

EVERY CLASS OPPRESSOR REQUIRES TWO SOCIAL FUNCTIONS TO DEFEND ITS DOMINATION—THAT OF THE HANGMAN AND THE PRIEST.—Lenin.

# THE TOILER

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## The Railroad Workers and the Pennsylvania Railroad.

### WHAT THE RAILROAD WORKERS ARE UP AGAINST AND THE WAY OUT.

By TOM CLARK.

The Pennsylvania Railroad is a billion-dollar concern, owning more than 21,000 miles of track, 72 subsidiary railroad companies and large interests in 254 related industries. In normal times, it has a working force of about 275,000 men.

This is a small kingdom and represents control over at least 1,000,000 people. The importance of every agreement made between the workers on the railroad and the executives of the railroad hence is quite obvious.

The railroad executives were ordered by the Railway Labor Board to make a new contract with the workers. They intend to reduce wages, eliminate overtime, and particularly are determined to introduce the open shop.

Separate Agreements with workers. One of the specific methods that the railroads have of reaching this end is to obtain regional agreements with the workers, thereby nullifying the value of organization. But they do not stop there: they effect separate agreements with the crafts, thus multiplying the number of agreements and making it impossible for the men to enter into joint action for any specific purpose.

Another feature of the railroad situation must constantly be borne in mind. In 1916, according to the World Almanac, there were 11 financial groups controlling the railway system of interlocking directorates, four groups have got into control of all the railroads of the country with stocks of more than 6 billion dollars, and bonds of an equal amount. These groups are Morgan & Co., the National City Bank (Rockefeller group), the First National Bank of New York (Baker group) and Kuhn, Loeb & Co.

Although the Pennsylvania system represents a vast system of roads, the subsidiary roads effect separate and distinct agreements with their men, thus confusing the situation to the utmost. This is all part of the scheme that the financiers have projected, in order to bring about chaos in the ranks of the railroad workers.

Whereas the railroads are among the most consolidated organizations in the country, disposing of hundreds of millions of capital, having the services of the best experts in the line, they are obstructing the workers in their efforts to protect themselves in the tremendous struggle for a living that is now going on.

Road Has Own Union. The Pennsylvania Railroad resolved that it would not recognize any labor organization and hence proceeded to organize its own union, which has enrolled less than 10 per cent of the workers in the shop crafts. As a matter of course, such bodies as the National Association of Manufacturers, the National Founders' Association, the National Erectors' Association (this latter concern is the one that refused to supply any iron structural material to firms employing union labor), and the Employers' Association of Chicago, have endorsed the open shop move of the Pennsylvania.

Pretending to speak in the name of the "public" (!), they declare that they stand for "freedom of contract and the right to select the kind of shop each industry desires and to have the protection of the law in its operation." This is the slogan of the open shop advocates!

The Pennsylvania Railroad was ordered by the Railway Labor Board to meet representatives of its workers to formulate new working conditions. Elections were to take place in order that the workers might designate representatives to confer with the railway executives. The Pennsylvania, however, refused to recognize any other union but its own, ignoring 33,000 men, or more than 89 per cent of its shop employees, who are members of the unions of machinists, boilermakers, blacksmiths, electricians, trackmen, clerks, telegraphers and other employees.

In addition, the railway executives protested against the decision of the Railway Labor Board, which was to the effect that the workers might elect any organization or person to represent them in their dealings with the railroads. The executives insisted on dealing with the workers direct, knowing that in this manner they would be able to outwit them.

Thus we have a gigantic corporation, supported by the billions of Wall Street, pitted against the 33,000 work-

ers, who are determined to accept no other representatives than those of their own choice, while the railroad is equally determined to pay no attention either to the ruling of the Labor Board or to the will of the men.

Were the situation reversed, the government would already have made preparations to coerce the men. But capital can do no wrong. Hence the inertia of the part of the government—while the Pennsylvania is laying in a store of coals and food, and it is reported, GUNS—to meet eventualities!

There is only one hope for these railway workers: in case they go on strike, all the railway employees will declare a strike in support of the shop crafts of the Pennsylvania. Should all the men fail to go out, the workers organized in the shop crafts unions will be defeated, despite all decisions of the Labor Board. AND THAT WILL BE THE SIGNAL FOR A GENERAL ONSLAUGHT ON THE RAILWAY UNIONS!

Workers Already Betrayed. The union leaders are doing nothing, in spite of the huge possibilities of the situation and the general seriousness of the matter. Their determination is a mere paper affair, while the government is beginning to back down by granting the railroad executives an extension of time—and the Pennsylvania is laying in guns for trouble.

The reactionary leaders of the union are afraid to enter the struggle. They are retreating this year, just as they completely backed down in 1919.

Instead of having built up their unions and strengthened their morale, instead of having provided for the emergency that they are now faced with, they have let matters drift, in the full consciousness that they would refuse to fight.

H. S. Jeffrey, chairman of the advisory board of the Shop Crafts Union of the Philadelphia-Camden District, has announced that the union will not threaten the railroad or strike, but will depend on "patriotism and public sentiment to force the road to obey the order."

What piffle! What a betrayal! Need Shop Delegate System.

This situation will continue as long as the unions are led by men who seek "industrial peace" rather than the welfare of the organized workers. It will continue as long as the unions are divided into crafts, each negotiating regional contracts with the railroads.

The railroad workers will remain the victims of the big controlling groups in Wall Street, until they recognize that the rank and file must get and retain control. This they can do only through shop organizations, through the SHOP DELEGATE SYSTEM. In this system, the workers elect representatives from every shop, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE CRAFT. These shop representatives, or delegates, from the Shop Committee, which takes up all shop matters with the local railway superintendents. The Committee elects a chairman, who, together with the chairmen of the Shop Committees of other shops, form the Local Executive Committee.

These local Executive Committees elect all local officials. Delegates from the Local Committees form a District Council. All delegates to national conventions are elected in the shops. All officials are recallable. All delegates must report back to the shops, which have the power to remove anybody at any time.

This ensures rank and file control. This eliminates cowardly, treacherous leaders. This makes it positive that the WILL OF THE RANK AND FILE WILL PREVAIL.

When the workers perceive these facts, and when they organize in such form that joint action of the 2,000,000 railway workers will be possible, then and then only will the Pennsylvania, and with it, all the other lines, not dare to defy either the workers or the Labor Board.

### BEG PARDON!

Due to the necessity of substituting more important matter, the first installment of "MY TWELVE DAYS IN GERMANY" will not appear until next issue.

## LABOR DAY 1921

This year, Labor celebrates Labor Day, the Day of the Toilers, under the most inauspicious conditions.

Six millions of fellow-workers are out of work. Millions trudge daily to the factory door to be told there is no work. Millions are working part time.

Men have been laid off and women put in their places because woman's labor is cheaper. Child labor is on the increase—despite State laws. The morale of the workers has been smashed by the unemployment and wage cuts.

The bosses insist on lengthening the hours, in order to extract more labor and more profit from the bodies of the already over-exploited workers. It was the proud boast of workers during the war that labor at last was coming into its own and was gaining the recognition and respect of the employing class. Capital henceforth would have to consult with labor.

But disregarding the workers and their demands, the capitalists have forced longer hours, thrown millions into the streets—and put into their places, children—even of four and five years—who become the bread-earners of the family.

Wages have been reduced—far below the subsistence standard. Competing with the hungry armies outside the factory doors, the men still at the machines are forced to accept terms that condemn them to semi-starvation. Reduction in pay—once, twice and three times within a year—that is Labor's lot!

### Conditions Of The Workers.

Undernourishment is the scourge of the hour. Pale, anaemic children attend the public schools, two-thirds of them suffering from physical defects as a direct result of malnutrition. Tuberculosis is rapidly increasing, the workers being stricken from overwork and poor food.

Soup kitchens, bread lines, charity societies are the institutions most active to-day. THE WORKERS ARE NOT ALLOWED TO WORK, BUT MUST DEPEND ON CHARITY FOR FOOD!

In the southern States, a veritable plague stalks abroad, child of famine and hunger. One hundred thousand human beings are stricken with disease because they cannot obtain sufficient food. And yet this year is but a repetition of last year and of all years, only in an intensified degree.

The tenant farmers—38 per cent of the population—are living on a standard far below that of the worker. They are the producers of food, yet they dare not eat! In the South, they are dying because the food that THEY produce belongs first to the landlord, and only what remains to them!

Crime is on the increase. Bread is dear and work is not to be obtained. Men, women and children, suffering the pangs of hunger, are learning to disregard the distinction between "thine" and "mine". The thief so easily becomes the murderer when his theft is discovered.

Ex-soldiers, who gave up everything in the war, have returned to find that starvation is their lot. ONE OF EVERY FOUR FIRST OFFENDERS IS A WAR VETERAN!

Crazed by the unemployment and economic stress, 6509 men and women ended their lives in the past six months—36 every twenty-four hours!

