IAY DAY

By TOM CLARK



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

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

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

In Poland, even the peasants have rebelled. The conclusion of the war between Poland and Russia was a dire necessity for Poland. Poland was on the very verge of ruination. The war, the ravaging of the country, the overwhelming debt, the dissatisfaction of the people, the overbearing attitude of the bourgeoisie, and, above all, the treachery of the sham-socialist government, Pilsudski and Daszinski at their head, who acted as the lackeys and tools of the Allies, and especially of France, in conducting the mefarious war against the workers and to the brink of revolution, from which the government fories are closed. extricated itself only by peace with Soviet Russia. This ernment to continue the war and by the unwillingness a stage of practical non-resistance to any attacks of the Communists and workers with the Fascisti, the cowardly



LESSONS FOR WORKERS!

of the Allies to continue supporting a losing cause. For the workers in France and Great Britain were being aroused to the dastardliness of the Allied venture in Russia and were threatening their capitalist governments. The economic situation of Poland is one of destipeasants of Russia-all this combined to bring Poland tution. The workers are utterly impoverished, the fac-

The workers of Austria are debilitated. Crushed by peace was dictated by the inability of the Polish gov- the war, their stamina broken, poverty reducing them to

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

Italy is in the midst of raging civil war. The Italian

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

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

(Continued on page 3.)

HAYWOOD ON REVOLU-TIONARY MISSION.

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

Soviet Russia of William D. Hay- tion and subject to its command. He wood, the Pan-American Agency of will continue to aid in the destructhe Communist International makes tion of the barbarous capitalist dicthe following statement under tatorship which enslaves the workthe signature of its Secretary, Char- ers and holds their best men in les Edward Scott.

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

The Communist International denounces in the strongest terms those lawyers and "liberals" who criticise this soldier of the revolution for "breaking faith" with the capitalist most affectionate greetings and its man who escapes than about the means to rouse the toiling masses that no member of the I. W. W. will workers, do not be deluded into the opened on Saturday morning. Desk share this silly bourgeois prejudice. Comrade Haywood is no coward. The scars on his body give the lie to his

Karl Liebknecht was called a by the German capitalists during the weeks that he was in hiding before they murdered him. the uprising in Petrograd in July, tem and free the working class. 1917-not answering the taunts of Kerensky, but working night and day for the overthrow of the Kerensky

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

In the matter of the departure for | General Staff of the World Revoluprison. In the place of the dictator-"Comrade Haywood did not leave ship of the Gary's, he will work to publican officials in office, we would bring about the dictatorship of the announce that if the gang has workers, that will smash open all changed the methods so heartily and the Communist International, of the prison doors and release the effectively introduced by A. Mitworking-class prisoners, and jail the chell Palmer in getting "evidence"

> accused by the capitalists and their hirelings and apologists. Comrade laudable State. The State has great Haywood went to Soviet Russia on revolutionary duties, openly and un- tection to private property. Witness in working force, all crafts have ocdisguised. Openly and undisguised he several articles of house keeping cured in the Kansas City Terminal, will return to America; but the time thrown from the toilet room into the and manner of his coming will be court and the rear door unlocked pot where eight railroads load and determined by the requirements of for the entry of any brother-thieves the revolutionary class struggle and who might be prowling about. If not by the decrees of capitalist you are in the business of house-

and the other true defenders of the and the police-they will obligingly cause of labor, who suffer today in take all the risk of breaking in and the prison hells of America, the leave you only the nominal danger Communist International sends its of doing the sacking. solemn pledge to strive by every thorough going over in an apparent to action in their behalf. Fellow evident at a glance when it was childish belief that the ruling class will listen to appeals for clemency, one which is ever locked had been Put no faith in petitions-those "scraps of paper" which our oppressors only laugh at and throw into the waste basket. Revolutionary mass action of the workers is our weapon. Revolutionary mass action is the way to force open the prison Lenin, too, was accused of cowardice dors. Revolutionary mass action is when he remained in hiding after the way to smash the capitalist sys-

> Pan-American Agency of the Communist International. Charles Edward Scott, Secretary.

April 21, 1921.

SEARCHED!

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

To any who subscribed to the illusion that the Millineum had arrived with the installation of Reon so-called "Reds", is still in force and apparently working "overtime".

A toilet window provided the

means of ingress for the worthies of our perfectly respectable and respect for and affords absolute probreaking we suggest that you con-To the members of the I. W. W. nect with the government agents

> That the office had received search for some specific articles was drawers stood ajar and the only opened by the same artful method as was used in entering.

As to what invaders expected to find, your guess is as good as ours.

is approaching and our guardians 21st, to decide the amount."

By ESPERANTO.

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

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

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

In fact many "con" Labor Representatives present, smiled indulgent-

"Revolution, I tell you is coming: people I tell you are starving. Since the first of the year, 50% reduction Railroad Co.,-that is the union deunload passengers."

Many of his brother workers heard him say this. They all nodded approval. every point.

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

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

"Our regular force of 170 men has been reduced to 95 and every payday, a few more are laid off." Not any of his dear brothers proposed painting him yellow.

"Revolution is coming, nothing in God's world will stop it. The rail- more nationalities; road officials made a contract, a sacred contract, now they tell us to don't deal with the unions, I tell go to H.... Two-thirds of the force yu'. Several searches of the office made where I work-that's the Missouri during the reign of Mitchell Pal- Pacific-have been laid off, the enuf to know, we got to eat and mer resulted in naught of value for mechanical department is closed down hungry men are dangerous?" and Day their protest against exploitathe searchers. If the new regime has and now a notice has been posted, this disgusted worker, squirted a tion and reaction. in our absence, we congratulate the same notice asks, that union of- ring aim, at a cuspidor, as he re- stop the workers from celebrating ficials, meet in conference with rail-Our guess is that the 1st of May road officials at St. Louis, April fellows.

are the largest union in Kansas City, union meetings here.

'NORMALCY' HITS MINERS.

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

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

Brigadier Simonson, commander of the "Dixie division" of the Salvation Army, estimated that 18,000 persons are facing starvation and that several thousand of these are

already "absolutely destitute." mand for coal makes it impossible revolutionary in character. According to operators, lack of defor them to provide work for the miners, who struck several months ago, but called off their strike Feb.

An arbitration settlement of the

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

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

"Revolution is comin' if the bosses

"G-D- it, havn't they got sense ceived grunts of approval from his their only holiday. The proletarian

suspicioned that a revolution was The Common Laborers, were having can be heard any night, one moves tucked away somewhere in one of a meeting in the Labor Temple, they among the workers at the various only helps to expose the true nature

THE INTERNATIO-NAL LABOR DAY.

By J. PRICE.

Some thirty-five years ago, in the capitalist State; it only helps to 1886, the American Federation of strengthen the determination of Labor declared May First the day Labor to free itself from the cluon which the workers of America were to demonstrate for an 8-hour ploitation and oppression.

The first congress of the now deceased Second International, held in 1889, made one step forward by plete abolition of the capitalist sysdeclaring May First an International tem" and "all power to the work-Labor Day, on which workers all ers." over the world were to agitate, peacefully, for the 8-hour day as well as for international peace.

Since them the idea of "May Day" has grown more and more popular among the workers of the world and has become a permanent, well established institution. At the same time it has grown more and more Order Which Bars U.

From year to year the workers of even the most reactionary and backward countries of the world have laid down their tools to demonstrate their power, to openly deissues went against the miners on clare their demands and to raise the

> And from its very start, this international Labor Day, the only real part of world Capital.

