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# THE TOLLER

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## How Hoover Dethroned Sovietism in Red Hungary.

The Perfidy Of The Capitalistic "Humanitarians" Revealed By Their Own Boasting In "World's Work."

(By The Federated Press).

New York.—Herbert Hoover has been considerably embarrassed in his plans for Russian relief by the wide publicity given to an article in "The World's Work" for June, in which Capt. T. T. C. Gregory, Mr. Hoover's chief lieutenant in Central Europe in 1919, boasts that he used the machinery of the American relief administration to overthrow the Hungarian Soviet republic. The London Daily Herald recently printed a summary of Captain Gregory's article and pointed out its obvious bearing upon Mr. Hoover's Russian activities.

"Is history to repeat itself?" asks the Daily Herald, according to a dispatch to the New York Times. "Is Mr. Hoover to be allowed to fly at still higher game during his new food mission to Russia?"

"The despicable story of bounce and brag told by Captain Gregory of Mr. Hoover's American relief agency, needs very little comment from decent people," says the English labor organ. In the article to which the Herald refers, entitled "Overthrowing a Red Regime," Captain Gregory claims that he conspired with "Moderate" labor leaders of Hungary to overthrow the Soviet government. As an incident to his manipulation of the machinery of the American relief administration for counter-revolutionary purposes, Captain Gregory relates how he accepted one million dollars in cash from the Hungarian Soviet government for food supplies which he never intended to deliver to them.

The publishers of "The World's Work" it appears, have suddenly discovered that Captain Gregory "spilled the beans" at a most inopportune moment, and are refusing permission to other journals to reprint the captain's story. The publisher of "Soviet Russia," formerly the official organ of the Russian Soviet government bureau, and now a private publication issued at 110 East 42nd street, New York, recently wrote to "The World's Work," asking permission to reprint the Gregory story.

Permission was promptly granted to reprint one-third of the article with proper credit. "This is in accordance with our usual custom in such cases," wrote the editors of "The World's Work." Before this letter was received, however, "The World's Work" called "Soviet Russia" on the telephone and explained hurriedly that it was a "mistake" and that this article was an "exception" to their "usual custom" and could not be reprinted. "The World's Work" would prefer, said its editor, that "Soviet Russia" did not even quote from Captain Gregory's story. A second letter from "The World's Work" stated that permission to reprint had been given "under a misapprehension" and "is hereby withdrawn."

The following summary of the Gregory article appears in the September issue of "Soviet Russia":

Capt. T. T. C. Gregory, a former San Francisco attorney and American army officer, represented the United States on the Inter-Allied Food Mission to Central Europe, created by Mr. Hoover in February, 1919. In addition, Captain Gregory was the head of the American relief administration in Central Europe and, he says, Mr. Hoover's "personal agent." Thus accredited, Captain Gregory set to work with a very clear conception of the job allotted to him. "Way down in my heart," he says, was the knowledge that "we were not only feeding people, but also were fighting Bolshevism." Mr. Hoover, according to Captain Gregory's conception of his chief's purpose, "was feeding and succoring Balkanized Central Europe only as an incident to the fight he was making to throw back the red wave of Bolshevism."

In the summer of 1919, it seems, the "salvation of Central Europe depended on the immediate ousting of Bela Kun from his position as Bolshevik dictator of Hungary." That was Captain Gregory's task. And Mr. Hoover "required no exhaustive explanation of our situation to spur him on to the most strenuous efforts."

Force was the "obvious method." Marshal Foch promised to turn the trick—with an army of 250,000 men. But the supreme council dared not risk it; so Captain Gregory had to do the job alone. To be sure he was "instructed to keep out of Central European politics." Nevertheless "something had to be done."

According to the captain's story, the representative of the Hungarian Soviet government at Vienna, General

Boehm, was the readiest tool at hand. General Boehm was shown an alluring picture of what it would mean if he should organize a counter-revolution in Hungary. "We urged on him," says Captain Gregory, "the opportunity that was offered him to make a deathless figure on history's pages—the hero who struck the bloody hand of Communism from the throat of an exhausted nation.... We offered him the enticing plum of glory, fame, honor and power and a logical scheme for plucking it."

Boehm asked whether the supreme council would stand behind the attempt. Captain Gregory and his colleagues "undertook to obtain the most favorable possible pronouncement from Paris." It is not to be imagined that Mr. Hoover's man worked entirely single handed. He took into his confidence Sir Thomas Cunningham, the British military commissioner, and Prince Borghesi, the Italian diplomatic representative. The gentlemen approved the captain's plan.

Boehm, of course, was a mere tool. "The real conspiracy we had set afoot," explains the captain, "was one dominated by the labor-democratic interests in Hungary." Agoston, Gerami and Haubricht, Hungarian "labor leaders," were the true friends and allies of the American captain, the English baronet and the Italian prince.

A program of action and policy was drawn up for the approval of the powers in Paris. "There is no doubt that Mr. Hoover was the principal agency responsible for the quick return we received." The supreme council hesitated, but Mr. Hoover insisted that the scheme could do no harm and "might result in the overthrow of the Hungarian Reds." This persuasive argument prevailed, and so, relates the captain, "my work in the hatching of the plot.... was done."

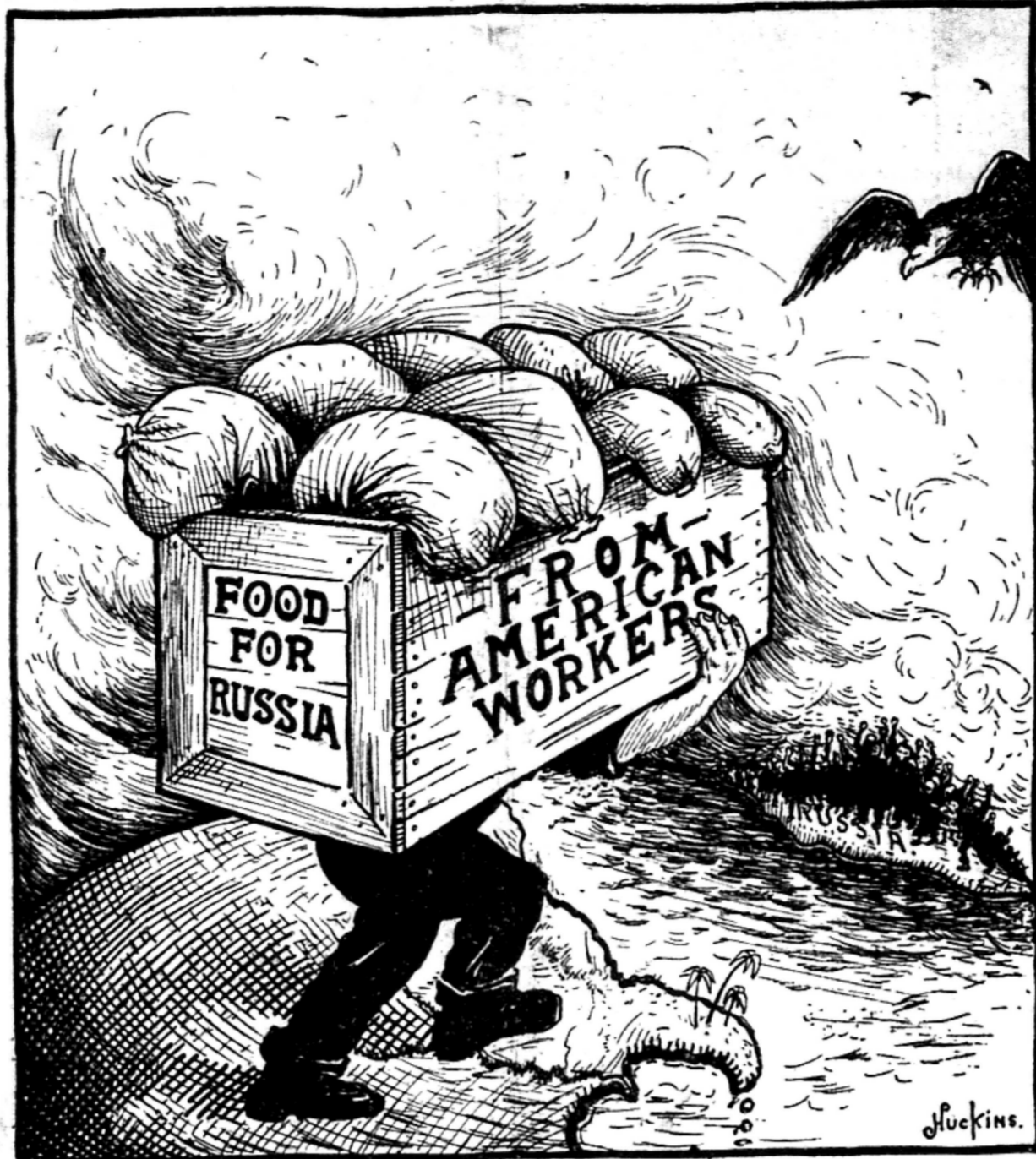
Still the captain found himself in a tight place. His zeal—"born of my single purpose to feed and aid those unfortunate millions"—had put him in a hole. The bribe in his bargain with the Hungarian "laborites," Agoston, Gerami and Haubricht, was a promise to deliver the food which had been so zealously withheld from Soviet Hungary. But the captain had no food and he knew it. Moreover he had no funds with which to buy food. Mr. Hoover had wired him that no more funds were forthcoming. How then could he make good on his bargain. There was food to be bought from private packers in Trieste. But no money with which to buy. This did not deter the captain. He knew where he could get the money.

Several times, it appears, the assistant commissar of food of the Hungarian Soviet republic had come secretly to Captain Gregory in Vienna, begging to be allowed to buy food for the starving people of Hungary. "I had refused him absolutely," says Mr. Hoover's man, "for there was a blockade on Red Hungary. I had told him from the first that we would have no dealings of any nature with Bolshevism and that he was wasting his time asking me."

Forty-eight hours before the coup was to be sprung in Budapest, Captain Gregory sent for this Soviet commissar and told him that he might reconsider his refusal to sell food to the Hungarian people. "He almost cried with joy." But the food must be paid for in cash. The commissar agreed. "There were tears in his eyes," writes the captain, "and I knew I could trust him." Next day the money was brought. The captain took it and placed it in a Vienna vault. Did he then in return deliver food to the Hungarian Soviet republic from which he had accepted this money? He did not! He closed a deal with the packers and told them to hold the food for instructions.

