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THE TOLLER

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Opening of the Congress of the Communist International.

SUCCESSES OF PAST YEAR REVIEWED AND FUTURE STRUGGLES POINTED OUT.

From "Rosta Wien." Moscow, June 23rd.—The huge Moscow Theatre was filled to overflowing. The stage, boxes and parquette were filled with the delegates to the congress. All other parts were crammed with the representatives of the Moscow proletariat. One could hear conversations in every tongue of Europe and Asia. The members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International appeared on the stage.

Zinoviev Declared The Congress Opened.

Our first word, began Zinoviev, shall be dedicated to the comrades who have fallen in the struggle for Communism. In Berlin comrade Syll has been buried, and in Turkey a group of the most active Communists have given their lives. In Italy not a day passes without the White terror demanding its victim. In the March Action the German party has lost several hundred of their best comrades. Also among the participants of the second congress there are victims to be deplored. A group of French and Greek comrades who wished to get through the cordon of the bourgeois to their own lands had to pay with their lives.

The enemies of Communism refer to the events in Italy, Czechoslovakia and Germany and say that the Communist International has suffered a defeat. We believe however that such events are unavoidable. The long chain of the struggle of the working class consists of such events. We knew them here in Russia also but in the end the revolutionary movement won the upper hand. The struggles of the past year are without doubt a step forward. Capitalism is going through a severe crisis. In Europe and America there are millions of unemployed.

The strike of the English miners is an example of the endurance of the workers and in spite of the treachery of the leaders will still last many weeks. Today we have received reports of new strikes in Italy and quite recently a three-day strike took place in Bavaria.

In the last year our party has grown very strong. In the last congress only a small group of French delegates took part and this time the French delegates represent a Party of 120,000 members. From Czechoslovakia instead of a few delegates we have to greet representatives of a Party of 400,000 members. The English and the American Parties have completed the union which gives them the possibility of appearing with a solid front.

The White terror cannot destroy our Party and cannot stop its irresistible growth. We do not need any Opportunists. Instead of the last year's representatives of the Italian Socialists the delegates of the new Communist Party of Italy are in our midst. It is much better for us that we have freed ourselves there from all Centrist and reformist leaders and the day is not far distant when all the Italian workers will stand in our ranks. Last year the representatives of Right German Independent Socialists came to unite with us so that they could sabotage our work from within. When we would not hear anything of it they founded the "two and a half" International which unites nearly all the wobbly elements in it. This fact need not bother us. Up to the time of the second congress one could still harbour doubts as to the breakdown of the second international but now the fate of their leader Thomas, is characteristic for the whole of the Yellow International. At the time of the miners strike Thomas betrayed the workers and thereupon to avoid their vengeance he fled to America. The American workers however received him with hostile demonstrations.

The struggle with Amsterdam now stands as the order of the day. The international Council of Red Trade Unions which was formed last year now unites more than 15 million workers. A great work stands before us. We shall settle our tactics and all that seek to bring poison of Centristism into our ranks must be met with the sharpest resistance. We must present all comrades with the inner and outward situation of Soviet Russia. The hate of the bourgeoisie surrounds our congress as a wall. Full of glee the Polish press reports that only a small number of delegates have arrived at the congress. In fact there are thousands of delegates who represent 48 different lands. (Note. Fifty three countries were invited to send dele-

gates.) Never before were so many representatives of the countries of the East present in a conference. At the conclusion of his address Zinoviev greeted the delegates who had come to the congress of the Young Communist International and finished amidst a storm of cheers by calling for cheers for the world revolution and the Communist International.

Zinoviev was unanimously elected president. As vice-presidents were elected Loriot (France), Koenen (Germany), Gennari (Italy) and Kolaroff (Bulgaria).

Comrade Froehlich made the proposal that Lenin, Trotzky, Radek, Muna (Czechoslovakia), Brandler (Germany) and Inkpin (England) should be elected honorary presidents. This was carried unanimously.

Kamenev said that apparently history wished it that the congress of the revolutionary Communist forces of the whole world should assemble in the capital of that despotic empire which had exercised its rule for many hundreds of years over Europe and Asia and where the Russian proletariat now celebrated the fourth anniversary of its liberation. 135 million workers and peasants are now united in the sign of the hammer and cycle. We have at last dropped the flint from our hands to grip the hammer and we will show that Soviet Russia knows the way to regulate its economic life. Now that we are passing over to peaceful work the congress of the Communist International takes place. Three cheers for our beloved guests.

In the name of the French Communist Party Vaillant-Couturier greeted the Red Army. The French Workers, he said, are ready to join the revolutionary army of the world. The day will come when the workers of France standing on their foremost barricade will reach their hands to the oncoming Red Army of the world revolution.

The oldest Communist of Germany, one of the participants of the Zimmerwald conference, Froehlich, greeted Soviet Russia as the fortress of the world revolution. The German Communists hope that this congress will stride forward in the line that was set by the second congress of the Communist International. Communism has been able to free itself from its right wing who show more and more that it has gone over to the side of the traitors of the working class. The German Communist Party is prepared to fight until the last victory is won. Let the social patriots increase the number of their extraordinary courts as much as they wish the eyes of the proletariat are opened and they are flocking to the banner of Communism.

Greeting the congress in the name of the Italian Communist Party Gennari recalled that the Italian Socialists at the head of whom stands Serrati were present at the last congress. This time Serrati is not here. He has betrayed the world revolution and the Third International. The Italian proletariat punishes him with its scorn and counts him among its enemies. Among the workers of Italy there are backward elements who require the authority of the third congress, who will be helped by its decisions to find their way and who will be moved by it to fulfill their duties to the international Communist movement.

Tomassi, the secretary of the French Trade Union Council said that the last year were sad ones for the French trade union movement. The leaders of the trade unions had pursued a policy of treachery to the workers. The workers have now awakened to the consciousness that it is necessary to get rid of the bourgeoisie. They have grasped that with those who let paid murderers and misled soldiers loose against the workers no compromise is possible. The workers have lost belief in the democratic phantoms and are following Moscow and the Russian workers.

In the name of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Kolaroff related the difficulties with which their party had to contend. In spite of the fact that Bulgaria is a backward land, economically and culturally, new Communist groups are being continually formed. The Communist movement is the single lever for the progress of mankind.

The congress listened with great interest to the statement of Comrade Togutschi. Japan pursues a policy of absolute robbery in the Far East, said he. The Japanese workers however, are freeing themselves more and more



THE "THINKER."

The Battle Cry of the Future of the Socialist Party. the A. F. of L.

By THURBER LEWIS.

At Denver city bright and fair Met the mighty A. F. of L. The bosses cried in loud despair, "Them guys will surely give us hell." They quaked before the battle yell, "Union labels on underwear!"

Even if you cannot spare After cuts in wage and slack Dough to buy this underwear For your sore and aching back, Holler till your face is black, "Union labels on underwear!"

If whenever strike you dare The police are on your flanks, Stopping speeches on the square— Just cheer up and offer thanks For this cry to close your ranks, "Union labels on underwear!"

Over there they may prepare For a mighty general strike. Over there they do and dare; You? you, for the love of Mike! With this slogan slowly hike, "Union labels on underwear!"

from the influence of this policy of the government and are organizing themselves for the final struggle. The Japanese Communists are struggling against the colonial policy of the government.

Montignano greeted the congress in the name of the Young Communist International. The Communist young people fought opportunism in every place and assisted the organization of Communist Parties. The congress of the Communist Young People's International is to meet in Moscow and all questions of the young people's movement will come up for discussion.

After the singing of the "International" the first session of the congress was closed. The meeting was followed by a concert in which Chalopin sang.

Well, what's to become of the Socialist Party now? They have had a Party Convention. Not a very momentous one, nor large, nor revolutionary; but nevertheless a convention in which the future policy of the S. P. was laid—however indefinitely.

Their spokesmen, Jim Oneal in particular, already foresees potential possibilities. They are frank (as if they could be anything else, with figures about) in saying that their Party is weak, weak because of the war, the department of justice, Debs in jail, the Left Wing (this in particular) and ever so many other things. Their Party is reduced in membership from one hundred thousand (a short while ago) to something around fifteen thousand. They are in debt more than twenty thousand dollars. They are touring very few national speakers and pulling in their organizers for lack of funds. And yet there are potential possibilities.

Three Ways. You see, every one in the S. P. agrees to the necessity of building a Party. But there are a number of ways in which to go about it. Let us take them one by one and see what would be liable to happen in case of the adoption of any one of them. Let us first enumerate them: the "right" position, looming threateningly over the Milwaukee horizon, the "centrist" position of Hilquit, which was temporarily adopted at the convention, and the more insignificant "left", championed by the Jewish federation and the so-called "left wing" of New York and Chicago.

