

THE TOILER

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AMERICAN LABOR TODAY

By HULET, M. WELLS.

I am a representative of a national labor movement which is one of the strongest and weakest of the world. So far as revolutionary spirit, international solidarity, social vision, or class-consciousness in its larger aspects is concerned, the American labor movement, as a whole, is pitifully weak. Yet numerically and potentially it represents enormous power.

The representative labor movement of the United States contains normally about five million members. It consists of the American Federation of Labor, numbering over four million members, and certain railway and clothing worker's unions which do not differ fundamentally from the larger body, and are only casually separated from it.



HULET, M. WELLS

Delegate from the Central Labor Council of Seattle, Wash., to the conference of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow.

Contrasted with this main movement are several small revolutionary unions numbering all told perhaps two per cent of the larger bodies. These radical unions, of which the Industrial Workers of the World is the best known, contain a fine militant group of revolutionary enthusiasts who labor devotedly to spread their ideals; but in a decade and a half they have made little progress in organization.

The American Federation of Labor then, must be considered as the typical labor body of the United States, and since I represent one of the units of that body, a body whose president considers the Amsterdam International too radical, it must also be plain that the section which I represent is not typical of the Federation.

As a matter of fact the workers of a few localities, including my own, have been partially imbued with a revolutionary ideology. This does not mean that all of them at any time, or most of them at all times, see clearly the irreconcilable conflict in society and the role in that struggle that their class is to play. It does not mean that they are altogether free from foolish prejudices and false economies of capitalist teaching.

All it means is that in the minds of the mass of the workers a few fundamental truths have taken root, upon which foundation active and sincere workers in the revolutionary cause may develop sound tactics. Among these truths are the principles that the interests of the capitalist and the laborer cannot be reconciled; that poverty is unnecessary; that unemployment is primarily due to a fatal defect in the capitalist system, and secondarily, because those who are employed work too much; that the capitalist press cannot be trusted; and that wars are of capitalist origin. Lastly, they vaguely perceive that various governmental agencies turn upon the workers at critical junctures. The poor man, it is seen, is not on equal footing with the rich before the law. The Department of Justice arrests strikers, the courts issue injunctions against them, and award damages to their employers, and the local or general government sends soldiers to shoot them down. These things arouse bitter resentment, but the resentment is largely directed

against individual officers, and the true function of the capitalist state as a class institution is not rightly understood.

Middle Class Ideology Rules.

The reason for this is obvious enough. The growth of industrialism in America has been so rapid and intense that the spirit of the middle class liberals who furnished the ideology for the American revolution is still kept alive, although absurdly incongruous. These men, who were despised by the privileged class of their time, are now represented in the schools and the press as saints and heroes. Their fine sounding generalities about liberty in the abstract serve admirably as a glorification of the political system under which capitalism flourishes.

The American worker knows too much and too little for his own good. He is educated in a capitalist school and learns to read capitalist newspapers. Hence he drinks in poison from two sources from which many Russian workers were free. And on the other hand he does not learn enough to enable him to think for himself.

Vital Need of Education.

So the problem of revolutionary activity in America at the present time appears to me to be the relatively prosaic problem of education. The question of the form which organization shall take—the question over which different groups of radicals wrangle so bitterly—seems to me more or less academic, and not of much present importance. Why discuss so heatedly the relative value of political and industrial organization when each side has only a handful of adherents, and the great mass of workers, heedless of the disputants takes its own way, forging spontaneously out of its practical needs its craft unions and its farmer-labor parties?

Would it not be a good idea for the social revolutionist who has a message for organized labor to present himself occasionally at those places where organized labor may be found? I think so. That is the policy I have always followed, and that is why I can represent an American Labor Council at a Red Internationale.

It is sometimes said by its critics (Continued on page 2nd)

'Vacations' Mark Howat Trial.

Columbus, Kansas.—Hundreds of miners have assembled here to attend the trial of Alexander Howat, president of District 14 of the United Mine Workers of America. The miners are being housed in tents during the trial, having, individually, gone on "vacations" during the trial, as they have done during Howat's previous trials in Pittsburg. Not a mine is expected to operate during the course of the trial.

The local union of Frontenac engaged a brass band to herald the trial's opening and special cars were run on the interurban, connecting Columbus with Pittsburg miners' headquarters. The spirit of the miners has converted the trial days into holidays.

An attempt will be made by attorneys for Howat, led by J. I. Sheppard, of Fort Scott, to prove that the motive for the creation of the Industrial Court Act, for the violation of which Howat stands trial, was purely political, without relation to any desire for industrial "peace."

Witnesses subpoenaed for Howat include R. A. Burth, justice of the state supreme court; W. L. Huggins, presiding judge of the industrial court; W. P. Lambertson, former speaker of the Kansas House and former political ally of Governor Henry J. Allen, and four former state senators.

HAYWOOD TO RETURN

William D. Haywood will return to the United States and surrender himself to the authorities, press reports state. U. S. District Attorney Clyne of Chicago is credited with the statement that he is in receipt of a radio from Haywood at Moscow saying he would leave Moscow July 12 and surrender himself upon arrival here. Haywood is under conviction and has been sentenced to 20 years imprisonment at Leavenworth. It was learned that he was in Russia when the time arrived for his incarceration.

400,000 UNEMPLOYED IN NEW YORK.

Four hundred thousand workers are jobless in New York City according to estimates made by the Co-ordinating Committee of Unemployment Activities. This number is equal to 19 per cent of the city's working force.

A. F. OF L. CONVENTION REPORT DELAYED.

The concluding report of the A. F. of L. Denver Convention by Caleb Harrison had not been received at time of making forms for this issue. We hope to have this report for next week.

BRITISH MINE STRIKE OVER.

The British coal miners' strike has been settled. Agreements between mine owners, miners and the government involving conditions under which the miners agreed to return to work, were arrived at last week.

The strike began on April 1st and has paralyzed British industrial conditions to a greater extent than any social occurrence in British history. Under terms of the settlement, the miners give up their wage pool demands but gain a share in the profits of the industry. The wage scale for the next year and a half will be 20 per cent above the pre-war scale. The miners' range of profits will be regulated by national and district wage boards.

The government has agreed to a 10,000,000 pound subsidy to the owners in order to get the industry underway and functioning under the new system. This strike, which at one time threatened a great social upheaval, until the triple alliance rejected unity with the strikers, ends as all such strikes must, minus victory to the workers, without unity of the greater masses of workers in the basic industries.

TRIUMPHANT!

Now that her great trials are over And most of her enemies dead, Russia can live in clover With a halo about her head! Edward J. Irvine.

A CONVENTION -OF- INDECISIONISTS

SOCIALIST PARTY WOBBLER ONWARD TOWARD FUSION AND DISSOLUTION. INDECISION MARKS CONVENTION ACTIONS ON ALL VITAL QUESTIONS

REPORT OF THE 2ND HALF OF THE CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS.

Special Report to The Toiler—By THURBER LEWIS.

Hillquit has again well performed the task of helmsman for the Socialist Party Ship. Again, an experienced hand at the wheel, he has guided the almost floundering vessel between the breakers of avowed conservatism on one side, and the shoals of unmistakable radicalism on the other. If Milwaukee had its way, the party would go completely into the petty reform business, it would effect blunt compromises with anything that might add to its parliamentary strength, it would throw up the sponge and disavow even its revolutionary phrases. Dismissal with those to the left, although certainly not embracing communism, they would impart a disagreeable odor to the usual socialist election, they would place the party in a position to sustain the stigma of "sovietism," and worst of all, they would be constantly playing up the "impossible fetish" of "the dictatorship of the proletariat." Hence, Hillquit sought to avoid both.

Instead of jumping immediately into fusion, the resolution recommended "a careful survey of all radical and labor organizations in the country, with a view of ascertaining their strength, disposition and readiness to cooperate with the socialist movement upon a platform not inconsistent with that of the party." Always wary of the shoals, he concluded, "and on a plan which will preserve the integrity and autonomy of the Socialist Party."

Asks for Fusion.

It was altogether, I think, unexpected when Dan Hoan moved the "fusion resolution." It was introduced irreverently, but nevertheless recognized by the chair, under the agenda heading of General and Political Strikes. The first paragraph read as follows, "The present status of the socialist and labor movements of America does not warrant a general or political strike as the starting point for the attainment of our aims." In place of this, it insisted, that the time had come for the Socialist Party "to sound the clarion call" for a conference that would make for a "working alignment of militant workers," and added "for the purpose of formulating such cause of action," that "will result in the peaceful attainment of our revolutionary aims." The resolution then asked that the N. E. C. arrange a conference of those organizations that stood for (1) the collective ownership and democratic management of all means of production and distribution monopolistically owned, (2) to oppose and abolish war, (3) to restore our liberties, (4) the attainment of these aims by the employment of both economic and political action along working class lines.

General and Political Strikes.

As before noted, these motions were more or less amendments to those on the agenda. General and Political Strikes. Of the former, there were two motions submitted. The first, regards the general strike as a "powerful weapon of the working class." But, "It is evident that the advocacy of a general strike in the U. S. under present conditions is folly." The second insists, "A political party cannot call a general strike for any purpose," and, trying to find a reason for its existence adds, "that is the function of the workers organized in the unions." With the assurance that such a thing as a general strike will not be a very proximate obligation, the delegation carried the first motion.