### THE POWER OF THE BOSSES.

The employers, on the other hand, are well organized in gigantic leagues: in chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations etc. Behind them in the fight against the workers are the billions of Wall Street. They have declared the open shop. The labor organizations must go. They have determined that the few safeguards that the workers have built for their protection must be smashed. No means to this end are too foul. Lockouts, closed factories, injunction legislation declaring strikes a penal offence, thugs, spies, gunmen, militia, federal troops—the government and all its organs are at the behest of the capitalists in their greed to crush labor.

Schools are but places for distorting the minds of the children with wild patriotism. The press is a cesspool of lie and calumny. The church damns everything that the workers undertake to free themselves from increasing degradation. The platform resounds with vile stories against the emancipation of the workers.

The Ku Klux Klan, the American Legion, vigilantes, and other superpatriotic bodies stretch out their bloody hands to throttle the upward movement of the workers.

And the capitalist government looks on benignly, glad, indeed, that the forces of reaction have created these lawless bodies to do the bloody work it would otherwise have to do if capitalism is to survive, if the capitalist system is to survive.

THIS IS CAPITALISM—IN AMERICA—TO-DAY.

The capitalists and the capitalist governments are not blind. Since the war, the British government has had to face contests with organized labor forces and has defeated them only through the treachery of union leaders. The working masses of Japan do not hesitate to demonstrate their rebellious spirit. The six million unemployed in the United States are a power for revolt that the United States government is well aware of. Hence, the creation of a MILITIA ON A NATIONAL SCALE to cope with internal troubles; hence the equipment of police forces with riot guns and poison and tear gas.

THE FORCES OF REACTION ARE UNITED IN POWERFUL ORGANIZATIONS, WHILE THE WORKERS ARE DIVIDED INTO MANY ORGANIZATIONS WORKING AT CROSS PURPOSES WITH ONE ANOTHER!

False, treacherous labor leaders are lending themselves to the bosses in the movement to destroy the unions. Instead of creating a single organization that will be able to fight the bosses—class against class—they keep the workers apart, fighting against and scabbing on one another.

Hence it is time for the workers to realize that there must be UNITY, or there will be annihilation. The working masses must realize that every day they remain apart, they strengthen the forces of their enemies. A united front, a MILITANT front in the interests of labor—that must be labor's slogan.

Now is the time for the organized workers to make the unions instruments for waging a militant fight against the bosses. The reactionary leaders have failed. The rank and file must take up the activity of the unions, to make of them powerful weapons of defense and offense against the capitalist class.

ATTEND YOUR UNION MEETINGS! LINE UP THE MILITANTS AND PROGRESSIVES FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BUREAUCRACY! MAKE THE UNIONS A FIGHTING FORCE NOT ONLY FOR BETTER WORKING CONDITIONS, BUT FOR THE BIGGER STRUGGLE—FOR THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS FROM THE CHAINS OF SLAVERY!

That must be the slogan of Labor Day.

### Relief Conference Affiliates Organizations With Friends Of Soviet Russia.

Boston, August 14.

At a conference which met here last night, to devise ways and means of helping the famine stricken masses of Russia, it was decided to affiliate in the relief work with the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The call for the conference was issued in answer to an appeal recently

sent out to the workers of the world by Lenin. The Massachusetts District Organization Committee of the Arbeiter Ring initiated the movement, being joined in it by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Boston Joint Board of Cloak Makers, the Labor League, the Independent Arbeiter Ring.

About 100 organizations responded to the call, being represented by 150 delegates. The conference was en-

thusiastic from beginning to end, and demonstrated that the workers of America are a unit in their determination to help their fellow workers in Russia.

An Executive Committee of 15 was elected. Every member present pledged earnest, energetic work.

The headquarters of the Friends of Soviet Russia are at 201 West 13th St., New York City, to which all funds and contributions should be sent.

## An Open Letter to President Harding To Aid Russia

My Dear Pres. Harding:

I was very glad to read in the New York Times of the 19th of August your kind letter to Sec. Hoover who is directing the American Relief Committee. It is splendid to note that you are ready to cooperate fully in the distribution of food to the starving Russian people. This I may call the first act of sanity of our government officials since the memorable yet disastrous Murmansk Campaign.

Still there are several passages in your letter that are not fully comprehensible and I am therefore writing you for a clearer explanation.

May I call your attention to the following:

My particular purpose in addressing this letter to you is to emphasize my wish that the distribution in Russia of ALL charity arising in the U. S. should be carried on through ONE American organization.

Also to this passage:— 'It is also of importance that the American people should be protected so far as we can do so from those persons who may wish to thrive on great disasters by creating unnecessary organizations to collect charity.'

My dear President these are unusual conditions and added to these comes the announcement from Secretary Hoover, no doubt with your sanction, that there will be no public appeal for funds.

In behalf of my fellow workers I must ask you "WHY?"

WHY should all relief be carried on thru one organization?

WHY should there be no appeal to the American Working Class for help?

WHY do the American workers need to be protected (?) from those who are ready to give their time, their energies and their money towards getting the much needed relief?

WHY should the ONE organization be one not controlled by or in any way responsible to the masses of this country?

WHY should your good committee be afraid to call upon the people to give money to send food to Soviet Russia?

WHY should we stand in the way of those who are ready to sacrifice their all for the Russian workers and who have sent help and encouragement to Russia while your good committee was feeding the Russian working class on Lead and Steel thru gattling guns?

Can it be that your good and kind Hoover Committee want to be in absolute control of the only relief that can be sent Russia so that they can use the much needed food as a whip over the backs of the Russian people?

Can it be that this Committee is planning at some time near at hand to demand as the price of Food the overthrow of the Communist Government of Russia?

Is the tragic spectacle of Hungary to be repeated?

Can it be that your Committee hesitates to call for funds from the American workers lest the response be so overwhelming as to express the complete solidarity of our Working Class with their Comrades and Brothers in Russia?

If there is to be no public appeal for funds where are the funds to come from? Is it to be from some Slush Fund, from some wealthy and sinister source and that will demand its toll in blood?

WHY, my dear President do you even consider offering the starving Russians material help when at the same time you would deny them the Spiritual and Moral Aid that the Workers of this country would send them as an appreciation of the splendid and heroic struggle that the Russian Revolutionists have been waging against the combined Capitalists and Imperialists of the world?

My dear President, I wonder WHY? M. Parnell Jr. New York City.

### OPIUM AND DEATH.

Dear Editor and Comrade:— I am working at odd jobs and sometimes see some things which look funny to one of a revolutionary mind. Here is one thing I saw.

I was working in a bedroom of a Roman Catholic and on the wall was a crucifix. Having never examined one closely I proceeded to do so. Above the image were the letters, I N R I and below were a skull and crossbones. I said to myself, "Well, I knew religion was opium for the people, but I'll be damned if I knew it meant death too." A Comrade.

An organization of "The Friends of Soviet Russia" was effected in Cleveland Aug. 25th. Delegates from twenty-one labor unions and other working-class bodies met under an invitation of the American Labor Alliance and agreed to form a branch of the new workers' relief agency, The Friends of Soviet Russia with headquarters at 201 West 13th St., New York City.

Enthusiasm in the proposed relief work marked each successive step in the amalgamation of the organizations forming the "Friends". A letter from secretary Allan S. Broms of the American Labor Alliance authorizing the organization of The Friends of Soviet Russia was read by E. T. Allison of the Ohio branch of the Alliance.

Executive Committee Elected. An executive committee of five was elected consisting of: E. T. Allison, Editor The Toiler, Chairman. John Fromholz, Secretary. Joseph Jodibauer of the International Workers Amalgamated Food Industries, Treasurer; and Tom Clifford and J. N. Simanovsky.

Extensive plans for relief work were suggested. Mass and community meetings will be a large part of the work outlined. It is the intention of the organization to obtain the co-operation of the entire organized labor union movement in a drive for relief of the stricken Russian people.

A second organization meeting was to be held on the following week which was expected to secure many new affiliations. Weekly delegate meetings will be held. All organizations affiliated will form sub-committees for work within their organizations and in the various languages.

First Mass Meeting.

The first mass meeting under the Friends' auspices will be held at Remeny's Hall, East 56th and Woodland Ave., Sunday, Sept. 4 at 8 P. M. Caleb Harrison of New York City will be the speaker. It is planned to make this first mass meeting a splendid start in the work. Admission is free and all workers and sympathizers are cordially invited.

It is suggested that organizations and individuals interested may get in touch with the organization thru the headquarters located at 3207 Clark Ave. Bell Phone: Lincoln 3639.

### STATISTICS THAT TELL A STORY.

The following figures give much food for thought to all workers. Read them. Study them—and you'll see your finish unless you join the effort to finish the capitalist system.

Ford Motor Company: 1920: 60,000 men produced 4,000 Fords per day.

1921: 45,000 men produced 4,500 Fords per day.

Production was increased 12½ per cent by throwing 15,000 men on the unemployed market.

Overland, Company, Toledo: 1920: 14,000 men produced 500 autos per day.