The "Right". It is a safe conjecture, I believe, to say that the "right" policy offers the best possibilities, under existing circumstances, for the Socialist Party to develop numerical strength and political prestige. This may seem peculiar—peculiar at least for a revolutionist to say; but let us examine

the situation a little more closely. The first step in pursuance of this policy would be fusion. In proof of this we need merely to mention the resolution submitted by Dan Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, at the last convention. The Socialist Party is replete with reformist politicians. They have had a wide experience in political campaigning, in pure and simple vote catching. In case of an alliance with the Farmer-Labor Party, the Non-Partisan League and other liberal and reform labor organizations, the Socialist Party would take the lead. The S. P. would give great impetus to an allied reformist party in this country, it would throw fresh blood into the movement, and what with their glib mouthings of revolutionary phrases and their sophistication on matters touching the working class movement the S. P. membership should prove quite a success in such a venture.

Under the direction of the S. P. there would probably be formed quite a powerful Labor Party in this country, and with Hilquit's assistance they may be able to save their faces by retaining a certain autonomy such as the I. L. P. in England maintains in the Labor Party. There is no denying that there is a field for such a movement, especially so long as the campaign of repression continues to serve as a muller on the more revolutionary elements.

Where They Belong. It would be the hey-day of Berger, Hoan, King et al. They would probably get themselves elected to Congress or perhaps some less auspicious bourgeois gatherings. They would be hailed as the Hendersons and Vanderweides of America—and they would play the parts well. They would prate about Democracy (not to forget cheap milk, government ownership, etc.) and brush aside with a gesture all thought of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. (Continued on page 2.)

Haywood Shows Weaknesses of American Labor Movement

A. F. OF L. MOST BACKWARD OF WORLD LABOR MOVEMENTS. CRAFT UNIONISM IS STUMBLING BLOCK TO PROGRESS.

From "MOSCOW" of May 28.

One single obstacle standing in the pathway of working class progress in the United States of America, is the American Federation of Labor.

Before attempting to describe the relation of the proletariat to Soviet Russia, the Communist Party, the Third International and the Red International of Trades and Industrial Unions, it will be necessary to at least describe a trade or craft union, such as compose the A. F. of L.

In Russia, where the unions are industrial in form and every effort is being made to include all workers in the ranks of the organization, it will seem strange that in the United States a Labor Union claiming to be the movement of that great country, have many and varied methods of limiting the growth and strength of the membership.

This is done through the apprenticeship system; the discrimination against women; by drawing the color line (this is directed against the negro in particular, as well as against the Japanese and Chinese, in fact, there are some craft unions that demand that an applicant for membership shall be an American Citizen. High initiation fees are also a barrier, while some unions go so far as to close their books to new applicants, making it impossible for them to join the union of their trade.

Lack of Educational Work.

It is seldom or never the case that trade or craft unions have any educational advantages. Such a thing as a revolutionary lecture in a union meeting is never heard of, the discussions being confined, exclusively, to working conditions, with the inevitable result that so far as the craft unions are concerned, things are going from bad to worse.

Conditions such as exist in the United States at the present time, have never had a parallel in that country. It will hardly be possible for the workers of Russia to conceive that there are out of employment in the United States as many million workers as are organized in all Russia.

There is a small radical element in different places such as Seattle, Wash, Chicago, Ill. and Detroit, Mich., where the central bodies have endorsed Soviet Russia and demanded that trade with Russia be immediately resumed.

While Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, speaking for that organization in its entirety, condemns Soviet Russia in unmitigated terms, referring to the Bolsheviks as "savages and their actions bestial."

It will be remembered, that it was the same individual, Gompers, who indited a communication to the Amsterdam International officially tendering the withdrawal of the American Federation of Labor from that conglomeration, giving as his reason it was too radical for the more sane and temperate body of the A. F. of L.

From the foregoing will be seen the urgent necessity for propaganda and agitation among the rank and file of the craft unions of the United States.

Radical and Conservative Unions.

This work is being carried on, in a limited way, by the Industrial Workers of the World, which organization is generally known as the I. W. W.

An effort was made, before the writer left the United States, to concentrate much of the propaganda work upon the United Mine Workers of America, which organization is the keel of the A. F. of L. It is industrial in form, and its membership comprises many nationalities. Its historic development records some of the most bitter struggles between capital and labor in America. It was a part of the predecessor of the A. F. of L.—the Knights of Labor. Through the machinations of disloyal officials, it became affiliated with the existing craft-union body, and contaminated with autonomous ideas: It is now divided into 29 different districts, having separate time-contracts with mine-owners, the check-off system, aside from being burdened with corrupt officials, who are constantly playing into the hands of the capitalist class.

Vigorous agitation and education can be carried on in the local unions of mine workers and will bring effectual results.

Little or nothing can be expected from the railroad organizations that is, the four brotherhoods on the train-service, known as the Big Four, namely: The Locomotive Engineers, Broth-

erhood of Locomotive Enginemen and Firemen, Order of Railroad Conductors and Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. These organizations can scarcely be referred to as labor unions, although they style themselves as such—they are little more than insurance organizations, each one of them having property holdings running into millions of dollars.

Among the shop-men, track-men and freight-handlers some definite propaganda is being carried on. It may here be remarked, that the four big railroad organizations are not affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The facts set forth here truthfully portray the lack of understanding among the large number of members of the labor unions in the United States, which is due to lack of education in their unions and because their knowledge of the Russian situation is gained almost exclusively from the vicious capitalist press.

There are independent unions of a character entirely different from those described above. The one of greatest force among these is the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, though much of its strength is vitiated through its manipulations with the employers, its officials imitating the diplomatic schemes of business men. The protocol devised by the present United States Supreme Judge, Brandeis, the scale of wages and scale of production and the pernicious job-ticket, which prohibits a man from changing his place of employment without notice to his former employer, and a banking scheme has not yet put in operation, owing to slackness in the clothing industry—are devious experiments that this union has attempted.

It must be said to their credit that they carry on a campaign of education, though up to the present time it has reached little farther than an effort to elect members of the Socialist Party to office. They have, in a way, a co-operative scheme which is more worthy of consideration than anything else that this body has tried to do.

LIVE DOGS— DEAD MEN.

By SANFORD HAMILTON.

"General John J. Pershing and United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge paid stirring tribute yesterday afternoon to the memory of 7,264 American soldiers dead at a memorial service held at Pier 4, Hoboken."

New York "Times", July 11. Four days earlier Pershing honored a dog that had "served" overseas as mascot of the American Expeditionary Forces. There was an account of it in last week's Toller, under the heading "Pershing Honors Stubby." The general pinned a medal on Stubby and wagged his tongue. Stubby, in response, wagged its tail.

You see, they honor live dogs and dead men. Live men, when they happen to be workers, don't count. Between July 6, when Pershing honored Stubby, and July 10, when he honored the dead soldiers, nothing was done to relieve the suffering of the disabled soldiers, who—in New York alone—are committing suicide at the rate of one a day.

Nothing was done in the four days, nothing will be done in forty days—nothing in four hundred days. They should have had sense enough to fall in battle. Dead, they would have received the honors of a live dog.

Said the general who honored Stubby: "They"—the soldiers, not the Stubbies—"fell doing what we would have them do." That's the tragedy of it. They fell doing the will of men who honor dogs and drive men to suicide.

The will of men whom money had dehumanized, men who set up justice as a goddess and then make a prostitute of her, who talk of humanity and have as much of it as a sow in a mud-hole.

It's perfectly alright for us to fall doing what the capitalists would have us do, but—

What an uproar they would start if we said to them: If to fall doing the will of others is such a great honor, suppose WE honor YOU a bit?

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the AGRICULTURAL TAX

By N. LENIN

(Continued from last week.)
"MILITARY COMMUNISM"

It is not less necessary however to know the real extent of the service which we rendered by establishing "military communism." "Military Communism" was made necessary by the war and the state of ruin. It did not and could not meet the problems of proletarian policy. It was a temporary measure. The correct policy of the proletariat carrying out its dictatorship in a small-peasant-country is to exchange for corn the products of industry necessary to the peasantry. Only such a policy can satisfy the requirements of the proletariat, only such a policy can strengthen the foundation of communism and lead to its complete victory.

The Agricultural Tax is a transition to this policy. We are still in that state of ruin, still crushed by the burden of war (which raged yesterday and which, owing to the greed and anger of the capitalist may break out again to-morrow) and we cannot give to the peasant sufficient products of industry in exchange for all the corn we need. Knowing this, we introduce the Agricultural Tax, that is, we take the minimum quantity of corn necessary for the arming of the workers, in the form of a tax, and the remainder we will exchange for the products of industry.

