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"HE CHANGES HIS MIND A LITTLE"

LETTER OF THE MENSHEVIST LEADER, MAISKY, TO THE "PRAVDA"

(NOTE: J. Maisky was one of the best known Menshevik leaders in Russia. He was a member of the coalition government under Kerensky, and a member of the former government of the Urals. The following letter was written by him to the Bolshevik organ, "Pravda," announcing his conversion to Communism. The letter is of great interest, showing the evolution of a Menshevik, and might be read with profit by some of our own "Hill-quitters.")

Translated from the French by Charles Ashleigh.

Belonging since 1903 to the Menshevik wing of the social-democracy, I supported, during the first period of the Revolution, the policies of the Menshevik Party. With my Party, I considered the Revolution a social transformation of bourgeois-democratic character. With my Party, I thought the final aim of the Revolution had been attained by the creation of the Constituent Assembly which would transform Russia into a democratic republic of reformist-socialist type. After the Revolution of November (the Bolshevik Revolution) I still stood with my Party and took part in the struggle against the Soviet power; and, in the fall of 1918, I participated, as Minister of Labor, in the Government formed by the Committee of the Constituent Assembly.

The downfall of this Committee and the Kolchak reaction in Siberia, towards the end of 1918, was a terrible blow to the position, of the justice of which I had been so long

convinced. From that moment a profound and radical change began in my political convictions. Finding myself, during the last two years, withdrawn from political activity and, for the most part, outside of Russia (I have just passed 17 months in Mongolia, at the head of an expedition sent by the Central Committee of Unions to study the economic conditions of that country), I have had the opportunity of observing from the outside the great happenings of which Russia and Europe have been the scene. I have also been able to measure, calmly and without passion, the policies which I have previously defended and to which I had remained attached. The consequences of my reflections may be formulated as follows:

With the beginning of the world war, all civilized humanity entered into the active phase of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The motive idea of the 20th Century is the social idea, replacing the national idea.

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4 Important Facts for Workers.

CONSIDER THEM.

FACT NO. 1.—The Social Revolution is ON. No denying it. Conditions all over the world prove this. The conflict of the workers and the capitalists on every field—political, economic and the battle fronts prove it.

FACT NO. 2.—In this Social Revolution the Proletarian Press is a valuable and indispensable weapon. Without it the masses cannot be reached. Without it, success can never follow any action of the workers looking toward emancipation. It is THE weapon of the workers against the bosses.

FACT NO. 3.—Subscriptions alone, can never maintain a working-class publication. Other means must be found with which to meet the high costs of publication.

FACT NO. 4.—None beside the workers can be expected to maintain their press. They, and they alone, must band together for that purpose. The capitalist class subsidizes THEIR press with millions to keep the workers fooled. The workers must subsidize their press if they wish the facts and the truth to reach the toiling masses. That is the big fact workers must learn.

AND WE ARE GOING TO DO IT THIS WAY

In order to maintain The Toller and to improve it continually, we have decided to ask for VOLUNTEERS to organize and join our TOLLER CLUBS. We shall organize a Toller Club in every city and town where we have a list of readers; for we know that where we have readers we have friends who will support us.

The purpose and the work of these Toller Clubs will be to sell The Toller, get subscriptions, secure donations, hold benefit dances and socials for this paper. Furthermore, The Toller will tour speakers and arrange meetings under the auspices of these Clubs.

We have no hesitancy in asking our readers to organize these Toller Clubs and to carry on this work. We know they will do it willingly and well. They know it must be done as well as do we.

And now, to show that you recognize the truth of these FOUR BIG FACTS, we ask you to get together with other readers in your locality and begin organization work at once. Be the first to say: "I'm on the job organizing a Toller Club here."

Fill in the blank and mail to us.

"I WILL HELP" BLANK

I, with other workers here, realize the necessity of maintaining The Toller. I will help organize a Toller Club. Put me down for immediate action.

Name

Address

City

(Fill out and mail to The Toller office)



Drawing by Vertes, Hungarian Revolutionist.

SPRING IN PRISONLAND.

A PRISON POEM

By RALPH CHAPLIN, I. W. W.

Written in Leavenworth Prison and Dedicated to His Wife and Little Son.

Two that I love must live alone,
Night and day, night and day;
All in the world I call my own,
Only they.

Mother and boy in the rocking chair,
Thinking of one who cannot be there,
Breathing a hope that is almost a prayer,
Night and day, night and day.

Here I sit in my prison cell,
Clothed in gray;
Bars of iron and walls of stone,
Bid me stay.

What of the world with its pomp and show?
Bubbles of nothing, this I know,
But oh, in my heart I miss them so,
Night and day, night and day.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES ON PRESENT DAY EVENTS.

By Progressive News Service.

London, England.—The Daily Herald, the Labor daily of this city, has revealed a pretty piece of trickery, carried out by the London representatives of the dispossessed Russian aristocrats and capitalists, in league with Scotland Yard.

The Herald publishes a reproduction of the title-head of a Russian newspaper, called "Pravda." The "Pravda" happens to be the official organ of the Russian Communists, published in Moscow. And the portion photographically reproduced in the Herald is exactly like the Moscow one. But it isn't the Moscow one! It is printed in London by the "Russian Liberation Committee" an association of ex-officers and nobles of the Czarist regime. There is a law in England that nothing may be printed that does not carry the name of the printers. And so, when these papers come off the press, there may be read, at the bottom of the last page, about an inch and a half below the news matter, the line: "Printed by Williams, Lea & Co., Ltd., London, E. C. 2."

Now, it would never do to pass

off these papers, full of clumsy anti-Bolshevik propaganda, thinly disguised as news, as genuine, if they carried this damning line. So Scotland Yard is called in to help. In the deep depths of Scotland Yard is a very private printing plant, explains the Herald, which is used by the "Special Branch" of the police. The Special Branch consists of a select body of the Scotland Yard force which occupies itself with "political crime."

This private printing plant, like all printing plants, is equipped with a cutting machine. The fake "Pravdas" were brought there, and the offending printer's notice was "guilt-lotined" by the machine owned by the official upholders of law and order. Thus did Scotland Yard aid in the commission of a felony!

After the cutting process, the papers were sent, once a fortnight, to British officials at Helsingfors. Then they were distributed from Helsingfors as having just come over the Finnish border from Soviet Russia.

And during all this time, the British Government was bitterly com-

plaining about "Russian propa-

ganda!" In connection with the International which the Centrists tried to bring into being at the Vienna Conference, the so-called 2 1/2 International, it is interesting to read the following document, addressed to the soldiers of Vienna, at the time when the Conference was in session. We translate this from a Vienna paper: "Comrades, Soldiers:

"The Second International, the International of the agents of the bourgeoisie, of the murders of workingmen, of the Noskes, Scheidemanns and Renaudels, is dead.

"A similar swindle, masked in revolutionary phrases, is to be planned today. The saboteurs of the class struggle in all countries have come together in Vienna, in order to lead an international fight against Moscow and the Third International. These saboteurs of the class war, such as Renner, Bauer, Hilferding, Longuet, see with terror that the proletariat is gathering in ever greater masses around the red banner.

(Continued on page 3)

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM.

By MORITZ J. LOEB.
SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN FREEDOM FOUNDATION.

