of the Congress of the III International, organized by the Moscow Soviet, the Moscow Provincial Soviet of Trade Unions, and the Moscow Committee of the Russian Communist Party.

The best artistic talent of Moscow took part in the concert. Shaliapin, Gelsler, Balashova, and others performed. The official part of the program concluded with a rendering of "Dubintushka," by Shaliapin. The concert lasted until 3 a. m.

(Next week Evening Sitting of July 29.)

THE REVOLUTION IN KRONSTADT.

By J. B.

(Second Installment.)

After the publication of the translations in the Toiler of April 16, a few additional "Pravdas" have been received, but they are not the Petrograd but the "Moscow Pravda." In the issues of March 6, 8 and 9 we find some more news and explanations of the situation in Kronstadt.

In the issue of March 6 is published an article that very logically connects the ends together and shows what the thing really was and what it aimed at. That article being a brief one, I translate it in full.

"What are they striking at?" "When a seriously thinking man asks himself: what hope have people like the S. R.-s. general Kozlovsky etc.; then he first of all will put the question this way:

"Do they really expect to overthrow the Soviet rule? Can it be that they do not understand this is impossible? They themselves write (with Victor Chernof's hand) that Bolshevism has deeply laid its roots. Where is the essence of the thing? Look where the essence is. Just now the Allied London Conference takes place; now happens the change in the American Cabinet, whereas the new cabinet stands decidedly for

trade agreement with Soviet Russia; right now in Moscow is Vanderlip, with whom transactions are being carried for deliveries to Soviet Russia; right now transactions are going on between Soviet Russia and Poland; and last, right now takes place the Russian-Turkish conference upon which depends the policy in the Near East.

"Remembering now the fundamental decision of the Paris "Constituent Assembly," more correctly, 30 S. R.-s. and Kadets, with Konovalof at their head. That decision provided against trade agreements with Soviet Russia.

"In contrasting these two facts (the simultaneity of a line of agreements from one side, and the decision of the "Assembly" on the other) a completely clear conclusion may be gained: the S. R.-s. and general Kozlovsky want to perform a grandiose scandal and promote disorder, to cut off the transactions, to disrupt the beginnings of foreign trade, and if possible, secure a new armed intervention of the "Allies."

"Yes, especially the new intervention. How otherwise to understand that the S. R. generals have connection with the Finnish Whites

from Kronstadt (and the Finnish Whites—are the hang-men of the working class)? How, otherwise to understand, that the S. R.-generals in the first place depend on France, which occupies the most irreconcilable, the most severe attitude towards Russia?

"The S. R.-s. themselves do not hope to overthrow Soviet rule. They want to create the greatest international noise, in order to hamper the bringing up of peace relations. This is their first task. Then will be fulfilled the program of the Assembly, shattered then the international importance of Soviet Russia; the Russian peasant will not get a single scythe, Russian industry will not get a single machine, but the S. R.-s., on this basis, will further carry on the undermining.

"By this time the "French" line will get on top—and a new war is ready, provoked by the S. R.-s. In this new war the S. R.-s. expect to win with the assistance of all the capitalist forces. But that will be the beginning of the end not only of Soviet Russia, but of Russia generally. Then she actually will become a barbaristic colony, and probably the S. R.-s. as a reward will secure some under-overseer positions in the French offices.

"But this will not happen, and the S. R.-s. shall not eat. In a brave army we march in counter-attack. No

Entente or S. R.-s. will be masters over toiling Russia. Already for three years they have attempted to overthrow the Proletarian Dictatorship. But there is still powder in our powder bags, no liveried Entente lackeys will defeat liberated labor."

In the issue of March 8 of the "Moscow Pravda" are some news items of interest telling how the insurrection progressed and what was the attitude taken by the sailors. I will translate some of these.

"Petrograd, March 6.—In Kronstadt the fullest dispersion is observed. After dividing up of food supplies and other necessities, the leaders of the insurrection tried to place before the insurrectionists a discussion of questions of a political nature. A majority of the sailors, seeing the failure of the revolt, took an indifferent attitude towards all political questions and schemes."

Another telegram from Petrograd appearing in the same issue furnishes us with proof of the identity of the instigators of the revolt.

"Petrograd, March 6.—The white-guard S. R.-s. newspaper, "Narodnoye Delo," published in Reval, announces that the Kronstadt insurrection is directed by the right wing of the S. R.-s."

