Raid of Toiler Office Threatened by KuKlux Klan Member

Unsigned Letter Promises Destruction Of Toiler Office Unless Advocacy Of Sovietism Is Stopped. Management Is Advised That Radical Activities And Meetings Will Be Raided By Ku Klux Klan.

to come from a member of the Ku to make a fool of myself. Klux Klan.

The letter contains no signature. whether the party sending it is a member of the organization he claims to be affiliated with or not. The absence of a signature however, is not surprising. Communications containing like warnings which have appea :ed recently in the public press, comsignatures. Such a method is the prevailing one with this nefarious ormember of the Ku Klux Klan and not from the organization.

punctuation and all.

Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 11 21. To The Toiler., Gentlem;-

that Soviet group plan in this coun- ben's gizzard.

Moreover that toiler edition you must immediately stop printing, before you will find it to late.

That agitation of sovietism, in this country will never do. Keep that in Russia, and only in Russia. Because statement,. The Toiler office will be in an unexpected place by the 20th. of Sep't.

Thats why we are warning you in a freindly way.

As an observer I noticed that you are spreading radicalism, on a group plan, and collecting money for revolutionary purposes.

If you have any picnics scheduled for any coming day, you had better call it off. For if any picnics are held after this Sunday, or meetings, we are ready to make it hot for them.

So you might as well abide before we use harsh ways. Live like Americans, and find better and more civil

Trusting no further step will be necessary.

Your's Truly., (member) Ku Klux Klan.,

Our Reply. Member Ku Klux Klan:-

Your "friendly warning" received. In spite of the friendship you proffess however, I feel that I must congotten any revolutionary ideas from the Ku Klux Klan, and I do not intend to give any up for them.

spreading of the Soviet idea of government in this country, that is quite school at Easter (how quick he is to out of my power. Let me give you see essentials) because the girls and your organization a little light haven't hats and the boy's haven't on the first principle of sociology: shoes." And still he worries about the the spread of an idea cannot be stop- small investors. ped by any individual nor any group it in the dead of night with hooded

An hour before the forms for this, faces or openly and bravely in the week's Toiler were made up, the post- light of day. So I shall likewise have man brought us a letter purporting to pass up your offered opportunity

I observe the lien of life you have so courteously extended to The Toiler We have no means of knowing office. The somewhat veiled nature of the threat you make, induces me to believe that your intention is to wreck the office and perhaps do its inmates some bodily harm.

Were your organization in the habit of performing its work during daylight hours, I would readily grant you ing from this organization contain no an interview at any time between 8 A. M. and 6 P. M. But as such is not your custom I am compelled to wait g.nization. However, we accept the up for you. This I gladly do however, letter as coming from an individual please accept the courtesy. Therefore, on the 20th of this month, I shall prepare a warm welcome for you and The letter is published below just your black hooded cohorts of infamy. as written, mistakes of spelling, Come along, bring the tar and feathers; bring your ropes, all your mumery and paraphernalia of violence. Bring the whole cheese, including your Imperial Wizard. I can assure As member of the Ku Klux Klan you that when the party is over, he I Warn you immediately to break up won't know himself from a black

Come on. Come on-to the hottest reception ever accorded a gang of scoundrels and cowards.

Elmer T. Allison.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, INif you do not correspond with this VESTMENT PROTECTOR

By SANFORD HAMILTON.

Samuel Gompers called at the White House and asked President Harding to take steps to have the government protect the small investors from fraudulent and fake stock schemes.

He reported his visit to the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at its rope, a gentleman stranger enquired session of August 22 at Atlantic City. for the Secretary of War.

"The Council had before it a pro-

Action to relieve the unemployed will probably be taken later; action ing any and all of its enemies. to protect investors has been taken unemployed later.

of the investors?

To be sure, he is thinking of "inworkers are investors?

He admits that things have come As for me putting a stop to the to a pass where "the workers wife storms. could not send her children to Sunday

He says: "I have been asked who

of individuals, whether they attempt among the capitlists has suggested a (Continued on page 3.)

The Toiler will be removed to New York City. This is the last issue to be published in Cleveland.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

The address hereafter will be THE TOILER

208 EAST 12th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y.

= NOTICE=

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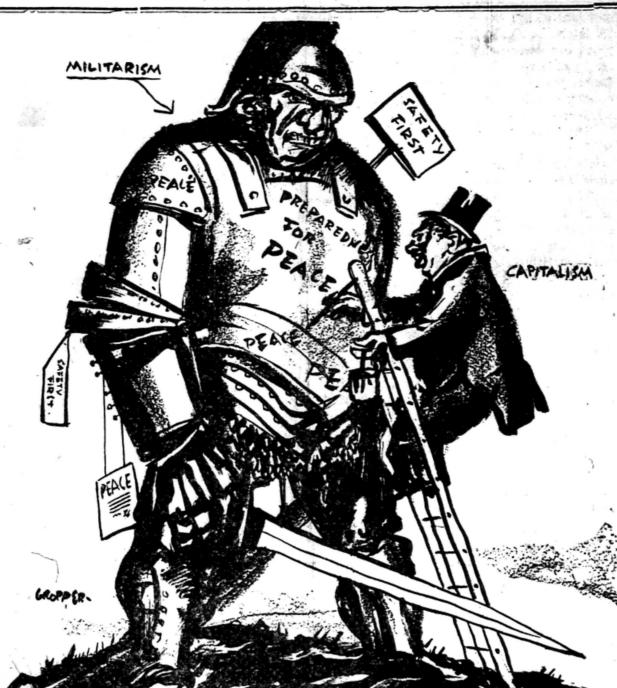
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THE MANAGEMENT.



INVENTOR OF ARMA

CAMOUFLAGE!

Translated from the German by R. S. David.

of War of a country of Eastern Eu- your desire?"

posal to call on congress to take steps ficials about the nature of his errand, for otherwise you will sell it to anto relieve the present unemployment he replied that he had an invention situation ... Action on it will pro- that he offered for sale-an invention bably be taken later in the week."- that would revolutionize modern war-Cleveland Plain Dealer, August 23. fare. The country purchasing it, would a pretty smart fellow," he remarked

Well pleased, the officials lead him some time ago. Investors first, the to the Secretary of War. His honor was also very well pleased to hear of How can Gompers claim to repre- the matter. He urged his visitor to be sent the workers when he thinks first seated, and asked for detailed infor-

mation about the invention. vestment for the average American dirigible airship he invented, which "I'll let you into a secret. I discovered tinue on my chosen way. I have never worker." But outside the A. F. of L. would have the carrying capacity of an armor for my airship, that will bureaucracy, how many American a whole regiment of an army, and fully protect my airship against my that we know whom we can curse for could remain in the air for several cannon." days, withstanding even the greatest

> mation strictly confidential, the grace." stranger showed his blueprints and explained their significance.

The secretary of war was delighted. What is your price?" he asked. "One million," was the reply.

heartily embraced the stranger. "Here airship!" is your check; you may cash it any time at the National Bank. Should you have another as great an invention, come and see me again."

now," replied the stranger, winking cannon." slyly. "It is remarkable." "What is it?"

"I have invented a connon that will asked: "What is its price?" bring down easily any airship, let it be ever so high. No airship can es-

cape the deadly aim of this cannon." "Pardon me," interrupted the Sec-

retary of War, while the wrinkles gathered on his forehead, "but this is rather strange. First you invent a You are a real devil. You are ruining great airship, and immediately also a cannon with which you can annihilate it. This is rather unfair of you."

this," replied the visitor laughingly. war; therefore it is necessary to in- this armor is bullet proof?" vent something whereby it can be destroyed."

"You are right-But no!-I could well understand if someone else had at ease?" inventd th cannon and would wish to 1 三 47 至 "Oh my," exclaimed the stranger.

"What difference does it make to you? Do you perhaps wish me to walk out of here for a few minutes, to get my moustache shaved off and to change my clothes; so that I appear invented?" before you as a different person, and "It is invented already."

At the entrance of the Department! then sell the cannon to you? Is that

"Well," replied the Secretary of War, "I see that there is nothing left When he was questioned by the of- for me but to buy your cannon too, other country. How much is it?"

"One million." His honor paid. "You seem to be thereby acquire the means of defeat- to the stranger, patting him on the shoulder. "How could you invent such a horrible cannon?"

"There is nothing horrible about

"Indeed it is horrible. I can tell it

by your sketch." The stranger took a seat and smiled

He related his story. He told of the teasingly at the Secretary of War.

The Secretary of War grew indignant. "What do you want of me? After the Secretary of War gave Do you wish to drive me crazy? This sion: "You may curse me as much and will within the next week become his word of honor to keep all infor- is certainly unfair of you. It is a dis- as you wish to. That won't make you

"Pardon me; it is not a disgrace. that. Is there anything wrong with You should have known it all along my airship? I believe it to be excel- that this preparedness craze will ruin thirty-three organizations of workers well known in the city. The character lent. Or is the cannon no good? I the country sooner or later, And it affiliated. This list of organizations of the Hoover relief work in Hungary, fo. K.", exclaimed his honor, and believe it to be even better than the does not make a bit of difference

"But you should have sold the ar- or in ten minutes from now." mor to me along with the airship."

"Why, I have one with me right armor as long as there was not the ing Secretary of War. The Secretary of War after long

silence, sighed deeply and faintly

"One million." "Will you take half a million?" "Why should I take a half a million,

when I can get two millions elsewhere?" asked the stranger. "All right, here is your one million.

this country." The stranger pocketed the money and after taking leave of the Secre-

"I can see nothing strange about tary of War, went towards the door. "Just a moment!" called his honor My airship is a terrible implement of after him, "Are you convinced that The stranger burst out laughing.

"Certainly; to my cannon." "So in this respect, my mind can be

"I have no doubt about it."

"Why yes. You can feel at ease as long as no one invents an infernal machine that has greater power of destruction than my cannon.' "And is that possible?"

"My God! And when will that be

"And who is the inventor?" "Yours truly."

