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Communist International Warns World's Workers Of Capitalist Intrigue To Trick Russia.

REACTIONARIES READY TO UNDERMINE WORKERS' RULF THRU FAMINE RELIEF MEASURES.

Workers Urged To Demand No Political Infringement.

London.—The Daily Herald has received by wireless the following official manifesto to the Workers of the World from the Executive Committee of the Third Internationale:

"Soviet Russia is stricken by a great national calamity, similar to that which occurred in 191. The great drought, continuing from March to June, has caused famine and distress in the Volga provinces, which formerly yielded 30 per cent. of the entire Russian harvest. Even seeds for the coming season are non-existent. Twenty million people are threatened with hunger and death. Not only this, but also next year. Famine is inevitably accompanied by disease, which is moving down the already weakened people.

"All these blows fall upon Soviet Russia at the moment when she is exhausted and well-nigh ruined by seven years of imperialist and civil wars; when she is as yet unable either to supplement the people's economic struggle by new forces or to remove old wreckage. Soviet Russia fought and suffered for the entire international proletariat. Her bleeding wounds she received in fighting the world's capitalism, not alone for the Russian revolutionary proletariat, but also for the world's workers.

"The capitalists of all countries, realizing this, have helped the Russian bourgeoisie to attack Russia, not only in an effort to save the profits formerly squeezed out of the Russian people, but also to destroy the State which first raised the banner of the working class revolution, which became a pillar of light indicating the way to the awakening masses of all countries.

"Attack Under the Mask of Charity". Capitalist States and capitalist Governments will now attempt to make use of the famine in Russia—after being defeated by the arms of the Red army and the struggle of the European proletariat in their attacks upon Russia—to reorganize this attack under the mask of charity and benevolence. Part of the capitalist press declares openly and cynically: 'Let the masses perish from famine if they will not rise against the Soviet Government.' The French Imperialist Government sends troops and munitions to Poland to prepare a base for another attack on Soviet Russia, which shall start in at the moment of deepest distress. The French diplomats are endeavoring to involve Roumania, the Baltic States and the Little Entente in these criminal designs.

"The English and American Governments, which once vied with each other in humanitarian phraseology, now pretend to know nothing about the misery of the Russian people. Half furtively, however, they promise help to Russia while hinting their readiness to realize their promise if Soviet Russia will allow her affairs to be managed by their nominees and those of the Russian counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. This means that they want the Russian working class to permit in return for a crust of bread the organization of the counter-revolution on Soviet soil; or, if the Russian working class refuses to cause rebellion, but with the savagery that arose during the war and evidently has not yet vanished.

"Do not forget the blood of Russian workers and peasants shed for your sake. Do not forget the hunger which they have suffered these three years for the common working-class cause. Do not forget that counter-revolutionary attempts against the Russian proletariat are attempts against you. Prevent such designs by the world's capitalists. Nip them in the bud.

Against Any Conditions of Relief. "The Communist Internationale invites not only all Communist parties, Red trade unions and co-operators, but all honest workers, irrespective of party, to force their respective Governments to understand that they will not tolerate preparations for a new war against Russia, and that they will not allow their Governments to make any conditions in helping Soviet Russia.

"The Soviet Government, discarding all party and political considerations, has already invited the assistance of the honest bourgeois parties, whose conscience and humanity have asserted themselves. They understand that the Soviet Government wishes to help all elements in distress and all sound elements in Russia are ready to co-

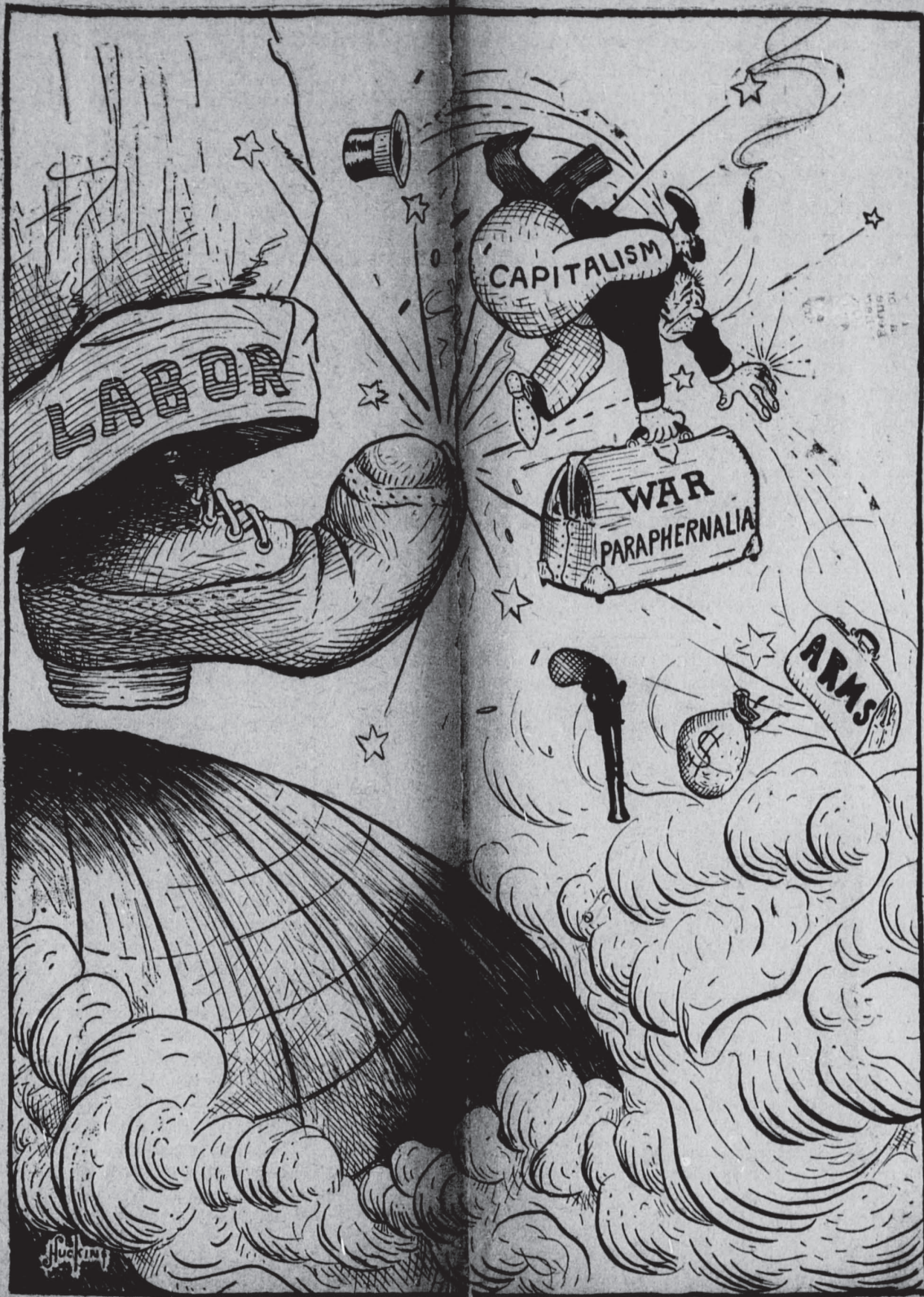
operate with it in combating the famine.

"But it is not only a question of preventing counter-revolutionary designs. The international proletariat must also give active help to the Russian masses. We know you are poor yourselves and have not surplus bread; but we also know that wherever misfortune befalls a working family the poorest workers help more readily than the rich who indulge in philanthropy.

"We appeal to all Communist parties and Red trade unions, to all labor organizations and parties wishing to help the Russian people, to start work immediately. The time has come to show to whom international working class solidarity is a mere phrase and to whom it is deed and truth. Calls on World's Workers for Relief.

"We suggest to the Communist parties of all countries that they establish immediate connection with all labor organizations to create joint relief committees with a view to collecting money to purchase food and medicines. Every shipload of bread sent by workers' organizations into the famine districts will stiffen the determination of Russian workers in their fight against famine. It will demonstrate practically to the suffering that they are not alone in the hard struggle against the capitalist world which seeks to profit by their hunger, but that there is mutual aid among the international working-class family, which shares its last crust of bread with its suffering comrades.

"To work, working men and women of all countries! To the great work of relieving the distressed in Soviet Russia! Long live international proletariat solidarity! Long live Soviet Russia!"



THE FIRST STEP TOWARD DISARMAMENT!

Humanity With a Proviso GENERAL STRIKE IMMINENT IN SAN FRANCISCO

Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce and head of the American Relief Administration, replied to Maxim Gorky's appeal for aid in relieving the famine that is stalking through Russia, by assuring Gorky of America's sympathy and promising help—on certain conditions.

"These conditions are of such a nature that when Hoover declares that the 'whole American people' subscribes to them, the American workers enter a most vehement protest against his pretending to present the viewpoint of the American Workers at any time and at this time and in this matter in particular.

"The 'whole American people' does not demand the release of the American held prisoners in Russia. The 'whole American people' does not demand that the Relief Commission shall be given practically free hand to dispense charity in Russia.

"The workers of America declare that to make such conditions for assisting the Soviet Government in relieving the acute distress of the Russian people, is not only preposterous, but barbarous.