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

are thrown out of the factories, imprisoned and murdered for their determination to demonstrate on May

Such as the above dire prophesies only helps to intensify the red color of the rotten capitalist system and sia.

tches of the present system of ex-

The May Day slogan now, is no more "the 8-hour day," but "com-

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

S. Emigrants From Russia is Confirmed.

Confirmation of the recent order of the Soviet Government closing the Russian borders to immigrants from the United States was received proletarian holiday, met with the by Charles Recht, legal representbitterest hatred and fear on the ative in New York of the Russian Soviet Republic, in a cable from Reval signed by Gregory Weinstein formerly secretary to Ludwig C. A. K. Martens in this country, and made public by Recht here yester-

The cable is as follows:

You are instructed to inform people desiring to go to Russia that tative of Soviet Russia in America no immigration to Russia will be permitted. Publish a warning that vises of consulates of border states are not sufficient for entering Rusblood shed on that day each year sia. All persons securing such vises, and starting out on the strength of

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE 3rd, COM-

DISCUSSION OF COLONIAL AND NA-TIONAL POLICY. (Petrograd Pravda, July 30, 1920.)

SITTING OF JULY 28. The debates on the question of colonial and national policy were continued.

SPEECH OF COMRADE SULTAN-ZADE.

In the name of the Persian Communist party spoke Comrade Sultan-Zade, who called attention to the fact that the experiences of the Russian proletariat in Kirgizia, Turkestan, and other regions quite undeveloped in a capitalistic sense, have proven that the Soviet authority can be organized even in the absence of a developed industrial proletariat. This can be said even more definitely with respect to Persia, Egypt, and India, and with respect to those colonies where all the aspects of social differentiation and all political tendencies are represented.

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

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

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

The Situation in China.

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

Socialist parties in China are winning

In addition even the ruling classes in Griental countries are not unanimous, since some are associated with the world markets and capital while others are associated with the national markets and capital. All these circumstances greatly facilitate the development of social revolution in the Orient and Persia, where already in 1905 the Soviet of Peasant Deputies-Anjumani-was organized." (Moscow Izvestia, July 29, 1920.)

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

Comrade Graziadei speaks on the role of the Soviet Russian Republic for the development of social revolution, and expresses the opinion that its struggle against world capital at the present moment should be considered synonymous with the struggle of the III International, just as the defeat of the Paris Commune at its time represented the defeat of the I International. As for the small nations, in his opinion they did not carry on an imperialistic policy during the war, since they were powerless. After the war they can not carry on an imperialistic policy because they are themselves the object of the imperialistic maneuvers of the larger pirates. This last fact represents the full measure of their role in the history of the social struggle

on a world scale. (Moscow Izvestia, July 29.)

MUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920 FROM "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," PUBLISHED BY THE

more and more influence, and publish in Shanghai a weekly which is widely distributed in China. This party supports an alliance with the Russian Soviet Republic and appeals for a struggle against the Chinese and the world bourgeoisie. The industries of China are at a standstill. The proletariat is in a most deplorable condition, and in the villages the land is being seized by the rich. The system of administration in China is a dictatorship of a military bureaucracy, with

SPEECH OF KOREAN DELEGATE.

ministration and finance.

complete chaos and arbitrary methods in ad-

The delegate of the Korean Communist Party. Comrade Pak, also points out that the victory of social revolution is impossible so long as the western bourgeoisie can draw on its resources in its colonies in the Orient for its struggle against the proletariat."

STATEMENT OF TURKISH DELEGATE. Comrade Ismail-Haki speaks in the name of the Turkish toiling masses. He introduces an amendment to the resolution of Comrade

Lenin on Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism.**

Protest Against Anti-Semitic Batting. Then speaks Comrades Frumkina, Merezhin, and Kon. In the name of the Jewish proletariat they propose to the Congress to issue a strong protest against the anti-Semitic persecutions and pogroms which are being organized everywhere wherever the bourgeoisie rules, or even where there are petty bourgeois, compromise Socialist governments. They base their protest on many facts from the practice of the Governments of Pilsudski and Petlura, and also from the practices of the organizing by the English occupationary authorities of pogroms in Pa-

lestine. Before the vote on the theses on the question of colonial and national policy Comrade Serrati announces that he believes that social revolution can and should be realized

* He then describes the struggle of the Korean revolutionists against Japan, which has been going on now for 17 months. The Japanese increased taxes by 800-350 per cent, thus arousing even the middle classes of the country against them. They did not permit the construction of factories and mills in Korea. The Korean toiling masses understand that the struggle can not give them freedom if it is conducted solely on ationalist grounds. Fighting for the overthrow of the Japanese yoke the Korean masses at the same time strive to liberate themselves from their own native landlords. Former political parties, the so-called united national bloc and the union of terrorists hope for the liberation of the Korean people under the Wilson formula. They, however, have now lost all influence and at the present moment it is the Korean Communist Party that exercises influence over the masses of the Korean toilers. (Moscow Izvestia, July 29, 1920.)

** In his opinion Pan-Islamism is the historic attempt of the Turkish sultans to unite around the Turkish peoples all other peoples enslaved by them through force of arms. Since the Turkish revolution this political tendency has been replaced by a Pan-Turkism, that is an attempt to unite all the Turkish peoples on the basis of a common origin and common language. At the present moment Pan-Turkism is just such a reactionary movement as was Pan-Islamism in its time. The Turkish toiling masses and the toiling masses of all other Turkish peoples, know that only a social revolution and the Communist International can free them from the national yoke, as well as from all other forms of social exploitation. (Moscow Izvestia, July 29, 1920.)

without the support of so-called national democratic parties. He therefore abstains from voting. The resolution is adopted unanimously, with three abstaining from voting.

RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

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

SPEECH OF COMRADE ZINOVIEV.

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

"After the first congress of the III International," says Comrade Zinoviev, "they hooted at us and said that the whole III International could be seated around one table. The old parties remaining under the flag of the II International did not at all express the desire to forsake it. Since then many changes have taken place. Now, under the pressure of the broad masses of workers, the old inveterate representatives of the ideology of the II International are breaking away and knocking at the door of the III Communist International."

Comrade Zinoviev emphasizes the fact that the III Communist International is not a society of propaganda: "The III Communist International is an international militant organization similar to the I International, which did not leave a single great economic strike without active support. What, however, do these people imagine their future relations to the Communist International will be, and their role in the world revolution?" Comrade Zinoviev cites an article by Grimm showing the necessity for the Independent Party to leave the II International and participate in the III Communist International, which should organize an international information bureau and parliamentary work through the introduction of various drafts of laws.

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

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

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

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

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

The Communist International Will Not Be One-Sided.

Comrade Zinoviev reports that the central committee of the Russian Communist Party, analyzing the question of Socialist-Pacifists, had reached the decision that if the dilemma should arise as to a choice between a Communist International containing Socialist-Pacifist elements and solely a Russian Communist Party-2t least formally we would prefer the latter: "At the present time the Socialist-Pacifists represent the most dangerous tendency in the Socialist parties."

Comrade Zinoviev expresses himself in the most categorical manner against proportional representation: "Proportional representation is a very worthless mixture of pink lemonade, deadly poison and a neutral ingredient of some kind. We do not assemble for compliments on an international scale, for the singing of the International,' and other nonsense characteristic of the II International. The Communist International is a militant apparatus for throwing off the capitalistic yoke. Honeyed loyalty to Kautsky under such conditions is treachery to the working class."

Comarde Zinoviev again insists on the necessity of centralization and iron discipline, and expresses the hope that with the aid of the warlike qualities of the HI International the latter will accomplish what is written on its flag-the liberation

Comrade Radek Appears.

Debate follows the report of Comrade

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

"Of course, the scale upon which the proposed aid was to be given was not important, but it was extraordinarily notable and characteristic that the Socialist government, with the participation of the Independent Socialist Haase, refused that aid | cial revolution." under the pretext that similar aid was promised to Germany by the bourgeois government of the United States of North America. This at once revealed the orientation which in reality was perfectly natural to the Socialist compromisers of Germany. The circumstance also seemed perfectly natural that the Congress of the II International busied itself with revising the Treaty of Versailles.