The motion on the political strike,

the possibility of which seems to be but a recent admission of the S. P., was similar to the other. It starts out, "A political strike is a strike for the purpose of compelling the enactment or repeal of legislative measures or for the purpose of influencing the policies of the administrative officials." Even though it may have acceded to them that a political strike might serve other ends, i. e. control of industry, etc., since such things are beyond the pale of the narrow political limits they have set for themselves, they summarily discard them. It ends, after applying a number of straight-jacket reservations, "The socialist party therefore, warns against the attempted use of the political strike as a general or customary weapon and declares that it should be used only on rare occasions and in connection with matters of supreme importance to the workers." But, even this sickly and enervated pretense to revolutionary activity was disowned. The motion lost by a vote of 20-19.

The motion on the "attitude toward

labor organizations" merely reaffirms the old socialist party stand, a meagre policy of individual "boring from within." "The position of the socialist party is one of constructive, not destructive criticism." It is through this policy of loyal constructive work within the Labor Unions that the Socialist Party strives to strengthen these organizations and bring about a better understanding and cooperation between the militant economic and political organizations of the workers." The motion said nothing about the I. W. W. and other really "militant" organizations.

Throw Them Out.

Next on the agenda came the famous "Branstetter resolution." It starts out by saying that the Third International is attempting to disrupt the Socialist Party. It quotes an appeal from the Third International. Thereupon, Hillquit presented a resolution. Always choosing a safe and

Watchful Waiting.

Then came Hillquit—the lawyer. Although he could not disagree with the sense of the resolution, "at this time," he did not think it practicable. He did not oppose it because it was not commensurable with the revolutionary policies that he even, once espoused but because it was not "practicable." And why did he not think it practicable? Because the Farmer Labor Party was a failure, the Non-Partisan League was taking a downward slide, and there were no really worth while organizations with which to unite. And then, who could say whether or not any organization cared to form an alliance? It takes two to make an agreement.

Thereupon, Hillquit presented a resolution.

Always choosing a safe and

THE ECONOMICS OF THE DUAL UNION PROBLEM.

By MORITZ J. LOEB.

For many years the question of the "dual union" has been a very bitter one. Up until recently by far the greater number of American radicals were firm supporters of the policy to break up the reactionary unions and to set up in their place revolutionary unions openly dedicated to the class struggle. At the same time there was a considerable group styling themselves, "Borers from Within" who were utterly opposed to such dual unionist and separatist tactics. In the past months the swing over to the latter point of view has been rapid. Influenced greatly by the stand taken by the Third International, revolutionists and revolutionary parties have turned en masse from the dual union stand and have taken up their position in the ranks of those who advocate the working within the existing unions. There is great danger in such a mass repudiation of old ideas in favor of new ones. Many are crying out against the dual unions with a fervor equal to that with which they used to damn the A. F. of L. Many are falling over backwards in their attempt to get off the "dual union wagon" and at the same time committing as serious errors in thinking and tactics as ever they did as dual unionists.

It is getting to be fashionable to criticize such separatist tactics. There are many who do so without giving the matter any serious thought and many who accept the criticisms without understanding what it is all about. To condemn dual unions loosely and unreservedly is a very simple thing to do. It is the favor of radical revolutionaries alike. But just as we must be careful in our interpretations of Bolshevism. There is room for as many conservative and menshevik interpretations of one as there is of the other.

Dual Unionism Defined.

Just what is a dual union? That is a question that must be answered correctly before there can be any intelligent discussion about the matter. Is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union a dual union? Surely the officials of the United Garment Workers Union considered it as such and fought it with all the means in their power. The two unions still exist side by side. Yet in the actual meaning the Amalgamated cannot be considered a dual union. And no one could accuse it of being a separatist organization. If we can arrive at, and accept a working definition for dual unions much misunderstanding and many errors in thinking and in tactics may be avoided. Outside of the one example cited in Foster's pamphlet "The Railroaders Next Step," all of the dual unions were organizations comprised of the radicals and rebels of the industries who broke away from the official unions, adopted a revolutionary program and called upon all revolutionists in the industries to join them. It is these separatist or isolationists that are in effect the dual unionists.

tempt to secure for its members all that is possible in the way of wages, conditions and advantages. It is for these purposes that the American trades unions and most of the unions of other countries were called into existence. Only as long as they fulfil this function can they continue to exist. It is when a trade union fails to perform its function or when it fails to perform it efficiently, that the workers start to look about them for an organization that will serve their purposes. It is only when the official unions fail to represent the workers in their daily economic struggle with the employers that the opportunity for the formation of the rebel unions presents itself.

"Outlaw" Unions.

These so called rebel or "outlaw" movements do not result from any urge from radicals outside the unions. The new unions are not formed at the call of any outsiders at all, but grow directly from the discontent and disaffection within the union ranks. That the rebel unions led by radicals and progressives is natural, for it is the progressives and radicals that always take the lead against the reactionary or grafting labor leaders, or in the struggle against the bosses. The outlaw railroad strike of the fall of 1919 was one striking example of such a situation. The strike was more of a strike against the "official" trade union leaders than it was against the employers. The new Yard Mens union that grew out of the situation was formed not as a separatist movement but resulted from the widespread discontent among the rank and file of the workers.

There are other causes for the formation of parallel unions that cannot under the definition be termed dual unions. Certain unions making use of the union label limit their activities so as to produce only as much label goods as will make the label an asset. Employers who accept the label do so because it is good business for them only as long as the production of union label goods meets or stays below the demand for such goods. If the union increased its field the value of the union label would decrease in proportion to the increase in label goods. Thus large fields in certain industries are purposely left unorganized. The formation of a parallel union to cover these fields certainly cannot be termed dual unionism. Such is the case in the shoe industry where the Boot and Shoe Workers have purposely refused to take in great masses of the workers in the industry. Narrow minded, short sighted and selfish workers in the industries of course thought they benefited by this restriction in their craft. As always it was the progressive workers that saw the necessity of taking all the shoe workers into the industry and it was these progressive and radicals who, finding that it could not be done in the old union formed

the stand taken by many of the radical leaders in the A. F. of L. has often been expressed on this subject. The groups typified by William Z. Foster have long called to the radicals of the American labor movement to cease their dual union and disruptionist tactics. They have called upon the progressive workers to participate in building up the A. F. of L. unions, to work within the conservative unions, to help educate the membership, to give the unions a radical expression and to prove by their activity, their devotion to the rank and file of the different organizations. It is in this way that the progressives gain control, they tell us; it is in this way that the unions are made into fighting organizations of the class struggle.

If we accept this as a working definition we place ourselves in a position from which we can deal with the subject. It is the separation of the most intelligent and able workers from the great mass of the workers that is to be avoided. It is the isolation of the revolutionists, the progressives, from the rank and file of the workers in the mills, mines and factories that constitute the fallacy and the tactical error of dual unionism.

Isolation makes for conservatism. The lessons of the struggle in the past years have amply born out these teachings. No one who has an understanding of the labor movement can deny that Foster has been right and that the policy of isolation which radicals such as the I. W. W. have pursued has been largely responsible for the failure of the American labor movement to keep pace with the other countries. Even many members of the I. W. W. itself are admitting that such a policy is wrong. None of the intelligent radicals are calling upon the radical workers to leave the conservative unions and form revolutionary ones that are separated from the masses of the workers.

Then it must be admitted that the breaking away from the official A. F. of L. unions do not in itself constitute dual unionism. If in the splitting up of the old union the great masses of the rank and file follow the rebel leaders into the new organizations, if the new union functions as the organization of the rank and file workers in their every day struggle against the bosses, then under the definition there would be no dual unionism in the working sense but merely a disintegration of the old union and the institution of a more vital union in its place.

Under capitalism a labor union is primarily an organization of the workers for the workers, protection in the every day struggle against the bosses. Its primary duty is in the at-

It is all very well to condemn the dual unionist tactics. It is a necessary duty of all those who have the welfare of the movement at heart. But as Zinoviev said of the Third International, "It is getting to be the style."

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The Bolshevik Interpretation of the 2nd Congress of the Communist International: Petrograd-Moscow 1920

"THE VANGUARD OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT."
By N. Bukharin.

(Moscow Pravda, Aug. 3, 1920.)

The international proletarian movement is more and more rapidly developing into a movement directed by Communist Parties and their unifying organization—the Communist International. This change, however, has not as yet been fully perfected. Besides, there are coming into the Communist Party from various directions a portion of the workers who had passed through the old Social-Democratic school (even the "Strict-trainers") through devious ways, like parties of the "Center" (English and German "Independents"), gradually breaking the bounds of ancient traditions. These have learned through the experience of mass struggles, and now find it necessary to have a single centralized party.

The other portion of the proletariat, driven away by the repulsive, petty partisan, parliamentary, social-traitorous organizations, into the camp of the opponents on principle of "politics" in general and of political parties in particular, come to revolutionary Communism from the one side, and from a rejection of parties in general, to a recognition of the Communist Party.