"They declare that any one who dares make such conditions speaks, not in the name of sympathy or humanity, but with the savagery that arose during the war and evidently has not yet vanished.

"The workers of Russia are starving. After seven years of war and three years of blockade, a drought has set in which has burnt up the crops. During the blockade years the peasants could not procure the farming machinery necessary to carry on intense agricultural work. Millions of workers were at the front, defending the Revolution against imperialist ventures that were fighting to overthrow the Soviet power. Now, with no reserve to fall back on, with the soil gaping from the extreme drought, at least ten million people are threatened with famine.

"Release my seven American citizens or I will starve your ten million men, women and children!" To Hoover it is quite immaterial that some of these imprisoned American citizens have been engaged in direct counter-revolutionary work against the Soviet Government. One was a Red Cross worker, serving under General Wrangel against Soviet Russia. Splendid occupation this, for a Red Cross worker!

To Hoover it is immaterial that what he demands is that Soviet Russia

abrogate her laws to suit his, Hoover's, fancy!

Hoover may forget, and the capitalist class that he represents may want to forget, but the workers of America will not forget that there are scores of Russians in American prisons, sent there because they dared to assert what Wilson openly but belatedly said, viz., that the war was a commercial war for commercial advantage.

There are Russians in American prisons who were seized and arrested illegally. There are Russians who were brutally tortured and hounded out of this free land for daring to be patriotic for their native land!

Nor does the American worker demand that the Relief Commission shall operate at its own sweet will and according to its own pleasure. Soviet Russia is a sovereign state. It is a government of the workers, with laws created by and for the workers. Into the American worker's head there is constantly being hammered the demand that he respect the law. The American worker now demands that, in aiding the workers of Russia, the Relief Commission shall respect the Russian law and abide by the regulations of the Soviet authorities.

Furthermore, although Hoover may not recognize it, his agreement that the Relief workers will not engage in political activity against the Soviet Government is a tacit admission that their record in this respect has not been too clean. Facts have incriminated them too often. The Soviet authorities state officially that the "Americans imprisoned in Russia have either been convicted of crimes against the laws of the country or are held as spies. Every case of an accusation is based on documents given irrefutably proof of guilt and on the confessions of the accused."

In making the second-mentioned condition, Hoover is well aware that he is acting the hypocrite. He knows that the Society of Friends has been engaged in relief work in Russia for some time. They are not molested but are given every assistance to facilitate their work.

He knows that all Russians are working as a unit in this crisis. Party lines have vanished as far as relief is concerned. Communists, Cadets, Moderate Socialists, Tolstoyans, prominent public men of all shades of opinion and literary men have formed a single body to save the starving children. (Continued on page 2.)

REBELLIOUS WORKERS ORGANIZE FOR SHOW-DOWN AGAINST BOSSES AND GENERAL STRIKE IS AGITATED.

By JAY G. ARR.

(Special to "The Toller")

San Francisco and the Bay Cities are in the throes of a bitter labor warfare, a fight that bids fare to annihilate the aspirations of one of the contending parties. Capital is busy pushing the "open shop" fight into the enemy's territory, and Labor is resisting the attack with the grim determination of one battling for its very existence.

The fight here has reached a crisis. The marine workers are demoralized. The Sailors' Union has been split wide open. The vast majority of the membership, seeing the fruits of victory fading into space are sorely disillusioned and are groping helplessly in the air for some wise Moses to lead them out of the bondage that they find themselves rapidly slipping into. Andy Furuseth, their kindly Moses of yesterday, has just reached the city in the vain hope of saving the pieces, but his task is hopeless.

The union has split three ways, the majority are on the point of joining the One Big Union and the I. W. W., while a pitiable minority is staying with the sinking ship hoping against hope that its rotten and battered timbers will weather the storm. For the want of a militant leader with vision and ability, to hold the membership intact in whatever course of action it takes the union's outlook looks hopeless.

While the Seamen's strike looks hopeless and weak, the building trades' lockout is developing a germ that may spread ruthlessly as a plague and eat into the heart of the "open shop" fight and send the Chamber of Commerce scattering. A big job, I'll agree, but look! To me the potential lies are indeed promising when from out of a boss ridden organization a rank and file movement springs up and shouts in the teeth of its leaders, "Stop, your dilly dallying tactics are sending us headlong along the path of destruction. Step down off your high perch and clear the decks, for this fight is our fight, the rank and file's. You have divided us too long. Away with you! United we stand, divided we fall one by one!"

This insurgent group has organized itself within the building trades. They call themselves the Conference Committee of the Building Trades Unions of the Bay District. They have come out flatfooted and have challenged the right of the reactionary labor officials to control the destinies of the rank and file. They have issued a call to all members of the building trades to recognize them as the only ones capable of turning defeat into victory, and to date they are succeeding admirably.

For The General Strike.

Listen to one of their appeals. It breathes the spirit of a new militant labor movement in this country. "...Systematically, they (the capitalists) have attacked craft after craft in city after city, and have WON EVERY ONSLAUGHT.

"...The attacks have been launched against every workers' organization by a ONE BIG UNION OF BUSINESS. Against it we are opposing our separate crafts one at a time. AND ALL ARE GOING TO DEFEAT. (Capitalists theirs.)

"Our unions, our only means of defense, are a hangover in form from the days of small industry and isolated crafts. THEY ARE BEING LICKED BY A MODERN FIGHTING MACHINE IN ENORMOUS TRUSTS AND UNITED IN ONE BIG BUSINESS COMBINE. We have been sending out one regiment at a time against an army. That way points to suicide for the labor movement.

"Our masters are banking on our labor, attacked and defeated. Now it is San Francisco's turn, and we're falling into the trap. After the builders, the cooks, the bakers, the bakers, the bakers, my union, then YOURS. Isolated, we shall be whipped and driven into slavery. WE ALL HAVE TO FIGHT TOGETHER! WHY NOT FIGHT TOGETHER? The worker who says, 'Wait 'till our trade is attacked', is playing into the hands of the capitalists." (Continued on page 2.)

Relief Will Pave Way to Recognition

AMERICAN CAPITALISTS' DESIRE FOR SOVIETS' FALL IS SEEN AS ONE BASIS FOR RELIEF OFFER.

By Laurence Todd
Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

Washington.—Formal notification by Herbert Hoover to Walter L. Brown, European director of the American Relief Administration, to proceed from London to Riga to open negotiations with the Russia government for American famine relief work in Russia is assumed here to mark the turning of the tide of American official policy toward Russia.

Thus far the American government has attacked Russia's working class republic from without. Its attacks have resulted only in the unification of revolutionary Russia behind the Communist administration to defy all foreign invasions.

Now comes the great opportunity to undermine the Communists from within Russia, through the distribution of food and medicines to millions of famine sufferers through American agents.

Whatever the plans of Hoover, his following contains great numbers of people who count upon him to somehow spring a surprise attack on the Moscow government which will destroy the only non-capitalist regime in any considerable country on earth.

However, it must be assumed that Lenin and Kameneff are likewise bearing in mind the political work of Hoover's organization, and are preparing to see that Hoover's pledge to abstain from propaganda against the Russian government is faithfully observed.

Beginning of Good Will.

Vast quantities of American foodstuffs and medicines and clothing will now be gathered by the American Relief Association and shipped to Russia for distribution. Appeals in the name of common humanity will be issued, the effects of years of propaganda of inhumanity and hatred toward the Russians must be overcome, and gradually the whole-hearted American nation must be mobilized to give to save the Russian people from a calamity which could easily have been met had not the United States and its allies blockaded the Russian people for the past four years.

The quick release of American prisoners in Russia, when the request for their release took on an official character through the visit of Senator France and the note from Hoover to Gorky, has made a favorable impression in Washington. There is a growing body of opinion that the resumption of trade relations with Russia and final recognition of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet republic will develop from the better understanding which must follow the dealings of the relief administration with Moscow.

But there is no division of opinion on the main issue—that American capitalism will fight to the last, by force or by trick and device, to destroy the Russian socialization of industries. It will lose no opportunity to discredit and slander the Russian system, whose success would imperil capitalism everywhere.

TO ESTABLISH MINERS' PAPER.

Topeka, Kan.—A weekly publication, moving pictures and a stumping tour throughout the state will be used by Kansas labor in its drive against the Industrial Court within a short period, according to W. E. Freeman, president of the Kansas Federation of Labor. The weekly paper is expected to be established at Fort Scott with Alexander Howat and Jake Sheppard, his attorney, as editors. The moving pictures will be confined to visual descriptions of conditions in the Kansas mines.

Lille.—French labor as represented by the Confederation Generale du Travail will continue adhesion to the Amsterdam internationale; 1,556 delegates' votes favored Amsterdam to 1,348 for affiliation with Moscow.

Oakland, Calif.—The cases of James H. Dolsen, J. A. Ragsdale and C. A. Tobey, accused of violation of the state criminal syndicalism act, are now set for August 15, at which time it is expected that the state supreme court will hand down its decision on the test case of John C. Taylor, now before it on appeal. After this decision is given it is also expected that the appellate court will decide on the case of Anita Whitney.

Europe Works For Soviets.