"For heaven's sake! Why did you keep silent about it until now? And I suppose you want to sell this to us the Logan county forces and was also? And after that, you will jeeringly inform me that you have already had been killed. About the same time the prison and told the two hundred invented another armor that will another prisoner, who said he was a men that he was going to let them out resist the attacks of the infernal union bricklayer, was killed for the and they would have just fifteen machine. Is that right?

"Yes."

"And you want another million for RUSSIAN FAMINE 5 to \$ 1 4000

"Certainly."

The Secretary of War was enraged You miserable creature! You are intent upon destroying the country. MANY ORGANIZATIONS JOIN Who are you? Tell me your name, so HANDS AS NEED OF CLASS all this!"

The stranger's face assumed a freezing smile. He spoke with derithe wiser. Nor will I tell you my this city doing relief work for the name. Common sense would have told You have no right to speak to me like you what will be the outcome of this. whether it will happen in ten years rial Unions, Independent Unions and World's Work by Capt. T. C. Gregory,

The stranger (Mr. Capitalistic Na "You err, Sir," replied the stranger tional Rivalry) took his hat, and coldly. "There was no need of the without any further ado left the gap

PRECAUTIONS FOR COMMUNIST PRISONERS.

Berlin.-Since the murder of Liebenecht and Luxemburg, when the government declared that the two Communists who had been arrested, were was proven to be the basest lie-precautions have been taken in Germany that Communists convicted of political 'crimes" land "safely" in prison. It is so simple to shoot them down on the way, as they did the Communist Suelt, sia took place, the only opposition for shipment to Russia. It is expected claiming they are endeavoring to came from a handful of reactionary that fully \$1,000 will be collected beclaiming they are endeavoring to

Hence when Hoelz was removed to prison, with a heavy iron chain attached to one foot, he was accom-panied by his attorney, who saw to it tached to one foot, he was accom-

years. A proletarian revolution in with but two opposing votes. Germany will speedily terminate that. The expression was freely made by the speakers.

UNION MINERS IN WEST VIRGINIA. A RECORD OF BRUTALITY AGAINST

REPORTS PROVE CHAFIN'S ARMY FOUGHT UNDER COM-PULSION. MINERS' LOSSES SMALL COMPARED TO ATTACKERS.

By ART SHIELDS, Federated Press Staff Correspondent.

Charleston, W. Va .- Silence broods | corroborated by eye witnesses over the mountains in northeastern | Expecting death any minute, Lee Logan County, which lately were alive consented to do noncombatant work. with machine gun and rifle fire. He was motored to Blair Mountain,

reported, the losses on the miners' them there. side cannot be definitely known. Only were caused by machine gun bullets.

greater than was at first supposed. The estimate of forty deaths previously made is far below the actual facts it now appears.

Unloaded 75 Dead.

The story of Joel Lee, colored, is the most astonishing of all. The substance of it is incorporated in an af-Governor Morgan. Most of Lee's story were taken there.

summer. One evening during the fighting in France but I'm not going week of fighting a deputy came to to fight workingmen over here!" his home and told him to get ready | Chafin is a man of action, Gregg him to the prison. In prison he found he didn't obey orders. his "buddy," another colored friend from Charleston. The "buddy" stubbornly refused to fight or work for then." dragged out of his cell, a shot ringing Chafin.

United States troops are in the recent where he assisted in the commissariat and hospital work. Here he loaded up Searching parties are still looking seventy-five men on four auto trucks, for missing men, and until they have coming into Logan and unloading

The story of the murder of the eight deaths are definitely recorded so union bricklayer was corroborated by far, two of them volunteers from Vir- two clean-cut young fellows, who told ginia and Kentucky. The total num- me they stood three feet away while ber lost cannot be more than twice the man was shot twice through the that number and is more probably back in the corridor, just outside their several less. Half of the death wounds cell in the Logan county prison, They gave their names and take full res-Don Chafin's losses are much ponsibility for the story, saying they are ready to appear as witnesses any time a murder prosecution starts.

Would Not War On Workers. They gave the names of Floyd Dean Gregg of Wauseon, Ohio, and Glomar Stanfield of Atlanta, Ga.

Gregg and Stanfield were in Logan looking for work. They were picked fidavit that is being presented to up August 24, shortly after the first advance of the miners, before they deals with the terrorism in the jail, demobilized and went home at the rebut incidentally, he tells of personally quest of their leaders, Keeney and unloading 75 bodies from automobile Mooney. Five days after arrest Gregg trucks back from the front, and of was taken to Chafin's headquarters in carrying them into the main room of the courthouse, he said. Chafin told a packing house in Logan used as a him that he heard he was an exmorgue. At one time he counted near- marine and ordered him to go to the ly 300 bodies in this main room, and front. Chafin added instructions to he says that not quite all of the dead get a rifle from the gun rack and was turning away when the boy objected, Lee said he came to Charleston this saying, "I've had eighteen months'

to leave for the front Lee said he says his face did not change expres-refused to fight. First the deputy sion as he stuck a forty-five at him tried to argue with him, then hustled and said he would die on the spot if

"All right, kill me," said Gregg, "there'll be just one more dead man

"Take him back to the jail," said

RELIEF GROWING.

SOLIDARITY IS SEEN.

The Friends of Soviet Russia, Clevefamine stricken in Russia.

The third weekly delegates' meeting which occured on Sept. 9 showed greeting was given the speaker who is includes A. F. of L. unions, Indust- as told in a recent number of the educational and fraternal organiza- Hoover's representative, in which the tions who realize the need of Amer- author explained in detail how, thru ican workers giving that class soli- his efforts the Soviet Government in darity to the stricken workers of Hungary was overthrown, was used Russia necessary to mitigate their with telling effect by the speaker in sufferings. Other organizations and solidifying sentiment behind the unions are selecting delegates who Friends Of Soviet Russia. will affiliate within a week or two. Five hundred dollars was turned in in was found that a most generous ofcollections by the delegates.

Amalgamation Near.

and other organizations called by the ges to the amount of three hundred Ladies Garment Workers at the North and fifty dollars, making a total of Congregational Church, on St. Clair six hundred and forty-five dollars and and East 72nd st. on the evening of sixteen cents. shot while trying to escape—which the 9th, at which a committee of the The total amount colected in the Friends Of Soviet Russia appeared to first two weeks of the organization's ask for affiliation, exemplified every existence will run well over \$1,500. desire to work in co-operation with All amounts collected are rem the latter organization. When the de-bate upon the advisability of affilia- York City, where it is immediately tion with the Friends Of Soviet Rus- used to purchase food and medicine A. F. of L. union leaders. The demand fore the next week's meeting voiced by the delegates present was overwhelmingly for affiliation,

Hoelz has been sentenced to twenty former organization, it was carried ical Union and Max Silinsky, Bu

a number present that all those sincerely and honestly in favor of real working-class effort in the Russian famine relief work in the city, would enlist under the banner of the Friends Of Soviet Russia with in the next two

Mass Meeting Great Success.

The first mass meeting held by the Friends Of Soviet Russia in this city, which took place at Remeney's Hall, land, Ohio Branch, is growing fast East 55th and Woodland, on Sept. 4. addressed by Caleb Harrison, was a the sole working class organization in splendid example of the work being conducted by this organization.

With an audience of six hundred people present, a most enthusiastic

When the collection was taken it fering had been given. Two hundred and ninety five dollars and sixteen A conference of delegates of unions cents in cash was received and pled-

2nd Mass Meeting.

The second of a series of mass meet When a motion was made that the ings to be held in various parts of the that nothing happened on the way.

Hoels has been sentenced to twenty Agent of the Tailors' Union will be

The International Situation and our Problems

A THESIS by L. TROTSKY and E. VARGA.

ADOPTED BY THE 3RD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, MOSCOW, JUNE, 1921.

The Working Class and the Post-Bellum Period.

The problem of capitalist reconstruction along the lines outlined above, essentially puts forward the question as to whether the working class is willing to bear any more heavy sacrifices in order to perpetuate its own slavery, which is going to be ever more heavy and more cruel than it has been prior to the war.

The industrial and economic reconstruction of Europe requires the setting up of new machinery to replace that destroyed during the war and the creation of new capital. This would be possible only if the proletariat were willing to work more and to accept a lower standard of living. The capitalists are insisting on this, and the treacherous leaders of the Yellow International urge the proletariat to assist in the reconstruction of capitalism in the first place, and then proceed fighting for the betterment of their own conditions. But, the European proletariat refuses the sacrifice. It demands a higher standard of living, which is utterly incompatible with the present state of the capitalist system. Hence the ever lasting strikes and uprisings, hence the impossibility of the economic reconstruction of Europe.

To restore the value of paper money means for a number of European countries (Germany, France, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Poland the Balkans, etc.) first of all to throw off the burden of too heavy obligations, i. e. to declare themselves bankrupt; but this would mean strong impulse to the struggle of all classes for a new distribution of the National income. To restore the value of paper money means further reduction of state expenditures to the detriment of the masses (to forego the regulation of wages and of articles of prime necessity); to prevent the import of cheaper foreign manufactures and increase the amount of exported articles by lowering the cost of production which can be achieved, above all, by increasing the exploitation of labor.

must by the very nature of the case, tend to disturb classequilibrium to a still greater extent than heretofore, lending additional impetus to the class war. Thus, the attempt at a revival of capitalism involves a contest of vital forces, of classes and parties. If one of the two contending classes, namely, the proletariat should decide to refrain from the revolutionary struggle, the bourgeoisie would undoubtedly establish some sort of a new capitalist equilibrium, an equilibrium based upon material and spiritual deterioration, leading to new wars, to the progressive impoverishment of entire countries, and to the continuous dying the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible out of these millions of toiling masses.

Changed Attitude Of Workers.

But the frame of mind of the world proletariat to-day furnishes no ground whatever for any such supposition.

The elements of stability, of conservatism, and of tradition have to a considerable extent, lost their power over the minds of the laboring masses. It is true, that social-democracy and the trade unions still exercise an influence over a considerable part of the proletariat, thanks to the apparatus of organization that has come down to them from former times. But the nature of this influence as well as that of the proletariat itself have undergone considerable changes in no way consistent with the "step by step" methods of the anti-war period.