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

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

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

Comrade Cachin Appears.

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

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

Debates.

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

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

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

"Their inclusion, then, in the membership of the III International, through the instrumentality of the compromise parties, constitutes the gravest menace to the So-

BANQUET IN HONOR OF THE CONGRESS.

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

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

(Next week Evening Sitting of July 29.)

THE REVOLUTION IN KRONSTADT.

(Second Installment.) lations in the Toiler of April 16, a with whom transactions are being few additional "Pravdas" have been carried for deliveries to Soviet Rusreceived, but they are not the Pet-sia; right now transactions are going rograd but the "Moscow Prayda." on between Soviet Russia and Po-In the issues of March 6, 8 and 9 land; and last, right now takes place we find some more news and expla- the Russian-Turkish conference upon nations of the situation in Kronstadt. which depends the policy in the Near In the issue of March 6 is published East. an article that very logically connects the ends together and shows what the thing really was and what it aimed at. That article being a brief one, I translate it in full.

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

"Do they really expect to overthrow the Soviet rule? Can it be that they do not understand this is (with Victor Chernof's hand) that evism has deeply laid its roots.

"Look where the essence is. Just now the Allied London Conference takes place; now happens the change in the American Cabinet, whereas

"Remembering now the fundamen tal decision of the Paris "Consti-S. R-s. and Kadets, with Konovalof at their head. That decision provided: against trade agreements with So-

"In contrasting these two facts (the similitude of a line of agreeto disrupt the beginnings of foreign

armed intervention of the "Allies." "Yes, especially the new interven- in the French offices. tion. How otherwise to understand "But this will not happen, and the get some credit for their deeds, ing and also what news we get from mitive diet, to be doled out weekly,

wards Russia?

"The S. R-s. themselves do not want to create the greatest inter- surection progressed and what was national noise, in order to hamper the attitude taken by the sailors. I the bringing up of peace relations. This is their first task. Then will be "Petrograd, March 6 .- In Kronfulfilled the program of the As- stadt the fullest dispersion is obsembly, shattered then the interna-served. After dividing up of food tional importance of Soviet Russia; supplies and other necessities, the tuent Assembly," more correctly, 30 the Russian peasant will not get a leaders of the insurection tried to single scythe, Russian industry will place before the insurrectionists a not get a single machine, but the S. discussion of questions of a political R-s., on this basis, will further car- nature. A majority of the sailors, ry on the undermining.

will get on top-and a new war is political questions and schemes." ments from one side, and the de-ready, provoked by the S. R.s. In Another telegram from Petrograd claim of the "Assembly" on the this new war the S. R.s. expect to appearing in the same issue furnishes may be gained: the S. R-s. and gen-| capitalistic forces. But that will be instigators of the revolt. eral Kozlovsky want to perform a the beginning of the end not only sible? They themselves write grandiose scandal and promote dis- of Soviet Russia, but of Russia secure some under-everseer positions S. R-s."

that the S: R. generals have con- S. R-s. shall not eat. In a brave ar- that's why they disclose who are the the bourgeois news agencies from in lieu of cash payments for work-

from Kronstadt (and the Finnish Entente or S. R-s. will be masters insurrection by no means was com- nests of the near-at-hand counter- possible cash balance is promis Whites-are the hang-men of the over toiling Russia. Already for plete is shown by a news item pub- revolutionists are built. These first "after the crop is sold." working class!)? How, otherwise to three years they have attempted to lished in the "Pravda" of March 9, hand translations may serve as a understand, that the S. R-s.-generals overthrow the Proletarian Dictator- it reads as follows: in the first place depend on France, ship. But there is still powder in trade agreement with Soviet Russia; which occupies the most irreconcil- our powder bags, no liveried Entente After the publication of the trans- right now in Moscow is Vanderlip, able, the most severe attitude to- lackeys will defeat liberated labor."

"Moscow Pravda" are some news hope to overthrow Soviet rule. They items of interest telling how the in- neutrality." will translate some of these.

seeing the failure of the revolt, took "By this time the "French" line an indifferent attitude towards all

Another telegram from Petrograd other) a completly clear conclusion win with the assistance of all the us with proof of the identity of the

"Petrograd, March 6 .- The whiteguard S. R.s. newspaper, "Narodnoye order, to cut off the transactions, generally. Then she actually will be Delo," published in Reval, announcome a barbaristic colony, and pro- ces that the Kronstadt insurrection Where is the assence of the thing? trade, and if possible, secure a new bably the S. R-s. as a reward will is directed by the right wing of the government."

armed. The Regiment announced its

S. R-s. is the amusing affair which rograd.

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

This shows what the treacherous It seems that the S. R-s. want to and reactionary S. R-s. were expect- and one or two other items of pri-

guide for future if there be new in-"A neutral regiment."-"The rifle surrections in Russia. By having regiment, posted at Kronstadt, re- this authentic information, we will fused to join the insurrectionists and be able to judge the news when it Ku Klux and other reactionary ele-In the issue of March 8 of the did not allow themselves to be dis- come to us from the same place and source. What the "Associated Press" cables from Reval or Helsingfors Illustrative of the action of the about the revolts in Soviet Russia. is not news but pure and simple took place between Reval and Pet- propaganda, directed against the government of the workers and peasants in Russia. Always take it with a grain of salt.

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

BETWEEN BOSSES AND WORKERS

Washington.—Cotton manufactur- to spread Bolshevik propaganda-ers' agents here declare that the The Detroit federation said the Brasouthern cotton crop for 1921 is being placed upon a no-wage basis one and should be recognized by

Throughout the South the planters are offering to the Negro a certain amount of commeal, molasses, pork the new cabinet stands decidedly for nection with the Finnish Whites my we march in counter-attack. No real men in this "pusch." That the Reval and Helsingfors, where the ing in the fields. Settlement of any

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

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

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

In a letter to Gompers, the loca federation condemned statements is made accusing the local of "anxiet sian Government is a represent

THE IRISH PEOPLE For Workers of Irish Birth

1 year \$2.50. 262 West 28 Street New York City

SIX MONTHS 1 year, \$2.50

Address all mail and make all checks payable to THE TOILER 8207 CLARK AVENUE, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

BUNDLE ORDER PRICES

nust be paid upon presentation.

Order a bundle of Tollers weekly and sell them to your shopmates.

Published weekly by the TOILER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION TELEPHONE: LINCOLN 3639.

"FOR THIRD INTERNATIONAL"

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

One of utopian mind, imagining that only upon a basis of complete and entire unity of the working masses in a party or program is necessary to success, would readily succumb to the over here with sorrow and indignadepression induced by the recurring splits and divisions among tion about the most disgraceful conthe world's revolutionary parties within the past year. There has ditions in every respect, which are | Socialists, who refuse to use the only to the struggle that MUST come in been much of such feeling and sentiment prevalent in discussions reigning especially in your country, of this course of events among those who possess this erroneous view. One hears it constantly from present Socialist Party and where such wonderful things members unable to grasp the significance of the development of have been performed by science, revolutionary means and instruments.

One would be deeply in error to believe that the condition of of working and living for you, skilthe world revolutionary movement is weaker today than a year ago, the practically every Socialist Party in the world has split, that unjust and false autocratic one fraction adhering to the 3rd International and others clinging spirit, viz. that a skilled workingto the remnants of the old 2nd, or either remaining "neutral" or joining the 21/2 International recently formed at Vienna. Or. bringing the matter closely home, that the revolutionary movement in America is weaker and less of value to the world move- being pariahs, because they have not ment now than previous to the division of the S. P. into the had the opportunity like we to be-Communists and the old party. This truth springs up more strongly every day: the value of the socialist movement to the we ought to help those unfortunate success of the revolution does not consist in "unity" as such, but in a revolutionary consciousness, an intellectually scientific attitude and a courageous daring in the accomplishment of its suffering humanity that you soon mission. Far better that these attributes be held by a minority of clear minded workers than to have a large party, unclear, unscientific, and cowardly in the carrying out of its work. A unity of such elements however large, is a mill stone about the neck of the revolution.

