

THE TOILER

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IN THIS ISSUE

Proceedings of 2nd Congress of 3rd International. A State Document.

Chronology of the Mooney Case.

The Long Shift of the Steel Slaves.

Letters - Briefs - Cartoons.

News - Comment - Editorials.

I. W. W. CASE TO BE DECIDED IN U. S. SUPREME COURT.

FATE OF MANY CLASS-WAR FIGHTERS NOW UP FOR LAST REVIEW.

(By The Federated Press)

Washington.—With the filing in the United States supreme court last week of a petition for a writ of certiorari, the legal battle for the freedom of William D. Haywood and seventy-eight other members of the Industrial Workers of the World, who were convicted after sensational trials in Chicago in 1918 on charges of conspiracy to violate the Selective Service (Draft) act and the Espionage act, enters in final stage.

The main contention in the petition and the brief submitted in its support, which were presented by Otto Christensen, of Chicago, who is associated with George F. Vanderveer as counsel for the petitioners, is that the search warrants used by the federal agents, who seized tons of books, letters, records and documents of various kinds in more than fifty simultaneous raids on September 5, 1917, were invalid. It is contended that neither the warrants nor the supporting affidavits adequately described either the places to be raided which included all the offices of the I. W. W. and a few private residences in sixty American cities, or the things to be seized; nor did the affidavits recite any facts showing probable cause for the issuance of the warrants.

The petition sets forth that the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, which on October 5, 1920, affirmed the judgment of the United States District Court at Chicago, conceded the invalidity of these search warrants, but got around this defect in the government's case by a specious process of reasoning. It is pointed out that the documents, correspondence and records seized were submitted to the grand jury and the indictments returned were based upon this evidence was seized for testimonial purposes.

The use of these papers against the defendants, it is contended, was irrefutably in violation of the fourth and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution.

There were five counts in the original indictments by which ninety-eight defendants were brought to trial and convicted before Judge Kenesaw M. Landis in April, 1918, but one count was withdrawn from the jury and two others were held by the Appellate Court not to state offenses. Of the two remaining counts (count

3 and count 4) on which the seventy-nine petitioners now stand convicted it is alleged that count 3 is "duplicious, indefinite and uncertain" and does not state an offense.

It is contended that this count is duplicious because it charges a conspiracy to commit two offenses which were incapable from their very nature of being embraced in a single conspiracy.

"The first of these" says the brief "was the offense of aiding and abetting certain persons to refuse to register for military service on June 5, 1917, pursuant to the provisions of the Selective Service act and the proclamation of the president issued on May 18, 1917. Manifestly this offense could not be committed after June 5, 1917. Manifestly, also, after that date, there could be no conspiracy to any legal sense to procure its commission."

With regard to the other offense of "aiding and abetting certain other persons to desert the military service in time of war," it is pointed out that these "other persons" are identified in the indictments as 5,000 persons who should enter such service in accordance with the provisions of the draft act, or persons who could not enter the military service until after June 5, 1917, and who, therefore, could not desert until after date.

Count 4 dealt with solicitations, speeches, articles and pamphlets obstructing the carrying out of the draft act and of recruiting for the military service. The principal objection to this count, it is stated, is that it fails to designate, or in any manner to identify, the speeches, articles, or pamphlets, so that the defendants or the court might determine just which of the mass of documents seized in the raids were referred to or judge of their character.

The defense of this case and of two other conspiracy cases against members of that organization already is said to have cost the I. W. W. approximately \$225,000, and the organization has raised about \$500,000 in bail.

Haywood and about sixty of the petitioners, who were sentenced to from five to twenty years in prison today are out on bail. The others are in the federal prison at Leavenworth.

The tons of documents seized in the raids of 1917, which were used in the trial before Judge Landis have been certified to the Supreme Court. This means that they do not have to be copied into the printed record but that the original exhibits themselves must be transmitted to Washington. Their bulk is believed to be greater than any aggregation of documentary proof in any previous case.



RETRIBUTION.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE INFAMOUS TOM MOONEY FRAME-UP.

From "Tom Mooney's Monthly."

1916.

July 22—Explosion on Market and Stuart streets.

July 26—Billings arrested at the Lane Clinic. Mooney home in Eilers building raided. Israel Weinberg arrested.

July 27—Ed Nolan and Tom and Rena Mooney arrested.

August 2—Grand Jury votes indictments against prisoners.

September 11—Billings goes to trial.

September 23—Billings found guilty.

October 7—Billings sentenced to life imprisonment.

1917.

January 3—Trial of Tom Mooney starts.

January 26—Frank C. Oxman takes the stand and swears that he saw all the defendants except Nolan at the scene of the explosion and saw Billings place the bomb.

February 9—Mooney found guilty of murder in the first degree. Jury omits recommendation to mercy which means death sentence.

February 24—Judge Franklin A. Griffin denies motion for new trial and sentences Mooney to be hanged in San Quentin prison on May 17th.

February 24—The Netherlands Federation of Labor pledges support to the San Francisco Defense and forwards protest to President Wilson, through the American ambassador at The Hague.

April 11—The Bulletin publishes Oxman's letter to Frank Edward Rigall of Grayville, Illinois, offering him financial inducements to corroborate Oxman's testimony against Tom Mooney. Rigall was at Niagara Falls, New York, on July 22nd.

April 16—Estelle Smith confesses that Oxman offered her a bribe of "five figures" to "falsely testify against Israel Weinberg. Oxman said he was acting for the "Higher-Ups."

