

Russian Revolution Anniversary Number

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

NOVEMBER 5, 1921

No. 195



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THE TOILER, published weekly by The Toiler Publishing Association, 206 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y. A. B. Martin, Manager.

Entered as second-class matter September 29, 1921, at the post-office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: One year, \$2.00; six months, \$1.00 foreign, one year \$2.50. Bundle rates, any quantity, \$3.50 per hundred copies. Single copies, 5 cents.

VOL. IV.

Saturday, Nov. 5, 1921

No. 195

Advertising Rates Upon Application.

Soviet Russia among the Nations

When Alexandra Kollontay was asked about Russia during her visit to the United States in 1916 she smiled mysteriously and said, "You may expect great events there." How great these events were to be the most extravagant visionary of 1916 could hardly have imagined. The Russian revolution of November, 1917, changed the face of the world and ushered in a new historical epoch.

The Russian revolution is the crux of the change from the world before the war to the world after the war. In it and through it the central issues of the new world struggle between capital and its exploited labor have found expression and realization. About it have crystallized the vast forces of the working masses of the world that lay like a sleeping lion in the quiescent bourgeois civilization of the nineteenth century. The Russian revolution is the outward sign of the inner upheaval of society that began with the declaration of war in 1914 and will not end until the capitalists of every country of the world have surrendered their power to the workers. The Russian revolution is the marvellous first chapter in the history of the world revolution.

The government of workers and peasants is the first attempt to realize the socialist dream of a government by the propertyless—for co-operation and not exploitation, a society of brotherhood. The success of Russia in this attempt is measured by the workers of the world, not by the yard-stick methods of the merchant, but by the courage, intelligence and devotion which she is bringing to this attempt. Not what did she win, but how greatly did she strive! Measured by this standard Soviet Russia has achieved the impossible. Ringed about by the bloodthirsty forces of international capitalism, fighting on every frontier at once, blockaded from the rest of the world, without machinery, transportation or fuel to revive industry, deprived of her own wealth of raw materials by the occupation of the outlying provinces by White Guard armies, Soviet Russia has survived.

Russia has not only lived through these terrible difficulties, she has been able at the same time to accomplish remarkable feats. She has developed an entirely novel political system and one peculiarly adapted to workers' control, the Soviet system. She has worked out a communist economic organization for the administration of industry, and established it upon a scientific and practical basis. She has

developed the education and recreation of the masses to a point undreamed of in capitalist societies, and has established remarkable institutions for public health and welfare. In spite of industrial disorganization she has succeeded in greatly increasing the comfort and food supply of the town workers and in equipping her mighty and victorious Red army. The work of economic reconstruction is now possible for the first time with the recapture of the Donetz coal basin, the Baku oil regions and other centers of raw materials. The Soviet government is now applying a far-sighted and realistic economic program to the work of industrial revival and the final realization of communism.

But the internal work of communist construction which Russia is carrying on is secondary, as the Russian communists themselves are the first to insist, to the all-important role she is playing in the world revolution. As a communist nation among the capitalist nations Russia has transformed the methods, problems and aims of international diplomacy. From the moment when the Soviet government threw down the gauntlet to the capitalist world by publishing the secret treaties and refusing to wage imperialist war, Russia has been the skeleton at the diplomatic feast. Her strategic position at the gateway to the Orient gives her a preponderant influence in the problems of the Near East and the Far East. With Germany reduced to the position of a weak vassal of Entente imperialism, Soviet Russia has inherited the diplomatic influence in Asia of the defunct empires of Kaiser and Czar. These were the guardians of the Orient in the interests of the capitalists, as Russia is now its guardian in the interests of the subject populations. The old diplomatic constellation of the balance of power of several competing imperialist nations has been succeeded by a clear crystallization of colonies, mandate territories and subject nations about Soviet Russia at one pole, and of imperialist nations and their smaller capitalist vassal countries about British imperialism at the other.

The diplomatic successes of Soviet Russia in the East far surpass those of the Czarist regime, for the simple reason, of course, that communist international policy is the only bulwark against the all-devouring imperialism of the west, from which every region of Asia has long suffered. Persia, once shared as a sphere of influence between the British empire and the Czar, has definitely repulsed the advances of Great Britain. Afghanistan, Turkestan, and other regions

of central Asia are under Soviet influence. The hold of Great Britain on India is weaker than it has been for a century. China would undoubtedly turn more to an alliance with Russia but for her present interest in the dangerous game of selling herself to American imperialism in order to escape Japanese imperialism.

In the Near East British power has been sadly undermined. The Soviet successes in Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia and in the Caucasus have forced Great Britain to rely upon the expensive method of military domination and native bribery to guard the road to India.

The importance of Soviet Russia in the international situation depends even more, however, upon her influence with the working populations of her enemies. Russia can always rely upon the strong support of large masses of the working people in every capitalist state. This sympathy and support of the workers of all nations for the only workers' government is strengthened and made more definite by the Third International, which is in reality the diplomatic counterpoise of Soviet Russia in dealing with the allied diplomats of the bourgeoisie.

This situation is doubly significant. In the field of diplomacy it signifies the final breakdown of capitalist nationalism. For as soon as one nation can rely upon the support of the people of another, national issues have been already replaced by international issues. Secondly, it makes the Third International a positive factor in the field of diplomacy rather than a mere outside protester, as Tchicherin has ably shown. The Third International now sits at the diplomatic table as an equal negotiator under the leadership of Russia, a position which gives it great duties and responsibilities as well as privileges. A new historical epoch has thus opened in the field of international relations, an era of international class struggle rather than national capitalist rivalry, and Soviet Russia is the leading factor in this changed situation.

But in the field of the international labor movement lies the greatest significance of Soviet Russia to the workers of the world. With the greatest self-sacrifice the workers of Russia have devoted themselves to the cause of world revolution. Even as a communist nation they might secure for themselves far more toleration and economic cooperation from the capitalist countries if they would renounce participation in the world revolutionary movement and confine themselves merely to questions of internal policy. If they had abandoned the cause of world revolution they might today enjoy the friendship and approval of the yellow socialists and trade unionists of the second and the two-and-a-half international. It was their fearless and disinterested exposure of these worthies in the work of retarding and defeating the world revolution that won for them the enmity of the Hillquits, Ramsay MacDonalds, Longuets, Kautskys and Serratis. It is to this perhaps that Morris Hillquit refers when he says that the Third International "may be justly defined as the instrument with which Soviet Russia frustrates its own effectiveness as a factor in the proletarian world revolution."

The workers of the world will always remember with gratitude that Russia placed her own interests after those of the world revolution, that she, a mighty socialist power, aligned herself with the down-trodden minority of the trade union movement, the rank and file, rather than the powerful officials, with the truly revolutionary and proletarian elements in the old Socialist parties rather than the more conspicuous leaders. Russia has exerted herself that the last shall be first in the labor world as well as in the capitalist world. To say, as we well may, that Russia did this for her

own sake as well as ours, is only to reaffirm that the interests of Soviet Russia and the world revolution are identical, and that her policy is naturally world revolution rather than mere national collectivism,—in a word, that she is truly the state of the future.

In the Third Communist International Soviet Russia has created a revolutionary weapon for the workers of the world, fashioned from her own experience. Its policies are totally at variance with those of the Socialist International, as much as with the Capitalist International itself. It opposes to the tame acceptance of bourgeois parliamentarism by the Second International, its own slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It emphasizes action rather than words, science rather than dogma. It adopts the methods of the general strike, mass demonstrations and revolutionary action, which had been condemned and outlawed in the Socialist International. The emphasis which the Third International places upon the importance of industrial activity and organization by the workers is shown in the independent organization of the Red Trade Union International which will give the organized workers of the world a powerful lever for the reorganization of their trade-union movements along clear revolutionary lines. While standing upon the basis of historical materialism it appreciates, as the Second International never did, the necessity of rousing the *revolutionary will* of the masses to meet the needs arising. The tactics of the Third International are justified above all by the fact that they are the fruit of the world war, born from its very womb. The Third International developed directly out of the Zimmerwald and Kienthal Conferences, the only organization of true socialist internationalists during the war. The Third International is the answer of the workers of all countries to the imperialists who slaughtered twenty-five millions of human beings to gratify their own greed. Russia has rallied the workers of the world from the shock of the world massacre and shown them how to make war on war.

These gigantic tasks have been accomplished by Soviet Russia in the short space of four years,—the term of office of a Harding or a Taft! Soviet Russia has richly fulfilled her responsibility to the Russian people and the working masses of the world. It remains for the workers of other countries to repay a little of her loyalty and self-sacrifice.

The fourth anniversary of the Russian revolution finds Soviet Russia still facing a world of enemies. Four years of superhuman effort and unbelievable devotion on the part of the Russian workers have not been sufficient to give a final blow to the great beast of capitalist imperialism. It has been beaten to earth in a thousand bloody battles, and lies feigning submission, yet ready to spring whenever it finds its victim off guard. Threatened with another counter-revolutionary attack, stricken with famine, Russia asks for the support of the workers of the world. She needs that support for the famine-stricken, she needs it to hold the imperialist wolves at bay. And the workers of all countries are rising at her call to support and defend the only workers' state,—the chief hope of the workers' international Soviet republic.

THE TOILER

November 12—Disarmament Number

A number that will disarm all who thought that the imperialist nations intended disarming. Help fire a broadside. Order a bundle.

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TO SOVIET RUSSIA

On the Fourth Anniversary of the Revolution!

The Toiler sends the greetings of the myriads of American workers, whose minds have been opened to the possibility of a new social order by the establishment of the first workers' republic, whose hopes have been kindled for a society free from capitalist corruption and exploitation.

The workers of the greatest capitalist country of the earth send their greetings to you, the only communist country. The workers who are oppressed by capitalist dictatorship salute the land of proletarian dictatorship!

Deprived of all rights, scourged by unemployment and wage reduction, persecuted and imprisoned for daring to hope and work for freedom, the American workers hail the land which is built upon the strong foundation of workers' organizations, the state whose first aim is the emancipation and happiness of the workers.

To Soviet Russia in her hour of need we pledge our aid to the utmost. With her we will stand against the world of capitalism and plunder, war and misery. With her we will work for the building of a better world, a world of peace and joy, a world of work by all for the benefit of all.

ON THE EVE OF ELECTION

THE Workers' League enters the final week of its campaign. The appeal of the Election Board to keep the names of Gitlow and Winitzky off the ballot has been successful, and the ticket of the Workers' League will appear on the ballot in this mutilated form. This very fact should attract the attention and support of the workers. The names of Curran, Hylan and Panken are on the ballot because they support the capitalist system. Gitlow and Winitzky are excluded because they have mercilessly attacked that system and organized the working class to overthrow it. Hylan and Panken are judges, dispensing capitalist justice in capitalist courts. Gitlow and Winitzky are prisoners, deprived of their freedom by those very courts. The logic of facts should show the working class which way to vote. Wall Street and its minions may vote for Curran, the ward heelers may round up their quotas for Hylan, pacifists, phraseologists and business agents will support Panken, but for the militant working class of New York there is but one way to vote for the emancipation of the workers and the overthrow of capitalism, against unemployment, starvation, and disorganization, for the cleansing of the political and industrial labor movement and the conquest of power by the workers—*for the Workers' League!*

AMERICAN COMMUNIST MESSAGE TO EUROPEAN WORKERS

THE militant American workers who have the rescue of Sacco and Vanzetti close at heart look with envy upon the comparative freedom of their European comrades to express their sentiments. In this "sweet land of liberty" the right of free speech, free assemblage and free association are boldly trampled upon by the arrogant bourgeoisie. Large demonstrations are forbidden. Organization itself is unlawful except for such approved by the government. The Communist Party of America, which thrives in spite of such suppression, has sent a cablegram to the leading communist parties of Europe on this occasion, reprinted in our International Documents, expressing its gratification at their "magnificent show of international solidarity" and the hope that "the mighty protests now resounding in the streets of Paris, Buenos Ayres, Rome, Berlin and throughout Europe will go a long way toward awakening the American workers from their present apathy." That awakening could still better be achieved by a direct contact of the American masses with their own vanguard in an open political movement, a legal party.