The coup was sprung in Budapest. The Soviet government went down. Captain Gregory released the food. "Within a few hours," he relates "with a relish, 'the people were eating the bread and the fats that the Bolsheviks, all unknowing, and certainly never conscious of the irony of the situation, had bought through me.'"

Washington.—Here is one reason for the campaign against bobbed hair: When American girls adopted bobbed hair human hair importations from China and elsewhere dropped from \$22,000,000 to 7000 a month. But \$14,000 worth of human hair entered American ports in June, as compared with \$196,000 worth the same month last year.



HELP SEND IT OVER!

## Italian Workers Resent Verdict

By EUGENE LYONS.

Boston, August 29.—Boycott of American ships and American goods in Italian harbors is one of the projects under serious consideration throughout Italy as a protest against the conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, the labor organizers recently tried on a murder charge in Dedham, Mass., according to a special message to the New York Call. The idea is said to emanate from leading members of the Federation of Marine Workers, one of the leading labor bodies in Italy. It is reported that some sailors, infuriated by the verdict against their compatriots on insufficient evidence, have taken steps, independently of their organization, to interfere with American shipping.

Detailed accounts of the trial and its outcome, printed in the greatest daily newspaper in the country, "Avanti," roused all the labor elements, and in a measure also the rest of the country. The labor press, which is so powerful in that country, calls the case an outrage and talks continually of reprisals. It evokes the memory of the case of Ettore and Giovanniannetti, almost sent to the chair by the money interests in punishment for their activity in the Lawrence strike, in the same state which now may electrocute Sacco and Vanzetti.

Among those who are taking the lead in Italy in demanding fair play for Sacco and Vanzetti is the Socialist Group in the Chamber of Deputies, comprising 130 deputies. The Department of Foreign Affairs is holding off action until it will receive a complete report on the trial, as prepared by Marquis Ferranti, Italian Consul in Boston.

In America, too, the protest against the verdict is gathering strength. The Defense Committee is in receipt of numerous letters and resolutions from labor unions all over the country, expressing their unqualified belief in the innocence of the two Italians and pledging their support of the fight in behalf of a new trial or a reversal of the verdict. A resolution by Local 348, International Association of Machinists, in Salem, Mass., is especially significant because the local is so near the scene of the trial and therefore thoroughly conversant with facts. After asserting faith in the innocence of the two men, the resolution demands "that brothers Sacco and Vanzetti be granted a new trial in another county

## BOLOGNA: THE HEART OF THE AGRARIAN STRUGGLE IN ITALY.

By MARY REED.

The fight between the Italian peasants and landlords is developing rapidly. The growing unemployment is of course a great advantage to the land-owners in their effort to undermine the workers' organization, while the "Fascisti" rage provides them with an added weapon for increasing the misery of the peasant masses.

Bologna is the center of Italian agriculture, as well as the headquarters of the Federazione Nazionale dei Lavoratori della Terra d'Italia (Agricultural Workers' Union of Italy). This union was formed in 1900, with a membership of 150,000 which has now been increased to nearly 800,000, under the leadership of its secretary Mrs. Argentina Altobelli. Before the Federation was established the working day was about 14 hours and the wages were almost nothing (1.50 lire a day for men and 60 centimes for women). This hideous exploitation on the part of the agrarian lords has been aided and abetted by the priests and the government. These three today make up a triple alliance for combating the Federation, which has always openly aimed at the socialization of the land.

Conditions Of The Workers. Absentee ownership, farm-hands for large scale work, (braccianti), and tenant colonies, (mezzadri), are the chief characteristics of the Bologna district. For twenty years the farm-hands have been struggling for better conditions, and are now 100 per cent organized. But work is very uncertain. At the most they work only

one hundred and eighty days out of the year, and part of that is for public works. The employers try to counteract the gains of the workers by refusing to cultivate the soil. Thus, by throwing a great number of men out of work, and importing labor from other provinces, they can make their own terms. And when the laborers turn to the public works, the employers use their influence to restrict improvements in this line.

It is among the tenant colonies that the influence of the priests is felt most strongly. The clerical party has always feared Socialism more than the Devil, and has resorted to the most unscrupulous methods of attempting to break up the peasant organizations. Greedy and ambitious they take advantage of their religious power over the peasants by picturing to them a utopian paradise, and luring them into electoral support with crazy promises. When their betrayal becomes too evident, and the competition of the Federation begins to swamp them, they pick up their skirts and run to the government authorities for help. This results in the arrest of Federation officials, usually on the charge of "extortion." This charge has been used a great deal lately by the landlord class, and is based on the fines exacted by the union, of certain members for disciplinary reasons. Whole executive committees have been arrested on this ground. How appropriate it is, coming from men who dock the wages of their workers

(Continued on page 4.)

where personal prejudices will be swept aside and the scales of justice permitted at least to balance evenly." Indicative of the way the conscientious men and women in the community here, even among the conservatives, are affected by the verdict is the fact that John Lawrence Hurley Professor in the Suffolk Law School and a prominent Republican leader, came out publicly for a new trial. After going through the record of the proceedings which resulted in the conviction, he was convinced, he says, that a terrible miscarriage of justice had been made, and volunteered to speak in behalf of the Italians at a meeting arranged for the purpose in Union Hall.

A conservative paper, the Boston American, also condemned the verdict. The editorial says in part: "The evidence as it appears from the stenographers' notes is most unconvincing to us and we are informed that nearly all the newspaper reporters from the Boston papers, who covered this

## Appeal To Mine Workers

CONVENTION MUST REPRESENT RANK AND FILE AND CONSIDER WORKERS' PROBLEMS.

The convention of the United Mine Workers of America faces us and many a mine worker looks forward to this event with great expectation. The mine workers are trusting that the convention will be attended chiefly by those who have the interests of the rank and file at heart, rather than by those who think only of their official jobs. For many vital problems affecting the fundamental interests of the mine workers as well as the whole working class will have to be dealt with.

The rank and file of the mine workers are fairly class conscious. The bureaucrats, on the other hand, are a serious obstacle to the workers in their struggle for better conditions. Hence, one of the matters to be taken up by the convention is a method of effectively curbing the power of the bureaucracy. It must also establish a system of rank and file control of the administrative work.

The railroad industry of the United States, in comparison with less important unionized industries, is one in which the workers labor at the lowest wages even though they are fairly well organized. Next to them come the mine workers, who must work 8 hours directly at the job, which means ten hours inside the mine, six days a week at \$7 a day.

Miners' Conditions Bad. It is a singular fact that the mine workers, who are among the best organized workers in the country, have not achieved what workers in other less important industries have accomplished, as for instance, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The latter workers have not only the 44 hour week, but receive higher wages. The carpenters, machinists, the workers in the building trades attained far better conditions during the war.

It is obvious, therefore, that mine workers, who work under the most unhealthful conditions and are always face to face with danger, should at least have the 6 hour day, face to face, and \$10 a day.

But the first attempt of the miners to attain this aim, after interminable delay and negotiations, was blocked by the cowardly desertion and betrayal of "president" John Lewis and his machine of bureaucrats, who were afraid to face the enemy. In some sections, the workers attempted to keep up the fight, but their efforts were in vain, since their unity was broken by the treachery of their leaders.

Rank And File Control. Hence one of the important problems of the coming convention is to take away the power from the bureaucrats and to establish closer rank and file control. This can be effected by vesting all the power in the miners' Executive Committees, from the bottom up. All the officials and the administrative employees shall be appointed by the various Executive Committees and controlled by them. The National Executive Committee shall be elected by the convention. This point must be settled once for all, without submission to a referendum.

EVERY OFFICIAL MAY BE ELECTED OR RECALLED ON THE SPOT. EVERY APPOINTEE SHALL BE RECALLED AT ONCE. Furthermore, there must be greater integration of the organization from below. Instead of miner's locals having individual and isolated connections with the subdistrict or district office, they shall be organized into compact central bodies as possible, with delegates sent to this central body from each mine in the locality. This would strengthen the power of the rank and file and eliminate many officials from the payroll.

There is another question to be considered in the problem of unionization in the southern states. As long as mines in the south are producing, a general strike or any effective strike of the miners may be defeated by the bosses. The organization of the south will determine shorter hours and higher wages throughout the country. On it is predicated the security and strength of the organization as a whole.

The south could easily be organized with the aid of the Railroad Brotherhoods, since a threat to tie up the railroads would be most effective in guaranteeing freedom of organization work.

The next question is that of industrial unionism and the class principle of organization and action. If the

miners had refused to mine coal and if the railroad workers had refused to transport scab products from the steel mills or bring in any raw materials, the steel workers to-day would be enjoying human conditions. Even to-day, the steel workers could be organized UNDER PRESSURE and with the active assistance of the miners and railroad unions.

It will require considerable agitation among the railroad men against their reactionary leaders and in favor of a different form of organization and for the use of different methods than are employed at the present time, if support is to come from that direction.

Will the delegates to the Mine Workers' Convention act in accordance with the best interests of the rank and file? They will if every miner sees to it that RANK AND FILE DELEGATES ARE ELECTED. No officials shall be sent as delegates to the convention unless they have demonstrated beyond the slightest doubt that they are on the square and are not tools of the Lewis' machine.

The militants in each local union must get together and put up candidates who will stand the test and subscribe to the above program. At the convention, they MUST ACT AS A UNIT, and not allow themselves to be swept aside by the bureaucrats.

Miners' Educational League.  
Bellaire, Ohio.

## PIECE WORK IN R. R. SHOPS.

By RACSO YARG.

When the Todd's Cut shops of the Penn. R. R. opened recently at Wilmington, Del., there were quite a number of workers who went to work by signing under the YELLOW SLIP system, i. e. the SLAVE-DRIVING system of PIECEWORK. Now they are reaping the benefits(?) of their folly.

On Aug. 27th some of the men went to draw their pay and if there ever was a disillusioned bunch of men it was these shopmen.