1921: 7,000 men produced 550 autos per day.

By throwing on the scrap heap 7,000 wage workers, production was increased 10 per cent.

Ruber Factories, Akron: 1920: 95,000 workers produced 100,000 tires per day.

1921: 85,000 workers produced 80,000 tires per day.

This means that the rubber industry of Akron will never again have employment for 50,000 former workers.

Now note how the workers assist in their own demise. A cut of 17 per cent was made in the piece work wages of the Akron rubber workers. The workers speeded up in order to keep up with their former earnings. Still another and then another cut was made on piece work jobs. Each time the workers speeded up in order to make former wages, until now they are going so fast that in some departments they are doing the work of three men. It is food for thought, is it not? So our suggestion is—THINK!

New York.—The weekly earnings of workers in New York state decreased 15 cents per week in June from the May figures, according to figures compiled by the state department of labor. The average weekly wage of factory employes in June was \$25.71. About 450,000 workers, employed in 1648 factories, furnished the basis of the compilation.



# 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 United States, Japan, Colonial Countries and Soviet Russia.

The development of the United States during the war proceeded in an opposite direction, in a certain sense, to that of Europe. The part played by the United States in the war was chiefly that of a salesman. The destructive consequences of the war had no direct effect upon that country, and the damage caused to its transport, agriculture, etc. was only of an indirect nature and of a far smaller degree than that caused to England, not to speak of either France or Germany. At the same time, the United States, taking full advantage of the fact that European competition had either been removed entirely or had become extremely weak, succeeded in raising some of its most important industries (such as petroleum production, ship-building, automobile and coal industry) to such a height as it had never anticipated. Today most of the countries of Europe are dependent on America not only for their petroleum and corn, but also for their coal.

While America's export prior to the war consisted chiefly of agricultural products and raw materials (making up more than two thirds of the entire export), her main export at the present time is made up of manufactured articles (60 per cent of her entire export.) Having been in debt prior to the war, the United States is now the world's creditor, concentrating within her coffers about one half of the world's gold reserve and continually augmenting its treasury. The dominating part played by the pound sterling in the world's financial market has now been taken over by the American dollar.

This extraordinary expansion of American industry was the cause of the special combination of circumstances namely, the withdrawal of European competition and, above all, the demands of the European war market. But, American capitalism today has also got out of balance. Since devastated Europe as a competitor of America is not in a position to regain its pre-war role on the world market, the American market as well can preserve only an insignificant part of its former position with Europe as a customer. At the same time, America today is producing goods for export purpose to a much greater extent than prior to the war. The over-expansions of American industry, during the war, cannot find any outlet owing to the scarcity of world markets. As a consequence, many industries have become part time or seasonal industries, affording employment to the workers only part of the year. The crisis in the United States resulting from the decline of Europe signifies the beginning of a profound and lasting economic disorganization. This is the result of the fundamental disturbance of the World's Subdivision of Labor.

Japan also took advantage of the war in order to extend its influence on the world market. Her development has been of a much more limited scope than that of the United States and some branches of Japanese industry have acquired the character of what might be termed "hothouse" production. Her productive forces were sufficiently strong to enable her to take hold of the market while there were no competitors. But they are utterly insufficient to retain that market in a competitive struggle with the more powerful capitalist countries. Hence the acute crisis which had its starting point particularly in Japan.

The Trans-Atlantic countries and the colonies (such as South America, Canada, Australia, China, Egypt and others), which used to export raw materials in their turn, took advantage of the rupture in international relations for the development of their home-industries. But the world crisis has now involved these countries as well, and their internal industrial development is going to be checked, thereby serving as an additional cause for trade handicaps of England and of the whole of Europe.

Thus, there is no ground whatsoever to speak of any restoration of lasting balance, today, either in the sphere of production, commerce or credit with reference to Europe or even with reference to the world as a whole. The economic decline of Europe is still going on and the decay of the foundation of European Industry manifests itself in the near future.

The world market is in a state of disorganization. Europe wants American products for which, however, it can give nothing in return. While the body of Europe is suffering from anaemia, that of America is affected with plethora. The gold standard has been destroyed and the world market has been deprived of its general exchange medium.

The only way by which the restoration of the gold standard in Europe could be achieved would be by getting the export to exceed the import. But this is just what devastated Europe is not in a condition to do. America, on the other hand, is trying to check the influx of European goods by raising her tariff.

Thus, Europe has become a bedlam. England has introduced prohibitive customs duties. The export as well as the entire economic life of Germany is at the mercy of the Parisien speculators. The former Austria-Hungary is now broken up into a number of provinces divided by custom borders. The net in which the Versailles Treaty has entangled the world is becoming more and more tightened.

The reappearance of Russia on the world market is not going to produce any appreciable changes in it. Russia's means of production have been always completely dependent upon the industrial conditions of the rest of the world and this dependence particularly with regard to the allied countries has become intensified during the war when her home industry was almost completely mobilised for war purposes. But the blockade cut off these vital connections between Russia and the other countries. There could be no question of setting up any new branches of industry which were needed to prevent the general decay caused by the wear and tear of machinery and equipment in a country completely exhausted during three years of incessant civil war. In addition to this, hundreds and thousands of our best proletarian elements, comprising a great number of skilled workers, had to be recruited for the Red Army. Under these conditions, surrounded by the iron ring of the blockade, carrying on incessant wars and suffering from the heritage of an industrial collapse no other regime could have maintained the economic life of the country and create such conditions as would permit of its centralized administration. There is no denying, however, that the struggle against world imperialism was carried on at the price of the progressive diminution of the productive resources of industry in

various branches. Now, since the blockade has relaxed and the relations between town and country are becoming more regular, the Soviet power has been enabled for the first time, to gradually and steadily direct the country upon the road to economic prosperity in a centralized manner.

### Social Contradictions Intensified.

The unprecedented destruction of industrial resources brought about by the war did not check the process of social differentiation. Quite the contrary, the proletarianization of the intermediary classes, including the new middle-groupings of employees, officials, etc. and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the small clique of trusts combines and so on, have, for the last ten years, made enormous strides in the more backward countries. The Stinnes combine is now the most important factor of the economic life of Germany.

The soaring of prices on all commodities coincident with the catastrophic depreciation of currency in all countries involved in the war meant a redistribution of the national incomes to the disadvantage of the working class, officials, employees and small owners and all other persons with a more or less fixed income.

Thus we see that though Europe has been thrown back for a number of decades with reference to its material resources, the intensification of the social contradictions has only not retrograded or been suspended, but has, on the contrary, assumed a particular acuteness.

This cardinal fact is, of itself, sufficient to dispel any illusions of the possibility of a lasting and peaceful development under a democratic form of Government. The social differentiation proceeding along the line of economic decline predetermines the most intense convulsive and cruel nature of the class struggle.

The present crisis is only a continuation of the destructive work done by the war and the post-bellum speculative boom.

Owing to fact that agricultural products have risen in price, the country-places have accumulated a large amount of cheap money. This produced the illusion that the villages were prosperous. The farmers did, indeed, succeed in paying off in paper money the debts they had contracted in currency at its face value. But the well-being of the farmer is not to be brought about merely by settling mortgages. The lack of labor power, the diminution of cattle, the scarcity of fertilisers and the high cost of manufactured products brought European agriculture into a state of complete decline.

On the other hand, the universal impoverishment of Europe rendering it incapable of purchasing the necessary amount of American or Canadian corn, resulted in getting the farming industry of the trans-atlantic countries into a critical situation. The ruin of the peasants and small farmers is going on not only in Europe, but also in the United States, Canada, Argentine and Australia and South Africa. The capital newly acquired during the war is being used for buying up country estates. The village is being disintegrated, proletarianized and pauperised, and is becoming the hot-bed of discontent.

Owing to the fall of the purchasing power of money the position of State and private employees has, as a rule, become even worse than that of the proletarians. This condition is tending to go on in the same manner. Having lost their usual stability, the middle and lower officials are becoming the factors of political unrest and undermine the Government apparatus which they are called upon to serve. This "new middle state" which has been regarded by the Reformists as the bulwark of conservatism, is in the present transitional period, becoming a factor of revolution.

Capitalist Europe has completely lost its dominating position in the world economy. But, it was just this domination that had lent some relative equilibrium between its social classes. All the efforts of the European countries (England and partly France) to restore former conditions only tend to intensify their instability and disorganization.

While the concentration of wealth going on in Europe, has its foundations in the ruinous conditions of that Continent, in the United States the concentration of property and the extreme intensification of class distinctions are proceeding on the basis of the feverish growth of capitalist accumulation. The class struggle going on on American soil has assumed an extremely tense revolutionary character owing to the sharp vasillations produced by the general instability of the world market. The period of an unprecedented rise of capitalism is bound to be followed by an extraordinary rise of revolutionary struggle.