Whenever an "outside" organization performs a function which is supposed to belong to the trade unions, but which the trade unions can't or won't perform, there is always raised from some sources the cry of "jurisdiction." Leaders of conservative and reactionary thought in the official trade union movement are always more concerned in keeping "outsiders" from interfering in what they consider their special and exclusive field, than they are in serving the interests of the workers. One of the favorite methods of keeping the labor movement innocent of any revolutionary activities is to control the machinery with an iron hand, expell from it those who would give it revolutionary expression, and then protest against any "outside" organization doing anything that "encroaches on the jurisdiction of the economic organizations of the workers."

Such is the attack that has been made in an editorial in the March 12 issue of the New Majority against the American Freedom Foundation. Remarking the left tendencies of the Foundation, the editors of the New Majority have made the unemployment policy of the Foundation an opportunity for open opposition.

Why the Change of Executives.

Besides criticizing the Foundation for holding a mass meeting for the unemployed under its auspices, the editorial makes several untrue statements concerning the history and development of the Foundation. The issue is on the unemployment matter and the alleged encroachment of the Foundation on the jurisdiction of the trade unions. One misstatement, however, must be corrected. It is stated that the original executive committee of the Foundation resigned because the support of the Foundation lagged and that it was understood that the Foundation would lapse its activities. On its face the statement is untrue. Why should the committee resign to make way for the new committee if there was to be no new activities? The first executive resigned because it could not function and far from being any understanding that the activities of the Foundation were to lapse, the Foundation under its new executive took a distinct spurt.

Recognizing that the struggle for civil rights, for which the Foundation was primarily organized, could not be fought on the political field by methods like those that had been pursued, such as petitions, protests and the like to state and federal authorities the Foundation has a

adopted a tactic of supporting the cause of the workers upon the field where the struggle actually takes place. In the open shop campaign and the unemployment crisis, the menace to the labor movement assumes its most serious form. The right to organize is certainly one of the workers' most cherished civil rights and it is about this right that the Freedom Foundation is concerning itself in the interests of the class-conscious workers.

The army of four million and more unemployed in this country who by starvation and misery are being driven to the necessity of begging for work under almost any working conditions, for almost any wages, constitutes the greatest possible menace to organized labor. Those of every shade of political opinion, from the blackest reactionaries to the most revolutionary communists understand that labor stands to lose in the immediate future all the victories it has won in the last twenty years at the cost of countless sacrifices. With almost as many out of work as there are organized into trade unions, wages are being cut everywhere, working hours are being increased and the United States is rapidly travelling to the normalcy of industrial slavery.

Trades Unions Helpless.

Under such circumstances it is most certainly the duty of the trade unions to do their utmost to organize the unemployed and teach them why it is that they are out of work and what they can do to prevent such periodical recurrences of wide-spread unemployment. Yet what have the unions of the American Federation of Labor done in this crisis? The few feeble attempts, through calling conferences of unions to formulate plans of action, ended in early and dismal failures. No action has been taken. No concerted action is even planned or contemplated.

The reason for this is quite obvious. The American Federation of Labor and all its affiliated organizations are absolutely powerless to conduct any effective offensive or defensive struggle in this crisis. Organized as it is on craft instead of industrial lines, for the purpose only, of increasing wages and bettering working conditions instead of for the control of industry, what can the trade unions do? The present unemployment situation is merely one of the results of the rapid breaking up of capitalism. The A. F. of L. officials insist that the capitalist

(Continued on page 4)

ATTENTION! ATTENTION!

THE UNEMPLOYED

Need the education which The Toller will give. Thousands of idle men are searching for work, spending days on end in search of it. They have much time to read—if they only HAD something to read. They cannot afford to buy papers, books or periodicals. They are in want not only for food but their mental needs are also stifled.

WE WANT TO HELP

Them to understand why they are out of work; why they are victims of unemployment; to understand the workings of this capitalist system that has thrown them on the scrap heap.

WE NEED YOU TOO

The Toller hereafter will print hundreds of extra copies each week for FREE DISTRIBUTION among the unemployed—at meetings, breadlines and in unemployment agencies—wherever numbers of the unemployed congregate. We want you to help in this work of distribution and in COLLECTING AMONG THE EMPLOYED WORKERS the funds to pay the costs of printing. YOU WHO ARE WORKING MUST SHOW YOUR SOLIDARITY WITH THE UNEMPLOYED.

Write for a bundle of Tollers for free distribution. Send the money for them if you can, if not order the bundle anyway and distribute them. But we urge all class-conscious workers to help a bit in meeting the costs of printing. Here is a "free Propaganda Fund" blank. Use it in sending in your remittance for free Tollers for the unemployed. Make the Fund grow. We can print only such quantities as the Propaganda Fund permits; the larger it is the more papers we can send out and the more unemployed will be reached.

NOW IS THE TIME TO PROPAGANDIZE THE DISCONTENTED UNEMPLOYED.

THE FREE PROPAGANDA FUND

Enclosed please find to use in printing Tollers for free distribution among the unemployed.

Name

Address

City

State

Send me copies of the latest issue.

Special "Unemployment Edition,"
April 9th. Order Now 1c per copy

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE 3rd, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920

3rd Installment.

LENIN'S SPEECH

(Continued from last week)

Is There an Issue Except Revolution?

"Comrades, when we take up the question of the revolutionary press, of why unrest has been created throughout the entire world (as the English bourgeois economist expresses himself), we meet first of all the mistakes and opportunism of some of those who wish to enter the III International and the opportunism of those outright deceivers of the proletariat, namely, the people who put the question of revolution in a dishonest light. They put the question thus: Is this revolution an absolutely inevitable crisis, and can one prove that there is no way out except revolution? Some who sincerely sympathize with the revolution and are absolutely loyal revolutionists (considering themselves foremost revolutionists) try frantically to prove that there is no way out. I think that the question put in that way is fundamentally incorrect.

There Is No Absolutely Issueless Situation.

"A revolutionary crisis is at hand. Can we place hope in the strength and organization of a revolutionary class, a class of oppressed, to overthrow this disintegrating society of exploiters? That is how the question should be put. You can not show the absolute inability to find a way out of the crisis. To try to show this last is mere pedantism and playing with words.

"It is sufficient and necessary to prove and convert into action that which is lacking in Europe and in the entire world. The exploited masses lack the revolutionary consciousness of the organization and preparedness of their vanguard, namely, that very thing for the sake of which we have come together at this 2nd Congress of the Communist International.

"What we shall attain with decisive success (of this there can be no doubt) in the preparation of revolutionary forces, in order to take advantage of the revolutionary crisis which indisputably is at hand, which grows throughout the entire world and which lacks only decisiveness, consciousness, and organization. Communist parties in each country, in touch with all the exploited masses—this is what is lacking. (Continued.)"

Is Nonclass Government Possible?

"The representative of the British Independent Labor Party, MacDonald, admits that the revolutionary movement is growing, that the workmen are for the Soviet regime, that they have seen that they have, in fact, a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. He declares: A dictatorship is a bad thing, but if you must have a class government, then it is better that it should be a bolshevik rather than a bourgeoisie government. But he sets about to try to inspire people with the hope that some kind of a nonclass government is possible. But we know this latter. We saw an almost nonclass government of Kerensky, Chernov, and Tsereteli. The Germans see an absolutely nonclass government of Scheidemann and Noske, and of their followers. Hungary and Finland had the same experience.

"But we are not dealing with theory, for we know from practice what kind of facts are these which make workmen laugh when they hear this talk. MacDonald says: 'At the present moment there is revolutionary movement everywhere, and the workmen are on the side of Soviet Russia and of dictatorship. Because of the war everything has been shaken and disturbed, but all of this will settle down and all this will pass.' Thus writes the representative of a party which wishes to join the III International. Of course you have here an out-and-out bourgeois pacifist, who reckons that any crisis will pass and be settled. This man, it is true, does not call himself a Marxist; he is only a representative of the Independent Labor Party.

