

PROCEEDINGS OF THE S. P. NATIONAL CONVENTION AT DETROIT.

(Continued from page 1.)
presence of Kruse and Engdahl. In fact Algernon Lee later made clear, with a smile on his face, that even Kruse and Engdahl were not at one.

Of the two, Engdahl made the more virile opposition. Kruse, after his usual, anaemic manner, showed little sign of fight. The truth was that Engdahl came flat-footedly for unconditional affiliation with the Third International. But when his motion was beaten, he voted for non-affiliation.

The only saving grace of the fiasco was the gallery. It was plainly Communist. And it showed it vigorously. It caused the Chairman and Papa Berger considerable annoyance.

"Where Do We Belong?"

The speeches on International affiliation ranged all the way from revolutionary exhortations to downright white-guardism. There were four motions submitted covering every possible position. The first, supported by Engdahl, asked for complete acceptance of the twenty-one points of affiliation. The second, supported by Kruse, demanded that the S. P. renew its application for admittance to the Third with the reservation that it accept no binding formulas for the "attainment or organization of the Socialist Society," and that complete autonomy should obtain in matters of membership, organization and tactics. In other words, it wanted the Third International to affiliate with the Socialist Party. The third motion, supported by Hoen of St. Louis, required affiliation with the International Working Union of Socialist Parties, The Vienna two-and-a-half International. The fourth, sponsored by Hillquit and Berger, provided for non-affiliation.

Engdahl Opens Debate.

Engdahl opened the debate. He pointed out, quoting Hillquit, that if the party needed rebuilding it must have a firm foundation, this was to be found in the Third International. We must draw strength from our international affiliations and get right on socialist philosophy. There are only two sides to the question, either we are for the Third International or we are against it. We could discuss the twenty-one points separately. But what's the use? Either we swallow them whole or reject them. In commenting on the other motions, he remarked that the second was a mere repetition of the one submitted by Hillquit last year. Speaking on the third, he showed that Vienna was merely trying to gather sufficient elements to be able to demand better conditions of admission to the Third International. The fourth places us where we were and means only the continuation of the struggle. It would mean a victory for those who are fighting the Third International. "It remains for us to decide whether or not we shall take our place by the side of the only International movement that is able to function, that has a programme and can carry on the struggle for Socialism," Engdahl concluded. Upstairs applause from the gallery, none from the delegation.

For the "Two and a Half."
Hoen, an unquestioned disciple of Scheidemannism, spoke for the third motion. Engdahl had spoken of the achievements of the Third International and mentioned incidentally, the risks taken by comrades going to Moscow. Hoen opened with the queries, Where is the risk of going to Moscow, are not the Communists in control? What has the Third International accomplished the last two years? The Third International is not a concentrating force, it is only a movement for splitting. When Zinoviev made his four hours speech before the German Independents, did he appeal for solidarity? No. He asked that the movement in Germany be broke up.

The Third International tried to break up the movement in Italy, but the Italian Socialist Party is as strong now as ever before. Sam Gompers and Zinoviev go hand in hand, Sam from one side Zinoviev from the other. The Third International belongs to the same category as the Sam Gompers International. (Much applause from delegates, none from gallery.) "I will not accept a single point, even if there were three hundred."

Thus is shown the true temper of the Socialist Party.

Hillquit.

Hillquit spoke for the fourth motion. A motion which brands the Socialist Party as a renegade movement, which disdains the outstretched hand of the embattled revolutionary workers of the world. Of course, Hillquit spoke cleverly, as becomes a corporation lawyer of some repute. And he spoke carefully and deliberately, choosing well the middling course that he hoped might save him the grief of criticism from either side, a true American Kautsky.

He opened, "The Third International will never be satisfied and will always denounce us as traitors." He realized that the movement must be

international, but an international must be a fraternal bond of all the socialist movements in the world. Suppose, he continued, we affiliate with the Vienna International. Although they present the soundest views of any international movement, at the same time they are not, strictly, an international. As for the Third International they have told us too often that they don't want us. Affiliation with them would mean the expulsion of many of our members, myself among them, and the application of the rest for membership in the Communist Party of America. The first motion is a motion to commit suicide for the glory of being affiliated. Still, even the Third International is not an International; it is an intensely national Russian movement. He could not, he said, criticize the Soviet Government—so long as the comrades there take care of their own country, very well. But their ignorance of the situation here is proven by the twenty-one points. Do you admit that we are on the verge of Civil War? Must we have an illegal organization as well as an open? Do you consider it proper to adopt the policy of denouncing all movements—renouncing, denouncing, splitting up? The Third International has hurt the socialist movement more than any capitalist institution. Europe is split all over by the action of the Third International. The time will come when sober socialist sentiment will triumph. Our organization is shot to pieces, our press is in frightful condition, our first task is to create a movement here, not to cheer Lenin. So spoke, the champion of American socialism.

