

"Revolution has always been, and is today, nothing else but a struggle of living forces carried on within given historic conditions." Trotsky.

THE TOILER

NO. 189.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1921.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

Raid of Toiler Office Threatened by Ku Klux 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.

An hour before the forms for this week's Toiler were made up, the postman brought us a letter purporting to come from a member of the Ku Klux Klan.
The letter contains no signature. We have no means of knowing 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 appeared recently in the public press, coming from this organization contain no signatures. Such a method is the prevailing one with this nefarious organization. However, we accept the letter as coming from an individual member of the Ku Klux Klan and not from the organization.
The letter is published below just as written, mistakes of spelling, punctuation and all.

Cleveland, Ohio, Sept. 11/21.

To The Toiler,
Gentlemen:
As member of the Ku Klux Klan I warn you immediately to break up that Soviet group plan in this country.

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 if you do not correspond with this statement, The Toiler office will be in an unexpected place by the 20th of Sep't.

That's why we are warning you in a friendly 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 ideas.
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 profess however, I feel that I must continue on my chosen way. I have never gotten any revolutionary ideas from the Ku Klux Klan, and I do not intend to give any up for them.

As for me putting a stop to the spreading of the Soviet idea of government in this country, that is quite out of my power. Let me give you and your organization a little light on the first principle of sociology: the spread of an idea cannot be stopped by any individual nor any group of individuals, whether they attempt it in the dead of night with hooded

faces or openly and bravely in the light of day. So I shall likewise have to pass up your offered opportunity to make a fool of myself.

I observe the lien of life you have so courteously extended to The Toiler 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 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 up for you. This I gladly do however, please accept the courtesy. Therefore, on the 20th of this month, I shall prepare a warm welcome for you and your black hooded cohorts of infamy. Come along, bring the tar and feathers; bring your ropes, all your mummery and paraphernalia of violence. Bring the whole cheese, including your Imperial Wizard. I can assure you that when the party is over, he won't know himself from a black hen's gizzard.

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

Elmer T. Allison.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, INVESTMENT 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 session of August 22 at Atlantic City. "The Council had before it a proposal to call on congress to take steps to relieve the present unemployment situation. Action on it will probably be taken later in the week."—Cleveland Plain Dealer, August 23.

Action to relieve the unemployed will probably be taken later; action to protect investors has been taken some time ago. Investors first, the unemployed later.

How can Gompers claim to represent the workers when he thinks first of the investors?

To be sure, he is thinking of "investment for the average American worker." But outside the A. F. of L. bureaucracy, how many American workers are investors?

He admits that things have come to a pass where "the workers wife could not send her children to Sunday school at Easter (how quick he is to see essentials) because the girls haven't hats and the boys haven't shoes." And still he worries about the small investors.

He says: "I have been asked who among the capitalists has suggested a

(Continued on page 3.)



THE INVENTOR OF ARMAMENT.

Translated from the German by R. S. David.

At the entrance of the Department of War of a country of Eastern Europe, a gentleman stranger enquired for the Secretary of War.
When he was questioned by the officials about the nature of his errand, he replied that he had an invention that he offered for sale—an invention that would revolutionize modern warfare. The country purchasing it, would thereby acquire the means of defeating any and all of its enemies.
Well pleased, the officials lead him to the Secretary of War. His honor was also very well pleased to hear of the matter. He urged his visitor to be seated, and asked for detailed information about the invention.

He related his story. He told of the dirigible airship he invented, which would have the carrying capacity of a whole regiment of an army, and could remain in the air for several days, withstanding even the greatest storms.
After the Secretary of War gave his word of honor to keep all information strictly confidential, the 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.
"O. K.," exclaimed his honor, and heartily embraced the stranger. "Here 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."
"Why, I have one with me right now," replied the stranger, winking slyly. "It is remarkable."
"What is it?"
"I have invented a cannon that will bring down easily any airship, let it be ever so high. No airship can escape the deadly aim of this cannon."
"Pardon me," interrupted the Secretary of War, while the wrinkles gathered on his forehead, "but this is rather strange. First you invent a great airship, and immediately also a cannon with which you can annihilate it. This is rather unfair of you."
"I can see nothing strange about this," replied the visitor laughingly. My airship is a terrible implement of war; therefore it is necessary to invent something whereby it can be destroyed.
"You are right—but no!—I could well understand if someone else had invented this cannon and would wish to sell it."
"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 before you as a different person, and