Some of them refused point blank to sign their voucher, claiming their pay wasn't satisfactory. They stated that although they signed for piecework they had never been officially notified that they were working piecework and were under the impression they were working on an hourly rate.

One worker who was under the impression that he was receiving 52 cents an hour found that his pay was \$10.73 for 80 hours work which he refused to accept.

William Fuhr who was employed as machinist at the above mentioned shops was taken to the Delaware Hospital where the middle and ring fingers of his left hand were amputated. He got his fingers caught in a machine while working PIECE WORK, THE PACE THAT KILLS.

## AMERICAN SOLDIERS FOR SPANISH CONQUESTS.

By S. Bergman.

The small oppressed nations, after LEARNING that the promises of freedom and independence, were only one of the many tricks of World Imperialists used to keep them in subjection, are taking things into their own hands. The Moors like the Irish, Turkish and Indian workers have rebelled.

Spain, who was allotted Morocco at the World Robbers' Conference at Paris, sent an army of occupation to its acquired territory which was met by an armed force of natives and workers determined against foreign imperialist rule.

Suffering heavy losses and demoralization, the Spanish army mutinied. Their own army no longer dependable, Spanish government agents are taking advantage of the workers' privations due to unemployment and are recruiting men for services against the rebels in Africa.

New York recruits, many being world war veterans who were promised heaven on earth if they only got the Kaiser, readily admit their sole reason for enlisting and swearing away their allegiance to Uncle Sam, is to keep from starving.

Is an army of this composition dependable?

# 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.

## International Relations.

The economic condition of the world in general and the decline of Europe in particular presages a long period of hard times, disturbances, crises of a general and partial character and so forth. The international relations inaugurated by the war and the Versailles treaty are rendering the situation more and more hopeless. The trend of the economic forces tending to sweep away national boundaries and convert Europe and the rest of the world into one economic territory gave birth to imperialism but, on the other hand, the scuffle between the contending forces of this imperialism led to the creation of a multiplicity of new national boundaries, new custom-barriers and new armies. With regard to State administration and economy, Europe has been thrown back to the medieval state.

The soil which has been exhausted and laid bare is now being called upon to feed an army exceeding in numbers that of 1914, the hey-day of the "world in arms".

The policy of France which is playing a dominant part in Europe to-day, is based upon the following two principles:

The blind rage of the usurer, ready to pounce upon and strangle an insolvent debtor and the greed of the predatory heavy industry striving to create favorable conditions for industrial imperialism to supplant financial imperialism with the aid of the Saar, Ruhr and Upper Silesian Coal Basins.

But this striving runs counter to the interests of England, whose aim it is to keep the German coal away from the French ore, which, if brought together, would create the conditions necessary for the reconstruction of Europe.

Great Britain to-day has reached the high-water mark of her power. Having retained all the dominions, she also acquired new ones. Nevertheless, it is just at this moment that it is becoming most evident that the dominating international position of England stands in contradiction to its actual economic decline. German capitalism technically and organizationally much more progressive than that of England, has been crushed by force of arms. The United States, having taken possession of both Americas, has now come out as a triumphant rival even more menacing than Germany was. The productivity of labor and of industry in the United States, owing to its superior organization and technique, is now above that of England. Within the territory of the United States from 65-70 per cent of the world's petroleum is being produced upon which depends the automobile industry, tractor production, the fleet and aviation. England's dominant position in the coal market which used to be almost a monopoly has been shaken. America has now assumed first place and her European export is ominously increasing. America's commercial marine has nearly come up to that of England, neither is the United States content to put up any longer with England's monopoly over the Atlantic cables. Great Britain has taken up a defensive position with regard to her industry and is now resorting to protective legislation against the United States under the guise of combatting the "unwholesome" German competition. Finally, while the English fleet, comprising a large number of battleships of the old-type, has been checked in its further development, the Harding administration has taken up the Wilsonian programme of naval construction intended to secure the superiority of the American flag on the sea within the next couple of years.

The situation has become such that either England will be automatically pushed back and, in spite of her victory over Germany, will become, a second-rate power or she will be constrained in the very near future to gather up all the power she had inherited from former times and engage in a mortal struggle with the United States.

This is just the reason why England is maintaining her alliance with Japan and is making concessions to France in order to secure the latter's assistance or neutrality at any rate. The growth of the International role of the latter country within the European continent during last year has been caused not by a strengthening of France but by the international weakening of England.

Germany's capitulation last May on the Indemnity Question signifies, however, a temporary victory for England, including as it does a supplementary guarantee of further economic decay of Central Europe, without in any way excluding seizure by France of the Ruhr district and Upper Silesian basin in the near future.

## The Next World War.

The antagonism between Japan and the United States which was temporarily veiled by the former's participation in the war against Germany is now tending to come out into the open. In consequence of the war, Japan has approached the American coast having secured for itself a number of islands on the Pacific which are of great strategic importance.

Japan is spending one half of its budget on the maintenance of its army and fleet. In the impending struggle between England and the United States, Japan is going to play on the sea the same part as that played by France on land during the war with Germany. Japan to-day is making use of the antagonism between Great Britain and America but, when the final struggle between these two giants for world hegemony breaks out, Japan is going to be the battleground of that fight.

Both the original causes that called forth the recent great slaughter and the chief combatants that took part in it marked it as a European war, the crucial point of which was the antagonism between England and Germany. The intervention of the United States only widened the scope of the struggle, but it did not divert it from its original direction. The European conflict was being settled by world-wide means. The war, having settled the English-German and German-American quarrel in its own way, not only did not solve the problem of the relations between the United States and England, but has, for the first time, put that problem prominently forward as one of the first order and the question of the American-Japanese as one of the second order. Thus, the last war was in reality only a prelude to a genuine world war which is to solve the problem of imperialist autocracy.

This, however, forms only one focus of international policy which has yet another focus located in the Russian Soviet Fed-

eration and the 3rd International, brought about by the war. All the forces of the world revolution are arraying themselves against all the imperialists combinations.

Whether the alliance between England and France is going to be maintained or broken up, whether the Anglo-Japanese treaty is going to be renewed or not, whether the United States are going to join the League of Nations or not—all this is of little value as far as the interests of the proletariat or the securing of peace is concerned. The proletariat can see no guarantee for peace in the vacillating, predatory, and treacherous combinations of capitalist powers, whose policy turns to an ever increasing extent around the antagonism between England and America, fostering that antagonism and preparing for a new bloody outbreak.

The fact that some of the capitalist governments have concluded peace and commercial treaties with Soviet Russia does not mean that the bourgeoisie of the world has given up the idea of destroying the Soviet Republic. What we are witnessing now, is nothing but a change, a temporary change perhaps, of the forms and methods of struggle. The uprising caused by the Japanese troops in the Far East may serve as an introduction into a new stage of armed intervention.

It is altogether obvious that the longer the revolutionary movement of the world proletariat will go on, the more inevitably will the bourgeoisie be impelled by the contradiction of the international economic and political situation to make another bloody denouement on a world-wide scale.

If this should come to pass, the "restoration of capitalist equilibrium" consequent upon a new war would have to proceed under conditions of economic exhaustion and barbarity in comparison with which the present state of Europe might be regarded as the height of wellbeing.

In spite of the fact that the late war has furnished terrible evidence of the fact that "wars are unprofitable"—a truth lying at the bottom of bourgeois and socialist pacifism—the process of political, economic, ideological and technical preparation for a new war, is going on at full speed all through the capitalist world. Humanitarian anti-revolutionary pacifism has become an auxiliary force to militarism.

The social-democrats of every variety and the Amsterdam Trade unionists who are trying to make the workers of the world believe that they ought to adapt themselves to the economic and political conditions resulting from the war, are rendering the imperialist bourgeoisie most valuable services in the matter of preparing a new slaughter which threatens to completely annihilate civilization. (Continued next week.)

## RANK AND FILE COMMITTEES-POWER BEHIND THE IMPENDING SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE.

(AN APPEAL TO OTHER WORKERS.)

By WALTER T. JOHNSON.

What did the Winnipeg strike mean to you? What did Seattle mean? What does it mean that the labor unionists of San Francisco are rapidly moving the same way, making definite plans for a general strike for which the rank and file feel the necessity.

Why these general strikes in Winnipeg, Seattle and San Francisco? In San Francisco the necessity for a general strike was driven home to the workers as a direct result of a dispute in the building trades. The workers in the building trades had a trade dispute with the well-organized masters. The masters represented not only themselves, not only the employers in the building trades in San Francisco or even in California. The masters, through the Chamber of Commerce, carried on the fight not only for employers in all trades in San Francisco or California. Capital, big business, banks, trusts, have one fight on their hands—the fight to break up unions open closed shops, introduce the American plan, cut wages, lengthen hours.

The fight to reduce the workers to absolute slavery can only be carried on by the capitalists pressing their ultimate aims, their broad aims, their real aims, in every trade union dispute. And this is what happens. The United States Steel Corporation cannot take part directly in every trade dispute, but steel is a basic industry, and the steel makers therefore have power which extends far beyond the workers in the steel mills. The United States Steel Corporation has refused to supply structural steel to any builder who operates on the union shop. That means that every builder must use every dispute with workers, and must even create disputes for the specific purpose of introducing the open shop, the American plan. The National City Bank, with power to make or break banks and business, has said, we "will not supply capital to any industry operating on the union shop."

Small Strikes May Become General Strikes. Consequently every dispute with the employers is now but a skirmish in the larger fight. As a direct outcome of any such dispute the larger fight may immediately appear in full view. A dispute over a wage cut may immediately precipitate a general strike. A general strike shakes the life of a community, shakes the institutions of law and order, shows up the class character of a city government and

forces the workers to take full charge of all essential functions of government.

That is what happened in Winnipeg and Seattle. That is what in fact is approaching in San Francisco. That in fact is the meaning of Winnipeg, Seattle and San Francisco. And that is what may happen anywhere as a direct result of a dispute between workers and employers. That, therefore is the meaning of Winnipeg, Seattle and San Francisco to you. They are examples of the fight which is being thrust upon you.