In the upper crust of the proletariat the labor bureaucracy, having grown out of proportion, being closely knit together, resorting to certain methods of domination that have become habitual, still preserves its usual position and is bound up by numerous ties with the institutions and organizations of the capitalist state. Then come those of the rank and file whose position is more favorable than that of the rest of the workers, who occupy or look forward to occupying some administrative post in the industry itself, and on whom the labor bureaucracy mainly relies for its support.

The older generation of social-democrats and trade union mer consisting in the main of skilled workers, have become attached to their organizations through decades of struggle and cannot make up their minds to sever connections with them, disregarding the treacherous nature of their activity. But, in many industries, unskilled workers, and female workers are entering the ranks in considerable numbers.

Millions of workers having gone through the experience of the war and having acquired the ability to use the rifle are now prepared to a large extent, to turn the weapons against their class enemies, provided they were given the strong leadership and

serious training which are essential for victory. Millions of working men and particularly women have been newly recruited for industrial pursuits during the war. These new workers brought with themselves their petty-bourgeois pre judices. But they also brought along their impatient claims for better conditions of life.

There are also millions of young working men and women who have grown up in the storm and stress of war and revolution, who are more susceptible to the communist ideas and are anxious to act

The ebb and flow of the gigantic army of unemployed some of whom are unattached to any class, while others possess only partial class attachments, form a striking illustration of the disintegration of capitalist production and represent a constant menace to the bourgeois order. All these proletarian elements, varying so much in origin and character, have been enlisting in the post-bellum revolutionary movement at various times and in developing incessantly along an upward curve. The political evovarying degrees. This explains the vacillations, the ebbs and flows, the attacks and retreats, tharacterising the revolutionary war. But the shattering of old illusions, the terrible uncertainty of existence, the arbitrary domination of the trusts and the practical geoisie embraces the first opportunity for counter-offensive. The methods of the militarised state—all this is rapidly welding the proletariat in losing some of its positions which were easily won overwhelming masses together. The great masses are searching for a determined and definite leadership and for the closely welded and centralising Communist Party to take the lead.

During the war, the condition of the working class has become perceptibly worse. It is true some groups of workers improved their condition, and in those cases where several members of a workingman's family were in a position to hold their place and should the present industrial crisis be superseded in a numnear the loom, the workers succeeded in maintaining and even in raising their standard of life. But as a general rule wages did not least signify the advent of the "organic" epoch. So long as capital keep up with the rise in prices.

The proletariat of Central Europe has been doomed to ever greater privations, ever since the war began. The lowering of the during its youth and maturity. The proletariat having been some-

standard of life was not so noticeable in the allied countries up till lately. In England, the proletariat succeeded in stopping the process of lowering the standard of life by means of an energetic struggle carried on during the last period of the war. In the United States, some of the workers succeeded in improving their conditions, others only retained their previous standard of living, while still others have their standard of living lowered.

The economic crisis has come down upon the proletariat at a terrific rate. The falling of wages began to exceed the fall of prices. The number of unemployed and semi-employed has reached such dimensions as have never been equaled in capitalist history.

The ups and downs in the condition of existence not only have an unfavorable effect on productivity, but also prevent the restoration of class equilibrium in its most essential domain, that of production. The instability of the conditions of life reflecting time of the principal division this of the Left-Brass, a worker, and the the general instability of the economic conditions nationally and majority grew to over 80 and the internationally, is to-day the most revolutionary factor of social chief motion concerning the acceptdevelopment.

The Perspective and Problems Involved.

The war did not have, as its immediate consequence, a proletarian revolution, and the bourgeoisie has some ground to register this fact as a great victory for itself.

Only petty bourgeois dullards can imagine that the fact that the European proletariat has not succeeded to overthrow the bourgeoisie during the war or immediately after it, is an indication that the programme of the Communist International failed. The Comunist International is basing its policy on the proletarian revolution, but this by no means implies either dogmatically fixing the papers and the whole party over petty formalities; they are seekany definite date for the revolution, or any pledge to bring it about mechanically at a set time. Revolution has always been, and is to-day, nothing else but a struggle of living forces carried Every radical measure tending to restore capitalist equilibrium on within given historic conditions. The war has destroyed capitalist equilibrium all over the world, thus creating conditions favoring the proletariat, which is the fundamental force of the revolu- Left; "Freiheit", edited by Herr Hiltion. The Communist International has been exerting all its efforts to take full advantage of these conditions.

The distinction between the Communist International and the Social-Democrats of all colors does not consist in the fact that we are trying to force the revolution and set a definite date for it while they are opposed to any utopian and immature uprisings. No, the distinction lies in the fact that Social-Democrats hinder assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state while the Communists on the other hand are trying to ization. "If the Berliners could not take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of create such a press as would satisfy overthrowing and destroying the capitalist government and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But during the two and a half years following the war, the proletarians of various countries have exhibited their selfsacrifice, energy and readiness for the struggle to such an extent as would amply suffice to make the revolution triumphant, provided there had been a strong centralised international Communist Party on the scene ready for action. But, during the war, and immediately thereafter, by force of historic circumstances, there was at the head of the European proletariat the organization of the Second International which has been and remains up ous and ardent supporters of "governto date, the invaluable political weapon in the hands of the

By the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919, the power of the Government in Germany was practically in the hands of the working class, but the social-democracy and the professional unions used all their traditional influence and all their apparatus for the purpose of returning the power into the hands of the bourgeoisie.

In Italy, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat during one and a half years has been marked by abundant force and t was only thanks to the petty bourgeois impotence of the socialist party, to the treacherous policy of the parliamentary fractions, and to the cowardly opportunism of the trade union organizations, that the bourgeoisie got into a position to reconstruct its apparatus, to mobilise its white guards and to assume the offensive against the proletariat which has thus been temporarily discouraged by the bankruptcy of its leading organs.

The mighty strike movement in England has been frustrated once and again during the last year, not so much by the government police forces as by the conservative trade unions whose apparatus has been most shamefully used to serve counter-revolutionary ends. Should the machinery of the English trade unions develop half the amount of energy in the interests of socialism which it had been using in the interests of capitalism, the English proletariat would conquer the power and would start the reconstruction of the economic organization of the country with only an insignificant amount of sacrifice.

The same refers to a greater or less extent to all other capitalist countries.

The Development Of The Revolution.

It is absolutely beyond dispute that the open revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for power has been temporarily halted and its tempo delayed. But, in the very nature of the case, it was impossible to expect that the revolutionary offensive after the war not having resulted in an immediate victory, should go on lution proceeds in cycles and has its ups and downs. The enemy does not remain passive, he fights for his existence. If the offensive of the proletariat does not lead to direct victory, the bourusually experiences some confusion in its ranks. But it is an undoubted mark of our time that the curve of the capitalist evolution proceeds through temporary rises constantly downwards, while the curve of revolution proceeds through some vacilltions constantly upwards.

Should the rate of development prove to be more protracted ber of countries by a period of presperity, this would not in the ism exists periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany capitalism in its agony as was the case

My 12 Days in Germany

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist,

This is the second chapter in Zinoviev's account of the congress of the with representatives of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, held at Halle, in October 1920, at diplomatic mission in Berlin, w. which time the party split upon the matter of adopting the "21 points" of fashionable political salons of ladier affiliation with the Third International. The previous installment had to do of rank, and sometimes he ap with Zinoviev's admittance into Germany thru the White Guard lines, and his at the meetings of trade un welcome by the German workers.

This chapter tells of the strength of the opposing factions and affords liever in revolution: it is well he some interesting sidelights upon the leaders and general makeup of the lieves in realities. But then he does delegates to the congress.

The Congress Opens.

At the beginning of the congress the Lefts had a majority of 50. To- There were two chairmen presiding wards the end of the congress, at the over the meeting-the representative ance of the 21 conditions of admission to the Third International was carried by a nearly two to one majority.

The Right leaders, as is well known, were trying to rush the congress, in its press his insinuations against Russpite of the protests on the part of sia the Lefts and the Executive Committee of the Third International. The asked our Left comrades how, being wire pullers of the Right Wing were in the majority at the congress, they in a hurry, and called together a could allow such a rascal as Dittmann congress in the course of some 4 or to act as chairman. The Lefts ex-5 weeks. They reckoned on taking the plained: "The Right leaders are con-German workers unawares. Most of tinually trying to find fault with us machine were in the hands of the Rights. The Rights used their 50 dailies to open a fierce campaign of of principle and thus make the conlies and calumny against "Moscow", gress a failure. We decided to yield to against the Third International, them in all matters of secondary imagainst their own comrades of the ferding, was especially active in this a light that every workman would respect. In Moscow we pointed out to see who possessee the majority and Crispien and Dittmann that "Freiheit" is a counter revolutionary per- party." iodical after the taste of Kautsky. They replied however that they had no voice in it, that the "Freiheit" was not the central organ of the party sist of equal numbers of represenfor which the party as a whole could be held responsible; that it was the organ of "your" Berlin Left organyou, this is not their (Crispien's etc.) fault, but that of the Berliners."

The hypocrisy underlying their arguments, is seen from the following. The Berlin organization had an overwhelming majority for the Lefts; the Berlin organization according to all the rules of the constitution, expressed lack of confidence in Hilferding and demanded a change of editorship. But Hilferding, "the democrat", and his followers, the famment by the people", completely ignored the decision of the Berlin organization. They did what Scheidefrom the Berlin workers, making use of the bourgeois courts and police, which of course backed the Rights

against the Left. However, in spite of all the subterfuges of the Right Wing, in spite of the campaign of calumny in the press and the short space of time which the Lefts had at their disposal to enlighten the workers, our side secured that among the rank and file of the party, among the workers, the Lefts could have no less than nine tenths on their side. The next few weeks or months will prove this.