then sell the cannon to you? Is that your desire?"
"Well," replied the Secretary of War, "I see that there is nothing left for me but to buy your cannon too, for otherwise you will sell it to another country. How much is it?"
"One million."
His honor said, "You seem to be a pretty smart fellow," he remarked to the stranger, patting him on the shoulder. "How could you invent such a horrible cannon?"
"There is nothing horrible about it."
"Indeed it is horrible. I can tell it by your sketch."
The stranger took a seat and smiled teasingly at the Secretary of War. "I'll let you into a secret. I discovered an armor for my airship, that will fully protect my airship against my cannon."
The Secretary of War grew indignant. "What do you want of me? Do you wish to drive me crazy? This is certainly unfair of you. It is a disgrace."
"Pardon me; it is not a disgrace. You have no right to speak to me like that. Is there anything wrong with my airship? I believe it to be excellent. Or is the cannon no good? I believe it to be even better than the airship!"
"But you should have sold the armor to me along with the airship."
"You err, Sir," replied the stranger coldly. "There was no need of the armor as long as there was not the cannon."
The Secretary of War after long silence, sighed deeply and faintly asked: "What is its price?"
"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. You are a real devil. You are ruining this country."
The stranger pocketed the money and after taking leave of the Secretary of War, went towards the door. "Just a moment!" called his honor after him. "Are you convinced that this armor is bullet proof?"
The stranger burst out laughing. "Certainly; to my cannon."
"So in this respect, my mind can be at ease?"
"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?"
"I have no doubt about it."
"My God! And when will that be invented?"
"It is invented already."

"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 also? And after that, you will jeeringly inform me that you have already invented another armor that will resist the attacks of the infernal machine. Is that right?"
"Yes."
"And you want another million for it?"
"Certainly."
The Secretary of War was enraged. "You miserable creature! You are intent upon destroying the country. Who are you? Tell me your name, so that we know whom we can curse for all this!"
The stranger's face assumed a freezing smile. He spoke with derision: "You may curse me as much as you wish to. That won't make you the wiser. Nor will I tell you my name. Common sense would have told you what will be the outcome of this. You should have known it all along that this preparedness craze will ruin the country sooner or later. And it does not make a bit of difference whether it will happen in ten years or in ten minutes from now."
The stranger (Mr. Capitalistic National Rivalry) took his hat, and without any further ado left the gaping Secretary of War.

PRECAUTIONS FOR COMMUNIST PRISONERS.

Berlin.—Since the murder of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, when the government declared that the two Communists who had been arrested, were shot while trying to escape—which 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 Suelz, claiming they are endeavoring to escape.
Hence when Hoelz was removed to prison, with a heavy iron chain attached to one foot, he was accompanied by his attorney, who saw to it that nothing happened on the way.
Hoelz has been sentenced to twenty years. A proletarian revolution in Germany will speedily terminate that.

VIRGINIA IN WEST VIRGINIA UNION MINERS IN 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 over the mountains in northeastern Logan County, which lately were alive with machine gun and rifle fire. United States troops are in the recent battle sector.
Searching parties are still looking for missing men, and until they have reported, the losses on the miners' side cannot be definitely known. Only eight deaths are definitely recorded so far, two of them volunteers from Virginia and Kentucky. The total number lost cannot be more than twice that number and is more probably several less. Half of the death wounds were caused by machine gun bullets.
Don Chafin's losses are much 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 affidavit that is being presented to Governor Morgan. Most of Lee's story deals with the terrorism in the jail, but incidentally, he tells of personally unloading 75 bodies from automobile trucks back from the front, and of carrying them into the main room of a packing house in Logan used as a morgue. At one time he counted nearly 300 bodies in this main room, and he says that not quite all of the dead were taken there.
Lee said he came to Charleston this summer. One evening during the week of fighting a deputy came to his home and told him to get ready to leave for the front. Lee said he refused to fight. First the deputy tried to argue with him, then hustled him to the prison. In prison he found his "buddy," another colored friend from Charleston. The "buddy" stubbornly refused to fight or work for the Logan county forces and was dragged out of his cell, a shot ringing out shortly after. Lee was told he had been killed. About the same time another prisoner, who said he was a union bricklayer, was killed for the same reason, says Lee. This story is

corroborated by eye witnesses. Expecting death any minute, Lee consented to do noncombatant work. He was motored to Blair Mountain, where he assisted in the commissariat and hospital work. Here he loaded up seventy-five men on four auto trucks, coming into Logan and unloading them there.
The story of the murder of the union bricklayer was corroborated by two clean-cut young fellows, who told me they stood three feet away while the man was shot twice through the back in the corridor, just outside their cell in the Logan county prison. They gave their names and take full responsibility 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 Wauson, Ohio, and Glomar Stanfield of Atlanta, Ga.
Gregg and Stanfield were in Logan looking for work. They were picked up August 24, shortly after the first advance of the miners, before they demobilized and went home at the request of their leaders, Keehey and Mooney. Five days after arrest Gregg was taken to Chafin's headquarters in the courthouse, he said. Chafin told him that he heard he was an ex-marine and ordered him to go to the front. Chafin added instructions to get a rifle from the gun rack and was turning away when the boy objected, saying, "I've had eighteen months' fighting in France but I'm not going to fight workmen over here!"
Chafin is a man of action. Gregg says his face did not change expression as he stuck a Army rifle at him and said he would die on the spot if he didn't obey orders.
"All right, kill me," said Gregg, "there'll be just one more dead man then."
"Take him back to the jail," said Chafin.
A few days after Chafin came to the prison and told the two hundred men that he was going to let them out and they would have just fifteen minutes to get out of town.

