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HELP SOVIET RUSSIA.

The appeal of Soviet Russia to the world's proletariat for help in the present famine must be heeded by every worker. The interests of every worker of every country are indissolubly bound up with the Russian working class.

Europe's working classes, impoverished as they are by years of privation and suffering brought on by the capitalist world war, are giving of their scanty store aid and relief to the drought stricken Russian comrades.

Every worker's dollar given to Russian relief is a loan made to the Revolution. Russia must not be allowed to fall a victim to scheming imperialists who seek to dethrone the Soviets with preffers of aid.

DEBS AND PUBLIC OPINION.

There is an ancient supposition that the newspapers express "public opinion". The newspapers may have done so when newspapers served as an honest expression of the thinking portion of the people in the early days of newspaper enterprise.

Yet the ancient supposition, now become a myth, still persists. The newspapers perpetuate it for the glory of their masters.

This is merely a cowardly method of passing the buck on to the "public", which has no voice to express its sentiments—in the Desert News or any other capitalistic White Guard sheet.

DO YOU FEEL THIS WAY?

and learn from. DEAR COMRADE:— Times are hard but I would rather go hungry than not get The Toiler. Pete Breed.

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THE TOILER

3207 CLARK AVE. CLEVELAND, OHIO

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

THE COMMUNIST SOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION.

By Stalin in Russian Press Review.

The method of approaching the national question adopted by the Communists, is fundamentally different from the method used by the leaders of the Second and Second and a Half International, by all sorts of socialist, social-democratic, menshevik, S.-R. and other parties.

The first point is the consideration of the national question as a part of the general question of the liberation of the colonies. In the epoch of the second International, the national question was generally limited to a narrow circle of problems which exclusively related to "civilized nations."

The Irish, Tekehks, Poles, Finns, Serbians, Armenians, Jews, and a few other nationalities of Europe represented all the oppressed nationalities whose destinies had any interest for the second International. Tens and hundreds of millions of the Asiatic and African peoples who are subjected to national oppression in the most cruel and savage form, were entirely overlooked by the "socialists."

It goes without saying that the workers of Russia would never have gained the sympathy of the workers of Western Europe had they not immediately upon capturing power declared the right of nations to complete independence, and had they not proven in actuality their readiness to put this inalienable right of the oppressed nations into practise by renouncing their claims to Finland (1917), by recalling their troops from Northern Persia, and renouncing all claims upon certain sections of Mongolia, China, etc.

Autonomy or Self Determination. The second point is the substitution of the nebulous slogan of the right of nations to self-determination for the clear revolutionary slogan of the right of every nation and colony to achieve complete political independence, to form their own independent States.

In speaking of the right of self-determination the leaders of the second International never hinted at the right of complete separation; the right of self-determination was interpreted as the right to autonomy. Such "specialists" on the national question as Springer and Baum, went so far as to convert the right of self-determination into the right of the oppressed nations of Europe to cultural autonomy, i. e. the right of establishing their own cultural institutions, while leaving the entire political and economic power in the hands of the dominant nationalities.

1) The national and colonial questions are inseparable from the question of the liberation from the rule of capitalism; 2) Imperialism (the highest form of capitalism) cannot exist without the political and economic enslavement of the smaller nations and colonies; 3) The small nations and colonies cannot be liberated without the overthrow of the power of capitalism; 4) The victory of the proletariat cannot be secure without the emancipation of the small nations and colonies from the yoke of imperialism.

man power should be recognized as the rear or the reserves of imperialism. To win a war it is necessary not only to be victorious at the front, but to revolutionize the rear of the enemy, his reserves. Therefore the victory of the World Proletarian Revolution will be secure only after the proletariat will skillfully combine his own revolutionary struggle with the liberating movement of all the nations and colonies against the power of imperialism and for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Necessity of Aid.

The Fourth Point is the introduction into the national question of a new element, i. e. the element of actual (not merely juridical) equalization of nationalities (assisting the backward nation to rise to the cultural and economic level of the advanced nationalities) as one of the pre-requisite conditions for the achievement of fraternal co-operation between the toiling masses of the different nationalities.

Example Set By Russia.

It goes without saying that the workers of Russia would never have gained the sympathy of the workers of Western Europe had they not immediately upon capturing power declared the right of nations to complete independence, and had they not proven in actuality their readiness to put this inalienable right of the oppressed nations into practise by renouncing their claims to Finland (1917), by recalling their troops from Northern Persia, and renouncing all claims upon certain sections of Mongolia, China, etc.