It seems that the S. R.-s. want to get some credit for their deeds, that's why they disclose who are the real men in this "push." That the

insurrection by no means was complete is shown by a news item published in the "Pravda" of March 9, it reads as follows:

"A neutral regiment."—"The rifle regiment, posted at Kronstadt, refused to join the insurrectionists and did not allow themselves to be disarmed. The Regiment announced its neutrality."

Illustrative of the action of the S. R.-s. is the amusing affair which took place between Reval and Petrograd.

"An Inquiry and the Answer." "At the Petrograd radio-station an inquiry from Reval was made, as to what kind of government exists in Petrograd. Red Petrograd answered as follows: "We have a workers-peasants government, Soviet. This government is of three years standing and is more stable than all the bourgeois governments combined. For this, attractive to you information, please do two things for us: 1) submit our congratulations to the communists of Reval for their victory at the elections, 2) submit to the bourgeoisie of Reval, that in Tiflis, where not long ago ruled the Constituent Assembly, now is a Soviet government."

This shows what the treacherous and reactionary S. R.-s. were expecting and also what news we get from the bourgeois news agencies from Reval and Helsingfors, where the

nests of the near-at-hand counter-revolutionists are built. These first-hand translations may serve as a guide for future if there be new insurrections in Russia. By having this authentic information, we will be able to judge the news when it come to us from the same place and source. What the "Associated Press" cables from Reval or Helsingfors about the revolts in Soviet Russia, is not news but pure and simple propaganda, directed against the government of the workers and peasants in Russia. Always take it with a grain of salt.

The "Liquidation of the Revolt" will be the subject of the next and final chapter in this episode.

BETWEEN BOSSES AND WORKERS.

Washington.—Cotton manufacturers' agents here declare that the southern cotton crop for 1921 is being placed upon a no-wage basis for the Negro laborer in the cotton belt.

Throughout the South the planters are offering to the Negro a certain amount of cornmeal, molasses, pork and one or two other items of primitive diet, to be doled out weekly, in lieu of cash payments for working in the fields. Settlement of any

possible cash balance is promised "after the crop is sold."

This system of fodder wages, it was explained, was applied for years after the Civil War, and the low market for cotton has enabled the Ku Klux and other reactionary elements to bring it forward once more as the "salvation" of the South.

Thus far the Negroes appear to have accepted the scheme as the best terms they can hope to secure from their employers. They are unorganized.

The Detroit Federation of Labor has declared war on the Russian policy of Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, Frank Martell, business agent of the local body states.

In a letter to Gompers, the local federation condemned statements he made accusing the local of "anxiety to spread Bolshevik propaganda." The Detroit federation said the Russian Government is a representative one and should be recognized by the United States.

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FOR THIRD INTERNATIONAL

Those elements in the Socialist Party and among sympathizers who stand by and merely look on the revolutionary labor movement, who decry "splits" and schisms in the movement, are certain to receive another withering of their hopes within a few weeks when the Socialist Party national convention convenes in May.

One of utopian mind, imagining that only upon a basis of complete and entire unity of the working masses in a party or program is necessary to success, would readily succumb to the depression induced by the recurring splits and divisions among the world's revolutionary parties within the past year.

One would be deeply in error to believe that the condition of the world revolutionary movement is weaker today than a year ago, tho practically every Socialist Party in the world has split, one fraction adhering to the 3rd International and others clinging to the remnants of the old 2nd, or either remaining "neutral" or joining the 2 1/2 International recently formed at Vienna.

That a split in the S. P. is inevitable at its next convention is generally conceded. The cause is, of course, the development of a "left wing" favoring "unconditional acceptance" of the 21 points for affiliation laid down by the Second Congress of the 3rd International as a basis for admission to it.

The Third International has become the fashion. It is receiving plenty of lip service. It would be no surprise if the left group in the S. P. should receive a majority of VOTES at the convention for its programme of support of the Third.

One question remains to be answered. Do the proponents of affiliation in the S. P. realize just what affiliation will mean to them as a present organized body? Should they declare themselves and apply for admission to the Third, do they know what answer they would receive? Perhaps they do, perhaps not.

MASS MEETING DETROIT, MAY 1st

At AUTO WORKERS TEMPLE, 136 E. Adams St., 3 P. M. SPEAKER-ROBERT MINOR. ALL WORKERS CORDIALLY INVITED. Auspices, National Defense Committee. General Defense Com. of I. W. W.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

MAY DAY.