Finally, the "new," crude, formerly non-partisan, and very often even unorganized masses, drawn by the course of revolutionary struggle into the general process, either directly or clambering along step by step, gradually realize the necessity of entering the ranks of the Communist Party. This is quite easily understood, for the opportunist parties and the opponents of parties on principle as such, in the main proceed (consciously or unconsciously) upon one and the same reformist illusion concerning the comparative ease of the struggle. The class-conscious opportunists stand wholly upon the point of view of the stability of the old relations, and of a slow, gradual, "prudent" policy. But—strange as this may sound—even the "Left Wing" critics of parties (Syndicalist, I. W. W., and others) do not realize the full degree of the stubbornness, and the warlike character of the revolution, which is, you know, nothing else but civil war. It is worth while to recall the anarcho-syndicalist theory of "the strike of folded arms."

For us Bolsheviks the highest form of struggle with capital for the conquest of authority is an armed uprising; many of those who reject parties prefer the general strike. Life completely supports our point of

view. No sort of situation in production and no kind of strike of itself can decide the matter, for the opposition of the entire governmental apparatus of the bourgeoisie will be encountered, and then inevitably the bayonet will become the order of the day. But if it is clear that revolution is civil war, that it is an armed struggle of the workers with the bourgeoisie, then it is also quite clear that the working class, like every belligerent country, must have a closely united vanguard, with military discipline, with a military staff to direct the struggle, and all must be subordinate to this staff. And such a vanguard is the party. And whoever once for all realizes all the gravity of the struggle, all its historically inevitable cruelty, and all its military character, at the same time once for all will also realize the necessity of the Communist Party.

In this connection, our International Communist Congress has already played a tremendous role. The Russian delegation, from the very beginning, even in opposition to the opinion of German friends (Spartacists), insisted upon the admission with a decisive voice, of the anarcho-syndicalists, the I. W. W., the English shop-stewards, etc. And what then? In the committee as well as in Congress, a resolution on the role of the party was adopted unanimously. The French syndicalist, Comrade Rosmer, subscribed to it. The representatives of the English shop-stewards committees subscribed to it. The I. W. W. subscribed to it. There was not a single protest when it was put to the vote. What does that mean? It means that the necessity precisely of a party, precisely a centralized one and precisely a military one, has become plainly clear to all serious adherents of the revolution, but not to babblers. For, we repeat, it is a matter of direct armed struggle.

We not only did not lose by admitting honest revolutionary workers to the Congress, who until now have not been Communists; on the contrary, we have already gained thereby. Only in this manner can the unity of the proletarian revolutionists actually be brought about. The business of the Marxists is not to stew in their own juice and to be joined to a group of superior comrades who know and understand everything. The business of the Marxists is continually to widen

the sphere of their influence and to draw all sincere adherents of the revolution into their ranks. The Congress showed the correctness of these tactics in the clearest light. It may be counted upon with the fullest assurance that its result will be an enormous increase in the growth of the Communist movement, a rallying of the forces of the proletariat, its support, discipline, organization, and stability in the greatest of class battles, which shall lead to the creation of a new humanity.

"THE RESULTS OF INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS," By YU. STEKLOV.
(Leading article, Moscow Izvestia, Aug. 8, 1920.)

The 2nd Congress of the Communist International is ended. Now one can make certain summarizing statements of its work.

First of all, let us note the basic feature of the Congress, namely, the unity in the state of mind of its participants and the unanimity on all principal questions. Whoever recalls the congresses of the II International, with their clear division into two wings which differed on fundamental questions of program and tactics and frequently were definitely hostile in their attitude toward one another, can not fail to note the profound difference between the old and the new international organizations. We do not say that there are no differences of opinion in the III International. On the contrary, sometimes the divergence between the majority of the Congress and its "Left" wing expressed itself very sharply. But if there was here difference of opinion, it was not, however, divergence with respect to the fundamental aims. All who participated in the Congress were striving ardently to bring about the liberation of the proletariat and revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie in all fields and under all flags; and if they sometimes quarreled among themselves, it was simply on the question of by what roads one can secure more surely this generally recognized aim and by what means can it be attained more quickly and without mistakes.

It is necessary to note also another profound difference. The II International did not have any discipline, either internal or external. It would adopt decisions, but it did not even wish to follow up their actual exe-

cutution. Knowing in advance that the resolutions adopted did not obligate in any way its members, the II International frequently would adopt radical decisions, which did not correspond to its actual state of mind and plans. Such was the resolution adopted three times as proposed by the "Lefts", respecting the converting of an imperialist war into civil war; that is, respecting the using of the World War for the world social revolution. And if those who voted for resolutions did not consider themselves obligated thereby, then of course those who voted against them did not wish to take them into account at all.

It is not thus in the Communist International. On a whole series of questions (on the role of the Communist Party, on parliamentarism, on the trade-union movement on conditions of admittance to the Communist International, etc.), sharp debates and quarrels took place at the Congress, but when it came to voting unanimity was reestablished. The majority of the resolutions on fundamental questions were adopted unanimously, or almost unanimously. And even those who voted against, in a majority of instances, declared their submission to the decisions taken.

But this last fact, of course, is self-understood. In contradistinction to its predecessor, the III International is not a debating club, but an organization of action. It wishes to be not the arena of academic discussions between parties independent one of the other, which temporarily come together for parlor talks; it wishes to be the centralized militant coordinating body of the international detachments of a single Communist Party, single both in its theoretic views and in its practical work. And this bringing together with respect to ideas and tactics of the proletarian vanguard, which was accomplished at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International, represents probably the most important attainment of the Congress. All the rest will adapt itself.

The Congress adopted resolutions that were of a definitely revolutionary and militant content. At the same time it was able to note the correct line that leads not to a rupture with the masses but to the closest union with them. It reaffirmed that true revolutionism implies the knowledge to choose the

most expedient means and to use the elementally developing movement of the masses for the purpose of bringing about their actual liberation. Once more it showed that Communists do not represent any special party that gets itself up against other forms of the workmen's movement, but are simply the latter's advance detachment, which is striving for the complete liberation of the proletariat, at each stage of the movement formulating and defending the general interests of the working class as a whole.

If the representatives at the Congress of parties that have not yet been accepted into the III International, such as the French and the German Independents, were obliged to declare that they will accept the decisions of the Congress in letter and spirit, by this declaration they involuntarily paid tribute to the historic truth of the program and tactics of the Communist International, and on their part testified that the decisions of the Congress correspond to the state of mind of the working masses which are behind these parties, and will therefore inevitably meet with the heartiest response in these masses.

Soldiers put on clean underwear before a battle. In preparing for the decisive storming of the citadels of bourgeois rule the proletariat is getting ready to cleanse its ranks. The decisions of the 2nd Congress referring to this last point, which are applicable not only to the parties that are getting ready to enter the ranks of the Communist International, but also to those that are already in its ranks, also undoubtedly correspond to a desire of the working masses themselves, who have been taught by bitter experience and do not wish any longer to be betrayed at the critical moment.

The 2nd Congress enters the history of proletarian struggle at an important stage of the latter. The bourgeoisie of the whole world will raise a shout against the revolutionary decisions of the Congress. It will set in motion all the sabers of its policemen, all the prayers of its priests, and all the wiles of the Socialist-Traitors to ward off the threatening danger. It will not hesitate to use coaxings and repressions to break the spirit of the growing movement and to disorganize its ranks. But nothing will stop the historic current. Repressions will only pour oil on the fire and increase the energy of the proletarian vanguard which, supported by the decisions of the 2nd Congress, will be able soon to gather under the flag of the Communist International wide working masses and lead them into the last decisive fight.

(CONCLUDED)

The Economics of the Dual Union Problem.

(Continued from page 1.)

a new one, The United Shoe Workers, which could serve the economic needs of the great masses of the shoe workers.

The members of the United Shoe Workers have been called dual unionists, destroyers of the labor movement and a number of less genteel names by officials of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. But as a matter of fact they are nothing of the sort, for it is notorious how the Boot and Shoe Workers have failed to represent the interests of the workers, have time after time sold out the membership to the bosses and have even conducted an official scab movement against the members of the United Shoe Workers who were conducting an heroic fight against the Chicago bosses. Yet the United Shoe Workers is called a dual union and the Boot and Shoe Workers asks the support on these grounds from the progressive elements of the labor movement. Yet as a matter of fact the United Shoe Workers has a membership larger than the other, its membership comprises all the true trade union elements in the industry and it is the only organization in the shoe industry that conscientiously fights the daily battles of the workers.

Need of Careful Planning.

It is quite obvious that if we do not want to make just as serious errors as did the "isolationists" we must be careful that we do not fall over backwards in our attempt to steer clear of dual unionism. If we are to be of the greatest effect in the labor movement it will be necessary to revise and moderate the anti dual unionist policy. In many industries the same conditions obtain in a greater or smaller degree, that resulted in the formation of the United Shoe Workers and in the "out-law" railroad workers strike. Many of the A. F. of L. unions are selflessly failing to meet the requirements that arise out of the modern industrial conditions. This does not apply only to the refusal of the union officials

to permit any move in the direction of industrial unionism. Numbers of the unions are persistently failing to protect their membership even in their struggle against the bosses within the several crafts. Numbers of the unions which are practically industrial in structure, due to their lack of militancy and courage, are failing to meet the daily economic requirements of the workers.