The emigration of workers and peasants across the ocean has always served as a safety-valve to the capitalist regime in Europe. It grew during prolonged periods of depression and upon unsuccessful revolutionary outbreaks. At present, however, America and Australia are putting ever-growing obstacles in the way of emigration. Thus, this safety-valve, so necessary to the capitalist regime, has ceased to exist. The vigorous development of capitalism in the East, particularly in India and in China, has created new social foundations for the revolutionary struggle. The bourgeoisie of the Eastern countries has bound up its fate even more closely with foreign capital, and has thus become a very important weapon of capitalist domination. The contest between this bourgeoisie and foreign imperialism is the contest of a weaker competitor against his stronger rival, and is by its very nature only half hearted and unreal. The development of the native proletariat paralyses the nationalistic-revolutionary tendencies of the capitalist bourgeoisie. At the same time the great masses of the peasants of the Oriental countries; look upon the Communist vanguard as their real revolutionary leader. This is particularly true of the more progressive elements of these masses.

The combination of the military nationalistic oppression of foreign imperialism, of the capitalist exploitation by foreign and native bourgeoisie, and the survivals of the feudal disabilities are creating the conditions in which the immature proletariat of the colonial countries must develop rapidly and take the lead in the revolutionary movement of the peasant masses.

The revolutionary national movement in India and in other colonies, is today an essential component part of the world revolution to the same extent as the uprising of the proletariat in the capitalist countries of the old and the new world.

(Continued next week.)

## A MAN.

It is, I know, contrary to revolutionary ethics to take cognisance of personalities, or indulge in what is called "Hero Worship." This is as it should be; for, all too often, we have found our ideals to possess feet of clay.

However: In these degenerate days, when most of us seem to have the spirit, and minds of sheep, and the remainder exemplify the general characteristics of sharks and swine, it is, I think, well worth while to suspend the rules long enough to note the passing of a MAN.—Sid Hatfield, Matewan, W. Va.' Chief of Police.

That he was "Old fashioned" and "Hoozierified" is evident from the fact that he, a public official, actually believed in "Law and Order," and the strict, impartial enforcement of Constitutional guarantees. That he was "soft," he amply demonstrated when he trusted to the integrity of other officials and laid aside his guns before setting out for the "Hall of JUSTICE" on that last, fatal day. That he was a MAN, having the courage of his convictions, and willing to fight to the death for what he conceived to be the RIGHT, we must acknowledge; and, honor him for it, as being a genuine personality in a world of shams.

Sid! Old boy! Rest in peace! Let your wild soul comfort itself with the thought that you inherited a privilege, denied to most of us—you were born into a clan whose blood really is thicker than water; therefore, you probably will be avenged.

"Marat."

## Action on the Unemployment Crisis.

By LEO WYDRA.

The unemployment situation in America and the world is the worst in history. I take it the workers are responsible for this condition for they have maintained the present profit system whereby the capitalist class is retained in power and allowed to enjoy all profits from labor.

Society is divided in two classes, the capitalists and the workers. The workers work and the capitalists enjoy. This system produces unemployment thru the unequal division of work and the products of work. We must conclude that the private ownership of the means of life is the basic cause of its progeny, unemployment. The ultimate remedy for unemployment is to do away with its cause—private ownership of the means by which workers live.

We have 5,000,000 unemployed in America. They are unorganized. As long as they remain unorganized the unemployment question will not be solved.

This army of 5,000,000 unemployed may be the first symptom of the approaching social revolution in America. It behooves us as social revolutionists to organize and teach the unemployed the right tactics to proceed with the establishment of a workers' government here.

The government is silent on the unemployed question. Its democracy is for the capitalists only. The government has allowed huge extortions of profit from the labor of the workers in the past. Why should not these profit mongers now be forced to pay the workers living wages while the factories are idle?

Here in Bellville (Ill.) there has been an agitation for the organization of the unemployed for the past six months. But it is only recently that the workers have seen the necessity of it. We now have three resolutions on this question to go before the Sub-District Convention (of the miners) in August.

What is needed is a national organization of the unemployed—a powerful army of the workless workers which is determined upon the establishment of a workers' government here. Local unions should take up this question of unemployment and attempt to find a solution for it.

## ITALY READY TO TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

Rome.—Negotiations for an economic agreement with the Russian Soviet delegation here. The Messaggero says now have almost been completed. The agreement, which is to be signed in the near future, contains four points, the newspaper asserts, as follows:

- 1—A mutual undertaking to open negotiations immediately for an economic and commercial agreement of the widest kind between the two countries.
- 2—Russia is to afford Italy the same facilities and advantages as those granted other countries.
- 3—Russia is to give equitable consideration to Italian claims for credits with regard to Russia.
- 4—An undertaking by the Soviet government that its delegates in Italy will abstain from any attempt at propaganda in the Kingdom.

## Famine Conditions in Russia

By William Z. Foster  
(Staff Correspondent The Federated Press).

Moscow, Aug. 3.—Judging by the reports now reaching Moscow from the stricken districts, Russia is faced with a terrible famine situation. Over an enormous territory, about as large as France and Germany, and which is ordinarily one of the great grain growing sections, the crops have failed almost completely. The long, rainless period has literally burned them up. What little escaped the unprecedented drought has been devoured by the countless myriads of locusts that have descended upon the country. The district affected lies principally in the valley of the Volga river and stretches virtually from the Caucasus mountains to the Urals.

Many millions of people are actually at the point of starvation. Great armies of them are wandering away from their homes, seeking escape from the famine districts to more favored localities. This starvation coming so soon after the harvest time indicates on the one hand the completeness of the crop failure and on the other the smallness of the food available. Because of the ravages of Kolchak's bandits two years ago and the severe crop failure last year the peasants had been living from hand to mouth and depending altogether upon this year's crop for quick relief. Hence when it failed them they were thrown immediately into the grip of famine.

### Americans Inquire About Famine.

Yesterday a number of Americans, most of them journalists, who are anxious to help arouse public opinion to Russia's great need, paid a visit to Lunacharsky of the general relief committee. We found him in his office, a tiny room in a Kremlin palace. As he told us many harrowing details of the famine in various provinces he seemed plainly worried over the situation. He said that in many places the people are actually starving. Thousands of parents are abandoning their children to the government's care in the belief that it will find food for them somehow; while they themselves wander off to they know not what fate, eating roots and bark from trees anywhere they can find them. He said that the number of children in government institutions, children's colonies, etc., in the stricken districts had trebled in a month. From other sources we heard that many mothers are drowing their babies, preferring that to seeing them die of hunger. In innumerable cases the peasants have fed the thatched roofs of their houses and barns to the starving livestock.

How they will face the bitter Russian winter without roofs over their heads they cannot tell. All they know is that their horses and cattle are famished and that there is some nourishment in straw.

Lunacharsky pointed out that one of the very gravest dangers in the situation is found in the fact that the peasants, faced by starvation, are eating up their seed corn. Should this continue and they do not get their winter

wheat sown before October 1 it would be a terrible calamity. Inevitably the country would be faced with famine next year again, no matter how generous the relief later on this year. Hence, to save the peasants from the great disaster of consuming their seed corn is the first task of the government. It is drumming up food supplies on all sides and rushing them to the famine belt. The slogan, "Everything for the Volga peasants," is ringing through the land. In response to my request for a statement on the situation, Lunacharsky sent me the following letter:

### Famine Figures.

"Moscow, August 3, 1921.  
"Wm. Z. Foster: It is impossible to give detailed statistics of the adult population of the famine district, but we can give the figures which the relief commission against hunger on the Volga obtained. The total number of the population starving and seeking aid is 18,000,000. We must give a minimum of nine poods (a pood is about 36 pounds) of bread to each person. We must understand that the livestock in the district must also have food, and that the psychology of the peasants is such that they will divide their food with their livestock in order to save them.

"It is understood that besides bread the famine stricken must also have other products. We must, to begin with, bring a minimum of 41,000,000 poods of bread to the peasant population, and 18,000,000 to the town population. Up to the first of September we must get to that district 15,000,000 poods of seed. I would have you note that the 15,000,000 poods is needed at once and the 44,000,000 within two or three months' time. But when we have done this we have not conquered the famine; we have only removed its keen edge.

"The government does not believe that it can give the minimum amount of 59,000,000 poods unaided. Besides it will surely be necessary to supplement this amount with another 50 per cent. We hope that the help of the whole civilized world will furnish us not only the minimum of 59,000,000, but as much as 100,000,000 poods.

"Naturally it is understood that clothes and shoes for the children are also necessary. We hope that a separate fund for children may be organized. I am giving you special statistics on the children of the famine districts.

(Signed) "People's Commission for Education, "A Lunacharsky."