In this connection we must also bear in mind that our poverty and ruin is such that we cannot immediately establish large State Socialist Factory Production. For this purpose it is necessary to have large stocks of corn and fuel in the great industrial centers, and to replace the worn-out machinery with new machinery. Experience has convinced us that this cannot be done all at once, and we know that after the destruction caused by the imperialist war, even the richest and most advanced countries can solve this problem only during the course of a rather long period of time. This means that it is necessary to a certain extent to assist the reestablishment of small industry, which does not require machinery, which does not require large government stocks of raw material, fuel and food, and which can immediately give certain assistance to agriculture and raise its productivity.

What will come of all this? Fundamentally, we get a certain amount (if only local) of Free Trade, a revival of the petty bourgeoisie and capitalism. This is undoubted, and to close one's eyes to it would be ridiculous.

We are asked—Is this necessary; can this be justified; is it not dangerous?

These questions are asked by many, and in most cases they only reveal the naïveté (expressing oneself politely) of those who ask them.

Refer to the manner in which in May 1918, I defined the economic elements (component parts) of the various socio-economic strata. It is impossible to dispute the existence of these five rungs, or component parts of the five strata, from the patriarchal to the semi-primitive. It is most evident that in a small-peasant country the small-peasant strata, that is, the partly patriarchal and partly petty-bourgeois, will predominate. The development of small industry, since we have exchange, means the development of petty bourgeois, capitalist industry. This is an indisputable truth, an elementary truth of political economy, confirmed by the everyday experience and observation of even the ordinary man in the street.

What policy can the Socialist proletariat pursue in the face of such economic circumstances? The most desirable and most "correct" policy would be to give the small peasant all the industrial products of the large socialist factories which the peasant requires, in exchange for his corn and raw materials. This is what we have begun to do, but we are far from being able to give all the necessary products, and we shall not be able to do this for a long time.

EDITORIAL NOTE—The capitalist press has recently spread broadcast the assertion that the Soviet government has returned to the capitalist form of production—a "complete return", one enthusiastic press dispatch stated. A great deal of comment and inquiry has been made from many sources as to just what the Soviets have done along the line of establishing industry upon a more productive and workable basis. Therefore, we are publishing in this and the subsequent issues of The Toiler Lenin's explanation of the Agricultural Tax, of the reasons for its introduction and the purposes which it is expected to fulfil in the Soviet economy.

at least not until we have finished the work of electrifying the country.

What then is left for us to do? We can either completely prohibit and prevent the development of private non-State exchange, i. e., commerce, i. e., capitalism, which is inevitable with the existence of millions of small producers. Such a policy would be stupid and suicidal for the Party which attempted to carry it out. It would be stupid because it is economically impossible. It would be suicidal because the party that attempted to carry it out would inevitably collapse. It is useless to conceal the sin into which some Communists "in thought, in word, and in deed" have fallen with reference to this policy. We will attempt to rectify, this error. It is essential that we rectify this error or it will go hard with us.

Or (and this is the only possible and sensible policy) we may refrain from prohibiting and preventing the development of capitalism and strive to direct it in the path of State Capitalism. This is economically possible, for State Capitalism exists in one or another form and to one or another extent everywhere where there are elements of Free Trade and Capitalism in general.

THE SHAPING OF CAPITALIST EVOLUTION.
Is it possible to combine and to have side by side a Soviet State, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and State Capitalism?

The whole question, theoretically and practically, lies in finding the correct means of properly guiding the inevitable (to a certain extent and for a certain time) development of capitalism along the path of State Capitalism, and what conditions to establish and how to secure in the near future the conversion of State Capitalism into Socialism.

In order to approach a solution of this question, it is necessary to have as clear an idea as possible as to what State Capitalism will represent in practice within our Soviet system, within the framework of our Soviet State.

One of the simplest cases or examples of how the Soviet Government guides the development of Capitalism, of how it "plants" State Capitalism, is concessions. Everybody now agrees that concessions are necessary, but not everybody fully appreciates the significance of concessions. What are concessions in a Soviet system from the point of view of socio-economic strata and their interrelations? They are a treaty, a block and alliance of the Soviet, i. e., the Proletarian, State with State Capitalism, against small private ownership (patriarchal and petty bourgeois). A concessionaire is a capitalist. He conducts capitalist business for the sake of profits. He agrees to make a treaty with a Proletarian Government in order to receive extra profits, or for the sake of securing such raw materials as he otherwise would not be able, or find it very difficult, to secure. The Soviet Government secures the advantage in the form of the development of productive forces, and an increase in the quantity of products immediately or within a short period. We have, say, hundreds of enterprises, mines, forests, etc.; we cannot develop them all, we have not enough machinery, food, or transport. For the same reasons we will badly develop the remaining sections. As a consequence of the bad or insufficient development of large undertakings we get the strengthening of this small private ownership movement with all its consequences: the deterioration of suburban (and later the whole of) agriculture, frit-

tering away of its productive forces, decline of confidence in the Soviet Government, speculation, and mass and petty (the most dangerous) speculation. In "planting" State Capitalism in the form of concessions, the Soviet Government strengthens large production against small production; the advanced against the backward, machine production against hand production, it increases the quantity of products of large industry in its hands and strengthens the State regulation of economic relations as a counter-balance to the petty bourgeois anarchic relations. The moderate and cautious introduction of a policy of concessions (to a certain and not very great extent) will rapidly improve the state of industry and the position of the workers and peasants, of course, at the price of a certain sacrifice, the surrender to the capitalists of tens of millions of poods of most valuable products. The definition of the extent and the conditions under which concessions are an advantage to us and not dangerous for us, depends upon the relation of forces, is determined by struggle, for concessions are also a form of struggle, a continuation of the class struggle in another form, and under no circumstances a substitution of the class war by class peace. Practice will show what the methods of this struggle are to be. State Capitalism in the form of concessions, in comparison with other forms of State Capitalism within a Soviet system, is the most simple, the clearest, and the most clear-cut. We have here a direct formal written treaty with the most cultured, most advanced West European countries. We know exactly our losses and our gains, our rights and obligations. We know exactly the date on which we give the concessions and know the conditions of buying out on the expiration of a concession, if there is such a buying out clause in the treaty. We pay a certain "tribute" to world capitalism, we as it were "buy out" certain relations and receive immediately a definite measure of consolidation of the position of the Soviet Government, and an improvement in the conditions of our industry. The difficulty in connection with concessions is to think out and weigh up things in concluding a concessions treaty and later to watch the carrying out of the treaty. No doubt there are many difficulties, and in all probability mistakes will at first be made, but difficulties are the smallest things in comparison with the other tasks of the social revolution and particularly in comparison with other forms of development, the introduction, the planting of State Capitalism.

The most important task of all party and Soviet workers in connection with the introduction of the agricultural tax is to adopt the principle, the basis of "concessions," that is, a policy similar to the concession or State-capitalist policy, to the remaining forms of capitalism—local free trade.

Take the cooperative societies. It was not for nothing that the decree on the agricultural tax immediately led to a revision of the laws on cooperatives and a certain extension of their "freedom" and their rights. Cooperation is also a form of State Capitalism, but less simple and clear cut, more complicated and therefore creating many practical difficulties for our government. The cooperation of small commodity producers (it is of these and of workers' cooperatives as the predominant and typical form in a small peasant country that we speak) will inevitably generate petty bourgeois capitalist relations, facilitate their development, and bring the

greatest advantage to the capitalist. Things cannot be otherwise in the face of the predominance of small producers, and the possibility as well as the necessity for exchange. The freedom and right of cooperation under the present conditions in Russia means the freedom and rights of capitalism. To close one's eyes to this obvious truth will be stupid or criminal.

COOPERATIVE CAPITALISM.

But "cooperative" capitalism in distinction from private capitalism under a Soviet Government is another aspect of State Capitalism, and in that capacity it is useful and advantageous for us, of course, to a certain extent. In so far as the agricultural tax signifies the freedom to sell the remainder of produce (not taken as tax) it is necessary to exert all our efforts to direct this development of capitalism—for freedom of trade is the development of capitalism,—along the path of cooperative capitalism. Cooperative capitalism is like State Capitalism in that it renders easy a control, observation, and the maintenance of treaty relations between the State (the Soviet in this instance) and the capitalists. Cooperation as a form of trade is more advantageous and useful than private trade, not only for the reasons already indicated, but also because it facilitates the organization of millions of the population. This in its turn is a tremendous gain from the point of view of a further transition from State Capitalism to Socialism.