In some and perhaps the great majority of these wayward unions it may be possible to capture from the reactionary, grafting, shortsighted or inefficient officials, the control of the unions. By all means the progressives within these unions must make every effort in this direction. By their intelligence, their more advanced point of view, by their willingness to sacrifice and by their constructive and militant activity they must make every attempt to gain the confidence of the rank and file and the control of the unions. But there are several elements which enter into the problem. Firstly the officials will put every obstacle in the path of anyone who seeks to remove them from authority and office. They will adopt the policy of expelling all the radicals from the unions if they think that their position is threatened and that they can get away with it; secondly the control of the officials may be so strong that the progressives will fail in their attempt; thirdly the rank and file of the organizations may become so disoriented that a rank and file movement for separation may take place and fourthly under the rotten leadership of the old leaders the unions will be unable to withstand the increasingly fierce onslaughts of the organized bosses and succumbing to the open shop drive will be forced out of existence.

Tactical Moves.

Each one of these elements is highly important and should be dealt with at length, but this article is already too long and therefore they will be handled as briefly as possible. In case of expulsion of the progressive and the impossibility of making radical propaganda within the unions, it will be necessary and unavoidable to develop the discontent and lack of confidence among the rank and file of the officials, and at the psychological moment engineer a split that will car-

ry with it the great masses of the workers to the camp of the militants. This is a recognized tactic that must be understood and prepared for, for it will no doubt have to be employed in some cases, regrettable as such action may be. Of course the second element does not enter seriously into the problem. If it is impossible for the radical workers to gain control of their own industrial organizations, little can be hoped for in the way of a working class government, but this enters into the problem and it was mentioned to make the subject complete.

It is the third and fourth elements that are the most important. Should there be a separation movement that originated in the rank and file discontent and desperation, that gained such headway as to encompass any appreciable majority of the workers, the militants and radicals might not be able to hold such a movement in check. In such case the separation might take place in spite of the efforts of the radical leaders. They could not then afford to hold themselves aloof and remain in the conservative camp. Such action would destroy their prestige and position with the workers and would render them impotent as far as any further leadership is concerned. At such a time the progressives must throw all their efforts into the building up of the new organization, to make it an effective militant union which would meet the daily demands of the working class. They must not only create an organization with a revolutionary aim, but one which can function as an economic organ of the workers. They must not forget that the success of the organization depends not on its revolutionary slogans, but upon the actual service that it renders to its membership and to the working class as a whole. An organization so formed would not be a dual union in the working sense. Its organizers could not be called dual unionists or disruptors, but would be able and valuable champions of the working class.

Unions Face Crisis.

That numbers of the existing trade unions of today may be destroyed in the open shop drive and the current industrial depression is by no means beyond the range of possibility. The

history of the labor movement is replete with stories of unions that were unable to survive widespread or extended industrial crises. The present American situation is of far more seriousness than the previous ones that resulted in such disastrous financial panics. Due to the existence of the Federal Reserve Bank there is not so great a money stringency, but from the industrial view point matters are far worse. Especially as far as the labor movement is concerned, is the situation more precarious. Never has there been such widespread unemployment. Never has the prospect for continuous unemployment been so great. This in itself has serious enough consequences as far as the trade unions are concerned with the energetic wage slashing and the creation of so much potential scab material. But in addition to this, the industries of the United States, due to the many bankruptcies and industrial failures, has drifted even more closely into the hands of the bankers and the financial capitalists. After the public announcements of those in control of the United States Steel Corporation in regard to their labor policy, it is quite evident what is to be expected when these same groups tighten their grasp upon the other industries of the country. This group which practically controls the finances of the country is openly out to smash the labor unions. The attacks which they have made so far are nothing compared with what they would like to do and what they are likely to launch in the immediate future.

It is not at all inconceivable that in the struggle of the next years, some of the unions will be forced into losing strikes that will spell their destruction. Especially those unions which have been the least militant and progressive are liable to be crushed. It may be that they will not be utterly destroyed but reduced to an impotent body of a very few workers and the old gang of reactionary and inefficient officials who will hold on as long as enough dues are paid to secure their wages. In such case it will be up to the radicals in the industries to go about the tedious and difficult job of building up new organizations. It would then be the utmost folly and outside of all reason

for them to build up organizations that would remain in the hands of the old and corrupted officials. The work of capturing them again into the control of the radicals would be only have to be done all over. In such cases we can expect nothing but new organizations which would be parallel to the old ones as long as the latter continued to exist. Still to consider them as dual unions and treat them as such would be of incalculable harm to the entire labor movement.

In the foregoing lines many matters of great importance have been touched upon but lightly. It has not been attempted to go into the matter in detail. To do so would require a whole book. Many days of research work would be necessitated to supply the material and examples. Perhaps some student of the labor movement will some day have the time and the means to go into the problem and bring out a book on the subject. Such a book would be of great enlightenment and value to the labor movement.

A Present Problem.

But the problem is not one of the distant future. Its many intricacies are facing us now. Some of the rank and file movements against the official trade unions are already taking place. Many members of the Machinists union are chafing under the restraints of their organization. They are talking about going over to the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union. To face this condition in one of the key industries with a confused understanding of the problem involved, or with a dogmatic attitude will be disastrous. In other key industries the same movement is occurring. The Amalgamated Food Workers Industrial Union is making tremendous strides. Whole locals of the A. F. of L. unions have already gone over to it.

We cannot afford to be doctrinaire. We cannot damn these movements as dual unionist and then forget all about them. Their activities are pressing them before us and we have to face the issue intelligently. We have to first determine as far as is possible what tactics are to be used. It is all very well to call for action. But we need something more than courageous self-sacrificing action. We

need keen-minded, cool-headed, scientific action. It is all very well to want an organization which will concern itself with plans of action within the labor movement, meaning the A. F. of L. movement. We have no such organization now. True, we must start to build one immediately. But we cannot forget that outside the A. F. of L. and within the A. F. of L., yet against it, there is a vital, growing movement. We cannot, must not and we dare not shut our eyes to it. For if we do, when we have built our organization within the labor movement, we may find that the A. F. of L. will be a very different kind of an organization yet along side of it may be other organizations which are potent and vital but from which we may be isolated.

AMERICAN LABOR TODAY.

(Continued from page 1.)

that the American Federation of Labor has no organic strength; that it is a mere shell held together by a few politicians. No more ridiculously superficial criticism could be made. The politicians are there undoubtedly. They may be tolerated or respected as the case may be, but for better or for worse the unions of America are a virile force, moulded in the heat of countless industrial battles, and they will no more crumble at the command of a group of tacticians from the outside, than the walls of the Kremlin will fall down at the blast of a ram's horn.

The greatest educational force for our workers and all the world today is the Russian revolution. As I contemplate the immensity of the thing that you have done, the obstacles overcome, the sacrifices made I feel that the representatives of backward nations like America have little cause for national pride and much need for humility.

The Russian trade unions were the first in all the world to reach the point where science does not busy itself planning how labor can best be exploited but instead busies itself with the questions of what is best for the organization of labor and the welfare of society.

LIFE IS WHAT WE WANT!

By SANFORD HAMILTON.

"Friends of Labor" are losing sleep trying to dope out what we want. The Womens Press, for example, advertises—in "The Survey" for March 5, 1921—a "fun-making, play-planning little volume" under the heading

What the Workers Want Is Recreation.

And so it goes. Every "Friend of Labor" guesses along the lines of the thing or the idea he has to peddle. Poor boneheads, they are struggling with something that is too big for them. Why don't they ask us? We'll tell them the whole story in five words—Life is what we want!

"Friends of Labor" look puzzled. Watch them. They'll start an argument. Here they go: "Life is a broad term. What..."

Never mind definitions, dear friends. A teaspoonful of pruned juice has more knowledge of life than you. All your opinions are borrowed from half dead professors who stole them from professors who are quite dead.

Just mark what we say: Life is what we want! And the first thing on our program is to get control of the means of life—industry.

It's a big job. So, please, dear friends, don't bother us. If you don't overwork your little heads, you may live long enough to see our idea of life in actual operation.

But you are a nervous lot, impatient. It would be cruelty to animals to keep you guessing that long. So here—in broad terms—is our idea of life:

A United Humanity fighting its one enemy: the secrets of nature.

What joy, what happiness, what gladness such a life can offer, you pale-blooded intellectuals cannot even begin to imagine. And we have no time to bother with details. We have a big job to do!

On May 28 the first foreign steamer, flying the Dutch flag, arrived in the harbor of Petrograd with 6,000 tons of herring.

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

"Workers, leave the Socialist Party. It is your enemy and ours."

This sentence was a part of the reply of the Communist International a year ago to the Socialist Party's application for affiliation. The workers are following the advice given. Ten thousand members have left the party within the past year, according to the report of the Secretary at the Detroit convention.

"You are being deceived. The Socialist Party of the United States is not a working-class party but an auxiliary organization of the American bourgeoisie, or world imperialism. It is not leading you toward Socialism—it is betraying you to the counter-revolution," continued the reply.

How truly the advice given was justified is seen by the actions of the convention just concluded. To those naive socialists and sympathizers who have been patiently waiting for the Socialist Party to take a revolutionary stand and retrieve its lost standing as a party of the workers, the convention actions should prove a convincing argument that it has hopelessly forsaken the principles of the Revolution. The Party cannot even muster a respectable "left wing" among its membership. The spirit and integrity of Revolution abideth not in the shattered body of this remnant.