### Children Suffer Hunger.

Condensed and stripped of many interesting features showing the number of children in colonies, gardens, schools, etc., as well as the number of such institutions in each district, Lunacharsky's statistics tabulate the famine children as follows:

District	Ages of Children		Totals
	1 to 7	8 to 16	
Tartar Soviet Rep. ....	659,486	694,784	1,354,270
Chuvash Ind. Terr. ....	126,019	125,059	251,078
Marishka Ind. Terr. ....	31,990	30,138	62,128
Saratov .....	607,558	563,400	1,171,958
Samara .....	798,368	709,037	1,507,405
Sibirsk .....	380,925	368,449	749,374
Ufa .....	321,314	276,197	597,511
Viatska .....	250,597	230,684	481,281
Astrakhan .....	60,135	75,417	135,552
Tzaritsin .....	122,139	128,265	250,404
Volga Commune .....	110,874	115,096	225,970
	3,476,400	3,226,466	6,702,866

These statistics indicate the enormous armies of children now exposed to starvation. They are compiled from the school records of the stricken districts—most of which possess a well-developed school system. It is proposed to use these systems as the food relief organizations if the 40,000 teachers can be held together in the face of the terrible panic that has seized hold of the country.

In meeting the great problem she is now confronted with Russia, already

half famished, will do her utmost. But she must have assistance. To avert an awful calamity in the Volga provinces, world co-operation is necessary. It is vitally essential that the United States do its share. To this end every American organization of a radical, liberal or humanitarian tendency should be set in motion at once. Well fed America must contribute generously to the aid of starving Russia.

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Murdering Babies.

Among the famine horrors of Russia we are told of instances of the murder of children by desperate parents. Doubtless they are true to some extent. The thought of such a thing is horrifying enough.

America has never had a famine. Such a thing is practically impossible. The country is too diverse, agriculture is too highly developed.

Yet mothers murder their babies here—because of hunger. There is no famine—but there is much hunger. There is plenty of food, but mothers are driven desperate from hunger and in their desperation cut off the lives they have given.

The daily press reports Mrs. Mary Saltis of Cleveland smothered her week old baby boy a few days ago. Mrs. Saltis and her two children, a boy and girl were found in two bare rooms with smoke-blackened walls and strips of wallpaper hanging from the ceiling.

The father was in Pennsylvania looking for work, had been out of work for months. Mrs. Saltis had worked at doing washing as long as she could stand before the new baby came. When the baby was born there was no doctor, no nurse, no friend at hand.

Mrs. Saltis cared for herself and the new baby, dressed the other two children in the mornings and sent them into the street to fare as best they could. She shot about the new baby. She came to believe that there was nothing but poverty ahead in its life. Hunger was creating a new psychology in Mrs. Saltis mind.

Most every daily newspaper has attached to its force of scribblers a slop-spiller and peddler of gush whose function it is to comment upon such current happenings as the above. Usually they do it by asking a few questions as to "Why" such things are, why unemployment, why men willing to work have no work etc.

The "News" of Cleveland has such a slush peddler upon its staff writing under the name of Edna K. Wooley. If Edna had any ideas concerning unemployment in general or as related to the Saltis case in particular, less "wooley" than her name, she probably would not find a place on the News staff.

Every harrowing story the capitalist press prints of the Russian famine is laid at the door of Bolshevism. To read the press one would believe Bolshevism and the Soviets had the power to declare a drought whenever they became sufficiently bloodthirsty to desire a few more million deaths.

If the Bolshevik system is responsible for famine in Russia, is not capitalism responsible for hunger here? How about it Edna?

Christ-like Landlords.

What nice landlords we have. They are reducing the rents. If this doesn't prove they are, then what would you ask? One would think to read of the "voluntary" rent reductions being made, that the landlords rented houses and flats solely from humanitarian motives.

Now, the rents are down a penny, maybe the tenants can be coaxed back. It would be an instance of rank ingratitude should they fail to yield to the landlords' blandishments. It took a year of unemployment to drive the tenants into closer quarters.

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS.

The enemies of the working class always point with great pride to their "free" and "democratic" institutions, the parliaments, when threatened with "direct action" by the workers. They never fail to tell the workers, that whoever has a majority in congress can run the country to his "will."

In the past few weeks we have witnessed the threat of a decaying class (lower middle class) in its struggle with its older and more mature brother, the imperialists. In submitting the new taxation bill to Congress, those arch-dukes of American imperialism Harding and Secty. of Treas. Mellon, himself a multi-millionaire, propose to substitute the sales tax for the excess profit tax.

Of course, the lower middle class see in this the total extinction of their existence as fractions of the middle class. The representatives of this class in the American congress, such as Rep. Fear of Wise and Keller of Minn. threaten to expose the falsehood and deceit of congress and in very carefully prepared statements say, among other things:

"The machinery of government has been commandeered..."

"...Bills concocted at secret conferences are introduced without being referred to responsible committees."

"No invisible government has ever shown more brazen effrontery than this dye monopoly."

The working class can use these gentlemen to good advantage, who, in their struggle with the imperialists, clearly show that congress is but a smoke screen, behind which the real and effective work of robbing the land and oppressing the workers goes on.

And Marx points out, "They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay, more; they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. (Free trade and free opportunity for all). If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."

As the working masses are historically destined to take over the political power, it is clear they cannot use the present congresses to run the governmental machinery, as even reactionary representatives like Fear and Keller say the effective work is carried on outside of congress.

For the workers, a Soviet system of representation is the only "safe and sane" congress that will enable them to be free from all the idlers, exploiters, etc. As the voting for the local, state or national Soviet congress is done "on the job" (the mine, mill, factory and shop), this effectively disenfranchises the idling and exploiting class. Let the workers' cry be, "FOR THE SOVIET—AGAINST CAPITALIST CONGRESSES."

ever relatives and friends they may possess, just so a shelter is provided and the rent is lower. "For rent" signs are appearing at houses, rooms and apartments. Yet the population is not decreasing, nor are city folks moving "back to the land."

In Cleveland, we are informed, the Reverend H. C. Martindale, won the first blue ribbon as a rent reducer. The daily press says Rev. Martindale has reduced the rents "of all his tenants one-half of what the advance had been when everything 'went up'."

We don't know how many tenants this Disciple of Jesus has, what we are thinking of is of that Man of Galilee "who had not where to lay His head."

But reducing the rents doesn't put the Rev. Martindale in his Master's class. Not quite!

A Mine Strike Incident.

Everybody was excited. The company was expecting it. The company rebuilt an old house into a band room. The company expected the "Italian Band" to scab when the strike was on, because it had presented them the house for practice.

But, instead of going to scab at six o'clock in the morning, the band went down to the mine in their uniforms and played "THE INTERNATIONAL". Every man left the mine.

The company was not discouraged because its first attempt to get scabs had failed. The company reconstructed the same old barn into a catholic church. The priest from a nearby town went over to the new church to preach the capitalist dictatorship.

A member of the church bought an old dinner bell from a farmer for two dollars, it was placed on a telephone pole and a mass meeting was called. A few nights later there was an explosion. The bell was blown to pieces. Two church members went out and secured several blood-hounds and two police to trail up the offender.

The priest thought he had a clue and went to a certain Russian woman's house. "I'VE HEARD THAT YOUR HUSBAND BLEW UP THE CHURCH AND I, AS A DEFENDER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH HEREBY DEMAND YOU TO TELL ME OR I WILL CURSE YOU INTO THE JAWS OF HELL."

"YOU'RE A DAMNED LIAR!" exclaimed the woman. "MY HUSBAND WAS RIGHT HERE IN THIS CHAIR (indicating a certain chair) when the explosion occurred."

At this the priest drew a revolver and said: "TELL ME OR I WILL SHOOT YOU."

A minute later the husband entered. The wife explained to him. He went into the parlor and secured his revolver and said: "IF THERE WILL BE ANY SHOOTING DONE I WILL DO IT AND I WILL DO IT MIGHTY QUICK IF YOU DON'T GET THE HELL OUT OF HERE."

The priest went out as a meek dog and didn't say a word.

RAMBLINGS.

The statement is made in the press that Ford's profits on cars are now \$199.00 each, whereas in 1917 they were only \$98. Increased efficiency of productive methods is stated to be the cause of this cheapened reduction. Maybe the fact that the workers are hustling to keep their jobs against the unemployed army have something to do with it.

Santeri Nuorteva, formerly one of the leading officials of the Russian Soviet bureau here, who according to reports in American newspapers was arrested for alleged "treason" in Russia several months ago, has been cleared of all the charges brought against him, according to the New York Call, which has received authoritative information in the case.

Nuorteva, whose first official connection in America was a representative of the Workers' government of Finland, never was believed by persons familiar with his record to have been anything but an untiring, faithful servant of the Russian government.

One reason why officials of the Teamsters' union oppose the general strike may be found in the revelation that union teamsters working for the American Express Company are receiving \$1.25 below the union scale with the full knowledge and consent of the officials of the union, who have hitherto succeeded in keeping the damaging fact secret.

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY CASES DELAYED.

Oakland, Calif.—For the tenth time since their indictment in January, 1920, the cases of eight workers indicted under the criminal syndicalist law of this state for their activities in the Communist Labor Party have been postponed. For six months these cases have been pending the decision on the constitutionality of the syndicalist law, which has been made an issue by John C. Taylor who is now serving time for his activities in that party.

October 17 is now set as the date of trial.