It is equally certain that the accumulating failures of the imperialist powers in the East despite their claim to stand for the rights of self-determination of nations, are the result of the rapidly growing liberating movement which has adopted as its slogan the right of the oppressed nations to complete independence. This the heroes of the Second and Two and a Half Internationals do not understand. They ferociously denounce the Baku Council of Action and Propaganda for some of its trifling mistakes, which must be fully excused by anybody who is sufficiently acquainted with the activities of the above mentioned "Council" for the whole year of its existence and with the trend of development of the liberating movement of the Asiatic and African colonies for the last two or three years.

Intertwined With Revolution.

The Third Point is the development of an organic connection between the national-colonial question and the question of the power of capital, the overthrow of capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

In the epoch of the Second International the national question was deprived of all of its wider implications and was viewed and considered exclusively, as a separate phenomenon, without any relation to the impending Revolution. It was taken for granted that the national question would be solved "naturally" prior to the Proletarian Revolution, by means of reforms within the limits of capitalism and that, furthermore, the Proletarian Revolution can be successfully accomplished without cardinally affecting the national problems and, reversely, the national question can be fully disposed of without the overthrow of capitalism and the victory of the Proletarian Revolution.

1) The national and colonial questions are inseparable from the question of the liberation from the rule of capitalism; 2) Imperialism (the highest form of capitalism) cannot exist without the political and economic enslavement of the smaller nations and colonies; 3) The small nations and colonies cannot be liberated without the overthrow of the power of capitalism; 4) The victory of the proletariat cannot be secure without the emancipation of the small nations and colonies from the yoke of imperialism.

WHAT A FOOL LABOR HAS BEEN By DAVID CRATON.

This is a very propitious time, with labor crucified, disorganized, and all but annihilated at the hands of the capitalist offensive, to recall those fateful days in 1917, when the American capitalists declared war on the capitalists of Germany. (Their loans and investments to the Entente capitalists were being menaced by a German victory).

And can American labor forget that the commander of the Workers Army, betrayer Gompers, and his ilk, officially signed this truce when he pledged the aid of labor to win the war? The truce was signed the day that the truce was signed.

This is the story of the GREAT BETRAYAL by the Labor Army Commanders in America, and in all of the warring nations—the history of the collapse of the Second International and Amsterdam International.

The voice of the farsighted leaders, the true leaders of labor who sounded the warning, "DO NOT SIGN THE TRUCE, BUT NOW, WHEN THE CAPITALISTS ARE WARRING AGAINST EACH OTHER, IS THE OPPORTUNE TIME FOR THE WORKERS TO TURN AGAINST THE CAPITALISTS AT HOME."

In the light of present day realities, wage-reduction-drives, longer-hour-drives, open-shop-drives, then, in 1917, when American capitalists were menaced, was the most opportune time for the Labor Army to have launched an offensive, either by a general strike, or of mass action, and to secure, for all time, the full fruits of such a victory.

At the close of the armistice between the warring capitalists American labor still had its few concessions, the closed-shop, wages were seemingly higher, and the American workers were basking in a wave of prosperity.

Capitalists Break Truce.

With the security that they were no longer menaced by foreign capitalism (for a time anyway), capitalism here now thought it safe to break the truce signed between capital and labor. "BACK TO NORMALCY" meant BREAK THE TRUCE BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR. And where was betrayer Gompers. Was he out on the battle-field leading the workers army to resist this treachery of the capitalists? Instead he divided his time prating about the origin of the war and foaming about the Soviets, to whom the American working masses are looking for leadership.

Capitalism here broke the truce, and launched wage-reduction drives, open-shop-drives, etc., offensive, resulting in the complete victory over the independent craft unions (the regiments of the workers army). Labor for the most part did not resist, were caught in this surprise attack, where every regiment was being battered to slavery.

When it was most imperative, for the craft unions to consolidate their positions (to form industrial unions) to withstand this treacherous blow of the capitalists (just as it is folly for single army regiments to fight the greater foe single-handed, but must unite into divisions, corps and full armies), again their leaders failed them.

Reorganize The Army.