That a split in the S. P. is inevitable at its next convention sary to maintain life and therefore is generally conceded. The cause is, of course, the development ought to be considered and treated of a "left wing" favoring "unconditional acceptance" of the 21 as such. points for affiliation laid down by the Second Congress of the selfish idea which breaks the soli-3rd International as a basis for admission to it. This left wing darity which should reign between has established a publication, "The Workers' Council" for agita- common workmen and you. You bettion within the S. P. for acceptance of these 21 points by the ter than anyone else in the world party. The publication is backed by a "Committee for the Third should know-you, sons of that International," of which J. Louis Engdahl is the Secretary.

The Third International has become the fashion." It is rethe most wonderful means of the ceiving plenty of lip service. It would be no surprise if the left duction, with a rich soil able to progroup in the S. P. should receive a majority of VOTES at the duce all the necessities of life-that convention for its programe of support of the Third. In such owing to the fact that the age of an action it is safe to assert that a great deal more sentiment steam o the time of capitalism has than thorough understanding would be manifested. Without passed and is being followed by the doubt, many, ready to voice their approval and affiliation with which also means the time of Sothe Third would renig in the test of activity demanded of af-cialism or Communism, that the ecofiliated elements. Affiliation with the Third is not a light action, nomical and technical machinery is it involves practically the giving up of all individual autonomy, prepared to make of this planet a military discipline accepting a most severe and an amount of have to organize that to all the discipline accepting a most severe and an amount of unremitting personal service equal to the member's ability. The minds and instead of producing for Socialist Party has not schooled its membership for taking and the profit and dividends of capitalabiding by the results of such a step as is contemplated by the ists-just work and produce for the present left wing. Doubtless, however, there are many who would working community, this is a questake the step and at once plunge into the work whole heartedly and courageously.

One question remains to be answered. Do the proponents of ing capitalism is an international affiliation in the S. P. realize just what affiliation will mean to one. them as a present organized body? Should they declare themselves and apply for admission to the Third, do they know what answer they would receive? Perhaps they do, perhaps not. According to the declared policies of the Third there can be but one representative party in any country. This means that other parties desiring to affiliate which are accepted, must join such representative party as exists. If the left wing in the S. P. clings to the belief that it can retain any distinctive form of organization outside of the organization sponsored by the Third in this country, it is building us nopes upon said. They are consisting the life of the Communist ter. I'm with the class, it matters are building up their outposts, pre-Republic. Built by the workers and of Belgium and Furance are looking not if the life of the Communist ter. I'm with the class, it matters are building up their outposts, pre-Republic. Built by the workers and of any change favorable to them.

It is in such a test as this which they will face, granting them success at the convention, that the difference between lip service lusions, that you will show yourselves and the other kind will be observable.

MASS MEETING

DETROIT, MAY 1st At AUTO WORKERS TEMPLE, 136 E. Adams St., 3 P. M.

SPEAKER-ROBERT MINOR. ALL WORKERS CORDIALLY INVITED.

Auspices, National Defense Committee. General Defense Com. of I. W. W.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

OUR MAIL BOX.

The following letter comes from comrade Leo Fenssen, of Antwerp, Belgium, and is addressed "To the Members of the A. F. of L." The letter is inspired, comrade Fenssen writes, by a lecture delivered by R. De Man, a Belgian socialist who has spent nearly two years in America studying labor conditions here as a representative of the Ministry of Labor. The letter deals with a very poignant condition which obtains in this country and is well worthy of consideration by "craft unionists" and others of like affiliations and sentiment.

Dear Comrades:-

With indignation and disgust I learned about the terrible conditions of labor and living among the bulk ly the strangers, in so called Democratic America, the country of one of the champions of freedom and liberty, Abraham Lincoln.

Now after the most terrible wa ever known in history in which so many of your best countrymen died, tion of militarism, we now learn which always we believed to be the most civilized place in the world, which created such good conditions led workers and craftmen, who unfortunately are still imbued with man should be considered a superior being to the unskilled, which in part is true, but by no means justified the skilled in looking upon them as come skilled men. Therefor: I think brothers; only the capitalists can benefit by such a state of affairs.

I sincerely hope for the sake of will come to reason and shake off that unjust false spirit and realize that everyone whether he is a laborer, miner, railwayman, toolmaker or whatever one may be-is a useful member of society neces-

Comrades, get rid of that haughty

Internationalism has come to stay, consequently the question of abolish-

Thus from this day, in order to get rid of all the reigning abuses, misery, poverty etc. our slogan must be: "Workers of all countries unite" there is plented of room and goods fo reveryone. "All power to the workers" under the most perfect form of centralization indispensible for the present development of so-

upon you, and I sincerely hope that our expectations will not prove ilto be worthy, conscious members of the great labor army, and if necessary purify your unions of those old fashioned leaders who might prevent you from doing your human

> Sincerely Yours Antwerp, Belgium

WE DIDN'T SEE IT ALL.

ant, revolutionary elements to be and shoot down the fighting work-

THE TOILER

Near East and Soviet Russia-wher- TERNAL ENEMY! ever their marauding eyes reachwar, the French workers have de- emancipation. monstrated against the enslavement

Asia is the scene of nationalistic TRAMPING THE STREETS, BEof their German fellow workers.

Unrisings The people of India, Asia CAUSE THE PEOPLE OF THE calls to the colors recruits to invade Germany in payment of the reparation claims. The police of Paris are lining up with the workers. Here and there, in France, the workers have already imitated the acts of the Italian workers in seizing industries. Slowly they are learning

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

Yours for Justice

Martin Dado,

Editor's Note: If some workers story of "The Bread Line." I think "better things of life" as masters tion of injunctions, the declaring of and I know some men who stood in and slaves, I still cling to the slave strikes illegal, the use of spies, prothe bread line who have money in class as being the more worthy of vocateurs and gunmen to se me are drunk most of the life's good things.