The Line-up. We are on the field of battle: The endience in the hall is divided in two Rights and the Lefts have become very strained during the pre-congress departure ...

deliberations and at the congress itself of his coat. He is a thorough sc we had to deal with bitter enemies. representative of the Right, no other than Dittman, that very same Dittmann who had appeared as a sordid calumniator of Soviet Russia, and had been honored by the notorious Anti-Bolshevik League, which reprinted in

We were greatly surprised and ing a pretext to leave the congress in order to prevent a discussion on points portance, in order to elucidate matters, and make them appear in such who was causing the split in the

In order to achieve that object the Lefts agreed that the mandatory commission and the presidium should contatives of the two sides. For the same reason the lefts agreed even to the hateful candidature of Dittmann. The Left comrades said, he represents not the whole congress, not us, but the Right Wing in the presidium. If the Right Wing was unable to find a more worthy representative than Dittmann, so much the worse for the Right

We take our seats next to comrade dolf Hoffmann and the other leaders of the Left section of the congress. We look around and gradually acquaint ourselves with the composition | gle against the workers' revolution ly the same picture some 10 years ago other hand, seeks it also in the antethe Mensheviks participated. On one the cabinets of bank-managers and "Vorwaerts". They stole the paper overwhelming majority of intellect- oury places. The whole mental equ

We closely inspect the Left Wing In the front row there are two small tables at which the leaders are seated. Among the latter we can discern one or two intellectuals, but the rest, some 99 percent of the Left Wing, consists unworthy attitude to their exclusively of born-and-bred workingmen many of whom even now are working at the factories and works. the majority. If under such conditions Now the composition of the Right Independents, secured a two third found there. These belong mainly to majority at the congress, it is obvious the class of "officials", but the bulk of the section, all the leaders, are exclusively legislators editors, journalists, lawyers, doctors etc. There are also three or four big bank officials and wire pullers. Quite a different social make-up, a different type, a different tone and temper. The so-called "flower" of the party officialdom and sections: it is as if a knife has cut intellectuals is undoubtedly on the them sharply in two. Two parties are side of Rights. We witnessed just the precent. The relations between the same in our party in the days before the Mensheviks gladdened us by their

what repulsed during the present crisis by the onslaught of capitalism, is going to assume the offensive as soon as the situation begins to improve. The offensive character of the economic struggle of the proletariat which would inevitably be carried on under the slogan of revenge for all the deceptions of the war period, and for all the plunder and abuses of the crisis, will tend to turn into an open civil war just as the present defensive stage of the struggle does.

No matter whether the revolutionary movement in the near future is going to proceed at a rapid or protracted rate, the Communist Party must, in either case be the Party of action. This party stands at the head of the struggling masses, it must firmly and definitely proclaim their war cries and must expose and sweep aside all equivocal slogans of the social-democrats which always tend towards compromise. Whatever the turns in the course of the struggle, the Communist Party always strives to fortify the contested positions, to get the masses used to active manoeuvering, to equip them with new methods calculated to lead to an open conflict with the enemy forces. Taking advantage of every breathing space offered in order to appreciate the experlence of the preceeding phase of the struggle, the Communist Party strives to deepen and widen the class conflicts, to combine them nationally and internationally by unity of goal and of practical activity, in such a way as to remove the hindrances in the way of the proletariat and lead it on to the socialist revolution.

(Conclusion)

A few words on the pri leaders of the Right Wing at the

gress will explain muc As far as theory and ideas ar cerned the principal leader Right Wing is undoubtedly Hilferding. His features rem "respectable" stock-broker or a to-do banker. He is personal cials and at congresses. He is no be not believe in anything. You can se it in his face, nay, in the very folds he is convinced that the high tide of revolution is over and that at the present time Germany and the of Europe is passing through the last convulsions of the revolutionary up heaval. All that has passed he regards as did our Cadets and Menshevika some time ago-as "the raging of the elements". A conversation of his with an English diplomat, an intrigue with some "Left" Scheidemannist are of far greater importance in his eyes, as a "factor" of progress, than a movement of hundreds of thousands of unemployed in Germany, or the growing unrest of the Eastern nations. Herr Hilferding, from the heights of his smug "scholastic" greatness, arrogantly mocks at everybody whose political wisdom is inferior to his own. At the party conference of the Independents, which took place at Berlin some three weeks ago, this scholar spoke with inimitable stupidity of "Mullahs from Khiva" (not so well versed in Marx as he, Herr Hilferding), whom the demagogues, the Bolsheviks, were trying to draw into the Communist International. Under "Mullahs from Khiva" the learned Herr Hilferding understands the Baku congress of the nations of the East, and generally speaking, the movement of oppressed nationalities. This movement Herr Hilferding, and with him the other Right Independents, treat with sublime contempt as a "non-Marxian" movement, devoid of serious purpose, and wholly unworthy of any attention from such enlightened statesman as Crispien and Dittmann. Hilferding possesses in abundance that gift of senile doctrinaire reasoning which is so typical of Kautsky in the period of his decline. Knutsky however, is an "honest" opportu whereas his worthy desciple, Hilferding, besides scholastic pedantism displays other traits more worthy of a stock-exchange gambler. In his strugof the two sections of the congress. Kautsky seeks inspiration mainly in What a familiar sight! We saw exact- books. His pupil Hilferding, on the and earlier at our congresses at which chamber of the British diplomats, in mann did in 1915 with regard to the side workers only, on the other, an if necessary in other even more savpendents is undoubtedly borrower from Kautsky. All the orators of the Right Wing use the stinted arg of Kautsky, and nevertheless they try to avoid mentioning Kautsky. Their their fear of being regarded touch with one who in fact is the spiritual leader of the whole section of the Right Independents, shows the Communist elements i. e. the Left | Wing! A few dozen workers will be their utter cowardice. Hilferding is a sort of substitute for Kautsky (substitues are now very much in vogue in Germany). The wiley Hilferding is more permissible than the spi "leader", the blunt, outspoken Kautsky. Owing to his connections with bankers and smart business-men Hilf-

than his master Kautsky. He is more adept in evading a direct answer to tongue where Kautsky is enough to blurt out countertionary rubbish. Hilferding can if needs be, utter two or three typed official "revolutionary ences. He will always be able to pl Right section of the Independ Dittmann and Co. In a word he is at once accommodating, flexible an not substitute at a moment's When necessary he will quote assages from Marx and E fop the sake of showing off h ion. In short he is just that ual" leader which the Right The task of leading a mob urgeois and officials suits erfection. He is precisely in and rate Scheidemannista Hilferding appeared as

latform, where the ongress was seated, there oster. On one side was

ite!" On the other-(Continued on page

varying degrees. This explains the vacillations, the ebbs and flow the attacks and retreats, tharacterising the revolutionary war. istence, the arbitrary domination of the trusts and the practical and centralising Communist Party to take the lead.

During the war, the condition of the working class has become perceptibly worse. It is true some groups of workers im- constantly upwards. proved their condition, and in those cases where several members keep up with the rise in prices.

does not remain passive, he fights for his existence. If the offen- munist Party must, in either case be the Party of action. This of the Independents so badly me

near the loom, the workers succeeded in maintaining and even in ber of countries by a period of prosperity, this would not in the Party strives to deepen and widen the class conflicts, to combine congress was seated, there stood a raising their standard of life. But as a general rule wages did not least signify the advent of the "organic" epoch. So long as capital them nationally and internationally by unity of goal and of poster. On one side was written ism exists periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations practical activity, in such a way as to remove the hindrances in German: "Workers The proletariat of Central Europe has been doomed to ever are going to accompany capitalism in its agony as was the case the way of the proletariat and lead it on to the socialist revolution. man; - "To the German greater privations, ever since the war began. The lowering of the during its youth and maturity. The proletariat having been some-

But the shattering of old illusions, the terrible uncertainty of ex- sive of the proletariat does not lead to direct victory, the bour- party stands at the head of the struggling masses, it must The task of leading a mob of pe geoisie embraces the first opportunity for counter-offensive. The firmly and definitely proclaim their war cries and must expose bourgeois and officials suits h methods of the militarised state—all this is rapidly welding the proletariat in losing some of its positions which were easily won and sweep aside all equivocal slogans of the social-democrats perfection. He is precisely in his processed in the social-democrats are considered in the social-democrats. overwhelming masses together. The great masses are searching usually experiences some confusion in its ranks. But it is an un- which always tend towards compromise. Whatever the turns in prophet of this section, who are for a determined and definite leadership and for the closely welded doubted mark of our time that the curve of the capitalist evolu- the course of the struggle, the Communist Party always strives second rate Scheidemannists. tion proceeds through temporary rises constantly downwards, to fortify the contested positions, to get the masses used to active while the curve of revolution proceeds through some vacilitions manoeuvering, to equip them with new methods calculated to lead opponent. His speech lasted to an open conflict with the enemy forces. Taking advantage of three hours. Should the rate of development prove to be more protracted every breathing space offered in order to appreciate the exper- with the following subterfuge. On of a workingman's family were in a position to hold their place and should the present industrial crisis be superseded in a num- lence of the preceeding phase of the struggle, the Communist platform, where the committee of

(Conclusion)

as the "pontif", the high priest

Hilferding appeared as my

(Continued on page

THE TOILER

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THE CIVIC CONSCIENCE AND THE SLAVE MARKET

Every city-certainly every American city has a "civic conscience", or at least what it lays claim to under that name. Its usual purpose however, is to serve as a medium of real estate cies, "Down with the pioneers" needs advertising by enterprising leeches who fatten by one or another reviving in these days of reaction, method of false advertising.

These municipal consciences mostly lie dormant until something unusual occurs which pricks then into a resemblance of life. Just now the civic conscience of Boston is receiving a slight awakening. The results are about what is to be expected from any municipality conducting "business as usual" under the grab and power delegated them the pioneers profit system.

Boston has a famous Common, a large and flourising unemployment problem-and a Workers' Defense Conference.

Since Boston was laid out as a city the Common has been a rostrum from which every subject including the Stamp Act of King George, the Need of an American Revolution, the Rebellion of '61 and the Righteousness of the Fourteen Points have been

The Workers' Defense Conference, which collects funds for the defense of class-war prisoners and seeks to educate some of the workers in their class interests, has been denied the use of the ism. Forty years of organized effort, Common for these purposes.