A NET SPREAD IN VAIN.

The radical press has at various times published letters from G. Bernard Shaw explaining WHY he refuses to accept invitations to visit America. We believe the following reply to a letter from the editor of The Nation is about the most sarcastic indictment of the sort of civilization we have here that has come from the pen of Shaw or any contemporary.

My dear Mr. Shaw: I understand a number of friends are writing to you and urging you to come to the United States. May I say how gratified we of The Nation would be should you come to us? Yours very sincerely, Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor.

This conspiracy has been going on for years; but in vain is the net spread in sight of the bird. I have no intention either of going to prison with Debs or taking my wife to Texas, where the Ku Klux Klan snatches white women out of hotel verandas and tars and feathers them. If I were dependent on martyrdom for a reputation, which happily I am not, I could go to Ireland. It is a less dangerous place; but then the voyage is shorter and much cheaper.

You are right in your impression that a number of persons are urging me to come to the United States. But why on earth do you call them my friends?

G. Bernard Shaw Peebles (traveling) 4-8-21

Harmony of Interests.

The worker may not know it, but when the boss lowers his pay and makes him work longer hours, he is doing that because the interests of the employee and employer are the same. So says the boss, so says Sam Gompers. When the boss discharges the workers, he does so in the interest of the worker and himself. That is clear. The American plan is the "unity of interests and co-operation on the part of all concerned."

Do you doubt it? The United States Steel Corporation shut down its mills and kicked its men into the streets to starve, in order to keep up prices, as an industrial expert has said. That was undoubtedly in the interest of the workers. Other bosses are working the men longer hours, in spite of the fact that there is little market for the goods. In this way, they have fewer people on the pay-roll, increase the number of unemployed and use the latter as a lever to bring down the wages of those still working. That again is in the interest of the worker! That is what they call harmony of interests between boss and worker. No? You doubt it? Then you must be a Bolshevik, a Communist!

Call Sam Gompers! Call a cop. We'll teach you economics. We'll teach you patriotism, Americanism! We'll teach you that what is good for the boss must be good for the worker whether it is or not. If you question it again, we'll send you up for 10 years for criminal anarchy. We'll lynch you. Then you'll understand.

Sydney, N. S. W.—The N. S. W. Labor government is introducing the 44-hour week in all government departments and industrial undertakings under the control of the government. Where possible the 44 hours will be worked in five days, though in some cases it will be necessary to maintain Saturday morning work, in which case the day's work will be shortened to bring it to 44 hours per week.

Ruminations of a Rebel

By Tom Clifford.

Any one who keeps in touch with the proceedings at Washington these days cannot fail to be impressed by the utter absence of rationality in dealing with the present national situation. The "wise men" sent to Washington to pilot the capitalist ship of State are floundering in a morass of perplexity, for they find that the methods heretofore employed are inadequate to meet the exigencies of the present situation.

Even the prohibition enforcement question has become a nightmare to these sorely perplexed "soons," for it necessitates an enormous expenditure that can ill be spared at this time, and which experience has shown produces but meager results. Beset on the one hand by insistent clamour of the fanatical prohibition element for rigid enforcement, and on the other by demands for legislation that will minimize what is considered an invasion of natural rights, their lot is of one to be envied. They find themselves in the same grievous extremity as the man who swallowed an egg. If he moved about very much there was danger that the egg would break and the shell scratch his stomach, while, on the other hand, if he remained quiet, the egg would hatch and the chick start looking for worms.

The very foundation of our boasted representative political government in municipal affairs is now being assailed by the bourgeoisie, who denounce it as wasteful, corrupt and inefficient, urging the adoption of the "Commission Plan" instead. The proposition is to introduce "business" ethics in the administration of public affairs. Now, if business ethics were something that would make for the conservation of public interests no valid objection could be maintained against their practice.

"Business" man has the instinct of a wolf in seeking what he regards as his "legitimate" prey. What is called "business" is a thoroughly cold-blooded proposition, utterly destitute of conscience or morals. In "business" you drive your bargain as sharply as you can and keep out of jail, and the more people you shear, however questionable your methods, the more certain you are to be rated a "successful" business man—a representative citizen of the community. The following little story typifies the "business" spirit of this capitalistic age. The thing called "business" is not deterred by human misery or sorrow from trafficking in the coffin as well as the cradle.

A Hebrew who kept a pawnshop left the place in charge of his son. When he returned he inquired: "Vel, Isaac, how vas business ven I vas out?" "Business vas goot, fader," the son replied; "ferry goot." "And vat did you sell?" "Nothings; but dot man vot buy de diamond ring yesterday come back und pawned it."

"Und did you sell him something else?" "No fader; 'e look as if 'e vas too much discouraged to buy anything." "Und you call dot doing goot business? If 'e look discouraged, vy not you sell him a revolver?" The very quiescence of modern "business" is here expressed in the enterprising spirit of our Hebrew business man. What is good for the Chamber of Commerce is bad for the general public.

A distinguishing sign of an approaching social cataclysm is the intense competition of the banking gentry to secure business. No less than five canvassers during the past week have impounded me to come to the rescue of the banking fraternity and help them recoup their losses in deposits. Only a serious situation would prompt this house to house canvass for business. Those who skimmed and saved to create a bank account have been forced by necessity to check out their savings in order to live. The immediate future holds no promise of prosperity for the banks. Their working capital will be diminished by millions, and the prolongation of the industrial depression will bring disaster to the loaning end of their business. A very essential part of the capitalist machine is experiencing difficulty in functioning and the disease is spreading to the remainder of the mechanism. Soon the whole "works" will be on the scrap heap.

CAPITAL AND LABOR.

In Imitation of Dr. Frank Crane.

Capital and Labor are brothers. Among Labor there is a disturbing element: Communists, who want the Dictatorship of the Proletariat; the I. W. W. wants the Industries, (just think of it!) and the Socialists, who want to get into official positions of our (Capital and Labor's) government.

These agitators in the ranks of Labor are, of course, repulsed by the majority of the workers, but they are none the less dangerous, for they manage to convince a few, (by intimidation or violence); these few who are essential to the peaceful relations between Capital and Labor.

I voice a protest for these individuals, who have been duped by inflammatory agitators, for I know that they do not believe in the theories and Utopias put forth by these creatures. Capital has its troubles too, within its ranks, but it soon adjusts itself, for remember, Capital must always have its mechanism well oiled, so as to function properly in its relations with Labor.

So you see, that Labor cannot do without Capital. Unless there was Capital, there wouldn't be anything to Labor for.

Capital and Labor must get together! You, no doubt will ask "How can amicable relations always reign between Capital and Labor?"

Labor must eliminate the red agitators from its ranks and prepare for Peace and Good-Will, which was preached by our Great Teacher, the carpenter of Nazareth, Jesus Christ. R. Robbins.

San Francisco.—As an outcome of the general strike the Rank and File Labor Federation is taking steps toward the formation of an auxiliary federation of organized working women. A good many women prominent in the labor movement and in the revolt of the rank and file against the leaders are, however, opposed to this action as they feel that women should have equal rights and place with men in the labor federation itself.

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM: Analyzed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view.

By William Montgomery Brown, D. D. The writer, a Bishop in the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics. Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalists from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all the world."

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# WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(Editor's note:—This is the tenth of a series of articles on Russia which Mr. Foster is writing for The Federated Press. It deals with labor laws and working conditions in the workers' republic.)

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Federated Press Staff Writer.  
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Moscow.—In no other place on the face of the globe do the workers enjoy so many rights in industry as they do in Russia. This is perfectly natural because all other countries are ruled by a few capitalists who own the industries and crush down the workers in order to grind out profits for themselves, who utilize the industries for the use and benefit of the whole people.

The universal eight-hour work day (seven-hour night shift) for adults and the six-hour work day for persons under 20 years of age; the freeing of women from industry, with full pay, for eight weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth; the compulsory weekly rest time for 42 continuous hours for all workers; the legal limitation of overtime; the granting of two week's vacation, with full pay, for each six months of continuous labor; and dozens of other important measures in force in Russia making for the improvement of the workers' conditions, would be considered great achievements in capitalist countries, where the powerful trade unions, in spite of long and bitter struggles, have not been able to win their equal. But in this country they are only minor details of a great social program. Something much more fundamental, for instance, than all of them is the right to share in the fruits of industry (which amounts to the right to live) guaranteed to all its citizens by the Russian government.

This means that in Russia every able-bodied person has a legal right to work in the industries at the prevailing trade union scales. If for any reason no work is to be had then the applicant is entitled to full wages during his term of unemployment. If an individual is incapacitated for work because of youth, old age, sickness, injury or some other legitimate reason he is given a decent standard of living, not as a matter of charity but because of his right as a citizen of the workers' state. In short, Russia recognizes the right of human beings to live and places the industries at their disposal so that they may freely earn this living.