TANTALIZING CONTRACTS INVITE SCANDINAVIA TO GRANT RECOGNITION.

By HELEN AUGUR,
Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

Stockholm, Sweden (By Mail).—Norway and Denmark will soon sign trade treaties with Soviet Russia, it is confidently expected here. By a skillful application of the famous Chicherin tactics Russia now has the three countries eating, out of her hand.

The big business press is at this moment demanding recognition of the Russian government along the lines of the Russo-German treaty of two months ago. If recognition is not accorded contracts now placed here for 250,000,000 kronen (about \$53,000,000) worth of goods will be diverted to German and British manufacturers, says Russia. Just to dramatize this threat Russia has in fact for two months been diverting contracts.

P. M. Kergentzeff, president of the Russian trade delegation in Stockholm, looks as if he were here to stay. The mission has the impressive stability of the Standard Oil Company, but Swedish manufacturers with contracts to negotiate must sit under the searching gaze of Lenin, Marx, Trotsky and even Zinoviev. They find Kergentzeff not disconcerting at all, but a keen, jolly man with the intellectual breadth of the cultured Russian.

Sure of Treaty.

He traced briefly the year's trade developments in Sweden.

"In May, 1920, a working agreement was concluded between the two countries which enabled us to do business to the amount of about 60,000,000 kronen," he said. "We bought here mainly rolling stock and various railroad supplies. In June, two years after we had won recognition from England and Germany, we requested a trade treaty from Sweden. We pointed out that under the same favorable trade conditions were accorded to us here our business would have to move on."

"Yes, we'll no doubt get the treaty," said Kergentzeff, "and due to the delicate interrelationship of the three Scandinavian countries we expect to sign simultaneous treaties with Norway and Denmark."

Russia, of course, hasn't much to buy from Norway and Denmark but fish, electrical appliances and agricultural machinery. But the adjoining northern coasts of Russia and Norway have from time immemorial been a peaceful frontier like that between the United States and Canada. And while Russia waits for the United States to make an economic alliance, every European factory must work for her—even Czechoslovakia is manufacturing locomotives for Russia.

"There are two chief things that only America can supply us," said Kergentzeff, "great quantities of farm machinery, electrical apparatus, automobiles, shoes, clothes, rolling stock—and second, the energy and technique to build up great industries.

"Russia geographically is like America—once developed she will be a completely self-sufficing country. But in order to bring about this economic independence we must go through a period of borrowing business and engineering skill from the United States and Germany."

ANOTHER CUT DEMANDED.

(By The Federated Press.)

New York.—Living conditions have "eased up" considerably, in the view of the National Publishers' Association which, meeting in the sumptuous quarters of the Engineers' club here, adopted a resolution demanding that the employing printers of New York serve notice upon Typographical Union No. 6 that the existing scale of wages to printers must be reduced at the expiration of the present contract on October 1 or the matter submitted to arbitration. The time-honored and ever-useful threat also was hinted at to the effect that unless "Big Six" agrees to the terms set forth in the resolution "a huge volume of magazine publication in this city will be transferred elsewhere."

The National Publishers' Association controls about 80 per cent of the magazine output of the country. It has used its power in the past to break strikes in allied printing trades, notably the 44-hour strike in the book, magazine and job shops in 1919, which lasted for two months.

The Working Class and Their Children

AN APPEAL TO PROLETARIAN PARENTS.

By EDWIN HOERNLE.

Taken from a pamphlet of the above title published in Berlin by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. Published here in four installments. The pamphlet may be obtained of The Toiler by remitting 5c per copy.

III. THE COMMUNIST CHILDREN'S GROUPS AND THEIR TASKS.

It is to the credit of the Communist Youth Organizations that they were the first to recognize the far reaching importance of revolutionary educational work for the proletarian struggle and for the future of the proletarian class. It is the duty of all proletarian parents and of all other adult proletarians as well to assist the communist youth in this, their most important work. We will no longer expose our children to the uncontrollable influences of the streets of the metropolises. We will no longer permit tutors and teachers of a christian government, serving the counter revolution, to teach proletarian children. We will no longer abstain from planting into the souls of our children the seeds of socialism, of the revolutionary conception of life. The more so, as we are in the midst of a bitter revolutionary struggle. The more so, as our children in the course of a few years will have to help us in this struggle. He is not struggling for the welfare of the class who is not conscious of the duty of the revolutionary proletariat towards the proletarian children.

In what manner shall we educate our children? How can we keep them away from the pernicious influence of the street, of the school, of the whole bourgeois society? Shall we create for our children communist islands in the midst of the stormy sea of bourgeois life?

No, that we cannot and will not do! Our children must be educated in the environments within which they are destined to struggle later on. If today the street is their home, we shall not take them from the street, but open their eyes, so that they will see the street with our eyes, with the eyes of revolutionary proletarians, with the eyes of the class conscious socialists. If the child is obliged to go to the bourgeois school, we shall not attempt to keep him away from that school, but shall try to counteract the influence of the bourgeois school, revolutionising it not only from without, but, with the help of the children themselves, also from within.

To this end we are organizing the proletarian children in Children's Groups. Here we will talk to them and play with them, read and work and make excursions with them, and grow with them as well. The Communist Children's Groups are to be our nursery from which the communist children will go forth to their schools, to their tenement houses and their play grounds, in order to enlighten their comrades and take up in the schools the battle against the influences of the church and of nationalism, of every institution hostile to the workers.

We do not but doubt that, influenced by the spirit of the Communist Children's Groups, many a proletarian child will prove instrumental in rousing and shaking up his parents. The object of the Communist Children's Groups is therefore to make the proletarian children take their place in the work and in the struggle of their class, and to educate them to be revolutionaries.

At a time of the charlatan-like doings of the bourgeois relief action in the sign of the slogan "Children in Need!" at that very time, Xmas 1920, gathered at Berlin for the first time the leaders of the Communist Children's Groups for a conference decided to begin and carry on in every district an energetic propaganda for the Communist Children's Groups Movement. Quietly and surely, without any noise, without being advertised in any way, was called into life the proletarian relief action. Not with gold nor with money can the proletariat help their children, but it can demand of the bourgeois government, it can demand of the bourgeois community and it can furthermore struggle for the realization of these demands and, last not least, teach their children to participate in that struggle within the limits given by their feeble power of course.

We do not wish to hear anything of the so-called pedagogical objections maintaining that the children would not know enough to recognize the underlying ideas, that they should not be taught to recognize the underlying ideas, that they should not be taught the child understands why it is to sing in the school Deutschland Ueber Alles, My country 'tis of Thee, or God save the King? Does it, perhaps, know why bourgeois teachers and bourgeois kindergarten nurses exhort him to be brave, obedient, industrious, pious and thrifty? Why is it told that the Lord has done everything well? Does it understand why his father or mother or brother are being insulted, persecuted, fined, jailed or even shot? No pedagogical phrases, however nicely sounding, will keep the bourgeois class from educating the proletarian children in its morals and in its opinions. The proletariat possesses no means to protect their children against the bourgeois world, the contact with which always leaves a harsh impression upon the young and is often, very often, painful for them. So, what can we do? Shall we, the struggling class, abstain from explaining to our children why we must struggle, and why they themselves must struggle some day? Shall the proletarian mother not explain to her hungry child the reason for his being hungry? Shall we keep shamefacedly silent when we are being asked by our children: Father, why are you on strike? Mother, why do you go to demonstrations? Brother, why are you out of work? Shall we remain neutral and say nothing when our children repeat to us the lies and the inciting words of their bourgeois school fellows? When the children read in the papers lies and abuse and ask us about it, shall we say: You do not understand that? No, we say to our children: Be proud of the strikers, proud of those demonstrating, proud of the comrades languishing in jails,

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of the parents, brothers and acquaintances who have fallen in streetbattles for the cause of World Revolution.

And again we shall say to our children: be proud if you are called a communist! Do not be afraid of being called by that name! It does you honor!

Away with the commonplaces of nonpolitical education of the children! Away with them, in the face of the fact that our children have become political long ago through the influences of school and life. They do not grow up in the glass house of a remote educational institution, but in the very midst of the capitalistically tainted streets, schools and play grounds of the bourgeois cities. Therefore we have no use for neutral children's groups, affiliated with no party, but need definitely socialist children's groups under the guidance of the most decided part of the proletariat, that part of which is always ready for sacrifices: the Communists.

(Continued next week.)

IS GREAT BRITAIN RIPE FOR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION?

By DAVID S. REISZ.

Some of those who are inclined to consider a large-scale strike as containing revolutionary possibilities, looked upon the recent coal miners' strike in Great Britain, as the forerunner of the Social Revolution in that country. Had the railroad and dock workers also joined the miners, thus showing a solidarity of the Triple Alliance, some revolutionists would have considered it as a certainty that the Social Revolution was being started in Great Britain.

It is a matter of general knowledge as to how the miners' strike ran its course. If there was a danger of a Social Revolution in Great Britain, while it lasted, there does not seem to be any at the present time. The British Government has contributed a subsidy of ten million pounds sterling to the coal industry.

A subsidy to an industry is no novelty. Many a government has subsidized new industries "in order to develop home industry." But to the writer's knowledge, this is the first time that an industry has been subsidized, when that industry is one of the oldest and largest in the country.