You will recognize the fight when it develops out of a struggle in your own shop. You have been badly beaten. Your employers misrepresented you in the press in order to deceive other workers, in order to drive away from you the only support you can expect, the workers in other industries, who will take their turn, their beating next. Under such circumstances you would recognize the need for help from other workers. And you must learn to recognize it when the dispute does not commence in your shop or your industry. You must recognize it as the workers' struggle, something bigger than a building or textile workers' struggle—a struggle big enough in which to meet the bosses equally, united instead of divided.

Cause Of Dispute. Let us therefore see what is happening in San Francisco, where the larger fight, the workers' fight, is developing.

First there was a dispute between the building trade unionists and the employers. Every proposal for a settlement was met by the employers insisting upon the American Plan. This the workers in the building trades resisted. "Victory" or no victory, the workers would not give up their union.

But the building trades unions, dominated by old time leaders, proved to be poor instruments for the struggle. During the war the trade unions became part of the government's war machine. The unions with reactionary leaders became the means of speeding up the workers to do war work in order to strengthen the American capitalist class. Unions were composed chiefly of skilled, the better paid, and were limited to crafts. On top of the unions, far removed from the workers, were the old time high salaried leaders, a true bureaucracy. These leaders, far from being suitable to carry on a struggle for the workers involving several industries, had abandoned the every day struggle for higher wages

and better conditions. They made it their business not to fight for the members of the union, but to preserve peace, to negotiate and to make agreements in the interests of peace instead of always preparing for the next step, the next struggle. They talked of a fair day's wage, a phrase that was out of date when Samuel Gompers was ten years old, a phrase which denies the existence of exploitation, a phrase which recognizes the right of capital to the bulk of what the worker produces. And when an open shop campaign comes along they call it unfair, appeal to the employers, beg before an industrial court for justice, plead for the workers instead of explaining the fight to the workers and putting it up to them to resist.

Because the workers in the building trades in San Francisco were unwilling to give up their unions at the demand of the bosses, they were also unwilling to trust the existence of their unions and the waging of their fight to leaders who represented only themselves. Rightly afraid of being sold out, the building trades workers started a rank and file movement through they could express themselves.

Form Rank And File Committee. The rank and file committee, consisting of delegates from shops and unions, directly in touch with the workers, subject to their influence and responsible to them, quickly assumed leadership in the strike. This was not because the committees consisted of experienced leaders but because they were workers.

The new rank and file committees were immediately recognized by the capitalist press as a workers' committee and therefore a committee to be discredited. They were recognized by the employers as committees which could not be bought, pacified or readily deceived. They were recognized by the officers of the unions and of the labor councils as committees of action and therefore committees to be opposed because action, meant death to a bureaucracy interested in, trained and suited for the businesslike arrangement of buying and selling workers to employers. Action by the rank and file committee was action as much against the labor agents as against the employers.

The workers in the building trades in San Francisco had lost all power in the unions. The Union machine worked from above. The rank and file were but so many dues-paying members to be traded in. But the economic crisis following the war, bringing with it wage cuts, six million unemployed and the great increase in the membership of unions which took place during the war, have made the workers challenge the power of the old time leaders.

This then is the origin of the rank and file conference committee of the building trades in San Francisco. Its task was to resist the employers' attack on the unions, to resist the American plan.

Opposed By Both Bosses and Union Officials.

The odds against the committee were tremendous. The building workers alone were face to face with the capitalists' drive for the open shop. The drive was backed, as we have seen, by employers, banks and trusts all over the country. One regiment of workers was powerless. It must either surrender, or appeal to workers in other industries to join in the battle. The fight was fundamental. Only leaders not under the direct influence of the workers would surrender. They would surrender, if possible, upon terms of preserving the name of the union. They would be willing to have a bosses' union, a company union, any kind of union, so long as they kept their offices and drew their pay. But the rank and file committee, having no fat jobs to keep, being workers, under the influence and control of workers, could not surrender. They had to fight. They called to their side the workers in other industries.

On July 21 the rank and file committee of the building trades succeeded in forcing the Building Trades Council to vote to call a general strike, a strike in all industries in the San Francisco Bay region, unless the dispute was settled on the workers' terms.

John A. O'Connell, secretary of the labor council, an opponent of the rank and file movement, from the first, opposed the general strike call, was supported by the Labor Council and with only one dissenting vote the matter was referred to the executive committee. The expressed idea of the executive committee was to negotiate with the Builders' Exchange. But they were afraid of the rank and file movement, afraid they could not sell it out, and afraid to rouse the rank and file in other industries. Therefore, according to reports received up to the time of writing the Executive Committee did not meet.

The rank and file committee of the building trades did not rest when it had forced the Building Trades Council to endorse the general strike call. Unions were called upon to hold special meetings to act upon the call. Unions were visited and the reason for the general strike call was explained.

Leaflets were distributed, among the workers of all industries. Mass meetings were held. The call for the general strike was not to be a mere formality. It was not made so that the leaders could say, you see we have done our best, we wrote to all union officials but they did not answer. No. The call was to be made real. It was to reach the workers, the workers who would be the next to be up against the open shop drive. The struggle was real, it was carried on by those whose interests were involved and it was therefore carried on in earnest.

But that is not all. It was sufficient even to have the workers in all industries force their union officials to declare for a general strike against their wishes. It must be a real strike, conducted by and for the workers. The building trades workers, having learned that their fight could only be fought by a rank and file committee, explained this to the workers in the other industries, so that rank and file committees sprang up to press the call and lead the movement for the strike in all industries. Just as the rank and file in the building trades had forced the Building Trades Council to call a general strike, so would the rank and file committees in all industries overpower the reactionary Executive Committee of the Labor Council. At the same time Norman H. Tallentire, at the head of a committee of five from the rank and file conference committee, led a large meeting of delegates to the Labor Council to request the central labor body to give its support to the plans for the general strike.

Try To Stall Workers.

It was Tallentire against O'Connell, the principal of unity and action against division and inaction, workers against their old time leaders. Tallentire said the only way to fight the combined forces of capital in San Francisco is by means of action by union labor. O'Connell said, "no hasty action, no need for alarm, you cannot stampede the labor council, we will take care of our business (note the "our" business, not the workers' business), when the building trades dispute started we officers of the council offered our services to the officers of the building trades and we were told to mind our business." Naturally, anything to be made by the Building Trades officers out of this dispute was not to be shared with the labor council officers, and naturally the labor council was not interested any more in offering its services after it had become a workers' fight, and officials were being cut out of the game.

And lastly O'Connell said, don't be afraid of the Chamber of Commerce. It has no power! We will visit the employers and straighten things out. Or, in other words, he tried to persuade the workers that the capitalists operating from Wall Street through the Chamber of Commerce, were not powerful, that an attack on the unions by them was of no importance. And in the second place, although unwilling to take any part in the workers' struggle because of rivalry between the officers of the Building Trades and of the Labor Council, the latter were willing to straighten things out with the employers, to sell out the workers but not to fight for them.

The day before O'Connell whitewashed the Chamber of Commerce and offered the workers for sale, 400 delegates from 56 locals in the Building Trades denounced the American plan as an effort to bring the workers to the industrial slavery of fifty years ago. But this was nothing in O'Connell's life. He was not afraid of the Chamber of Commerce, of the employers. And, indeed, why should he be? He is not a worker, he is not on short time, or unemployed, or speeded up. He is well paid, he lives as the employers live, he is respected by them and their newspapers—so long as he can deliver the goods. And the goods are so many workers willing to work under certain conditions for a certain time. The employers prefer no union, but if there must be a union it must be one controlled by leaders whose interests are not the same as those of the workers.

And so the fun began. The appeal for the general strike was an appeal against the American plan. The plans were being made for a short, quick, snappy general strike, of a demonstration, a test of strength, a proof of solidarity, a threat of more to come, a proof of life and backbone in the San Francisco workers, and an inspiration to workers everywhere to fight and not to submit. On August 7

## Printers, Attention!

Since May 1, you have been on strike; you will probably be on strike for some months yet. Are you winning? Are you losing? What has the strike taught you? What has the printers' strike, as it has been conducted, shown to be faulty in its methods, and in the form of organization of the different crafts which make up the printing trades? Are the printing crafts lined up together as they should be—to win a national strike for all the printing trades workers?

The Toiler requests that members of the printing trades who are readers of this paper submit contributions on this strike and the questions of tactics and organization which it has brought up. In a short while these (or at least parts of them) will be published as a symposium on this national printers' strike. Send in your contributions, printers.

A mass meeting of all union members was planned for. Pending that decisive gathering representatives of culinary unions, machinist unions, metal trades council, were ready to urge their unions, to vote for the general strike. Water front unions pledged their support. Bakers unions were served with a notice that from August 1 there would be a 10 per cent cut in wages and the American plan would be introduced. The bakers will resist and learn directly and at the same time as the builders the need for a general strike to combat the American plan. And the San Francisco Building Trades Council not following O'Connell, declared in favor of the general strike movement. That is the way the wind blows in San Francisco and the Bay district.

Francisco Case May Be Repeated.

At any moment you may read of the San Francisco general strike as a fact. You will understand its cause and its purpose. And you will know that it may be repeated in every city in America where workers take things to their own hands.

You will not only read that workers are on strike; but you will again, after Winnipeg and after Seattle, learn what happens in a general strike. The workers will find it necessary to take over the essential functions of government, the production and distribution of food and the protection of workers. These are the functions of the Russian Soviet Government, the functions which the workers took over in Winnipeg and Seattle and which the rank and file committee in San Francisco are already preparing to take over.

It will be the workers against the capitalists and their servants. The workers will act through the rank and file committees, which rest upon the workers, in their shops and factories. The capitalists, not satisfied with the city government and the Chamber of Commerce, have created an Industrial Association of San Francisco. It was formed at secret conferences of business firms which invested capital of one quarter of a billion for the express purpose of adopting the American plan in San Francisco Bay industry.

Thus they face each other. And so the need for the general strike is forced home to the workers every day. Ballots are being circulated and the "general strike looms." The policy includes "no return to work until the strike has been settled to the satisfaction of every union."

A mass meeting of ex-service men from the unions was called to organize a labor police force to help maintain law and order during the impending strike. There will be 500 labor police on hand whenever the strike starts.