Newspaper reports fail to state that Boston's civic conscience has been in the least perturbed by this denial of a Constitutional right. The thing that has awake ned Boston's dormant faculty of rectitude, is a peculiar twist taken by the pressing unemployment to secure the passage of legislation problem. Let us examine this twist so as to learn just how civic of a constructive character in the inconsciences react to such compulsions.

Urban Ledoux takes the Boston unemployment problem this Congress. We have been having seriously; he has erected an "auction block" on the Common and our hands full in the endeavor to auctions off to the highest bidder his jobless slaves, which number among them many returned service men. The block and the auction is as far as the comparison goes with the old slave system of 60 years ago. Ledoux' slaves are far less valuable that the black men and women of ante bellum days. No one owns themthat's why they are hungry enough to offer themselves for sale.

How does Boston's "conscience" react to this public sale of unemployed upon its historic Common? A few words tell the story. "The auction to-day followed a similar sale yesterday when fifteen men, just like slaves in the old southern markets, were put up. Only one was "sold" and he brought but \$2 a week with his board, while a dog was bid in the same block at \$25."

There you have the conscience of one of America's foremost religeous, cultural and one time revolutionary cities getting pricked into a realization of its duties to a very large and needy section of its inhabitants./Fifteen hungry men offer their bodily and mental labor to the highest bidder and but one is taken-at the price of board and tobacco money. The \$2 bid exemplifies the to the governor of Ill. asking belp. true spirit of our "progressive" metropolises to a T.

But we should not be too hard. Boston's conscience really is awakening and the response to the call of duty is beginning to blame. take shape. We are informed by the same press report that "several contractors and business men called at the "jobless" hotel this morning and departed with men who would otherwise have mounted the auction block in the afternoon."

That's the spirit. When men can be bought for \$2 a week with board, why in hell should our enterprising business men and profit grabbers, who are always doing their best to bring down the cost of living for the workingmen-why should they pay

the union scale? The civic conscience is the employers' conscience, and what individual employer or group of employers but whose conscience rests far more at ease when the pay roll is cut to the very lowest?

GOOD-BYE.

With the publication of this issue of The Toiler, the manage ment and editorship passes into other hands. After nearly four years of publication in Cleveland, it appears best for the development of the paper and of the work it is attempting to perform in the workers' struggles, that it be moved to New York.

A personal word with our readers is not out of place here. Ir bidding good-bye to you we wish to express our grateful appre ciation for your many favors, your manifold expressions of encouragement and loyal and courageous support. Without the titude to the new Communist movestrength derived from contact with you, the many black abysses which have often faced us could never have been crossed. Only the knowledge gained from your letters and verified in your financial and moral support that The Toiler filled a need in your lives and in the struggle in which we are engaged with the enemy, ers have been jailed; the party head-Capitalism, has enabled us to "carry on" these many months,

For our many failures to live up to your expectations and our literature confiscated. And British own duty, we hope to be forgiven-and to make amends in the future. We believe that you will find even more reason to render the same degree of support to the paper and its management in the future that you have in the past.

With the wish that this may be true and that The Toiler growing number of workers, I thank you for all the past and may flourish in its new location and have the support of an ever wish you joy in the Revolution.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

PIONEERS AND THE YOUNG JUSTICE-REAL

By GEO. N. FALCONER.

"A time such as the present de-| International. So pleased is Gompers, mands of the revolutionary youth he fairly chuckles with glee over the clear heads and brave hearts. There is no room for weak-kneed intellectuals or revolutionary numb-skulls; for the academic legal Marxists or the howling sentimentalists."

"The greatest foe of all progress is the deluge, so far as progress is concerned, is the attitude of the pioneer who has done his work."-Belfort

Walter Whitman pays a well deserved tribute to pioneers in one of his poems, but history, especially working-class history has a tragic tale to tell of pioneers,-90% of whom become fossillised with the ideas they pioneered. Bax's slogan of the ninemistrust and despair. "Down with the pioneers"; blind leaders of the blind; bury the invertebrates of labor; to the museums of antiquity, with the political dead ones-is the immediate task of the hour. By virtue of the of labor are leading the rank and file to perdition, spreading confusion, and producing a state of utter demoralization. And the end is not yet.

In the August issue of the "American Federationist" is a lengthy rethe A. F. of L. The closing paragraph is proof conclusive of the utter senility of the labor pioneer and the prehistoric basis and antique structure of American Trade Unionand still begging for small favorsthe criminal folly of it. Listen:

"From this report it will be of served that Labor and other reformatory organizations have been unable terest of life saving, health, better standard of living and labor from prevent the enactment of legislation hostile to the toiling masses of our country and of the people generally. But labor may be relied on to stand

W. C. Roberts, E. F. McGrady, Edgar Wallace, Legislative Representative A. F. of L.

But labor may be relied on to stand firm for the right. If labor continues to stand for this A. F. of L. program | teeth and have reaped fleas." -it is over the hill to the poor house in the not far future.

"Unemployment situation in Chieago frightful. Hundreds of World War this to say of the reactionary laborveterans walking the streets, jobless, homeless, hopeless"-so reads a telegram from a group of War Veterans And for much of this misery, sufferling and privation the labor-pioneers of the United States are largely to

ENGLISH LABOR PIONEERS. Jack Tanner of England, who touring the states in the interests of the O. B. U. was a visitor at the A. F. of L. convention in Denver. Jack was surprised and impressed at th large number of "bald heads and big bellies" among the delegates. The way "Old Sam" would put the quietus on any resolution of a radical nature, even the favorable to labor, was indeed masterly. And why not? Sam is a past master of political technique of forty years standing. He is a labor pioneer and a net product of the ideas he and others have pioneered.

There is a belief current in the U S. that British labor is very radical progressive and even revolutionary J. H. Thomas, declared recently that American Labor is 50 years behind European. He meant English Labor of course. This is a delusion. It is hard to free Englishmen from the

chains they revere! Americans ditto! Talking with secretary Inkpin of the British Communist Party a year, ago relative to English Labors' atment, he said: We in England are far shead of your people in the States; here we have a real labor movement to back us; we are bound to win. Since then over 70 Communist Leadquarters raided and much Communist labor (?) Both the B. L. P. and the I. L. P. have officially disowned and anathematized the Communist Party.

recent action of British Labor. Editorally he says:

"The Labor Party vote against affiliation (with the Third International) was overwhelming. It constitutes one of the most hopeful signs the superannuated pioneer. After us that British Labor has produced." Pioneers always do agree on fundamentals. They are more alike than different.

The British Labor movement, like that of the U. S. is in the stranglehold of the Labor and Socialist Pioneers. Nine-tenths of them are intellectual antiques, afflicted with social and political paresis. Old in years, many of them; conservative in thought they move slowly and not always sure. Thor'o-going constitutionalists they keep step with the rear guard of the worlds' workers. They live, move and have their being in an atmosphere of provincial middle-class thought, guaranteed by British authority, tradition and respectability. They are in no sense workers, even tho' they were born, as they love to remind us, of "poor but honest parents." Why the poor are always honest, we know not. These pioneer leaders are England's new bourgeoisie, ready to defend English freedom?, morality? and civilization? Right royally do they port of the legislative committee of observe Pope's famous dictum (slightly altered).

"Be not the first by whom the new is tried; Be always the last to lay the

To name a few is to name practically all: J. H. Thomas, of "Black Friday" fame and author of "When Labor Rules"; Arthur Henderson, perfumed revolutionist, who actually sanctioned the singing of the "Red Flag" at a recent labor congress; Philip and Mme. Snowden, a pair of political circus riders, who are for socialism but agin' Bolshevism; Havelock Wilson, the old man of the sea, and a confirmed pioneer-barnacle; Ramsey MacDonald, political sleuth and booked for the job of keeper of the Royal Bed-Chamber; Tom Meyers, Frank Hodges, Jack Mills, Smith of the miners, all aspirants for some high and holy office-every one of the foregoing are 14 point Woodrow Wilson Democrats. When we first gazed on this new fig-leaf revolutionary and 4 o'clock tea social-reformers (there is a bunch of them in the House of Marxian quip-"I sowed dragons'

Henry Barbusse Writing in the new English "Labor Monthly" (a sign of the day) has socialist leaders-

"These superficial comrades yesterday are now ranging themselves against the proletariat and communism on the most orthodox lines. They attack it with the weapons employed by those who have always been the open enemies of working-class emancipation. They are doing the work of reformists; and this means the work of conservatives, and, despite their words and professions, of reaction-

The truth of Barbusse's contention is evidenced by a letter and bulletin just received. Both are from "The Labor and Socialist International with headquarters in London.

We are requested to make publi the contents of the bulletin. Space permits us to just mention the name of those in charge of this new 20th century emancipator af the world's proletariat. Every one of them is a pioneer and a middle-class socialpatriot, bomb-proof against all the wiles and snares of Bolshevism and Communism.

President: Arthur Henderson (Gt Britain). Treasurer: J. H. Thomas (Gt. Br tain).

Secretariat: British Section-J. Ramsay MacDonald H. Gosling Camile Huysmans (Belgium)

Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) Otto Wels (Germany) Thomas Shaw (Gt. Britain). P. J. Troelstra (Holland). Hialmer Branting (Sweden). And this band of pseudo-socialist

and labor betrayers dare use the sacred words of Marx-"Workers of the World Unite!"

THE YOUNG INTERNATIONAL. We must cease trusting the Pioneers communist principles and the Third They have done their work-let them

Elmer T. Allison.

AND FALSE.

By H. S. BLOOMFIELD.

Those who serve the master class. -the clergy, military, police, the judiciary, etc., must be distinguished from the rest of the inhabitants of the land. Not only that; they must command respect for the "authority" that is vested in them. Being the tools of the capitalist state, (which is something apart from, and higher than the "people") they must put on an air of dignity, for, they too, are "above" the "people," above the masses of ignorant, superstitious and god-fearing "people".

In this manner the poor workers (who have been taught to fear and revere some "supreme being") are deped and cowed spiritually in order that the master-class may with less difficulty, keep them in subjection, and justify and facilitate the use of armed force against the workers when occasion demands the actual use of the forces of "Law-n-order".