It is by no means the smallness of numbers, the bankrupt condition of its finances, the stress of its publications by which we should judge the Party. Rather by the plans, programs, the spirit and vision which animate it, is it to be judged. The party which is to lead the workers out of bondage will undoubtedly be small in numbers and always "broke", yet its spirit will be that of revolutionary progress, always well in the vanguard of the struggle, with keen vision of the problems of the workers and courage and will sufficient to overcome all obstacles. These, the socialist party does not possess.

The Socialist Party at Detroit repudiated the principles which have made the Russian revolution successful. It tenaciously clings to the bourgeois methods of "democracy". It patterns after the enemies of labor in its political strivings. It scorns affiliation with the only successful revolutionary force in the world—the Communist International. It has definitely withdrawn from the struggle for revolution and entered the last phase of its existence—fusion, compromise, wavering and indecision.

The Party is leaderless, or rather, is it without leaders who have vision, hope, courage and a proletarian conception of the class-struggle. It has no program, it is unable to formulate one. On Mass Action, the Political and General Strike it is unable to express an opinion. Torn between opposing views of these working-class weapons it is unable to choose, and therefore declines to take a stand.

In the present phase of the class struggle the Party does not know which step to take, which weapon to lay hold of. Vacillation and indecision marked the convention's actions; were, in fact, the one outstanding characteristic of the affair.

Pitting it in its puerility, yet full of pride of it for its "patriotic" stand, for its refusal to take a revolutionary position, the capitalist press has voiced its hearty approval of the Socialist Party.

It fully recognizes the features of one of its own family and renders praise accordingly. This is the party, this party of vacillation, of inability to formulate a program, to take a step forward: which mouths the phrases of revolution, yet refuses to act, which "repudiates revolution in deeds while applauding it in words"—this is the party which says to American workers—follow me!

All that is lacking for the complete recognition of the Socialist Party as a counter-revolutionary party, is the open adoption of it by the bourgeoisie. This will come later. By the convention's orders the Party will now feel its way into methods of co-operation with other derelicts of its kind whose only reason and purpose for future existence is service to the bourgeoisie against the proletarian revolution.

A Reply to the "Industrial Union News"

By M. H. ROGERS.

The leaders of the W. I. U. are notoriously known for their cringing sycophancy. To criticize these respectable and law abiding citizens of the W. I. U., however obvious their opportunistic and reactionary leadership and tactics are, is a great crime and is tantamount to perturbing the evil spirits of some deceased ancestor that could not be appeased or propitiated. How vainly the sagacious editor of their official organ endeavors thru subterfuge and prevarication to exonerate its opportunism is evident by an editorial which appeared in their last week's issue purporting to be a

reply to my criticism of the report to the Moscow Congress, in the May 28th issue of The Toiler. To calumniate and heap defamations upon their opponents seems their regular way to get even.

The editor protracts his argument in a six column editorial by exhausting his profound knowledge of anatomy and optics and by calling the present writer and The Toiler every name which the encyclopedia of profane language contains. The headline of the editorial will suffice to show this. "A Come-Soonist—Jolly Rogers leaves his hole for a few minutes, receives a Braille edition of the W. I. U. Delegates' report to the Moscow International Trade and Industrial Unions. He takes it into the bowels of the earth. The other nine join him in "feeling" it. Whow! The skull and cross bones nearly fall off the Jolly Rogers."

They may gravely shake their heads with resentment over the splendid revolutionary progress The Toiler is making among tens of thousands of American workers because of its unflinching and tireless devotion to the cause of emancipating the workers from wage slavery and its keen perception of the class struggle throughout the world; and its fearless and remarkable ability in interpreting it to the workers.

Incidentally, may I add that these calumnies do not cause me any pain—"pain of an excruciating nature", partly because they come from a ramshackle organization screening its opportunism and partly because these denunciations cannot cause pain even to the most sensitive creature. As for the vehement denunciations and attacks on the I. W. I. and "Big Bluff" (Bill Haywood) as they call him, the writer never shared their views and occasionally criticized them; also the I. W. W. are gradually changing their tactics and views and thus themselves to the conditions arising out of the struggle in which the workers are engaged.

Suffice it to say, that the proletariat, after capturing political power and instituting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which is anathema to the opportunistic leaders of the W. I. U. as the pre-requisite of the transition period, will know how to cope with those elements who pretend to be revolutionary but in reality are aiding the capitalistic state to perpetuate its sordid interests. ALL ROME TO THE WORKERS!

France Worried By Anti-Militarist Action.

Translated from The French Press By MARY REED.

A halt has come in the French mobilization of the class of '19. Little has been said about it in the capitalist press, except for an obscure dispatch here and there stating that the order for demobilization has been accompanied by a project for a sedition law which will make it a crime to publish any anti-militarist article, and containing severe repressive measures against Communist propaganda.

It is not necessary to read French Communist papers to realize what this means. French Imperialism has got a scare. The diary of mobilization events which "L'Humanite" has been publishing tells how it was done. In town after town detachments of mobilized soldiers marched through the streets singing "The International." Troop trains were decorated with the red flag. In one case a soldier was arrested for possessing radical literature, and the men protested with cries of "Down with the army! Down with war! Long live the International!" and refused service. In other cases where the food was bad, or where conditions were intolerable, the men protested by refusing to assemble for drill, and crying "Down with war!" A captain tried to review his men—they sang "The International." They did the same thing to M. Barthou, Minister of War. The following "regrettable incident" was described in the National Bloc paper, "Le Populaire de Nantes," of May 20: The French flag was hoisted and the band played "La Marseillaise. Up went the Red Flag, amid strains of "The International."

At first M. Barthou said that these songs and cries did not mean any discontent, but were just displays of good-humor. These demonstrations increased, however, to such a degree that the French Government decided it was time to "about face." The time has come when the French workers will no longer be tools of an imperialist policy. They would rather run the risk of being shot down. It is not a question of jailing a few conscientious objectors. The supply of cannon-fodder is getting low. Of course the government can turn elsewhere, for Africa still has a good supply. But the fact remains that it cannot rely on its own workers—quite an uncomfortable fact.

What does the French government do? Does it try to win the workers back? No—that would be to destroy the very foundation of its existence—exploitation. It is the consciousness of this fact which forces it to resort to the only other weapon—repression, savagely and hysterically preparing the way for proletarian dictatorship in France.

Crisis in the Communist Party of Germany.

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

Translated from the Russian by J. Milner.

(Second Article.)

The fundamental question that stood before the Communist Party of Germany at the moment of its organization, was: can it continue a policy of agitation and waiting, that was carried on by necessity, by the Spartakus as an organization small in numbers, and as it was conducted by the left part of the Independents, bound arms and feet by the rights of the Independents, or will it carry on a policy of battle. The manifesto of the unity congress of the party declared: a party counting half a million of advanced revolutionary workers, leaving the Independents not on theoretical differences, but because the Independents covered their inactivity by loud revolutionary phrases, it cannot limit itself to agitation and propaganda. Further more, it cannot limit itself to agitation and propaganda for the following reasons: that the growing need of the mass, the growing danger of the mass to fall in a complete slavery of German and Entente capital, demands from the vanguard of the proletariat, that it not by words but deeds strives to arouse its feet the much betrayed masses, masses that have outlived, to a considerable extent, the democratic illusions, but not believing in their own power, in the possibility of a revolutionary struggle. The congress of the party declared in its manifesto, that the party will be a party of battle, that it will attempt to deepen, broaden and unite every struggle of the workers.

How did the party fulfill this task? In the first weeks of its existence it showed that it knows not how to exploit the forms of propaganda; even such questions as unemployment it did not understand how to sufficiently exploit. In January last it appeared that Germany faced great events. Simultaneously drifted on the movement of the railroad workers, the postal employees and the unemployed. The party sought to do everything possible in order to centralize and place these movements on a higher plane than merely a struggle for higher wages. To do this a preliminary review of forces was necessary. The party turned to all organizations resting upon the working class, with an open question: are they ready to take part in the common struggle for determined daily slogans, responding to the most pressing needs of the working class? Putting these questions the party issued from the pre-determination that, depending on the answer of the Scheidemannists and the Independents, whether to march out in common with them, in order in the struggle, depending on conditions, to broaden and deepen the character of this struggle; or, if the Independents and also the Social-democrats at once reject the common marching out, then attack them on the same daily questions, comprehensible to the broadest masses, to acquire sufficient strong influence in this way, over large masses of trade unionists to carry on an independent struggle. The tactic of the "Open Letter" was crowned with great success. It showed the lagging masses that not the Communists but the Independents and Scheidemannists are splitting the forces, and that when the question is not on the problems dividing the proletariat, dictatorship and democracy, that they want no struggle at all, that they are simply parties, holding back the workers from all struggle. During the process on the "Open Letter" the party decided to organize in the Trade Unions its communist factions and to broaden and strengthen their influence over the broad noncommunist masses. However, further than that the party could not go. Partly because, that the party press and the party organization and the Central Committee, being in the hands of the moderate communists to a considerable extent, were not in a position to carry on a live, fighting tendency.