Smaller Fry Make Merry.

With the exception, perhaps, of two or three, the rest merely followed in the wake of the master. But their declamations were much more blunt and vicious. Holman, of Milwaukee, for instance said, "Gompers is backing up the capitalist class and Moscow is playing the same game". And then, evidently animated by patriotism, "I say as an American that we should send this message to the American workers: keep your eyes off Moscow, our stomachs are here, we must build a movement here." Cameron King, a native son, speaking for the California state organization threatened, "If we endorse the III International, California will step aside." He deplored that the great majority of the former socialist movement of California flocked to the standard of Communism. And then, brightening, he told of how they were now broken up and underground while the Socialist Movement was being rebuilt. He did not say exactly that they were broken up by wholesale raids and persecutions while the socialists remained unmolested.

Professor Algernon Lee, of the Rand School, served out this profound deduction, "In justice to ourselves we must admit that there are two sides to the question, first, the Soviet Government fighting for existence and second, the Third International dealing not so much with Russian affairs, but with the affairs of the whole world." He laid hopes upon the recent change of policy of the Soviet Government but denounced the Third International for its action in Italy and France. No one remembered to remind him that Lenin, Trotsky, Tchitcherine and Kalenin, leaders of the Soviet government, were also the leaders of the Third International.

Willert of Ohio, also evidently moved by patriotism, said that he was not opposed to the Third International but as an American he thought it was his duty first to look after the interests of his own country. The atrocious misunderstanding of the policies and tactics of the Third International can be no better shown than by the following remark from Willert, "Why don't my Communist friends go into the A. F. of L. and help to throw out Sammy? No. They prefer to split it." Dreifus of the German Federation swells the chorus, "Will we get rid of capitalism in the U. S. by joining the Third International. Will we still not have our courts and our capitalist government?" And, continuing in a passion, he exclaimed, "I wanted to join the Third International, but they kicked us out and called us names."

Berger Feels Called Upon.

And then our old friend Victor Berger, of whom Engdahl remarked, "you carry the Socialist Party of Milwaukee in your pocket", takes a hand. "I suppose I am expected to say a few words", he began. And then, throwing out his chest he eulogized the Socialist Party of Milwaukee, which in effect, as everyone knew, is the S. P. of A. "We have the only socialist Mayor in captivity, we have carried Milwaukee seven times, our paper has a circulation of 48,000" etc. He suddenly became theoretical, "I am not a Communist. I believe there is a wide theoretical difference between socialism and communism. Socialism cannot exist without democracy. Communism

is the common ownership and the common distribution of the means of life. Socialism is the collective production but private consumption."

"The Communists are not only the wreckers of Russia but also the murderers of menaheviki and socialists." And in his characteristic, German manner he continued, "I want no dictatorship, I want democracy. I want no dictatorship of Wilson, Burleson or Palmer, or even of Kruse and Engdahl. If any dictating is to be done I want to do it myself", he said, supposedly in fun, but which contained more truth than humor.

Speaking of the motions, he characterized them, "the first is indecent, the second dishonorable and snaky, the third indefinite. The fourth puts us where we were, and that's where we belong. In finishing he reminded the delegates that Wisconsin has one third of the membership. In other words: remember this when you vote—the age old threat of withdrawal.

No Affiliation.

The first three motions were lost. The fourth, for non-affiliation carried by a considerable majority. The Socialist Party is now free from all international obligations. It is strictly a national (and nationalistic) movement. Nothing can now prevent it from striking out on its predicated course, a party of social reformists.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
How far the Socialist Party, is from the historic trend of the revolutionary movements of the world, is no better proven than by the limitations of its understanding of and its summary repulsion of the principle of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is left entirely on the program of the party, it remains a dead letter for American "Socialism."