Hutchinson, Kan.—Alexander Howat, head of district 14, United Mine Workers of America predicted that not a ton of coal would be mined in the state should he lose his appeal, now pending, and be forced to serve a term in prison. An unprecedented spontaneous walkout throughout the state is not considered at all unlikely should jail doors close on Howat. The miners' leader is now touring the state in a campaign directed against Governor Henry Allen and the Kansas industrial court law.

**CALEB HARRISON**  
WILL SPEAK ON  
**THE WAY TO BE JOB SURE**  
Vizay's Hall, 8th and Walnut Sts., Milwaukee  
**SEPTEMBER 10th—8 P. M.**  
Auspices of the American Labor Alliance.

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The War in W. Va.

One hundred and twenty miles from the Capitol City of the United States, some 6,000 coal miners have taken up arms in self-defense against the Baldwin-Felts detective agency, the non-union coal companies who employ them, and the state and local troops, mine guards and sundry petty police and politicians who are part and parcel of the equipment of the mine owners in their war against unionism in that section.

The armed miners have instituted a march with the center of the conflict, Logan county, as the objective. According to the statements attributed to the officials of the miners' union, the purpose of this march was to compel the Federal Government to take charge of the situation with its troops, thereby taking out of the hands of the Governor and lesser officials all legal power in the territory. Upon this new basis, the miners have faith that the end of mine guard rule in these coal counties may be brought about.

For more than a year guerilla warfare has been going on in this section. The coal companies with their armed forces of detectives and their plant tools in the state offices have ruled West Virginia with rifle and murder.

The miners have demanded but one thing—the right to belong to a union. It seems incredible. But even this simple privilege has been denied them. The coal companies prefer maintaining a private army of thugs and gun-men to allowing "their" miners to organize as workers are organized in other parts of the world. The degree of exploitation to which the miners are subjected enables the coal owners to maintain this private army.

The miners have rebelled against these medieval conditions. They are Americans, believing in the few so-called fundamental laws embodied in the Constitution. When they began their march they said, "We are going to bring West Virginia back into our country". That is the sort of people who have taken up arms against the constituted authority, that is the mine guards, of West Virginia. They have not been called "Reds nor "Bolsheviks" as yet. Somehow, the press has not been able to fasten any such accusations upon these unconscious "direct actionists".

The miners have faith in the Federal government, none in local government. Let us have Federal authority in the coal counties, say they, and we will get justice. Now it is quite possible that out of this insurgency, especially if the miners retain possession of their arms, some recognition of the rights of Logan county miners to belong to a union may be vouchsafed them. We hope that these miners will never mine a pound of coal until this right is granted them.

But with our good wishes to the insurgent miners, we offer the following lines as worthy of meditation.

UNTIL YOU TOOK UP ARMS THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEREST ITSELF IN YOU. The president did not interest himself in Logan county until YOU ORGANIZED FOR ACTION. As long as the mine guards, detectives and thugs were able to hold you down, the federal government kept hands off.

The President did not use his good offices in your behalf. The Federal government was perfectly willing that no miner in Logan county should be allowed to belong to a union. The Federal government DID NOT PROTECT YOU from the mine guards and thugs. It was only when you armed yourselves and carried the war against your enemies that the Federal government interested itself in you.

It is possible that out of this will come some union rights for you. Especially is this right likely to be accorded you if you continue to stick up for it and keep within reach of an effective weapon. You have learned the necessity of organization. Don't forget what you have learned. Organization means power, may you use it and win with it.

PRESIDENTIAL FELICITATIONS.

An enterprising newspaper finds the exceptional family of the age, mother, father and sixteen living children (three had died). It publishes a photograph of the entire family which catches the Presidential eye. The President writes a letter of congratulations, perhaps with his own hand, and thereby copy is made for the press.

But in this case the felicitations of the White House occupant were as unsatisfying as other more sedate and stately documents coming from the same hand. Mrs. Zaccacha, mother of the family promptly replied with a request that the President use his influence with John Wanamaker to get the husband and father a better paying job than his present one at \$20.00 a week.

The President called John's attention to the matter and this is what happened. John found a job for the eldest son of the family.

That's what we want to talk about. Wanamaker's act was highly typical of the methods of capitalism. By the photograph presented we judge at least ten children are too young to earn any portion of their livelihood. Instead of raising the father's wages to the point where he could maintain his children, another member of the family is hired and exploited. This is the

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

My 12 Days in Germany

By G. ZINOVIEV

President of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

INTRODUCTION.

"My Twelve Days in Germany" has to do with the Congress of the Independent Socialist Party of Germany, as distinguished from the "Majority" socialists and the "Communist Labor Party," held at Halle in October, 1920.

In the previous March had taken place the Communist uprising which had failed and which had been accused in a pamphlet by a member of the Independents' Executive Committee, Paul Levi, of being artificially forced upon orders from the Third International Executive Committee at Moscow. The pamphlet created a tremendous stir in the Party as well as among the bourgeoisie who bought up whole editions.

At the Congress was to come up the question of the Independents' affiliation with the Communist International and the acceptance of the famous "21 points". Because of the inevitable split imminent upon the Party's acceptance of these 21 points of affiliation, and other weighty matters, Zinoviev attended the Convention. In this serial he tells of his experiences there.

... I am off to Germany.

The first question, which naturally arises in the minds of all of us—how has it happened that the German Government has given me permission to enter the country? Various guesses have been made. Those comrades who are most in touch with the "diplomatic" world suppose that this is due to the desire of the German Government to do something towards a rapprochement with Soviet Russia. More practical minded comrades, who are in touch with the All Russian Extraordinary Commission, express the view that the German White Guards desire simply to inveigle me into Germany, and there, under the pretext that some part of my speech is bound to constitute an "offense" against the German laws, arrest me. Other comrades suppose that I am allowed to enter Germany chiefly because the bourgeoisie desires to split the Independent Party of Germany, and hopes that my arrival will precipitate the split. There are also comrades who suppose that the decision of the German Government is due to all the above mentioned considerations taken together.

However this may be—I am going. Now, after all that I have seen and heard in Germany, I am convinced that the decision of the German Government to allow me to reside 10 days in Germany was dictated by two considerations. The first and principal one: the position of the leaders of the Right Wing of the German bourgeoisie. Hilferding, Dittmann, Moses, Dismann, Kohn and Co., have for a long time past been persona grata in the most influential government ("socialist" and "democrat") circles.

The German bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists know perfectly well that the Right Wing of the Independents is their ally, their reserve force, their hope for the immediate future. The leaders of the German bourgeoisie (and the Scheidemannists were undoubtedly anxious to avoid anything that could embarrass the sorely tried leaders of the Right Wing of the Independents at the forthcoming party congress at Halle. The position was such, that had I been forbidden to enter Germany, the position of these leaders would undoubtedly have been rendered more difficult under the prevailing circumstances.

Let us see now things stood. The congress at Halle had to settle one question only? Is the Independent Party going to join the Third International? To refuse to admit a representative of the Third International, when that question had to be discussed, would be equivalent to a confession that the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists, who had it in their power to admit or refuse me, were supporting those who do not want the Independents to join the Third International. Permission to enter the country was granted to the Russian Menshevik, Martov, and to the French representative of the "centre", Longuet, who were going to

method. Pay only such wages as will keep the actual worker fit to work, put the children to work as soon as possible, the more exploitation the better. Beat the father's wages down with the competition of his children. Workers are good for nothing but work. The earlier they work the better for the employers.

"Labor, being a commodity, sells on an average at its cost of production", says Marx. But it now requires less time for a family of children to develop to the point where they may enter industry and pay the cost of production. This is brought about by the increasing efficiency of machine production. The machine displaces the skill of the worker and the child displaces the father tending that machine.

Thus workers find it impossible to raise a family to maturity on the wages of the father. No worker expects to do such a thing. Mrs. Zaccacha is behind the times, what she should have asked for was a job for each of the kids so that the father could pay for his own keep.

But Wanamaker knew what to do.

Halle in order to save the leaders of the Right Wing. Had the representative of the III. International been refused that permission, our supporters would only have had to point out that fact, and it would have been clear to everybody that the bourgeoisie and the Scheidemannists were in league against the "Left Independents". This would have been far too disadvantageous to Hilferding and Co. They had to choose the lesser of two evils. The other reason was undoubtedly the fact that part of the bourgeoisie—the dull-witted part of it—thought that a split in the Independent Party would be to the advantage of the bourgeoisie. It was precisely that part of the bourgeoisie which had seized on the elementary idea, that if there was to be a split in any labor party, it was always bound to be to the advantage of the bourgeoisie. Such was the notion of this section of the bourgeoisie, far removed from the subtler idea, that splits are not all alike, and that the clearing of a labor party of elements of the right and "trimmers" may work out in favour of the revolution and not of the counter-revolution. The wise-heads of the Scheidemann party, well informed as they were, knew that a split was inevitable in any case, and were in favor of allowing the representative of the Third International to appear in order to make the petty bourgeois and nationalist workers believe that "Moscow" was to blame for the split.

Such was the combination of forces among the bourgeoisie and Social Democratic leaders, which finally led to my obtaining leave to enter Germany.

Passing The "White" Frontier.

I am getting ready hurriedly, and at 1 a. m. on October 9th leave for Reval. In Reval I remained only a few hours. I took the Estonian steamer "Wasa" a small passenger and cargo steamer. She usually takes only 20-30 persons on board. This time she had to take no less than 75. Most of the new passengers came on board, to the surprise of the captain, during the last few hours. The captain owes this sudden incursion of passengers to me.

Why this sudden rush of passengers? The riddle is easily solved. They were spies of all countries and of all nations. Reval has absolutely no claim to be and no chance of becoming an important international centre, but it can claim the honor of having become the centre of an international spy system. It is honeycombed with them. One can hardly walk along without bumping against one of them. They spy upon one another. All the Great Powers of the world, and the lesser powers as well, keep a couple of dozen spies at Reval. It can be imagined what a sensation was caused among these gentry when they suddenly learned that I was passing through Reval, boarding a steamer, and going to Germany!

Well informed comrades told me that this sudden news caused extraordinary excitement among the spies.