Capitalists Take Offensive. During this time the domestic and foreign condition of the German proletariat became worse. The world's economic crisis, increasing in Germany incited the capitalists to assume an offensive against the working class. The capitalists began to reduce wages and prepare an offensive against the workers in the main centers of communism. The Communist Party being especially strong in central Germany, in the mining district; the German government decided to start a cleaning there, leading in un-

der the mane of the police of defense, strong military squadrons, the task of which were to disarm the workers and handle them with thorny gloves. The disarming of the workers of the central region served yet another purpose, to serve the aims of the foreign policy. The time was nearing when the German government must make the final decision in its relations towards the Entente. Whether it will accept the demands of the Entente or it will decide for a battle against the Entente. In the first instance the deal will be on the account of the toiling German masses, who, doubtless, will agree to carry a double burden, the burden of the German and Allied bourgeoisie. As the pre-determination for this compromise with the Entente was the annihilation of the centers of the communist movement, if the government decides to reject the demands of the Entente, then so much less can it suffer the existence in the center of Germany of a proletarian stronghold that may threaten its freedom of troop movements etc.

Party Prepares To Resist.

Under these conditions convened the Central Council of the party on the 17 of March, which, as we said, consists of the Central Committee of the party and the representatives of the districts. Bearing in mind all the above mentioned conditions, the party council with all votes against one, decided to put the party on a war footing, to strengthen the illegal organization, sharpen the tone of the party's press, call upon the workers to answer blow for blow. The Central Committee received instructions not to evade the approaching conflicts but to sharpen and unite them. When the social-democratic lackey of the bourgeoisie, Goering, carried out the threat of the Prussian government and lead in the defence police in the central mining district, this district answered not only with strikes but with armed actions. The battle began at a very unfortunate moment, a few days before Easter, which, cutting into the preparatory work of agitation and propaganda, made difficult the creation of a common front. The Central committee of the party understood the inappropriateness of the moment, but did not refuse to march out, for it reckoned that a withdrawal without a battle would be a greater evil than a defeat. To the call to battle responded a million and a half of workers, made up in part of noncommunist workers. The conflict assumed various aspects in the different regions of Germany. Various means were: demonstrations, strikes and armed manifestations.

Moderates Become Traitors.

The fate of the struggle was decided by the fact that not only the Scheidemannists but also the right Independents went over openly to the side of the bourgeoisie. The right Independents went hand in hand with the government against the struggling workers. Their press lamented the movement as a contrivance of agents of Soviet Russia, believing it in its last days. When it became obvious that the movement was going to lose, the Central Committee gave an order to cease the struggle. After the armies of Goering finished their bloody work, the field courts began their work. Tens of death sentences, more than a thousand years of penitentiary sentences were pronounced by the democratic German government of the republic, represented externally by the social-democrat Ebert, who, as President has the right of amnesty, but did not exercise that right. The headmen of the right wing of the party took no part in the struggle but in many places sabotaged it. At the moment, when, under the blows of the enemy the party was forced to retreat, leaving hundreds of corpses and thousands of captives, when all the bourgeois and all the social-democratic press raised their savage howl against the party, demanding its destruction, the leaders of the right wing of the party began in the party's organizations to charge the Central Committee, that "on orders from Moscow" it had thrown itself in the adventure, and demanded the resignation of the Central Committee.

Levy's Traitorous Act.

Within sounds of the shots executing the death sentences of the field courts martial, under the lamentation of all bourgeois society, demanding a reckoning with the communist party, came out on the 14 of April the

Outbursts," in which these charges are made in the tone of a renegade and directed against the Central Committee of the party and against the Executive Committee of the Communist International, (Comintern). The brochure of Levy was wafted to all former chairman of the party, Paul Levy, with a brochure entitled: "Our Road in the Struggle against Sudden" the social-democratic press and the press of the Independents and became the main weapon against the Communist Party and against the Comintern. The Central Committee of the party did not interfere with Levy and the criticism of his followers, while it was conducted in the party organization, but expelled him from the party, when his activities were carried on outside the Party ranks. The Executive Committee of the Comintern approved this step. With Levy united comrade Zetkin and a number of the leaders of the former left Independents, with Daumig, Gaier and Brass at their head. Local District conferences of all important organizations of the party: Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Wuerttemberg (district in which C. Zetkin worked for 30 years), all declared in favor of the Central Committee. Among them also the much suffering central district—Halle. Because of the solidarity of a number of members of the parliamentary faction, with Levy, the Central Committee answered with a demand that these members, pending the decision of the Council, that was to convene on the tenth of May, should not exercise their parliamentary duties, for they cannot, considering the position they have been taking, defend the party.

In view of the fact, that Levy and his followers criticize the party not only on the mistakes committed during this movement,—and such mistakes, of course, are many,—but are advancing principal charges against the party, cutting across the viewpoint of the Comintern, we are bound in the succeeding article to deal with the questions advanced by the March movement, which, regardless of all mistakes committed by it, is a step ahead on the road of the creation of a real communist party in Germany. (To be continued.)

A London conference of the Red Trade Union International was held in London under the chairmanship of Tom Mann. Over 300 delegates attended. The Triple Alliance was severely criticized and a resolution was unanimously adopted calling upon all labor unions to forsake the Amsterdam International and join the Red International of Moscow.

A "House for Peasants" has been established in Moscow for peasant delegates visiting this city.

Several large companies have been formed in Spain for trade with Russia. A Spanish consul has arrived at Batum. Business, as usual.

Communists defeated the trade union bureaucrats in the Metal Workers Union of Warsaw, whereupon the bureaucrats ordered another election and thru trickery, won by a narrow margin.

The Soviet commercial delegation in London has been recognized as the consular institution for the issue of visas for Russia.

The Helsingfors papers report that the Kronstadt mutineers who are interned in Finland have applied to the Soviet government for amnesty.

"WORK OR COMPENSATION."

Work or compensation, is the keynote of all activities of the Unemployment Council of New York, an organization formed a few months ago of delegates of labor unions.

The purpose of the Council is to organize the unemployed in conjunction with the employed workers in order to find ways and means of giving a political effect to the needs and demands of the unemployed for food and the means of sustaining life.

In a recent leaflet distributed by the Council it is stated that we have about 5,000,000 unemployed workers in this country. That thousands of respectable workers are being forced into theft and crime as a means of sustaining life. That the unemployment of these five million workers entails indescribable suffering upon at least fifteen million women and children.

Further, the Council maintains that the right of a human being to maintain life is as yet unquestioned, but that the exercise of this right is now denied these millions of workers by the owners of industries who have closed them to the workers.

That the workers have the right and it is their duty to demand a decent livelihood from the State in this extremity, the Council declares.

The Council states:

First—We, the Unemployment Council, recognize that unemployment is a chronic phenomenon of the present Capitalist state of production and distribution.

Second—We realize that the working class will constantly be confronted with Unemployment periods, which will become ever more acute as the Capitalist System goes on and until it is overthrown.

Third—We further realize that Unemployment can only be abolished by the workers taking over the Government and the industries.

In the meantime, realizing that the unemployed must at least be in a position to maintain themselves and their dependents, we therefore as a temporary measure propose the following:

That we organize the Unemployed in every city, town, industrial centres, etc., and through these Unemployed enlist the aid of employed workers, for this work utilize the labor unions, and other sources, this for the purpose of causing united action in making demands upon the Government as follows:

- 1—Employment or Compensation at a union rate of wages. In order to provide this fund, we demand a heavy taxation of all incomes over \$3,000.00 a year.
2—Immediate recognition of and trade with Soviet Russia, this for the purpose of reviving American industry, and so decrease the number of Unemployed.
3—Non-eviction for non-payment of rent for the Unemployed.
4—Proper medical care of the Unemployed and their dependents when sick, this work to be financed by eliminating further expense towards the building of implements of war and destruction.

The Council is carrying on an extensive program of hall and open air meetings and distributing many thousands of leaflets. It is desirous of assisting in the organization of Councils in other cities. Address: Unemployment Council of New York, Room 405, 7 East 15 St., New York.

Foster's Articles on Russia.

William Z. Foster's second article on Russia for the Federated Press appears in this issue. Others will follow. Foster will probably give The Toiler readers the most interesting and authentic as well as the latest accounts of the workings of the Soviet government. Readers should be sure to read and acquaint others with this series of articles.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

(Editor's Note—This is the second of Mr. Foster's specially-written articles for The Federated Press. The first, published in our last issue, told of the false conceptions the workers in the United States have of the Russian republic as a result of lies told about that country by the American press.)

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Federated Press Staff Writer.
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What has happened in Russia amounts in substance to this: The organized workers and peasants have overthrown the exploiting capitalists and landlords and have seized their industries and land. They are now operating them for their own benefit, paying no interest, rent or profit to anybody. They are keeping all the fruits of their labor, and to defend this communistic system of production and distribution they have set up a workers' state, backed by a workers' army. Both these they control to the last detail.