April 18—Oxman arrested.

April 21—Ed D. Nolan released on bonds, \$250 for each indictment. Oxman held for trial by Police Judge Matthew Brady.

April 23—Judge Griffin addresses letter to Attorney General Webb, asking him to go before Supreme Court and ask new trial for Mooney.

April 23—Workmen of Petrograd hold protest meeting against the Mooney sentence in front of the American embassy.

May 4—Oxman "whitewashed" by Spreckels' Grand Jury, four grand jurors and Assistant Attorney Gen-

eral Judge Robert M. Clark of Los Angeles dissenting.

May 11—President Wilson intercedes with Governor Stephens to postpone Mooney's execution.

May 18—Judge Brady holds Oxman to trial a second time after many writs of habeas corpus had been quashed.

May 21—Rena Mooney's trial commences.

July 25—Rena Mooney acquitted.

August 24—Judge Dunne denies bail to Rena Mooney after Judges Griffin and Cabaniss had agreed to grant bail.

September 6—Billings' appeal denied by District Court Appeals.

September 11—Supreme Court denies Attorney General Webb's appeal for new trial for Mooney.

September 12—Oxman's trial opens before Judge Dunne. This Judge Dunne declares Oxman innocent on September 9th.

September 25—President Wilson authorizes Federal Mediation Commission to make an exhaustive investigation on the entire case.

September 28—Oxman acquitted of charge of subornation of perjury. Rearrested on charge of direct perjury.

October 1—Governor Whitman refused extradition of Alexander Berkman who was arrested on September 10 after being indicted by the San Francisco Grand Jury in connection with the Preparedness explosion.

October 3—Oxman escapes second trial through legal technicality.

October 4—California State Federation of Labor declares defendants innocent and again pledges support to the defense.

October 9—Weinberg's trial starts before Judge Emmett Seawell.

November 3—San Francisco Labor Council suspends President A. W. Brouillet who took active part in frame-up.

November 10—Billings starts serving life sentence in Folsom prison.

November 26—Annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Buffalo, New York, condemns frame-up and demands new trials for Billings and Mooney.

November 27—Weinberg acquitted. Jury deliberates three minutes.

November 30—San Francisco Labor Council expels Brouillet.

December 7—Alice Kidwell makes complete confession. Exposes police methods in frame-up.

December 12—Estelle Smith confesses her part in the frame-up. Incriminates District Attorney Fickert, Assistant District Attorney Ed Cunnha, Martin Swanson (corporation detective), former Assistant District Attorney "Jim" Brennan, Frank C.

Oxman, the Edeau women and others.

December 18—Fickert recall defeated.

1918.

January 22—Pres. Wilson again appeals to Governor Stephens to grant Mooney a new trial.

January 26—U. S. Federal Commission issues its report on the cases. The commission unanimously recommends new trial for Mooney and condemns Oxman's letters as attempt to suborn perjury.

February 25—Judge Cabaniss dismisses the two indictments pending in his court against Weinberg on the motion of District Attorney Fickert, himself, who refused to proceed to trial.

March 1—California State Supreme Court again denies Mooney new trial.

March 19—Judge Griffin dismisses three indictments against Weinberg in his court on the motion of the prosecution. Fickert again refused to proceed with the case.

March 21—California State Supreme Court admits Weinberg to bail in the sum of \$15,000.

March 26—Pres. Wilson telegraphs third appeal to Governor Stephens for new trial for Mooney.

(Continued on page 2.)

INDUSTRIAL 'COUNCILS OF ACTION' URGED TO MEET UNEMPLOYMENT SITUATION.

NEW YORK LABOR CONFERENCE PLANS COOPERATION OF WORKERS AND TECHNICIANS TO GET INDUSTRY UNDER WAY.

"Get ready to go back to work!" That was the dominant note sounded at the second session of the Unemployment Conference of Greater New York, meeting at the People's House, Saturday afternoon, March 5th. Representatives of thirty-four bodies of organized labor from the American Federation of Labor, independent unions and the I. W. W. assembled, and there were present with them six technical men from the engineering societies of New York.

The conference ordered the secretary to send out a call to central labor bodies in every industrial centre in the United States calling for similar movements. These "back to work" organizations will take the form of councils of action from all branches of organized labor, or rather production councils, if the purpose of the New York body is followed. Each council securing the co-operation of industrial engineers and then linking up with the rest in a national movement will, the conference decided, result in an organization fully capable of manning the idle industries effectively and permanently.

At a practical measure for getting the movement under way in New York City the conference asked each

constituent local to throw its halls open for unemployment meetings. All labor bodies in the city have already been asked to start registration of all the employed and the unemployed in their trades or subdivisions of industry, and a parallel registration of the plants involved. This for the purpose of discovering the nature and number of empty jobs and the labor personnel to fill them. Open air meetings were also resolved upon.

One of the industrial engineers at the meeting laughed at the idea that there was any danger of overproduction if industry were put to work at its full capacity. There has never been overproduction, he stated. There has only been underconsumption.

Other speakers pointed out that this was a purely industrial problem which could be met only by industrial measures. Business methods had brought the country to its present condition, they stated, with idle industrial equipment and abundance of unused raw material. The business system had no method for the restoration of production. Therefore the real forces of production, workman and engineer, must go ahead on their own initiative.

A CONGRESS OF MEXICAN WORKERS.

By FRANK SEAMAN.