Decline of Coal Industry.

It is needless to quote statistics to show that coal mining is a large and important industry in Great Britain; that in competing with the capitalists of other nations, Great Britain was until recently able to undersell them in the home market, and that British capitalists could export coal more cheaply than many competing, coal producing nations.

The coal mines of Great Britain that can be worked profitably on a competitive basis against those of the rest of the coal producing countries, are getting fewer, while the number of British coal miners, proportioned to the coal mines in operation, are more numerous. Jobs were getting fewer, while miners became more plentiful. According to the capitalist, so-called law of supply and demand, the coal miners were therefore required to work for considerable less wages.

The coal miners of Great Britain struck. They refused to work as cheaply as the mine owners demanded. Had there been a rigorous application of the so-called law of supply and demand, there would have been a fight to the finish between the coal miners of Britain, on one hand, and the mine owners of Britain, on the other.

The so-called law of supply and demand is invoked by the capitalists whenever they wish to prove to the workers their helplessness. When the workers disregard the explanations of the defenders of Capitalism; when the workers insist that they get paid "more than the industry can bear," and when the workers threaten the existence of the other capitalists also; when they threaten the existence of Capitalism itself—the existence of the British Government, as it happened to be in this case, then by common consent the so-called law of supply and demand is set aside. Another principle takes its place.

The subsidy "granted" by the British Government to the coal industry, may be subject to several interpretations. 1) As setting aside the so-called law of supply and demand. 2) As a tax on other industries to favor a particular one. 3) As a payment by the capitalist class of Great Britain to the miners in order to assure the continuance of its income on its investments in the British Dominions, colonies, "protectorates."

Not all interpretations have been given here. To approach this subsidy from different angles the questions could be asked: What has the so-called law of supply and demand to do with this subsidy? Do the workers or the employers in other industries pay it? Whence does the government of Britain get the sum it pays out as a sub-

sidy? Do the British coal miners or the owners get the subsidy?

Purpose of The Subsidy.

A great many other interesting questions could be asked. For us, however, the question of importance is: How does the subsidy affect the working class?

There is reason to believe that the subsidy to the coal industry, has, for the time being, averted a possibly successful attempt at the Social Revolution.

A Social Revolution in Great Britain—a revolution in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was to supplant the capitalist State, would not confine itself to Great Britain. Eventually all the possessions of the British capitalist class would also be lost the world over. The British colonial system, British imperialism, would be at an end.

It would seem therefore that British capitalists who have profitable investments in the Dominions, can well afford to pay the subsidy to the coal industry in Great Britain. They could probably afford to pay subsidy to several industries and avoid the return to their investments in the Dominions remained unimpaired.

Changing Forms of Empire.

Statistics show that the production of coal and iron in Great Britain, is not as efficient now as formerly, as compared to that of other industrial nations. Furthermore, the importation into England, of raw materials, and their re-exportation abroad as finished products, is not as profitable any more as it was in the past. England is declining industrially. The following quotation from the American Metal Market of June 28, 1921, throws additional light on the foregoing:

"A graver concern for England proper, than the strike spirit, is the economic revolution taking place. The old idea of the British Empire, fostered officially, visioned England as the manufacturing center, and the Dominions merely as producers of raw materials for the factories, and thereafter as consumers of finished products. Today there is not an English industry which is not face to face with the competition not merely of other nations, but even more so of the Dominion manufacturers. The board of trade will shortly issue, according to present plans, a statement, designed to be reassuring and setting forth the argument that as long as an industry remains British, it is immaterial in what part of the Empire it happens to have its mills, factories, headquarters or branches. English manufacturers will, at the same time, be urged to establish branch factories in the Dominions. The Board of Trade is visualizing economic changes which will transfer the headquarters of the British steel industry to Canada. Studies will be made as to textiles, chemicals, shipbuilding, pottery, etc., with a view to branch establishments at the strategic points in the Empire. Canada is looked upon as the base from which to meet American competition in the Pacific. Australia to a less extent is similarly regarded, and there is being formulated a political, diplomatic and economic program to arrange that compulsory transferences of industries be made with minimum of disturbance and loss. A protective tariff has shown, both in Canada and Australia, the industrial possibilities of the Dominions. Moreover there has been visioned for manufacturers the possibility of escape from labor conditions at home. The empire could thrive were production in England itself entirely stopped. The industrial might of the Empire, as an Empire, is just beginning to be realized, and the new policy for the Dominions as could not have been dreamed of prior to the great war. It is an Empire, not

an island, that guarantees British debts."

As early as twenty years ago John A. Hobson recognized the declining importance of exports from Great Britain, as compared to the investments in the Dominions by British capitalists. He showed that profits from the exports of capital vastly exceeded the profits from exports of goods. At the present time British capitalists are beginning to think of stopping production altogether in Great Britain. What is the future of Great Britain?

Although, for the time being, the coal industry in Britain is receiving a subsidy, a perpetual subsidy to its obsolescent industries is out of the question. British capital that cannot rely any more on the patriotism of its working class to commit suicide in war, will have to continue for a while the subsidy to the coal industry and perhaps institute new subsidies and unemployment funds, and at the same time it will stimulate the emigration of the British workers to the British Dominions. Unless depopulation in Great Britain goes hand in hand with the decline of its industry, the subsidies will have to be continued, or the Social Revolution will take place.

Possibilities of Revolution.

Judging by its industrial development alone, seeing that its industries are on the decline, England is already overdue for the Social Revolution. Home industry alone could not perpetuate British capitalism; the subsidy is an evidence of that. Let us examine what connection there is between the Dominions and the possibility of the Social Revolution in Great Britain.

Revolts in India, Egypt, Persia and other British "protectorates," indicate the possibility that they may enforce "Self Determination." The fact that Great Britain insisted in its Trade Agreement with Soviet Russia that it cease to agitate against Great Britain in the Dominions, shows how valuable those countries are considered to be to British interests.

But the trade agreement entered into by Soviet Russia, has no binding force on the Communist International nor on the dissatisfied nationalistic elements in British Dominions. The Communist International well knows that it is easier to cause a revolution in Great Britain by depriving the British capitalists of the profits from their investments in the Dominions, than by agitating among British wage workers who are as yet bribed by subsidies or unemployed relief.

Under the guidance of the Communist International "Self Determination" will mean not merely the demand of an independent government from Great Britain, but also a refusal to pay tribute to the British capitalists. Furthermore it will result in the establishment of favorable trade relations between communist governments and former British Dominions. Aside from worldwide trade competition, when this will have been accomplished on a large scale, then will the workers in Britain be enabled to perform the Social Revolution.

HUMANITY WITH PRO-VISO.

(Continued from page 1.)

women and men of Russia.

There is another consideration which undoubtedly moves Hoover to be kind to Russia. He agrees not to engage in Russian politics providing his relief staff is given free hand. But—Hoover hopes to create in Russia what he has created in other countries which has helped to relieve, what is commonly called a "grand feeling" for our rich Americans! Prestige only comes America's way if Hoover gets all the credit.

Create friendships has been Hoover's slogan. Trade follows friendship. In this instance, takes the place of the Christian missionary, of whom it is said that he taught the native sinners how to pray so that the capitalists could follow and prey. Hoover however, is missionary and promoter for the capitalist class all in one, for is he not also Secretary of Commerce?

If this is Hoover's game in Russia, for once his game will not work. Because Russia is Soviet Russia, and as such has a collective proletarian brain more capable than the collective capitalist brain of Hoover and his backers.

The people of Soviet Russia are obtaining only a half pound of bread a day. Workers in some districts are giving up a day's ration a week. Soviet officials in the provinces, trade union organizers and school teachers are volunteering for relief work.

The American workers demand that the American government cease its sham attitude of "humanity," and assist the starving millions in Russia at once and without proviso.

For, remember, American capitalists may yet need to trade with Russia!

Ole Hanson, former mayor of Seattle, is reported to be preaching anti-unionism in Mexico, much to the amusement of the administration and the labor movement.

Development of Trade in Soviet Russia.

By EUGENE VARGA.

(From "Moscow".)

A foreigner in Soviet Russia at present will no doubt remark of the lively trade being carried on in Moscow and other Russian cities. This appears to be in contradiction with the economic system of Communism. We must first of all, point out however, that the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not yet the era of Communism. In this period of transition, therefore, trade within certain limits is justifiable.

But it is a fact that a year ago, for example, trade activity in Russia was much slighter than it is today. This is a consequence of the change in the economic policy of Soviet Russia, which was initiated by the abolition of the government monopoly of all agricultural products and the levy of a tax in kind. The basic idea of the monopoly system was that the agricultural population was obliged to surrender to the state its entire surplus of foodstuffs, after deducting the portion required for the feeding of the members of the family and for carrying on the establishment, in return for which the proletarian State was to place at the disposal of the peasants all the products of industry they required. Under that system there could be no legal trade, as all the surplus food, according to the law, belonged to the State. Under the system of the present tax in kind, on the contrary, the peasant can freely dispose of all his products, after he has paid his tax in kind. The peasant is thus enabled to exchange the surplus of his products for articles of the non nationalized small industry.