RAILROADS TO STAND TOGETHER

(Proclamation of the American Labor Alliance to the Railroad Workers)

Brother-workers of the railroads:

The railway corporations are out to slash your wages again. They are determined to rob you of the working conditions won through years of hard struggle.

The capitalists are bent upon smashing your unions. They are planning to crush you.

The railway Labor Board, the press and Big Business, the full force of the government are solidly lined up against you.

General Atterbury, notorious for his vicious spy and police system on the Pennsylvania Railroad, is working hand in hand with the arch-union-smashers, Morgan and Gary.

The blood-stained tyrants of Mingo and the whole capitalist clique in Harding's Cabinet have pitted themselves against you.

Your masters are united. They fight as one.

The interests arrayed against you are the interests behind the dastardly open-shop drive and the ruthless offensive against the American workingclass.

Brother Railwaymen:

Your unions, your homes and your very lives are in danger!

Your bosses are trying to force utterly intolerable conditions upon you.

Your oppressors have thrown down the gauntlet. Your exploiters have thrown down the gage of battle.

What is your answer?

Will you throw yourselves beneath the wheels of the capitalist Juggernaut?

It is high time that you accept the challenge of your masters.

It is high time that you put a stop to the arrogance of the capitalists.

Resist a wage cut.

Don't permit the enemies of the workers to rob you of your hard-won gains of the past!

Watch your leaders!

They have too often played into the hands of the capitalists. They have too often betrayed you.

Force them into the struggle.

When on strike fight all as one against the common enemy.

Engineers, conductors, clerks, machinists, shop hands, oilers and signalmen—all must fight side by side.

There are no craft interests at stake here.

Millions of railway workers are in danger!

The whole working class will win with you or lose with you.

Pit your serried ranks against the capitalist tyrants and organized labor will rally to your aid.

The American Labor Alliance calls upon you to show a firm front, fight back the enemy, and fight back hard.

In this hour of trial there is no room for narrow, factional craft wrangles.

Turn back the oppressors of labor!

Don't be stampeded by the fraudulent appeals of the kept press to the "public," and by the threats to call upon the college boy scabs, well-fed do-nothings and silk-hatted business men to run the railroads.

Don't trust the Railway Labor Board!

There must be no wage cut!

There must be no surrender!

Fight against inhuman working conditions!

Fight to save your unions!

Stand together, all as one, and you will be unconquerable—victory will be yours!

THE UNEMPLOYED STILL WITH US

THE close connection of government and press in America is visible in the unemployment situation. When the administration was preparing its conference at the end of August the press suddenly awoke to the existence of unemployment and filled its pages with news, editorials and feature articles. This propaganda served its purpose of putting across the idea that the government was interested and had taken action, and all is now silent. The millions of the unemployed have disappeared from view in the press. On the streets, in the parks, they are more numerous and more dejected than ever. The complete failure of the Unemployed Conference to take any steps whatever whether of temporary relief or permanent benefit shows the American government to be the most cynical and confident of all capitalist states, the American working class to be the most poorly organized and impotent, and the American labor leaders to be the most despicable of all traitors to the proletariat.

The unemployed are still with us, they are more numerous, more hungry and more desperate than ever. There may be millions more of them in a few months. What are you going to do about it, gentlemen? What are you going to do about it, fellow workers?

ATTACK ON FRENCH COMMUNISM

THE provocative activities of the French police, the throwing of bombs and hand grenades in connection with Communist agitation for Sacco and Vanzetti, the massing of thousands of military in dress parade in Paris on the occasion of the great Communist demonstration, have one aim, to drive the French Communist movement underground. Sacco and Vanzetti may live or die. The French bourgeoisie cares little. But French communism must be killed or at least driven into hiding. When almost the entire French Socialist Party turned to the Third International and to Communism last year at the Congress of Tours, leaving a lonely remnant of intellectuals to continue as the Socialist Party, there was consternation among the French middle classes. That fear has been increased by the recent success of the Red Trade Union International in winning over the militant French syndicalists who had always scorned the Socialist Party and the Second International. Such a powerful combination threatens the peaceful digestion of its plunder by the French imperialist bandits. The new Communist-Syndicalist combination must be scotched before it is full grown. The day after the bomb reports Mahdel, agent of French profiteers during the war and political valet of Clemenceau mounts the tribune in the Chamber of Deputies to demand measures of repression against the Communists. French White Guardism is on the alert as French Communism is becoming a truly mass movement and is rehearsing for the great role it must play in the European revolution.

WHITEWASHING SOCIALISM

THE present enterprise of the Socialist Party here as in other countries is to gain the support of the small middle classes now that it is rapidly losing that of the working classes. To be made palatable to the timid and conservative *Spiesburger* Socialism must experience a change of heart as well as of manners. The process of reforming socialism has gone far in a pamphlet widely heralded by the New York Call. We learn that socialism "starts out with two terrific propositions." Ready for the worst we plunge in. Firstly, all men are brothers and the Welfare of One is the Brotherly Concern of All of Us (plenty of caps, printer, please!) and, secondly, the things that men need in common should be owned in common. Terrific, indeed! Page three teaches us that "our teachers, professors, speakers, news-

paper editors and writers, and even ministers, doctors, and all professional men, are more and more at the mercy of the capitalist system and brought into dependence on it. . . . The wage workers are by no means the only ones who suffer from these conditions. . . . The educated and professional class is forced more and more into dependence upon the capitalist." All such, being like the capitalists themselves, dependent on the capitalist system, will please subscribe to the New York Call and vote the Socialist ticket. We read on. Socialism will accomplish great things. The cost of living will be reduced for *everyone* by "progressive increase of wages" and public ownership of the trusts. Young people will be able to marry and propagate their kind, thus "saving the home and robbing prostitution and vice of their victims." These happy results will be attained under democracy or *the Socialist People's state* to be arrived at by peaceful, lawful and orderly evolution. Socialism has been accused of meaning anarchy, atheism, free love, "divide up," and a lot of other stupid and impossible things." Instead it stands for law and order, the family and religion. "Finally, many of the most devoted believers in the golden rule, the brotherhood of man and spiritual ideals of religion have discovered that Socialism is the program by which their hopes may be realized." It is all so simple and peaceful and sweet. We must have had a bad dream—of war and murder and starvation, of class struggle, world crisis and revolution, of soviets and working class dictatorship. Why not be nice and Christian and peaceful? Why not be Socialists?

MIDDLE CLASS SOCIALISM IN GERMANY

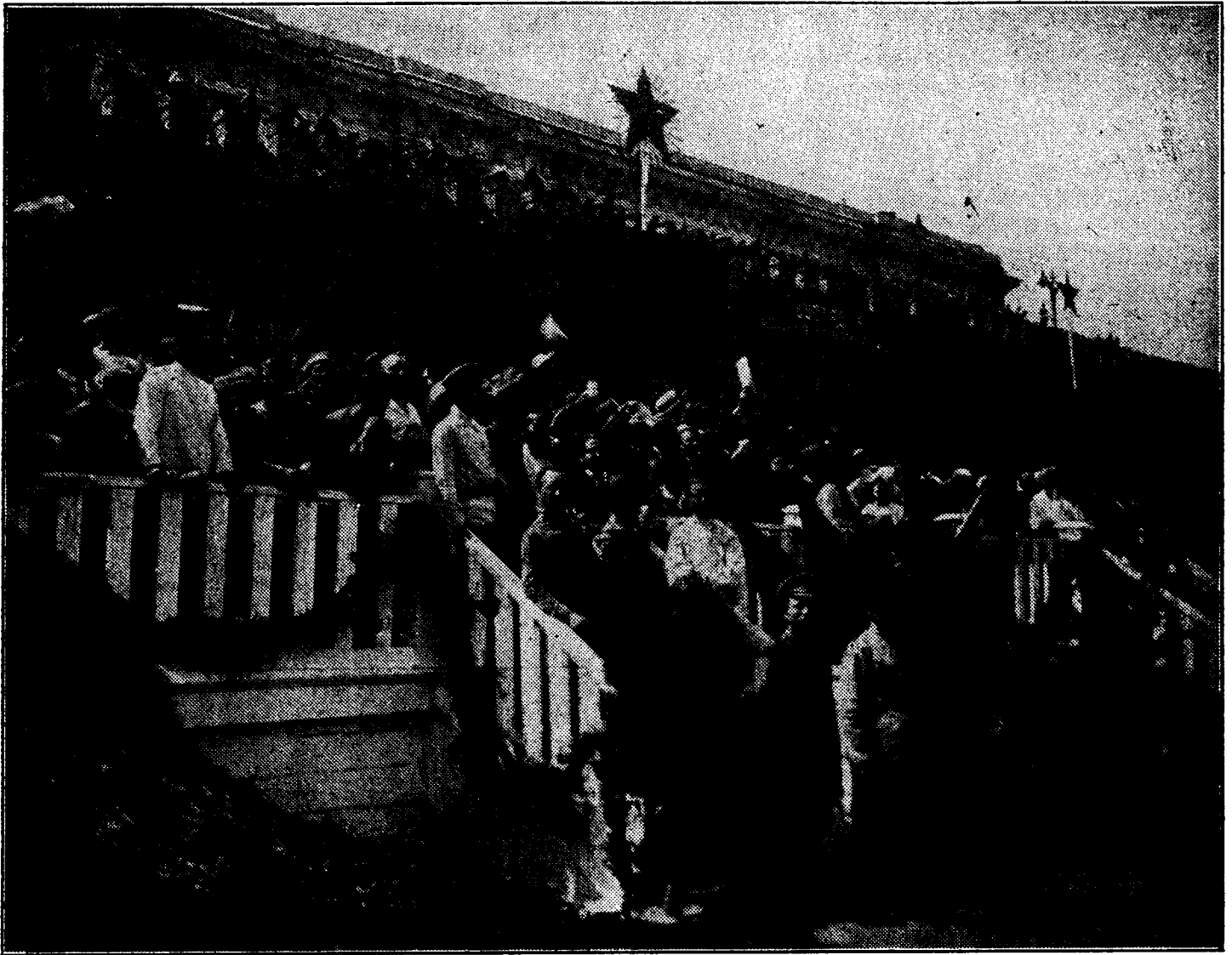
A SIMILAR philosophy of social pacifism and bourgeois democracy characterizes the new Goerlitz program of the German Majority Socialists, in so far, that is, as shrewd and calculated reaction can be similar to stupid sentimentality. The Scheidemanns and Bernsteins have apparently gone a bit too rapidly, however, for their own followers. The Social Democrats of Berlin have rejected by a large majority the program accepted by their own congress and other districts will probably follow. Among the followers of Socialist reaction in Germany there are still those who prefer the socialist phraseology as a sugar coating for their capitalist pill to the frank abandonment of the fundamental principles of Socialism which the Congress of Goerlitz supported.

Poor Russia has survived many terrors. The last and worst is in store. John Wanamaker has given a fund for the erection of a Y. M. C. A. in Moscow, "The Holy City of Russia, where it is so much needed today and where its influence would be felt for good principles and good government."

Murders and suicides have almost doubled within the last year in Chicago. Unemployment and economic conditions are responsible, according to the Health Department.