Let us compare concessions with cooperation as a form of State Capitalism. Concessions are based on large machine industry, whereas cooperation is based on small and partly even patriarchal industry; a concession is granted to a single capitalist or a single firm, a syndicate, a cartel or a trust. A cooperative society embraces many thousands, even millions, of small masters. A concession permits of and even presupposes a definite treaty for a definite term, whereas a cooperative society does not permit of definite agreements or definite terms. It is easier to repeal a law on cooperative societies than to break a concession agreement; for the breaking of a concession agreement immediately means the break-off of economic relations, alliance or economic "cohabitation" with capitalism, whereas the repeal of a law on cooperation or the repeal of any law for that matter not only does not break off the actual "cohabitation" of the Soviet Government with the small capitalists but cannot affect economic relations in general. It is easy to "keep an eye on" the concessionaire, but it is difficult to do so on the cooperator. The transition from concessions to socialism is the transition from one form of large production to another. The transition from the cooperation of small masters to socialism is a transition from small production to large production, i. e., to a more complicated form of production. The latter has this compensating feature, however, that in the event of a successful transition, it is capable of tearing out a far deeper, and more vital, root of the old pre-socialist and even pre-capitalist relations, of that which puts up the most stubborn resistance to all kinds of "innovations." The policy of concessions in the event of success will give us a few exemplary—in comparison with our own—large undertakings, standing on a level with modern advanced capitalism; in a few decades these undertakings will come entirely into our possession, the

policy of cooperation in the event of success will raise small industry and facilitate, in an indefinite period, its transition to large production on the basis of voluntary combination.

THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM.

Let us take a third form of State Capitalism. The State invites the capitalist as a merchant and pays him a definite commission for selling State products and for buying the products of small industry. There is a fourth form: the State leases a factory or an industry or a section of forest or land to a capitalist; in this case, the lease agreement is more like a concession agreement. The question is whether we can recognize these types of capitalism? In order to answer the question we must remember the competent parts of all, without exception, of those various strata of society which I enumerated in my article of May 5, 1918. "We" the vanguard, the advanced detachment of the proletariat, are passing directly to socialism, but the forward detachments are only a small section of the proletariat, which in its turn, is only a small section of the whole mass of the population. In order that "we" may successfully solve the problem of our direct transition to socialism, we must understand what indirect paths and methods we must adopt for the transition from pre-capitalist relations to socialism. This is the crux of the question.

Is it possible to realize a direct transition from this state of pre-capitalist relations prevailing in Russia to socialism? Yes, it is possible to a certain degree, but only on one condition, which we know thanks to the completion of a tremendous scientific labor. That condition is: electrification. But we know very well that this "one" condition demands at least tens of years of work, and we can only reduce this period if there has been a victory of the proletarian revolution in such countries as England, Germany, and America.

For the years immediately ahead of us, we shall have to think of indirect links capable of facilitating the transition from patriarchy and small industry to socialism. "We" are still too fond of saying "capitalism is an evil, socialism is a blessing", but such an argument is incorrect because it leaves out of consideration all the existing social economic strata, and takes in only two of them.

Capitalism is an evil in comparison with socialism, but capitalism is a blessing in comparison with mediocrity, with small industry, with fettered small producers thrown to the mercy of bureaucracy. To the extent that we are as yet unable to realize the direct transition from small production to socialism, to that extent is capitalism to a certain extent inevitable as an elemental product of small production and exchange, and to that extent must we make use of capitalism (particularly in directing it along the path of State Capitalism) as an indirect link between small production and socialism, as a means, a path, a method of raising the productive forces of the country.

One must be able fearlessly to recognize an evil in order the more firmly to combat it. The inevitability of the postponement of the establishment of large industry, and the impossibility of "prohibiting" the exchange of the products of industry and agriculture having revealed themselves, we must depend upon what is more accessible to us, the establishment of small industry. We must set to work from this side and prop up this part of our structure, almost ruined by the war and the blockade. We must adopt all measures, at all costs, to develop exchange, and not fear capitalism, for the limits for capitalism have been rendered sufficiently narrow, and sufficiently "moderate", by the expropriation of the landlords and the bourgeoisie economically, and the existence of a Labor Peasant Government. This is the fundamental idea of the Agricultural Tax, this is its economic significance.

THE FUTURE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

(Continued from page 1.)

Such a policy would put the Socialist Party just where it belongs. It would merely serve to hasten the transformation of the Socialist Party into a Party of Scheidemanns and Noskes, which must inevitably come. This is a policy of honesty. And in spite of the fact that Berger and Hoan may someday find themselves signing my death warrant or that of my Comrades I cannot help but like them for their frankness.

The "Centre."

Then there is the "centrist" position. What is it? It is a cowardly position. It's an ugly thing to say; still, what more appropriate characterization can be found for a policy that fears on the one hand to make a clean breast of revolutionary principles because it has a certain love for reformism, yet which, on the other, has misgivings about a complete embracing of peasant politics because it assumes to be revolutionary.

Strictly speaking, this centre in the S. P. is not identical with the usually accepted centrist positions of certain of the European movements. But it carries analogous ear-marks: the most significant of which is the incessant tendency to move to the right. When Hillquit by a clever manoeuvre at the last convention evaded the Hoan proposal of immediate fusion, this ten-

dency was very noticeable. For after all, he admitted that he was not altogether in disagreement with fusion, although he said he did not think it practicable AT THIS TIME.

If the Socialist Party persists in this policy, it must fear for its future. If it continues to denounce the Third International and disavows the more revolutionary tactics that are being embraced the world over, it can, to be sure, never hope to draw support from the more advanced portion of the American working class. Continuing a policy of aloofness toward the liberal and admittedly reformist parties and organizations, it throws away the only means that it can have for survival.

The "Left."

What would happen if the S. P. accepted the demands of the "left"? First of all let me point out that there is not the least grain of hope that such a thing will happen. But if it did? Well, Hillquit himself has told us. First the Socialist Party would endorse the Third International. Then it would be obliged under instructions of Moscow and its American Section, to start housecleaning. Hillquit, Berger, and all objectionally petit-bourgeois elements would have to step aside. It would declare for the dictatorship of the proletariat and all the revolutionary principles that go with it. Whereupon the Department of Justice would make them understand that it would be best for them to

get underground with the rest of the Communists. So you see there is little possibility that the Socialist Party, that is Berger and Co. would take kindly to such proposals.

The Sign of the Current.

Of the three courses, I am, by all means, in favor of the latter, for I have no particular love for the S. P. But that is quite out of the question. Now of the other two, I am personally in agreement with the Centrist Position. Because I believe that such a policy would render the S. P. a politically lifeless organization, destined to travel much the same road as the S. L. P. has so unwillingly yet gloriously traversed for the past years, a sterile admiration society, thus reducing it to a tolerable annoyance. But it is to the interest of the S. P. to commit itself to the "right" position.

Therein lies its only hope. Although Hillquit has for the time being convinced the membership that it will do best to sit by a bit longer, Berger will finally win out. One third of the membership of the Socialist Party is in Wisconsin. That state organization has already struck up a friendship with the N. P. L. California finds the need of drawing strength from liberal alliances. "The Assemblymen" in New York are not scrupulous over such a trifle as political trading. The Socialist Party Convention in Detroit refused to take action on any important tactical touching upon revolutionary activity. They gave a great deal of attention and passed with waving banners upon such things as: instructions to the elected, voting against military appropriations, fusion, national campaigns and the whole hodge-podge of their ballot-box paraphernalia. The signs of the current are unmistakable—the Socialist Party is going to emulate its own cheap and politically reformist past; it is going to align with everything and anything that might add to its strength; it promises eventually to land squarely into the camp of the White Guard and the Counter-revolution.

Disarmament and the Middle-Class.

By FREDERICK KUHLE.

Peace is cheap! That is the outcry of those middle class souls for whom Domesday has arrived. The memory of March 15 is still green, when our goodly trades and professional people and patriotic labor leaders had to shell out to the government.

Peace is cheap! That is the slogan of those lovers of humanity, the hawkers of disarmament. How well they forget the 10 million dead, the 15 million crippled, all the sorrow, hunger, destruction—destruction of the workers, by the workers, and for the exploiters.

The organ of the timid middle class, like the N. Y. World and the N. Y. Globe, almost daily are writing editorials on disarmament. They quote figures which unwittingly damn the capitalist system in the U. S. 93% of last year's national expenditures went to support past, present, and future wars. Only 3% was used for education and the welfare of the people. In these figures is written the "civilization" of criminal capitalism. They are a reminder of the chaos of the World War, a sign of our present exploitation, an omen of the next Robbers' War. What effect do these figures have on our humane liberals? Why, the preparation for war is dear! Let us have disarmament, cheap government, and the little luxuries of former days!