How many comrades have ever seen a Congress of workers and peasants right from the job? Not many, I guess. This was my first experience. It was a labor convention called by the "Federation Comunista" of Mexico City. You know what "labor conventions" usually are—especially in economically undeveloped places like Mexico. A caucus in which chiefs and bosses and labor fakers decide just what it will be most profitable for them to have labor decide. Of course labor sometimes kicks over the traces and ignores the caucus—but that is a story all by itself—outlaw strikes, "rebel" unions, etc. There were no bosses in this Congress of the "Federation Comunista" because the congress itself was a revolt against boss rule; it was an attempt to line up the radical rank and file of the labor movement against the reactionary leaders of the "Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana," who long ago sold out to Gompers and to the Mexican Government. Morones, Martinez, Trevino, Salcedo and the rest of the "leaders" of the bonafide movement were not there.

Some time ago, a group of union in Mexico City, led by the revolutionary Bakers' union, formed the "Fed-

eracion Comunista" in an attempt to put the labor movement back on the Class Struggle basis. The "Federation" caught the imagination of the workers and grew rapidly. With the idea of organizing the new movement on a national scale a Congress of workers and peasants was called for February 15th, the manifesto being issued just at the time when Morones and Co. were shaking hands with Gompers in the Convention of the so-called "Pan-American Federation of Labor". And it was truly workers and peasants who attended. Full of enthusiasm they came, fresh from the fields and workshops, many of them never having taken part in a convention of any kind before. There were delegates from Lower California and from Yucatan, from Tamaulipas and from Jalisco—53 delegates from twelve States—representing more than 40,000 workers in all.

From the first the Congress was dominated by a revolutionary spirit. In this Congress there were no social reformers, no apologists for the present social order.—In a burst of enthusiasm the "Confederacion General de Trabajadores" (General Union of Workers) was organized with a constitution calling for direct action and the abolition of the present system. The Congress declared for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat organized in soviets of workers and peasants, recognized the Mexican Communist Party ("Partido Comunista Mexicano") as a truly revolutionary organization and severed connections with all other parties. Also, it endorsed in principle the Moscow Red Labor Union International pending a referendum on the question of immediate affiliation.

Morones and Co., tied up with the Pan American Federation that was organized by Gompers at the behest of American capitalism, is understood to be planning affiliation to the Yellow International of Amsterdam. The new "Confederacion General de Trabajadores" is ready to carry on the proletarian struggle against these treacherous leaders. The Red International is gaining ground everywhere!

The Provisional Executive Committee of the new organization is composed of: Aguirre, Quezada, Rubio, San Vicente, Quintana, Aras de Leon, Castro, Frias and Escobar. Address, "Confederacion General de Trabajadores," San Miguel 22, Mexico, D. F., Mexico.

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THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE THIRD, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: MOSCOW 1920.

Along the Soviet Front.

By PROPAGANDA PETE.

The Proceedings of the Second Congress of the Communist International 4c1

EDITORIAL NOTE:—There has been recently released for publication by the Department of State a most important document. It consists of a booklet of 166 closely printed pages and it is entitled: "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," being a translation of the reports of the proceedings of the Communist Congress in Moscow last summer made directly from the Russian newspapers, "Pravda" and "Izvestia". The contents are divided into two parts. First, the Bolshevik newspaper reports of the proceeding; and secondly, the Bolshevik interpretations of the Congress, consisting of various Theses, Reports, Documents.

Since The Toller has previously published for informative reasons, the Program of the United Communist Party of America, affiliated with the Communist International, we wish to announce that as the government has officially released for publication this noteworthy booklet, we feel equally bound to give it to our readers. We may add in parenthesis that we join the Department of State in its expressed "hope that the publication of this memorandum will do much to clarify public opinion in regard to the problems which face this democracy in its relations with Bolshevism."

OPENING OF THE 2ND CONGRESS OF III INTERNATIONAL

(Petrograd Pravda, July 21, 1920.)

SPEECH OF COMRADE ZINOVIEV.

By 12 o'clock the hall and balconies were filled to overflowing. The members of the Executive Committee of the III International appear, with the president of the latter, Comrade Zinoviev, at their head. At the same time Comrades Lenin, Kalinin, Radek, Bukharin, and others mount the stage. The leaders of the proletariat are welcomed with thunderous applause. The members of the Congress take their seats.

The members of the Congress are in the front rows. On each member's desk is a previously prepared full set of the "Communist International" in artistic binding, and also a portfolio containing a collection of photographs illustrating various aspects of the Russian revolution and of the constructive work of Soviet Russia, and also a pad of paper, a notebook, etc.

At 1.05 p. m. Comrade Zinoviev, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, declares the sitting of the Congress opened.

In Memory of Fallen Fighters.

"The first word," said Comrade Zinoviev, "must be consecrated to the memory of our friends and leaders who have perished for the cause of the Communist International. There is no country where the blood of workmen-Communists has not been shed. One has only to recall our Hungarian comrades, Comrades Samuelli, Levin, and many others. In Finland, Estonia, Hungary, and elsewhere, hundreds and thousands of the best sons of the working class have perished.

"In opening the Congress we do honor to the memory of the comrades who have fallen."

On Comrade Zinoviev's proposal all present stand; the orchestra plays the funeral march.

Greetings to Comrade Monat, Loriot, and Others.

"At this historic moment we may recall also those comrades who are sitting behind iron gratings, who are languishing in prisons, thrown there by the enemies of the proletariat. Our French friends, Comrades Loriot, Monat, and others, have been imprisoned.