RUSSIAN FAMINE RELIEF GROWING.

MANY ORGANIZATIONS JOIN HANDS AS NEED OF CLASS SOLIDARITY IS SEEN.

The Friends of Soviet Russia, Cleveland, Ohio Branch, is growing fast and will within the next week become the sole working class organization in this city doing relief work for the famine stricken in Russia.
The third weekly delegates' meeting which occurred on Sept. 9 showed thirty-three organizations of workers affiliated. This list of organizations includes A. F. of L. unions, Industrial Unions, Independent Unions and educational and fraternal organizations who realize the need of American workers giving that class solidarity to the stricken workers of Russia necessary to mitigate their sufferings. Other organizations and unions are selecting delegates who will affiliate within a week or two. Five hundred dollars was turned in in collections by the delegates.
Amalgamation Near.
A conference of delegates of unions and other organizations called by the Ladies Garment Workers at the North Congregational Church, on St. Clair and East 72nd st. on the evening of the 9th, at which a committee of the Friends Of Soviet Russia appeared to ask for affiliation, exemplified every desire to work in co-operation with the latter organization. When the debate upon the advisability of affiliation with the Friends Of Soviet Russia took place, the only opposition came from a handful of reactionary A. F. of L. union leaders. The demand voiced by the delegates present was overwhelmingly for affiliation.
When a motion was made that the Friends Of Soviet Russia be invited to meet with the conference at a date to be set late in the next week for the purpose of affiliation with the former organization, it was carried with but two opposing votes.
The expression was freely made by

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 within the next two weeks.

Mass Meeting Great Success.
The first mass meeting held by the Friends Of Soviet Russia in this city, which took place at Remeny's Hall, East 55th and Woodland, on Sept. 4, addressed by Caleb Harrison, was a splendid example of the work being conducted by this organization.
With an audience of six hundred people present, a most enthusiastic greeting was given the speaker who is well known in the city. The character of the Hoover relief work in Hungary, as told in a recent number of the World's Work by Capt. T. C. Gregory, Hoover's representative, in which the author explained in detail how, thru his efforts the Soviet Government in Hungary was overthrown, was used with telling effect by the speaker in solidifying sentiment behind the Friends Of Soviet Russia.
When the collection was taken it was found that a most generous offering had been given. Two hundred and ninety five dollars and sixteen cents in cash was received and pledges to the amount of three hundred and fifty dollars, making a total of six hundred and forty-five dollars and sixteen cents.
The total amount collected in the first two weeks of the organization's existence will run well over \$1,500. All amounts collected are remitted each week to the headquarters in New York City, where it is immediately used to purchase food and medicine for shipment to Russia. It is expected that fully \$1,000 will be collected before the next week's meeting.

2nd Mass Meeting.
The second of a series of mass meetings to be held in various parts of the city is scheduled for Saturday evening, Sept. 17, at the North Congregational Church, 72nd and St. Clair Ave. Tom Clifford of the Typographical Union and Max Silinsky, Business Agent of the Tailors' Union will be the speakers.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

The Toiler will be removed to New York City. This is the last issue to be published in Cleveland.
The address hereafter will be
THE TOILER
208 EAST 12th STREET NEW YORK, N. Y.

NOTICE

TO SUBSCRIBERS, AGENTS, LITERATURE PURCHASERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.
Pay all bills for subscriptions and bundles taken after this issue to the New York address.
The Cleveland Office at 3207 Clark Ave. will be retained as a literature distribution center.
Pay all bills for this issue and past issues for which you owe to the Cleveland address.
Order literature in future from the Cleveland address only.
All correspondence about past orders should be addressed to the present Cleveland address.
Please govern your correspondence by these rules and the adjustments will be made with very little inconvenience.
THE MANAGEMENT.

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 everlasting 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.

Every radical measure tending to restore capitalist equilibrium must by the very nature of the case, tend to disturb class equilibrium 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 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 men 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 prejudices. 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 varying degrees. This explains the vacillations, the ebbs and flows, the attacks and retreats, characterising the revolutionary war. But the shattering of old illusions, the terrible uncertainty of existence, the arbitrary domination of the trusts and the practical methods of the militarised state—all this is rapidly welding the 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 near the loom, the workers succeeded in maintaining and even in raising their standard of life. But as a general rule wages did not 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

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 the general instability of the economic conditions nationally and internationally, is to-day the most revolutionary factor of social development.