Are they now willing to repudiate the Monroe Doctrine and "our" domination over Mexico, the West Indies, the Pacific Islands, South and Central America? Are they ready to force our capitalist imperialists to abandon "our financial superiority over the other nations of the world?" They cannot. For their positions and profits are dependent on the success of BIG BUSINESS in its imperialist policy. The middle class of the U. S. has proved in the First World War that before it will endure the loss of its positions and profits, it will prefer, in a riot of patriotism, to applaud the shipment of millions of American sons, mostly workers, on a marauding junket thousands of miles away. And in the next world war they will no less approve sending American sons to the bottom of the sea around Yap, the Panama Canal, or the Philippines.

Now, he who wills the end must accept the means. But our middle class cravens want the spoils without the robbery and war by which alone they can be got. General Robert L. Bullard showed the Congressional Disarmament Committee that one can not go without the other. He said: "Disarmament for us would mean the abandonment of our financial superiority." Professor Borchard of Yale stated: "The development of our colonial dominions and investments overseas require instruments to carry them out."

Disarmament then is a middle-class Utopia. In seconding this cry, the moderate "Socialists" are traitorously or ignorantly misleading the working class.

in the present world reality? Does Debs think that if he were De Valera his bare hands would halt the English hangmen? Would Lenin's bare hands soothe the bloody capitalist mastiffs plunging their fangs into the body of Soviet Russia? Can the "Socialists" honestly believe that the workers—say, of Germany—could with their bare hands rid themselves of a system of starvation maintained by the bayonets of the Orgesch?

It is ridiculous to preach disarmament in a world still controlled, for the most part, by national groups of imperialists who have armed force at their disposal with which to despoil one another and to suppress the working class. There will be no end of war until the capitalist class and their political machinery has been overcome and classes abolished.

Those who believe in a real and permanent peace must, therefore, work for the revolutionary victory of the working class. Even those who have no further interest than to restrict the danger and extent of future wars, must use the revolutionary posture and action of the workers, and not disarmament, as the method. What kept Lloyd George from plunging England into war during the

Polish-Russian conflict? Labor's Council of Action, and the threat of civil war! In either event the working class controls peace and the future.

BRITISH COMMUNIST SENTENCED.

(By Federated Press.)
London.—Albert S. Inkpin, secretary of the Communist party of Great Britain, has been sentenced by the Lord Mayor of London to six months' hard labor in connection with the charges which have been made against him under the defense of the realm act. There were eight counts against Inkpin arising out of his alleged connection with the circulation of the theses of the Communist International and other Communist literature. The case has been appealed and Inkpin was admitted to bail.

Owing to various adjournments the trial has lasted over seven weeks and Inkpin has been in prison for 14 days. The National Labor Press was fined \$200, \$50 for each pamphlet printed, and ordered to pay \$42 costs. Its London manager, Albert Rose, was fined \$30.

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ANOTHER AMERICAN PLAN.

The employers of labor have an "American Plan" for industry and the American Federation of Labor at its recent convention adopted an American Plan in politics. For the A. F. of L. to adopt any sort of a plan at all in politics is an astonishing development.

The convention outlined in a resolution a plan of establishing what it is pleased to call "industrial democracy" in this country. The resolution states in effect that the government as at present administered has gotten entirely away from the democratic principles upon which the Constitution was founded and which it was supposed to maintain.

The A. F. of L. will inaugurate this industrial democracy (limited) through legislative measures. This is rather puzzling coming from a purely economic organization. From its old anti-political position the A. F. of L. has somersaulted over into the exact opposite extreme.

The convention speeches of the boosters for this resolution are interesting even when they are stupid. Consider this gem from the mouth of Fred Hewitt, editor of the Machinists' Official Journal: "We demand for labor the same 'rights, privileges and immunities' now granted capital."

Consider this brilliant discovery of Hewitt's: "George the Third was a political despot. Gary is an industrial despot. The fathers disposed of George Third using Democracy as their weapon. We must end the reign of Gary in the same way."

It has of late been very convenient for the apostles of democracy to forget the American Revolution, but this is the first time to our knowledge that an advocate of it has gone so far as to claim democracy as the weapon of those early revolutionists.

THE VETERANS' CHOICE.

Unless the gains of many thousands of years of human experience is to be thrown to the winds, the veterans of the World War will find no difficulty in making a choice between the American Legion and the World War Veterans. These two organizations stand at the opposite poles insofar as their attitude upon working-class questions is concerned.

One ought to feel grateful to The Nation for the splendid series of revealing articles which it is printing on the American Legion. The energetic and persistent efforts of the writer, Arthur Warner, have gathered a harvest of the fruits of the Legion that show in unmistakable evidence its true character as an organization of reaction and willing tool of the most predatory forces in America.

The intolerant attitude of the Legion toward lawful public expression alone, would count for much against it at an earlier stage in American history. Four years of governmental and mob suppression have, however, prevailed to weaken the public conception of the value of this constitutional "right".

Take, on the other hand, the attitude of the World War Veterans' organization. It has never besmirched itself with intolerance of divergent opinion; has not sought to impose its will upon a community thru bulldozing public officials, nor conducted raids upon newspaper offices; nor held tar and feather bees in rural sections.

By the actions of its recent convention it has taken an unusual progressive attitude toward the great public questions of the day. By resolutions adopted it will send its delegates to the Central Labor Councils to learn with Labor the way out of economic and political difficulties. It will send delegates to the convention of the

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

A LESSON IN REPRESENTATION.

By MORITZ J. LOEB.

Democratic Congressmen appear to be horrified at the tariff that the Republican Congress proposed to put through. They are making the amazing charge that the tariff will operate for the enrichment of a few at the expense of all humanity.

The American Congress, as all other "Democratic" parliaments, serves the function of protecting and enlarging the scope of the capitalist system. The only purpose of the capitalist system, if it has a purpose, is to do just that very thing against which the Democrats in Congress are so strenuously objecting.

Intelligent workers are not much interested in Congress or in Congressmen. But this situation as it is developing in Washington has a lesson attached to it that workmen will do well to profit from. It is this: Representatives cannot always be trusted to represent those to whom they are responsible.

The capitalist class is fast learning this lesson. They are taking the greater part of the power away from their representatives in Congress and elsewhere. They are using them to fool the workers while they keep the real and important powers where they can wield them at their will.

The working class has not yet learned this lesson. The members of the trade unions still delegate their power to union officials, who as many bitter experiences have proved, do not always represent the interests of the workers.

Workers who know what they want and know how to get it are forming their shop committees.

Crisis in the Communist Party of Germany

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

IV. The International Significance of German Events.

The German Communist Party committed a number of errors, in the March movement. Its main "error"—the sudden change from propaganda and agitation to active struggle,—is the direct result of the past, the responsibility for which falls first of all upon the right wing of the party, on Levi and Daumig, the former party presidents, who failed to prepare the party sufficiently for the inevitable struggle.

International Former Combatants, which in itself means much in respect to an orientation toward an internationalism.

To those veterans of the World War who are seeking an organization with which to affiliate, which contains a broad view, a tolerant attitude toward an upward progression and a sympathetic feeling towards the aspirations of the masses, there can be no moment's hesitation as to which organization to join.

most for the purpose of gaining the final victory of the proletariat.

Recent events have also proved one more thing: that the party has changed its policy of agitation to one of a struggle against whom we hitherto considered to be Communists, comrades who have belonged to the Communist International either since the last congress, or for many years.

The German Communist Party eventually will be able to compel these elements to submit to the will of the party organizations. It will not permit some 17 men of the parliamentary fraction to treat the decision of the party with contempt.

Who can serve the interests of the workers on the job? Can the business agent who has his office miles away? Can the international president of the union who has not worked in a shop for many years and may live far distant? No, the workers on the job are the only ones who can be counted upon to serve the interests of the working class, day after day, in struggle after struggle.

Workers who know what they want and know how to get it are forming their shop committees.

SOVIET SHIPS ATTACHED.

(By The Federated Press.)

New York.—The discovery of the two Russian ships Benza and Tobolsk, which were quickly and quietly taken from their moorings in the Hudson here after the Russian soviet government, through Attorney Charles Recht, brought suit to recover them, has led to a sudden change of heart on the part of "big business" toward the Russian government.

The transition of the United Communist Party of Germany to a policy of attack is in itself a fact of great international significance. What the West European movement lacks today is just such parties which would be able and willing actually to fight and not only to discuss theses and to carry on the propaganda and agitation of communist ideas.