For several days past no bourgeois papers appeared in Berlin, as a printers' strike was in progress. Only the communist and the so-called "socialist" papers appeared. "Vorwaerts" and "Freiheit" met us with howls and gnashing of teeth. The same night—midnight of October 12th—we arrived at Halle. Here we were met by comrade Levi and some other members of the German Communist Party, as well as by the grey-haired Adolf Hoffmann, Dammig, Koennen and other leaders of the Left Wing of the Independents.

Organizing For Battle.

At 2 a. m. we organized a short preliminary consultation. We agreed on our tactics. The main thing we are striving to achieve was to force the Right Independents to accept battle on points of principle, to force them to take part in a political discussion. The fact is that on their return from Moscow, Crispian and Dittman, (delegates to 2nd Congress—June

of all countries. Every secret-service had its own quasi-scientific theory as to why I was going, how it was that I had been admitted etc., etc. At the same time each agency pretended to possess the most authentic information, which the agencies of the rival country would never be able to obtain. In consequence, these honorable gentlemen swarmed our ship like flies on a lump of sugar. This presented a most picturesque scene. I was accompanied by a Bulgarian comrade, Shablin, and a Petrograd comrade, Yonov. Besides, there were on the same steamer five Soviet diplomatic couriers on their way to Germany, Czechoslovakia and Austria. We Russians thus numbered 8 men in all. There were at last 40 spies, an average of 5 to each communist! There were English, French, German, Lettish, Estonian, Austrian, Czechoslovak, and many others. It was, so to say, a veritable international of spies. One could hardly show his nose on deck without being surrounded on all sides by these honorable gentlemen. All sorts and conditions of people were present there. Well dressed ladies, English dandies, gentlemen dressed up as "workmen" etc. We did not derive the least pleasure in meeting these gentlemen, whose very faces invited insults and were in no way pleasant to contemplate. We could hardly move a step without meeting them. When not engaged in other occupations they played at cards and as usual quarrelled amongst themselves. Since spying on us could not occupy the whole of their spare time, they were engaged in spying upon each other. This was extremely funny. Under this trusty escort we arrived at Stettin after two and a half days.

The Welcome Into Germany.

In Stettin we were met by the German comrades: the president of the Sailors Union, a communist-anarchist, member of the German Communist Party and comrade Kurt Geher, one of the best known leaders of the Left Wing of the Independent Party. The first question we put to comrade Kurt Geher was: who is in the majority at the congress; we or they, the "left" or the "right"? Comrade Geher reassured us that our fraction was as firm as a rock. This news immediately put us in a most cheerful mood. The Stettin workmen and sailors had been informed of our arrival. They all wanted to take part in the welcome. The leading comrades however dissuaded them, considering quite rightly that they should not from the very first embarrass our stay in Germany. Next to the sailors, who came to meet us, stood some well fed, immaculately dressed bourgeois. Our comrades told us—these are the leaders of the so-called "Orgesh" organization (a white guard organization led by reactionary generals and officers, which in some parts of Germany terrorises the whole population. The organizer of this gang is colonel Escherich. Hence, Org. Esch., or commonly Orgesh). These gentry also came "to meet" us. The second group of representatives of the same honorable organization, which consisted of a few young men of an equally disagreeable type were waiting for us on the staircase of the hotel, where we remained a couple of hours until the next train. After a few hours we were sitting in a train on the way to Berlin. Comrade Geher was so considerate as to bring with him all the papers and news of the last few days. They showed that the gulf between the "Rights" and the "Lefts" of the Independents had greatly widened, and the leaders of the "Rights" were acting basely. The German comrades, who accompanied us, were anxious about our safety. They assured us that the "Orgesh" and the "Noskeites" (that is the name given in Germany to the cut throats of Mr. Noske) would undoubtedly try to play a dirty trick on us.

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1920) immediately sidetracked the issue in Germany to the question of organization. They were ever ready to vow that—"We stand for the Third International. There is hardly any question on which we disagree with the Third International. We only demand a greater independence for our party. We do not wish to be altogether deprived of our autonomy. We have agreed to 18 conditions worked out in Moscow, but we object to the Bolsheviks stiffening these conditions by adding, at the last moment, 3 new conditions. We wish to belong to the Third International, but we reject the dictatorship of Moscow."

Such was the main line of argument adopted by all the Right Independents. Why did the over-wise leaders of the Right Independents try to turn the discussion on to that ground? The answer is obvious. They cannot accept battle with the Communist International on points of principle. The overwhelming majority of the German workers are on the side of the Russian revolution, on the side of the Soviet Government, on the side of the Communist International. To tell the workers openly that they are against Soviet Russia, against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the program of the Communist International—means to lose nearly all support from the rank and file of the workers. This is well understood by the right leaders of the Independents. They could only harp on one string—i. e. the question of organization. But in this respect the Right spared no efforts in exaggerating their case. They pandered to the lowest nationalist instincts of the workers. They did not disdain to appeal to the very sentiments, which played such a fatal part at the beginning of the imperialist war. They displayed headlines like: "The Moscow

Ruminations of a Rebel

By Tom Clifford.

I have just finished reading a long magazine article on "The Vast Commercial Problems of America," by former Secretary of Commerce Alexander, in which he flounders through a "vast" amount of verbiage in an attempt to give the causes of the worldwide industrial depression and point out what is necessary to restore the bourgeois conception of industrial normalcy. By some strange force of reasoning he arrives at the conclusion that "nothing but steady hard work will bring a solution of the world's present difficulties." He seems to be childishly ignorant of the indubitable and incontrovertible fact that the hard work of the wage slaves piled up the enormous surplus for which there is no market. However, he does grudgingly admit the existence of this surplus and that a foreign market must be found if relief is to be secured. Agree with you, old boy, but will you point out to your anxious fellow capitalists just how that market can be opened up? That is information they long have sought and mourned because they found it not. Merely citing the necessity will not bring home the bacon. If Brother Alexander would think less in terms of commerce and give more consideration to the operation of economic laws the conviction might suddenly dawn upon him that the scrapping of the profit system is the only solution. The bourgeois mind is almost invariably of the single track variety. Anything foreign to the beaten path is utterly beyond its comprehension.

None but the most unsophisticated entertain any hope that the Disarmament Conference will be productive of the slightest permanent results, whether the session be closed or open. If perchance an agreement should be entered into by the nations participating, it will be ruthlessly broken by any or all of the nations represented when certain conditions arise that are inevitable under capitalism. Undoubtedly a rational procedure would be the curtailment of burdensome military expenses, but rationality is not a bourgeois characteristic. The struggle of a markets precludes all possibility of a total disarmament. Besides, the ruling class is in constant fear that their hitherto patient wage slaves may take a notion to revolt against their masters, and in that hour of stress a military force will be an asset. The ruling class hates to pay the freight of militarism, but obvious necessity demands its continuance. They will spend a million dollars down there in Washington in a fruitless effort to arrive at some amicable arrangement, and then — will agree to disagree. There is no other course for them to pursue. However, it is their funeral. We should worry!

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Knout", "Despots from Moscow", "The Moscow Dictatorship" etc. Only references to the "cossacks" were missing to make the picture complete. If the Right Independents succeeded in obtaining a considerable minority at the congress, it was due to the fact that at the preliminary discussions before the congress they avoided all arguments based on principle and even proclaimed their agreement in principle with the Third International, thus sidetracking the dispute to the famous 21 conditions, which they thoroughly misinterpreted, and distorted in a most cynical manner. Absolutely everything within human power was done by the leaders of the Right Independents to confuse the real difference in principle existing between the Communists and the Right Independents. The leaders of the Right Independents seem to have entered into a conspiracy to conceal the truth from the workers at all costs. The deception of the workers is carried out systematically and reduced to a fine art. When I saw the clever rascally game being played by the leaders of the Right Independents at the congress, to conceal from the workers the real meaning of the split, I recalled Noske's book.

If the reader is not acquainted with Noske's book entitled "From Kiel to Kapp," I earnestly advise him to read it. It is a remarkable book. It is a book written by a typical representative of the labor bureaucracy, whom the bourgeoisie has placed at the head of the government, and who became an avowed executioner of the working class, served by the course of events to go to all lengths in his nefarious task.

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The latest achievement of capitalism, the creation of the Federal Reserve Board, which has been heralded as a certain stabilizer of finance, seems to have gone "flooey." It is now accused of discrimination against the agriculturist in the provision of loanable funds and playing into the hands of the Wall Street speculators. What else could reasonably be expected? Since the whole capitalist system is rotten to the core, how could any of its institutions be otherwise! Anyone who hugs the delusion that the capitalist State can be honestly and equitably administered is a bloomin' idiot. Some poor boob may find consolation in the thought that the board is arraigned before the bar of public opinion, but it is safe to assume that the aforementioned bunch of crooks will not evince the slightest perturbation over the expose, and will look complacently over the "bar" and wink the other eye. Some day, however, gentlemen of their persuasion will get it where Nellie wears the beads.

The motive behind the organization that bears the name of a secret organization that flourished in the South immediately after the civil war is now claiming the attention of the public. The members prefer to be Simon pure, blown in the bottle, 100 per cent Americans, and that they are actuated only by a desire to enforce good government, whatever that may mean to those gentlemen. My individual opinion is that they are damned liars. The very fact that they sail under the title "Ku-Klux-Klan", an organization that specialized in unlawful acts against the Negro race a half century ago is pretty good proof of their insincerity. The name is something to conjure with as a means of conveying the impression that the purpose of the organization is to interfere with the civil liberties of the Negro. This is simply a herring drawn across the trail, which they hope, will conceal their sinister operations in another field until they can become firmly entrenched. In the season the real character of this organization will appear. When they deem it safe they will throw pretense and camouflage to the winds and function as a capitalist appendage. In their still hunt for working class agitators no fine distinctions will be made between white and black. Stripped of its hypocrisy, this infamous organization will stand revealed as a terrorist agent of the ruling class. Its appearance at this time indicates that the bourgeoisie see the storm clouds gathering and are preparing for the worst. There are troublous times ahead, and it behooves the intelligent contingent of the working class to also engage in a little preparation.

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WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(Editor's Note: This is the eleventh of a series of articles which Mr. Foster is writing for The Federated Press. In his last article he dealt with labor laws and working conditions in the Workers' Republic. He pictures the scenes attendant upon the opening of the Third Communist International in the present article.)