weighs just as heavily although ad- brutal betrayal of the working class, and destruction of all institutions ministered by yellow, traitorous So- Led to a test of strength with the friendly to the workers, the nullificialists. Acting as Judases to the capitalist class and the capitalist cation of the elections of even sham working class, handing them over to government, living in misery far socialists to legislatures, the emascu the sovereignity of the capitalist greater than before the great war lation of their programs at the beclass to be exploited mercilessly, the that was to bring the world "pros- hest of the capitalists-these are Eberts, Scheidemanns, Ledebours and perity," the workers at last were to a few of the tricks and methods Kautskys have combatted every at-manifest class solidarity—at last, an that the capitalists are using in tempt on the part of the workers to undivided front against the enemy their struggle with the working emancipate themselves. Still believ- was hoped for. But the leaders of class of the United States. Faithful ing in the sham of capitalist "democ- the transport workers and railway to its purpose, the government is racy"-as expressed through the men were the same traitors that always ready to serve the ruling white pieces of paper which they they proved to be last year. Thomas, class. As corroborated by a New call ballots, and which the capital- the hero of the railwaymen, and of York judge, the capitalist class in ists tear into as many shreds as they the Second International, one of the ruling America has the right and do all treaties; still believing that chieftains of the Amsterdam Labor will use all the power of State to the rule of the bourgeoisie is prefer- Federation, led the railwaymen into maintain itself. Thus is stated in able to that of the proletariat; still a betrayal of the miners. The miners clean cut terms the nature of the denying the truth that the CAPITAL- themselves, determined to fight out State-thus is defined the function ISTS MAINTAIN THEMSELVES this fight on the few material is of the government of the United BY THE FORCE OF THE ARMED sues that were presented, were be- States. GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS USED trayed by Hodges, who dickered and AGAINST THE WORKERS AT THE negotiated-till the backbone of the the government are the workers, perialist masters-or an end to the BEHEST OF THE CAPITALISTS- strike was broken. Disorganized and these treacherous socialists still have terrified, they faced the keenly or- small organizations, prepared at any a hold upon the workers. By official ganized government of Great Britain, time to scab on one another, led by ukases and laws, they have the the united front of the parliamentary workers tied up in a mesh of legality body-even the Laborites, Henderfrom which only force will release son and Clynes, who preferred disthem. Led in their unions, by yellow cussion, compromise and surrender weapon that the capitalist regime Great Britain. They faced the guns, heeds-force-rejecting the general tanks, cannon, airplanes and poison strike; using their power to eject gas amassed in the parks of London. of the bloodsuckers (the exploiters) build the engine and formulate the from the labor organizations the They faced the army of volunteers Communists, who are the only milit- who were ready to shoulder the guns found in the unions; using the poli-ers. They faced the treachery of the cy of split rather than fight—the miners in other countries who were German labor unions still hesitate ready to mine coal to be shipped to before the struggle-the armed England. But they learned a lesson tempt to destroy the labor organiza- willed and determined to destroy the struggle-that is their only salva- as the workers of the United tions. It is part of a well-laid sche States and other countries may learn France presents a similar picture. _that THE GOVERNMENT USES of the only means that it has of staff of the Revolution, the guiding The French bourgeois government is ITS ARMS NOT ONLY AGAINST the chief sponsor of imperialistic THE EXTERNAL ENEMY, BUT plundering expeditions at the present ALSO AGAINST THE WORKERS, time. Seeking loot in Germany, the WHOM THEY CALL THE IN-

the French bourgeois government, the same aspect. The strike of har- Product of the war and of the inwith the renegade socialists Briand bor workers in Argentine, the rail- ability of the capitalist system once and Millerand as its leading lights, way strike in Mexico, the same at more to function, they fly the dang- revolution May Day comes, calling is driving the workers into civil titude of the government, show that er signal for the present system of out the workers to demonstration; war. Using the leaders of the Confederation of Labor as tools with workers in those countries to use WAGE SLAVES ARE DENIED of their strength, of their will to which to oust all revolutionary work- the same measures that are being THE RIGHT TO A LIVING! FORers, the French government hopes to adopted in the more highly developed TY MILLION WAGE SLAVES ARE workers will demonstrate. In all the curb the efforts of the French work- capitalist countries. In each of the REDUCED TO POVERTY AND metropolises, in all the towns where ers to free themselves. But the States of South America and in IDLENESS, WHILE FACTORIES French workers are not to be curbed Mexico there are being organized REMAIN CLOSED AND STOREin this way. Despite all appeals to Communist Parties, as a direct res- HOUSES ARE FILLED WITH their patriotism, and to the memory ponse to the urge to World Revolu- FOOD, WHILE THE WORLD CRIES of their sufferings during and in the tion as the only mode of labor OUT FOR PRODUCTION! FORTY the challenge: REVOLUTION!

ment with a general strike, if it Minor and the Far East are in arms against their imperialistic oppres- THAT THERE IS NO PROFIT FOR sors. Armenia has thrown off the yoke of capitalism and has entered PRODUCTION TO CONTINUE! into the dominion of Sovietism, skip ping all the brutality and degrada- workers of the world are being driven tion that the Kautsky's and Mac- to the use of drastic methods for the social revolution. Asia is the hot- Wherever the Socialists or laborites bed of "sedition", from the manifes- have attained to power, the worktation of "non-cooperation" in India, ers have been betrayed. The capitalto the use of arms in Afghanistan ist class of America has annihilated and Syria. The war against the im- the integrity of its own laws! The pressed peoples!

of the war, filled with imperialistic demanding release from their misery. ambitions, virile and inflated with Europe is bloody with the struggles prosperity, the capitalist class seeks of the workers to emancipate themnew felds of exploitation, is bent on selves. new expeditions. The change of administration was but the change of picture. Though harassed by war, firm name. IMPERIALISM PRES- disease and hunger, the workers and SES ON UNCHECKED! If any- peasants of Soviet Russia have held thing, the new administration has fast to the freedom that they gained by the Communists who withdrew put more vigor into American cap- by the overthrow of the capitalist italist ambitions. With wealth con-regime three years ago. Though war centrated and as the creditor of the world, the American capitalists are tempt of the capitalist governments leaders, the parliamentary traitors! ready to contend the sovereignity of to destroy Soviet Russia has folthe world. They are equipping them- lowed the other, the workers and time and it is all they want in life. selves with a navy "equal to any". peasants of Russia, flying the Red If you want more information go They are providing themselves with Flag of the Red Army of Russia I send you this message in my work, eat and sleep with them like war equipment that is deadlier than personal name and initiative but I I did for 12 years, you'll know bet- anything used in the last war. They against the life of the Communist who want the better things of life. flict! Gloating and greedy as the fit of the workers and peasants, the capitalist class is, it is adament to Soviet Government of Russia has the demands of the workers, crush-Cleveland. ing them and reducing them to a status of servility. It is employing have learned the game of being para- every means, no matter how foul, sites and feed in the bread lines in order to attain a firm hold on while having bank accounts, they the labor movement-in order to ought to be complimented for their break it up. Corrupting the leaders, sagacity, for this is the approved wherever it must, and yet supportcapitalist method of 'getting shead'. ing them against the radicals who The only person who can afford to would remove these leaders from all stay "drunk most of the time" influence over the working class, it nowadays is not the penniless slave is utilizing every scheme of law but the rich. Since the capitalists and court to suppress the workers. In The Toiler of April 16, is your and workers cannot both have the The enactment of laws, the applica-

England is the scene of another the use of the press, the defaming

And pitted against this class and partly organized. Broken up into men whose motto is compromise and national, which betrayed it and sent surrender rather than the struggle; it out to the slaughter that dewhose goal is NOT THE EMANCI-PATION OF THE WORKERS the strongest and best, a large sec-FROM THE YOKE OF THE MON-tion of the organized labor forces STER THAT ENSLAVES THEM. and those whose veins are being methods of its use for stopping the sucked dry (the exploited), the working class of America is facing the pending combat with the master bitterest struggle in its history. The open shop campaign conducted by me, whereby labor may be deprived ing its movements is the general protecting itself. Emphasizing the horror under

the world, there is the gigantic army South America and Mexico present safety of every capitalist State. MILLION MEN AND WOMEN ARE uprisings. The people of India, Asia CAUSE THE PEOPLE OF THE ONE WAY TO DIE. THE CAPITALIST IN ALLOWING

Goaded by these conditions, the Donald's demand as preliminary to relief. Parliamentarism has failed. perialists is being waged on all capitalist class of America has defronts-by the workers and the op- prived the workers of legal means for attaining economic and political The United States is the seat of freedom. But the workers are dereaction! Purse-heavy as the result manding freedom. The workers are

Only Russia presents a different has succeeded war, though one athave defeated the machiavelian plots

the only country where "over-pro-duction" does not exist. Although attacked by the united capitalist governments, Soviet Russia has forced the imperialist world to make peace with her. Soviet Russia, the government of the workers and peasants. much despised by the capitalist world, is the dictator of the world! War looms up in the Far East. Two imperialist groups unable to come to terms, are about to enter into combat. In the East rises the Japanese giant challenging the pride and greed of the West. Building up its army and navy, fortifying all the forces that the capitalist States have at their disposal, the two powers of the East and the West are playing the game that will produce another holocaust. The workers are faced with this

new threat. War or revolution! Acceptance of the dictates of the imsystem! Organized labor the world been allied with the Second Interstroyed the lives of ten millions of of the world filled with revolutionary ardor are assembling at Moscow to war and for fighting the last imclass. Under the protection of the Communist International, it is ororganized capital is a vicious at- ganizing the forces of the workers, present system. Above it, and directspirit and directing force of the Communist International, opposing which the workers are living all over to the imperialist hordes, the organized legions of the revolutionary imperialist dominion, the challenge