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 Communist International is basing its policy on the proletarian revolution, but this by no means implies either dogmatically fixing any 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 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 revolution. 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 the actual development of the revolution by rendering all possible assistance in the way of restoring the equilibrium of the bourgeois state while the Communists on the other hand are trying to take advantage of all means and methods for the purpose of 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 self-sacrifice, 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 to date, the invaluable political weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

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 it 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 developing incessantly along an upward curve. The political evolution 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 bourgeoisie embraces the first opportunity for counter-offensive. The proletariat in losing some of its positions which were easily won usually 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 vacillations constantly upwards.

Should the rate of development prove to be more protracted and should the present industrial crisis be superseded in a number of countries by a period of prosperity, this would not in the least signify the advent of the "organic" epoch. So long as capitalism exists periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany capitalism in its agony as was the case during its youth and maturity. The proletariat having been some-

My 12 Days in Germany

By G. ZINOVIEV

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

This is the second chapter in Zinoviev's account of the congress of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, held at Halle, in October 1920, at which time the party split upon the matter of adopting the "21 points" of affiliation with the Third International. The previous installment had to do with Zinoviev's admittance into Germany thru the White Guard lines, and his welcome by the German workers.

This chapter tells of the strength of the opposing factions and affords some interesting sidelights upon the leaders and general makeup of the delegates to the congress.

The Congress Opens.

At the beginning of the congress the Lefts had a majority of 50. Towards the end of the congress, at the time of the principal division this majority grew to over 80 and the chief motion concerning the acceptance 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 spite of the protests on the part of the Lefts and the Executive Committee of the Third International. The wire pullers of the Right Wing were in a hurry, and called together a congress in the course of some 4 or 5 weeks. They reckoned on taking the German workers unawares. Most of the papers and the whole party machine were in the hands of the Rights. The Rights used their 50 dailies to open a fierce campaign of lies and calumny against "Moscow", against the Third International, against their own comrades of the Left; "Freiheit", edited by Herr Hilferding, was especially active in this respect. In Moscow we pointed out to Crispian and Dittmann that "Freiheit" is a counter-revolutionary periodical 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 for which the party as a whole could be held responsible; that it was the organ of "your" Berlin Left organization. "If the Berliners could not create such a press as would satisfy you, this is not their (Crispian'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 famous and ardent supporters of "government by the people", completely ignored the decision of the Berlin organization. They did what Scheidemann did in 1915 with regard to the "Vorwarts". They stole the paper from 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 subtleties 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 the majority. If under such conditions the Communist elements i. e. the Left Independents, secured a two third majority at the congress, it is obvious 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 audience in the hall is divided in two sections: it is as if a knife has cut them sharply in two. Two parties are present. The relations between the Rights and the Lefts have become very strained during the pre-congress

deliberations and at the congress itself we had to deal with bitter enemies. There were two chairmen presiding over the meeting—the representative of the Left—Brass, a worker, and the representative of the Right, no other than Dittmann, 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 its press his insinuations against Russia.

We were greatly surprised and asked our Left comrades how, being in the majority at the congress, they could allow such a rascal as Dittmann to act as chairman. The Lefts explained: "The Right leaders are continually trying to find fault with us over petty formalities; they are seeking a pretext to leave the congress in order to prevent a discussion on points of principle and thus make the congress a failure. We decided to yield to them in all matters of secondary importance, in order to elucidate matters, and make them appear in such a light that every workman would see who possesses the majority and who was causing the split in the party."

In order to achieve that object the Lefts agreed that the mandatory commission and the presidium should consist of equal numbers of representatives 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 Wing...

We take our seats next to comrade Adolf Heffmann and the other leaders of the Left section of the congress. We look around and gradually acquaint ourselves with the composition of the two sections of the congress. What a familiar sight! We saw exactly the same picture some 10 years ago and earlier at our congresses at which the Mensheviks participated. On one side workers only, on the other, an overwhelming majority of intellectuals.

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 exclusively of born-and-bred workingmen many of whom even now are working at the factories and works. Now the composition of the Right Wing! A few dozen workers will be found there. These belong mainly to 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 intellectuals is undoubtedly on the side of Rights. We witnessed just the same in our party in the days before the Mensheviks gladdened us by their departure...

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 maneuvering, 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 experience of the preceding 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)

Personal Sketches.

A few words on the principal leaders of the Right Wing at the congress will explain much.