"But it is not a question of whether this crisis will progress far. On this point one can debate without end. The point is that people who are duty-bound to assist the revolutionary movement are getting out of it by phrases: 'All this will pass; all this will settle itself.' Such people are not Socialists and are not leaders of the workmen; and what is more, they can not be members of the III International.

Opportunism of Social-Democracy.

"This opportunism can be noted not only among the parties that have remained in the II International but even among those who have expressed the wish to join us—for example, the French Socialist Party and the German Independent Party.

"Recently a Socialist from this same camp published another book destroying the

FROM "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," PUBLISHED BY THE RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Bolsheviks. A great many books in all the European languages now appear which devour Bolshevism whole. But the more there are of such books, the more rapidly does sympathy for Bolshevism increase. I have in mind the book of Otto Bauer, entitled 'Bolshevism and Social-Democracy.' Here it is shown clearly just what Menshevism represents. It would be hard on any of us, on the basis of 15 years' experience and pleasant recollections, to be forced to sit down and describe just what Menshevism is. This learned Marxist has fortunately saved us this none too cheerful task. All the fairy tales of the Mensheviks with respect to us have been repeated here with exact citations from our decrees (Otto Bauer knows Russian) and with Menshevik deductions stuck in at every point: 'It is evident that they were victorious over Kollchak and Denikin, but now without question in their struggle against the peasantry their cause must meet definite defeat.'

"I think that our comrade Communists should make the book of Otto Bauer a textbook for Communists. Take an example of this book and show, on the basis of this page, just what Menshevism is, which leads to Scheidemannism. If you are able to show this it means that you have passed the examination and can enter the Communist Party. If you fail to show this it means that you understand nothing about Menshevism and can not enter the Communist Party. (Applause and laughter.)

Perversion on Marxism.

"Otto Bauer let slip one phrase which should be made historic. A monument should be erected to him in his lifetime, with this sentence, found in this book, engraved on it. This sentence reads: 'It is present in the countries of western Europe democracy applies violence, then this will be violence with respect to the social factor of force.' What does this mean? Democracy guarantees to all the social factor of force. This means force, organization, action, and consciousness. It can be put into motion at elections. But if you, workmen or laborers, commit violence against capitalism perhaps you think that this is revolutionary violence against the exploiter, against the property owner? No; you are wrong. This represents violence against the social factor of force. I hope that Bauer has ruined himself by this phrase, just as did Scheidemann, Noske, and the Hungarian and Finnish Social-Democrats. We shall engrave these words on the monument to Otto Bauer, and to all those Socialist-Chauvinists* of the II International, for they will serve as a model from which future generations will learn how the most scientific Marxist theory can be perverted, and converted into a shameful, slavish, and disgraceful cause, namely, that of defending exploiters and oppressors; and how, by means of such equivocations and wordplays, a revolution can be condemned as violence.

"If farm laborers and workmen overthrow by violence landowners and capitalists, then will this violence against private property be violence against the social factor of force? Comrades, perhaps this example is rather frivolous, but it shows what methods must now be seized on by the best representatives of the II International in order to combat revolution and the state of mind of revolutionary people.

The Deception of Menshevism Is Universal.

"Of course we, Russian Bolsheviks, find nothing new here. But the Austrian and Hungarian Communists will have to combat these opportunistic commonplaces of Otto Bauer, and will have to work hard, because they do not have 15 years of experience of struggle against Menshevism. But on the other hand, from this study of sophisms, equivocations, and deceptions, they will gain enlightenment. In our own history we know these deceptions, and in communicating them now to our foreign comrades, we call the latter's attention to the fact that Russian Menshevism, by the will of the fates, has become that doctrine, that deception, which in all countries, in slightly different forms, in some with Marxist words and in others without, has been put forward as a defense against Bolshevism.

"We welcome this because we see and

*NOTE.—The Bolsheviks use the expressions "Social-Chauvinist," or "Social-Chauvinism," as a play on the words "Social-Democrat" or "Social-Democracy." Similarly, they refer to "Social-Traitors," "Social-Patriots," etc. So the first term of these compound expressions has been translated by the word "Socialist."

know that all disputes between Menshevism and Bolshevism have always brought about, a fully conscious, steadfast, through-out and experienced victory for the Bolshevik tendency in each country.

Are Workmen's Leaders Bought Up?

"Perhaps you raise the question—how does this tendency become clear? Why, in view of such reasons, is this Menshevik movement much stronger in England and America than with us? It is because there we have countries which have created and are creating a culture at the expense of a billion of oppressed people. That is why they have concealed the fact that it is not a play of free economic forces, not a social factor of capitalism, but a colonial profit at the expense of a billion population of dependent countries which give the capitalists, as representatives of countries owning colonies, a surplus profit.

"Before the war it was reckoned that the three richest countries—England, France, and Germany—had yearly from 8 to 10 billion francs income from the foreign exports of capital abroad, not counting all other income. It is clear that from this amount a gift of a half billion could be tossed to labor leaders, to the labor aristocracy, in the form of various bribes.

"This is done in a million different ways—raising standards of living in the most important centers, establishing educational institutions, giving jobs to the leaders of co-operatives and trade unions. This is done differently in different countries, but it is done every-where.

"These billions of surplus profits represent the economic foundation that supports opportunism in the labor movement. That is why this bond is stronger in America and England; and therefore the stubbornness of the opportunistic aristocracy of workmen is greater, which opposes the Communist movement. That is why we should be ready to face the fact that the liberation of the working class from this illness is more difficult there than with us.

Opportunism is the Enemy.

"I shall not dwell on the question of how concretely we should bring this about. This point is covered in the theses that have been published. I shall indicate simply the basic economic forms of this phenomenon. We should not be frightened because the disease drags on much longer than optimists could hope. But the very economic situation of the bourgeoisie makes this condition unstable. Our main enemy is the opportunism in the upper ranks of the labor movement. This is not a Socialist or proletarian, but a bourgeois movement. That these leaders of the labor movement are defending the bourgeoisie better than the bourgeoisie itself, and that without their assistance the bourgeoisie could not maintain itself—is shown not only by the regime of Kerensky, but also by the present democratic republic in Germany, and by the attitude of Albert Thomas and Henderson toward their bourgeois Governments. Here is our main enemy; we must triumph over this enemy, and leave this Congress with a unanimous and firm decision to carry this struggle through to the end in all countries. This is our main task.

The Illness of "Leftism."

"In comparison with this task, the correcting up of the mistakes of a certain 'left' tendency in Communism is a much easier

"HE CHANGES HIS MIND A LITTLE."

(Continued from page 1)

tionist idea which had sway during the great French Revolution and during the major part of the 19th Century. Under such conditions, any revolution taking place in our time must be of a socialist character, even if all the features considered necessary for success are not present. That is why the Russian Revolution, in the course of its growth, inevitably had to assume socialist aims; and had to make, with an audacity unexampled in history, a decisive attempt to realize these aims in a desperate struggle against the international bourgeois-imperialist reaction which was attacking on all sides.

There are critics who find errors, exaggerations and irregularities in the course of our revolutionary development. But no person of sane socialist mind can deny its perfect conformity with historical laws, apparent in the very tendency of Russian public economy. It is only by studying the gradual growth in all

one. In many countries we note antiparlamentarism, which, however, appears not so much among those who have come out from the petty bourgeoisie, as it is supported by forward-looking detachments of the proletariat, and by hatred for the old parliamentarism, lawful and quite correct hatred for the conduct of parliamentary opportunists in England, France, Germany, and Italy, such as we have witnessed in these countries for decades.