There were five motions submitted on the question. The first was a fairly clear but inexact presentation. The second asked for the dictatorship of the proletariat, with provisions, that

is, "because we have a majority we are justified". The third motion rejected both previous ones stating that the situation had not developed sufficiently for consideration of that tactic. The fourth motion, made by Hillquit was in substance: The term dictatorship means the political rule of the working class during the transition period. It is not necessarily to be associated with the restriction of the political rights of our opponents or with terror. The Socialist Party stands for Democracy and Majority Rule decision but that principle is not inconsistent with emergency measures in defense of the working class government. The fifth motion stated that the dictatorship of the proletariat was not of sufficient importance to necessitate a decision either way.

The discussion was confusion itself. It seemed as if the subject were one that was introduced but yesterday. It was as something extremely new, few understood it. Ridiculous conclusions were reached and odious objections devised. How sincere the interest was, is shown by a remark of Hillquit's in which he said that if Marx were to come back, he would say, respecting the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, "Boys, don't you understand a joke." And again, "Or's objection to Hillquit's motion was that Hillquit wanted to make the Dictatorship of the proletariat 'Kosher'."

In the voting confusion continued to reign. All five motions were beaten. They didn't want the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in their platform, but they did not have the courage to plainly say so. Hence, they made no decision. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, a tactic subscribed to by all the revolutionary movements of the world, even adopted by the Vienna International, will remain but a foreign phrase to the Socialist Party of America.

Read next week's Toiler for concluding reports of the convention.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION AT DENVER.

(Continued from page 1.)
The contrast of resolutions dealing with the Irish question can be noted in that of resolution No. 117 which asks that the United States Government recognize the independence of Ireland and to protest to Lloyd George the destruction and violence that has been heaped upon the Irish people. It also asks for the punishment of the English officers who are responsible for the atrocities that have been committed. It will be noted that No. 119 asks for immediate action on the part of the American Federation of Labor and that No. 117 asks that others, but not the American Federation of Labor do the acting.

A resolution to boycott is nothing more than words, unless it is backed up with vigorous action to make it effective. The A. F. of L. boycotts usually receive no action; but, be that as it may, in this incident the machine had decided that it would not even resolve to commit any act in favor of Irish independence. Sponsors for resolution No. 119 found themselves having a hard time with the campaign. Resolution No. 117 which had 74 signatures when it was presented to the convention had 12 signatures withdrawn a few days later. Those withdrawing were all Irish and it immediately showed a split within the Irish ranks. Evidently the administration forces were getting in their work amongst the advocates for "Irish Freedom."

The result of the Irish resolution will be report in my next account, which follows within the next 3 days.

The Executive Council's Report.

Among the 13 questions in the report of the committee covering the Executive Council's report are several that deserve attention; one on Immigration declares its opposition to a bill just passed by Congress known as "H. R. 4075" which restricts immigration to 3 per cent of the population of the countries from whence they come. The committee recommends, "That the Executive Council be instructed to continue its efforts to secure the enactment of a law that will forbid the importation of Labor from any country until such time as conditions in our country have become more stabilized and the relations of life more normal."

On the question of the Non-Partisan Political Campaign the committee tried to praise the political activities of the A. F. of L. with its program of "Reward your friends and punish your enemies"; but finds that there is little of this to boast—except that there are 16 union members in this congress, just as many as were in the last. After the feeble attempt to praise, they really explain their failure with this statement, "As the campaign progressed, practically all domestic questions were overshadowed by questions of an international character. Issues pertaining to relationships at home were subordinated to the relationships of our nation with all other countries abroad.

Indeed, this entire campaign was unprecedented in American politics and the conclusions reached leave in doubt the political expression of the electorate upon the internal problems which require consideration and solution at the hands of Congress. It is likewise difficult to appraise accurately the temperament and attitude of many of the men elected to both the House of Representatives and to the Senate. After admitting that the most important political questions are international in character which nullified their work by overshadowing the domestic (national) question with which the A. F. of L. is largely concerned it would be interesting to know the action they will take upon the question of international labor affiliation.

Question of International Relations.
There is to be considered the action of the Executive Council itself, withdrawing from the yellow International at Amsterdam because it is too "Revolutionary."

There is also the resolution of the delegation of the International Association of Machinists calling upon the officers of the A. F. of L. to immediately reaffiliate with the International Federation of Trades Union (Amsterdam). I have sounded out some of the delegates upon the question of International affiliation and I learn that very few recognize the importance of an International affiliation; very few even know there are International organizations of labor. On approaching over 25 delegates upon this question, all but 3, frankly admitted they gave it no consideration. The delegates who are members of the Socialist Party, such as Machinists, Garment Workers, etc., are in favor of the Machinists resolution. They do not know or rather profess absolute ignorance of the International Council of Trades and Industrial Unions at Moscow.