OUR MAIL BOX.

The following letter comes from comrade Leo Fenssen, of Antwerp, Belgium, and is addressed "To the Members of the A. F. of L." The letter is inspired, comrade Fenssen writes, by a lecture delivered by R. De Man, a Belgian socialist who has spent nearly two years in America studying labor conditions here as a representative of the Ministry of Labor.

Dear Comrades:— With indignation and disgust I learned about the terrible conditions of labor and living among the bulk of unskilled working-people, especially the strangers, in so called Democratic America, the country of one of the champions of freedom and liberty, Abraham Lincoln.

Now after the most terrible war ever known in history in which so many of your best countrymen died, for freedom and liberty and abolition of militarism, we now learn over here with sorrow and indignation about the most disgraceful conditions in every respect, which are reigning especially in your country, which always we believed to be the most civilized place in the world, and where such wonderful things have been performed by science, which created such good conditions of working and living for you, skilled workers and craftsmen, who unfortunately are still imbued with that unjust and false autocratic spirit, viz. that a skilled working-man should be considered a superior being to the unskilled, which in part is true, but by no means justified.

I sincerely hope for the sake of suffering humanity that you soon will come to reason and shake off that unjust false spirit and realize that "every one" whether he is a laborer, miner, railwayman, tool-maker or whatever one may be is a useful member of society necessary to maintain life and therefore ought to be considered and treated as such.

Comrades, get rid of that haughty, selfish idea which breaks the solidarity which should reign between common workmen and you. You better than anyone else in the world should know you, sons of that country of inventions, possessing the most perfected system of labor and the most wonderful means of production, with a rich soil able to produce all the necessities of life—that owing to the fact that the age of steam or the time of capitalism has passed and is being followed by the new period: the age of electricity which also means the time of Socialism or Communism, that the economical and technical machinery is prepared to make of this planet a place worth while living in. We just have to organize, just to change our minds and instead of producing for the profit and dividends of capitalists—just work and produce for the working community, this is a question of good sense and good will.

Internationalism has come to stay, consequently the question of abolishing capitalism is an international one. Thus from this day, in order to get rid of all the reigning abuses, misery, poverty etc. our slogan must be: "Workers of all countries unite" there is plenty of room and goods for everyone. "All power to the workers" under the most perfect form of centralization indispensable for the present development of society.

I send you this message in my personal name and initiative but I can assure you that all the workers of Belgium and Europe are looking upon you, and I sincerely hope that our expectations will not prove illusions, that you will show yourselves to be worthy, conscious members of the great labor army, and if necessary purify your unions of those old-fashioned leaders who might prevent you from doing your human duty.

Sincerely Yours Leo Fenssen Antwerp, Belgium.

WE DIDN'T SEE IT ALL. Dear Sir:— In The Toiler of April 16, is your story of "The Bread Line." I think and I know some men who stood in the bread line who have money in bank, some are drunk most of the

(Continued from page 1.) weighs just as heavily although administered by yellow, traitorous Socialists. Acting as Judases to the working class, handing them over to the sovereignty of the capitalist class to be exploited mercilessly, the Eberts, Scheidemanns, Ledebours and Kautskys have combatted every attempt on the part of the workers to emancipate themselves. Still believing in the sham of capitalist "democracy"—as expressed through the white pieces of paper which they call ballots, and which the capitalists tear into as many shreds as they do all treaties; still believing that the rule of the bourgeoisie is preferable to that of the proletariat; still denying the truth that the CAPITALISTS MAINTAIN THEMSELVES BY THE FORCE OF THE ARMED GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS USED AGAINST THE WORKERS AT THE BEHEST OF THE CAPITALISTS—these treacherous socialists still have a hold upon the workers. By official ukases and laws, they have the workers tied up in a mesh of legality from which only force will release them. Led in their unions, by yellow Socialists, who refuse to use the only weapon that the capitalist regime heads—force—rejecting the general strike; using their power to eject from the labor organizations the Communists, who are the only militant, revolutionary elements to be found in the unions; using the policy of split rather than fight—the German labor unions still hesitate before the struggle—the armed struggle—that is their only salvation.