As far as theory and ideas are concerned the principal leader of the Right Wing is undoubtedly Rudolf Hilferding. His features remind us of a "respectable" stock-broker or a well-to-do banker. He is personal gratae with representatives of the British diplomatic mission in Berlin, with the fashionable political salons of ladies of rank, and sometimes he appears at the meetings of trade union officials and at congresses. He is no believer in revolution: it is well he believes in realities. But then he does not believe in anything. You can see it in his face, nay, in the very folds of his coat. He is a thorough sceptic, he is convinced that the high tide of revolution is over and that at the present time Germany and the whole of Europe is passing through the last convulsions of the revolutionary upheaval. All that has passed he regards—as did our Cadets and Mensheviks some time ago—as "the raging of the elements". A conversation of his with an English diplomat, an intrigue with some "Left" Scheidemanni 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 Crispian and Dittmann. Hilferding possesses in abundance that gift of senile doctrinaire reasoning which is so typical of Kautsky in the period of his decline. Kautsky however, is an "honest" opportunist, whereas his worthy disciple, Hilferding, besides scholastic pedantry displays other traits more worthy of a stock-exchange gambler. In his struggle against the workers' revolution Kautsky seeks inspiration mainly in books. His pupil Hilferding, on the other hand, seeks it also in the ante-chamber of the British diplomats, in the cabinets of bank-managers and if necessary in other even more savoury places. The whole mental equipment of the Right Wing of the Independents is undoubtedly borrowed from Kautsky. All the orators of the Right Wing use the stilted arguments of Kautsky, and nevertheless they try to avoid mentioning Kautsky. Their unworthy attitude to their master, their fear of being regarded as in touch with one who in fact is the spiritual leader of the whole section of the Right Independents, shows well their utter cowardice. Hilferding is a sort of substitute for Kautsky (substitutes are now very much in vogue in Germany). The wily Hilferding is more permissible than the spiritual "leader", the blunt, outspoken Kautsky. Owing to his connections with bankers and smart business-men Hilferding possesses more evasiveness than his master Kautsky. He is more adept in evading a direct answer to difficult questions. He will hold his tongue where Kautsky is candid enough to blurt out counter-revolutionary rubbish. Hilferding can even, if needs be, utter two or three stereotyped official "revolutionary" sentences. He will always be able to play up to the actual wire-pullers of the Right section of the Independents, like Dittmann and Co. In a word he is at once accommodating, flexible and wise. He has no principle which he would not substitute at a moment's notice. When necessary he will quote a few passages from Marx and Engels just for the sake of showing off his education. In short he is just that "spiritual" leader which the Right section of the Independents so badly need. The task of leading a mob of petty bourgeois and officials suits him to perfection. He is precisely in his place as the "pontiff", the high priest and prophet of this section, who are only second rate Scheidemanni.

Hilferding appeared as my chief opponent. His speech lasted about three hours.

He started his speech against me with the following subterfuge. On the platform, where the committee of the congress was seated, there stood a big poster. On one side was written in German: "Workers of the World unite!" On the other—also in German:—"To the German workers"

(Continued on page 3.)

varying degrees. This explains the vacillations, the ebbs and flows, the attacks and retreats, characterising the revolutionary war. But the shattering of old illusions, the terrible uncertainty of existence, the arbitrary domination of the trusts and the practical methods of the militarised state—all this is rapidly welding the 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 near the loom, the workers succeeded in maintaining and even in raising their standard of life. But as a general rule wages did not 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

tion 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 bourgeoisie embraces the first opportunity for counter-offensive. The proletariat in losing some of its positions which were easily won usually 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 vacillations constantly upwards.

Should the rate of development prove to be more protracted and should the present industrial crisis be superseded in a number of countries by a period of prosperity, this would not in the least signify the advent of the "organic" epoch. So long as capitalism exists periodic vacillations are inevitable. These vacillations are going to accompany capitalism in its agony as was the case during its youth and maturity. The proletariat having been some-

future is going to proceed at a rapid pace. 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 manoeuvring, 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 experience of the preceding 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.

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Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

PIONEERS AND THE YOUNG JUSTICE-REAL

By GEO. N. FALCONER.

"A time such as the present demands of the revolutionary youth 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."

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 fossilized with the ideas they pioneered. Bax's slogan of the necessities, "Down with the pioneers" needs reviving in these days of reaction, mistrust and despair.

In the August issue of the "American Federationist" is a lengthy report of the legislative committee of the 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 Unionism.

"From this report it will be observed that Labor and other reformatory organizations have been unable to secure the passage of legislation of a constructive character in the interest of life saving, health, better standard of living and labor from this Congress. We have been having our hands full in the endeavor to 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 firm for the right."

W. C. Roberts, E. F. McGrady, Edgar Wallace, Legislative Representatives, 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—it is over the hill to the poor house in the rot far future.

ENGLISH LABOR PIONEERS. Jack Tanner of England, who is 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 the 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 rever! Americans ditto!

Talking with secretary Inkpin of the British Communist Party a year ago relative to English Labor's attitude to the new Communist movement, he said: We in England are far ahead 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 Leaders have been jailed; the party headquarters raided and much Communist literature confiscated. And British labor(?) Both the B. L. P. and the I. L. P. have officially disowned and anathematized the Communist Party, communist principles and the Third

International. So pleased is Gompers, he fairly chuckles with glee over the recent action of British Labor. Editorially he says: "The Labor Party vote against affiliation (with the Third International) was overwhelming. It constitutes one of the most hopeful signs 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 perversity. 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 observe Pope's famous dictum (slightly altered).