"It is necessary to explain the essence of the matter, give directing interpretations, acquaint the comrades more intimately and directly with the Russian experience, and with the significance of political parties. This ask will in the main reresent our work.

"I believe that here the struggle against these mistakes in the proletarian movement, against the diseases of proletarian growth, will be a thousand times easier than the struggle against the bourgeoisie, which, under the form of opportunists and reformists, enter the parties of the II International and direct its work, not to the benefit of the proletariat, but to the benefit of the bourgeoisie.

Is This a World Congress?

"I shall speak of one aspect of the question. Our comrade president says that our Congress deserves the name of world wide. I believe he is right, because we have at the Congress representatives of the reactionary movement of the colonial countries, which have been the last to come into the movement.

"It is only a feeble beginning, but it is important that the beginning has been made. It is important that there has come about a revolutionary union of the progressive countries with the countries where there is practically no revolutionary proletariat, with the revolutionary masses of the oppressed in all colonies and in all oriental States. And it depends on us to see to it that this union is strengthened, for it is clear to everyone that capitalism must fall.

"Only when the revolutionary pressure of workmen, which is conquering the opposition of the bourgeois culture of the small group of aristocratic leaders of the labor movement, shall have joined with the revolutionary pressure of those hundreds of thousands of men who till now have stood outside history and have been regarded as the object of imperialistic enterprises—only then shall we have the world revolutionary movement. No serious statesman, writer, or worker of the old Social-Democracy took into account the fact that the revolutionary movement among these hundreds of thousands would amount to anything. But it has an enormous significance. The imperialistic war helped us, because it dragged these colonial countries from isolation, it took from them soldiers to participate in the imperialistic slaughter, and through the English bourgeoisie inspired them with the idea that the task of the Indian proletariat or peasant is to defend the interests of the English bourgeoisie. The war inspired the black colonial peoples with the idea that it is their task to defend colonial France, and it taught them to know how to use firearms. This is exceedingly useful knowledge and for it we convey to the bourgeoisie our deepest gratitude in the name of the workmen and peasants, and particularly in the name of the Red Army.

"The war brought all peoples into world history, but one of the main tasks is to think out how to lay the first stone of propaganda and of organization of the Soviet movement in a noncapitalist country where Soviets are, however, possible. Only these will be Soviets not of workmen, but Soviets of Peasants' Deputies and of toilers in general.

Everywhere the Flag of Soviets.

"On this road we shall inevitably make many mistakes and meet many difficulties, but all the fundamental problems and tasks will be presented at this Congress. Here we shall lay the foundation, so that the revolution which till now has grown unconsciously and in an unorganized and elemental manner, should proceed in an organized manner and with concentration.

"After a little more than a year we now come out victorious with respect to the II International. Soviet ideas are spreading, and not only among workmen; they have become understandable to all and everyone. The workmen in all countries laugh at those wise ones—among whom are many real Socialists and adherents of the III International—who think very wisely about the Soviet system, about Soviet ideas, as the English guild Socialists express themselves, and by their discussions of the Soviet system and the Soviet idea try to throw dust in the eyes of the workmen. The workmen note this on the side, and without saying very much about the Soviet idea and system, take the weapons which the Soviets have furnished them.

"At the present moment the flag of Soviets is beginning to be raised throughout the Orient, in Asia. The idea that the toilers, the exploited, should run the State against non-toilers, the exploiters, is such a simple idea that it can be understood not only by a progressive proletarian, but, after our experience and the two years and a half of the existence of the Soviet Republic and after the Congress of the III International, this idea has become immediately accessible to hundreds of millions of oppressed and exploited in the colonies. Having entered into conflict with the whole world, if we have been forced frequently to retreat and conclude temporary compromises, it is because we know that we are somewhat weaker than international imperialism. But we know that we are defending the interests of 70 per cent of the population of the entire earth.

"On our road are many difficulties, but they are passing with each day and with each hour.

International Proletarian Soviet Republic.

"Therefore, at the 2nd Congress we can say with pride: If the 1st Congress was only a congress of public propaganda, when we merely threw out general ideas and made appeals to struggle, and simply asked the workmen of the whole world to see where are to be found the people who are able to march for the Soviet authority and for the dictatorship of the proletariat—now, after one short year we have gone far forward.

"Now, we have everywhere advance detachments, and everywhere we have proletarian armies, although poorly organized and requiring reorganization. We are able to organize these into a single detachment, in a single force. If you will help us to accomplish this, then no mental exercises or guesses with respect to what can not be known and what no one can know, will prevent us from accomplishing our task, and this task will be that of leading on, to the victory of the world revolution and to the establishment of an international proletarian Soviet Republic." (Stormy applause.) (Next week, Speeches of Foreign Delegates.)

its details that one realizes the relation between the tasks of today and the real possibilities of the future. But the immediate solution of socialist problems implies certain precise political consequences. It is obviously only possible to solve these problems successfully when the government power is controlled by elements which support socialist methods. The unavoidable conclusion is, then, that the political dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the producing elements generally, is indispensable as a preliminary condition to the establishment of a popular economic system. It is comparatively unimportant under what form this dictatorship will be realized. However, there are many reasons for believing that the soviet form of dictatorship is the least harmful. For example, it appears to be infinitely superior to the dictatorship of the Jacobin clubs during the French Revolution.

From this point of view, it seems to me to be absolutely clear that the whole course of Menshevik policy, since March 1917, has been radically mistaken. It is for this reason that the Menshevik Party has suffered a

defeat as complete as it was irreparable, during the Revolutionary period. On the other hand, judging from the same viewpoint, it is quite indisputable that the general policy of the Bolsheviks has been correct; and it is for this reason that the Communist Party, in spite of some false steps and errors of detail, has become such a tremendous force and is the actual incarnation of the Revolution.

Having arrived at these conclusions, it goes without saying that I can no longer remain where I have been until the present. Menshevism, in its political theory and in its tactics and psychology, has become completely foreign to me. I understand and believe that, whatever be the final issue of the Revolution, the duty of every sincere Socialist is to join with the great and truly historical efforts to realize socialism, which are now taking place in Russia. It is his duty to stand with the masses who are carrying on this heroic struggle for a rule of real equality and liberty; to share with them all the joy and all the suffering of their lot; to live with the mass, with all its faults, voluntary

or involuntary, in its irresistible forward movement.

While I was in Central Asia I did not have the opportunity of explaining, in definite form, the new beliefs and tendencies which were born in my mind as the result of the political and intellectual growth I have experienced. Now, on the occasion of my return to Russia, I deem it my duty to give all my energies and capacity to the strengthening of the Soviet Republic.

With fraternal greetings,
J. MAISKY.

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*NOTE.—The conclusion of the speech is taken from the Petrograd Pravda of July 22, 1920.

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TRADE WITH RUSSIA.

The British government has opened the flood gates of trade with the Soviet government. This is the greatest world happening of the past week.

In this first trade pact of the Soviets with a world power, the Soviet government is termed the "government of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."

Ships in each other's harbor are to be treated like all foreign merchantmen. Clearance of mines from the Baltic and the approaches to Russian seaports is included.

In the matter of Russian gold exported from Russia in payment for goods, the British government does not concede the Soviet claim that such shipments shall be immune from seizure to pay British claims.

It will be interesting to watch the effect of Great Britain's step toward trade upon the American bourgeoisie and the government.