> Into this world of rebellion and respond to the call of May Day. In America too, the workers will heed the call; they too, will join in

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

A JEWISH SEMI-MONTH-LY devoted to the needs of the organization of the workers of

Price per year delivered by our agents, \$1.25. In bundle lots of 100 copies,

THE PROLETARIAN 208 E. 12 St., New York City

ROBERT MINOR

Will Speak On

The Open Shop-The Modern Return to Slavery WEST SIDE TURN HALL

At 4th Street, Between State and Ferry. MILWAUKEE, MAY 4th-7:30 P. M. Union Men and All Workers Invited.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

A Study Lesson for Workingmen.

tively different under the modern money shipment. But when the tradmachine production. When a design ing countries cease to produce commachine set for a certain kind of wards buying from other countries, product, the machine will turn out, the trade balance turns against these at almost the same cost one hun-buyers. Then these triangular and dred or one thousand pieces. The similar transactions cannot go on as modern manufacturer, for these reasons strives to produce on a large international trade relations. scale and inevitably must seek large markets, in order to dispose of the commodities thus produced.

2) Means of Communication. The development of the means of communication, enable the consumers to obtain a variety of commodities, from various parts of the world. Many articles for our daily use, are composed of the raw materials gotten from many countries. All of these parts do not come as raw before shipping to another country. tional markets.

modities. certain banks but mainly the currency capitalist system. of a country. When the country's 6) The Previous and Present Crisis. social system. gold supply runs low and it fails to This is not the first crisis under Capitalism is eliminated in Soviet keep its promises and obligations, it capitalism, although it may be the Russia and nobody experiences unis bound to lose the confidence of last. Production under capitalism is employment, Instead of having an investors and other governments anarchistic, it lacks order and general industrial reserve army, that coungenerally. As soon as this occurs, its direction. Everybody cares for him-try needs more workers. There promoney depreciates in value. The self and gives no quarter to the duction is not carried on for private value of money, within a country, other man. When there is a demand profit but to satisfy life's prime nemay be maintained by a legal regula- for certain commodities on the cessities. The same system created tion, but such a measure by no world's market, the capitalists of in other, economically developed,

two countries, having dissimilar pro- the discontinuation of production re- and sufficient luxuries to give hapsimple matter, as for instance is general or partial unemployment, Russia and England. Russia having according to the general state of a variety of raw materials and agri- business. dtural produce but little machinery, while England, having machinery and manufactured articles, needs

actions. The great not apply our labor power in pro- the foregoing?

Production under capitalism is a tween the trading countries. A mer- but to extract profit by every move the capitalist order? production of commodities. Com-chant in New York, buying goods it makes. Although the war is to 10) How has the splitting up of modities are things produced for from a merchant in London, does blame to a large degree for the the capitalist countries protracted the sale. When sold they must yield not have to make payment in cash, present misery of the working class, misery of the working class? certain surplus to their owners. A for there is always another mer- it is not the only cause; the peace 11) Would there be unemployment on the market where he can get a merchant or manufacturer in New and suffering, and it is a capitalist production? the highest profit. To him it makes York. These traders exchange their peace. no difference whether that be his bills thru the banks that finance native land or a foreign country, international trade. Generally, as the 7) Capitalist Peace and Unemploy-Actually there is no country that law or custom is, the trade is produces everything it needs and balanced at the end of the year, that does not produce more of some between the two trading countries. commodities than it can consume. In And then, if the trade does not show the modern age of international eco- an exact balancing, it may be nenomy, we can hardly talk of a self- cessary to send money from one competition for the worlds' markets sustaining country. Each and all de- country to another. But even in an pends upon one another, whether for unbalanced trade relations shipping commodities or for markets of its of money is not necessary. There is less of the condition after the war, always a third partner in the game. There is a natural and artificial It can be simplified by an example. division among the various lands. For instance a triangular trade One country possesses natural re- transaction between England, United dustry from raw materials places sources in great abundance over its States and Brazil. England imports it into a position where it cannot own needs. The capitalistic corpora- more commodities from the U. S. which secures the title over than she exports to her. So the bill these resources, will exploit them is against England and in favor of many to pay a huge sum as war inand sell where ever possible, only to the U. S. On the other hand the demnity and already has spent bilgain greater profits. Since the be- case may be, that she exports to lions on this expectation from her ginning of the modern capitalistic Brazil more than she imports from former enemy. France is afraid of a era, it was not the price received there. Then the bill is against Bra- rehabilitated Germany and so everyfor a certain piece of a commodity, zil and in favor of England. The thing is being done to keep Germany that brought the greatest profit, but third link is the U. S. and Brazil down and, if possible, split up. The the amount of commodities produced and the bill is against the U. S. All blocking of the revival of Germany's and sold. Under the old handicraft this can be evened up without paysystem, it was almost immaterial how ment in cash. The international exmany pieces of a given commodity change makes the payment possible were produced, it did not consider- in the following way: The U. S. will out from the present unemployment ably change its price. Take as an pay for her imports from Brazil by unless capitalism is overthrown. The example, the making of furniture; a bills of exchange drawn against same applies to the whole world: certain kind of table will not be London, which are acceptable to the capitalist peace does not permit much cheaper, whether one or ten Brazil for she owes London. In this the workers to go to work and earn find a remedy. If you do not underpieces are made, the same process way, only the balance above the a livelihood. There is another in- stand the trouble you consult a docmust be gone over. The case is posi- triangular transactions, requires

5) Depreciation of Money Caused by the War.

heretofore and money is required for

During the world war the belligerents could not produce commodities for daily consumption or for sale on the international market. Those countries which were in a position their own boundaries, did so. The international bills of exchange could not be used any longer as payment materials, some are partly modified for all these commodities. The Eucapacity of a workshop and as-siderable extent, they became buyers a rival and even as an enemy. Their sembly room, obtaining raw, ma- of many things which they previousterials from the whole world. This ly produced. The cutting off of ex- fervor, are using all their influence the raw materials, semi-manufactur- forced them to pay for their im- own national capitalism. So they Of course the capitalists and the completed com- ports with cash. Money, exported aim to fenlarge their territory on modities exchanged on the Interna- from the belligerant countries, di- these accounts. Creative economy is minished the gold fund of those coun- hampered by capitalism as a system tries and caused the depreciation in and not by the war that is gone. 3) International Exchange of Com- value of the money generally, for All factories could be opened and there was not sufficient amounts of all machines and workers, willing Commodities, are sold on the in- gold or tangible wealth to redeem to work, could be employed to their ternational market for cash or its the banknotes and paper money is-full capacity, if private ownership equivalent: banknotes, checks, etc. sued. So on the international market of means of production be elimina-All money is based on the gold sup- that money lost its value immensely, ted and goods for consumption, inply of the government issuing it. A Although on the domestic market stead of commodities for profit, be banknote or a check has no value money can be regulated by law it produced. If capitalism be not killed in itself. Banknotes are issued by has its limits. Money and credit, by the workers it may drag on anbanks under State regulations, which which are the corner stones of the other decade, causing inexpressable provides there must be gold in the modern capitalistic system, were misery and suffering to the toiling bank for which to exchange the smashed by the war. By the col- masses. To wait untill that monster paper if the bearer so demands. lapse of the international credit sys- falls by its own weight, is too much Thru this regulating process the tem, the capitalist order as a whole of fatalism and an unpardonable in-State assumes the responsibility for received a severe blow from which activity from the working class. The all such paper money as soon as it it will not soon revive. It is a hard present unemployment and deprivaleaves its boundaries. On the .In- task to exact profit from a govern- tion for the workers is caused by ternational Stock Exchange are ment whose money is worthless, for the mode of the capitalistic producquoted not only the banknotes of upon profit is based the whole tion. It will be eliminated only by

means applies to the great, outside various countries rush to produce countries, would satisfy all reasonthe required article. Thus an over- able demands, would provide every production very easily sets in and body with food, clothing and shelter is, seems to be an easy and sults; workers are laid off and there piness to all.