The bank is said to claim that it sustained damages of about \$1,000,000 by the seizure of its property in Moscow by the soviet government. The threatened suit is regarded as a direct retaliation for the attempt to regain ownership of the two ships for the Russian government.

National Defense Committee Holds a Ten Day Drive For Funds.

Demonstrations, Collections, Meetings, Flower Days, Are Means Taken by N. Y. Committee to Raise Class-War Defense Funds.

A Ten Day Drive for defense funds for Class-War prisoners, deportees and families has closed in New York City. Under the auspices of the New York Division of the National Defense Committee a ten day drive was opened on June 11 and closed on the 21 with a large public meeting at Central Opera House.

A series of public meetings in all parts of the city, collections and appeals to all sections of workers, flower days and demonstrations were adopted as measures to draw the attention of the workers of the city to the work of the committee in giving defense and relief to political prisoners and their families.

The drive started off on schedule time with a busy headquarters, meetings in all sections of the city with hundreds of volunteer workers. Many thousands of leaflets were distributed. This leaflet states in part:

We know you work for wages.

We know that one in five of you is unemployed.

We know the bosses are cutting your wages, attacking your unions and locking you out.

They would see you all starve before they would open factories and trade with Russia.

You and your fellow workers must fight the laws which are fighting you.

In Vera Cruz the workers had a short, quick, snappy general strike to prevent the deportation of their leaders.

In the United States your leaders are imprisoned or deported because the bosses want to break up your unions, lower your standard of living, cut you off from workers all over the world who are organizing in the Red Trade Union International.

They call us the mob—an unorganized crowd. And we soon will be an unorganized crowd if we let all our leaders, our most class conscious leaders, be imprisoned and deported.

We must stop these attacks now. We must stand by our imprisoned fellows.

Almost every state in the union has a criminal syndicalism, sedition or criminal anarchy law. And old laws are revived for the purpose of "getting" our leaders. And the Federal Government deports aliens and leaves their families to starve in order to preserve "our" institutions.

In England, Colonel Malone, M. P., told the workers they would never make headway until politicians like Winston Churchill who tricked the country into a capitalist war and were hanged to lamp posts. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

In this country, the land of liberty,

our leaders get sentences of five, ten, fourteen and twenty years—not for hanging anyone to a lamp post, but for organizing workers to change the method of producing and distributing food, clothes and houses.

Over the country, all over the world, except in Russia, there are bosses against us, and the governments declare our strikes illegal, send the troops to drive us back to work, arrest, imprison and deport our leaders.

In New York Benjamin Gitlow, Harry Winitzky, James Larkin, I. E. Ferguson and C. E. Ruthenberg have been sentenced to five to ten years each.

On Ellis Island and Deer Island there are aliens to be deported. Their families are with them, except those we brought away, sick, penniless, jobless, and except those who died.

Every week there is a new victim, picked up in a "red" raid, to be bailed out and defended.

The National Defense Committee is a committee of workers.

Only the workers can handle these cases.

Only the workers wish to handle them.

The National Defense Committee defends those already in jail, gives them decent food when possible, provides for the deportees and their families, brings them back from Ellis Island, tries to find them jobs, and defends and bails out workers who are arrested every week for acts in the interest of the working class.

The National Defense Committee is the only defense committee which does this work.

The Committee needs at least \$25,000 to meet expenses already incurred for this work and in order to continue the work.

National Defense Committee.

New York Division. Dr. Geo. M. Dunaf, Treasurer, 339 Stone Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

PRIZE WINNERS-ATTENTION

The following were winners of prizes at the July 4 picnic held at Spring Grove, Wellesley, Mass.: No. 316 D. Zianeli—Kodak. No. 20 Leo van Vagt—Wrist watch. No. 42 B. Beryoll—Gillette razor. Call for prizes at Room 10, 724 Washington St., Boston, Mass.

Capitalism has idle factories and idle factory operatives, while the mass of the people are hungering for the things that might be produced. It has empty houses, while the workers are crowded into foul tenements. And the capitalists have the nerve to preach "efficiency" to those who produce the wealth of the world, and who would be glad to produce enough for all, if the capitalists would only give them the chance!—The Forge.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(Editors Note.—This is the fourth of a series of special articles which Mr. Foster was commissioned to write for The Federated Press. Previous stories told of social conditions in the Russia of today.)

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Federated Press Staff Writer. Copyright, 1921, by The Federated Press.

Moscow.—In the restricted confines of a newspaper article only the barest sketch of the Russian government can be given. The first thing we must understand is that the new Russian government is really a workers' republic. Its motto, written into the constitution, is "He who does not work neither shall he eat." Work is the standard by which the status of the people is established. All soldiers and workers (hand and brain, city and country) over the age of eighteen years and regardless of sex, are entitled to vote and to hold office. Capitalists and others living from the labor of workers are disfranchised and denied all participation in the government.

Some American labor leaders have been affected to be horrified by this arrangement and have denounced the Russian republic roundly for it. They demand a "square deal" for the social parasites. But they conveniently overlook the fact that in the so-called capitalist democracies these same parasitic elements disfranchise the useful workers as far as they are able to. They set up all sorts of residence, sex and other ridiculous voting qualifications that deprive millions of toilers of any say in the government. And if it were not for the constant resistance of the labor movement it would not be long before the suffrage would be limited solely to property holders.

Now the revolutionary Russian workers have no illusions about these matters. They have taken the measure of the capitalists. They know them for what they are—an unscrupulous band of exploiters who will stick at nothing in their greed for mastery. So the workers tell them outright that their activities are anti-social, and that if they want to enjoy the rights accorded decent people they must abandon their nefarious conduct and perform some useful work in return for their sustenance. If they will not do this then they must expect to be considered social and political pariahs.

The foundation of the whole Russian governmental system is founded by the local Soviets. These exist in all the cities, towns and villages. They are made up of representatives of the three great branches of the Russian working-class: workers, peasants and soldiers. There are no general elections as Americans understand the term. The workers select their Soviet representatives directly at their work-places, the peasants theirs in the villages, and the soldiers theirs in the barracks. Officials and delegates may be recalled at any time by those who elected them.

The work of the local Soviets is to supervise the social, political and industrial life of the people within their respective jurisdictions, bearing in mind, of course, the superior authority of higher governmental organs. The scope of their activity ranges from the simple work of a village Soviet to the complex tasks of the great city Soviets. In Moscow, for instance, the Soviet consists of 21 departments, as follows: Justice, Finance, Military, Postal, Industry, Fuel, Food (securing of supplies), Land, Compulsory Labor, Public Service (water, lights, street cars, etc.), Education, Labor, Health, Social Welfare, General Management (police, prisons, marriages, leases, etc.), Statistical Workers' and Peasants' Control (supervisory), Transportation, Building, Food (distribution), Extraordinary Commission (prevention of counter-revolutionary activities, etc.). All these departments are subdivided into bureaus which specialize in the thousand and one activities that go to make up the life of a great modern city.

By a complicated process, impossible to detail here, the local Soviets, both urban and rural, pyramid themselves together, securing organization and homogeneity to correspond with the various geographical, industrial and political divisions of the country. Thus Soviets extend over the volosts, districts, governments and regions, which roughly parallel our wards, counties, congressional districts and states. Each of these organizations oversees the activities in its particular sphere, limited naturally by the functions of the Soviets above and below it. In every case the higher form of organization is created by massing together representatives directly selected from the membership of the one just below. The recall principle prevails at all stages of the governmental structure.

The general Soviet system secures unified national expression through the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. This is the supreme governmental

body of the Russian Republic. It meets approximately every six months. Between congresses business is conducted by the Central Executive Committee, which is composed of 550 members elected from among the general delegation of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

The Central Executive Committee, in turn, elects from its ranks the Council of Peoples' Commissioners to actually superintend the carrying on of the business of the country. There are eighteen of these commissioners, to correspond to the following departments; Foreign Affairs, War, Marine, Interior, Justice, Labor, Social Insurance, Education, Posts and Telegraph, Nationality Affairs (the Russian republic is a federation of many nationalities), Finances, Transportation, Agriculture, Commerce and Industry, Provisioning, Control of the Government (supervision), Supreme Economic Council, Public Hygiene. The work of the Council of Peoples' Commissioners is subject to the veto of the Central Executive Committee, which, together with the Council of Peoples' Commissioners, and all other government bodies, is responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In the United States we see the ridiculous spectacle of thousands of legislators making laws all over the country, and a handful of old fogies in the Supreme Court calling them unconstitutional. There is no such nonsense in Russia. Once the workers' government has spoken that settles the matter.