How different it is in capitalist countries. There the industries are in the hands of a few exploiters. If they find it convenient or profitable to operate their mills and factories, then they do so, and the workers may be able to beg opportunity to work. But if the capitalists do not see fit to run their industries then the workers are left to starve in unemployment, as millions of them are doing this very minute all over the western world. Under capitalism, work horses (because they are valuable property) are well taken care of in good times or bad, but workmen (because they are not property) are thrown upon the streets in periods of industrial depression and left to suffer poverty and despair. And yet we find hypocritical labor leaders, for fanciful reasons, misrepresenting and condemning Russia, the only country in the world which guarantees its people the right to work and to live, and where there is no curse of unemployment.

Without duties there can be no rights. Hence, with the right of the Russians to work goes also the legal obligation that they do so. The workers' government takes the stand that no one has the right to live in Russia without working for his daily bread. Its constitution declares: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." The law specifically requires that every able bodied adult do his share in producing the necessities of life. Exploiters of labor are classed as a species of criminal.

Thus we come to one of the "horrors" of Sovietism. People here are actually compelled to earn their own living, instead of being allowed to

whip it out of the hides of others. No wonder the various brands of reactionaries (most of whom never did a useful thing in their lives) consider the Russian compulsory labor laws a horrible tyranny and are making the welkin ring with their howlings.

But their complaints are lost on the Russian labor militants. The latter are striving for the establishment of a Communist society in which every sort of compulsion will be unnecessary; where the multitudes of people, of their own volition, will freely perform their full social and political duties toward themselves and each other. But they know that that time has not arrived yet. The present state of society represents the transition stage from capitalism to communism. The vast bulk of the workers are just emerging from a dog-eat-dog capitalism and are still afflicted heavily with its ignorance, selfishness and short sightedness. Many of them thought the revolution meant that they no longer had to work, while others supposed that an hour or two's labor a day, when they felt like it, would meet the situation. For workers in such a primitive state of mind discipline is still necessary. Only a minority are intellectually prepared for the new society. And it falls as naturally to this intelligent minority to set up the essential discipline in Russian industry as it does to the corresponding minority to create the discipline in the American trade unions absolutely indispensable for making the backward masses fight effectively on the industrial field in their own behalf.

Compulsory labor is only a temporary measure in Russia. It is a reaction from capitalism and will gradually disappear as the effects of the capitalist training are eliminated from the workers' minds by proletarian education.

Far more important, however, than even their legal right to work is the Russian workers' recognized right to the full product of their labor. This principle is established by the Soviet government and forms the foundation of all its institutions. It is the heart of the revolution and it means that the Russian workers no longer have to pay tribute to an exploiting class. To the toilers accrue all the advantages of invention and every device that goes to increase production. They get all they produce, after deducting, of course, what is necessary for state expenses. In passing it may be noted that these state expenses will eventually be reduced to nil, because the Russians, looking upon their government purely as a temporary war measure against domestic and foreign capitalism, intend to eventually abolish it through gradually replacing it by a purely business administration of things.

Compare the Russian's right to the full product of their labor with the deplorable arrangements prevailing in capitalist countries. In the latter the workers are legally entitled to nothing, not even the barest minimum wage upon which to feed and clothe their families. All they get is what they are able to wring from their employers through the power of labor organizations. The cream of industry's products flows into the maw of the exploiters; the benefits of invention and intensified production are absorbed by countless industrial parasites; the drones idle in luxury, while the workers toil in poverty. In such wise are the fruits of industry divided under capitalism.

It is true that as yet the Russian workers have not reaped any great prosperity from their newly won right to the full product of their toil. They are still poor and in want. The reason for this is that the industry of the country has been practically ruined by seven years of imperialist and civil war. Production is far below

# SYNDICALISM and COMMUNISM

By AMEDEE DUNOIS.—Translated by MARY REED.

Bulletin Communiste, Paris, June 16.

When this article appears, the first interview between the delegates of the Central Committee of the C. S. R. (revolutionary syndicalists) and those of the Communist Party will have taken place. The subject is the old and difficult question of the relations between the political and economic organizations of the working class. This explains the importance of the conference which is to be held between the communists and the revolutionary syndicalists.

In their own sphere these latter are carrying on the same struggle that we carried on in the heart of the Party against the opportunist and reformist elements which have held the upper hand for so long. There is, however a very decided point of difference between them and ourselves: which we were trying to break off, and finally did break off, not only with war-time socialism but with pre-war socialism as well. The revolutionary syndicalists seemed as a rule to have their minds on a reversion pure and simple to the ideas and action which, before 1914, constituted the real originality of the C. G. T. (General Confederation of Labor) and the tendencies of which are clearly defined by a well-known formula: syndicalism is enough in itself.

And so, while communism is trying to adapt the political movement of the working-class to the needs of the new historic period which began after the night of blood and war—with the Russian Revolution, revolutionary syndicalism is tending on the contrary, or rather believes it is tending, toward a reversion to the past. I may frankly say that this is an illusion. History alone can restore the past. Life goes on without ever starting over again. Movement is its eternal law, and Heraclites was right when he said, "The same river is never traveled twice, a boat is never tied twice to the same bank." There is no doubt that syndicalism will become revolutionary again, it will become revolutionary under pressure of events and by human will; but it is an illusion to believe that the revolutionary syndicalism of to-morrow could possibly be closely patterned after what it was in the past.

### CIVILIZATION.

By W. H. Cundiff.

Civilization implies culture, enlightenment, refinement, peace, love and harmony, secured by a just communistic social order.

Capitalist civilization (!) is refined barbarism and veneered savagery.

There is nothing civilized in labor exploitation, in the robbery of the working class by the capitalist class. Or, when we strike for living wages and better conditions, the capitalist class, claiming to be civilized and enlightened (!), show their savagery and brutality by having the workers either imprisoned or shot.

"Our best people" (the capitalists) are robbers and murderers of the workers. And their actions tell the whole story of their robberies, murders, cruelties and villainies, which would even shame savages.

Real civilization does not consist in the classism, war, robbery, poverty, pestilence and famine caused by capitalism. Civilization means the absence of strife and warfare. It means equality of opportunity and justice; right education and good environment for all.

Classism and invidious distinctions preclude the possibility of civilization. It is only under communism in which each will have equal economic opportunity with every other, through and by collective ownership and democratic management of the industries, and by production for use, that we may hope to attain to a real civilization.

Political Or Syndicalist Control. There is not a single communist who is not an ardent supporter of revolutionary syndicalism. Direct action, the general strike, the future of the industrial union as the fundamental organ for the production of wealth and the administration of affairs in the new society—all these ideas are ours also. Where the difference comes in is that when it is a question of determining whether, under the existing system of capitalist society, the direction of the revolutionary movement should belong to the political, or to the syndicalist organization. In their desire for power, the revolutionary syndicalists decided the question by the formula repeated above: syndicalism is enough in itself,—meaning that syndicalism would do everything. That is to say, they rejected all political parties, however revolutionary or proletarian. While, even in the heart of the party, certain doctrinaires were trying to preach the subordination of the party to the unions, and of reformist socialism to revolutionary syndicalism, the syndicalists were declaring that the General Confederation of Labor was enough in itself and had no need of subjecting the party to its authority.

In the party, opinion was more divided. Outside of the small group of doctrinaires which Lagardelle represented at the Congress, two tendencies were evident. The "Guestists" attributing to the unions only an exclusively reformist role, felt that a more or less strict bond should hold them to the political party, which alone they felt had a revolutionary character. On the other hand, the "Jaurissists," and Vaillant, while they

the needs of the nation. When the unions come to work out their wage scales they find but little social product to be divided. Virtually the whole people are now upon a ration system of the necessities of life. But this hard period of trial and deprivation will soon be over. Industrial conditions are on the mend and it will not be long before the Russian workers, blessed with a rich country and a bounteous productivity, and freed from the 57 varieties of lecherous social parasites, will develop a standard of life absolutely unknown and impossible in capitalist countries.

Such are some of the labor principles and institutions for which tens of thousands of Russian trade unionists have died in their long struggle against an armed and hostile capitalist world. What do American unionists think of them?

In my next article I shall outline briefly the system of administration worked out by the Russian toilers for the management of industry.

wanted to see a friendly understanding established between the unions and the party, were, nevertheless the champions of syndical autonomy.

This is where things stood when the war broke out. It is more difficult to say where things stand to-day, seven years after the sudden conversion of the C. G. T. and its leaders to the syndicalism of blessed union collaboration.

### Both Are Necessary.

What seems now to me to be certain is that the pre-war conceptions have not regained all their influence among the revolutionary syndicalists any more than among ourselves. The Russian Revolution proved that neither the unions nor the political organizations are sufficient in themselves for practical purposes; the Russian Revolution was the joint work of the unions and the Communist Party. In the exchange of views we are working to establish, let us never forget this.

In this exchange of views the results of which will perhaps determine the course of the whole social movement in France, I should like to take my part through the columns of the Bulletin Communiste. As Edouard Vaillant said to me one day "I am as much for the C. G. T. as for the party." This amounts to saying that I am vigorously opposed to this control of the unions by the party, which rash project we are often accused of attempting to carry out. I am for autonomy in organization, co-ordination in action and for unity in principles and purposes.