It will of course occur to everybody to ask the question: why did not Soviet Russia take this course from the very beginning, why was the system of State monopoly introduced at all? The answer to this question is very simple: as long as Russia was obliged to carry on war, the government was compelled to lay claim to everything the population possessed, in order to be able to feed the army and the indigent population of the cities. The State monopoly of all the products of peasant agriculture was a necessity of war that became untenable as soon as the war ceased.

It was untenable for various reasons. First, because it was possible while the war lasted and the defense of Soviet Russia against its external foes was being conducted, to make the hundred million peasants understand why they had to surrender their surplus to the State. And the peasants for the greater part yielded to this necessity voluntarily, because the struggle against the foreign enemy meant not only the protection of the Soviet power, of the proletarian dictatorship, but at the same time the protection of the property of the soil gained by the peasants during and by the revolution.

The peasants knew full well that if either Denikin or Wrangel or Kolchak succeeded in overthrowing the power of the Soviet government, it would signify the return of the great landowners and the reversion to the latter of the land taken by the peasants. Because they were aware of this fact, the peasants were prepared to accept the system of State monopoly. The same trend of thought that kept millions of peasants in the Red Army as fighters for the proletarian power, which they otherwise did not entirely favour, made the system of State monopoly for them, if not entirely agreeable, at any rate tolerable.

On the cessation of the defensive war, this system had to be given up. It had all the more to be abandoned, as the injurious economic consequences of the system were undeniable. For it was a contradiction, that on one hand the peasant was the de facto private owner of his land and his other means of production, and on the other hand, under the system of monopoly, was only permitted to keep a part of the proceeds of his labor, whether great or small, for the sustenance of his family. There was consequently no stimulus for the peasant private owner to produce very much. That was the reason why the cultivated area since 1916 constantly diminished (the grain monopoly was already then introduced by the Czaristic government.) This diminution of the cultivated area, the noticeable tendency on every hand of a return to the antiquated form of self-sufficing home production, could

only be prevented by abolishing the monopoly and enabling the peasant private owner to increase his income by more intensive labor. Such is the economic significance of this transition.

Naturally the aim of the proletarian government is to confine trade within certain limits. This is accomplished in two ways: first, by the monopoly of the means of transport; and secondly, by lending every support to cooperative societies, which appear to be the proper bodies to place all the surplus products of the peasants, without the intervention of the middle men for exchanging these for industrial products, at the disposal of the working population of the State monopoly and the introduction of the tax in kind, in connection with the permission of local trade, is therefore no retrogression, as the Mensheviks of all countries declare but simply the abolition of war measures, which have become untenable on the return of peace.

GENERAL STRIKE IMMINENT IN 'FRISCO.

(Continued from page 1.)

of the master class. OUR ONLY STRENGTH IS IN OUR UNITY.

...And so the building workers have appealed to us. They are fighting valiantly, a losing fight. They are fighting our fight, AND WE HAVE BEEN LETTING THEM FIGHT IT ALONE. Fighting alone they will be beaten. Fighting alone my union will be beaten. Fighting alone our union will be beaten, and six months or a year from now THERE WILL BE NO WORKERS' ORGANIZATION ON THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

"Let us not deceive ourselves. Fighting together, we may still be beaten. But let us not give in without a struggle. In the name of our tolling millions, in the name of our ancient battle and victories, in the name of our children, in the name of our greater, longer, and harder fight for ultimate emancipation from the curse of the wages system with its unemployment and degradation, in the name of our manhood, let us not give in until we have tried our greatest weapon, our untiring strength, our last [line of defense]—A GENERAL STRIKE.

"It need not be a long strike. But it must be a united strike. There must be no traitors. A general strike is a test, a test of solidarity, a test of power, a DEMONSTRATION of power. If we cannot go out together, stay out together, and go back together, we are whipped, and our last weapon broken in our own hands. The master class will then have nothing more to fear, and can forge ever heavier chains of wage cut and lengthening hours, and degrading conditions, for the beaten slaves of our day and generation and mayhap for our children.

"BUT IF WE GO OUT TOGETHER, STAY OUT TOGETHER, AND GO BACK ON CALL TOGETHER, WE WILL HAVE SHOWN THE INDUSTRIAL TYRANTS OUR POWER—WE WILL HAVE SHOWN OURSELVES OUR POWER. Then in the proud consciousness of our power, we can say to the master class:

"You have seen our solidarity, you have seen our determination, you have felt our power. For a few days, we have stopped every wheel in your profit machine. The machinery in which you enslave us thru the ownership of our jobs, has proved worthless without our labor. That was but a taste. Take care lest you provoke us to use it again, and on a wider scale and with bigger armies."

I know it is not customary to quote so much, but your correspondent knows that an attempt at organizing a general strike is rare in this country and should be studied in all its movements whenever attempted, and as a movement is known by its manifestos, the above should prove interesting.

The little group that is attempting this big task is working day and night lining up unions in their cause. They are meeting success. A number of unions have thrown their lot with the rebels, others are balloting on the proposition now. P. H. McCarthy and his labor skates are "scared". He is keeping the telegraph lines East busy exploring International officers of the different unions to forbid the strike. They are responding daily, but still the rebels work with religious fervor.

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WHEN GREEKS BEAR GIFTS.

One should not look a gift horse in the mouth, is an aged saying which is balanced by an axiom equally as aged—beware of the Greeks bearing gifts.

Capitalist governments are giving expression to a hope that the Soviets will not commit a violation of bourgeois manners with a too close scrutiny of their relief offers in the present famine situation which has followed the excessive drought.

And yet, there is need for caution in this matter on the part of the Soviets, a fact they are well aware of. True to form the capitalistic governments, press and "philanthropic" agencies are using the Russian hunger situation as a weapon against the Russian Workers' Republic and its form of government.

For four years the capitalist nations of the world have been in a conspiracy against the Soviets. Every available means has been brought to bear upon the Workers' government.

The excessive drought in the grain growing regions has brought about a situation which valor of arms and the ideals of a working-class determined upon ending exploitation, may not be able to withstand without assistance from the outside world.

Paris, seat of reaction, is foremost in making its declarations in this matter. French capitalist papers are openly stating the aims of French relief. "Above all, the Soviets must go," says the Figaro and the sentiment is echoed by a number of other influential capitalist supporters.

The Supreme Council is considering Russia, what it will decide will depend upon how it sizes up the revolutionary situation in the big capitalist countries. There is only one council more supreme than that at Paris and that is the Communist International.

HEROES OR HOBOES?

Apparently there exist but two ways in which ex-service men may receive any attention at the hands of the government. One is to have been fortunate enough to have died in France, then they will be shipped home in a sealed box and given a military funeral.

We are brought to make these remarks by reading the increasing notices of "Yanks" who take the latter expedient to gain some attention from a government "made safe for Democracy"—and some thirty thousand new war-made millionaires.

This all means only one thing—the heroes of yesterday are the

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

On Working Within The Unions.

By JOSEPH POORE.

Rosta-Wien (No. 165) reprints an article from the pen of Wm. Foster published in "Moscow" of May 31st. The title of the article is "American Labor Movement".

For according to Marx, the development of the capitalist mode of production is inseparable from the development of an industrial proletariat. To expect one without the other is to expect sunlight without the sun.

Erroneous Tactics.

Says Foster, "According to Marxian principles, countries having advanced types of capitalism should also have highly advanced labor movements, and this is true practically all over the world.

To those who have worked in the labor movement this conclusion is irresistible but it seems to me that there is at bottom an economic cause for the aloofness of the American left-wing up to the present time.

While prior to Marx, battles, epidemics and unrest were either attributed to the whims of the Almighty or the caprices of individual monarchs, today the materialist conception of history has relieved us of the necessity of doing so.

hoboes of to-day and are considered such by those who have it in their power to give some measure of justice to those who served and sweat and were maimed and died for what they believed to be a just cause and a better world.

The medals of war make poor walking legs. They nourish no empty bellies and get the wearers no jobs. The heroes upon whose palpitating breasts those medals were pinned are learning how fleeting and frothy is such honor.

Then analyze the economic conditions of that period. Are you interested in the causes underlying the American Civil War? Then study the prevailing economic conditions in both the north and south at that time.

American Conditions.

No one who is familiar with European economic conditions can deny the following:

1. That the American worker's standard of living up to the present was superior to that of the European workers.

2. That the working hours as a whole were shorter in America than in Europe up to the present.

3. That the open class prejudices existing in Europe for centuries were more or less slumbering in America. These three facts may be accounted for by the richness of American soil, the existence of overwhelming natural resources and the vastness of the country.

Another element must be considered. A laborer who only considers himself a "temporary" proletarian will not have much interest in union affairs because all his thought is given over to the future when he will have his own plot of land and be his own boss.

any one to show how it is in the powers of a radical to continue remaining within a union whose slightest sympathy for his work is lacking. If it is contended that a radical should remain regardless of this utter absence of sympathy with his views then I propose that we immediately enter the ranks of the capitalist Republican and Democratic Parties in order to capture their organizations.

Editor's Note: We feel that it is important to state here our conviction that comrade Poore, in summing up has failed to take cognizance of three important facts, namely: 1, it is within the last 20 years that capitalism has fully developed; 2, that within this same period the cessationists have been most active; 3, that this period marks the disappearance of free land and opportunities of the wage-worker to create an independence for himself.