France presents a similar picture. The French bourgeois government is the chief sponsor of imperialistic plundering expeditions at the present time. Seeking loot in Germany, the Near East and Soviet Russia—wherever their marauding eyes reach—the French bourgeois government, with the renegade socialists Briand and Millerand as its leading lights, is driving the workers into civil war. Using the leaders of the Confederation of Labor as tools with which to oust all revolutionary workers, the French government hopes to curb the efforts of the French workers to free themselves. But the French workers are not to be curbed in this way. Despite all appeals to their patriotism, and to the memory of their sufferings during and in the war, the French workers have demonstrated against the enslavement of their German fellow workers. They threaten the French government with a general strike, if it calls to the colors recruits to invade Germany in payment of the reparation claims. The police of Paris are lining up with the workers. Here and there, in France, the workers have already imitated the acts of the Italian workers in seizing industries. Slowly they are learning the meaning of the STATE.

Spain and Portugal are the scenes of brutal persecution of the working class, particularly of the organized workers and of the revolutionists. Intent on smashing every attempt of the workers to raise themselves from the misery into which the war and its aftermath plunged them, the Spanish and Portuguese governments aided by white terrorists are maintaining a continuous warfare against all rebels, especially the syndicalists. Deportation, torture akin to the Inquisition and destruction of workers' property are their mode of action. Out of this is growing a solidified militant organization, led by the Communists who withdrew from the recent Socialist convention with a powerful minority, leaving behind, as usual, the parliamentary leaders, the parliamentary traitors!

time and it is all they want in life. If you want more information go work, eat and sleep with them like I did for 12 years, you'll know better. I'm with the class, it matters not if they be workers or capitalists who want the better things of life. Yours for Justice Martin Dado, Cleveland.

Editor's Note: If some workers have learned the game of being parasites and feed in the bread lines while having bank accounts, they ought to be complimented for their sagacity, for this is the approved capitalist method of "getting ahead". The only person who can afford to stay "drunk most of the time" nowadays is not the penniless slave but the rich. Since the capitalists and workers cannot both have the "better things of life" as masters and slaves, I still cling to the slave class as being the more worthy of life's good things.

England is the scene of another brutal betrayal of the working class. Led to a test of strength with the capitalist class and the capitalist government, living in misery far greater than before the great war that was to bring the world "prosperity," the workers at last were to manifest class solidarity—at last, an undivided front against the enemy was hoped for. But the leaders of the transport workers and railway men were the same traitors that they proved to be last year. Thomas, the hero of the railwaymen, and of the Second International, one of the chieftains of the Amsterdam Labor Federation, led the railwaymen into a betrayal of the miners. The miners themselves, determined to fight out this fight on the few material issues that were presented, were betrayed by Hodges, who dickered and negotiated—till the backbone of the strike was broken. Disorganized and terrified, they faced the keenly organized government of Great Britain, the united front of the parliamentary body—even the Laborites, Henderson and Clynes, who preferred discussion, compromise and surrender to the struggle that MUST come in Great Britain. They faced the guns, tanks, cannon, airplanes and poison gas amassed in the parks of London. They faced the army of volunteers who were ready to shoulder the guns and shoot down the fighting workers. They faced the treachery of the miners in other countries who were ready to mine coal to be shipped to England. But they learned a lesson—as the workers of the United States and other countries may learn—that THE GOVERNMENT USES ITS ARMS NOT ONLY AGAINST THE EXTERNAL ENEMY, BUT ALSO AGAINST THE WORKERS, WHOM THEY CALL THE INTERNAL ENEMY!

South America and Mexico present the same aspect. The strike of harbor workers in Argentina, the railway strike in Mexico, the same attitude of the government, show that the same causes are driving the workers in those countries to use the same measures that are being adopted in the more highly developed capitalist countries. In each of the States of South America and in Mexico there are being organized Communist Parties, as a direct response to the urge to World Revolution as the only mode of labor emancipation.

Asia is the scene of nationalistic uprisings. The people of India, Asia Minor and the Far East are in arms against their imperialistic oppressors. Armenia has thrown off the yoke of capitalism and has entered into the dominion of Sovietism, skipping all the brutality and degradation that the Kautskys and MacDonnald's demand as preliminary to the social revolution. Asia is the hotbed of "sedition", from the manifestation of "non-cooperation" in India, to the use of arms in Afghanistan and Syria. The war against the imperialists is being waged on all fronts—by the workers and the oppressed peoples!