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

MOSCOW.—Once in awhile one has an experience that can never be forgotten so long as life lasts. That was my lot today (June 17, 1921). I witnessed a great Russian mass demonstration. It seemed as though I saw the soul of the revolution.

The demonstration, held in honor of the congress of the Third Communist International, which begins in a day or two, took place in the super-historic Red Square of Moscow. No more fitting place for a revolutionary gathering can be imagined. The Red Square is a large cobbler-paved plaza, probably 200 yards wide by 400 yards long. Along one side of it runs the famous Kremlin wall, above which, in the interior, rise buildings, literally bullet riddled from the terrible fighting during the October revolution. At the foot of the wall lie buried, in a mass grave, the hundreds of workers who gave up their lives in the revolutionary battles in Moscow. Along the other side of the Red Square stretches a great arcade, likewise torn with bullets. Once it was the scene of intense capitalistic activity, but now its many shops and offices are closed tightly and the painted names of their former occupants look down lugubriously upon a scornful world. At one end of the Square and at the other end the celebrated church of St. Basil, the most beautiful building in all Russia if not in the whole world. In front of this church stands the "executioner's block," where hundreds of victims of Ivan the Terrible and other czars were beheaded. Merely to look about this famous place is to get a thrill such as the new world cannot produce. But when one sees the Red Square filled with a surging revolutionary proletariat, as it was to-day, one's feelings are indescribable.

The day started with a review of the Red Army, some 20,000 soldiers of which, members of the Moscow garrison, marched in and banked themselves in the Red Square. All branches of the military service were represented, including infantry, cavalry, lancers, artillery, signal corps, officers' schools, etc. Aloft, over St. Basil's church, hung a great 'sausage' observation balloon; a score of aeroplanes skimmed in and about the heavy clouds overhead. Promptly at the scheduled time, exactly upon the stroke of 12 by the great Kremlin clock, the ceremony began. The massed hands struck up The Internationale and People's Commissar for War Leon Trotsky, came out of the Kremlin gate to inspect the troops.

Trotsky is a man in the prime of life. He is well built and vigorous looking. He was afoot and dressed in civilian khaki without any decorations whatever. With him there came half a dozen officers, uniformed, as usual, like privates, save for small ranking marks on their lower sleeves. All walked up to the reviewing stand, where they were joined by a number of congress delegates from various countries. Together the enlarged party made the tour of the square in front of the troops. The soldiers stood at "attention" (I am told that "present arms" is not in the manual of the Red Army) and each regiment chorused the greeting, "We serve the people," as the reviewers reached it. Meanwhile the great combination band poured forth the stirring strains of The Internationale. It was a memorable scene.

As I looked at this simple yet most impressive picture I could not help but compare it with the gorgeous reviews of imperialistic armies that I have seen in other European cities. How different the meaning of the two kinds: this one typifying the struggles for liberty, justice and humanity; the others, tyranny, slavery and brutal slaughter.

At imperialistic army reviews one usually finds officers from foreign lands who have been invited to inspect the troops. An analogy occurred at this demonstration, but instead of foreign capitalistic officers called in to observe and to learn it was working class delegates. As these went through the review with Trotsky no doubt many of them were looking forward to the day when they will be organizing similar Red Armies in their own countries, now trembling on the brink of revolution.

I was particularly interested in noticing the makeup of the army. Its morale was a marvel to the delegates, many of whom had fought in the great war. The soldiers had all the appearance of being well fed, highly trained and thoroughly equipped. For the most part they were dressed in plain khaki,

although one special branch wore red trousers and another black ones. Several others had red cloth straps across their breasts. Their uniforms consisted of a sort of cloth helmet, Russian blouse with heavy leather belt, ordinary military trousers and high leather boots. Altogether they cut a smart appearance. I could not learn what make of rifles they had, but was told that most of them were French, captured from Wrangel. The soldiers had a very business-like appearance, which was especially increased by their almost invariable custom of carrying their rifles with bayonets fixed. The officers were unique. They were conspicuous by their lack of the usual military swagger and bluster. They were quiet, efficient and human. They were the very antithesis of the old czarist army officers. Most of the Red Army officers are quite young, although they are experienced veterans. Here and there an ex-czarist officer could be seen, some of them holding high rank. Most of them could be picked out at a glance. There is something about them—a remnant of their old military training—that the new working class officers do not possess. I was particularly interested in two who stood close by where I sat. One wore a sabre, evidently from the old army, for it had on it the imperialist emblems. The other officer, noticing it, pointed to the czar's coat of arms and both smiled broadly. I wondered what thoughts were passing through their minds at this incident. The czarist officers seemed to fit in fairly well with things, although it seemed to me as I watched them narrowly that they did not come to "attention" as readily and as freely when The Internationale was played as did the new officers, who are practically all Communists.

After the review Trotsky made a speech to the troops, touching on the needs and duties of the present situation. He has a splendid ringing voice. I doubt if there was one in the vast Red Square outside the range of it. I read in one issue of the New York Times recently that he is afflicted with a cancer and in another issue that he is dying with tuberculosis. But he is the healthiest looking invalid I have seen for some time. It was a physical achievement to make oneself so distinctly heard in that great open air gathering. Representatives of several countries also made speeches. Trotsky seemed affected by the occasion, more than once he led in the cheering.

Following the speechmaking came a great parade. There must have been fully 60,000 in line. It was a combined military, naval and civil affair. In other countries the military rarely or never condescend to march with civilians. This is because they are a thing apart from the life of the people. But in Russia it is different. The Red Army is distinctly a people's army. It is a real working class institution, as much so as the trade unions are in other countries. The people are proud of it and it is proud of them. Hence in this demonstration it was sandwiched in between a big group of civilian organizations at the head of the parade and another bunch at the rear. It fell into the middle of the parade from its inspection position in the Red Square.

The procession was kaleidoscopic in its variety. Soldiers, sailors, student officers, school children, university students, civil guards (local police), factory groups, trade unions, etc., etc. It was a veritable outpouring of the proletariat.

To me the most interesting feature of the parade was the Communist party groups from the various sections. Many of these consisted of war prisoners who have been converted to Communism. There were German, Austrian, Polish and other national divisions. Even America was represented by a body of Russians who had been in the United States. The Communist party is the brain and backbone of the Russian revolution, not to speak of its soul. Wherever there is duty or danger, there the Communists are to be found in force. In every crisis, no matter of what kind, they are called upon to bear the brunt of the struggle. For the most part their groups in the parade looked simple enough. They consisted of plain working men, without uniforms, but each one carrying a bayoneted rifle. Confirmed revolutionists and idealists to the last man, they are the shock troops of the revolution. No capitalist country possesses armed forces which, man for man, could meet them successfully in battle. The ordinary

Manifesto To World's Trade Unions.

BY REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS ATTENDING RED TRADE UNION CONGRESS AT MOSCOW.

The International Red Trade Union has been formed. From now on all those trade union organizations of the whole world who wish to bring about the overthrow of capitalism will crowd to this organization. We revolutionary Syndicalists came to Moscow to defend our principles in the organization congress of the Red Trade Union International. However our tendency did not prove to be the strongest. The trade union organizations of Central Europe do not fully agree with our syndicalism but nevertheless they are distinguished by great revolutionary strength. The proletariat of Russia, Germany, Hungary, Jugo-Slavia, and Czecho-Slovakia camp out to splendid pages of revolutionary history. We are separated by a varied opinion on certain phases of the struggle but we are united by the same belief in the triumph of the cause of the proletariat. The division of the revolutionary trade unions into two internationals would be a crime against the whole proletariat whose efforts are powerless against the coalition of the bourgeois and the yellow international of Amsterdam. The formation of a united front is the duty of the hour when the capitalist

"crack" troops would melt before them. It was significant that they were given the position of honor at the head of the parade, coming before even the Red Army. In Russia the Communists are first in war and everything else. I watched them march by—there were many thousands of them—with more interest than I have ever bestowed on any other body of human beings in my life.

So deeply impressed was I with this great proletarian demonstration that I went home feeling that I had done no more than witness it alone my long trip from Chicago to Moscow was well repaid.

world is shaking to its foundations. The creation of the Red Trade Union International is an event of the greatest importance for it signifies the complete fusion of the workers who are struggling for their final liberation. Fifteen million workers are standing to-day around the banner of the revolutionary international.

They will see the numbers of the proletarian army grow, who must furnish the battalions for the deciding battle. The Red Trade Union International which has been formed in the revolutionary fire of the Communist International sets itself the immediate task of uniting all really revolutionary fighters in the formation of the mass of the revolution. Your autonomy can be preserved and your independence ensured by the union of all revolutionary syndicalist groups. It is self-evident that we have not been satisfied by all the decisions of the congress and that new mutual concessions will be necessary. Nevertheless we hold it to be necessary to remain in the Red Trade Union International and to strengthen it if we wish to accomplish really revolutionary work. Therefore we address this manifesto to all revolutionary syndicalists of all lands who have not united so that they will remain in the international with the firm will to defend our principles and to co-operate in the triumph of the social revolution in all lands.

Long live the Red Trade Union International. Long live revolutionary syndicalism. Long live the social revolution.

Ramirez (Confederacion General de Trabajadores, Mexico).

Andres Nin (Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores de Espana).

Julio Marino (Unione Sindacale Italiana).

Siorolle (Delegate of the French Syndicalists).

Lorch (Dutch Federation of Transport Workers).

Posthumer (Dutch Labor secretary).

George Andreitshin (American Delegation).

Tom Mann (English Delegation).

"Rosta Wien."

MY 12 DAYS IN GERMANY. (Continued from page 3.)

a crowd of 20,000 sailors on the first day of the November Revolution in Germany. This is most interesting, on the first days of the revolution the huge crowds of revolutionary sailors and workers regarded Noske and his party as their leaders. At the Kiel station this crowd of 20,000 men literally carried Herr Noske shoulder high. We cannot help recalling the familiar features of the first months of our March revolution when the workers' and soldiers' masses were doing likewise to Kerensky, the counter-revolutionary babler and humbug. The soul of the popular masses, which awakens in days of revolution, is like the soul of a child. It seems to be made of wax. And, alas! in the first period any clever humbug can mould it into anything he pleases.