On approaching Mary Goff of the Ladies Garment Workers, she felt sorry that the Moscow International had not even been mentioned in this convention. On asking whether she would say anything in favor of the Moscow International, she replied no, she would support the resolution of the Machinists.

Benj. Schlesinger also of the Garment Workers, declared very emphatically against the Moscow International and also is in hearty accord with the Machinists Resolution: "I am opposed to Moscow," he said, "because I was in Russia and I am a Socialist; and as a Socialist will fight recognition of Moscow even if I lose my membership in the Garment Workers Union. Since I saw Russia, I am not going to fight for hot air and bluff in this country."

Although the Machinists resolution has some support, the workings of the machine, compels me to believe that it will not carry a sufficient number of votes to enable it to be adopted. (Later convention reports will be published next week.)

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY.

By KARL RADEK, in the "Moscow Pravda," May 5, 1921.
Translated from the Russian by J. Milner.

First Article.

When in December last, the Union of Spartacus, numbering about 100 thousand members, united with the Left Independents, leading into the Communist International from the party of the Independents about 400 thousand workers, for every one knowing the situation in Germany, it was clear, that the unified Communist Party must go thru a whole series of crises before it really became a Communist Party. Under the pressure of the mass of German workers there flocked to it a considerable number of organizers and editors, who after great wavering joined the program and tactical views of the Communist International. These elements, of course, did not outlive their indecision by signing the 21 conditions of the second congress of the Comintern. Moreover, the Party was confronted with new problems. A party of half a million members having influence over a million and a half of trade unionists, cannot limit itself only to propaganda and agitation. It must participate in great battles, that inevitably should emerge, if the Party fulfills its task, and receiving blows from the bourgeoisie must answer with counter blows. But even among the leaders of the Union of Spartacus, at the time of the German Kornilov Putsch, could be noticed a tendency to the Right. Being burnt in the battles, in which in 1919 the unhardened Spartacides threw themselves, they saw in every revolutionary manifestation of the minority but a sudden flash, regardless that hundreds of thousands participated in it. A shift from propaganda and agitation to action inevitably should bring about differences and conflicts; and only by a solving of these problems can a fighting Communist Party be formed. The six months history of the unified party of communists of Germany is the history of this inevitable process.

Conflicts began when both chairmen of the Party, the ex-Spartacide Paul Levi, and the ex-Left Independent Daumig, in the most energetic way acted against the admission in the Communist International of the Communist Labor Party of Germany in the capacity of a sympathetic organization. The Communist Labor Party represents the "left" communists, who broke away from the Union of Spartacus, not agreeing in the work in the old trade unions and on exploiting parliamentarism for revolutionary agitation and organization. As it is known, the second congress of the Comintern completely justified the view of the union of Spartacus, reckoning that communists have no right to withdraw from the mass organizations of the workers and that they have to exploit for the aims of communist agitation and propaganda all means that are given by the bourgeois State. But justifying as a whole the view point of "The Spartacus," the Executive Committee of the Comintern, could not shut its eyes before the fact that the Communist Labor Party reflects the rebellious leanings of the unemployed and the poorest working masses. On this account the Executive Committee admitted temporarily this party in the capacity of a sympathizer, in order to keep in touch with it and to influence it, making easier for the unified communist party to merge with this left group and the elements standing behind it. In the historical lamentations of Paul Levi against this step was expressed the inability to discover the way to the heart and senses of the various layers of the proletariat in whom the collapse of capitalism creates desperate rebellious leanings. This inability brought about the leaning to the right, for he, who actually wants revolution, must understand, that revolutionary struggle cannot be carried on by pushing away the layers of the proletariat most dissatisfied by capitalism. The right tendency, promulgated in this case by Levi, expressed this simple fact: that part of the party's organizers were afraid of these turbulent but revolutionary actions by the unemployed and allied layers of the proletariat.