The present crisis is not-caused by overproduction, the world needs commodities of every description and se products. Trade relations would the industries of the U. S. could seem to be very simple and even well run at full speed to satisfy ie. Barter has human needs. But those who need place in the capitalist world, al- these commodities have nothing to ugh trade relations are favorable pay for them, except their worthless een two countries of the above paper money. Their industry is so ed on the international market? character. Trade is car- run down that they cannot produce d on thru the International Ex- those commodities which the U. S. changes and how do they operate? res. Let us see what they are could accept. The capitalists of the 7) What was the cause of the deworld cannot realize the huge profits preciation of money? which they reaped during the war 8) How have previous crises under and to which they are so well ac- capitalism come about and wherein

The Versailles Peace Treaty aims to consolidate what the war was fought for. With all means it strives to eliminate the conquered from and colonies. But it failed to change the nature of capitalism. Regardwhether in victorious or conquered territory, capitalism still is capitalism. The divorcing of German inproduce commodities for export. And France, nevertheless, expects Gerindustry causes unemployment in that country and revolutionizes the German workers, who see no way stance which illustrates how the tor. Then you follow his advise and ry out their American plan (statecapitalist peace hampers reconstructry at least to get well. If you get tion: the breaking up of the large a good and wise doctor you will get is perfected, a die made and the modities for exchange and turn to- European empires and creation of well quickly. If, on the other hand small independent economic entities. you get a poor doctor he may keep Trade, in the present controversy, Capitalist development created these you sick because it is to his interest has violated and set aside all the old large economic units, it was neces- to do so. He gets money out of you. sary for its very growth and existence, and now, when it is still vaster, to the unemployed situation that is suddenly, by its own forces, breaks before us at the present time. up into fragments. The Versailles Peace Treaty, by its wish to weaken thing run its course; we will get the printing trades unions by either its rivals and fight against Soviet over it, we always have. Its a disease Russia created a line of small, that does not worry them particueconomically, independent countries. Where formerly there were three large empires, now are eight small ones. The industries and the means to order things they needed outside of communication of these newly created countries must be adjusted to their new boundary lines. This hap-hazard scheme creates considerable waste of energy and resources. ropean countries ceased to produce Each one of the newly born in-For instance, England, serves in the commodities for export to any con-dependencies views its neighbour as governments under the nationalistic leads us to the question, how are port from the belligerent countries to strengthen and intrench their get rid of the thing altogether.

the destruction of capitalism as

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION. 1) How is industry international-

2) What cheapens products under

modern machine production? 3) How do means of communication contribute towards international-

ization? 4) What is the basis of money? What are its substitutes?

5) How are commodities exchang-6) What are the international ex-

specie payment is not demand- customed, and that is why we can- does the present one differ from ational banks take on them-|ductive capacity now. Capitalism | 9) How does the capitalist peace

1) Industrial Internationalism. selves the role of the mediator be, does not aim to satisfy human needs contribute towards the instability of

manufacturer sells his commodities chant in London buying goods from is causing the present unemployment if private profit be eliminated from oppose a real American plan in in- not least—have all printers engaged

SOURCES FOR USE IN FURTHER STUDY.

1) Program of the United Communist Party, chapter on unemployment, "The Toiler," Febr. 19, 1921. employment, "The New Republic," March 23, 1921.

3) Keynes: The Economic Consequences of the Peace, chapter VI, Europe after the Treaty, page 226-

4) H. G. Moulton: Financial Organization of Society, chapter VIII The Foreign Exchange, pages: 107-

WORKING CLASS ECONOMICS.

By FLOYD RAMP.

Why should people be out of work as long as there are things that they need?

Just how can this situation be

Has this situation existed before? If there is a crisis in your life, if you are sick, you begin to try to find out what the trouble is and to Now let us apply this same logic

The capitalists say to us, let the larly, so why should they worry Typothetae has simply taken ad-

few pills, in the shape of reforms portunity to show why their wages that will get us over the worst of shouldn't be cut. In so far as the the trouble, only to have the disease 44-hour week is concerned, the shortback on us again next winter or the er week was agreed to for May 1, winter after that. The Communist says that we must

see what causes it, and if possible

liberals and those who are very ignorant laugh and jeer at any such

Neverthless it appears to me that this crazy communist is after all the most practical man. If I get sick 1 want to know what is the matter and what causes my sickness.

Unemployment is a social disease. Society is sick of unemployment. A doctor must be called. The roots o' this disease must be located and eradicated from the system. How of 48, and an increase of \$6 per can this be done?

Capitalists own the means of production and distribution. The workthey carry on production and distribution. The capitalists keep we longer be done then they stop proried on so extensively because we cannot buy so heavily. They, on the men's training, but to ASSIGN other hand have whatever they want. Since there are not so many things to distribute, less men are needed in the process of distribution. This means more unemployed.

Here is the prescription for the disease: When we own and control and are free to do as we like with the old earth and its resources, with its factories, its railroads, mines etc., then we will only stop working when our wants are satisfied. The whole trouble lies in the fact that this is not our world but belongs to a few fancy. Only when they can make profits out of the process.

We must make it a world for the

TOM LEWIS, speaker.

THE BOSTON PRINTERS' STRIKE.

THE "AMERICAN PLAN" IN INDUSTRY.

By J. H. PALLO.

ing printers call their latest scheme, among members. Urge printers to changed their attitude. The following Now, who in America will dare to take out strike insurance. Last but resolution has been adopted on Sept. dustry, when industrial activities from now on to sign a contract." ers are fighting for the "American" 2) Brailsford: Indemnity and Un- plan may think that the strikers are either hostile foreigners, or traitors to the American people. But don't be fooled. The plan is neither American or Russian. It is neither new statements they say as follows: nor extra-ordinary. It is the regular capitalist robbers' plan. It was used back to normally prosperous times, during the Lawrence and Fall River industries must have PRODUCTION. Textile strikes. It was used during the bloody steel strike, only supple- tion, and others who believe in these they have been fooled. This is the mented with armed forces of the capitalists. In the same manner the 48-hour week, the open shop, and agreements. plan was carried out in West Vir- maintained production, in the face ginia, Colorado, Ludlow and other strikes. The capitalists and their 44-hour week and necessarily de- be no retreat. Thousands of printdaily press allways call their egoistic creased production, union control, ing establishments all over the counand criminal schemes American, or Americanism, or patriotic. They all- high printing costs." ways want the people to believe that Some enlightening eh?-If you prospect that many Boston shops strikers are un-American.

List of Particulars.

In this particular case there are three main points in the employers' plan. (1) about 10 to 20% reduction of wages, at present affecting about 4,000 compositors, press feeders, pressmen, binders and electrotypers; (2) 48-hr. minimum working week; (3) destruction of unions. This is the way they have proceeded to carment of W. W. Barrett first vicepresident of the International Typo-

"The Boston Typothetae Board of established customs of the printing industry by arbitrarily posting notices of a reduction of wages, which in the past had always been settled conciliation or arbitration.

"In the present instance the local vantage of trade conditions, and is The Liberal will say, something attempting to force reductions in should be done to assist these people wages on all of the printing trade who are out of work. He offers a crafts without giving them an op-1921, some two years ago by the Employing Printers' National Aslook into this disease thoroughly and sociation, and this movement is simply being used by the Boston Typo-

> thetae as an excuse to reduce wages. "The local Typothetae and all other employing printers, despite their ties to the national agreement on the 44-hour week, and the action branch is clearly a repudiation by the employers of their obligations."