Flowing from these basic political and economic changes come a whole series of abolitions, modifications and re-creations, touching every institution in Russia, and amounting in all to a profound social revolution. Many American trade unionists, bred and nurtured in capitalistic conservatism, are repelled by the thought of driving off the capitalists and landlords and taking over their property as the Russian workers have done. They can see no similarity between such a procedure and the everyday struggle of their own union organizations. Yet at heart the two processes are essentially the same. Our trade union pits their organized intelligence and power against the employers and wrest from them every concession they are able to take, regardless of how extensive or profound they may be. The Russian labor organizations, working upon identical principles, but with incomparably better understanding, determination, discipline and power than our unions have so far been able to develop, have finally and completely defeated their erstwhile masters. But instead of contenting themselves by taking petty concessions, as we do, they have gone the whole way and make the exploiters yield all their privileges at one blow. That is the situation in a nutshell. Between the Russian and American labor movements it is only a question of the degree of development. In essence both are alike, and he is a shallow trade unionist indeed who disavows kinship with his more advanced Russian brothers.

It is not my intention to make labored, detailed statistical reports upon the state of things here; rather my purpose is to deal with the A, B, C of the situation. I want to point out how the new and remodeled institutions of Soviet society strike the average person. I want to tell American workers how the Russian working-class, now in power, has handled the problems of food, clothing, shelter, entertainment, education, government, management of industry, labor organization, national defense, etc.

Perhaps an easy approach to the wonderful and complicated new Russian Communist society will be to start at the border of the country as a visitor, and relate what happens to one. Russia is now in the throes of revolution, and to enter the country is very difficult, so earnest and necessary are the precautions against spies and counter-revolutionaries. The applicant for admission must wait at the principal town of entry until his case has been laid before the government office in Moscow. Then, if his mission has been deemed valid and important, he is allowed to come in. This accomplished, he at once becomes a guest of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. So long as he remains in Russia he is fed, clothed, housed, entertained, instructed, and generally extended hospitality without the cost of a penny. It makes no difference who the man is or what his errand; whether he be a diplomat, a correspondent, a capitalist in search of concessions, a rebel worker come to see the new society, or what-not, in every case the procedure is the same. He is the guest of the Russian government.

To workers living in capitalist countries this may seem a strange method, but it flows naturally from the prevailing Communist society. In Soviet Russia there are only two practical ways of procuring the necessities of life: by work or by gift, and of course the government does not expect temporary sojourners in the country to become part of the working force.

(To be continued.)

A Convention of Indecisionists.

(Continued from page 1.)

al that asked the members of the S. P. to leave the Socialist Party and join the Communist Party. And, it continues, "whereas, it is our duty to protect our party against such treachery on the part of unprincipled and unscrupulous members serving the interests of either the Communist International or the Department of Justice, and in either case serving the interests of the American capitalists." It therefore appealed to the convention to provide for the expulsion of "members supporting or endorsing the Communist International or advocating affiliation therewith."

Many of the delegates, Hillquit among them, tried to pass the thing off as a "joke" or a "scare". But there were many others, who spoke for it in all seriousness, but at the same time said that though they agreed wholly with its sense and purpose, did not think it a wise move at this time. Branster delivered a vehement plea for its passage, and he was interrupted many times by peanut politicians like Solomon and Berger offering evidence that the Communists "distributed sabotage leaflets on election day in our strongest sections". Berger insisted that it was not necessary to pass the resolution at the convention, "this is a question for the state organizations, I was for state autonomy twenty-one years ago and I still am." Hoehn, of St. Louis remarked that they did not need a resolution to expel them. The resolution was defeated, but not forgotten.

Principles and Platform.
The motions submitted under the agenda heading of Principles and Platform were a source of considerable annoyance to the delegates. There action on them was characterized by a positive unwillingness to commit themselves to anything that smelled as if it might be an unpromising or revolutionary tactic. This indecision was almost universal; most of the proposals were laid on the table without dissent.

Two motions on political action, one definitely limiting this field of activity to "participation in elections to public office", the other defining it as "any organized, concerted en-

deavor of government, were both defeated.

Likewise, two motions on mass action were tabled. The first defined mass action as "nothing illegal or improper in itself," "mass action may be for social progress or against it." The second said, that mass action includes "such activity as national petitions or popular demonstrations in which large masses are engaged for some definite end, such as release of political prisoners etc."

Motions on direct action and sabotage, were of course tabled. Two motions on the soviet system, one for, the other against, were lost. The latter opposed the soviet system upon the ground that, "it is a system of delegated power which deprives the working class of any direct voice in the election of responsible public officials."

Jim From Pency.
James Maurer came to honor the convention with his presence. He was given an enthusiastic ovation. Called upon to speak, his talk was in conformity with the extreme right position maintained in the body by Milwaukee. He denounced the "red, red revolutionists" in the usual "labor-fake" fashion. He asked for "sober" consideration of the problems before the convention. All his denunciation and anathematizing of the "revolutionists" was wildly applauded by the delegation.

A letter from Meyer London, the only Socialist representative in Congress was read. He took three pages to excuse his inactivity for the past years. He bragged that he had in the last session introduced five resolutions and bills. Two resolutions deal with the International's action one of which demands the recognition of Russia, the other "the establishment of an international parliament as a substitute for the League of Nations". He drove home a disagreeable reminder when he said that the latter "carried out the program of the Socialist Party on international relations."

As expected, he didn't forget to impress the convention that it must express its unqualified disapproval of those "who accept dictation from abroad."
Jewish Federation Objects.
A refreshing letter, printed by the Jewish federation, was distributed among the delegates. It recounted some of the past infamous history of the party; stressed the moral col-

lapse of the organization, and asked the convention to do everything that the convention (the letter evidently came late) refused to do. It was not brought on the floor.
Tuesday morning, the convention went into executive session, to see what could be done about the frightful financial condition of the Party. It was reported that they are \$21,000 in debt, and going deeper. Hillquit proposed that a campaign be immediately entered upon to raise \$10,000 in thirty days. It was amended to twenty. Berger arose to boost it up to fifty. Twenty was finally decided upon.

The Invasion.
On Wed. the "Disabled Veterans of the World War," one hundred strong invaded the hall. Their spokesman was Horr, from Seattle. He said that the news had reached them that there was evidence of disloyalty at the convention. He "hoped to God the reports were untrue." But if it were true, that someone said that the red flag of Internationalism was the only flag (Engdahl), if there were those here who advocated force, he went on in a passion, let them come outside. Of course, no one arose to comply. He then warned the convention that "force would be met

with force."
It must be said, that Cameron King, chairman at the time, handled the affair tactfully. "As Americans we demand the right of free speech, free press and free assemblage." "You have suffered, it is true, but we too have suffered," he went on, "if we had had our way you would not have had to suffer." The Vet's were of course whipped, and they showed it as they quickly filed out. But they were applauded by the delegation, coming in and going out.

The convention of counter-revolutionists is over. They will go home and tell their membership what radical departures they consummated, what great achievements they performed. The membership will believe them, largely, and will continue in the old petty-reform rut. Vote-catching will continue as the order of the day, petty-bourgeois socialism will persist as the guiding star. Compromises will be effected with "liberals," and Communists will be derided as disruptionists and Department agents. They will await patiently the formation of a new, more yellow international with which to align themselves. The convention of the Socialist Party is over, the Socialist Party is a carrion.

Now that the automobile has developed to such an extent that made it also necessary to have good highways, and generally along the railroad lines, all this has made traveling more conducive to the hobo. For if he hops off a fast rattler before she drops into a big railroad depot, where formerly it meant a hike of twelve or fifteen miles, now a feller can get a ride off an autost and get into town a la de luxe.

After beating a shipment that I took out from Chicago on the C. M. and St. Paul and landing in Omaha busted, I plinged enough for a meal, shave and flop and grabbed a fast rattler and held her down till the chilly night air froze me off, when I picked myself out a nice clean barn and slept till noon the following day. There are changes everywhere and the days of the old jungles are practically gone.

Around North Platte I heard it was pretty hostile in spots so I plinged an automobile tourist and he took me about two hundred miles in his fast touring car. The real test of a Hobo's character is that when hostility and adversity set in—that he still keeps up his courage and fighting spirit and continues beating his way to his destination he has planned out in his mind before he has started his trip. Many young fellows, just beginning, weaken and write home for money to pay their fare back home.

Now a perpetual state of Hobo life in the traveling sense is not a desirable position to be in permanently and there never was a Hobo that done that. Beating it over the road is only a temporary and a necessary part of Hobo life. For as one needs sleep after a day's hard work, so the Hobo after satisfying his wanderlust, needs to stop at some time, firstly to relax and next to struggle for his material existence.

But it must be truthfully stated that a Hobo will beat his way for many reasons. Take it that he saves \$60.00 around Pocatello, Idaho, picking potatoes. Now he wants to make California to pick the grapes. It costs from Salt Lake City \$37.00 railroad fare. Can any one honestly say he can afford that much money? No, for he sees all his energetic efforts gone to the winds, especially if he wants to winter in California and have a little stake to keep his material existence afloat.

So naturally he'd rather risk the dangers of getting ditched, giving the bulls the slip, sleepless nights, the dodging of trains going in the opposite direction and avoiding all he

can coming in contact with hostile shacks.
Facing many dangers makes him keen and shrewd and gives him the psychology many times that the whole world is against him. Biology teaches me that life adjusts itself to its environment. The Hobo soon gets accustomed to many hardships through long experience and in that way keeps from becoming fat and flabby and degenerate like many do who live a complacent and comfortable existence where everything is provided for them without any effort or struggle on their own part.