Here, then, is the immediate aim for re-organizing the workers army, FROM CRAFT UNIONISM TO POWERFUL INDUSTRIAL UNIONS FROM SINGLE REGIMENTS TO CORPS AND FULL ARMIES—to resist wage reductions, open shop drives, and for the final impending battle. This program must be carried out if vital victories are ever to be expected.

Watch The Leaders.

All hindrances in the path of this re-organization must be absolutely crushed—all leaders who refuse to stand 100 per cent for labor in words AND DEEDS, must be cast by the wayside. (There is a big job here). This must be the first aim of the labor army in order to pave the way to victory in the final battle.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

Beginning with next week's issue we will begin the serial publication of G. Zinoviev, "My Twelve Days in Germany."

This pamphlet was written directly after Zinoviev's return to Russia in November, 1920 from an attendance at the congress of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany at Halle, at which time he delivered a momentous speech which resulted in the splitting of that party and the formation of the German Communist Party.

How German Communists Work.

Basing itself on the experience of the March insurrection which brought out certain inherent weaknesses in the organization of the German Party, the National Council has worked out a new scheme of organization for the party along the following lines:—

The Communist branches in the large towns break up into sections and groups containing about a dozen members, each of which elects a leader. As soon as they have increased to the size of 20 members they must break up into two groups. Every group leader will have assigned to

him a definite field of action—a street block of houses etc.

Every member of a group will be charged with serving one or more houses, according to the size of the field of action appointed. In these houses his work will be:— To distribute leaflets. To secure subscriptions to the Communist press. To recruit new members. To work at election time. To stick up posters and propaganda sheets. To collect information.

The collection of information consist of being acquainted with all the events of the houses: each member must know in the centre attributed to him how many independents, majority socialists, and non-political individuals there are. He must also know how many counter-revolutionary elements there are, and amongst these how many are ready to enter into active operations against the Communists. He must know if there are arms in these houses, and what quantity; whether there are members belonging to the "Orghesch" (white guards) or to the Self-Defense Organizations, and whether counter-revolutionary meetings are held there.

The members must maintain strict secrecy as to all the information they collect, and inform only their group leader. The latter, in his turn, after checking it, transmits it to the branch secretaries and federation secretaries, who will communicate it to the higher authorities of the party.

The groups unite in one or more branches, according to the size of the town, and elect their representatives to the local executive committee (Ortsvorstand).

"From Rome To Wall Street"

JAMES H. FISHER, most popular labor speaker of the Pacific Coast will speak on the above subject at the points named below. Comrade Fisher's lecture deserves the attention of every thinking worker in these cities. Come and bring your friends. His meetings are under the auspices of the National Defense Committee and the American Labor Alliance.

OHIO:

TOLEDO, August 27, at Labor Temple, Michigan and Jefferson Sts., 8 P. M.

CLEVELAND, August 28, at Picnic at Lee Rd. Take Broadway-Cortlett car to end of line. Transfer to Dinkey or Bus, get off at Lee Rd.

CANTON, August 30, at Canton Music Hall, 8 P. M.

YOUNGSTOWN, August 31, at Central Square, 8 P. M.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(Editor's Note: This is the ninth of a series of special articles on Russia which Mr. Foster was commissioned by The Federated Press to write.)

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

AMERICANS IN RUSSIA.

By LEWIS S. GANNETT in The Nation.

Chicherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Russia, has an American private secretary who but for the accident of marriage to a Norwegian would still carry an American passport...

Carlson arranged with the Czechoslovak Mission to obtain a special supply of wood for him next winter. In fact the Americans held in Moscow were receiving better nourishment than those who had returned to Moscow to serve the Government that was to them a promise of a brighter future.

How genuine were the charges against most of these men I have no means of knowing. Keeley's case at least was undoubtedly a mistake. He had been given confidential industrial information, and he made an indiscreet agreement with a representative of a Chicago newspaper which was misunderstood by the Soviet authorities.

But neither Communists as delegates or officials, nor the men in prison, form the real picture of America in Moscow. All over Russia there are returned "Americans"—we called them Russians when they were in America; they call them Americans in Russia. For they brought back with them a surge and an energy that Russia sorely needs and that is genuinely American.

Industrial depression sent thousands of Russian-Americans back to Russia. In four months, December, 1920, to March, 1921, 15,000 poured in through Libau alone. Then the frontier was closed. It was impossible to care for the thousands or even to control the undesirable elements that slipped in.