There being no other government based upon the same lines as that of Russia, it is therefore difficult, without considerable elaboration, to convey an idea of the powers of the respective superior organizations and officials. It may be said, however, that the chairman of the Central Executive Committee (Kalenin) occupies approximately the same position in the Russian government as the President does in the French government. In fact, he is often called the President of Russia.

The Council of Peoples' Commissioners is equivalent to a cabinet, and the chairman of this cabinet (Lenine), may be denominated the Prime Minister of Russia. And, as in France and many other countries, so in Russia, the Prime Minister, being closely identified with and highly responsible for the policies of the government, is a bigger figure than the President of the country.

Many writers have sought to convey the impression that the Soviets are structures peculiarly Russian in character. But this is not the case. The fact is that there was very little understanding of them or propaganda made for them before they sprang up almost spontaneously during the big revolutionary upheaval of 1905. They are very different organizations from the village "mir," which has been pointed out as their progenitor. They develop naturally in a revolutionary situation, just as central labor councils do in every capitalist country, even though the men forming them have little or no knowledge of each other's experiences.

For a working-class which has been broken with capitalism, and which finds itself on the road to power, it is a perfectly logical, if not inevitable procedure to discard the old state machinery, to cast off all parasitic elements and to select its governmental representatives directly from the workshops, fields and barracks. That the workers in other countries have not got the Soviet idea stronger is due chiefly to the fact that, unlike the Russian workers, they have not yet been faced by real revolutionary crisis.

Some Crimes of the American Legion.

By Arthur Warner in "The Nation".

(Continued from last week.) Prevent Haywood Meeting.

The action of the American Legion in Detroit, when "Big Bill" Haywood planned to speak there shortly after his conviction in Chicago, is a notorious instance of interference with public officers. Mayor Couzens said that Haywood had a right to speak and would be permitted to do so as long as he remained within the law. When David G. Jones, adjutant of the Charles A. Larned Post, No. 1, heard this, he replied, according to the Detroit Journal: "Regardless of what Mayor Couzens says, Haywood will not speak in Detroit. At our regular meeting Wednesday night a vigilance committee was appointed for the very purpose of preventing any speech by Haywood in Detroit. He will not speak." What happened subsequently is told in a letter dated September 14, 1920, from James W. Inches, Detroit's chief of police, to Arthur Woods, then chairman of the National Americanism Commission of the Legion.

A meeting to be addressed by W. D. Haywood in the Arena in this city, which holds five or six thousand people very easily, was very freely advertised, and the American Legion became excited over the matter and held several meetings at which Haywood was quoted as defaming the returned soldiers in bitter language, one remark being that he had referred to them as a "bunch of cooties." Several of the American Legion posts formed a definite plan to storm the Haywood meeting, not to enter into any debate, as you were informed, but to storm the meeting, and a band of music had been hired for that purpose. These cooler and more reliable officers of the Legion, including the commander of the largest post, assured me that there would be over three thousand of the boys in line who would march to the meeting on Sunday afternoon and break it up. They assured me that if the meeting was held there would be bloodshed, and I saw plainly that there would be no way to prevent a clash, so I wired Mr. Haywood at Toledo that, owing to the threatening condition of affairs caused by his remarks concerning returned soldiers, I had prohibited the meeting.

I then, supported by many of the officers of the American Legion, brought about a decision in the Legion to ignore Haywood entirely, and he came here and held his meeting several weeks later.

No 'Lese Majesty' Tolerated. A dispatch from Lodi, California, to the San Francisco Examiner, dated January 28, last, said:

Called upon the carpet before the American Legion meeting here upon a charge of defacing a picture of President Wilson, which was displayed in the office of their realty firm, Samuel and John Lochenmaier, wealthy residents, have since been ordered to dispose of their property and leave Lodi. The notice was served by Mayor Garrison, commander of the post.

Of course the Legion has always been keen in the pursuit of anything branded as "radical" or "bolshvist." Thus the People's Church, of Louisville, Kentucky, was compelled to disband because of "economic pressure" brought by the Jefferson Post, which charged John G. Still, the pastor, with anarchistic teachings. The

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(Continued next week.)

"economic pressure" consisted chiefly of visiting advertisers in the church publication and inducing them to withdraw their support. In New Brunswick, New Jersey, a campaign was made against "extremist" news papers and magazines by visiting all the dealers and getting them to withdraw the offending publications from sale. One of the Legion's most cruel pieces of interference was directed against the Mennonites of Mississippi, because of their German speech and pacifist doctrine. The State convention called upon the prosecuting officers of Mississippi to proceed against the Mennonite settlement and asked Legion members to take lawful steps to prevent its continuance. What lawful steps it was possible for Legion members to take was not indicated. Nor does the Legion disdain to use the cover of "100 per cent Americanism" to attack its rivals. In El Paso, Texas, a couple of months ago, the city council forbade the circulation of a leaflet of the World War Veterans because the attorney for the local Legion post objected to its contents. The leaflet contained the program of the World War Veterans and an appeal for members.

Agitation in the Legion over "pro-Germans" and pacifists has been less pronounced lately than it once was. During and directly after the war whoever thought first to call his opponent "pro-German" won the argument. This reply is now less convincing as a sole answer to an opinion with which one does not agree, while it is again becoming almost respectable to be a pacifist. It must not be forgotten, however, that American Legion opposition was largely responsible for upsetting the concert tour of an artist of international reputation, Fritz Kreisler, in the winter of 1919-20.

Objection by the American Legion to the attempt to revive German opera in New York City led to riots, while efforts to aid even German or Austrian children by American charity have been resisted. When the mayor of Pittsburgh gave permission for a "tag day" for such a purpose, the humane Legionaries of the city declared they would not permit collections, threatening even to patrol the streets with rifles, and compelling the mayor to leave the reviewing stand before they would pass in the Armistice Day parade.

Preaching Practice.

Against the Legion's long, long trail of lawlessness there have not been lacking protests from official and influential quarters within the organization, but they have not been backed by disciplinary measures, and commonly have been offset by utterances of a contrary sort from equally important sources. Mention has already been made of Franklin D'Olier's warning against interference with public officers. Unfortunately, almost simultaneously, the American Legion Weekly gloated editorially: "Local Garrison, commander of the post. Of course the Legion has always been keen in the pursuit of anything branded as 'radical' or 'bolshvist.' Thus the People's Church, of Louisville, Kentucky, was compelled to disband because of 'economic pressure' brought by the Jefferson Post, which charged John G. Still, the pastor, with anarchistic teachings. The

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Meddling in Politics.

Present tendencies in the American Legion appear to be away from the violence and intimidation, but the change is one of practice, not principle—of manners, not morals. The Legion is still imbued with the spirit of repression and coercion, of prejudice and unreason, which the war nourished; but it has toiled the cry of "Back to normal!" which the rest

of the community is raising, and is beginning to clothe the nakedness of its purposes in peace-time garments. "Back to normal!" means back to a public sentiment which will tolerate almost anything but the "roughneck"; which has compelled even Big Business and Tammany Hall to become "respectable." In its newer methods the Legion is discarding the khaki shirt for the white collar, and is shaving once a day instead of once a week. More specifically, it is seeking to mold public policies and obtain laws, where a year ago it would have resorted to direct action. But its purposes remain the same.

Take a recent instance in West Virginia. Kate O'Hare was booked to make a speech in Weston on April 25. A year ago the Legion would have demanded that the city officials prevent the speech, regardless of law, and if met with refusal, would have broken up the meeting. What they did in this year of grace was to demand that the city officials pass an ordinance under which the meeting would be forbidden! And the city council, equally attuned to the niceties in the suppression of freedom upon which normally depends, met in the morning of the day for which the speech was announced, and according to an attested copy of the minutes in the hands of the American Civil Liberties Union, voted "that any public appearance or speech on the part of the said Kate O'Hare may lead to and result in riot and disorderly conduct to the danger and damage of the public," and therefore that she "be prohibited (original spelling) by the Mayor and Chief of Police of this City from speaking on the streets or alleys of this City or other place from which she may be heard from such streets alleys or other public place." Violation of this order was made punishable by a fine of not less than thirty days. Observe that the order applied to private as well as public property and that it was directed against a single individual; it was, of course, as illegal as it was ridiculous....