A passenger train in the Ukraine was wrecked and the survivors slaughtered by counter-revolutionist bandits. How the American press must gloat over the gallant deeds of these merry Robin Hoods!

A pretty nest-egg has dropped into the pockets of New York City landlords in the shape of an increase in land values of \$28,583,000 in a single year, according to the tax valuations.



The Russian Communist Party

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

(This is the fourth chapter of Mr. Foster's recent book, "The Russian Revolution")

The Russian revolution is a standing marvel to the bourgeois world. In the first place, by all the rules of "legitimate" economics, it should not have occurred at all; because, for a country to have such a proletarian revolution it would seem to be absolutely necessary that it possess a highly-developed industrial system and an educated working class; whereas Russia is 85% agricultural and her workers are notoriously lacking in industrial training. But the revolution did occur, nevertheless. And then in the second place, according to the orthodox economists, seeing that the workers did manage in some way to get control, they should have long since been overthrown by the series of terrible civil wars, armed invasions, plagues, famines, and industrial breakdowns to which their "unscientific" society has been constantly exposed. But the workers were not overthrown. On the contrary, they have already conquered a mountain of difficulties and are going right on extending and consolidating their power in the face of throngs of "impossibilities." To the average bourgeois mind the Russian revolution is a sort of social miracle.

But if the revolution is a miracle the miracle-worker is not far to seek: it is the Russian Communist Party. This organization is one of the most remarkable in human annals. Some have called it the brains of the revolution. It is all that and much more; it is its brain and nerves and heart and soul. It is the organized intelligence, driving force, courage, and idealism—the very seat of life of the revolution. Without it the whole movement would have collapsed long, long ago; if, indeed, it had ever taken shape at all.

The Russian Communist Party is more than a political party in the accepted sense of the term. It is really a scientific system of social control: an organization which makes every institution of society function in the spirit of the revolution. It is political, legislative, judicial, military, educational, social, industrial. As Zinoviev has said, "The Communist Party is an organization dealing with all sides of all questions, without any exception." And if it is omnipresent it is also omnipotent. Although it is entirely unofficial in character, it has the deciding voice in all social questions, no matter of what sort.

When the Communist Party speaks everybody in Russia obeys. Even the Soviet Government itself is no exception: the Communist Party maps out its general policies and often issues its direct instructions. In practice as well as in accepted theory, the dictatorship of the proletariat resolves itself into the dictatorship of the Communist Party.

Many writers have marvelled that an organization as small as the Russian Communist Party—the latest official figures give it only 705,245 members—can exert such thoroughgoing control. This shows that they have failed utterly to grasp the true nature of the Party. It is not a mass organization. Mere numbers mean nothing to it. Quality, not quantity, is its very breath of life. In the ranks of the workers there are a small percentage of keen brave, intelligent, tireless idealists, who, man for man, when serious work is to be done, are worth a hundred or a thousand ordinary people. It is of these natural leaders of the working class that the Communist Party is composed, all others being rigidly excluded. The masses would only clog up the organization machinery and prevent the smooth working together of these militants. The Communist Party is the distilled essence of working class energy and revolutionary spirit. It is the little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump. Its influence and power is enormously greater than its small numbers would indicate.

The natural power of the Russian Communist Party's militants is multiplied many fold by their scientific system of organization. This is based upon the Communist cell, or "yatchayka." In every institution in Russia where people assemble to work, legislate, fight, educate, or what not, the Communists among them always organize themselves into a yatchayka and proceed to influence the general mass about them to the Communist viewpoint. And as the yatchaykas usually contain a monopoly of the brains and idealism of the people in their respective spheres they ordinarily dominate the situation. The Communist Party as a whole is the sum total of thousands of such yatchaykas, all locked together in a general organization. It is the greatest and most efficient "borer-from-within" known to history; it has the whole Russian society honeycombed with its yatchaykas. And when this vast and complicated mechanism moves, containing as it does almost a monopoly of natural social leadership, its power is irresistible.

A further factor in the wonderful power of the Russian Communist Party is the organization's keen consciousness of its role in the revolution. It fully realizes that it is the thinking and doing part of the proletariat and it boldly claims the right to direct the ignorant, sluggish masses. It systematically and energetically takes charge of all social institutions, so that it may spur them into revolutionary activity. A resolution of the 8th congress of the Party says, "The aim of the Communist Party is to obtain a preponderating influence and complete control of all the workers' organizations, the trade unions, co-operatives, rural communes, etc. The Communist Party strives especially to introduce its program into the actual organizations of State—the Soviets—and to obtain complete control there." When he was hiding during the Kerensky period, Lenin asked this pertinent question

(Galini, P. 15, "Sowjet Russland"): "If under the imperial regime 130,000 nobles could govern Russia, why should not 200,000 organized Bolsheviki be able to do it also?" Experience has proved that they are; and the yatchayka system, with its practical monopoly of working class intelligence, is the explanation. Contrary to the assertions of critics unfriendly to Soviet Russia, force and terrorism are not the decisive factor in maintaining the supremacy of the Communist Party in Russia.

A cardinal principle of the Communist Party is to place its militants in all the strategic points of the social organism. Naturally the Government is thoroughly occupied by the Communists and the higher and more important the type of Government institution the more complete this occupation. This is well illustrated by the following tables taken from the statistical exhibition at the recent congress of the Third International in Moscow:

DELEGATES TO GOVERNMENT SOVIET CONGRESSES

(Average for all Russia)

District Soviets		State Soviets	
Communists	42.6%	Communists	79.0%
Non-Party	56.7%	Non-Party	20.8%
Other Parties7%	Other Parties2%
	100.		100.



The Lumber Industry—Exhibit of the Supreme Council of National Economy.

In the District congresses the percentage of Communists is many times higher than it is among the population in general, and, characteristically, it is much higher in the State congresses than in those of the Districts—the former being the superior type of organization.

MEMBERS OF PRESIDING BOARDS OF GOVERNMENT SOVIET CONGRESSES

(Average for all Russia)

District Soviets		State Soviets	
Communists	80.6%	Communists	86.1%
Non-Party	19.4%	Non-Party	13.9%
Other Parties3%	Other Parties0%
100.		100.	

As the presiding boards are very strategic places in the Soviets, naturally the Communists, following out their usual policy, always have a very much stronger representation on them than among the rank and file of the delegates. This is the fruit of the excellent Communist organization. And so it goes through the ascending stages of Government institutions: the scale of Communist representation constantly increasing, until we finally arrive at the Council of People's Commissars, which is entirely Communist in its makeup.

The Soviet judicial machinery is completely in the hands of the Communist Party; the powerful Extraordinary Commission, which is used to combat counter-revolution, speculation, etc., is composed altogether of Communists; and there are few, if any, judges in the Revolutionary Tribunals and Peoples' Courts who are not members of the Party. Likewise, the press of the country is taken care of, the editors of all the important papers being tried and trusted Communists. The school system is also held firmly in hand: most of the teachers are Communists, each school has its yatchayka and the teaching of Communist principles is always one of the most important items in the curriculum of every educational institution in Russia.

In the Red Army Communist sentiment is strong, well-placed and highly organized. All the officers are either outspoken Communists or, where they are non-party, they have given ample evidence of their unwavering loyalty to the revolution. All the new officers, the graduates from the Soviet military schools, are Party members—no others may take the course of instruction. Likewise all the Army Commissars are devoted Communists. It is the important function of these officials, one of whom is attached to each military sub-division, to look after the political education of the soldiers. They check up on the commanding officers and see to it that the Red Army is kept faithful to the revolution. And so far they have accomplished their task wonderfully well. Each military unit has its yatchayka, composed of officers and men, all on an equal footing. At its maximum strength the Red Army numbered 5,300,000 men, five-sixths of them peasants, yet this great mass was like so much putty in the hands of the thin sprinkling of planful, determined, and thoroughly organized Communists. They had no trouble at all in wielding it as a powerful defensive weapon for the revolution.

Naturally, being essentially an industrial movement, the Russian Communist Party exerts a powerful control in the trade unions and co-operatives. Most of these organizations are entirely in the hands of its militants, although one or two national labor unions and here and there a local are still controlled by Menshevik elements. For the various types of labor organization, as indeed for nearly every class of institution, the Communist Party's method of control is indirect. It merely maps out its programs and then instructs its members to put them into effect in their respective organizations. This they proceed to do in a thorough manner. Before all labor meetings, congresses and deliberative assemblies of every sort, the Communist delegations always caucus and decide upon their plans of action. That usually settles the

matter. Thanks to their splendid organization, discipline, and well-thought-out programs, the Communists ordinarily have but little difficulty in winning the general bodies around to their point of view.

In the industries Communist organization is no less thorough than elsewhere. Every mine, mill shop, factory, and office has its yatchayka, or organized Communist group. Usually these yatchaykas have regularly established headquarters and assembly halls right in their respective industries. They carry on a multitude of edu-



Volunteer Work by Russian Communists on Saturday Half Holiday.

cational activities, all calculated to make clear to the workers the meaning of the revolution and to spur them into meeting its demands. Often they publish plant papers of their own as propaganda organs. The yatchaykas are the life cores of Soviet industry and, considering their great power, it is remarkable how small they often are. I have in mind a Moscow factory that I visited recently. There were about 700 workers employed, nearly all of them women. Only 22 belonged to the Communist Party yatchayka. But these, because of their ability, energy and organization were in strong control of the situation. The workers in general naturally looked to them for guidance. They were the spontaneous leaders of the shop. They filled the positions of managers, foremen, skilled workers, and all-around live wires. Four of them made up a majority on the factory committee of seven. Others were similarly situated strategically, not by means of mere machine control, but primarily because of their natural fitness for leadership of the masses. When one becomes acquainted with the high-grade workers enrolled in the industrial yatchaykas he must admit, if he is honest, that the roots of the Communist Party are sunk deep in the richest soil of the working class; that it is really what it claims to be, the vanguard of the proletariat.

One of the great forces giving life and power to the Communist Party's elaborate organization is the marvelous discipline of the membership. This is of a strictness absolutely unknown among other classes of revolutionists. "Party discipline" is a term to conjure with in Russia. When the Party is considering a measure of import-

ance the members discuss it pro and con with the utmost freedom. But once a decision is arrived at all discussion ceases immediately, the opposition subsides, differences of opinion are forgotten or laid aside, and concerted action is the order of the day. The expressed will of the organization becomes the supreme law of the membership, and like a smoothly running machine the hundreds of thousands of Communists, in their political, industrial, military, trade union, and other yatchaykas, set themselves vigorously and unitedly in motion to enforce it. The result is irresistible power; the wonderful party discipline carries the organization on to another victory.

An important phase of this discipline is the draft, or "mobilization" as it is called, to which the members are subject. Not even the highest officials are exempt. Constantly the papers contain long lists of the names of members sent to all parts of the country to perform every sort of task. Only recently the Petrograd Communist Party mobilized 300 of its members, serving in high Government offices, and sent them into the factories for three months, so that they could refresh their proletarian spirit. Indeed, in many other respects besides its draft, the Russian Communist Party has the characteristics of a military organization. Its members all have the right to bear arms, and most of them do. They drill regularly once or twice a week in their yatchaykas. During the critical periods of the civil wars the entire Party was under arms.

Despite its semi-military character and its high discipline, the Russian Communist Party remains a voluntary organization. Its members do not absolutely have to follow out its commands. Save in extreme military cases they may refuse to do so, without fear of physical punishment. But the Party finds ways to square accounts with them nevertheless. And it makes no difference how big their reputations may be nor how irksome or dangerous the mandates that were given them, they must pay the reckoning. It is just a few weeks since Tomsy, who held the very important position of President of the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions, was forced to resign from his office because he declined to carry out vital Party instructions. If the offense is of great importance the offender is expelled from the Party. Thereafter he is a marked man; he has been weighed and found wanting; and he can hold no important post of any kind in Russia.