But, the most remarkable thing in Noske's book is that it gives a clear idea of how the Social-Democratic Party hatched treason to the revolution from the very first moments of its birth. With laudable frankness and in a business like fashion, with all the details, dates, facts, documents etc., Noske tells us how he and his party betrayed the working class of Germany. This treason may be said to have been scientifically organized. The counter-revolutionary part played by the German Social Democracy and its leaders is most clearly illustrated in Noske's book.

At the present time a similar treason is being perpetrated by the Right Independents and their leaders. The division of functions by these Right leaders of the Independents is carried out to perfection. The deception of the workers is once more organized on "scientific" lines. The meetings of

these Right leaders of the Independents vividly reminds us of the Roman augurs, who could not face each other without laughing. A day will come when an "Independent" Noske (e. g. Dissmann) will frankly relate how the right leaders cheated their fraction at Halle!

Poor deluded workers! When will the day come when all the workers will know their traitor "leaders"! When shall we at last reach a period when men like Crispian, Hilferding, Dittmann and others will no longer be able to gather a whole party in the course of a few weeks by means of an obvious and systematic deception of the workers? Under such circumstances our task was to force a discussion by all manner of means, be it even at the party congress, on the fundamental questions of principle—the programme and tactics of the Third International. We at once fell in with the views of the leaders of the Left Independents. Our programme was drafted. The next morning at 9 a. m. we were already on the field of battle, in the hall where the congress was to take place. (Next week—The Congress Opens.)

BOLOGNA: THE HEART OF THE AGRARIAN STRUGGLE IN ITALY. (Continued from page 1.)

for the slightest infringement of their rules!

But the greatest struggle of all has been the effort on the part of the Federation to obtain the respect of the agrarian class for contracts. The attitude of the land-owners is degrading, and the breaking of contracts among them has become a system. So much so that a law for the enforcement of agrarian contracts by all members of the signatory association, introduced into the Chamber by a Socialist Deputy received the following comment from one of the leading Italian newspapers; "This is very dangerous, because a solvent person, such as a land-owner or a big agriculturalist, but not a peasant laborer, will endanger himself by joining an

association, because the leaders would be in a position to ruin him financially by an indiscreet contract, while the workers can always refuse to observe any contract they don't like, without the possibility of their suffering such a loss for not living up to it." (Corriere della Sera April 3 1921.)

Bosses Sabotage Production.

The breaking of contracts by the land-owners has not only hampered the development of the union employment bureaus, but it has in many cases resulted in leaving fertile lands uncultivated for the sake of gaining more power over the workers. Last year the colonies obtained from the agrarian association a contract for the cultivation of the land. Two large land-owners broke their contracts, but because they subsequently resigned from the association it considered itself powerless to make them live up to it. Much agitation followed, especially for individual contracts. These the employers refused to make. They would not negotiate, and suspended all cultivation. Things came to a standstill and the Government, alarmed, sent Prof. Balducci with broad powers. After vainly attempting to avert a crisis, he proposed cultivation of the land until an agreement should be reached. The employers refused, and the Federation asked the Government to take over the land for the harvest. There was no reply, and all attempts to negotiate with the land-owners failed, so the peasants went right ahead with the cultivation on their own hook until the Bologna government forced them to stop.

This year there are 38,000 unemployed in Bologna, and Fascist persecutions have aided in bringing terror and misery to the peasant masses. But the experiences of these last years have increased their class spirit. Workers in other branches have stood by them solidly, while the church and the State have combined with the land-owners in a desperate effort to destroy their Federation. And Hunger, the greatest teacher of all, is pressing upon them.

BOOKS THAT EDUCATE

Here is a list of books The Toiler recommends to workers who seek a knowledge of present day labor problems and a remedy for the evils of a class society. Here are books by acknowledged leaders and thinkers. Scientific works; popular educational books; the best and latest books about the great revolution in Russia; pamphlets on practically every phase of the labor struggle are here. Select the titles most attractive to you and order them today. Educate yourself NOW for the struggle between Labor and Capital.

Important Books About Russia

- The Russian Workers' Republic, Henry Noel Brailsford . . . \$2.50
The Crisis in Russia, Arthur Ransome . . . \$1.60
From Mayfair to Moscow, Clara Sheridan's Diary . . . \$3.00
Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia . . . .25
Labor Laws and Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia . . . . .25c
Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work, Zinovieff . . .15c
Structure of Soviet Russia, Humphries . . .10c
Constitution of Soviet Russia . . . . .10c
The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, Lenin and Trotsky, Compiled by Fraina, Cloth . . . . . \$1.00
Paper . . . . . .75

Scientific Classics

- Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels . . . \$1.25
Socialism and Modern Science, Ferri . . . . . \$1.25
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen . . . . . \$1.50
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Dietzgen . . . \$1.50
Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch . . . \$1.25
Ancient Society, Morgan . . . . . \$1.50
Economic Lowly, Ward, 2 vols., each . . . . \$2.50
Essays on Materialistic Conception of History (Labrioli) . . . . . \$1.25
The Universal Kinship, Moore . . . . . \$1.25
Savage Survivals, Moore . . . . . \$1.25
Woman Under Socialism, Bebel . . . . . \$2.25
Economic Determinism, Parce . . . . . \$1.25
Poverty of Philosophy, Marx . . . . . \$1.25
Critique of Political Economy, Marx . . . . \$1.25

Students' Social Studies

- Communism and The Family, Kollontay . . . 10c
Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism, Lenin . . . . . 15c
Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Kamenev . . 10c
"Left Wing" Communism, Lenin . . . . . 25c
The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade, Lenin . . . . . 40c
ABC of Communism, Bukharin . . . . . 50c
Civil War in West Virginia, Lane . . . . . 50c
Whither Are We Drifting? (Economic Studies) 50c
Program of the Communists, Bukharin . . . 25c
Program of the Communists, (in German) . . 25c
The Railroaders' Next Step, Wm. Z. Foster . . 25c
Stedman's Red Raid Robert Minor . . . . 10c
International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, Losovsky . . . . . 10c
Communism and Christianity, Wm. M. Brown, 25c
Socialism and Religion, By B. S. P. of England 10c
Wage Labor and Capital, Marx . . . . . 10c
Scientific Socialism, Study Course . . . . . 10c
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels . . 10c
Shop Talks on Economics, Marcy . . . . . 10c
Industrial Socialism, Haywood . . . . . 10c
Industrial Autocracy, Marcy . . . . . 10c
Value, Price and Profit, Marx . . . . . 15c
Evolution and Revolution, Fischer . . . . 10c
No Compromise, Liebknecht . . . . . 10c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels . . 25c
Marxism and Darwinism . . . . . 10c

- Eighteenth Brumaire, Marx . . . . . 25c
The Apostate, London . . . . . 10c
The Class Struggle, Kautsky . . . . . 25c
The Right to Strike, Marcy . . . . . 10c
The Dream of Debs.—London . . . . . 10c
Class Struggles in America.—Simons . . . . 10c
Open the Factories, Mary Marcy . . . . . 10c
Bribing the War Press . . . . . 5c
Role of the Labor Unions in Soviet Russia Losovsky . . . . . 5c
State and Revolution.—Lenin . . . . . 25c
The American Empire, Scott Nearing (Paper) . . . . . .50

Social Studies, Cloth, 75c Each

- Communist Manifesto.—Engels.
Evolution of Man.—Boelsche.
Germans of Mind in Plants.—Frances.
Marx vs. Tolstoy.—Lewis.
Science and Superstition.—Lewis.
Feuerbach: Roots of Socialist Philosophy.—Engels
Value, Price and Profit.—Marx.
Origin of the Family.—Engels.
World's Revolutions.—Unterman.
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.—Engels.
Anarchism and Socialism.—Plechanoff.
The Evolution of Banking.—Howe.
Struggle Between Science and Superstition.—Lewis
Collapse of Capitalism.—Kahn.
Evolution, Social and Organic.—Lewis.
Law of Biogenesis.—Moore.
Positive School of Criminology.—Ferri.

Miscellaneous

- Men and Steel, Mary Heaton Vorse . . . . \$1.00
Interchurch Steel Strike Report . . . . \$1.50
Stories of the Cave People.—Marcy . . . \$1.25
News from Nowhere.—Morris . . . . . \$1.25

Jack London's Best Stories, \$1.00 Each.

- The Little Lady of the Big House.
Michael Brother of Jerry.
War of the Classes.
A Daughter of the Snows.
Tales of the Fish Patrol.
The Mutiny of Elninore.
The Valley of the Moon.
The Turtles of Tasman.
The Call of the Wild.
The Faith of Men.
The Night Born.
John Barleycorn.
A Son of the Sun.
The Iron Heel.
Martin Eden.
The Sea Wolf.
Adventure.
The Son of the Wolf.
South Sea Tales.
The Star Rover.
Jerry of the Islands.
Burning Daylight.
Before Adam.
Moon Face.
Smoke Bellew.
White Fang.
5 Volumes or more 90c each.

Magazines

- The following magazines may be obtained of The Toiler office
The Industrial Pioneer (I. W. W. monthly) . . 25c
The Liberator (monthly) . . . . . 25c
Soviet Russia (monthly) . . . . . 25c
Good Morning (monthly) . . . . . 15c
The Young Comrade (monthly) . . . . . 05c

DAWN Youth Section of The Toiler

Lost Life. Bobby Wanted To Know. Bobby pressed for an answer: "Doesn't your boss know that you have a little boy who wants peaches and other goodies?" "Hush, child. Don't ask so many questions." The father's heart was bleeding. The boy had touched the old wound. He looked at his child and thought of another little boy, whom he had seen that day dancing out of his boss's office and jumping into the costly automobile that was waiting before the door. How happy that boy was! He had everything. . . . everything, while his little boy must cry for a peach that he couldn't get. He didn't envy the other child his happiness, but he asked himself: "Why shouldn't there be enough of the best for all children?" Something began to stir in his mind. YOUR SECTION. Young comrades, your section of The Toiler—DAWN—will be as good as you want to have it. So do this, please: drop us a postcard telling us which of this week's stories you like best. Get to work, young comrades! Make of this Gleaming 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.

3207 Clark Ave. THE TOILER Cleveland, Ohio