"We send greetings to the many fighters in the workmen's revolution who are languishing in prisons."

Struggle Between II and III International.

"The Communist International was founded 15 months ago, and from its very first steps it naturally had to cross swords with the II International, entering into direct conflict with the latter. Both our friends and our enemies in all Europe and America must face this fact, and also recognize that our struggle has been crowned with success, and that as a result of this duel the II International has been knocked in the head by the III Communist International.

"The struggle between us and the II International is the real struggle of classes. In the ranks of the II International there were many of our class-brothers, who had been deceived by the false ideology of the yellow Socialists who had followed the same road with the bourgeois.

The Triumph of the III International.

"We triumphed because the bourgeoisie proved powerless to liquidate the heritage of the war; because the bourgeoisie as a whole is not able to do anything to reconstruct the economic life of Europe. The II International linked its fate with the bourgeoisie at the very first shot that proclaimed the beginning of the imperialistic war. The later attempts to reestablish the II International naturally met with no success. Its principal leader strove to enter into alliance with the League of Nations.

"They put Wilson on the same slate with Jaures, that martyr of the labor movement.

The Bourgeoisie is Destined to Perish.

"Therefore all the blows showered now on the bourgeoisie, fall like a heavy hammer on the II International. Every organization that has associated itself with the bourgeoisie class, whose end is predestined, by that very fact condemns itself also to ruin.

"The working class is coming into power, and the bourgeoisie in its despair seizes on the half-dead II International, and struggles in its dying grasp. There is no doubt that both are approaching definite ruin, because in the historic sense years are reckoned by days. Their collapse will make it possible for an international union of workmen to create a new world, founded on Communism. The idea of democracy has faded away before our very eyes.

"When the American bourgeoisie before the eyes of the whole world suspended constitutional guarantees, when this much-praised democracy violated all the principles established by it—by this it itself determined its place. On this question there should not be two opinions. In noting the victory over the II International it is necessary to emphasize this much-debated point, and finish once for all with democratic tendencies.

The Tasks of the Congress.

"The Congress has been convened to decide certain questions which are the subject of dispute in the ranks of the Communist movement. We have brought to the Congress parties which have not yet manifested their purely communistic character, which have not yet fully defined their tactics. Individual groups of the working class in certain countries are still at the crossroads. We have brought here all the mass workmen's organizations that wish honestly to combat capitalism.

"In the period of the collapse of the II International all parties have abandoned it one after another. Now they are trying to enter the III International. Such are the German Independents and the French Socialist Party, groups adhering to these, and also certain others.

There Will Be No Place for Traitors in the III International.

"At the Congress no dishonest thinking will be permitted, and there can be no concession to the II International. We shall tell the German and French workmen that they must start to cleanse their ranks so that they may come into the International union of workmen. Just as in individual countries we must have parties molded from iron and steel, which carry the working masses with them, so we must do the same on the international scale. There must be created a pliable and mobile organization, which can render powerful assistance at the necessary moment wherever such will be required.

Why the I International Did Not Succeed.

"If the struggle of the I International, which was built by the hands of Marx and Engels, was not crowned with success, it was because at that time there was no union of workmen on a world scale. To be victorious over the bourgeoisie it is essential to realize this fundamental task.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Large Workmen's Uprising.

"As we begin the work of the Congress we should remember that in a few months we shall have the fiftieth anniversary of the first great uprising of workmen who pointed out the road for us. We should remember the Paris Commune, which wrote the first page of the history of the international workmen's movement.

"We express our fervent desire that by the date of this great anniversary France already will have a French Soviet Republic.

The Triumph of the International Proletariat is Near.

"A short time will pass, and the proletariat of all countries, in a single outburst, with a clearly defined aim and as a single entity, will march forward to victory, under the leadership of the Communist International.

Long live the working class of the whole world!

"Long live the Communist International!"

All the members of the Congress and all those present at the sitting by their stormy and long applause showed their complete solidarity with the wishes expressed by Comrade Zinoviev.

Comrade Zinoviev's speech was translated into German by Comrade Radek. Comrade Balabanova translated the speech into French and Italian.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS OF PRAESIDIUM.

Then take place the elections of members of the Praesidium of the Congress. In the name of the executive committee, Comrade Bukharin proposes the following names:

CHRONOLOGY OF INFAMOUS TOM MOONEY FRAME UP.

(Continued from page 1.)

March 30—Judge Dunne releases Rena Mooney on same bail as Weinberg's, nine months after acquitted.

April 27—Defense counsel make motion in Judge Griffin's court that death verdict be set aside because of fraud practiced by District Attorney Fickert and the San Francisco police department in the Mooney trial.

May 2—British Labor Party through its secretary, Hon. Arthur Henderson, M. P., protest against frame-up and demands new trial for Mooney.

May 15—The London (England) Trades Council cablegrams demand for new trial.

May 28—Judge Griffin sentences Mooney to be hanged on August 23rd.

June 5—President Wilson again urges new trial.

June 11—District Attorney Fickert files brief with Governor Stephens attacking impartiality of Federal Commission.

June 12—Record of the trial of German Consul Franz Von Bopp disclosed the fact that District Attorney Fickert supplied German agent with fake credentials addressed to "Officers and officials throughout the United States and Canada." This agent, C. C. Crowley, was responsible for many dynamitings and destruction of munitions for allies.

June 13—Fickert announces his candidacy for governor based on his prosecution and conviction of Mooney.

June 17—The Lancashire-Cheshire (England) Federation of Labor, representing 250,000 workers, demands new trial for Mooney.