The Russian Communist Party is a stern, Spartan organization, and its membership requirements are high. Those wishing to join it must come thoroughly recommended for brains, energy, and integrity. Then they must serve a probationary period of one year before they can become full-fledged members. Notwithstanding these strict conditions, however, many careerists and other riff-raff work their way into the Party. Such elements constitute at once one of the greatest dangers and problems of the organization. Indifferent, incompetent, dishonest, and sometimes even counter-revolutionary, they tend to bureaucratize the Party, lower its moral standard, and discredit it in the eyes of the masses. The militant Communists look upon them as a menace and wage ceaseless war against them. They periodically weed them out, and the means to this end is what is called the re-registration.

The Party re-registration is a drastic affair. It takes place once a year, when every member is called before the local boards and made to give an account of his Party membership. Those who cannot show records of real service are dropped forthwith. Often the general public, non-party members and all, are invited to come before the boards to give voice to any complaints they may have against Communist officials so that the Party can locate the unworthy and clean them out. Ordinarily such re-

registrations eliminate thousands of "dead ones." The living revolutionary body of the organization is stripped of the encumbering useless tissue. Last year, in 22 states, the Party membership was cut by the re-registration from 191,687 to 131,085, a reduction of 60,602, or about 32%. The following table indicates how sharply the process operated in the big industrial districts:

	Before	After
Perm	14,145	9,773
Petrograd	26,159	21,613
Ekaterinburg	26,432	18,044
Moscow	43,389	36,407
Totals	110,125	85,837

But despite such drastic pruning and the heavy mortality among its members, the size of the Party constantly increases. The figures below (also taken from the statistical exhibition of the Third International) indicate the numerical strength of the Russian Communist movement at the periods of its congresses:

1903 Bolshevik faction of Russian Soc. Dem. Party.....	825
1905 " " " " "	5,150
1906 " " " " "	13,800
1907 " " " " "	46,146
1917 Russian Communist Party	172,625
1918 " " " " "	148,000*
1919 " " " " "	313,766
1920 " " " " "	611,978
1921 " " " " "	705,245

In addition to the Communist Party itself there is the organization of the Communist youth. It is now about 400,000 strong and is growing rapidly. It is a feeder for the Party, and the great crop of militants it is now producing will some day play an important part in the history of Russia.

The Russian Communist Party insists that its members conduct themselves as model revolutionists under any and all circumstances. Whatever the task in hand, they must set the pace and inspire the masses by their example. The greatest dangers, the severest hardships, and the heaviest burdens fall naturally to their lot. In the industries it is the Communists who must do the hardest and meanest work; upon them falls the weight of all the drives for more efficient production. They are the good and tireless workers, the mainstays of the shops. In times of food shortage they must not only bear their own reduced rations bravely, but also inspire the great rank and file to do the same. And when any Communists go wrong, when they are found guilty of theft or other serious crimes against the revolution, they are always punished with extraordinary severity. They are made an example of. Many a one of them has been shot for offenses that would have brought only mild prison terms to non-party men. Such punishments are, of course, always meted out by the regularly constituted authorities, not by the Party itself.

* The severe war conditions prevailing in 1918 prevented a full party representation at the congress.

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The New Ways of Art in Soviet Russia

By SCHACHNO EPSTEIN

The peculiarities of the new Russian Art.—The difference between the old and the new.—Content and form.—The modern art-schools and their representatives.—The poets Mayakovsky and Sher. Shenievich, the painters Shagal and Lissitsky.—The absence of the lyrical element in literature and painting.—Collective art now and in ancient Greece.—Collective recitation, an invention of Soviet Russia.

"New horizons, never seen before, are opening up before art. A stage of pageants, sculpture of granite, epic poetry, architecture of people's homes and theatres, demonstrations, placards, satire—these are the first volcanoes. We are considering the problem of collective creation. We are entering an epoch of artistic creation, when art, like a powerful organizing mass-orce, identifies itself with life."

This is the characteristic given to the development of art in Soviet Russia by the prominent poet Sergey Gorodetsky. And it is not exaggerated.

What then is the peculiar quality of the new Russian art and how does it express itself? It is manifested in the fact that the main theme in Russian art is no longer the individual person. The hero is the people, the mass, and insofar as we distinguish among the people some individual personalities occupying the front ranks, they are only a reflection of the collective life, of the mass. But the people, the mass, is imbued with a new psychology, not the psychology of the slaves and oppressed. It is the psychology of rulers, of fighters for the cause of liberty. Accordingly we find a new content in art. There are the moments of destruction and creation. These two elements are in constant conflict. The old is clinging to its position. The new is fighting its way ahead. The result is a struggle for life and death in which the victims are not individual heroes but the masses. And the appalling tragedy of this struggle, unequalled in history, has become the nerve-fiber, the breath and atmosphere of the new art.

It is evident that for the new content we must have new methods of creation, new forms. When thousands are driven by an impulse to reshape the world; when cities are to be rebuilt; when in the process of destruction and creation everything is becoming confused in a terrible chaos in which it is frequently impossible to distinguish between crime and virtue, the storm can be expressed not by the delicate violin, but by the noisy drum, not by the fine flute, but by the loud trumpet. In the chorus of the storm sometimes low tones of individual men may be discerned or of hearts in agony of death, or the jubilant shoutings of those who are throwing themselves into the storm, who are living in its elemental force. In the roar of trumpets and drums you may then distinguish the tones of violin and flute. They fill the air with the vibration of decline or with the impetus of ascent—all together combining into that majestic symphony, of which Beethoven had always dreamed. It is the symphony in which is expressed the sublimest complexity of life, of man and nature.

Of course, Russian art has so far not been able to accomplish this dream of Beethoven. But it is on the way to its accomplishment. Russia has become that fertile soil for the development of all new schools in art, as futurism, cubism, imagism, acmeism, or adamism. It is rather difficult to define the difference between all these

schools, or to express their essential qualities. Even their followers and creators are unable to explain them, although they endeavor to in special manifestos, which are in themselves products of futurism, cubism, imagism and acmeism.

However, all these new forms are not merely a reaction against the old forms, but they are an expression of a complicated life, which cannot be adjusted to standards



Chaliapin in the Leading Role of Boris Godounov.

of routine and ordinary ideas. Everything must be expressed only in pictures, images, symbols.

When the Russian futurist poet Mayakovsky describes a street he unexpectedly turns buildings into horses, horses into buildings, women into dogs, etc. The reader wonders, he shrugs his shoulders. Is the poet insane? And he, the poet himself, replies: "Yes, insane, because so is the world; she is standing head down and I am somersaulting with her." It sounds strange. But when you listen to the sound of his words, which seem to have no connection with each other, you suddenly realize the insanity of the world and you shudder to the depths of your soul. This the poet has accomplished by a peculiar combination of shades of language, which grow into musical symbols, not into the tones of some individual

instrument, but those of a symphony, of a powerful orchestra whose name is Revolution.

When you enter the coffee-house of the poets, "Domino," in Moscow, the first thing that catches your eye is a big inscription by the imagist poet Shrevshenievich: "Oh, Sun, give birth to calves!" Asked what this should mean, Shevshenievich himself is unable to give a definite answer. "Nothing. I just happened to feel that way. And if you don't feel, together with me, that we must revolutionize the sun, that she must cease sending rays and start giving birth to calves, then you are routine personified."

This may not be convincing, but it is characteristic of the way the new art is expressing the revolt against the old content and the old form of life. A revolt which is reigning supreme, sometimes rudely destroying beautiful and delicate gods and poking the conservative sun with its never-changing rays.

There is an admirable painting by the Jewish artist Marc Shagal one of the greatest futurist painters of Europe. The name of that picture is "The City." It leaves a lasting impression by the grandiosity of its conception. The main point of the painting is in a little figure in a corner, representing the back of a small person, a certain part of the body bare in the act of performing a natural duty. Here is expressed the whole cynicism of our urban culture. Of course, people with "refined" noses may turn away at this sign of sacrilege against the "holiness" of art. But Shagal is little concerned about that, and in his paintings in the studio of the Jewish "Chamber Theatre" in Moscow, which are a mockery almost in caricature form of traditional Jewish life, there are still "worse" things, which express not the broad cynicism of city-culture, but the narrow cynicism of the traditional Jewish little town in Russia.

The walls in the studio of the Jewish artist Lissitsky are all covered with canvases representing a motley of geometrical figures. If you take this for cubism you may offend the artist. For him cubism has outlived its day. He calls his art suprematism which was invented by the painter Malevich; it should be the highest expression of plasticity, the new plasticity of straight lines and planes, non-objective plasticity. One of the drawings is called "The City-Commune of the Future," and Lissitsky explains that the suprematists are creating the new architecture which should reflect the industrialization of culture. Industry aims at simplicity; it avoids conflicting ideas, it standardizes forms. And so the buildings of the future commune will have to be constructed accordingly. On a white background—houses-boxes without the artificiality of sills and statues, only bright for the eye and roomy for the soul.

Of course, all the cited illustrations are not the ultimate expressions of a new art. Their merits are rather those of experiments. It is significant, however, that both in literature and in art there is a noticeable absence of the lyrical element which was typical of the old art. Lyric poetry representing the emotions of the individual is almost absolutely out of place in Soviet Russia. Neither Valverg Brusson, nor Andrey Beley or the late Alexander Blok have written any lyric poetry since the revolution. The younger poets, as Mayakovsky, Yesua, Marenhof, Gumilev, Kamensky, select for their subjects the great masses with their cynicism and idealism, narrow minds and broad souls. Such is Mayakovsky's "Mysteria Bouffe," Yessenin's "Pugachev," Marienhof's "Conspiracy of Fools," Kamensky's "Stanker Razier." Everything in these pieces is in constant motion, as though carried away in a whirlwind. In the case of some as with Mayakovsky

or Marienhof the motion is eternal and decorative. With others, as Yessenin, Gumilov, Kamensky, the motion is more of the soul, psychological, internal. But in both cases it is expressed by the very combination of sentences, syllables, words. . . .

There is still a tendency toward lyric poetry in the works of the purely proletarian poets as Samobytwik, Alexandrosky, even in the works of the more accomplished Gastev and the semi-futurists Kirillov and Guerassimov. But it is not the lyric poetry of the individual, it is a poetry of social motives, as that of Nekrassov, only expressed in a more modern form, in a form of images rather than thoughts.

When we turn to the artists we don't find in their work those landscapes which would in a lyrical form express the quiet sadness and longing of Chekhov, as in the work of the famous Isaac Levitan. Most of the new pictures are representative of the city with its turmoil, its moving masses now powerless, now strong like armored giants. And so in the paintings of the new artists everything is mixed up in confusion, a wild gallop of speed and haste with streets and buildings in commotion and topsy-turvy. There is almost no place for the motives of love in these pictures, and whenever this is portrayed the artists depict the healthy sexuality of love. The pictures are done in rough patches of color, straight and crooked lines, planes, one upon the other in confusion and chaos. But you can discern in this confusion and chaos the broad outlines of the future, of the new collective culture.

There are some who suppose that collective art is that which is created not by the individual artist but by the peoples. This idea is wrong. Even in ancient Greece where the aesthetic life of the people was reflected chiefly in the big pageants in open-air, the creators of art were mere individuals. But the masses could enter into this art as into the surrounding nature. They imbued this art with their own tones and spirit. The artist had to be closely connected with the masses, live their lives, their joys and sorrows, express their strivings and desires. When Sophocles created his "King Oedipus," in which the main part belongs to the mass, the audiences could become part of the performance, for he has in a masterly way brought to the surface the emotions of the collective soul of the people, and the audiences could react as if they were the real hero of the tragedy.