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

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 sluth 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 Commons) we were reminded of the Marxian quip—"I sowed dragons' teeth and have reaped fleas."

Henry Barbusse Writing in the new English "Labor Monthly" (a sign of the day) has this to say of the reactionary labor-socialist leaders—

"These superficial comrades of 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 reactionaries."

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 public the contents of the bulletin. Space permits us to just mention the names of those in charge of this new 20th century emancipator of the world's proletariat. Every one of them is a pioneer and a middle-class social-patriot, bomb-proof against all the wiles and snares of Bolshevism and Communism.

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

- British Section— J. Ramsay MacDonald H. Gosling Camille Huysmans (Belgium) Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) Otto Wels (Germany) Thomas Shaw (Gt. Britain) P. J. Troelstra (Holland) Hjalmer Branting (Sweden). And this band of pseudo-socialists and labor betrayers dare use the sacred words of Marx—"Workers of the World Unite!"

THE YOUNG INTERNATIONAL. We must cease trusting the Pioneers. They have done their work—let them

growing number of workers, I thank you for all the past and wish you joy in the Revolution. 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 innuants 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 doped 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 in robes and wigs.

The judges and lawyers tell the workers be "good" and "law-abiding," (to obey laws which the masters 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 lectures 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 colorless". 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 justice."

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 henchmen of capitalist "legality" and "fake justice" to "wear robes," because "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 Menace—let no such one be trusted! The hope of the future is in the hands of the young. We who are old, yet young in spirit, can but prepare the ground. The real job must be done by the youth, the dreamers, the daring and the brave, the builders of "The Beautiful Yet To Be." Youth is life and life is revolution, life more abundant! 'Tis life wherof our nerves are scant, Oh life, not death, for which we pant. More life and fuller that we want!—this is the cry of youth; the battle-cry of the Young International. Capitalism deems it necessary to have devoted and loyal servitors. It is equally necessary that Communism have brave, devoted and enlightened followers! To live for the Commgn-weal is much better and more heroic than to die for Dollar Democracy on hell-swept 'Flanner's Fields where Poppies grow.

All power to the Young International.

Mrs. Katherine Gitlow.

Eating Grass and Cakes of Clay

"They're eating grass and cursing the sun for whithering the weeds." We heard this weeks ago and did not believe.

TODAY WE KNOW IT TO BE TRUE!

READ: "We are eating pigweed, wild oats, clay and sunflower heads. It burns your insides, your stomach swells and then you die."

READ AGAIN: ".....already we are eating grass like horses..... The child is a skeleton, with hollow cheeks, fever-bright eyes and arms and legs like stalks of fennel. Under the little shirt a stomach sticks out swollen as big as a ripe melon..... The child is as still as a tiny corpse dragged out of its coffin. Clapsed in her match-like 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 by the cries of children for whom there is nothing—nothing..... We

cut up weeds and grass, but there's no savor in them, and now even the grass is dying."

ALL THIS FROM THE REPORT OF AN OFFICIAL SOVIET COMMISSION WHICH VISITED THE WORST SECTIONS IN THE FAMINE 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. Contribute. Organize a branch of The Friends of Soviet Russia and make a 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 reactionary conditions, as do Hoover and others. STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA.

'BEN GITLOW IS GONE.'

WORKERS' CANDIDATE SPIRITED AWAY. HOPE TO INJURE HIS CAMPAIGN FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

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. We were glad when we arrived at our destination. As usual, we gave our names to the clerks and were admitted, through two iron doors, into the visiting 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 the door said kindly: "He's gone, Mrs. Gitlow, with thirty-six others, this morning to Auburn." I retained my composure. I wanted to find out whether any others of the political prisoners had been transferred and learned that Isaac Ferguson accompanied 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 advice 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 may 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 degenerated, 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 reasons for the trip. I can see Ferguson, smiling ironically, thinking—"You can not stop the march of the workers. It will go until victory is assured."

The conductor yelled "125th street." I awoke from my thoughts. Anna and I parted in silence. I remembered my membership on the Relief Committee of the National Defense Committee my duty being to see that class war prisoners are provided with comforts and necessities. In fulfillment of that duty I sent two telegrams of cheer to Gitlow and Ferguson and telegraphed them money.

Workers of America must help the National Defense Committee so that the true fighters for the working class may be provided an adequate defense and with prison comforts. Send your donations to Edgar Owens, secretary, National Defense Committee, 7 Bank Street, New York City.

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 circumstance.

This is symbolic—he said. It is most significant that the Petrograd Labour Commune should appear on the stage... Hilferding however, miscalculated the effect of his remark. The vast majority of the congress, 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 cheer for the Petrograd Labour Committee. The first part of Hilferding's speech was most characteristic. He mentioned in it the "Schmutz-Konkurrenz" i. e. the "low competition" of the Left leaders of the Independents against the Right leaders. The essence of this reproach 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 pandering 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 Hilferding 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 "competition among leaders". This pusillanimous fellow can only find one explanation, for the difference in opinion which is now dividing the ranks of the German labour movement, and that is, sordid competition.