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# MILWAUKEE COMMUNISTS ORDERED DEPORTED.

Deportation awaits six alleged members of the Communist Party who were arrested in Milwaukee during the "Red Raids" of the now thoroughly discredited ex-Attorney General Palmer. The decision was handed down by Federal Judge Ferdinand A. Geiger. The men involved are Mike Lojan, Bela Jurich, Steve Josig, Paul Markovich, John Antolish, and Sam Merkwowich.

Because the manifesto of the Communist Party contained such words as 'army of the proletariat', 'Red Guard', 'mass action,' etc., the learned judge held that these United States were no place for communists. Therefore he ordered their deportation.

According to U. S. Marshal Samuel Randolph, the men will be deported as fast as the immigration authorities make the arrangements. Thus again will the historic traditions of the United States as an asylum for the oppressed, wherein a constitutional provision guarantees the right of expression, be upheld.

# THE COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF GERMANY AND THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

Berlin, July 21.—The Communist Labor Party held a membership meeting to discuss the "Ultimatum of the 3rd Congress of the Communist International". The speaker called upon the members to vote down the proposition of the Comintern that the C. L. P. join the United Communist Party within two months. He attacked the leaders of the Third International as opportunists and as the worst enemies of the Bolsheviks. Russia was run not by the Soviets, but by the dictatorship for a party! He also declared: "We shall fight the Third International from the outside."

A comrade tried to counteract this vile attack upon the Communist International and the heroic proletariat, but was interrupted by hisses and cries. He said the words of the speaker vividly recalled the anti-bolshevist propaganda of the Majority and Independent socialists. In the face of hostile shouts and cries he asserted, "We must build mass parties in every country to lead the proletariat to victory. The existence of small communist sects constitutes a distinct danger to the victory of the working-class. There is only one road to freedom, the road of the Third International."

In Groeningen near Bremen a mass meeting called by the C. L. P., after a discussion in which speakers of the United Communist Party participated, adopted a resolution condemning the C. L. P. for impeding the unification of the revolutionary workers and calling upon the members of that party to obey the instructions of the Comintern and unite with the U. C. P.

Robert L. Mobry.

New York.—Eighty-four cents of every dollar of the taxpayer's money received by the United States is expended on account of wars, past and present, according to revised figures received here from the United States Bureau of Efficiency. The figures are based on the appropriations for the current fiscal year.

# Financial Report National Defense Committee.

July 1st to July 31st, 1921.  
HEADQUARTERS: 7 BANK STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

RECEIPTS	
Cash on hand July 1st, 1921	\$346.19
Remitted by Divisions:	
New York Division	\$550.00
Chicago Division	75.00
Milwaukee Division	100.00
Midwest Division	1,000.00
TOTAL	\$1,725.00
Workers Defense Committee (Chicago CLP)	105.79
Cortland, N. Y.	100.00
Misc. contributions, lists, etc.	101.70
Refund from Nafe	10.00
TOTAL RECEIPTS	\$2,042.49
DISBURSEMENTS	
Payment to lawyers	\$500.00
Prison and deportee relief	285.40
Remitted to Defense Divisions	376.71
Special Defense	200.00
Repayment of loan	50.00
Supplies	19.77
Wages	200.00
Railroad fare	76.81
Hotel	12.00
Rent	15.00
Telegraph Tolls	15.40
Postage	2.00
Incidentals	10.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	\$1,763.09
CASH ON HAND JULY 1st	\$346.19
RECEIPTS FOR JULY	2,042.49
TOTAL CASH FOR JULY	\$2,388.68
DISBURSEMENTS FOR JULY	1,763.09
CASH ON HAND AUGUST 1st, 1921	\$625.59

EDGAR OWENS, National Secretary.



# The Question.

By Nea Richards.

They had just moved into rooms over a warehouse, and little Evelyn could not resist the smell of peaches that was coming up through the cracks in the floor. She kept on saying to her mother, "I want some peaches."

Her mother explained to her they couldn't have any fruit, because father has been out of work for months and they were dead broke, buying all the necessary food on credit and getting day after day less and less of it.

Little Evelyn couldn't understand it. "There are bushels and bushels of peaches down stairs, and I want only a couple of them."

"But, my dear, they don't belong to us."

"To whom do they belong?"

"To the man who owns them."

"How can one man eat up so many peaches—bushels and bushels of them. He won't eat them all. They are for sale. People who have money buy them."

Hasn't anybody in the city any money?"

"What a foolish question, Evelyn. Some people have money, just as we had money when father had a job."

"If some people do have money, why doesn't anybody buy those peaches. We have lived here two weeks, and the peaches are still there."

Unable to explain it, her mother told her to run along and play.

A week later Evelyn came up with a whole basketful of peaches. Her mother was puzzled. "Why, Evelyn, where did you get all these peaches?"

"On the sidewalk, mother, in the gutter."

"Then they must be rotten. I'll pick out the best and cut away the rotten parts with a knife."

She spilled the peaches out on the floor and began sorting and cutting. Then she grew thoughtful and turned to her mother with this question: "Why couldn't I get before now even one peach when bushels and bushels of them were going to rot?"

# Gleanings

Flashes of Thought to be developed into Articles or Stories.  
No. 1.

Teacher tells the class what a rich country America is. A little boy asks: "If my country is so rich, why must I go to school without breakfast?"

Get to work, young comrades! Make of this Gleanings an article or a story good enough to be published in Dawn.

Let your writing be very plain and use only one side of the paper. Write with pen and ink, please. Address: THE TOILER, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

# How Soon?

By NELLIE MAS.

1770. Denis Pottintier is dying, leaving a wife and a boy of ten, Eugene. The mother is sick, the boy cannot work the land. Count Arvance throws them out of the hut and gives the land to another. Mother and son are starving; but who cares? France is feudal.

1789. "To the Bastille!" Cries, shouts, fighting. They are storming the Bastille. Groans. Many are wounded, many are dying—cheers, riotous cheers. The Bastille is taken!

A woman, a young girl and a little boy are looking for Eugene Pottintier. They can't find him. He is among the dead.

He is dead... but feudalism, too, is dead.

1920. Louis Pottintier is dying. The factory inspector had ordered a screen for the big wheel of the machine he had worked at; the order had not been carried out. Safety screens cost money, so Louis Pottintier is dying.

He leaves a widow and a boy of eighteen, Roger. Unemployment. They starve; but who cares? France is capitalist.

19—. "To the Champs-Elysees!" Cries, shouts. Airplanes. Showers of chemicals that kill with one drop. But the people surge on... on... on... cheers!

Thousands are dead... but the red flag waves over Paris. Roger is among the dead.

He is dead... but capitalism, too, is dead.

# Equal But a Mile Apart.

By CARL J. FUTHOL.

Like all patriotic American babies, Hilda and Jenny were born equal. But their birth places were a mile apart. At Hilda's end of the mile were large, comfortable homes; at Jenny's end were shacks that failed to fall apart only because they were wedged in between barns.

Midway between the shacks and the fine homes was the main business street of the town.

Hilda came from that end of the street with cribs with yielding springs, downy mattresses and fluffy woolen blankets; Jenny got a crib with a hard bottom, a hard mattress and a coarse cotton blanket.

Hilda had a maid to take care of her; Jenny had no one but her mother, and she had to wash for a livelihood, father being out of a job.

The summer was fearfully hot. Hilda was taken by her mother and maid to the country; Jenny sweltered in her crib. The steam from the wash-tub made the air still more chokey.

Hilda was nice and cool in the country; for Jenny there wasn't a cool spot—until she was hurried.

# Stand by Soviet Russia!

Four years ago there was established in Russia, the first WORKERS' REPUBLIC.

Think what it cost!

Economic strangulation by the Allied Blockade!

Military invasion by the hired legions of the international capitalists!

Countless subsidized reactionary plots and conspiracies!

But still the WORKERS' REPUBLIC stands firm.

To-day, in the face of a terrible drought bringing HUNGER, DISEASE, and DEATH to millions of men, women, and children, the Russian Workers call to YOU for HELP!

THINK!  
of their superhuman sacrifices!

RESPOND  
with courage and enthusiasm equal to theirs!

I WILL HELP SOVIET RUSSIA.  
Enclosed find \$..... for the relief of the Russian famine sufferers.

Name .....  
Address .....  
City ..... State .....

Mail all contributions to FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA, Dr. Jacob W. Hartmann, treasurer, 201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

**15 Million Russians Starve**  
**WORKERS MASS MEETING FOR RELIEF**  
**SUNDAY, SEPT. 4-8 P. M.**  
**Remney's Hall, now Manhattan Dance Hall**  
East 55th St. and Woodland Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.  
Caleb Harrison of New York, Speaker.

Russia appeals to the world's workers for help. Show your solidarity with the Russian Revolutionary workers by attending this meeting.  
Admission free. Auspices: The Friends of Soviet Russia