The same tendency may be noticed in Soviet Russia where art is not separated from the people, but is made to serve the people. Popular celebrations are held in the streets. Chaliapin is Chaliapin, but when he sings the "Dubinushka" everybody sings with him; Verhaeren always remains himself but when Meyerhold produces his drama of the Soviet revolution, "Dawn," all those present in the theatre play together with the actors. It is the same in Mayakovsky's "Mysteria Bouffe," which expresses the whole chaos of the Russian revolution. And we may imagine that when Isadora Duncan, now creating her ballets in Soviet Russia, will introduce the new ballets of mass-movement, the masses will respond to them with all the fibres of their souls and emotions.

It is no wonder that it was possible to create in Russia that new art—collective recitation—where a chorus of several hundred people is reciting at once, and the impression is that of a powerful symphony orchestra, where not a tone or a sound is lost. This art grew from the November revolution.

For, when a people breaks the fetters of slavery, it liberates its spirit and becomes the hero of art and its creator.

The Russian Famine and the Capitalist World

By KARL RADEK

A terrible misfortune has befallen the Russian people at the very moment when it was beginning to rebuild its ruined industry after the victory over the counter-revolutionary armies and the lifting of the blockade. The famine which has fallen upon the Volga region, which furnished a third of the grain for the support of the Revolution, is a result of a natural cause, the drought.

Superstitious peasants lay the drought to the account of God. The more sophisticated capitalist journals of the West hold the Bolsheviki responsible. One is as far wrong as the other. When, however, the statement is made, among the accusations that are being hurled at the Bolsheviki, that "civil war and revolution have undermined the economic life of Russia, making it more difficult to overcome the famine," it is merely stating the bald truth that every war ruins economic life. It must be added that the civil war was a consequence of the glorious imperialist world war, over the responsibility for which there can be various opinions without escaping the one point at issue, which is that the Soviet government was certainly not responsible, since it did not exist at the outbreak of the war.

As for the civil war, its cause is well known. When the overwhelming majority of the Russian people, unable longer to carry on war and unwilling to spill its blood further for the interests of the London, Paris and New York stock exchanges, stepped upon the Kerensky government as upon a rotten mushroom and set up their own government, a government of workers and soldiers,—then the former ruling classes and the capitalism of the Entente and of Germany would not allow this government of workers and peasants to give peace to Russia. The powers of world capitalism and the Russian bourgeoisie sent civil war upon Russia.

And they conducted this war in a manner calculated to bring about the complete collapse of industry and the destruction of the means of transportation. The famine, which the allies now represent as a result of the Bolshevik economic system, was actually chosen by them beforehand as their next and best ally. The Moscow textile baron Riabouchinsky uttered in the summer of 1917 the unforgettable phrase "Hunger's bony hand will bring them to reason!" And in order that this hand might seize with all rapidity upon the throat of the Russian people, the French ambassador Noulens organized the uprising of the Ukrainian Rada to separate Soviet Russia from the Ukrainian bread, he organized the uprising of the Czecho-Slovaks to separate her from the Siberian grain and he sought in August, 1918 to destroy the Petrograd bridges, in order to still that heart of the Russian revolution which still beat so strong. And the representatives of their majesties, the English king and English capitalism, Messrs. Lockart and Lindley, gave their government the advice: "Treat them as pariahs!" The humanitarian English government which even goes so far as to cover the nakedness of the savages with Manchester cotton, which had carried on wars only to aid the Chinese people to enjoy opium, that government forced the blockade upon Soviet Russia in order to give her industry its death-blow.

While the cannon of Denikin were devastating the Donetz coal basin, while the English troops were devastating the petroleum center of Baku, while Koltchak was devastating the iron industry of the Urals, the blockaded Soviet government was forced to use every means to feed and equip the Red Army. The entire industry of the country was devoted to the production of weapons and other equipment. But

the Soviet government made the mistake—so opine the honorable judges—of forgetting the lessons of Adam Smith, and took grain from the peasants without giving them an equivalent in industrial products, thereby omitting the stimulus necessary to intensive production on their part. But should the Russian Soviet government hold the teachings of Adam Smith and the other saints of the City in London a hundred times more in honor, these would not avail against the simple fact that Soviet Russia was forced to equip and feed an army of millions in an economically ruined country. We plundered the county, in order to conquer the White armies, said Trotzky at the ninth congress of the Communist Party of Russia in March, 1920. And he spoke the naked truth. When we wanted to save Russia from the return of the White exploiters and plunderers, we could not stop at the destruction of industry. That was the price of victory. If the capitalist press throws it up to us that the suffering in Russia is a result of our policy we reply: It is a result of your policy, of the intervention organized by you, and the civil war supported by you. The result of our policy is that we stand here in our need as an independent state and not as a colony; as for you, it well behooves you to fear us, even in our poverty.

As soon as Soviet Russia had conquered the white armies, it turned its attention to the reconstruction of its economic life. The economic program that we decided upon for this purpose in the spring of 1921 was the best evidence that we had kept our heads cool in spite of our victories, and that we understood that the measures of war-socialism which made possible our victory, could not create a basis for the work of economic construction in a land of small peasants. The removal of the system of requisitions through the introduction of the agricultural tax and of trade in the surplus products of agriculture, and the attempt to attract capital into those branches of industry that we could not build up through our own powers were the only means whereby we could save the country from ruin.

The economic program of the Soviet government during the war was to assemble all our powers for the victorious blow to the counter-revolution. That could only be accomplished through the greatest centralization of everything required for war in the hands of the state.

The program for reconstruction is to stimulate the development of all the economic resources of the country, so that the state with their aid may strengthen its own basis, which is large machine industry.

Only thus will the Soviet state be able to defend the interests of the proletariat against the peasants and Russia against world capitalism. Our economic program is not a communist one, but it is the only one which can eventually lead to communism. It is furthermore the only possible policy for the protection of the interests of the masses, that is of the workers and peasants and those of our enemies who give lip service to these interests could not afford to put forward any other. Of course the dispossessed capitalists and landlords have another program. This program says: Give us back the land and the factories! But the social revolutionists, who must reckon with the peasants, understand that the program implies the impoverishment of the masses and the perpetuation of civil war. The program of Tchernov contains in its fundamental points the present policy of the Soviet government with this small distinction, that weak and spineless as they are, the social revolutionaries

leave their program on paper and open the door wide for the realization of the program of the land-lords and factory owners.

The Soviet government devised the ways and means for suppressing the counter-revolution. It has now devised the ways and means for economic reconstruction. It was in the period of transition, while the new policy of the government was first being coined into concrete measures, at a time when this policy was not yet to heal the wound that had been inflicted by the Czarist regime, the policy of Kerensky and the intervention of the Entente, at that critical moment the great famine fell upon us. Twenty millions of human beings are threatened with dire need, if not with death. For the country in its present state of economic weakness is not in a position to give them sufficient help. The Soviet government has not concealed this fact. She has brought it to the attention of the entire world in all its cruel reality, and she has discovered what reply the world has to make. The Russian people have also discovered, nor will they ever forget.

The battle of the capitalist world against Soviet Russia was no comedy of errors. It was an attempt to throttle the state which was built upon the interests of those classes which have been oppressed and submerged in the so-called civilized countries, the state whose very existence was a breach in the world-state system of capitalism. The fact that this state had fallen victim to the catastrophe of famine did not of course transform the enmity of the capitalist world into Christian love. The policy of the capitalist governments toward starving Russia is only a continuation of their previous policy, their war on Soviet Russia. The attitude of the great powers to the Russian famine is only the result of the change in their methods of fighting after the suppression of their military intervention. Briand hardly knew where to turn after the collapse of his latest puppet, Wrangel. At first he had cried like Shylock, "I want my pound of flesh, not a gram less!" And he demanded the recognition of the debts of the former Czarist and Kerensky governments. But at the same time he kept an eye upon the doings of the dear allies across the channel who in spite of their devotion to the French were negotiating the trade treaty with Russia. When the English reported that the Soviet gold was not tainted with that lofty impartiality which distinguishes them in matters of gold, then said the wrathful Poincare to himself "Our gold is flowing into the pockets of our dear English cousin, who is certainly not poorer than we. Shall we be more stupid than he?" Then Briand began to waver. At the same time he kept an eye upon the doings of the He wiped away the tears of distress that were gathering in his eyes and said to himself: Here is the end. He demanded from Germany permission to transport troops to Upper Silesia under the pretext of getting at the Silesian coal through Poland, as was explained in the English Times, the most faithful exponent of the thoughts of Briand, in its number of July 22. He must not be disturbed, it was explained, for it was not only the small matter of the plunder of Upper Silesia, but also the preliminary to heroic deeds against Soviet Russia. Briand sent gold and munitions to Rumania at the same time in order to enable the last of the Hohenzollerns to stand sponsor for the spreading of the ideas of the French republic in the Ukraine. If the harvest should be disturbed thereby, Briand consoled himself with the reflection that the famine would end with the end of the Soviet government. After the Russian evil had been ploughed anew with French shrapnel, it would bear fruits in full measure.

At this point Kerensky intervened—that same Kerensky whom Briand considers a great statesman, having forgotten

how well he prepared the victory of the Bolsheviki for eight months. Kerensky warned Briand against coming out too clearly into the open. Blows in the stomach are not calculated to win the heart of the starving, and Kerensky is of the conviction that the bayonets of the counter-revolution should be supported by the sympathy of the people. Briand declared at this point his own great sympathy for suffering Russia and without interrupting for a moment his preparations for intervention in Poland, Roumania and Finland, he announced help for suffering Russia in tragic style. But Briand played a bit out of his role. As the French representative for aid to Russia he named Nouleuns, the brutal and stupid organizer of counter-revolutionary attacks on Russia, the monarchial general Pau, the noble manufacturer, Girand, so well known in Moscow as the reckless exploiter of woman labor who consoled the workers in his factories for their low wages by religious ceremonies. The diplomatic poison-mixer, the counter-revolutionary general and the clerical sweater as aids in time of trouble, what could better reveal the truth to the Russian people about the views of the French government. That truth is that French imperialism, the chief apostle of intervention, the father of the Russian famine, is already preparing itself to use the famine as a pretext for a new intervention. The answer of the Russian Soviet republic is: "We will be on guard!"

A Day for Russia

By MARTIN ANDERSON NEXO

One morning quite early—it is many years ago now—I was going along the road to Norrebro with a poor widow whom I had met by chance. She had her two little girls with her, eight and ten years old, and the three of them were probably going to their work in the city. It was one of those "days" of the war time—which one I have forgotten. Just as we came to the Church of the Saviour we encountered the first rattling box. I asked what the collection was for. "For the children who have lost their fathers," answered the little collector.