There are unions yet wherein the slightest radicalism is denounced. Shall we then await until economic forces have created a favorable environment before we begin our work? The answer is that we must not wait.

I repeat therefore that under such conditions to expect the radicals to remain in the ultra reactionary trade unions was to demand superhuman efforts from them. Great credit is given to Foster for his work in "boring from within" but his own metamorphosis was but the result of bitter experience.

Change of Tactics Now Necessary.

We can clearly perceive today that the revolutionary workers must enter and are entering the reactionary trade-unions. Conditions demand it and there is no escape from it.

The point to be remembered is that America today is not the America of twenty five years ago. A great change has come over the width and breadth of this country. A quarter of a century ago this country was asylum for all political prisoners; today it deports and imprisons all disagreeing with capitalist rule.

The capitalists having fathomed American natural wealth, are now following the laws observed by Marx. They are reducing wages from 20 to 30 per cent while the cost of living has not dropped more than 8 per cent.

These changed conditions have cleared the field for revolutionary propaganda. Today the American workers are more prepared to bear your message than twenty five years ago. Then they would laugh you to scorn; today they will listen in silence.

NEWS FROM AROUND THE GLOBE.

By A. W. TROTTER.

Anybody With Brains Can Earn Money!

Carpenter was defeated. For that defeat he got 2,500,000 francs. M. Branly, the inventor of the wireless which flashed the news of his defeat across the Atlantic, received 22 francs as his daily wage as professor.

Dempsey won. For that he got \$300,000. The same day that this pugilistic performance held the whole world breathless, Mme. Curie, the inventor of radium returned to France after visiting America.

In France Mme. Curie and Prof. Branly will have to keep on working to earn a living. Dempsey and Carpenter can retire and need not do another stroke of work.

This is due to the superior brains of the prize fighters!

Feverish Work in the Ukraine.

A good hand-worker need not go a minute without work in the Ukraine in fact, there is so much work to do, that men work fifteen hours a day under the most adverse conditions, but with the utmost enthusiasm. The Ukraine is being completely transformed under the guiding hand of the Ukrainian Soviet Government.

British Communists Enter Elections.

For the first time the British Communist Party will participate in the parliamentary elections as a Communist party.

The British Communists endeavored to affiliate with the Labor Party of that country. At first they were disinclined to do so, believing that they would be compromising their principles, or, owing to their numerical weakness, would be absorbed by the Laborites.

Following the advice of Lenin however, they applied for admittance but were rejected. Fear was entirely on the side of the Laborites, who knew that entrance of the Communists into their ranks meant propaganda for the conversion of the Laborites to Sovietism and the dictatorship of the workers as a revolutionary principle.

The British Communist Party now enters the parliamentary arena as the representative of the revolutionary workers of England. There is to be a bi-election at Caerphilly to fill a seat made vacant by the death of a labor representative, who was elected in 1918 by a majority of 2,000.

"Socialist Party No Longer Able to Represent Workers."

The recent convention of the Socialist Party of America, revealed to the workers two significant things: first, that the Socialist Party has lost all touch with reality and second, that it has abandoned the revolution.

All along, the Socialist Party has preached the revolution, without, evidently, understanding what it really means and without in the slightest comprehending the method of revolution. Since the Socialist Party is made up chiefly of professionals (lawyers, doctors, journalists and teachers predominating) and shop keepers, the party enters only superficially into the labor problems.

The Socialist Party knows quite well that the moment a party undertakes to work on those problems fundamentally, it will meet with the united opposition of the capitalist class and government. Hence, rather than court this struggle, the Socialist Party leaves the workers to solve their labor troubles themselves, while the party parades about with empty, harmless phrases about "democracy", "freedom" etc. Having become eminently respectable in the eyes of the unions, America has changed and the revolutionary workers in the labor movement are wasting no time in gathering around the Communist banner.

government (former Attorney General Palmer put his stamp of approval upon the Socialist Party), the workers at least see that this party has not the slightest claim to represent them.

Experience with the "socialist" government of Milwaukee has taught the workers of Wisconsin many a lesson. At the recent convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, when the organization of a new political party was discussed, the Socialist Party was denounced as a party "no longer able to represent the workers politically."

Plague Interferes With Business.

Business men in the southern states resent the report sent out from Washington regarding the famine and plague in the south. They assert that such reports "tend to prove disastrous to business interests."

Washington should have known better. Washington, the seat of business must not knock business! Bankers in the north must remain willing to extend credit to the south. They may not if they learn that business is bad. As if they did not know!

But, appearances of prosperity must be maintained. As for the 100,000 prospective victims of famine and plague—well—... Business comes first.

And again, it is certainly bad tactics for Washington to acquit the white and black trash of the south that they suffer famine and the plague!

Rank and File Threatens General Strike in Frisco.

Rank and File Committees have been organized in 57 unions composing the San Francisco Building Trades Council. The purpose is to formulate plans for fighting the open shop movement.

About two months ago a strike started when employers cut the wages paid to 15 of the crafts in the building trades by 7 per cent. A complete tie-up resulted. Recently the bosses announced that the "American plan" would henceforth prevail in San Francisco. This is the high-sounding name the bosses have given the open shop movement.

A mass meeting has been called for the early part of August to acquaint and educate the workers in their duties as members of the rank and file. The Rank and File Committee has a corps of 100 speakers out, agitating for the general strike.

As a matter of course, the movement is repudiated by the present officers of the Building Trades Council, who call it insurgent. Wherever the rank and file seek to wrest control out of the hands of reactionary union leaders, they are dubbed outlaws.

All power to the Rank and File Committee!

New Wars?

There are reports that large quantities of munitions are being shipped from France to Poland by way of Danzig. One shipment consisted of 20 tons of dynamite and 18 tons of powder. France is threatening to send reinforcements into Upper Silesia to help the Poles against the Germans. There have been rumors of a new offensive against Soviet Russia. Are these preparations the prelude to either adventure?

CAPITALISTS RESPONSIBLE FOR ECONOMIC WASTE.

New York.—The vaunted "efficiency" of America's great industrial managers has received another unexpected showing-up at the hands of the committee on elimination of waste in industry of the American engineering council. The committee, in its latest report, points out that idle men and machinery in the metal trades are causing a loss of about one billion dollars a year.

The report declares that investigation has disclosed that the main causes of this colossal waste are faulty management and failure to find a working basis for dealing with labor, which it terms the "major factor in most if not all industries."

Two million men are needlessly thrown out of work every year in the metal trades, the report sets forth, as a result of which alone there is an annual waste of \$100,000,000.

"It is estimated that at present," the report continues, "about 80 per cent of the responsibility for waste, or non-production, rests with management—i. e., with the managers and executives of the plants."

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Editor's Note: This is the seventh of a series of articles on Russia which Mr. Foster was commissioned by The Federated Press to write. Former dispatches told of the almost insurmountable difficulties the soviets had to overcome to insure the continued life of the new republic.

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Federated Press Staff Writer.
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MOSCOW.—Of all the lies told about Russia none has been circulated more persistently than the assertion that under the soviet system the trade unions have been robbed of their importance and now are negligible in power and consequence. Some American labor men have repeated this ad nauseam. Now, exactly the reverse is true. The fact is that the trade unions are the very foundation of the whole soviet structure; without their support and co-operation it would go to smash in a hurry. This is frankly recognized here on all sides.

The Russian trade union movement is throbbing with life. This was strikingly manifest at the recent convention of the All-Russian unions, which I had the good fortune to attend. The convention occupied itself with the most weighty social, political and economic problems now confronting Russia. And so important were its sessions considered that many of the country's greatest men, including Lenin, Gorki (Gorki sat through several sessions) attended them and participated. Public interest was intense. It was almost impossible to get a ticket of admission to the great theater where the convention was held. The place was constantly jammed with spectators and the mass of delegates (3,105 delegates representing 8,485,800 members).

In front of the building was stretched a cordon of Red Army soldiers to hold back the big crowds seeking entrance. During the convention word came to the presiding officers that some delegates, eager to secure admission for their friends, were bunching their delegate cards and sending them out so that those on the outside could come in with the cards. To stop this practice the chair announced that all delegates leaving the hall would have to display their cards and those unable to do so would be arrested.

Take this surging Russian trade union convention, dealing with most vital problems, and with people braving jail to attend it; compare it with our American Federation of Labor lack lustre affairs, occupying themselves for the most part with trivialities, and mustering at best a baker's dozen or two of spectators, and one gets a fair idea of the comparative importance and vitality of the two trade union movements in their respective countries. It will become American union leaders to sneer at the Russian labor movement.

Although the Russian trade unions have accomplished things without parallel in labor history they are for the most part of very recent origin. In fact, the movement as it now stands may be properly said to be only four years old. The first traces of unionism in Russia began to develop toward the end of the nineteenth century when a few workers' benefit societies led a precarious existence. Occasionally these primitive bodies waged strikes, but in such events the czar's agents inflicted frightful hardships upon them, often shooting the strikers and exiling their leaders. Under such conditions the movement made little headway.