Today Russian-Americans are admitted only in co-operative groups. While I was in Moscow a group of 70 arrived—41 builders and their families, bringing with them their own food, and tools and equipment for a \$25,000 shop. They have been assigned to a factory in the Donetz coal basin, where they will make doors, windows, shingles, etc., and will build light wooden miners' houses of the American type.

There are three million Russians in America. Many of them, after the persecution of the last ten years, want to return. If only a quarter million returned, and if each brought \$400 worth of tools, that would be the equivalent of \$100,000,000 imported into Russia.

other course. Picture what the return of these Russia-Americans may mean to Russia. For three years hundreds of them have been attending classes regularly training themselves to be of special technical service to Russia. Experience has shown that such Russian-Americans if put into a large Russian organization are likely to lose the advantage of their technical training and to drop back to Russian industrial standards.

One of the widest, highest, bravest dreams that ever I heard was hatched by a group of such returned Russian-Americans. One day a carload of them left for the Kuznits Basin in Siberia. Back of Tomsk lies one of the richest mineral regions in the world—a mountain of iron ore close to hard coal that needs only removal of the surface earth, in a rich timber country beside a navigable river.

Felsner's Factory, Nijni Novgorod, June, 1921. Hello Bill—Fellow Worker! A few days ago a bunch of German workmen with their families got here and one of them told me you are at present in this country.

much but they are ignorants and don't understand. Bill, be good; reading your answer will be a happy hour for me. Yours for the world revolution. Karl Sonntag. You find them everywhere—as chauffeurs, aids to the Quaker relief workers, secretaries, translators, mechanics, teachers, up to high government posts—the very type of Russian-Americans so familiar throughout industrial America.

Eventually the newly organized national unions came to the front, expanding themselves into industrial organizations and taking in all classes of workers. They amalgamated the shop committees into their official machinery and restricted their activities principally to the local control of labor in industry.

With the passage of time, however, the national unions are diverging from this militant policy. They are becoming convinced that their capitalist enemies are finally defeated and that the new order of society can be trusted with the operation of industry.

Such is the natural and justified basis for the anti-strike sentiment in Soviet Russia, which some unscrupulous and ignorant trade union leaders have tried to make use of as an argument against the Russian revolution.

ABC OF COMMUNISM By N. BUCHARIN. The Book English Readers Have Long Wanted. Just what the title says—a book easily read, containing the essentials of Communist philosophy...

DAWN Youth Section of The Toiler

GOD'S TAIL. By Arthur Eventide. "Praise to Apis, Whom no God surpasses. Praise from lords and Praise from pigs and asses!" How happy were the people of ancient Egypt when they sang this hymn to the sacred bull that was the God of the temple of Ptah...

Won't You Help? By SANFORD HAMILTON.

Workers, children of America, Won't you help your Russian comrades?— Children just like you, who haven't Even a slice of bread a day. Can you eat without thinking Of your starving Russian comrades? Can you play, enjoy the sunshine While your comrades die of hunger?

not welcome. Litvinov said to me: "What's the use? It doesn't make any difference what the American press says. The press doesn't influence the government—that's a legend about democratic countries. The government influences the press. If the government doesn't want to trade with Russia, the press howls against trade with Russia."

Moscow.—The trade unions occupy a position of power and influence in Russia such as is enjoyed by no other labor movement in the world. So great is their weight that Lozovsky, president of the All-Russian trade unions, is able to state truthfully that there have been no important measures of any kind entered upon in soviet Russia unless the consent of the trade unions has first been secured.

But the principal function of the Russian unions is to regulate the wages, hours and working conditions of labor. In this sphere they are supreme. Utterly unlike the labor organizations of other countries the Russian unions do not have to submit their "demands" to their employers. They submit them to themselves, as the responsible controllers of this phase of Russian industry.

The October revolution fundamentally altered the functions of the Russian trade unions. Before that great event these organizations were, like the unions of all other countries now are, essentially fighting bodies whose aim it was to wring every possible concession from the exploiters. But the revolution wiped out these capitalistic enemies and set up in their stead of the employer the proletarian state.

In all capitalistic countries the right to strike is jealously guarded and fought for by the best and most militant elements in the working class. Moreover, this vanguard exercise it freely themselves and seek to get the great masses to do likewise. They consider it one of the best means to advance the interests of the workers.

Strikes in Soviet Russia are nothing less than so much scabbing on the revolution. Hence the militants are dead against them. The best elements