June 17—Transcript of Oxman hearing before Spreckel's Grand Jury discloses the fact that District Attorney Fickert requested Lieutenant of Police "Steve" Bunner to meet Ed Rigall on his arrival in San Francisco and forcibly get possession of Oxman's famous perjury letters.

June 20—Annual convention of American Federation of Labor, held at St. Paul, Minnesota, recommends that President Wilson use all the power vested in him to prevent Mooney's execution and urges Governor Stephens to grant the president's request for a new trial.

June 23—Aviation Lieutenant Wm F. Jacobs, former Mooney juror, urges new trial for Mooney. "I convicted Mooney on the evidence of Oxman and Estelle Smith and these

have now been proven perjurers," Lieutenant Jacobs declared.

July 3—Scottish Iron Molders Association brings frame-up to the attention of the British war cabinet.

July 10—Miners' Federation of Great Britain urges new trial for Mooney in cablegrams to President Wilson and Governor Stephens.

July 16—California State Supreme Court refuses stay of execution of sentence.

July 17—Tom Mooney removed from county jail to death cell in San Quentin.

July 25—District Attorney Fickert in affidavit filed with Governor Stephens stated that Felix Frankfurter, secretary of Federal Commission, stated his belief while the commission was sitting in San Francisco that Mooney was guilty. "Frankfurter expressed that opinion to members of the Supreme Court," charged Fickert.

July 26—Frankfurter, now chairman of the War Labor Politics Board denied Fickert's allegations as false and without the slightest foundation.

July 27—Governor Stephens revokes Mooney until December 13th.

July 30—The justices of the California Supreme Court endorse Frankfurter's denial of the Fickert charge.

July 30—Delegation of organized labor, headed by Hon. W. Bourke Cockran, Frank Morrison, secretary of the American Federation of Labor and Joseph Valentine, president of Molders' International Union, called at the White House to urge upon President Wilson the necessity of taking the case out of the jurisdiction of the State of California as a necessary war measure. Owing to the fact that a specially summoned cabinet meeting was in progress, the president was unable to meet the delegation and he requested that a memorial on the subject be sent to him for consideration.

August 1—Defense counsel petition State Supreme Court for rehearing of appeal for new trial.

August 13—Hon. W. Bourke Cockran presents memorial on case as requested by President Wilson.

August 19—National Union of Scottish Mine Workers cablegrams protest against scheduled execution of Mooney and urges new trial.

August 21—California State Supreme Court denies petition for rehearing.

August 27—American Socialist

Comrades: Levi (Germany), Roemer (France), Seratti (Italy), Lenin and Zinoviev (Russia).

This proposal is unanimously adopted.

Comrade Zinoviev then reports that many organizations have desired to present greetings to the Congress. Because of lack of time it is necessary, however, to limit the granting of the floor for the presenting of greetings to only one representative of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, on whose territory the Congress has convened.

The floor is given to the president of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets, Comrade Kalinin, whom the Congress welcomes with a boisterous ovation.

SPEECH OF COMRADE KALININ.

Greeting to the Congress from Russian Workmen and Peasants.

"In the name of the workmen and peasants of Soviet Russia," begins Comrade Kalinin. "I greet the 2nd World Congress of the III Communist International."

"Our Communist Party," continues Comrade Kalinin, "in its past activity was not spoiled by parliamentary struggle. It was forced to carry on its struggles against Tsarism and Kerensky under difficult conditions, but the party never lost hope that Tsarism and oppression would be overthrown.

The Struggle for the Welfare of Toilers.

"During the last three years we have had to make enormous sacrifices and show colossal energy in the struggle for the welfare of the toilers.

"We have had to suffer all the burdens of civil war, of hunger, of blockade, etc. In this difficult and constant struggle, Soviet Russia tempered herself. This struggle made it possible for us to create our glorious, invincible Red Army, which at the present moment is showing miracles of bravery on the fields of battle against white Poland.

"At the present moment it is absolutely clear to Russian workmen and peasants that we are not fighting solely the Russian bourgeoisie and Tsarist landlords; that it is not only against such that our struggle is directed. The workmen and peasants now know that the world bourgeoisie stands behind the Russian bourgeoisie, sending against us now this enemy, now the other. That is why Russian workmen at the present moment look to the West, knowing that the world proletariat is on their side."

Comrade Kalinin concludes his speech by expressing the hope that the Congress which is about to open will serve as the beginning of a direct conflict of the peoples of the East and West for the liberation of the world proletariat, and once again greets the Congress in the name of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of Soviets.

(Next article—Lenin's Speech Before the 2nd Congress.)

The first delegate congress of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions will be held in Moscow May 1st. The call has been sent out to all Left labor elements of the world. The International Council was organized at Moscow last summer and is now rapidly forging to the front in the leadership of the international trade union movement.

The Armenian Soviet Government has requested the American Near East relief organization to continue its work in that country, promising cooperation and guaranteeing inviolability of supplies. This organization is caring for 25,000 orphans made destitute by the recent hostilities in Trans-Caucasia.

The Armenian government has cancelled all old treaties with the Turkish government and is negotiating new treaties.

In the recent All-Russian Congress of the Building Trades, satisfactory reports of work accomplished were received. The present program of work outlined consists among other things of the erection of dwellings for 100,000 workers in the Donets Basin and harbor construction on the Black Sea.