Of course the anti-Soviet forces are ready enough with their statements of fears of any real good coming out of Soviet trade.

Following the trade pact with England comes the signing of peace between Poland and Russia. These are stupendous events and their bearing upon the immediate future of world history will be very great.

ONE REASON WHY.

The capitalist press of Cleveland last week gave much space to the difficulties of the Cuyahoga County Council of the American Legion.

We do not know of just what the "activities" of the A. L. consist of in this city and county. Doubtless some of them are worthy enough. We understand that it makes an effort to find employment for its members.

At Great Bend, two organizers of the Non Partisan League were taken from a meeting, carried miles into the country and tarred and feathered.

This is not the first instance of mob rule instigated by American Legion members. It will probably not be the last. It seems wedded to a policy of mob action against what it terms disloyalty.

Written in doing so.

Along the Soviet Front.

Restoration of Russian Ships. The Government of Georgia has recognized that all ships which arrived in any port of Georgia on November 15th 1920, and all ships arriving after November 15th if they are registered in a Russian port as Russian ships are to be delivered up to the Russian government.

Kamenev, Chairman of the Moscow Soviet gave the opening address at the Provincial Agricultural Congress of the Moscow District which opened in Moscow on Feb. 12th.

Agreement between Lithuania and the Ukrainians.

It is reported from Kovno that the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is working energetically on an agreement with Soviet Ukraine.

Kerchentzev Arrives in Stockholm.

Kerchentzev, the leader of the Russian Commercial Delegation in Sweden has arrived from Riga. He was accompanied by his wife, his office director and two women clerks.

An International Womens' Day.

In a manifesto to the German Communist Party the International Bureau of the International Communist Women's Movement states that the slogan for the International Women's Day on March 8th will be "Through the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to the reform of the existence and the liberation of woman."

Pravda reports: The smiths of the Taschkent Railway workshops have decided to remove all the religious pictures from the workrooms.

Wireless Telephones.

The "Novij Put" in an article by A. Nikolaev, president of the Central Council for Radio Technology, gives interesting details of the progress of wireless telephones in Soviet Russia.

Soldiers and Workers Councils in Soviet Russia.

The 11-Russian Central Executive orders that in view of the extreme importance of workers and soldiers councils on the work of reconstruction the election of these councils in the localities where it has been prevented by the civil war or where their activity has been suspended shall be held at once.

Struggle against Illiteracy.

The Commissariat for Education has brought out a number of new films for the campaign against illiteracy which will carry to the smallest villages illustrations of the advantages of education and the disadvantages of ignorance.

Social Democrats in Armenia.

Investia reports: According to reports of the press bureau in Tiflis the Tiflis group of the Armenian Social Democrats have decided to join the Communist Party of Armenia and to place their members at the disposal of the Armenian Soviet Government.

In view of the policy, why, we may ask, should any worker support it? The interests of the workers are not with the reactionists, with the mobs, with those who cannot tolerate an opinion different than their own.

Social Revolutionaries Join the Communists.

According to a report from Moscow the left wing of the Social Revolutionaries at the head of which are Kamkov, Ivanov, Rasumnik, Tchitchkov, and Steinberg who changed the name of the party of that of Revolutionary Communist Party, have now decided to dissolve the party and to hand over the whole of their archives to the Communist Central Executive. They themselves have joined the Communist Party.

Telegraphic Communication with China.

In the neighbourhood of Blagowestchensk the telegraphic connection with China has been re-established by means of cables over the Amur.

Treaty between Georgia and the Ukrainians.

On the 31st of January a treaty was concluded between Georgia and the Ukrainians. The sovereignty and independence of both states is mutually recognized. They mutually undertake to tolerate no troops on their territory who are hostile to the other state and to permit no such troops to be organized.

Honours for Science.

A Soviet decree signed by Lenin recognises the scientific work of Prof. Pavloff in Petrograd. Gorky has worked out a plan for the honouring of Prof. Pavloff and his helpers. The best state printing house has received the order to make an edition de luxe of the 20 years work of Pavloff.

Kropotkin's Body Goes to Moscow.

In the presence of the whole population of the village of Dimitrov, where Kropotkin died, his body was removed, to Moscow. The delegates of the trade Union organizations held speeches in which they paid many tributes to the man who had spent his life fighting the cause of the poor and the oppressed.

On the 13th of February 1100 prisoners of war returned from Germany.

A Tartar Theatre.

In Krasnoarmeisk (Yalta) a theatrical performance in Tartar language took place for the delegates to the Workers and Peasants congress. The joy of the spectators to hear a play in their own language was very great.

THREE PAIRS OF TROUSERS.

By FLOYD RAMP.

It was in a street just outside the steel mill that I saw them hanging on the line. There were three of them. The little legs were about six inches long. Each pair was the proud possessor of two patches of different color and material from that of the garments. Three pairs of trousers! Six patches!

I saw the blank faces of men and women peering out from windows as I passed along the narrow street. They did not seem to understand why the mill did not run. They knew only the feelings of hunger, of want, of privation in every phase of their lives.

The children's clothes were getting thin. The tablet little Fannie does her arithmetic on has dwindled to its last page. Next week she must use brown wrapping paper. The little lead pencil was so short that she could hardly hold it between her thin little fingers.

The manager wouldn't let me into the mill, but I saw part of the process of making steel on the clothes line and in the anxious faces looking from the windows.

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IN OUR MAIL BOX

I have just received today's Toiler, rather I received it this morning and have just finished reading it. No doubt if all your readers wrote you regarding each issue of the paper you would have time for nothing else than to read the letters.

It is a trait of human nature, as you undoubtedly know, to have our feelings aroused and pulses quicken at the sight in printed form of a policy which we advocate, or a theory that we hold. Your last issue of The Toiler has particularly impressed me, the article on the American Legion is the truth. I have suspected for some time that there was a dark person hidden in the woodpile and here you come out and confirm my opinions.

Regarding the article on first page about the 12 hour workers in steel mills and blast furnaces. I am employed at the last named now but there is a certain clique, probably 10 men, that want the long day here as they earn more money working 11 hours day, and 13 hours night, than they would working 8 hours. Of course they don't give a damn about the extra men that would be employed under an 8 hour shift. I have been talking and advocating the 8 hours here and while I believe at least 85% of the men are in favor of it, no one has offered to try and bring it about.

I am a new man here and consequently have little influence but I have made a few friends that I think can soon be approached on the great question (not alone the 8 hour shift here). In you and your paper is the evidence of a definite movement in the right direction and I will do everything I can to push it along. W. F. Herringer.

Worcester, Mass., Feb., 1921. To The Toiler.

The accompanying letter to the Daily Telegram was refused publication; although it published the findings of the Fire Inspector, so I am sending it to the Toiler hoping it meets a better fate, then it can be sold in this city.

Yours for fair play and the Revolution of Revolutions. Thomas P. Abbott.

To The Daily Telegram, Mr. Editor.

I see by the Fire Inspectors reports of the recent fires, that there is no appearance of Red Conspiracy.

That in itself is a subtle insinuation that the Red's do conspire to destroy property. I am very well posted in the philosophy and program of the Reds, the Third (3rd) International and know that they do not believe in the malicious destruction of the products of Labor. It is too sacred a thing (Labor) for the very potent reason that all material wealth is but stored up labor of the past. They do however advocate the expropriation of the accumulations of greed.

When the economic conditions are ripe for it, and not before, Revolutions come; they are not made and when they do come the Reds will be prepared to intelligently direct them and do not propose to be precipitated into pre-mature action.