Officers of "Law-n-order" are bedecked with ribbons and polished brass; the clergy with black mantles and reversed collars, and the judiciary WORKERS' CANDIDATE SPIRin robes and wigs.

The judges and lawyers tell the workers be "good" and "law-abiding," (to obey laws which the masters MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY framed against the interests of the workers). If the workers don't "obey' the master class "legality", then the forces of "Law-n-order" will club them, throw them into prisons, and turn on the machine guns.

In the third of a series of fectures at the Boston University law school a few months ago, ex-president and now chief justice Wm. H. Taft told the law students to "Dress conservatively and let your own personality be coiorless". Continuing he said: "Judges ought to wear robes the robe would have a good effect on the judge himself, as well as on the people. A gown would at least give the appearance of dealing out instice."

Here we have it all in a nutshell-Taft comes out in the open, and anyone that is not totally blind or mentally deranged can readily comprehend the meaning of the above quoted words. The so-called "justice" being dished out by the master class, is naturally such "justice" as shall benefit themselves, and Taft, realizing the fact that the masses are waking up and are commencing to see very clearly that capitalist "justice" is a fake and is intended to pull the wool over the eyes of labor, is giving this friendly advice to the new nenchmen of capitalist "Legality" and fake "justice" to "wear robes," cause "A gown would at least give the appearance of dealing out justice."

Although it is a slow process nevertheless, the workers, by coming into daily conflict are now seeing realities. Labor has not and cannot have confidence in the "justice" meted out to it by the powers-that-be. The workers are learning by experience that "justice" is for that class which has the POWER, and that this "justice" is utilized by the master class as a powerful weapon with which to knock the workers senseless. What is "just" for the slave is "unjust" for the master and visa versa. There is but one kind of justice-Class justice. The workers cannot get justice from the masters for the capitalist class is the Dictator. Only when the workers overthrow the Dictatorship of capitalism and the working-class obtains power will real justice prevail-justice on the basis of equal citizenship-and citizenship on the basis of socially useful labor performed.

go. The Pioneer is a Manace-let no can but prepare the ground. The real will go until victory is assured." job must be done by the youth, the dreamers, the daring and the brave, street." I awoke from my thoughts the builders of "The Beautiful Yet To Anna and I parted in slience. I re Be." Youth is life and life is revolu- membered my membership on the Re tion, life more abundant! Tis' life lief Committee of the National Dewhereof our nerves are scant, Oh life, fense Committee my duty being to se not death, for which we pant. More that class war prisoners are provide life and fuller that we want"-this is with comforts and ne the cry of youth; the battle-cry of fillment of that duty I sent two tele the Young International. Capitalism grams of cheer to Gitlow and Ferdeems it necessary to have devoted guson and telegraphed them money. and loyal servitors. It is equally nedevoted and enlightened followers! To the true fighters for the working class live for the Common-weal is much better and more heroic than to die for Dollar Democracy on hell-swept donations to Edgar Owens, see 'Flander's Fields where Poppies grow.' National Defense Committee, 7 Ban All power to the Young Interna-

Eating Grass and Cakes of Clay

the sun for whithering the weeds." We heard this weeks ago and did

"We are eating pigweed, wild oats, clay and sunflower heads. It burns your insides, your stomach swells and

READ AGAIN:

grass like horses..... The child is a Friends of Soviet Russia and make a skeleton, with hollow cheeks, feverbright eyes and arms and legs like stalks of fennel. Under the little shirt a stomach sticks out swollen as big as a ripe mellon...... The child is as still as a tiny corpse dragged out of its coffin. Clasped in her matchlike fingers is a dark green raw cake, which suddenly she bites ... greedily." AND AGAIN:

"The cattle have been cut up and eaten. Mothers' hearts are being wrung netionary conditions, as do Hoover by the cries of children for whom and others. there is nothing-nothing..... We STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA.

"They're eating grass and cursing | cut up weeds and grass, but there's grass is dying."

ALL THIS FROM THE REPORT TODAY WE KNOW IT TO BE OF AN OFFICIAL SOVIET COM-MISSION WHICH VISITED THE WORST SECTIONS IN THE FAM-INE AREA.

SOVIET RUSSIA MUST LIVE!

We appeal to the working class of America to heed the call of the workers of Soviet Russia for bread, Con-"......already we are eating tribute. Organize a branch of .The united and systematic canvass of your city for contributions. ACT!

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 W. 13 ST., NEW YORK CITY.

OUR PRINCIPLE: We make the working class appeal; give, not only to feed the starving but to save the workers' government of Russia; give, without imposing imperialistic, and re-

'BEN GITLOW IS GONE.'

ITED AWAY. HOPE TO IN-JURE HIS CAMPAIGN FOR

Robbed of the few privileges they managed to be favored with, at Sing Sing, Ben Gitlow and Isaac Ferguson have been removed to Auburn prison.

Friday morning, September 2nd, Anna Rubin and I went to Sing Sing, at Ossining, N. Y., to see Ben Gitlow. It was a very hot day. The cars were crowded and the valise which I carried, filled with eatables for the prisoners, made my lot much harder. destination. As usual, we gave our names to the clerks and were admitvisiting room. There we were met at the door with these words: "Ben is gone." At that moment I could hardly grasp their meaning. A prisoner at Gitlow, with thirty-six others, this composure. I wanted to find out whether any others of the political kurrenz" i. e. the "low competition" earned that Isaac Ferguson a panied Ben Gitlow to Auburn.

Returning by train to New York City-the thought came to mind that it is the same "Iron Heel" which is suppressing the West Virginia coal miners and fights for the open shop which now has put its grip upon the workers' nominee for Mayor of New York City, Ben Gitlow. They have taken him away-far away, so that he shall hear nothing and know nothing of the workers' campaign. They have removed him so that his advise and ideas may not be transmitted to the workers of New York City. They sent Isaac Ferguson with him as an excuse, to cover their motives, but we, the conscious workers understand very well the workings of the outgrown capitalist system. They became scared the cowards, and ordered the workers' choice for mayor sent away so that their minds my be at peace.

I pictured to myself these two men determined to go on with what they believe to be right. I see them, side by side, shackled with iron chains to other prisoners, so-called criminals, some degenerates, the product of this capitalist system; guards with loaded guns at their sides. The heat is terrific; they are crowded into a train; the journey is very long. I can see Ben with his jaws set, determination in his eyes, fully aware of the reason such one be trusted! The hope of the for the trip. I can see Ferguson, smilfuture is in the hands of the young. ing ironically, thinking-"You can We who are old, yet young in spirit, not stop the march of the workers. It

.... The conductor yelled "125th

Workers of America must help th may be provided an ad and with prison comforts. Send

MY 12 DAYS IN GERMANY. (Continued from page 2.)

from the Petrograd Labour Commune". I am not certain how this banner came to Halle. Apparently it was brought back by the German delegates after the First Congress of the Communist International

On the first day of the congress this poster was turned to the audience. with that side showing which bore the inscription: "Workers of the World unite!". But on the day when my speech was delivered, perhaps intentionally or otherwise, this poster was turned the other way round. Hilferding thought it appropriate to begin with a remark directed to the circum-

stance.

- This is symbolic-he said. It is most significant that the Petrograd Labour Commune should appear on We were glad when we arrived at our the stage!... Hilferding however, destination. As usual, we gave our miscalculated the effect of his remark. The vast majority of the conted, through two iron doors, into the gress, which hitherto had paid no attention to the inscription on the poster, now, thanks to the kind assistance of Herr Hilferding, turned its gaze to these words and gave a hearty the door said kindly: "He's gone, Mrs. cheer for the Petrograd Labour Committee. The first part of Hilferding's morning to Auburn." I retained my speech was most characteristic. He composure. I wanted to find out mentioned in it the "Schmutz-Konprisoners had been transferred and of the Left leaders of the Independessence of this reproof was as follows: "You, the leaders of the Left Independents, yourselves belong to the same caste as we do. Your profession is the same as ours. You are leaders just as we are. In order to ingratiate yourself with the masses you are now resorting to watchwords more extreme than ours. But this is nothing else than "low competition" on your part. You wish to cut us out by pander to the low instincts of the masses But you will be punished for that (threateningly) to-morrow the masses will find even your watchwords not sufficiently extreme, the syndicalists and anarchists will meanly compete against you, and the masses will go over to the side of these more extreme leaders". The psychology of Hilferd-ing is typical of a shopkeeper, who regards everything from the standpoint of one who is first and foremost afraid of competition. He even uses purely commercial terms. The whole struggle of principles which is now tearing the labour movement in two is reduced, in his eyes, to a "c petition among leaders". This pussil animous fellow can only find one explanation, for the difference in opinion which is now dividigi the ranks of the German labour moveme

that is, sordid competition. (Continued next week.)

SAMUEL GOMPERS INVESTMENT PROTECTOR.

(Continued from page 1.)

eduction in the rate of inter loan." He doesn't say what wered, I'll bet the League of Nations against a shoe string he didn't k what to answer.

to the White House to see the Pr will probably be taken later. can he expect the capitalists to t of the workers, and not of

can the president of the A

I give it up. What do you think!

trumpted-up charges. The Anarchist

trade unions and the Communist Par-

ty locals were closed by the police;

the leaders were arrested and the

Chauffeurs union completely out-

The whole working class was aroused

by this wanton and brutal onslaught.

On May 30th the Anarchist and re-

form-syndicalist labor federations,

together with the independent unions,

went into convention to arrange for a

general strike. One hundred and eigh-

ty delegates were present. But the

police dispersed the convention and ar-

rested some of the delegates, also

several members of the Communist

Party Executive Committee who were

The various unions then began the

general strike without any set plan

present.

izing ideology.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(Editor's Note: This is the twelfth of the series of articles on Soviet Russia which Mr. Foster was commissioned to write for The Federated Press. He describes a pageant of the proletariat which shows considerable progress from the days of czarism.)

THE PERSON AND THE PE

of the drum.