The inability of the Paul Levi group to connect with the rebellious proletarian elements was combined with the intention to attract to the Communist International the remaining layers of the proletariat with moderation and orderly forms of agitation; that is: actually by not only renouncing the most expressive revolutionary forms of agitation but actually joining hands with the centrist elements. This tendency emerged openly, when Levi, returning from the convention of the Italian Socialist Party in Livorno, began to criticize the Executive Committee of the Communist International, stating that it scared away Serrati, that it created an artificial breach in the Italian party, tending to create small but pure communist

parties. Levi reproached the Executive Committee of the Comintern, with the identical charge which hitherto was the chief weapon of the Centrists against the Communist International: a reproach of sectarianism. To many this dissonance appeared as brought about by lack of information about the situation in Italy and the intentions of the Executive Committee. But the leading groups in the party understood, that here at hand was the leaning toward centralism, that Levi, regardless of how he fenced himself off from Serrati indeed assisted this wavering revolutionist in the struggle against Italian communists. When the Central Council of the Party, consisting of the Central Committee of the Party and the representatives of the districts, accepted a resolution, rejecting strictly and clearly the view point of Levi, Levi resigned the powers of the chairman of the party and with him left the Central Committee of the party, comrade Klara Zetkin and four former Independents. This fact proved not only that a right wing had formed within the party, according to the example of

all opportunistic groups, who do not reckon with revolutionary discipline. To hold a mandate in a party that demands from the workers that they go to battle on the first call of the Central Committee against the armed whites, is a post that cannot be left without the order of the party. The party's congress but Levi and those thinking like him in responsible party positions: Leaving these positions without the consent of the party, they proved that they are intending to put themselves above the party and dictate their conditions, as always was done by the intellectuals in the labor movement.

Levi and his followers declared, that they will serve the party as common soldiers, taking no responsibility for its political leadership. In the March days the party could be convinced that these were only words, that comrades who were not able to carry on their tasks as commanders of the red army, also where not in a position to do it as privates in the red army. The March days saw not only the sabotage of the followers of Levi, but direct betrayal by the former chairman of the party—Levi, who, for this betrayal is expelled from the Communist Party of Germany and from the Communist International.

(Comrade Radek's second article on this subject will appear in next issue.)

Foster's Articles on Russia.

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

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NEWS FROM RUSSIA AND ELSEWHERE.

Despite the wonderful progress which has been made in education in Russia since the revolution, there are still millions who can not read. The number of adults who have been taught to read and write since the revolution is over four million. It will take fifteen years to abolish illiteracy in Russia. To give those who can not read the news of the day and to educate them in the ideals and principles of communism, telephones with sound-increasers have been erected in public places thru which the news of the day is imparted to thousands who gather to listen.

Wrangel troops that have returned from Bulgaria have placed themselves at the disposal of the Soviet farms for work, while they are waiting to be sent home. They have made a request for ploughs and spades.

The Georgian Soviet government has ordered that all articles which the poor are forced to pawn in the government pawn shops during the Menshevik regime are to be restored to their owners.

"Proletcult" is one of the new words coined in Russia and means "proletarian culture." The All-Russian Council for Proletcult held its convention last month and reviewed results in the realm of proletarian creative activity.

The Communist fraction of the Moscow Soviet has decided that 17 independents (non-party representatives) shall be elected to the executive. This to give representation to those workers who have not yet joined the Communist Party.

The first All-Russian Conference of

Communist Women has been held. The conference was conducted in the Russian and Turkman languages, and is a sign of the revolutionary awakening of the passive masses of women in the East.

The Council of Labor and Defense, of which Lenin is chairman, has decided to hold a three week's campaign for the creation of a reserve of fuel.

Hugo Walwanne has been named Finnish ambassador to Russia.

Chaliapin, famous Russian singer, is leaving for New York to fulfill an engagement in the Metropolitan Opera House.

Of the 140,000 miners of the Donetz Basin, 85,000 were illiterate on January first. In the four months past, the Commission for the Combating of Illiteracy has reduced the number of illiterates 75 per cent.

The Soviet Republics of Russia, Ukraine, Turkestan, White Russia, Azerbeichan, Armenia, Georgia and the Far East cover an area of eighteen million verses and have a total population of 141,000,000.

Losovaki of the Red Trade Union International, has proposed that 200,000 gold rubles be sent the striking miners in England by the Russian workers.

By a decree of the Council of Commissaries the board of health of the Bashkirs has received fifteen million roubles for the erection of a sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis by the Kumys method (feeding of patients with fermented horse milk.)

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM: Analysed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D. D. The writer, a Bishop in the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics. Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalism from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all the world." Published in October, 1920. Fiftieth Thousand now ready, 223 pages; cloth \$1.00; paper, 25c or six copies \$1.00, postpaid.

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