I think it was Louis the sixteenth who said, when the people of France were crying for bread, "why don't the cattle eat grass?" Those loud-mouthed Parrots and Sycophants who are saying that the Red's had all ought to be hung to lamp posts should remember: in the French Revolution Louis' head was carried on a pole with his mouth stuffed full of grass.

They do say that history repeats itself. Ignorance resorts to violence, intelligence to reason. Thomas Paine Abbott.

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The editor of the Des Moines Capital says, "The happiest man in America is the man who does an honest day's work for a good living wage."

We know a lot of men who are unhappy because they cannot find in America a chance to do "an honest day's work" for any kind of wage.

If the open shop program goes thru, it will be in the face of a great deal of friendly advice from the leaders of the reactionary trades unions. Andy Furuseth told an audience that, if the labor unions were broken up they would be followed by a "one big union or something worse."

Packing house workers in Chicago have voted almost unanimously for a strike against reduction of hours, time and a half for overtime and reduction of wage scale.

A million and a half British workers have accepted reduction of wages and a million miners and seamen are schedule for a cut in negotiations now under way in London.

The government reports state that there were 60,235 fewer men employed in 36 cities in the United States on March 1st than on Feb. 1st. Twenty nine cities show increases of 43,940.

The Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, in sizing up the labor employment question in this city states as a result of the widespread idleness: "Increased efficiency, in production, prompt and regular attendance, loyalty," on the part of the workers.

Fear of starvation is the only incentive for the workers under capitalism.

Regular troops were not allowed to parade in uniform in Boston in the celebration of the 135th anniversary of the evacuation of Boston by the British troops. It is not patriotic to celebrate the revolutionary victories of the fathers of the country—when it might stir up a bit of disfavor of a late ally.

President Harding has instructed the Attorney General to make an investigation of the Debs case. Several millions of Americans have already made the investigation, Warren, and their verdict is: turn him out!

The English King and Queen, on a visit to Norwich were visited in turn by an army of unemployed. During the conversation with the leaders Royalty were booed by the workless workers.

We have lost faith in the propensity of the Irish to fight. While a number of their Sinn Fein were being hanged in prison, thousands of them stood outside and PRAYED.

Locked-out coal miners of Wilburton, Okla., have asked the Governor for state troops to break the stubbornness of the bosses. Will they be sent? Oh, no! That's a strike that's different.

A railroad workers' Bill of Rights has been drawn up and presented to the Labor Board at Chicago. The 11 points which constitute the demands of the men and which are characterized as the "irreducible minimum" on which labor will base a national agreement consist among others of: a basic 8 hour day; extra pay for overtime; reasonable rules for preservation of health; beginning and ending of shifts conducive to reasonable living conditions of the workers.

Present unrest, says the Right Reverend John McDowell, is due to a bad spirit, not the system.

We still have medicine-men of the stone age administering their remedies.

A woman writing to the Cleveland Press complains of the probability of the former soldiers losing their 100% American spirit in the tassel for a livelihood selling shoestrings. Brass bands, says she, will fail to keep alive or revive their waning "Americanism". But what can capitalism do? It's on a shoestring basis!

Pat Quinlan, well known socialist and agitator is back after spending 15 months in Russia and Europe. He will lecture upon what he has witnessed there.

The opening of the fishing season on Lake Erie found the union tugmen and fishermen on strike against reductions amounting to 10 and 20%. They refuse to bite the hook.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES ON PRESENT DAY EVENTS.

(Continued from page 1)

ner of the Third International.

"With growing disgust, they view the onward course of the Revolution."

"The World Revolution marches on!"

"The 'class truce', the reconstruction of capitalism is in danger."

"VIENNA OR MOSCOW, IS NOW THE QUESTION!"

"FIGHT FOR OR AGAINST THE REVOLUTION!"

"THERE IS NO THIRD WAY!"

"SOLDIERS, VETERANS!"

"show tomorrow at the great mass meeting of the Vienna Garrison on the question"

"VIENNA OR MOSCOW"

"that you stand firm on the side of the Revolution, on the side of the Third International."

"Soldiers of the Revolutionary Proletariat! Show your class consciousness!"

"Down with the bourgeoisie and their underlings!"

"LONG LIVE RED RUSSIA!"

"LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL!"

—The Soldier Groups of the Communist Party.

The Young Communists of France have been conducting a vigorous nation-wide anti-militarist campaign. Laporte, secretary of the French League of Communist Youth, and Louis Williams editor of "Le Conscript" (The Conscript), have both been arrested. These evidences of capitalist suppression have not lessened in any degree the determination of the French Young Communists to continue their work of enlightening the proletarian youth of France.

In Minneapolis, the World War Veterans, the American Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. all got together, and organized the biggest unemployment parade the city had ever seen. When the veterans and the different labor organizations all begin to work together harmoniously like this, it is time for the boss to look out.

The Communist Party of Australia has been formed, and is an accepted section of the Communist International. Its organ is "The Australian Communist" edited by Tom Glynn, one of the Australian I. W. W. members recently released from the penitentiary. Glynn is also a member of the Executive Committee, together with Adela Pankhurst Walsh.

A LETTER TO ALL MEMBERS OF BOSTON TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

By J. H. PALLO.

Fellow Workers! It is known to everybody that in a war the commanding officers will not direct the enemy's fire toward their own soldiers, unless these officers are traitors to the cause the soldiers are fighting for. When a soldier breaks rules, the enemy is not invited to punish him. Where a whole unit breaks discipline the enemy is not summoned to court-martial the guilty ones.

Our officials—our commanding officers—do not seem to understand these truths. Eighteen months ago, they successfully directed the enemy's fire against the New York Typographical Union and broke its strike. Now they are lining up the enemy's guns against the Boston Typographical Union.

Here is an interesting news item which has been published by our New England representative and which illustrates how our (?) International officers are fighting for our interests. It appeared in the "New England Bulletin" (Vol. VII No. 1) which is read by employing printers as well as employed.

"The strike at the Municipal Printing Plant in Boston is still on. A dispute has arisen between No. 13 and the I. T. U. regarding strike benefits. It appears to be the contention of the latter that No. 13 has never legally adopted the present rate of wages in the book and job shops and that the old rate of \$37 is still the legal scale of the union and not the \$41 rate now being paid. If this contention is upheld

the situation will be somewhat complicated. President McBride of No. 13 left for Indianapolis, Sunday, February 13, following a special meeting of the union."

We do not know whom to honor for the invention that our book and job scale is not \$41. Our rate of wages equals to what we are actually getting, and not to what some of our officials or employers think we ought to be satisfied with.

What is the meaning of this? Plainly it says:

Gentlemen, employers:—You are making a hell-of-a mistake by paying your compositors \$41 per week. We, the high officials of the International Typographical Union, recognize only \$37 as the legal scale. Therefore you can easily cut their wages down by \$4 per week. Don't be afraid of the Boston Typographical Union. They can't strike. If they do, we will declare their strike illegal. We will back you up."

This is what the news item actually means. The municipal printing plant strike was dishonorably liquidated because of the outrageous opposition of the Executive Council of I. T. U.

But the worst is yet to come. Our employers are studying the situation. And they are one by one taking sides without international officials. "Sure, you are worth only \$37"—they are saying to us already. And they are planning when to put this new \$37 scale into effect. Besides that, our employers have other plans in stock. Recently they met

in a swell Boston Hotel and were paying our international officials much more than we are earning ourselves. And all we ask for this philanthropy is—"Keep out of our way and let us take what's coming to us!" But what are they doing? They are stabbing us in our backs! For some secret reason (probably because of omission of some for-mality) they have announced to our employers that they recognize only \$37 as our "legal" scale, and have thus given a weapon to our enemies with which to smash us. They put a ban on strike-funds, and thus broke the municipal printing plant strike! They have thrown us at the mercy of the enemy!