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

real pleasure of attending a most me, was the "rythmic exercises." interesting outdoor fete. It was ar- These are a kind of combination of Education to celebrate the opening of performed to band music. Originally half grown boys and girls, members ing of Russia's youth in preparation for its later military education.

Our party had been notified to assemble at 12 o'clock, noon, in the Continental hotel, where a large number of congress delegates are stopping. I got there at 11.30 and found all the people already gathered being was indeed a marvel; in Russia things usually start an hour or two late, not ahead of time.

ing his ill-fated Russian campaign, with imitation sledges, and those on camped at this entrancing spot.

and which was still high enough to Soon the performers began to appear: find it. thousands of boys and girls, marching up great natural runways (one on either side) from a lower bench, which being invisible from where the spectators sat made excellent "wings" for the enormous outdoor stage. Many types of organization were represented: Red army, officers' schools, colleges, grammar and high schools. physical culture academies, etc. Practically all the boys were dressed only in short running trunks while the girls wore natty costumes of various kinds. As usual the red flag was every-

The celebration began by all the participants (we counted them up to be about 10,000) drawing up in formation for inspection. This finished, they organized a parade and marched past the reviewing stand. A special feature of this parade was a detachment of army soldier girls. Uniformed and carrying bayonetted rifles like veterans, they marched in the same units as the men. With their cloth they cut an attractive figure. Amerand pampered women, are inclined to practically naked. To me they looked smile when they hear talk of women soldiers. But those who have followed I am sure that they would more than women, look upon the matter differently. The magnificent psysique and is a standing marvel to the American

After the parade came what was called massed military exercises. These were much the same as take place in Germany, Sweden and other countries, where some effort is made to build up the physique of the people. detachments along the theater greensward. Then, at flag signals from the director, they deployed step by step tion they then went through an who have ever witnessed such a per-

Following these exercises there were many sorts of bayonet and sword tions, etc., all well done. But the perty to.

Moscow, June 20 .- Today I had the | "piece de resistance", it seemed to ranged by the Comissariat of Public calesthenics and dancing. They are the Third Congress of the Communist developed in Switzerland, they were International. The participants were popular in Russian aristocratic circles before the revolution. The Bolsheviki of the various civil and semi-military have brought them to the masses. A organizations which go to form the team would start out through a long great movement for the physical train- list of calisthenic movements, working them in series of three or four. That is, they would do a series of, say four movements, rapidly, pause view of the coming Presidential elecslightly and then go on with the next, I tion in March 1922. repeating this to the end. The effect is very curious and pleasing. I marveled to see the teams go through elaborate ten-minute exercises to the hustled into a long string of street accompainment of march music and prostrute press raised a vicious and the trade unions proposed that the

There were several varieties of these rythmic exercises. A beautiful After a ride of about six miles we thing it was to see 500 boys, their arrived at the scene of activities, Spar- naked bodies glistening in the sun, row's hill. Where we alighted the view lined up in several detachments, each was magnificent. The valley, far be- going through a different set of low, was carpeted with the most beau- calisthenics, simultaneously to the tiful farms and forests imaginable, same music, and all finishing exactly through which the Moscow river lazily as the band came to its concluding threaded its way. In the distance, in strain. A striking piece of this type far flung panorama, stretched the was called "hammer and shovel exergreat city of Moscow, its hundreds of cises." It was performed by 200 gaily painted churches and golden students from a physical culture cupalos glittering in the brilliant sun- school. There were three sections, the light. I was told that Napoleon, dur- boys in the center being equipped the two ends with spades. The dance-Descending from the hilltop we came like movements portrayed the use of to a sort of bench or plateau, which, these tools. The effect was delightful. formed an ideal natural ampitheater I never dreamed that there was so much poetry of motion in the prolepreserve the splendid view. There we tarian shovel and hammer. But the found grandstands erected for us. Russian revolution has been able to

> A rythmic exercise that made a hit was called "The Fall of the Tyrant." It was done to band music by 13 picked physical culturists. They were dressed as Romans. One typified the tyrant exploiter and 12 the oppressed workers. The latter, to the beat of the music, went through the motions portraying hard labor, pulling, lifting, hammering, throwing, etc. always driven on heartlessly by the tyrant. Now and again one would revolt; then two or three; but the would crush them and drive them back to their work again. Finally, one dies at his work from exhaustion and the others, enraged, find the solidarity that enables them to rise together and to overthrow the tyrant, tack on the convicted men launched That ended the piece. In its art as by department "investigators" and well as in its politics and economics Communism knows how to produce the educational effects that will eventually emancipate Russia.

In view of the shortage of food I hats, khaki jackets and short skirts was particularly interested in noting the physical condition of the boys. icans, having in mind their own weak This was easy to do as they were like an especially husky bunch of kids. events in this country and who are average up with an equal number of acquainted with the strong Russian American boys similarly assembled. It was touching to see the way the grownups, the revolutionists, followed vigor of the women in this country their evolutions. During the day I heard it said fifty times that they are the hope of Russia. The Communists consider the present generation practically ruined as a result of its capitalist training. They say "Give us the children for a few years longer and then capitalism will forever be impossible in Russia, no matter what Thousands of youngsters drew up in may become of the Communist government."

The festival finished by all hands singing "The Marseillaise" and "The until each individual occupied about International." Then we went to the an eight-foot square. In this forma- river bank, where we had tea in a swell, flag-decked boat clubhouse, elaborate set of exercises, the beauty whose aristocratic former owners have of which needs no telling to those departed for parts unknown. As we drank our tea and ate our black bread we speculated as to where these parasites were and what they would have thought could they have known drills, ring exercises, cavalry evolu- the use we were putting "their" pro-

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THE STRUGGLE AND DEFEAT OF THE ARGENTINE PROLETARIAT.

By ROBERT MOBRY.

The following report of the condi- | hideous form. The workers organization of the workers of Argentine tions and press were attacked on comes from Buenos Aires.

During the past year organized labor in Argentine succeeded in winning higher wages and improved working conditions from the bosses. They also succeeded in putting lawed. through a shop committee system to exercise shop control; i. e., to see that the agreements between the unions and the bosses were fulfilled. The bosses were compelled to pay the "Delegados" or shop delegates full pay while carrying on the work of shop control.

However, the Argentine workers had not gained these demands entirely through their revolutionary power. but rather, thanks to the liberal government of Hipolito Ingoyen who desired to conciliate the workers in

On May 5th the Fur Workers Union entered the struggle for the closed shop. The government first supported bear to break the strike. On June 3rd, the union. Thereupon the whole cars for immediate departure. This then finish exactly with the last beat tumultuous outcry against the union Communist Party take over the leadand the government. The capitalists ership of the strike. The Communist at once strengthened their resistance Party agreed to do so on the foland recruited masses of strikebreak- lowing conditions: Absolute centralers and fascisti.

May 25th, the national holiday, wit- of the strike. nessed an open combat between the workers and the patrioteers. The The strike broke down completely by anarchist Chauffeurs union declared June 6th. a one day's strike in sympathy with the workers and as a protest against for the general strike because of the the nationalistic frummery fomented economic crisis and unemployment. by the capitalists. "The League of But the real reason for the defeat was Patriots" immediately took up the the lack of discipline and centralized challenge, attacked the headquarters leadership in the unions which are of the Chauffeurs union and killed dominated by an anarchistic decentraltwo of its members.

In a crisis all "liberal" governments show their real colors. That of Hipo- the utmost, abolished the hateful lito Ingoyen was no exception. The "Delegados" and began to lower government took fright at the oncoming conflict and went over completely to the side of the capitalists. Reac- to learn. Before it can become a power tion set in. Troops were hurried into it must not only shake itself free the strike district.

Capitalist liberalism and democracy teach the anarchists the value of unistepped upon the scene in all her fied leadership and action.

In Sacco-Vanzetti

Frame-up

By EUGENE LYONS.

Boston, Steptember 12 .- What part

has the Department of Justice played

in the prosecution of Nicola Sacco and

Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the two Italian

drea Salsedo, who was found dead on

window of the Department of Justice

offices in New York. He had been held

a prisoner illegally in those offices

for a long period was the only witness

of the tragedy who might have test-

ified as to the causes of Salsedo's

ing was found on their persons. The

two men assumed that they had been

apprehended in connection with these

South Braintree payroll murders.

ment of Justice.

of disclosures by deporting Elia.

York and Boston.

of Elia with those of Sacco and Van-Justice Dept's Part | of Elia with those of Sacco and Vanzetti, thus lending color to the theory of the defense. By a series of unsubstantiated allegations, against unknown and unnamed persons denominated as "Boston anarchists," the stories in the New York Daily News and the Boston Advertiser seek to leave the impression that Sacco and Vanzetti were in some mysterious fashion such as occurred while they were in

The bosses pressed their victory to

The Argentine proletariat has much

labor organizers recently condemned Many persons in no wise connected with the defense and wholly out of of murder? This question is again to sympathy with the social views of the fore as a result of a vitriolic at-Sacco and Vanzetti have protested against these attacks. As the case will soon be brought before the higher "probers" through newspapers in New courts, irresponsible accusations can Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested atmosphere in which a fair decision on May 5, 1920, the very day after the will be impossible. sensational death of their friend. An-

the sidewalk under the 14th story White Guards Are Active in Greece.

for eight weeks. Roberto Elia who had DESTRUCTION OF HEADQUARTalso been imprisoned without warrant ERS OF GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY OCCURS IN DEAD OF NIGHT.

death, and specifically whether or not he was pushed out of the window after being third-degreed. But the authorities quickly removed the possibility of the new Greek Government, were At the very time of their arrest Sacco and Vanzetti were arranging a mass meeting of Italians to protest fians raided the headquarters of the against the Salsedo tragedy. The draft of a leflet calling the meetin the early hours of the day.