Now note the attitude of the national office of the Legion toward this amazing incident. The national office, of course, has never been able openly to countenance violence; it has mildly deprecated it or taken refuge behind the excuse that it was "individual" or "unofficial." But here, apparently, it felt that the proceeding was sufficiently covered by the forms of law, and the Weston Democrat of May 13 printed a letter to the local Legion commander from Alvin M. Owsley, assistant national director, in which the latter said:

It is highly gratifying and indeed pleasing to those of us at National Headquarters to read the account of the splendid conduct of your Legion Post during the recent unwelcome visit of Kate O'Hare into your community. One of the righteous principles of the preamble of our constitution is "to maintain law and order." Let us be sure that the Legion has dedicated itself to those high and exalted ideals expressed in the preamble. The Legion must lead the way—be strong and unafraid to perform our duty under any and all circumstances.

All over the United States during the past year American Legion posts have been agitating for laws to restrict the spread of ideas or teachings other than their own brand of "100 per cent Americanism." The "anti-sedition" and "criminal syndicalism" laws that so many States have enacted have been initiated or sponsored by the Legion.

Of course the modern tendency to act through legislation has led the organization into greater meddling in politics than ever. "The American Legion shall be absolutely non-political and shall not be used for the dissemination of partisan principles or for the promotion of the candidacy of any person seeking public office or preferment," reads the constitution. This clause has been callously thrown to the wolves in the development of a national program. The Legion's national conventions have declared, for instance, for rigid restriction of immigration; for the total exclusion of Japanese; for universal compulsory military training; for the deportation

OBITUARY

By THURBER LEWIS

At least one half, that is the industrial half, of the movement of Dan De Leon, is now quite certainly well on the way to complete disunion if not to non-existence. Specifically: the W. I. U.

When we say half, we do not mean numerically. What we mean is that the organization predestined to consummate De Leonism on the industrial field (although never amounting to very much) is now quite out of the running. There seems nothing that takes the vitals out of an organization with such telling result as internal disharmony. And although the vitals in this case have never been what might be called boastworthy, they have, nevertheless, been taken out.

With fifteen delegates representing less than a thousand members, with a delectable financial report to the tune of more than three thousand dollars deficit, and with an organization as a whole limping feebly on crutches, it can be well understood that neither optimism or encouragement were on the order of the day at the recent W. I. U. convention in Youngstown, O.

A Thinned-out Relationship. Perhaps what the delegates considered to be the most important of the extremely drab convention proceedings was the much debated relation between the W. I. U. and its sister-organization, the S. L. P. Everyone knew, and it was repeated many times, that most of the members of the W. I. U. are also members of the S. L. P. and perhaps what few are not can be counted as strong supporters. But since the W. I. U. is essentially an industrial organization, trying to get into its ranks the widest possible masses of the workers, it would have been awkward indeed to embrace, officially, any particular political faith.

Still, there where those present who were frank enough to admit the folly of universally endorsing an organization and yet allowing it no recognition in the preamble. True, it would be like recognizing oneself; but the main point—it seems to me—is to be honest in such matters. The S. L. P. I think, didn't want recognition, at least Arnold Peterson didn't; it was finally decided not to give it any.

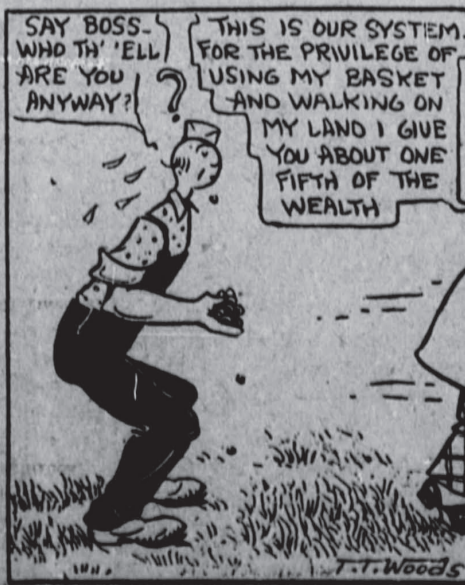
Most of the time of the convention was taken up with a pitiful party squabble. It was charged that Carms, the delegate to the Red Trade Union International carried no official record; neither the G. E. B. or the organization had anything to do with it. A pretty mess, but they were not dismayed; they merely repudiated his report to the Third International and proceeded to notify Delegate Carms that for all they cared he could walk back—funds were not forthcoming.

More Family Troubles.

Setting this, the delegates listened of Victor Berger; for the publication of the "slacker lists"; for congressional legislation requiring the basis of all instruction in elementary public and private schools to be the "American language"; against the release of conscientious objectors; against amnesty for political prisoners. Last January the Legion's Committee on Military Affairs opposed reducing the army even to 175,000 men and more recently opposed the withdrawal of American troops from the Rhine. Last autumn the late F. W. Galbraith, as national commander, endorsed Mr. Wilson's refusal of a pardon to Debs, while in Georgia the Legion opposed, unsuccessfully, the candidacy of Thomas E. Watson and Thomas W. Hardwick, running on the Democratic ticket for United States Senator and Governor, respectively. These are some of the ways in which the Legion has lived up to its constitutional requirement to be "absolutely nonpolitical." And worst of all, perhaps, in all this political meddling the Legion has showed itself to be pathetically visionless, uninformed, and behind the times....

(Continued next week.)

BILL BONEHEAD AND THE FRUIT OF THE LAND.



By T. T. Woods.

to the G. E. B. prefer charges against each other. The Secretary, Shenkin, was charged by G. E. B. member Covert with being a slimy politician, and was summarily requested by the same party to relieve the organization's fund of his name. Ried, G. E. B. member and Cox, the general organizer were likewise brought upon the carpet, with charges ranging all the way from conspiracy to inefficiency. So things went, until the convention, apparently quite sick of the whole business passed the buck to the membership in referendum.

When it was decided to move the headquarters from Detroit to New York, I could not help thinking that Marx moved the First International to the same City—that it might die there.

Of course, like the good S. L. P.'ers that they are, the delegates felt constrained to view with alarm the doctrine of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Did the great prophet say ought of such a thing? No. Then it is unclear. Anathema to the Dictatorship of the proletariat. Heaven preserve us from Moscow, the land of the infidels! (in spite of Reinstein). And such theoretical bankruptcy; it was pitiful.

The convention was a sorrowful admixture of tragedy and farce; a farce that fifteen delegates representing a mere handful of members, should presume to parade them as THE revolutionary industrial organization of the American working class; a tragedy that the American movement must be burdened with such a theoretically innoxious and industrially impotent organization that is kept alive only by an almost fanatical dogmatism.

After a number of delegates had bolted in pure disgust, the rest dwindled away after an apathetic adjournment,—apparently never to reconvene.

This convention is something that the W. I. U. has needed for a long time; it drew matters to head; it hastened the approach of an inevitable death.

The dirge has been well sung. There is no hope for the resurrection of an organization that has, as the saying goes, "one foot in the grave and the other on a banana peeling."

THIS IS ALSO WHAT THEY FOUGHT FOR.

The City Commission of Birmingham, Ala., recently declared that "unless definite and vigorous measures are adopted to relieve the situation, large numbers of our people will suffer starvation, sickness and possibly death." Most of the unemployed "are wholly without possible means of improving their condition." Conditions in the mining camps outside Birmingham are "growing worse". Three hundred families are without food in a small town.

This is also what they fought for: starvation and death! The boys were promised everything—civilization, prosperity, happiness—and now they are getting it. This is exactly what civilization means under capitalism. Prosperity there is—for Morgan, Wall St.; even for the "enemy" capitalist, Stimes of Germany. But American workers and German workers, ex-soldiers for the purses of their respective capitalists, are suffering "starvation and possibly death."

Well, if the workers will stand for this, they don't deserve any better. They need a few more wars to wake them up. Then perhaps they will learn that you can not save "humanity and civilization" by shooting lead into workers of other countries, but by taking in hand those who give you "starvation, sickness and possibly death."

The Statue of Liberty is hollow, the Liberty Bell is cracked, and the American eagle, emblematic of liberty, is fast becoming extinct.—The Forge.

Reduce it to its simplest terms and have a good look at it: My country, right or wrong! My state, right or wrong! My city, right or wrong! My ward, right or wrong! My precinct, right or wrong! My family, right or wrong! MYSELF, right or wrong!—The Forge.

"Great Britain has gained in the war all, and, indeed, much more than all she SET OUT TO WIN. Our navy remains at the end of the war intact and unassailed. The principle of freedom of the seas, which is the basis of our national existence, stands unimpaired and unimpugned. The British protectorate of Egypt is provided for in one of the clauses of this treaty. We are demobilizing our forces; we cannot lay down our arms; we must still be able to FIGHT FOR WHAT WE HAVE WON, and be sure that it is not taken from us after we have won it."—Lord Curzon, discussing the Peace Treaty in the House of Lords.