February 15th to the 22nd was observed in Russia as Trade Union week. During this period extensive publicity was carried on for the purpose of educating the working masses in the aims of the Trade Unions and to give a picture of the general labor movement.

The government of Latvia has announced that any person circulating false reports of Soviet Russia's warlike intentions toward Latvia will be proceeded against in the courts.

Finnish business interests are urging a quick rehabilitation of trade with Soviet Russia.

Great quantities of tools and implements are among recent shipments of products from Swedish firms to Russia.

The building of many new cement factories, some of which are already in operation is among the proposed reconstruction plans of the Soviet government.

The plans for the emigration of German skilled workers to Russia during 1921 are almost complete. During the first six months it is planned to receive 5,000. Of these 4,000 will be taken into the metal industry, 247 into the Commissariat for Health, 445 into agriculture; of these 110 will be used as agricultural organizers. Besides there will be required 200 specialists for the organization of economic councils which are setting up agricultural communes in the Moscow district. Details of the emigration are being arranged by the technical commission in Germany. It is their firm intention to accept only those who are conscious of their purpose and are prepared to face all the work necessary to create a new social system.

A Petrograd foot-wear factory specializing in galoshes has increased its production from 300 to 800 pairs daily. A deterrent to further increased production is the fuel shortage. Supplies for two years work at present production are on hand.

The erection of electric supply stations is proceeding in all parts of Russia as fast as machinery can be secured. Many villages heretofore without modern lighting are being supplied with electric light and power. Needless to say, this is but one of the many measures taken which cements the peasants and the Soviet government in a tie that cannot be broken.

Recently a Congress of Working Women of Soviet Russia was held in Moscow. 3,500 delegates attended. The opening address was given by Anna Kollontai, Commissar of Social Welfare. Problems of interest to women workers were discussed.

Recent statements of the U. S. capitalist press to the effect that the regime of the Soviets was again "tottering"; of a division between Lenin and Trotsky and such, may be put down to the slander account of this reptile press.

In an attempt to put an end to the pencil shortage in Russia, a new factory has been set up in Tashkent. Graphite is supplied from Samskand.

(Continued on page 4.)

THE TOILER

ONE YEAR SIX MONTHS FOREIGN \$2.00 \$1.00 1 year, \$2.50

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THE INAUGURATION.

Washington's inoffensive bible has been brought out into public view and kissed; the President has made his little speech; the reporters have scratched down all the trivial incidents of the affair; the movie men have cranked their machines—and we are off under a new national political administration.

The ceremonies were simple—considering that the G. O. P. expended \$8,100,730.21 in the election of its present national officials. Having read some of the President's recent speeches, we were prepared for his modest declaration of Divine guidance during the coming four years.

Concerning the President's policy insofar as outlined in the inauguration speech and other recent utterances, we are certain that we are to have either a righteous administration mixed with business, or a business administration mixed with righteousness, we are not sure just which. There lie before us eight answers to eight questions put to the President by Mr. Neil M. Clark—questions upon which "every business man would like an expression of opinion."

The President has fixed his eyes upon the past. Echoing thruout his inaugural message are the voices of an age that is dead and gone forever. The President holds out no hope for the toiling and enslaved masses. He points out to them only a "back to normalcy" condition as the goal to be achieved, ignoring the social forces which are driving the world's workers into rebellion against their masters.

President Harding is well fitted to serve the interests which have made him. He will have no quarrels with "business" over ideals. He will serve his masters well.

REDUCE THE HOURS.

One cannot read of the terrible hours and conditions under which the slaves of the steel industry labor as revealed in the article from The Survey published in this issue, without realizing what these conditions mean not only the unfortunate thousands directly victimized by the billionaire corporations which employ them, but also that they present a grave danger to the whole labor movement in this country.

The organization of the steel industry has long been the problem of problems confronting organized labor. Other basic industries have yielded to the urge of organization. Repeated attempts to win against the Principality of Steel have met with repeated and bitter failure. The world's greatest industrial corporation has proven, with the aid of the capitalist State, entirely too strong an antagonist for the A. F. of L.

But the battle must be won. So long as the twelve hour day prevails in any industry of such huge proportions, it is a direct menace to all workers. Every shift of twelve hours that is worked, directly deprives unemployed of a chance to work. The serf-like conditions of the steel workers' lives are a blot upon a labor movement which pretends to have a civilized aim and method. These archaic and medieval conditions must be wiped out—it matters not how.

The A. F. of L. is again laying its plans for this great work. Let us hope that it realizes the causes of its past bitter failures and lays the foundations for its methods deep down on the bed-rock of class against class and not on a basis of craft antagonisms. It is the only labor organization with the material means capable of doing this job. It should have the support of every unit in its own organization and every assistance possible from labor everywhere in eradicating forever this ulcer from the body of labor.

The Donetz Coal Basin, which was injured extensively by the predatory counter-revolutionists, is now being rehabilitated under Soviet rule. The following supplies have recently been sent into this section to aid in the work increased production: 40,000 electric lamps, 17 electric motors, 10 dynamos, 80,000 drills, 15,000 shovels, 18 versts of rails, 2 Lancashire boilers.

Have just filled an order for over half a thousand pamphlets from Seattle. These are to be sold at meetings at the Labor Temple.

That brings up the question, what is your union hall for? If it is for labor, it is up to you to use it for labor. Your officials may disagree with you but you can squash that. Use your union meetings to introduce The Toiler and our literature.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

IN OUR MAIL BOX

Each week the Editor sends out to our readers a message. Thousands read it, most of whom are pleased to do so, we may believe. We receive many letters confirming this opinion. Some are made angry however, and tell us so. We are always glad to get these letters, whether they approve or disapprove of us and our message. But we like the letters to be signed. This column will be devoted hereafter to publishing some of these letters which come to us from Toiler readers.