(Continued next week.)

SAMUEL GOMPERS INVESTMENT PROTECTOR.

(Continued from page 1.)

reduction in the rate of interest of a loan." He doesn't say what he answered. I'll bet the League of Nations against a shoe string he didn't know what to answer. If he himself makes a special trip to the White House to see the President about protecting investments, while action to relieve the unemployed "will probably be taken later," how can he expect the capitalists to think of the workers, and not of their investments? With six million workers going around idle, thousands of them forced to beg the price of a sandwich, how can the president of the A. F. of L. think of investments? I give it up. What do you think?

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.)

Moscow, June 20.—Today I had the real pleasure of attending a most interesting outdoor feté. It was arranged by the Commissariat of Public Education to celebrate the opening of the Third Congress of the Communist International.

"piece de resistance," it seemed to me, was the "rhythmic exercises." These are a kind of combination of calisthenics and dancing. They are performed to band music. Originally developed in Switzerland, they were popular in Russian aristocratic circles before the revolution.

There were several varieties of these rhythmic exercises. A beautiful thing it was to see 500 boys, their naked bodies glistening in the sun, lined up in several detachments, each going through a different set of calisthenics, simultaneously to the same music, and all finishing exactly as the band came to its concluding strain.

In a crisis all "liberal" governments show their real colors. That of Hippolyte Ingoyen was no exception. The government took fright at the oncoming conflict and went over completely to the side of the capitalists.

A rhythmic 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.

In view of the shortage of food I was particularly interested in noting the physical condition of the boys. This was easy to do as they were practically naked. To me they looked like an especially husky bunch of kids.

The festival finished by all hands singing "The Marseillaise" and "The International." Then we went to the river bank, where we had tea in a swell, flag-decked boat clubhouse, whose aristocratic former owners have departed for parts unknown.

THE STRUGGLE AND DEFEAT OF THE ARGENTINE PROLETARIAT.

By ROBERT MOBRY.

The following report of the conditions of the workers of Argentine 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 through a shop committee system to exercise 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.

On May 5th the Fur Workers Union entered the struggle for the closed shop. The government first supported the union. Thereupon the whole proletariat pressed a vicious and tumultuous outcry against the union and the government.

May 25th, the national holiday, witnessed an open combat between the workers and the patrioters. The anarchist Chauffeurs union declared a one day's strike in sympathy with the workers.

In a crisis all "liberal" governments show their real colors. That of Hippolyte Ingoyen was no exception. The government took fright at the oncoming conflict and went over completely to the side of the capitalists.

Capitalist liberalism and democracy stepped upon the scene in all her

hideous form. The workers organizations and press were attacked on trumped-up charges. The Anarchist trade unions and the Communist Party locals were closed by the police; the leaders were arrested and the Chauffeurs union completely outlawed.

The whole workingclass was aroused by this wanton and brutal onslaught. On May 30th the Anarchist and reform-syndicalist labor federations, together with the independent unions, went into convention to arrange for a general strike.

The various unions then began the general strike without any set plan or general leadership. The capitalists brought all their economic and governmental (military) pressure to bear to break the strike.

The unions refused the conditions. The strike broke down completely by June 6th.

The time was not an opportune one for the general strike because of the economic crisis and unemployment. But the real reason for the defeat was the lack of discipline and centralized leadership in the unions which are dominated by an anarchistic decentralizing ideology.

The bosses pressed their victory to the utmost, abolished the hateful "Delegados" and began to lower wages.

The Argentine proletariat has much to learn. Before it can become a power it must not only shake itself free from the social patriots but must also teach the anarchists the value of unified leadership and action.

Justice Dept's Part In Sacco-Vanzetti Frame-up

By EUGENE LYONS.

Boston, September 12.—What part has the Department of Justice played in the prosecution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the two Italian labor organizers recently condemned to die in the electric chair on a charge of murder?

Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5, 1920, the very day after the sensational death of their friend, Andrea Salsedo, who was found dead on the sidewalk under the 14th story window of the Department of Justice offices in New York.

At the very time of their arrest Sacco and Vanzetti were arranging a mass meeting of Italians to protest against the Salsedo tragedy. The draft of a leaflet calling the meeting was found on their persons.

The friends of the two Italians have contended from the very beginning that the Department of Justice had a hand in the prosecution. Their theory was that the department wanted to be rid of these friends of Salsedo who seemed determined to fix responsibility for his strange death while a prisoner.

In the attacks published recently those who issued the interviews for the department frankly link the same

White Guards Are Active in Greece.

DESTRUCTION OF HEADQUARTERS OF GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY OCCURS IN DEAD OF NIGHT.