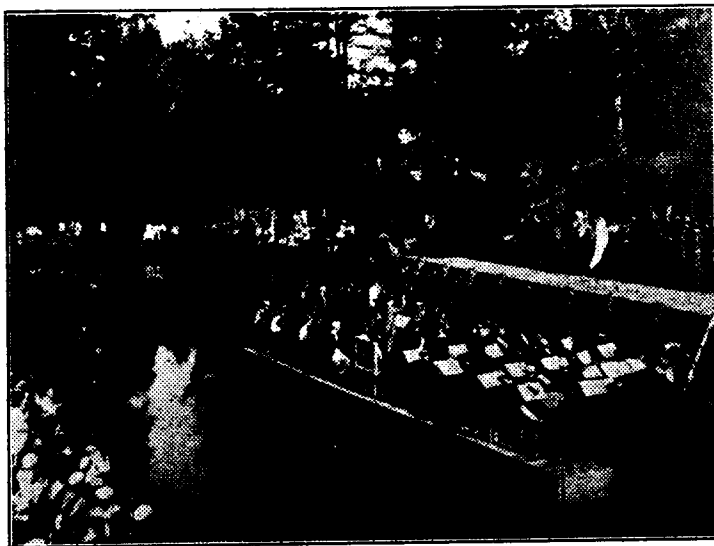
"Oh, Lord is that for the poor?" cried the woman and reached toward her purse with a trembling hand. "There is something for you, and from the others at home, 10 oere from each one!" She dropped her seven 10-oere pieces in the box, the poor widow with her fatherless little ones. Then there were seven in the nest and no one to care for them! They could also have a tale to tell! And the three had beaming eyes, like the poor widow herself, who was unconscious of the fact that she too was in the same boat who gave her mite for the widows and orphans. This little experience threw a new light for me upon the nature of the workers, that riddle in their character, their delight in giving. After that, whenever I happened to be at meetings conducted by striking workmen for their comrades in the economic struggle or for the unemployed, I had to think of the poor widow with her six fatherless children.

This is of course an old story. It is an open secret that charity is spurned by poor people for the most part. But it gives one faith and strength to know that the heart does not shrivel up with the pocket-book and that those who have least have the most left over for others. The poor man does not think in a mean-spirited way. Otherwise he would have learned long ago from the more provident classes of society that one can surely not think of helping others until one has one's own feet on dry ground. But the heart has its own wisdom, all bourgeois reasoning to the contrary notwithstanding. And the poor have this

wisdom, the wisdom of the heart, that gives everyone the right to take his life in his hands.

The world war did not leave much kindness or humanity in its train. That is why it feels good when one finds people that have not learned to count every penny and are ready to put on a little extra before and after. And even when the worker really learns to reckon like others, still there remains always something that he supports when the demand is made of him—that is, naked Life.

The joy of giving is a blessed quality for him who gives and him who takes. It is the quality of the lower classes.



The Isle of Rest for the Workers, Formerly a Famous Resort of the Russian Nobility.

This summer a number of Copenhagen children that were physical wrecks found a haven of refuge in a home for the unemployed—with people who were rich in nothing but their hearts. I remember meeting a young Copenhagen boy who had run away secretly from such a home—in order not to become a burden. "Didn't you get enough to eat there?" he was asked. "Oh, yes," he answered, "but I didn't want to deprive the others. Then there wouldn't have been any left for them."

The best hope for the new world is the great heart of the working people. Who can forget the children of Vienna? It was with few exceptions the children of the upper classes, some of them from very wealthy families, who were sent out of Austria, cheaply and comfortably, during the famine. Many working class families, who were hard put to it to make a living for themselves, put their names down for a starving child and got a real little cuckoo in their nest, some fine, spoiled little lady or gentleman who was annoyed at the poor surroundings and was hard to satisfy. "That was a little misunderstanding," remarked a worker who had received the son of a high official in the lottery, a red-cheeked little fellow, who had passed his whole life in the best surroundings in the country. "But, good God, we have him now and we must see to it that we can bring him through and make everything as good for him as we can."

Workers who think in such large terms surely need no reminder about the terrible Russian catastrophe. It is safe to assume without further question that all workers have long ago decided to help and that they are only waiting until the relief organizations begin to function.

In these days the cry is resounding all over the world: "Help suffering Russia!" But it does not ring with the same sincerity in all quarters. The proletariat must recognize that fact, and take the situation into its own

hands. If it is a question tomorrow of taking in Russian children, not many homes of the rich will throw open their doors to receive the children of Soviet Russia. The story of the Viennese children will hardly be repeated the other way about. When the German and Austrian children were taken in in Switzerland and Scandinavia, the communist children were systematically refused. The workers would do well to keep in mind this thrifty tendency of the bourgeoisie. So they will spare themselves a multitude of regrets.

The rich have a fatherland everywhere. The poor have their compensation nowhere in this cold and thrifty world. It is always a case of the sheep that was owned in common. Everyone could shear it, and the more often it was shorn the more wool it gave, until finally the whole world lived on its productiveness.

For the first time in 1917—with the Russian Revolution—came the opportunity for the poor to have world citizenship. With what anxiety we watched the first steps toward a new social order, the order that was growing out of chaos over there, we who had the emancipation of the working class at heart! But the workers had been fooled so often, what would come of all this new attempt? But I was overjoyed when I saw that the first measures were for the benefit not of this or that privileged class, but for the war invalids, while in Germany today they sit on the curb-stones and beg. And the next measures were for the children. That is the beginning of human brotherhood, of social peace and true democracy!

Under such circumstances it is superfluous to inquire what tactical or merely human errors have been made by the men of new Russia. It is a question of the will to reform, and this already is opening paths of eternal usefulness for itself. If the worst should happen, the great catastrophe, and Soviet Russia should collapse under the attack of overwhelming enemies and its own terrible misfortune, still the spirit of the working people would never forget that for one short hour they saw their beloved Fatherland across the horizon. The land of the sick, the widows and the orphans! The land of the workers! But God forbid!

In Russia the freedom and pride of the workers reaches its highest point. There the possibility is being tested out of realizing the dream of centuries of a country where everyone is happy. Can we wonder that the Russian worker began with the children? While in all the rest of the world it is just the children who have to suffer most. Almost all those who have brought back reports of Russia, bourgeois or revolutionist, have been full of praise for the Russian care of the children. Before me lies a report of the American Quaker Committee which was sent to Europe to investigate the health conditions of European children after the war. The report admits that the Russian children are the most healthy and the best cared for of any in the world and that the Russian workers find no sacrifice too great when the education and welfare of the children is concerned.

And all this is now threatened—in the first and only land in which the worker has the rights of man and citizen! Threatened by a catastrophe of nature, after it has maintained itself so wonderfully and for so long against the work of open and secret enemies! For the Russian workers there is only one way out, as for all the workers of the world! One needs not even to mention it! The working class must pledge its heart and hand. The widows and orphans, the workers and the workless, in a word, the whole proletariat—all, all who have a heart, must bring their mite where it will help to save our brothers whose hearts have beaten for all of us!

And let no one think that his little contribution does not count in the great catastrophe! If all organized workers give one day's work for their brothers in Russia, Russia is saved! And if all the poor of all the world give only the widow's mite, how much that would be!

Workers, the world is in your hands! With you the world stands or falls! Centuries long you let yourselves be shorn! Now is your turn! The future is yours!



Mme. Kollantay, International Secretary of the Women's Section of the Communist International and Prominent in Public Welfare Work for Women and Children.

Your children, your dreams of the ages will die of the famine if you do not help.

Forward with heart and hand for your brothers! For Work, for Life, for Happiness!

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THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(Continued from page 7)

In the Red Army the Communists are famed as brave and dogged fighters. Their posts are always where the battle is hottest. It was they—a body of student officers—who, by desperate courage in a critical moment, dealt Yudenitch a mortal blow before Petrograd, thus saving that city, and probably with it the revolution itself. When the Red Army, disorganized and demoralized, was flying before Wrangel's victorious soldiers, thousands of special Communist shock troops were thrown into the fray. They not only stopped Wrangel, but sent him reeling back to final defeat. And during the recent Kronstadt revolt the burden of the struggle fell upon the Communists. Large numbers of them perished in the terrible battle to reduce the great rebellious fortress. The Communist Party congress was in session at the time; it mobilized some 300 of its members and sent them to the front. Half of them never came back. And so it has gone all through the revolutionary period: the Communists have sacrificed themselves without stint or limit. It is said that of the total number of Communists in Russia when the revolution began, not more than 20% are still alive. The gaps in the revolutionary ranks have been filled from the growing generation of militants.

The Communists are not among "those pastors who point out to others the steep and thorny road to Heaven, while they themselves the primrose path of dalliance tread." They work harder and live simpler than anyone else in Russia. The opposition, usually masked under the title of non-party, try to make out that they are a favored class who get the best of everything. But the Party's heroic record of self-sacrifice eloquently refutes that. And then the fact that the organization remains so small proves that the heavy duties attaching to membership greatly outweigh any alleged privileges that may come from it. If this were not so the Party would be many times as large as it is now.

The Communists are guided by a great ideal and they are altogether unsparing of themselves in seeking its realization. Moreover, their very lives are at stake. Whenever the counter-revolutionary generals captured a body of soldiers or a town during the civil wars they always killed every Communist they found. With these examples in mind—not to speak of what happened in Finland, Hungary, and elsewhere—the Russian revolutionists are convinced that the fall of the Soviet Government would be the signal for a gigantic massacre of Communists from which probably but few would escape. But they are determined that such a massacre shall not take place. They may be depended upon never to yield their control save after one of the most desperate struggles in history.

Such, in brief, are a few of the broad characteristics of the wonderful Russian Communist Party.

MINNEAPOLIS TOILER AGENT

All desiring to assist in building circulation for THE TOILER in Minneapolis and vicinity are asked to get into touch with A. A. Larson, 1603 Chicago Avenue, Minneapolis, Minn.

REGARDING PAYMENT OF ACCOUNTS

All bundles of THE TOILER and literature, sent you by the Cleveland office, must be paid for to that office. Do not make remittance for literature and papers, sent you by the Cleveland office, to the New York office.

The first issue of THE TOILER published in New York City was dated October 1st. Bundles of papers sent you beginning with this date must be remitted for to the New York City office.

Famine Relief Notes

BRITISH WORKERS RAISE FUNDS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA

To Trade Unionists and All Organized Workers:

The FIRST £1,000. The Russian Famine Fund has already passed its first thousand pounds, and the generosity and self-denial of British Workers has enabled food and medicine to this amount to be sent direct into the famine areas to combat the dreadful famine and disease ranging in the afflicted areas.

FAMINE RELIEF NOTES

Steklov writes in "Izvestija" over the relief work of the international proletariat: "The international proletariat has answered the appeal of Soviet Russia with the proofs of the warmest sympathy but this stream of sympathy has not found the strong organization which is necessary in the interests of the aid for the sufferers. One ground for that is the lack of plan for an international campaign. The international campaign must be so organized that the greatest number of workers possible shall be drawn into participation in the active organization of the relief work. Only then will success be assured. Not only the material prospects but also the political prospects of Soviet Russia are dependent upon this. If Soviet Russia is forced to rely upon the relief work of the bourgeois circles and the governments it will be exposed to every kind of political scoundrelism and systematic extortion. The broader that the proletarian relief work is developed and the greater the means which the workers of the whole world put at the service of the relief work so much the more independent will the Soviet government be from bourgeois aid and the stronger will be its international situation.—ROSTA WIEN.

Moscow, September 27.

The Norwegian parliament voted, as is already known, 700,000 crowns for the Russian relief work. With this sum two thousand casks of herring, one thousand casks of fish fat, two thousand tons of salted fish were purchased. When the representative of the Foreign Commissariat arrived to take over the shipment it was found that the Norwegian authorities had no funds at their disposal for the shipment of the goods, as the amount voted had been all used up in the purchase of the food. The Swedish Red Cross declared itself ready to cover the charges and the shipment is already under way to Russia.

Pekin, Sept. 21, 1921.

The Mongolian Government has donated 1,000 cattle for the Russian famine sufferers.

Charkov, September 23rd.

The Soviet Ukraine is taking 25,000 children from the Volga district.—ROSTA WIEN.

Homel, September 22nd.

The People's judges in the province of Homel have decided that all fines which are imposed in the People's courts of the province shall be put into the relief funds.—ROSTA WIEN.

Moscow, September 10th.