The knocks he receives and the shocks he gets make him a good rebel if he becomes one; thus proving that after all is said, in the last analysis the Hobo is the reflex of our present economic system. Had he plenty of money, he would certainly ride the cushions just as the rich classes do.

The Hobo under a Communist state of society will be unknown. Under such a state of society there will be no classes, rich and no poor and anyone can ride wherever they care to, free of charge, granted that they do their social duty and are working for the welfare of mankind. All men will be educated from childhood up that the interest of the individual is bound up with the interest of society. All will, therefore, rejoice in working for the social welfare of all. And there will be no parasites who own the railroads as at present, but social ownership of these railroads. It will mean that all individuals can ride inside comfortably on the railroad trains they will all own in common.

By Loyal Workers.
By FLOYD RAMP.
Defend your country workers! Defend your rights against the most ruthless robbers in the world. Defend your country and its name against the capitalist class. These robbers, growing richer and richer every day, are taking from us our rights and dragging the name of our country in the mud. Down with them!

Every worker loves his people. He loves his country. He would die if need be to protect his people and the name of the country where they live. He hates tyrants. Capitalists are economic and political tyrants.

We must not confuse the people with the capitalist class. We must not confuse the government with that of country. This would be to commit an error. The capitalist class is not the people. The government does not protect or represent the great masses of people. It is not the country. It is a capitalist government. It protects the capitalist class. It is an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class used to oppress and more successfully exploit the people of this country and of the entire world.

He who supports this capitalist system is a traitor to the people of this country!... The worker who defends them against the growing power of the working class betrays his class. He who stands by idly while these rich owners of this country shut the factories and allow people to want, betrays his class and brands himself as devoid of human sympathy, of any idea of human rights.

Fight! Arm yourselves with the facts to meet their lies. Arm yourself with knowledge that will enable you to prove that they are robbers, capitalist robbers. They are murdering workers, men and women. They are taking from them the right to life. They are

destroying all that is fine and beautiful in the lives of millions of people. These blood suckers dare to speak to us of loyalty. They dare to ask us to be patriotic to their government and their damnable system of society. These traitors dare to claim the right to guide our children. They dare to ask us to love their country. It is theirs now, but wait, we will take it back. Brave men and patient women discovered it and subdued it with saw and ax. They cleared the trees away and built fences about these open places and called them fields. Men who worked did these things and men and women who work NOW will someday possess them. They are necessary for all to live and all must possess them. We are fighting for our rights and we will never leave the fight till we have won. We are loyal to our class and what will some day be our country. We are disloyal to capitalism wherever we find it.

A CALL TO ALL WORKERS.
Fellow Workers!
Are you out of work?
Are you looking for a job?
Are you worrying about how you are to pay your bills,—the landlord, grocer and butcher?
Or, are you employed and your boss is trying to reduce your wages, increase your hours of work, and smash your Labor Union?
Fellow worker, what action are you going to take in this crisis?
You cannot remain passive; if you do you will be enslaved.
The boss has no consideration for you, your family, your class.
The Boss wants to enslave you so as to make profits out of you. For that purpose he will lower your wages as much as he can, increase your hours of toil, smash your organizations, make you sign contracts not to join a Labor Union, use all power of the Press, Clergy and State against you.
During the war, the bosses hand in hand with the government were making big promises of Freedom, Democracy and Prosperity.
They had to do this in order to fool the workers.
Now their character is being revealed in its true light.
After having extracted billions from the result of our Labor they are combining in a powerful drive to enslave us. They are united into one combination: Bankers, Corporations, Chambers of Commerce, American Legions etc.
We, too, should present a united front to oppose them.

A CALL TO ALL WORKERS.

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM: Analyzed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D. D. The writer, a Bishop in the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics. Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalists from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all the world."
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NO REPUDIATION.
By Mr. ROXBORTHY.
The capitalists of the United States have announced that they have no intention whatever of permitting their European debtors to repudiate the ten billion dollar debt which they owe this country. Now, there is only one way in which the European government indebted to the United States can pay this vast sum of money, and that is by the exportation of goods, for it is a well known fact that the total known supply of gold in the world is somewhat less than ten billions of dollars, of which amount the United States has at present nearly one-third.

What does this mean?
Nothing more or less than the keenest competition that the workers of America have yet experienced. The demand for the product of the American worker will be cut down in exact proportion to the amount of goods imported. (Strange to say our Republican politicians are not talking about placing a tariff on European goods in order to prevent the competition of cheap foreign labor from reducing the standard of living of the dear American worker, because they are well aware of the fact that debts cannot be paid by erecting a tariff wall to keep out the goods which are their debtors' only medium of payment.)
You can readily see that with this condition and the fact that labor saving machinery is constantly increasing the power of production, the unemployment situation must become worse instead of better. For, under the capitalist system those who control the means of production only permit you to work when they can sell the product of your labor at a profit. This places you in the ridiculous position of being punished because you produce too much.

This is why the capitalist system must be overthrown in America just as it has been in Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain and England are well on the road toward the overthrow of this worn-out system. The working class of America must stand solidly shoulder to shoulder and fight to abolish the capitalist system in America as our brothers are doing in Europe.

Destroying all that is fine and beautiful in the lives of millions of people. These blood suckers dare to speak to us of loyalty. They dare to ask us to be patriotic to their government and their damnable system of society. These traitors dare to claim the right to guide our children. They dare to ask us to love their country. It is theirs now, but wait, we will take it back. Brave men and patient women discovered it and subdued it with saw and ax. They cleared the trees away and built fences about these open places and called them fields. Men who worked did these things and men and women who work NOW will someday possess them. They are necessary for all to live and all must possess them. We are fighting for our rights and we will never leave the fight till we have won. We are loyal to our class and what will some day be our country. We are disloyal to capitalism wherever we find it.

New Viewpoints of the American Negro.

By ANSELMO R. JACKSON, a Negro worker.

A great many Americans are very much concerned about Americanizing foreigners by inculcating in them the principles of Americanism. They need not worry over this matter, for 'deeds still "speak louder than words," and occurrences like the Tulsa, Oklahoma race riot, the wanton murder of innocent and unoffending Negroes, the general policy of oppression and repression and various other forms of injustice meted out to black men and women—and even to children (with whom there certainly should be no quarrel)—furnish eloquent and edifying evidences of the true nature of Americanism and cannot but be understood alike by aliens here and right-minded persons everywhere.

It is a curious commentary that white Americans are intensely interested in the prevention of cruelty to animals, but are not, in the slightest degree, concerned about stopping the murder of human beings—when such human beings are black. The whipping of a horse by its driver or the killing of a wild cat occasions an incalculable amount of protests, but the barbarous lynching of black women about to become mothers does not cause any consternation whatever. The case of Mary Turner, who was cruelly murdered after being indescribably tortured, affords an idea of southern chivalry and southerners' vaunted respect for womanhood.

Hunting Season Always Open.
Of course, it must be remembered that the Negro is only regarded as a man in times of war, and that, otherwise, he is believed to be just a little more than a dog and quite a great deal less than a man. And at that, there are times without number when the dog is given the benefit of the doubt. It must also be borne in mind that the Negro is the only kind of game which may be hunted with impunity, any day during the year, on the happy hunting grounds of America.

The lynching of Negroes continues unabated, year after year, because it costs nothing to kill Negroes. It is because of this that Negroes who are members of the New Manhood Movement—which is nothing more nor less than a Sinn Fein movement among Negroes—have resolved to put a prohibitive price on lynching. When white men are made to realize that Negroes are inexorably determined to kill white men who may attempt to kill them, there will be fewer lynchings. No man is so afraid of losing his life as that man who would recklessly take the life of another. In vain have

Negroes prayed and pleaded and tried every other peaceable means possible. And now, the policy of retaliation or direct action is the only one which Negroes can adopt if self-respect and self-preservation mean anything to them.

Fundamental Laws Abrogated.
Since so far as Negroes are concerned, the Constitution of the United States, in the opinion of white men and white women, is merely a scrap of paper, a meaningless document, and since the government acquiesces in the wholesale murder of its Negro citizens and does not afford them any protection whatever, although it spends millions of dollars and employs a veritable army of spies to enforce prohibition and thus attempts to regulate the beverages that Americans drink, Negroes must arm themselves and proceed to make good the declaration of the Constitution of the United States as far as it affects their peace, their liberty and their happiness.

The Voice of Revolt.
As a natural outgrowth of the attitude of the government towards lawlessness of which they are the victims, Negroes have developed a state of mind, which, when interpreted, takes this form:— That a country which in times of peace cannot or will not protect its citizens at home is unworthy of their patriotism and protection in times of war.

If black men can fight on the battlefields of Europe to protect white men and white women from the Huns of Europe, surely they can fight at least as creditably to protect their mothers, their sisters, their wives and their daughters, their lives and their limbs, their hearts and their homes from the barbarism of the Huns in America. So, and so only, can Negroes secure their fair and full share of those rights and liberties which are not only guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America, but are unquestionably the common heritage of all mankind.

Poland announces that it has declared amnesty for all political prisoners and the press. In the course of debate in the diet, deputy Lanowski exposed the amnesty bill, pronouncing it a swindle meant to give the impression abroad that Poland is a democratic country. Lanowski thereupon declared himself a Communist. He is the first Communist deputy in Poland.

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