The first great wave of real trade union organization came with the revolutionary attempt of 1905. Unions sprang up all over Russia. But with the failure of the revolution and with the attendant bitter persecution by the government they soon began to go down again until within a couple of years the movement practically disappeared. A lively revival occurred in 1912-13 and great headway was being made when the war came on and almost completely wiped out the movement again.

And so the situation remained all through the war, with the workers destitute of industrial organization. It is stated that at the outbreak of the February revolution in 1917 there were in all Russia only three unions, which had a combined membership of but 1,385. With the downfall of the czar's government a tremendous trade union renaissance took place. Millions of workers streamed into the organizations.

The following table will show the progress of the movement to its present status, where it encompasses practically the entire Russian working class: January, 1917, 1,385; June, 1917, 1,475,429; January, 1918, 2,532,000; January, 1919, 3,638,812; April, 1920, 4,262,000; May, 1921, 8,485,800.

More Are Jobless.

Unemployment is on the increase. This fact is gathered from the July report of the United States Employment Service just made public. The increase in unemployment in 38 cities from which figures were taken gives the total of jobless as 38,066, an increase of one and one tenth per cent over June.

Dayton is the only one of the Ohio cities enumerated that showed an increase in employment during July. There were 126 workers able to secure positions, which is an increase of 1.3 per cent.

City	Total dec.	%
Cleveland	4,324	6.6
Youngstown	4,927	22.03
Toledo	1,130	8.9
Cincinnati	945	7.5
Columbus	100	1.7

Among the cities outside Ohio where decreases in the number employed were reported in July were: Indianapolis, 1,352, or 10.6 per cent; San Francisco, 597, or 8.46 per cent; St. Louis, 998, or 6.09 per cent; Pittsburgh, 3,228, or 5.9 per cent; Boston, 1,405, or 2.5 per cent; Baltimore, 433, or 1.5 per cent; New York, 1,914, or 1.32 per cent, and Chicago, 1,229, or .77 per cent.

The total decrease in thirty-eight cities was 38,066.

Twenty-one cities showed a decrease in unemployment of 21,152.

Marseilles, France.—The communist mayor of Cadolive, near here, who was removed from office by President Millerand because he had refused to sign the official papers ordering mobilization for the advance on the Rhine, has been reelected by the municipal council, which was called to elect a successor. The vote for the ousted mayor was unanimous.

New York.—After a delay of two years the magazine, Soviet Russia, published at 110 West Fortieth str., here, has been granted its second class mailing rights. The magazine, published by the soviet bureau here before its head, L. C. Martens, was deported last winter, now is published by Kenneth Durant, under the editorship of Jacob Wittmer Hartmann.

Salina, Kan.—Harry Theodore, alleged I. W. W. member, has begun serving a 30-day sentence in the county jail. Representation of the I. W. W. is the only offense charged against him. A fine of \$300 has also been assessed against him. The chief evidence against him constituted radical literature he had with him.

Some Crimes of the American Legion.

By Arthur Warner in "The Nation".

Dwindling Membership.

Nothing about the American Legion is less justifiable than the way in which it has assumed to speak, and by a tolerant public been allowed to speak, as the representative of nearly 5,000,000 men mobilized for the various fighting services of the United States in the European War. Sponsored by the "right people" (that is, the moneyed and socially prominent) the Legion has found the press eager to boom it and spread the idea that it embraced a majority, if not virtually all, of the former service men. Probably it never included more than one in six and now can claim hardly one in eight of such persons. At the outset the Legion did have a rapid and promising growth. The American Legion Weekly of October 10, 1919, claimed 650,000 members for the organization, while the issue of February 13, 1920, boasted a million. The latter statement may be dismissed as over-enthusiastic publicity, but when at its peak last autumn, the Legion had possibly three-fourths of a million members. It has never given exact membership figures, and for some time has refrained from even generous estimates in this respect. The figures that it gives nowadays are of posts, which it says, probably correctly, have been continuously increasing. But this is no test of individual membership. Once established, a post is likely to continue for some years. As long as anybody can be found to finance it (and the Legion is not a poor man's organization), a post will hardly be disbanded, while new groups getting together in various places are bound to add to the total of posts for some time.

In contrast to the misleading appearances of growth as revealed in statistics of new posts, reliable sources of information within the Legion put its present membership at about 600,000, and place the enrollment last February as low as 300,000. The difference between the two figures is not to be taken as an indication of growth, but as due to the method of book-keeping. All Legion memberships date from January 1 and are renewable annually. It is the duty of each post to collect the dues and forward the required proportion to the national headquarters. There is apt to be some delay in this, so that membership returns early in the year are not indicative of the organization's full strength. The slump in renewed memberships has been so pronounced this year, however, as to alarm the national officers, and only a rainbow chaser can hope now that the end of the year will show anything but a loss over the 1920 figures. The charge that the Legion is only a "card index" organization is hardly fair in view of the circumstance, but it is true that in the second year of its existence its membership is already on the wane, while it has never attained the strength to which its initial prestige and near-monopoly of the field should have entitled it.

Not only is the Legion weak, in numbers, but complaint has been voiced from the first, and is still reiterated, that it contains an undue proportion of former officers and that these men hold most of the offices in, and control the policy of, the organization. This trouble goes back to the foundation of the Legion in France, where the men who started it and the method employed led to early criticism that the organization was one of officers and aristocrats. Fifteen hundred invitations were sent out in the spring of 1919 to individuals in the A. E. F., asking them to avail themselves of the three-day leave privilege to attend a conference in Paris. "The number of enlisted men present was far below expectations, due to causes ranging from inability to have the delegates named in time for the meeting to difficulties encountered in transportation," said the Stars and Stripes of March 21 in describing the conference. One of the "difficulties encountered in transportation" was detailed as follows:

The road to the caucus was not a path of primroses for all the enlisted delegates. When Col. Carl E. Ristine of the 35th Division and his orderly, also a delegate, arrived at a certain station on the way to Paris, an unfeeling M. P. entered the train and commanded that the soldier vacate, evacuate, and otherwise get out, it being an officers' train. The colonel's pleadings were of no avail. The orderly finally arrived at the caucus hall on Monday afternoon (the last day). Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt acted as temporary chairman and Major Eric Fisher Wood as temporary secretary of the conference, of which a delegate remarked that it "smacked slightly of the silk stocking." The conference voted to pass the work on to an executive committee consisting of one officer and one enlisted man from each division. But the shortage of privates was so acute that it was impossible at that time to appoint a representative of the enlisted men for seventeen of the thirty-four units con-

cerned.

Of course the fact that the founders of the Legion were mostly officers and "smacked slightly of the silk stocking" seemed tremendously important to young men just getting out of the army. In reality, it was immeasurably less so than the political and industrial ideas that the Legion leaders held; but the latter aspect seems to have been ignored by the average service man at that time, as it has been since. The subtle character of the support in the Legion for General Wood and industrial absolutism, with its attack on the union shop and on the alien, has been noted. There was nothing subtle, however, about the relation between the Legion and the political boom of "Young Teddy" Roosevelt. The latter, as already recorded, was chairman of the original Legion gathering in Paris. Having secured his fences there, he hurried back to New York, where he was at once taken in hand by business and political groups and groomed for the course of his father. He attended the first Legion caucus in this country—that at St. Louis—where his friends were prepared to elevate him to the leadership of the organization. But something went wrong. Opposition developed, or it appeared to be bad tactics, and at the last moment "Young Teddy" withdrew his name as a candidate. His political career in New York fizzled similarly. He couldn't go the pace, and finally decided to accept a seat in the Assembly, whence he was charitably rescued by the Secretary of the Navy.

The Way Out.

What the American Legion is, has been told. It remains to consider what it may become. Certainly there is no legitimate place in this republic for the organization as developed within the past two years. Yet the great body of its members are self-respecting and right-minded young men who have been exploited by a bigoted, business-controlled, undemocratic leadership, which has manipulated the Legion as a Mogul propaganda engine against the true interests of the membership at large and the community as a whole. There are two courses open to loyal and progressive former service men, each advocated by a considerable group. One is to get out of the Legion and fight it in the open. The other is to stay by the organization and "bore it from within."

For those who prefer to fight the Legion outside, there are already several opposition organizations. The best known is the World War Veterans, which claims to have been the first in the field, having been started in the trenches nine days after the armistice. It is especially strong in the Northwest, and has its national headquarters at 505 Temple Court, Minneapolis. It is ready to extend charters to groups of ten or more former service men, and has an Auxiliary which takes in such of the general public as are in sympathy with its slogan: "Enforcement of the Constitution of the United States of America as it is written." The World War Veterans endorse the Fordney bonus bill; they condemn mob action; they demand the recognition of the Irish and Russian republics. Some of the other items in their program follow:

We are unalterably opposed to any form of Compulsory Military Training in America, and we challenge the authority of any group or organization to represent the great mass of ex-service men when they speak therefor.

In the event of war, all profits earned by every individual, firm, and corporation shall immediately become the property of the United States Treasury.

Except in case of invasion of our territory by armed forces, we oppose any declaration of war by the officials responsible for government, unless the issue be first submitted to a vote of all the people.