UNSIGNED LETTERS.

We have two unsigned letters this week. The first from a comrade in California. The comrade is made angry because we have quoted three (3) lines from the Oakland World, which he severely criticizes over several pages for past—and present alleged misconduct in the movement. The Toiler is quite well acquainted with the long fight between the Right and Left elements in California. And we know the relative merits of the two papers which have represented the two wings, the Western Worker and the World. We would suggest to the unknown writer of the letter that he do not allow a narrow, dogmatic sectarianism to obstruct his vision to such an extent that he cannot see the truth in a statement made by an opponent. We say this in view of the fact that he expresses no opinion against our quotation taken from the World.

Another comrade asks us in an unsigned letter if in our opinion the New Day (official organ of the Socialist Party) is not publishing a great deal of matter concerning Debs for the sole reason of selling their publication. Answering frankly, we will say that we see no other legitimate reason, after a careful scrutiny of the New Day, why it should be sold at all unless it is for the purpose of freeing Debs,—assuming that it helps any.

JOURNALISTIC ETHICS.

A comrade from Mason City, Iowa writes us an excited paragraph because he has seen in the Erie "Truth" one of our editorials without the ethical credit line. After three years labor in the domain of proletarian journalism, we have concluded that it is altogether too much to expect credit in such instances. Either the Editor forgets to give the credit or the printer is at fault—or there is not space enough—or the editor is just plainly opposed to what is sometimes considered a hang-over of bourgeois ethics and proceeds to appropriate what he deems good for his purpose. All in perfect honesty. We know it's done in honesty for here is the periodical of our worthy and honorable Clansman, the Scottish Worker from Glasgow, containing various articles from our paper without a line of credit to The Toiler. But why should we worry? If we toil in an unknown field, without honor we at least are assured that the result is good—the character of proletarian propaganda is raised a notch!

POLISH RIGHT AND LEFT MIX. Cleveland, O., Feb. 24, 1921.

Comrades:— Sunday, Feb. 20, the Polish prolet-

ariat in Cleveland had two mass meetings.

At Rocoq Hall W. 10 st. Editor Gebert of the Polish daily, "Voice of the Worker" spoke to not less than four hundred Polish and Russian Workers about the Social-Patriot traitors in Poland and the Polish Socialist land reform, and appealed to the masses for the overthrow of that gang in Poland. New readers were added to the Voice of the Worker and a collection of \$65 was taken up. Polish radical literature and papers were sold in hundreds. The meeting was enthusiastic thru out.

That's what the Capitalist hirelings do right here in Cleveland? What so you think about them?

Walter Grzejninski.

Well, comrade, we think that in another six months there will be but one fraction of working-class Poles in this city. When the Polish traitors and social-patriots in the home country are overturned in the inevitable victory of the Communists then the quarrels between the Right and Left in American Polish groups will vanish.

The Doers' Column By the Office Devil.

If your name is mentioned here it is a proof that you are among the "doers". Names of folks who never do anything for the workers will not find their names recorded here. We don't waste time recording the undone deeds of people who, thru negligence, or disinclination to fight back at capitalism, refuse to do their duty. We have no time or space to waste on them. This column belongs to the fighters, the learners, the doers.

And when there are enough of them—the others won't count.

Why is it that during December January and February our literature bundle orders and subscriptions increased more than 100% over the three months previous?

It must be that the "Doers" are multiplying. It's natural enough that they should multiply in seasons like the present.

Comrade Taylor of—(it doesn't matter where) sends in an order for a supply of various pamphlets. One real live wire can keep as many as a dozen pamphlets working all the time. Try it on the unknowns.

Rush orders for literature and an increase in the Toiler bundle is a regular order of business with San Francisco comrades.

Our best seller, guess what it is? Communism and Christianity, by comrade Bishop Brown. Every mail brings a sheaf of orders for this great little book. The best of it is that orders are repeated time and time again.

An order for 185 books arrives from Denver. Comrades there are on the job. This order proves it.

There is one place where there is always something doing for the workers' cause, that's Youngstown. Some comrades there are always on the job with literature and Toilers. We suggest that more Youngstown comrades follow the example.

Comrade Carl Malmsten, of Stockholm, Sweden, orders a bundle of ten Toilers weekly.

What are you doing in your union for the Left Wing, the Red Trade Union International? Let us suggest that you order and sell the pamphlet, "The International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions." You will thus be spreading much needed information concerning the trade union movement. It is ten cents a copy—12 for \$1.

A comrade from Joliet writes that he finds that a "personal reminder is necessary to get some readers to renew their subscriptions. He's right. Will readers take note of this and those who have received a reminder from The Toiler office will please renew.

We want to call your attention to two important offers in this issue. First, the reduced prices on ten good pamphlets contained in one advertisement. Secondly, the offer of some splendid titles for subscriptions. These two offers should appeal to many propagandists.

A comrade in Louisville, Ky., has outstripped all others in disposing of Toiler Cartoon Books. He now has \$3 in his credit.

We observe the many literature orders that accompany comrade's renewals, supplementing The Toiler with other literature is the sure road to knowledge.

We note a recent order for 100 copies of various booklets from comrade Zelms of Boston. This shows there is team work there.