What the "Phalangitae," these Greek Fascists, together with the thugs of the "tyrant-killers," that is, of the new Greek Government, were planning for a long time, took place here a few days ago, when these ruffians raided the headquarters of the Greek Communist Party.

The church bells were ringing wildly at midnight to announce the taking of Eski-Sehir by the Greek Army. Gun shots were incessant as if a war was going on in the streets of Athens.

And as both the bourgeois Greek parties were of one mind that the war in Asia Minor must continue at all cost, and as the Royalists were not in a mood to start something against their opponents, the Venizelists, being that they were as staunch patriots as themselves, and as the masses did not care to celebrate the "great victory," the Police, the thugs and the Phalangitae thought the moment opportune for the execution of their dismal designs.

"It was the people who wanted it," the cry went on, "the people grown indignant against the unpatriotic treacherous Communists!" But the people were slumbering 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.

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."

The Communists are now saying in the face of this thug-government that the next time they are assaulted by any one they will use armed force. No doubt this bold language will be better understood by the White Guards.

The members of the Executive Committee of the Greek Communist Party are still in prison awaiting trial, which is purposely postponed. News of fresh arrests of laborers and labor leaders are coming daily from all parts of the country especially from Volo and Saloniki.

The first ship-loads of wounded soldiers have just come from the battle front. The bourgeois acclaim the "heroes" wildly but the soldiers keep silent. The capitalist press employs 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 uses quotations from the Scriptures, in short we see a revival of Byzantine fanaticism and bigotry.

But underneath this pomp and false glory the groans of the masses can be heard, and their indignation can be read in their faces.

Ku Klux Klan Is Scored By Former Official

New York.—A former official of the Ku Klux Klan, Henry P. Fry, in a letter of withdrawal from that organization, published in the "New York World" of September 9, declares that:

"...I have reached the conclusion that your proposition is a historical fraud: that it is a money-making scheme run for the benefit of a few insiders; that it is engaged in an evil propaganda in promoting unwarranted religious 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 the writer, addressing himself to the Imperial Wizard of the Klan, "is furthermore a money-making scheme! You, yourself, an individual of little, if any means prior to your becoming an 'Emperor,' have so far received from 'friends' a \$25,000 residence completely furnished! Your connection with the organization is either bringing you large sums of money at present or the promise of same in the future. You are allowed to appropriate to your own use all of the \$10 'donated' by any person whose application you personally solicit.

In describing the activities of the Klan, the writer declares that the organization... "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 religious and racial fanaticism. And day by day, with your oily assurance, 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 slightest conception of what pure Americanism means...."

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 query—"Paper?" He's ten years old and very handsome. He has large blue eyes and curly blond hair,—why, the girls in the office are simply "crazy" about him.

But when I look at him, I see more than his comely face. To me his face shows more than its natural beauty. He is only a child—ten years old—but he comes into the room quietly, and his voice is hushed and low.

The members of the Executive Committee of the Greek Communist Party are still in prison awaiting trial, which is purposely postponed. News of fresh arrests of laborers and labor leaders are coming daily from all parts of the country especially from Volo and Saloniki.

This little fellow's father works in a clothing factory—he makes coats. The name of the Company is Johnson and Smith. After his father works a whole day and makes up four coats, he has to turn the four coats over to Messrs. Johnson & Smith. Why? Because Messrs. Johnson & Smith own 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 necessities of life in order to live.

The father, with a sad heart, gathers his children around him, calls his fourteen year old son, his "right hand" and his ten year old boy, his "little man", and tells them that for the sake of their mother and younger brothers and sisters, they, as the older of the children would have to go to work, anywhere and at any wage, in order to keep starvation from their home.

And thus, my dear reader, this little newsboy, with his childhood crushed and broken, becomes a thoughtful little businessman, after school hours, when he should be lively, carefree, enjoying childhood. And he is not the only one. Oh, No! Hundreds of other children are crushed and their childhood taken away from them just as from this one.

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 at work there would be a ling missing from the chain.

"AMERICAN WORKERS' DUTY TO RUSSIA" Will be the subject of A MASS MEETING AT NORTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH East 72nd and St. Clair Ave. SATURDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 17, 8 P. M. SPEAKERS: Tom Clifford, of the Typographical Union. Max Sillinsky, Business Agent Tailors' Union. A collection will be taken for Russian Famine Relief. Auspices Friends Of Soviet Russia.

The Workers' University of America AN ORGANIZATION WITH A PROGRAM OF EDUCATION. CLEVELAND, OHIO BRANCH Conducts a study class in economics every Tuesday night at the Labor Lyceum, 59th and Scovill Ave. Everyone is welcome. Right now, in addition to the study class we will hold lectures on art, science, economics and current events of vital importance to the workers. These lectures mean something to YOU! Attend all of them. Watch the Toiler for further announcements.