The church bells were ringing wildactivities. Not until later did they Gun shots were incessant as if a war learn that they were charged with the | was going on in the streets of Athens. For it was the wish of King Constan-The friends of the two Italians have the fall of Kioutahia "Whether the contended from the very beginning people should celebrate the victory" that the Department of Justice had a he said: "Let the bells ring and the Klan, the writer declares that the or-

hand in the prosecution. Their theory guns fire." was that the department wanted to And as both the bourgeois Greek be rid of these friends of Salsedo who parties were of one mind that the war seemed determined to fix responsibil- in Asia Minor must continue at all ity for his strange death while a cost, and as the Royalists were not religious and racial fanaticism. And prisoner. The method used in connec- in a mood to start something against day by day, with your offy assurance, tion with Salsedo and Elia (namely, their opponents, the Venizelists, besudden arrest and imprisonment for a ling that they were as staunch patriots long time without trial or even indict- as themselves, and as the masses did ment) was then in disrepute because not care to celebrate the "great vicof the shocking tragedy, they charged, tory", the Police, the thugs and the the slightest conception of what pure and the department could not apply Phalangitae thought the moment opit to Sacco and Vanzetti. An arrest portune for the execution of their disby the State rather than the Federal mal designs.

authorities, no matter who inspired it, "It was the people who wanted it". was a stroke of luck for the Depart- the cry went on, "the people grown indignant against the unpatriotic In the attacks published recently treacherous Communists!"

those who issued the interviews for But the people were slumbering the department frankly link the same peacefully in the early hours of the

morning, for it was 3 a. m. when about 100 "Phalangitae" rushed to the People's House. On their first rush they were stopped by a patrolman. But a police Captain who was with the mob, pulled out his revolver and pointed it at the patrolman threatening to shoot if he persisted. In the same automobile with the Captain were seen several "policemen", who it was discovered later on, were disguised Phalangitae.

After the departure of the patrolman the gangsters broke into the House and destroyed all they could lay hands upon, offices, furniture, books, fixtures, pictures etc. They even stole the money from the cash register of the book store.

The Police Department denies any complicity but it is plain that the assault was planned by the Department. A few days before the raid, the Communist paper "Rizospastis" wrote that Mr. Gasparis, the Police Prefect, was given a free hand by Premier Gounaris, to act against the Communists at "the proper psychological moment." This was never contradicted by the authorities. Moreover no serious efforts were made for the apprehension

or general leadership. The capitalists and punishment of the offenders. brought all their economic and governmental (military) pressure to the face of this thug-government that the next time they are assaulted by when the strike was as good as lost, any one they will use armed force. No doubt this bold language will be

The members of the Executive Committee of the Greek Communist Party ization in leadership and liquidation are still in prison awaiting trial. which is purposely postponed. News The unions refused the conditions. of fresh arrests of laborers and labor leaders are coming daily from all The time was not an opportune one Vollo and Saloniki.

The first ship-loads of wounded soldiers have just come from the battle front. The bourgeois acclaim keep silent. The capitalist press em- think so. My reason? Just listen! ploys all means to exaggerate the "victories" but the masses are apathetic. Te-Deums are held twice daily in the churches, the King in his messages fanaticism and bigotry.

from the social patriots but must also read in their faces.

Ku Klux Klan Is **Scored By Former** Official

connected with every real and imagin- a letter of withdrawal from that ored outrage on the calendar, including ganization, published in the "New

that your proposition is a historical tor and for medicine. Naturally, he fraud: that it is a money-making then has less money to spend on the scheme run for the benefit of a few necessaries of life; he has to buy less insiders; that it is engaged in an evil food and clothing, and want and propaganda in promoting unwarranted only serve to create a hate-charged religous and racial hatred against the Jews, Roman Catholics, Negroes and foreign-born American citizens; that your entire scheme is a dangerous public menace that will inevitably lead to bloodshed, and, if successful, must result in revolution; and that in the interest of decent Americanism, it should be suppressed by the Federal authorities....

"Your 'invisible empire.' " continues

Imperial Wizard of the Klan, "17 furthermore a money-making scheme! You, yourself, an individual of little. What the "Phalangitae," these if any means prior to your becoming Greek Fascisti, together with the an 'Emperor,' have so far received thugs of the "tyrant-killers", that is, from 'friends' a \$25,000 residence completely furnished! Your connection planning for a long time, took place with the organization is either bringhere a few days ago, when these ruf- ing you large sums of money at present or the promise of same in the Greek Communist Party. It happened future. You are allowed to appropriate to your own use all of the \$10 'donated' by any person whose application ly at midnight to announce the taking you personally solicit. All the rituals of Eski-Sehir by the Greek Army, and other printed publications of your organization are copyrighted in your name, and it is presumable that you have either received royalties for their Department Seeks to Cover Tracks. | tine, who, when asked on the day of use or a cash consideration for their sale...." In describing the activities of the

> ganizaton ... "is now being nurtured in cunning and false pretense and fed upon an unholy lust for gold by means of passion, hatred and the prejudice of you say that these devilish devices of discord are being developed in the name of pure Americanism! If this is your idea of America, you have not

THE IRISH PEOPLE For Workers of Irish Birth 1 year \$2,50. 262 West 23 Street New York City



Our Little News-Boy. By BEATRICE SHAW,

"Paper?" "Yes, Sir, Cleveland wins today's game."

Every day this same little newsboy comes into our office with the same and the capitalists cannot produce query-"Paper?" He's ten years old any more, they simply close down and very handsome. He has large blue eyes and curly blond hair,-why, the girls in the office are simply "crazy" about him. "Isn't he sweet?" they remark when he quietly comes in with his bundle of newspapers under

But when I look at him, I see more than his comely face. To me his face snows more than its natural beauty. The Communists are now saying in He is only a child-ten years oldbut he comes into the room quietly, and his voice is hushed and low. And his eyes, those beautiful blue eyes, better understood by the White which at this time of his life should be carefree and laughing, but which are prematurely thoughtful and serious, show to me clearly the evils of the capitalist system. For, if it were not for the system that makes it impossible for a father to provide parts af the country especially from for his dear ones, and compels children of ten years to enter the sordid business world, would this little fellow be a man in spirit, at the age of the"heroes" wildly but the soldiers ten? No, my dear reader, I do not

This little fellow's father works in a clothing factory-he makes coats. The name of the Company is Johnson uses quotations from the Scriptures, and Smith. After his father works a in short we see a revival of Byzantine whole day and makes up four coats, he has to turn the four coats over to But underneath this pomp and false Messrs. Johnson & Smith. Why? Beglory the groans of the masses can cause Messrs. Johnson & Smith own be heard, and their indignation can be the factory building, the machines, the cloth-the means of production.

> Now, we all know that it takes a certain amount of potatoes, bread, meat and other foods, as well as a house and some clothing, for any human being to live. In other words, every human being must have the necessaries of life in order to live. So, when this little fellow's father week, he receives in return, wages father does not work very hard." with which he can only buy the necessaries of life. But sometimes it pay a part of his wages to the docpoverty step into his home and overshadow the life of the family.

The father, with a sad heart, gathers his children around him, calls his fourteen year old son, his "right should say that his daddy's work was hand" and his ten year old boy, his "little man", and tells them that for dy was not there at work, the machinbrothers and sisters, they, as the older of the children would have to go to work, anywhere and at any the writer, addressing himself to the wage, in order to keep starvation from is a boss. He makes ten times as their home

> And thus, my dear reader, this little newsboy, with his childhood crushed and broken, becomes a thoughtful little businessman, after school hours, joying childhood. And he is not the from the chain. only one. Oh, No! Hundreds of other children are crushed and their childfrom this one. Like this little boy's is still good. father has to give up to his bossesthe capitalists—the coats that he produces, all other little boys' fathers not these daddies have enough pay so have to give up to their bosses what- that all of us little children who are ever they produce, be it coal, sugar, sons and daughters of these uncorn, dresses, or any other article. And derpaid daddies could get breakall this must be done because the fast every morning and really capitalists own the machines, factory believe that America is a buildings, tools—the means of pro- country?"

duction-even tho the workers do the actual work, toiling all their lives and producing all value. Why, the capitalists actually hold the workers' very lives in their hands! When there are too many articles on the market or the market becomes overstocked their shops, throwing out of work millions of workers, who can either starve or end their misery by committing suicide.

All this I see daily in the depths of the blue eyes of our little newsboy. And not only that, I see a long row of other little boys with sad eyes. Boys whose childhood has been taken away from them and who are now either shining shoes, selling newspapers, running errands, or doing other kinds of work.

My heart goes out in sympathy to these crushed children, who should be leading a child's life, and I see clearly that their only salvation and freedom from this hellish life is the overthrow of the system that kills them. Then, too, directly behind each little fellow I see his parents. Their mothers and fathers, with the joy taken out of their lives, struggling bravely to make both ends meet: to keep their children and themselves from starvation.-Their children for whom the future holds only a life of toil and

Why is it that only I see something more in the little newsboy than his beauty? And I wonder when and how he, as well as the other children will be freed from their dreary lives and the future made bright for their small brothers and sisters.

A Question To Answers. By Jerome Land.

One day, a teacher conducting a class in arithmetic happened to say 'America is a very rich country."

This statement gave Johnnie cause to ask "But teacher, if America is such a rich country, why is it that I have to come to school every morning without breakfast."

"Well, the money is divided among New York .- A former official of turns over to Messrs. Johnson & the people according to how hard and the Ku Klux Klan, Henry P. Fry, in Smith, four coats every day in the how well they work. Perhaps your

"My daddy works very hard, Teacher. He doesn't rest a moment while York World" of September 9, declares happens that his wife or one of his he works. At the end of the day he children becomes ill, then he has to comes home faint from too long bours, too little sleep and rest. And in the end look what he gets for all that endurance and hard work. Why so little he can't even afford to buy enough food for breakfast."

> "But perhaps your father's work is not worth much?"

"Not worth much," cried Johnnie amazed at the thought that someone not worth much. "Teacher, if my dadthe sake of their mother and younger ery would soon be running wrong for lack of one to take care of it.'

> Little Robert's father who lives in a palace in comparison to our home much as my father."

As for the value of work, a boss could be absent from the factory and things could go along just as smoothly as ever. But if my father is not there when he should be lively, carefree, en- at work there would be a ling missing

Without all the links the chain is useless. Without the bosses, who are hood taken away from them just as but the polish on the chain, the chain

There are many daddies like mine who are links of chains. Why should

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