The plant strikers have been forced to go back to work for \$4 less than our scale. But this is not the only humiliation we have suffered. On March 4th the plant was put under civil service, and pretty soon you may find that our old union-men will be sifted out or compelled to work side-by-side with scabs. Here is what Sec. Treas. of the Allied Printing Council says about it:

"If the Civil Service effort prevails in this instance it will fit neatly in with the Chamber of Commerce National-wide campaign for the "open shop."

Fellow workers! A hard fight is ahead of us. Pretty soon we will be forced to settle the question whether our scale is \$41, or more, or less. We will have to settle, whether we are going to work 48 or 44 hours per week. Our newspaper scale situation has become laughable. We have to study these questions and others.

This paper will assist us in this effort by giving us space occasionally. But we must organize its distribution among our members, so that all of us can learn what's going on. There are several ways to do it. Subscribe for yourself. Order a bundle and sell it in your shop or wherever possible.

CAPITALIST IMPERIALISM AND COLONIAL POLICY.

A STUDY LESSON FOR WORKINGMEN.

By MILNER.

1) GENERAL IDEA OF MODERN CAPITALISM.

By modern capitalism is understood the competitive policy in the home market and industry. It is highly centralized and concentrated in the few hands of the greatest bankers or the banking institutions of those billionnaires. The banks, through their control of the money market or finances, also control the economic life of the country. They have monopoly rights, or rather say—might, over all production and distribution of commodities. Regardless of the nominal existence of the small manufacturer and merchant, the control over these is in the hands of the monopolists. From two thirds to three fourths of the country's wealth is owned by five per cent. of the population. But this is not all. That may convey the impression, that the people, at least control the remaining twenty five per cent. of the wealth, and so can do with it what they please. But even that is not the case. Credit is the dominating factor in modern business and that is what decides everything.

2) THE POWER OF CREDIT.

"Money makes money, don't keep it idle, invest." That is the slogan of the bourgeoisie. If that is true then the question now is: where and how to invest. A man who owns a small sum of money, cannot invest it in productive business himself. To start up something, requires a large sum. The medium of investment and the medium of financing of a business enterprise is the bank. The manner of depositing money in a bank has more than one form. One can simply deposit money in a bank and receive four or five per cent interest on his deposit, or he can buy shares in some industrial or mercantile establishment which will pay higher interest. Both are forms of investment. The bank must use this money so that it will bring the expected interest to the depositor. When the bank makes a loan it sees that the loan is safe and also that it will yield the highest possible return. This security and profit are obtainable not only where the investment is safe, but necessitates a close acquaintance and interest in the conduct of the business. As all business enterprises depend upon credit, whether large or small, the credit institution is placed in a position where it can determine the nature of and control over the business world generally. They can refuse credit to any business house and ruin it quickly. The so called, independent concerns are not expected from the domination of the banks and so, regardless where the investment is made, it strengthens the grip of the banks over all business and modern society generally.

The "Freedom" of the small shop-keeper is as follows: he is free to do what the creditor tells him to do, he must take his merchandise

from the wholesaler that the bank tells him to patronize, he must sell it for a price stipulated by the wholesaler house or by the bank, which in turn may own or control the wholesale establishment. There are two factors in modern business, which because of their great coercive powers and breath of operation constitute the banks the supreme arbiters and dictators of modern society. The first being the impossibility of the small fry to use their savings independently, they must go thru the bank; second—the necessity of credit, which can be obtained only thru the bank. The bank is the dictator, let us see how it works.

3) ORGANIZATION BY THE BANK.

Modern manufacture is run on a large scale. In the United States all essential production is concentrated in the hands of a few trust magnates. A few large banks control all the productive life of the country. Any newly organized concern must start out on a large scale; to do that it must become dependent upon some of the large banks. The promoters of new corporations, in most cases come from the banks themselves. An announcement is issued of the capitalization of the new corporation and the fact of its being backed up by a well known bank, the price of the shares stipulated and investors asked to buy. The sum for which the new concern is capitalized need not necessarily represent real money, it is enough to make such announcement, and the interest must be paid on it, although the principal exists only on paper. The banks can also subscribe for the shares of any concern without actually providing the cash. They issue all kinds of notes and checks, in the name of the bank, and these are accepted in modern business. What real mission the banks perform is thus seen to be the paving of the way for the investment of actual money in the fields where real money is needed. Naturally, from this flows the creation of fictitious capital which adds to the instability of the whole economic structure. Another thing which follows from this is the change in the character of the country where the banks have acquired such a power. From pacific it becomes warlike.

4) FOREIGN FINANCIAL INVESTMENTS.

Thru the creation of the fictitious money, capital accumulates in immense proportions and necessarily must seek fields of a highly remunerative nature. Its native country alone cannot yield that profit. It becomes imperative to seek outside or foreign fields of investment. Money goes out in the form of loans to foreign governments. Now the question of supervision, of how these loans are to be used, is manifestly important. The lender takes control of the borrowing country politically,

just the same as the big bank controls the small, "independent" business man. Nominally such a country may retain its freedom, but actually it loses it, the more the foreign debts increase. To protect these investments in another country, the lending nation is interested concerning the arming of the borrowing nation and also the reliance of its general staff. So the weak and undeveloped countries become entirely dependent on the rich and powerful, they must obey the dictates of the money lender or lose their support. The capitalistically advanced nations can and do command the undeveloped to open up their land for cultivation and their natural resources for exploitation, and so make a broad field for investment of its surplus capital. Capital invested in a country with the idea to exploit the natural resources becomes a productive factor, tending to develop also the labor power of that land.

5) FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN KIND.

For the exploitation of labor power more than money is needed, especially to do it effectively. We must distinguish between foreign investments of commodities and investments in productive capital. Commodities exported to other countries cannot be called investment of capital but only export of commodities. The export of capital now is in the form of productive machinery, not the things to be consumed, but used in production of things for consumption. That necessitates the general development of the country, most important of all being the means of transportation. This opens up large fields for investment by the capitalistic country. Railroad building and equipment is very expensive. Hundred of miles of rails, thousands of locomotives and cars, cost millions of dollars. They cannot be loaned like a thousand dollars in the home country to a small business man, under the condition: if he fails to pay, the lender can sell him out and get his money. The case is different with an investment in a foreign land. What is necessary to obtain, is a concession or permit, to make that investment, but over and above this also a guaranty is necessary on the principal and on the interest to be paid on it. The country lending the money, in order to get better terms, must show its might. It must demonstrate its power and drive out any intention of the borrower to violate any of the agreements concluded between the two. It also must demonstrate its superior power to the rivals for the same investments. These are the conditions that determine the character of the modern capitalist countries and make them warlike, necessitating vast armaments. It is not the will of man but the logic of economic conditions that determine the character of the age. (Concluded in next week's issue)

My Own Shop.

THE JEWELRY REPAIRMEN.

As repairmen and salesmen, we watchmaker-jewelers are absolutely essential to modern industrial and transportation operation. Our employers, however, think of us only as mere commodities: a sort of necessary evil, part of his capitalistic business problems.

That this is our status in his mind may be judged by an acquaintance with wages, hours, etc. in the jewelry sections of department stores, especially of the smaller towns. The profits are all for the boss, and the quality of service rendered is of the lowest grade.