"Izvestija" of September 9th reports that the number of hungering children in the province of Ufa has reached 200,000. Owing to the impossibility of accepting the children into homes or of evacuating them the death rate is terribly high. In the nursing homes the death rate is about 75 per cent. Hundreds of sick children lie about in the streets or wander around uncared for. There is a great shortage of supplies and medical workers, especially doctors.

ROSTA WIEN.

Petrograd, September 9th.

So far the following towns have received children from the Volga district: Nijni Novgorod 1,500, Homel 6,300, Vitebsk 300, Briansk 200, Riayten 100, Rybinsk 500, Novgorod 5,000, Tver 1,500, Kostroma 200, Archangel 300, Pskov 800, Petrograd 2,000, Orel 4,000, Altai 7,000, Omsk 2,500, Smolensk 2,000.

The following children must be urgently evacuated: Samara 13,000, Saratov 4,000, Simbrisk 3,000, Territory of the Mari 5,000, Kasan 3,150. Besides this the following relief work must be organized: Samara for 500,000 children, Saratov 15,000, Viatka 80,000, Simbrisk 150,000.—ROSTA WIEN.

Moscow, September 12th.

The Leather Workers' Union of Tsaritsin has collected 16 million roubles among its members. The union of sanitary workers gave two days' wages—10 million roubles—and established a children's home for 300 children from the famine districts.—ROSTA WIEN.

Moscow, September 15th.

The English subject, Leslie Urquhart, has put the sum of 120,000,000 roubles at the disposal of the Relief Commission of the Central Executive Committee. The commission officially expressed its gratitude to Urquhart.—ROSTA WIEN.

Petrograd, September 14th.

The provincial committee of the Russian Communist Party has collected 523 million roubles for famine relief up to the 10th September.—ROSTA WIEN.

Tchebokshary (Shuvash District), September 24th.



Children Growing Vegetables, Malachovka, The Children's Colony, Near Moscow.

The peasants of the township of Jadrinsk have made a collection of seed grain amounting to 150 pood for the autumn sowing. From the Shuvash district 2,000 children have been sent to the province of Novgorod and 3,000 to the province of Moscow. The second waggon of cocoa and condensed milk has already been sent to the famine district by the Moscow proletariat.

The arrival of the seed grain has caused great joy among the peasants. The shipments are unloaded by voluntary workers. In spite of the famine, the initiative of the peasants is not exhausted. A strip of forest 90,000 dessiatin in extent was destroyed and this ground is now being worked by the peasants. In the course of four months an electric station was set up and put into operation.—ROSTA WIEN.

Petrograd, September 16th.

"Pravda" reports that the workers of Cronstadt have created a large fund of goods to be used in barter for the benefit of the famine sufferers. Besides this, contributions of food and even food cards are coming in. The money contributions amount to 21,901,070 roubles.—ROSTA WIEN.

Petrograd, September 16th.

"Pravda" reports that the American feeding centers for children give two meals a day. The noonday meal consists of cocoa, boiled rice and a piece of bread, and the afternoon meal consisting of beans, peas or macaroni.—ROSTA WIEN.

Petrograd, September 16th.

"Krasnaja Gazeta" reports that in Tcheliabinsk there are 48,000 children collected who have been deserted by their parents. They are clad only in a shirt and are sleeping under the open sky. They are to be taken to Siberia.—ROSTA WIEN.

Moscow, September 24th.

Eight homes for children have been set up in Kasan for eight hundred deserted children. Two hundred and fifty deserted children are being placed in districts with a good harvest.—ROSTA WIEN.

THE RED ARMY FOR THE FAMINE SUFFERERS

The Caucasian army corps has sent the workers and peasants of Astrachan three thousand pood of bread and 42 million roubles.—ROSTA WIEN.

AMERICAN LABOR CONTRIBUTES TO RUSSIAN RELIEF

The American Labor Alliance, which is composed of various labor unions and working-class organizations of all kinds, was the first to initiate the idea of relief on a large scale in America. It lends its whole machinery to the work of relief, which, it was decided, should be carried out through its subsidiary body, the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The Friends of Soviet Russia immediately launched a splendid campaign to enlist the assistance and enthusiasm of every worker and labor organization in the country. Conferences have been arranged in every large center. Speakers have been toured, entertainments, balls, bazaars, tag days, house to house collections held. Money, food, clothing, medical supplies and instruments have been collected.

Up to October 25 the Friends of Soviet Russia collected about \$155,000, of which nearly \$125,000 has been expended. The response of the workers of this country has been most remarkable. Financially and emotionally they are manifesting splendid solidarity. Meetings have been the scenes of unbounded enthusiasm. Men and women have donated wedding rings, watches and trinkets of value. Children have contributed their pennies. Farmers are collecting food. Out in the West they have gathered several tons and are at work collecting enough for a cargo. Medical units are in the process of formation; their goal is the Volga.

In addition to the Friends of Soviet Russia, two prominent labor unions are gathering funds by membership assessments and day's wage—a practice followed by several other large unions and locals. These are the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which expect to raise \$250,000 and \$200,000, respectively. The N. Y. Volkszeitung has raised more than \$10,000, the Jewish Forward about \$8,000 and the N. Y. Call \$6,000.

The American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee has sent its second ship load of relief supplies to Petrograd to be distributed by the Soviet Government. So far the Federated Committee has received from

The Friends of Soviet Russia	\$130,000
The orkingmen's Mutual Aid Association.....	1,500
The New York Volkzeitung	5,500
Individuals	142
Total.....	\$ 137,142

RUSSIAN RELIEF WEEK NOVEMBER 1-8

Friends of Soviet Russia—New York

During the week of November 1 to 8 an organized drive is being made to collect funds for the relief of the starving millions of Soviet Russia. This week is to be known as **RUSSIAN RELIEF WEEK**. Your organization is urged to initiate activities that will aid in the collection of funds for relief. Various organizations throughout the city have volunteered to donate part of a day's pay, on Monday, November 7, the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Will you do all you can to make this a memorable day both for the working class of New York City and for the suffering workers of Soviet Russia?

We also wish to call your immediate attention to the fact that we are running a city-wide **Tag Day** on November 12 and 13. If efficiently run, this will net many thousands of dollars for relief. We can only succeed with your help.

HILLMAN RETURNING FROM MOSCOW

Sidney Hillman, general president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, who has been in Moscow the last five weeks seeing at first hand the needs and accomplishments of the Russian Republic, will return to New York early in November. A cablegram from Mr. Hillman said he sails from Rotterdam on October 25.

It was at his request that the members of the Amalgamated raised a large fund for Russian famine relief and sent a shipload of food and clothing to Petrograd last week valued at \$150,000, besides providing also half another cargo of relief supplies which has just been sent. He has traveled in England, Germany, Poland and Lithuania, besides Russia, studying European conditions.

TAILORS DEPARTMENT OF SOCIETY FOR TECHNICAL AID TO SOVIET RUSSIA APPEALS FOR CLOTH

Six Hundred Tailors Ready to Make Clothes for the Stricken Children of Russia

Winter is stealthily creeping upon vast hordes of half naked Russian children. The ugly spectre of inevitable death is draw-

ing closer as each day passes. There are little children shrunk and wasted, huddled together sharing their scanty rags and trying to keep warm. There are mothers, sickened with hunger, watching with terror the approach of winter. Anguish is in their voices as they call vainly for help. Anguish is in their eyes as they watch vainly for the food and clothes which alone can save their children. Anguish is in their hearts as they clutch their moaning babies closer.

Six hundred men and women are organized under the Tailors' Department of the Technical Aid Society for Russia. They have their machinery. They will give their time. They must have cloth if they are to make the clothes so desperately needed by the stricken childhood of Russia. We appeal to cloth manufacturers to send pieces of remnants. We appeal to every human being interested in childhood to send cloth or money with which to buy cloth at once, to the Tailoring Group of the Technical Aid for Russia, 24 East Twenty-third Street, New York. We are racing with death.

SOCIETY TECHNICAL AID TO S. R.

The S. T. A. S. R. is now, after a brief existence of about three years, a strong, centralized organization with allied branches in the principal industrial centers of the United States and Canada. In New York three societies, each claiming as its aim technical aid to Soviet Russia, existed independently. Happily all local and national forces have been united at the recent national convention. Soviet Russia will survive all hardships and overcome all obstacles thrown in her way, if she can maintain herself industrially. The outstanding feature of Soviet Russia to-day is that in spite of almost insufferable difficulties, she is bending and concentrating every effort to bring about an industrial reconstruction. The workers of America must come to the aid of Soviet Russia so that the exploitation of these rich natural resources will be by the workers for their own benefits.

All industrially and professionally trained and skilled workers and technicians now engaged in industry and who are willing to help Soviet Russia in the reconstruction of the country are invited to join any one of the following groups: Agricultural, structural, mechanical, electrical, chemical, railroad, power-plant, labor-saving machinery, mining, medical, shoemaking, tailoring.

The form of work in each group consists of gathering industrial data, studying the American method of industry, organizing and equipping units to go to Russia.

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The Rank and File

SACCO AND VANZETTI MUST NOT DIE

Death sentence will be pronounced by Judge Webster Thayer on Nicola Sacco and Bartholomeo Vanzetti, the workmen against whom an incredible verdict of guilty was returned in defiance of the testimony. Acting upon the suggestion of many labor and civic organizations, the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee has issued a call for simultaneous protests in all parts of the world during the three days preceding November 1.

Labor organizations are urged by the committee to arrange mass gatherings on those days. The committee also suggests that resolutions demanding fair play for the two condemned men should be timed if possible to reach Gov. Channing H. Cox of Massachusetts and Judge Webster Thayer, Worcester, Mass., before the end of October. Literature on the case may be had upon application to the defense group at its new address, Box 37, Hanover Street Station, Boston.

MEXICAN LABOR PROTESTS

"We are convinced of their innocence and we protest against the tribunal's decision. We do not ask for clemency. We ask for justice." This is the gist of a telegraphic message which has just reached the committee from the General Confederation of Labor in Mexico, from Mexico City, where it recently concluded its national convention. It appears that the chief facts of the developments leading to the verdict of guilty on flimsy circumstantial evidence are known among the Mexican workers and that the case was discussed on the convention floor. The message is signed by the Secretary of the Confederation, C. R. Balleza.

The significance of this message is even greater in the light of the growing agitation in Italy. Big demonstrations, according to dispatches reaching the capitalist press of America, have been held in Rome, Milan, Leghorn, Bologna and other Italian centers. The Chamber of Labor in Rome sent a cablegram to Presiding Harding demanding fair play for Sacco and Vanzetti. An answer from the State Department, signed by Secretary Hughes, says that the cable has been forwarded by the President to the Governor of Massachusetts.

THE CRISIS IN THE INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION

The revolt of the longshoremen against the union officialdom has grown acute in New York and Hoboken, as in other parts. Recently ordered back to work, they refused to go. They claimed they had been sold out by the union officials. The steamship officials proposed to reduce wages from 80c an hour to \$1.20 an hour overtime with a 44-hour week to 65c an hour and \$1 overtime, with a 48-hour week. The union officials wanted to lie down on the job and quit the fight. The men refused to obey the orders and stayed out. A number of small unions were formed. This was where the men made their mistake. Small detached unions will never win the labor fight. Unity, not division, is what we need. The radicals who understand the need for industrial unions must not desert the mass to form theoretically perfect but practically useless unions.

JAIL SAN FRANCISCO REDS

In San Francisco, business men and their servants, the police and the press, overjoyed with their success during the war as lynchers of working class representatives, are determined that the reds shall never raise their heads again. Chief of Police Daniel O'Brien organized "the first of a series of raids," jailed nine I. W. W.'s, and directed that the raids be continued.