> The employers have also established a strike-breakers school at 65 Austin St., Cambridge, Mass. Here is what they say about it: "In view of the nationwide union

strike for a 44-hour week in place week in wages, scheduled to start May 1st, coupled with the great scarcity of apprentices, the Boston open ers do not own the things with which shop branch of the United Typothetae of America, an association of master printers, has arranged with workers producing as long as they can S. Heinzelman, proprietor of the Pusell, at a profit, the things that ritan Linotype Co., to use his plant we have produced. When this can no as a school. The school will accommodate 30 to 40 pupils. It is not the duction, and distribution is not car. intention of the school management to give the boys a complete journey-THEM TO SOME AFFILIATED SHOP as soon as they are qualified for some branch of the business."

The employers also carry on a considerable educational work among themselves, and a lot of deceit through newspapers, etc.

Here is a sample of the dope that is being mailed out to all empolyers in the district: "Fight against 44 hours. Have

weekly meetings. Distribute 4-page folder telling what good Typothetae does among printers. Engage counsel in case of fight. Assess members for who use it only when it suits their having printing done. URGE MINIS- forced by employers to strike under TERS TO PREACH ON 'OPEN' and 'CLOSED' SHOPS. Write up advertisements, news letters and editorials about 44-hour week, and enlighten

All workers invited-

MAY DAY MASS MEETING

LABOR TEMPLE (AUDITORIUM), TOLEDO, OHIO

MAY 1st - 3 P. M.

Auspices Toiler Club-National Def. Com.

This is what the Boston employ- public. Work this matter up quietly

have practically broken down and a The employers certainly stop at real plan is of vital necessity? nothing in order to carry through Thousands of naive people, who read their plans. Of course all this dirty of America, in convention assembled in the newspapers that Boston print- work they proclaim as "American- restate unequivocally its disapproval

> ENLIGHTENING THE PUBLIC. How does the Boston Typothetae tempt to enforce such a reducti enlighten the public? In one of their

"If this country is ever to get

principles, are standing firm for a way our employers sanctify their of the demands of the unions for a and their present strike to maintain try have been forced to yield the

interested in reduction of printing Wherever our members remain at costs, why don't you cut down your work, they must be ready to pay profits instead of our wages? If a high assessment for strike funds: you believe in production, why don't 10 per cent to 20 per cent of wages you let us work and go to work certainly must be figured upon. The yourselves and earn an honest dollar strike may last several months and once in a while? Why did you lay the strikers must be supported by off several hundred good printers all means. during the last few months if you 2. No long-time or entangling con-There are over five million industrial shall be signed. We must leave our workers out of work all over the hands free, so that when the coat country. If "industries must have of living increases we can immeproduction" why don't you tell your diately force our wages up. We must brethern in textile, steel, mining and leave our hands free so that we other industries to open up the factories, mills and mines, and let these another union, or a general strike men go to work?

You are fooling the public, gentlemen of the Typothetae. The mills, are laying off men because there is no demand for production. The warehouses, storages and stock rooms are full of all kinds of goods. Millions of people need them, but have this continuous struggle between no money to buy them, because they are out of work. The way to remedy the condition is not long hours but the opposite method. Cut down working hours, so everybody can get a dual employers, or the working class iob. Raise wages so that everybody through unions and shop committees. can buy what he needs, then there will be a demand for production and industries will be able to operate at full speed.

44 HOUR WEEK IS ECONOMICAL-LY UNSOUND.

In another statement the Boston Typothetae says that the 44-hour correct gentlemen. It is unsound. In this case printers certainly, have taken here in Boston by the local proved themselves to be economic illerates by making such a demand.

> types, monotypes, rotary presses, au- Hays. tomatic feeders, folders and job presses have been installed in every printing place worth consideration. Improved machinery and all kinds of time-saving devices have increased the production several hundred per cent per man. Under such conditions it is absurd to demand only a 4 hour reduction per week. The time is ripe for a 36-hour week.

SANCTITY OF AGREEMENTS.

Much talk has been going on about sanctity of agreements and legality in the struggles between capital and labor. Workers who do not believe in that reactionary rot, are called anarchists, etc.

Those who preach this sanctity stuff always forget that in most cases the unions are forced to sign agreements or starve. When a robber has a gun against your nose you certainly will agree to throw up your hands, but at the first opportunity you will slip them down, and get hold of your weapon. In the same manner all other involuntary agreements must be treated.

During the war Boston printers worked for low wages. They sacrificed their right to fight when the shops were busy and the fighting chances were good. Now they are unfavorable conditions.

In the mean time the employers never lived up to the obligations of our five year contract. In a recent advertisement of the Boston Typothetae there appear over one hundred firm names. The majority of them were members of the organization when the 1916-1921 contract was signed. According to this contract no-member of the Typothetae had a right to employ non-union men. But the fact is, that about 80% of the Typothetae shops preferred and employed non-union men.

Agreements are not lived up to our loyal employers only. It is the regular policy all over the country.

For instance: under the pressure so called 'outlaw strikes,' and threats of strikes, which took place during the busy season of 1918-1919, the several national printing trades employers associations gave out promises to grant a 44-hour week on May 1st, 1921. Are they living up to their promises now? Of course not. As soon as they saw that the present dull season was coming the 15, 1920, and was released for pub lication on April 7, 1921:

"Resolved, that the 34th annual convention of the United Typothete of any reduction in the present working hours and recommends to its members that they resist any atexcept where such reduction has al-

ready been agreed to by contract." For two years printers all over the country were led to believe that the 44-hr. week was a sure thing after "The members of this organiza- May 1st, 1921. Now they find that

1. The fight in on, and there can 44-hr. week already. There is a gentlemen of Boston Typothetae are will grant the demand on May 1st

wanted to maintain production? tracts or arbitration agreements can join in a sympathy strike with when this is necessary.

Workers, one never can tell how far the powerfull employers associamines, factories and your own shops tions, their legislators and courts may go in an effort to crush the labor unions. Therefore we must be ready to fight at any time.

3. The time is approaching when capital and labor must come to an ultimate end. The final issue will be:-who is to control the industries, the capitalist class-through indivi-You know your camp. Stick to it, keep your hands united and prepare for the fight.

U. S. Mail Service to Russia.

(By Federated Press.) Washington, April 19 .- Mail service between the United States and Soviet Russia has been re-establish-During the last twenty years line- ed by order of Postmaster General

> Orders issued on April 15 notified all postmasters in the United States that they "are hereby authorized to accept fully prepaid unregistered letters and postcards addressed to Rus sia in Europe for onward transmission to destination via New York and through England."

> In a separate order postmasters were today directed to accept letter both registered and unregistered, and postcards, addressed to Vladivostock and the Republic of Far Eastern Siberia, for transmission by way of the Pacific Ocean. The Federated Press was advised today by Division of Foreign Mails that the phrase "Russia in Europe" is meant to include Ukrainia, Georgia and Aze-

Post office officials explain that restoration of mail service with Soviet Russia and United States is based on postal agreement betwee England and Russia, which went into effect April 7, the terms of which are being followed by the United States, with British cooperation.

Mails to Far Eastern Republic go forward on basis of agreement mis directly between American authorities and the Russian post office at Vladivostok, which undertakes responsibility for distribution inland along the Trans-Siberian Railway and in rural districts.

Bohemian (Czechoslovak) Week-

ly Organ of Uncompromising

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$2 per Year; Six Months \$1. Single Copies 5c; Bundle Orders 50 to 100 copies 4c each; 100 copies or more 3c per copy. Address

PRAVDA X 1423 W. 19th Str., Chicago, Ill.