That which is true of large scale production is also true in the line of jewelry and repair work. We repairmen feel only pity for the individualist who hangs out his own shingle, thinking to achieve success by going into "business" for himself. Experience has shown that only two per cent of them succeed.

We commonly meet in our line starch collared mechanics who fail to see the class struggle in the stores, but it is there just the same. The store keeper is just as anxious as the industrial manufacturer to reap profits from the labor of his employees. You are not a merchant prince because you can talk to the bourgeoisie customers over the counter and handle some of the cash on its way to the register.

Jewelry repairmen are not in positions of creative work, but victims of their jobs of mechanical tinkering, and menial grind, which is often conducive to ill health.

And watchmakers dream of going back to the farm! Not because they see clearly the class struggle, but because they don't. To go back will be their great disillusionment.

The workers, when paying for their watch repairs may well wish the workmanship better, but what is to be expected under a system where the last bit of profit is demanded from all business? Workmanship of quality is not demanded by such a system. Under a new social economy, with use instead of profit the rule it will be different—and good will and love in the service thrown in.

I am your technician, E. C. I.

MOSCOW WIRELESS SAYS

'NO USE FOR UNDERTAKER.'

(By The Federated Press).

New York (N. Y. Bur.)—The office of "Soviet Russia" in this city has received the following cablegram from Moscow, signed by the Russian Telegraph Agency, and dated March 10:

"Judging by the wireless messages circulated abroad, the foreign press and public are much exercised over the alleged downfall of the Soviet government. We are sorry, not to oblige prospective undertakers, but feel too sturdy and in too excellent health just now to think of death. Therefore, please have the funeral indefinitely postponed. Disappointed funeral directors may get good jobs here in the jolly task of sweeping out the last remnants of the counter-revolution.

"Some one, affected by the crazy rumors about a counter-revolution in Petrograd, sent a radio from Reval to the Petrograd wireless station, inquiring: "What government have you at Petrograd?"

Phila. Clothing Workers Won't Supply

Needs of Unfair Employers.

(By The Federated Press).

New York (N. Y. Bur.)—The strike of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in this city, now in its fifteenth week, has spread to Philadelphia, where 5000 workers have quit their machines in response to the strike call of the joint board of that city. The call was issued because the Philadelphia manufacturers have been supplying men's garments to New York employers whose workers are on strike or locked out.

The situation here is to be investigated by a committee appointed by Mayor Hylan and headed by George Gordon Battle, an attorney, which to a statement issued from the dispute. The committee, according also will attempt a settlement of the Mayor's office, is charged with making an inquiry "on behalf of the City of New York into the existing deadlock in the men's clothing industry," and is given "authority to negotiate for a settlement of the difficulties if it be found that an opportunity arises during this inquiry to do so."

Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated, issued the following statement when informed of the Mayor's action:

"When the members of the committee approach the Amalgamated they will be met in a spirit of co-operation and will find the organization ready to assist in ending a situation of chaos."

Mr. Hillman called attention to the fact that when the State Board of Mediation offered to mediate last December it was the union which welcomed the offer and the manufacturers who refused. Still earlier and before the break it was the union which proposed a joint investigation and the manufacturers who refused and began the lockout. Fourteen weeks of struggle, he said, have brought confusion to the industry, but not to the union.

The Trade Unions and the Unemployment Problem.

(Continued from page 1)

system is the last word in efficient methods of producing and distributing wealth. How then can they act when the decay of that system throws millions upon millions out of work, creates a world of misery and despair and threatens to destroy what little civilization still remains in society?

Tied by Reactionary Officials.

Even if the individual international or local unions were so courageously class-conscious that they wished to take the necessary steps to do effective work in this unemployment matter they would not be able to act. Tied down as they are by the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. any move they dared to make would be immediately blocked. Worse still than this is the total ineffectiveness of craft organizations in such situations. The strike, the only valuable weapon organized labor has, is useless in this crisis. What chance of success have a few isolated strikes when every employer can get ten scabs to fill every place left open by each striker? As this is being written the strike of the stock yards workers is being agitated and discussed. Not one of the packers is there but more or less secretly hopes that the strike may be called now so that in the battle the unions may be broken and entirely destroyed. Between the lines of every capitalist paper can be read the desire that the strike be called.

Revolutionary Bodies of Unemployed.

The only effective measures that can be taken is through the organization of the unemployed themselves. Such organizations can and must be so led that they will take revolutionary steps, make revolutionary threats and demands. The workers in other countries know what to do when the same situation confronted them. They organized into offensive bodies, took over shut down factories, siezed public buildings for living quarters and carried a revolutionary threat to governments and employers who were taking advantage of the situation by attempting to crush the labor movement. American trade unions are incapable of taking such steps: If they are to be taken it must be done by revolutionary organizations of the unemployed.

The American Freedom Foundation

is encouraging and fostering the organization of such bodies. The New Majority believes that in doing so it is divorcing itself from the labor movement. The opposite is true. The Foundation is becoming ever closer to the labor movement and is gaining the support of more and more labor organizations which are more interested in advancing the cause of labor than in petty matters of jurisdiction. The Foundation is performing a function that the trade unions ought to perform but cannot.

Workers, Spread the Light of Socialist Truth

Read, think. Sell literature to other workers. Get on the Firing Line with Socialist weapons.—Books, Pamphlets. The education of the workers must be their own work. You can help by reading and selling the literature from this office.

Books About Russia	Cloth Bound Books, 75c Each
Barbarous Soviet Russia.—McBride \$2.50	Communist Manifesto.—Engels.
What I Saw in Russia.—Lansbury \$1.50	Evolution of Man.—Boelsche.
Russia in 1919.—By Arthur Ransome \$1.50	Germans of Mind in Plants.—Frances.
Raymond Robins' Own Story.—William Hard \$2.00	Marx vs Tolstoy.—Lewis.
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The Universal Kinship, Moore \$1.25	and Trotsky. Compiled by Fraina 75c.
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Educational Pamphlets	War of the Classes.
International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, Losovsky 10c	A Daughter of the Snows.
Communism and Christianity, Wm. M. Brown, 25c	Tales of the Fish Patrol.
Socialism and Religion, By B. S. P. of England 10c	The Mutiny of Elsinore.
Wage Labor and Capital, Marx 10c	The Valley of the Moon.
Scientific Socialism Study Course 10c	The Turtles of Tasman.
Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels 10c	The Call of the Wild.
Shop Talks on Economics, Marcy 10c	The Faith of Men.
Industrial Socialism, Haywood 10c	The Night Horn.
Industrial Autocracy, Marcy 10c	John Barleycorn.
Value, Price and Profit, Marx 15c	A Son of the Sun.
Evolution and Revolution, Fischer 10c	5 Volumes or more 90c each.
No Compromise, Liebknecht 15c	
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels 15c	Magazines
Marxism and Darwinism 10c	The following magazines may be obtained of
Eighteenth Brumaire, Marx 25c	The Toiler office
Strength of the Strong, London 10c	The Industrial Pioneer I. W. W. (monthly) .. 25c
The Apostate, London 10c	The Liberator (monthly) 25c
The Class Struggle, Kautsky 25c	Soviet Russia (weekly) 10c
The Right to Strike, Marcy 10c	Good Mornink (twice monthly) 15c
The Dream of Debs.—London 10c	
How the Farmer Can Get His.—Marcy 10c	"THE TOILER"
Class Struggles in America.—Simons 10c	3207 Clark Avenue Cleveland, Ohio.