The United States is the seat of reaction! Purse-heavy as the result of the war, filled with imperialistic ambitions, virile and inflated with prosperity, the capitalist class seeks new fields of exploitation, is bent on new expeditions. The change of administration was but the change of firm name. IMPERIALISM PRESSES ON UNCHECKED! If anything, the new administration has put more vigor into American capitalist ambitions. With wealth concentrated and as the creditor of the world, the American capitalists are ready to contend the sovereignty of the world. They are equipping themselves with a navy "equal to any". They are providing themselves with war equipment that is deadlier than anything used in the last war. They are building up their outposts, preparing for the last imperialist conflict! Glorious and greedy as the capitalist class is, it is adamant to the demands of the workers, crushing them and reducing them to a status of servility. It is employing every means, no matter how foul, in order to attain a firm hold on the labor movement—in order to break it up. Corrupting the leaders, wherever it must, and yet supporting them against the radicals who would remove these leaders from all influence over the working class, it is utilizing every scheme of law and court to suppress the workers. The enactment of laws, the application of injunctions, the declaring of strikes illegal, the use of spies, provocateurs and gunmen to seduce, watch and shoot down the workers,

and today is all-powerful. Soviet Russia is the only country where no men need be idle. Soviet Russia is the only country where "over-production" does not exist. Although attacked by the united capitalist governments, Soviet Russia has forced the imperialist world to make peace with her. Soviet Russia, the government of the workers and peasants, much despised by the capitalist world, is the dictator of the world! War looms up in the Far East. Two imperialist groups unable to come to terms, are about to enter into combat. In the East rises the Japanese giant challenging the pride and greed of the West. Building up its army and navy, fortifying all vulnerable positions, marshalling all the forces that the capitalist States have at their disposal, the two powers of the East and the West are playing the game that will produce another holocaust.

The workers are faced with this new threat. War or revolution! Acceptance of the dictates of the imperialist masters—or an end to the system! Organized labor the world over realizes the danger. Having been allied with the Second International, which betrayed it and sent it out to the slaughter that destroyed the lives of ten millions of the strongest and best, a large section of the organized labor forces of the world filled with revolutionary ardor are assembling at Moscow to build the engine and formulate the methods of its use for stopping the war and for fighting the last impending combat with the master class. Under the protection of the Communist International, it is organizing the forces of the workers, willed and determined to destroy the present system. Above it, and directing its movements is the general staff of the Revolution, the guiding spirit and directing force of the Communist International, opposing to the imperialist hordes, the organized legions of the revolutionary workers; opposing to its slogan of imperialist dominion, the challenge of Proletarian Revolution!

Into this world of rebellion and revolution May Day comes, calling out the workers to demonstration; calling them out to a manifestation of their strength, of their will to Revolution. All over the world, the workers will demonstrate. In all the metropolises, in all the towns where workers toil and suffer, they will respond to the call of May Day. In America too, the workers will heed the call; they too, will join in the challenge: REVOLUTION!

Goaded by these conditions, the workers of the world are being driven to the use of drastic methods for relief. Parliamentarism has failed. Whenever the Socialists or laborites have attained to power, the workers have been betrayed. The capitalist class of America has annihilated the integrity of its own laws! The capitalist class of America has deprived the workers of legal means for attaining economic and political freedom. But the workers are demanding freedom. The workers are demanding release from their misery. Europe is bloody with the struggles of the workers to emancipate themselves.

Only Russia presents a different picture. Though harassed by war, disease and hunger, the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia have held fast to the freedom that they gained by the overthrow of the capitalist regime three years ago. Though war has succeeded war, though one attempt of the capitalist governments to destroy Soviet Russia has followed the other, the workers and peasants of Russia, flying the Red Flag of the Red Army of Russia have defeated the machiavelian plots against the life of the Communist Republic. Built by the workers and peasants, existing only for the benefit of the workers and peasants, the Soviet Government of Russia has crushed all inner and outer foes

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Let me tell you, Bol—I saw a picture the other day Of a man in overalls, Hanging on a gallows— Dead! And it was horrifying enough, But say, You know it made me feel As if I'd like to die that way. For— After a life of work And struggle And war, All of ours, and the big idea Of a Workers' World— It would be kind o' satisfactory To go to rest Hanging For the cause— Dead, of course, But an example of work Damn well done! —Jim.

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