We insist that America's war debt be paid by the conscription of all incomes over \$100,000 per year; by the continuance of the present income tax; and we condemn as yellow the attempt of the agents of Privilege in Congress to shift the burden of the debt from the profiteers to the poor via the Sales Tax.

The Open Shop, so-called, is anarchic in principle, hypocritical in pretense, cowardly in action. It voices the language of slavery, and has no place in America.

Any member of the World War Veterans who knowingly assists in strike-breaking automatically thereby ceases to be a member and disqualifies himself for reinstatement.

Former service men who elect to work within the Legion should stop at nothing less than a house-cleaning that will sweep present leadership and present policies clean out of sight. Beside this task, cleaning the Augean stables was pastime—and the country cannot wait indefinitely for them to do it. They must end the regime of mob violence and the use of the organization to establish policies and laws that abridge ancient and constitutional rights of free conscience, free speech, and free assembly. They must call off attempts to manipulate the schools, to do lip service to labor while covertly attacking it from behind, to hamstring and terrorize the alien, and to obtain a prohibitive tariff against the importation of foreign ideas that might spill the fat that the privileged classes of America have for fifty years been frying out of the immigrant and the working man and woman generally. They must set up broad, expansive, international ideas of Americanism in place of the strait-laced, self-sufficient nationalism which takes as its physical standard the young men who exhibit union suits in the advertising pages of our magazines, and as its mental guides our Coolidges and Ole Hansons and Senator Lusks. The Legion cannot go on excusing acts as "unofficial" or "individual." Of course the right of individual action is not to be denied, but when it is contrary to the law or the Legion constitution, the post concerned should discipline the individual, failing which, the post itself should be disciplined. Moreover, the Legion must recognize that even where it is bound to respect the right of its members to their own course of conduct, it must nevertheless be judged by such conduct. The Legion is what the majority of its members are, whether they are acting officially or only personally.

Under the caption This Day is the Scripture Fulfilled, a newspaper wag recently quoted Luke, 8:30: "And Jesus asked him, saying, What is thy name? And he answered him, My name is Legion: for many devils were entered into him."

The job of the former service men is to cast out the devils, or to cast out the Legion itself, from American life. (The End.)



A Conversation of the Waves.

By HENRY FAY.

The sun was setting on the lake. The murmur of the waves could be heard as they lapped against the shore. They were talking among themselves. One wave said: "It is beautiful here; where are the people? Have they no taste for the beautiful?"

"This is a week day," said another wave in reply. "The people are working. They are too tired to think of beauty."

All the waves grew sad upon hearing that and rolled on slowly, as if the news that people were so dulled and worn out by work that they lose all taste for the beautiful. Then a little baby wave asked:

"But where are the children? Surely they don't work. They are not worn out; why do they not come here to enjoy the beauty and coolness that we bring?"

"You don't know life," said a big, experienced wave. "When the parents are dulled and crushed and worn out by work, there is no happiness for their children, even when they do not work. And many of them do work. Childhood now is not what it used to be long, long ago, when Indians lived around here. Then—"

"I remember it," another wave broke in. "I remember how the Indian children used to play along the shore of this lake. They were happy. Father hunting, mother working around the wigwam; but they were carefree. They ran around, rolling on the beach, splashing in the water. That was childhood!"

"Yes," another wave said, "that was childhood. Now... I just got here from the river—you know that twisted, yellow, muddy river that keeps on bathing in the lake, but never gets clean—I just came from there, and noticed the shacks along the river; people live in them, children grow up in them, in dirt, in smoke, without a breath of pure air. That is the white man's childhood."

"Not all of it," a wave protested. "Look at the big houses along the lake front, and—"

"Count them," said a wave that rolled by, "count them. Then count the shacks along the river front."

BIRDIE PERLSTEIN

By Sanford Hamilton

Second Article.

"I am doing well; but, for God's sake, send me a few dollars," wrote home a chap who had gone out into the world to make his fortune. And Birdie Perlstein is in the same cage.

He had established kiss-and-make-up relations between the Cleveland cloak manufacturers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. And now he is appealing for the little sum of 100,000 dollars "to save the gains the union has made in the past few years."

So reports the "Jewish Daily Forward" (Cleveland Edition) for August 1.

"And money," says the article in the "Forward," "isn't all. More than money is needed in the present crisis. Every member of the union must be on the alert. It depends upon the watchfulness of the members whether it will be victory without a fight or a long struggle against the manufacturers."

Compare this help-me-or-I-die with the Hurrhah! of the article in 'System', from which I quoted last week the following pat on Perlstein's shoulder: "He had passed the fighting stage (a great compliment!) in his work and he had brought himself mentally to the constructive stage."

Now recall what last week's article said about the meaning of constructive as it is used by Big Business. Considering the 100,000 dollar campaign, it is worth repeating. Here it is:

By "constructive" Big Business

means such an arrangement of affairs, that if the worker can't be hypnotized into submitting to the blood-sucking operation, he can be knocked down and tied to the operating table of exploitation.

So it comes out that Meyer Perlstein wants 100,000 dollars to fight the very thing to which "he had mentally brought himself" to support.

Will he, then, admit that he is only a little bird that had mutual interested itself into the belly of a big eat and is now making vain efforts to get out? No!

The "Forward" article—which means Birdie Perlstein—says:

"The mere fact that the proud cloak manufacturers of Cleveland are handling the matter so carefully shows how strong is the cloak makers' union and what respect the manufacturers have for it."

Hey, Charlie Chaplin! Come here and take a lesson in real comedy.

Now, let's see how the manufacturers "got" Birdie Perlstein. In doing that we'll have to go from the mild words we used until now to really sharp expression, so I wish to draw at this point a line between Meyer Perlstein the human being and Birdie Perlstein, the creature of capitalist corruption.

Our fight is against Birdie Perlstein, the symbol of bought-and-paid-for union officialdom.

The Only Way.

By Arthur Eventide.

Jack was on a beam that was being swung up to the eighteenth floor. The chain snapped. The beam went to the sidewalk and Jack went to heaven.

The recording angel looked up his card and said to St. Peter, "O. K." St. Peter opened the gate and said, "Walk right in, Jack."

Jack slouched in and said to St. Peter: "I got a favor to ask of you." And St. Peter answered: "Go ahead, Jack. What is it?"

"I'd like to go back to earth for—"

"Ha-ha-ha..." burst out everybody around, angels, ghosts and spirits. "Ha-ha-ha... the idea of a worker wanting to go back to earth!"

St. Peter silenced them: "Shut up and let the pious soul explain—why do you want to go back to earth, Jack?"

Jack explained: "It's like this, Mr. St. Peter: when a men works for wages, he gets just enough to pay the grocer and the butcher and the shoeman and the doctor for the least amount of the things that one must have to stay on earth."

"The smallest sum a worker can exist on, that's wages. No matter how much work he turns out, he gets no more than he must have to be able to work."

"Now, Mr. St. Peter, he gets wages only when he has work, while the grocer and the butcher and the shoeman and the doctor and the rest of the gang must be paid even if he doesn't work."

"What is a worker to do, then? He works Monday, he gets paid just for Monday's existence. He doesn't work Tuesday, he doesn't get paid for Tuesday's existence. But exist he must. Suicide is a crime. What is the worker to do?..."

A millionaire-manufacturer who had died of the gout broke in: "He should eat less and spend less when he has work—ouch... ouch!" It was the wooden leg of a disabled soldier who died because he had been neglected, pressing on his toes. He slunk away whimpering and Jack resumed: "The worker out of a job skimps and lives on half rations, while his credit is good and he can borrow money or get things on trust. When he can't borrow and can't get things on credit—he just starves."

"When he gets a job again, he can't spend on his existence even the little he gets for his existence: he has got debts to pay. He can't have even the full minimum of existence once he has been out of work."

"In other words, Mr. St. Peter, when a worker loses a day's work he can never make it up during his regular life. If he wants to make it up, he has got to live an extra day for each day he had been out of a job."

"I do want to make up for my lost days. That's why I want to go back to earth. If you say I can go, I'll figure up my lost time and tell you for how long I want to go."

And right there and then St. Peter showed that in spite of having been dead about two thousand years, he knew more political economy than all the professors of all our colleges put together. He said:

"Why, poor Jack, if you go back to earth, you'll be in the same fix again. A day's work, a day's existence. No day's work, no day's existence. You'll fall behind again. And, surely, you don't want to keep on going back every time you come here."

But Jack answered: "There is a way. And it is the only way for a worker under the capitalist system to make ends meet. Here it is..."

"I want to go back not to a human being, but as a ghost able to work. I'll need no food, no clothes, no amusements. And I can sleep in my grave."

CORRECTION.

In last week's issue the printer made the error of placing the name of Elmer T. Allison as the author of the article on page three entitled "The Present Unemployment and Marxism." The name should have been placed on page two under "May-fair to Moscow."

And some people say printers are entitled to a 44 hour week!

Sacramento, Calif.—The board of education of this city issued instructions to teachers in the public schools. Among the warnings is this: Forget the radical ideas you learned at college; confine your teaching to the old-fashioned American ideals. Just which 'old-fashioned American ideals' were not stated.

as you'll see when we take up the write-up he got in "Finance and Industry."

The cloak manufacturers played on his vanity, and—"got a purchase" on him.

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