We have had a number of inquiries for literature from college clubs and educational societies recently. There seems to be a wave of desire for more than just ordinary education sweeping over the land.

Comrade Ivoevich of Indiana, is a constant literature booster. About once a week he sends us an order.

We now have a new supply of The Soviet Constitution at 10c per copy 12 for \$1. They are fine for propaganda.

The Ants and Bees are Bolsheviks.

By ROSTON QUILLION.

When we think of the word emancipation, our minds naturally revert to the time of Abraham Lincoln. We connect his name with that of emancipation much as we do Bryan's with that of prohibition, or grape juice; they are so closely allied that it is of no avail to separate them.

Yes my friends, there are slaves to-day, nearly as badly treated as those of the sixties! The one great distinction is, that the slaves of to-day are called free. Are they free in reality? I challenge the statement that they are. We shall compare them and note the similarity of the treatment accorded both types of slaves—chattel and wage slaves.

What were the slaves of old bought and sold for? For their labor power. That is what the slaves of to-day are sold for—the only difference being that the wage slave sells, if the market is willing to buy, his own labor power. The sad part is that, so many times the market is not in the humor to buy his power of labor. That condition was unparalleled in the history of the chattel slaves. They were employed at all seasons, and received the same reward. What were the rewards of the domestic chattel slave? His lodging and what he could eat. His board and clothes. What more do we receive? We get only a measly wage for producing. Why do we not get all we produce? What law in nature decrees that we must produce for a few and ourselves starve. The bees are more communistic. They are practicing in this land of the free, so-called, the worst type of bolshevism—they should be deported as reds. The ants are anarchists and the rest of the reds. They should also be sent to Russia, where are also retained by the working man the value of what he produces. My God, must we depart from nature to secure a suitable form of government? We might do well to consider the Bolshevik ants and bees and their ways and thus be wise.



The new President is already famous. A new color is displayed in the shop windows. It's called "Harding Blue."

We may now be said to have the Harding Blues, looking at ourselves from the standpoint of prosperity.

President Obregon of Mexico, is at outs with the labor members of his Cabinet due to their differences on the matter of the strike of the railroad workers. President Obregon is seen to be great deal less of a labor man than was supposed. All politicians are friends of labor when labor demands nothing, as "la Lucha" says.

The trial of Sacco and Vanzetti has been postponed for a period of 90 days on the plea of the defense attorney, Fred H. Moore. Depositions of material witnesses in Italy are being taken and it is expected that their statements will have an important bearing in favor of the defendants when the trial occurs.

The letter writing privilege has been restored to Debs under instructions of Prison Director Dickerson. Visitors will be allowed as soon as "the authorities are convinced that the privilege will not be abused." Undoubtedly the nation wide protests have had some influence upon the petty officials who hold down the heavy jobs at Washington.

Mothers and Widows of Italian soldiers of the world war have formed an association to look after the graves of the dead soldiers. In a spirit of fraternity they have offered their services in the respect to the widows and mothers of fallen German soldiers.

Chicago printers are standing solidly against the bosses' proposal of a wage cut of \$4.65 per week.

The Fascist—anti socialist Black Hundreds—are continuing their burning of labor halls and destruction of news paper plants. Many armed clashes occur, and many are injured.

Civil war in Ireland continues. Unemployment is growing and thousands survive only thru the aid of relief agencies from outside Ireland.

Bread lines in Chicago grow longer daily. Over 40,000 unemployed men are depending upon charitable agencies for support—states Dr. Ben Reitman, of the Health Department.

The Workman's Circle has offered the Soviet Government a complete equipment for a hospital up to the value of \$50,000.

The grand jury investigating the Wall Street explosion of September 16th has made its report and been dismissed. The sole results of its deliberations are recommendations regarding the control of and use of explosives. The person guilty of the criminal act of causing the explosion is unknown.

What to do now, was the question before the conference of the A. F. of L. at Washington last week. Faced with the destruction its believed rights secured by the Clayton Act and more recently, the assessments against the United Mine Workers of a penalty of \$800,000 for attempting to organize a handful of miners down in Arkansas, the wobbly old ship is up against some problems of navigation that are taxing the best brains of her pilots.

The International Socialist Congress Conference in Vienna where a 4th International is attempting to get underway, looks with disfavor upon the rigid lines laid down by the Moscow International. At the same time the statement is made that only those who have overthrown their social-patriotism will be allowed to join.

Ludwig C. A. K. Martens and Gregory Weinstein, having arrived at Moscow, the deportation warrant against them has been cancelled by the Department of Labor. This means according to Martens' attorney, Charles Recht, that Martens may return here officially at some future time as an envoy of Soviet Russia.

The Labor Department states that 426 anarchists and communists have been deported within the past year. We wonder how many capitalism has made within the past four months.

The defense of the Mingo Co. miners has opened at Williamson, W. Va., in the trial of Sid Hatfield and 18 others indicted for the deaths of Baldwin-Felts detectives at Matewan last May.

Mexican key men and shop workers have quit their places in sympathy with the striking railroad workers. Mexican workers have learned the meaning of solidarity.

The election of Harding, Coolidge and the Republican Congress cost the Grand Old Party the neat little sum of \$8,100,739.21 states the Senate Committee on Campaign Expenditure.

Isn't it a great and glorious thing to have a friend of the workers as rich as that to help us elect the people's choice?

How could we do without such a friend? How could Harding?

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

THE TOILER CLEVELAND, OHIO 3207 CLARK AVE.

BY GOING AFTER THEM

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