Labor does not present a united front against these raids. Why?

The lockout in the building trades in San Francisco showed the weakness of craft unions. That, and the economic condition which made that lockout possible, offered an opportunity to the I. W. W. to spread their propaganda. At the same time, in the building trades, rank and file committees had taken a big step towards industrial unity by working within the reactionary unions themselves. The following report is therefore not surprising: "Local labor leaders have reported recently that I. W. W. inroads were increasing here."

Andrew Pursueth, head of the International Seamen's Union, issued a warning that the reds were attempting to undermine the morals of the American Merchant Marine. Pursueth is an honest, hard-headed seaman. But the I. W. W.'s have been challenging the job control of the Seamen's Union. Andy stands for craft unionism and thinks the I. W. W. preamble is seditious. Andy is not up-to-date. The workers need a new instrument for their struggle. Andy must learn or be left behind. In the meantime he warns against the reds.

So Daniel O'Brien takes advantage of the circumstances to jail the reds.

RANK AND FILE UNDERCURRENT

The United Mine Workers of America, Local 1954, Minersville, Pennsylvania, adopted the following five resolutions and submitted them to the United Mine Workers of America Convention:

RESOLVED, That local 1954, U. M. W. of A., suggest to this convention that it devise ways and means of affiliating the mine workers with the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, which already has a membership of 17,000,000, comprising the most progressive working class elements of the world. To unite with this organization would increase the spirit of unity and strength, develop working class solidarity to the highest degree the world over, and would abolish forever the organized slaughter of working men for the benefit of capital."

"RESOLVED, That local 1954 stands for the abolition of this condition, and as a remedy suggests that the mineworkers make one joint agreement with the operators throughout the United States."

RESOLVED, That local 1954, U. M. W. of A., suggest to the 28th convention that in the future the miner's leaders be strictly subject to the will of the U. M. W. of A. members and that they shall conscientiously perform their duties during a strike, paying no attention whatsoever to threats of imprisonment or other intimidations on the part of the ruling class, but shall even be willing to suffer punishment if necessary to win a strike, and should they fail in this respect, they shall resign, leaving the leadership in the hands of the members."

"RESOLVED, That every declaration or cessation of a strike, and adoption or rejection of a new contract, shall be submitted to a referendum vote of the organization's members."

"RESOLVED, That the salaries of union officials be similar to those of the workers whom they represent. Thus they would realize that they are representing a common cause against their oppressors. There is no question as to their adapting themselves to this, inasmuch as the workers are obliged to perform the most difficult and dangerous classes of labor in order to earn a livelihood."

Local 1954, United Mine Workers of America, has the right idea. The workers are learning how far working class organizations and solidarity must be carried in order to win the fight.

FARMERS UNITE WITH LABOR TO SUPPORT STRIKE OF MINERS IN WASHINGTON

(By The Federated Press)

SEATTLE.—Five hundred sacks of flour, 50 tons of vegetables, one truckload of candy and ten truckloads of clothing—this is one week's contribution of Seattle unionists to the relief of Washington miners, entering the eighth month of their lockout by mine owners for refusing to accept a slash in wages.

Holding firm to the decision of the United Mine Workers to countenance no wage reductions in any field, the Washington miners to the number of 2,500 have steadfastly refused to return to work under any wage cut, no matter how slight, before April, 1922, when the contract, abrogated by the coal operators, expires.

Seventy-five hundred miners and dependents are relying on the relief funds of the International, which now average \$10 a week for each family, and the food relief conducted under the auspices of the Seattle and Tacoma Central Labor councils and the Washington State Grange.

SOUTHWESTERN INTERSTATE COAL OPERATORS' ASSOCIATION BOYCOTT ANTI-LEWIS MINERS

PITTSBURG, Kans.—Mine owners affiliated with the Southwestern Interstate Coal Operators' Association have pledged themselves not to employ Kansas miners who refuse to recognize the authority of John L. Lewis and return to work, according to Ira Clemens, president of the association.

This means that Kansas miners who seek temporary work in other Southwestern fields will be boycotted.

TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY OF WICHITA ENDORSED HOWAT AND REPUDIATED LEWIS

WICHITA, Kans.—The Wichita Trades and Labor Assembly has gone on record in endorsement of the stand taken by Alexander Howat and in repudiation of the action of John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers of America. The assembly voted to send a condemnatory letter to Lewis and a letter of sympathy to Howat, following which a fund for the striking miners was subscribed.

International Documents

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA TO THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF THE WORLD

Comrades:

The Communist Party of America greets with joy your aid in behalf of brothers Sacco and Vanzetti, whom the capitalists are preparing to murder. The American courts of injustice have cold-bloodedly condemned them to death only because of their steadfast loyalty to the working class. And loyalty to the working class is the blackest crime in the eyes of all capitalists.

The Communist Party of America heartily welcomes the great demonstrations you have organized. Your magnificent show of international solidarity has thrilled the American workers and struck terror in the hearts of their exploiters and oppressors. Our Russian Comrades have saved innocent Tom Mooney from the gallows. We are confident that, with your help, Sacco and Vanzetti will be snatched from the jaws of death.

Your splendid aid in this hour of need, when our working class is being crushed under the iron heel of a brutal bourgeois dictatorship, shows that the American capitalists can no longer deceive the laboring masses of the world with the colossal humbug of "democracy." The mighty protests now resounding in the streets of Paris, Buenos Ayres, Rome, Berlin and throughout all Europe will go a long way toward awakening the American workers out of their present apathy.

And while our capitalist press is feverishly at work spreading malicious lies about bombs and other acts of terrorism, the Communist Party of America will do all in its power to counteract these dastardly lies and to enlighten our workers as to the fact that the Communist Parties of the world aim to overthrow the exploiters and oppressors not by means of impotent acts of individual terrorism, but by means of the organized revolutionary mass action of the workers.

The Communist Party of America pledges itself to fight shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary workers of Europe in the war against our common enemy. We pledge ourselves to do our all to overthrow the citadel of world plunder and reaction—American capitalism.

On the Communist struggle! On with the Communist task! Down with the capitalist hangmen! Long live the international solidarity of the working class! Long live the Communist International!

CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

THESES ON THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

(Presented to the Third Congress of the Communist International)

I. The International Situation of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic.

The International position of the R. S. F. S. R. at the present time is characterized by a kind of equilibrium which is, however, extremely unstable and is creating a peculiar situation in world politics.

This peculiarity consists in the following. On the one hand the world bourgeoisie is full of hatred and animosity towards Soviet Russia and is ready to pounce upon her at any moment in order to strangle her. On the other hand all the attempts at military intervention, on which the bourgeoisie has spent hundreds of millions, have ended in failure, in spite of the fact that the Soviet power at that time was much weaker than it is today, and the Russian landlord and capitalist had their armies on the territory of the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic. The opposition to the war against Soviet Russia has become extremely strong in all capitalist countries. This opposition has spread throughout the masses of the petty bourgeois democracy of the capitalist countries and has been fostering the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The conflict of interests between the various imperialist countries has become acute and is growing more and more acute every day. The revolutionary movement among the hundreds of millions of the oppressed nations of the East is gaining greatly in intensity. As a result of all this, international imperialism has proved incapable of strangling Soviet Russia in spite of its superior force. It is therefore compelled to enter into commercial relations with Russia and to recognize her either fully or partially.

As a result of this state of things we have an equilibrium, which though extremely precarious and unstable, nevertheless enables the Socialist Republic to maintain its existence—though of course not for an indefinite length of time—within capitalist surroundings.

2. Correlation Between the Class Forces on an International Scale.

With such a state of affairs as a basis, the correlation on an international scale between the class forces appears as follows. The international bourgeoisie deprived of the possibility of carrying on an open war against Soviet Russia, is now kept in a state of abeyance. It is on the alert for the moment when conditions will be such as to permit a resumption of the war.

The proletariat of the advanced countries has already everywhere called out its vanguard, marching forward without deviation to the winning over of the majority of the proletariat in every country, breaking down the influence of the old trade-union bureaucracy and the upper stratum of the working class in America and Europe, demoralized as they are by imperialist privileges.

The petty bourgeois democracy of the capitalist countries represented in its advanced section by the Second and the Two and Half Internationals is at the present moment the chief support of capitalism in so far as the majority or, at least a considerable part, of the industrial and commercial workers and employees remain under its influence. The latter are in fear of the advent of the revolution. They fear the loss of their petty bourgeois prosperity created by imperialist privileges. But the growing economic crisis is aggravating the conditions of the wide masses everywhere. This together with the inevitability of imperialist wars (which is becoming more manifest every day) is shattering this mainstay of capitalism.

The working masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, constituting as they do a vast majority of the earth's population, have already, since the beginning of the twentieth century awakened to political life especially as a result of the revolutions in Russia, Turkey, Persia and China. The Imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the Soviet Power in Russia are definitely transforming these masses into an active factor of world policy and revolutionary destruction of imperialism, although the stubborn intellectual petty bourgeoisie of Europe and America, including the leaders of the Second and Two and Half Internationals, will not see this yet. British India is at the head of these countries and the revolution is developing there the more rapidly in proportion as the industrial and railway proletariat, on the one hand, is becoming of greater importance and as, on the other hand, the terror of the English is growing more brutal, assuming the forms of public scourgings and of mass murder as at Amritsar.

3. Correlation of Class Forces in Russia.

The internal political situation of Soviet Russia is such that we have here for the first time in history only two classes existing side by side, namely: the proletariat brought up for a number of decades on a young but modern large machine production, and a class of peasant small holders constituting a vast majority of the population.

The large landowners and capitalists have not disappeared in Russia. They have only been subjected to complete expropriation. They have been completely crushed politically as a class, and the remnants of this class are dissolved among the state employees of the Soviet Power. They have preserved their class organization abroad as emigrants, numbering probably from one and a half to two millions. They have over half a hundred daily papers, including the bourgeois and "socialist," that is to say, petty bourgeois parties, some remnants of an army, and numerous connections among the international bourgeoisie. This emigrant organization is working with all its might and main for the annihilation of the Soviet Power and the re-establishment of capitalism in Russia.

4. The Proletariat and the Peasantry in Russia

Under the conditions of the actual internal situation in Russia, the chief duty of the moment for her proletariat is definition and realization of the measures which are necessary for assuming the leadership over the peasantry, the establishment of a solid union with it for a long series of gradual stages towards the transition to a large nationalized machine—production in agriculture. This task is especially difficult in Russia, both

in view of the backwardness of our country and its extreme penury owing to the seven years of imperialist and civil war. But even besides this peculiarity this task is one of the most difficulty which the capitalist countries will have to face in socialist construction with the exception perhaps of England alone. Even in respect to England one should not forget that if the class of minor agricultural householders is especially small in that country, the percentage of workers and employees living as petty bourgeoisie is very considerable, owing to the practical wage slavery of millions of people in the colonies "belonging" to England.

Therefore from the point of view of development of the world proletarian revolution as a single process the meaning and task of the epoch which Russia is passing through consist practically in testing and verifying the policy of the proletariat which is holding the state power in its hands, in respect to the petty bourgeois masses.

5. Military Union Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry of the R. S. F. S. R.

The basis for regular mutual relations between the proletariat and the peasantry in Soviet Russia was created by the epoch of 1917—1921. During this period the invasion of the capitalists and landlords, supported both by the entire world bourgeoisie and all the parties of the petty bourgeois democracy, the social revolutionists and the Mensheviks, created, consolidated, and gave a definite form to the military union between the proletariat and the peasantry for the defense of the Soviet Power. Civil war is the most acute form of class struggle, and the more acute the struggle, the more rapidly and clearly do even the more backward stratifications of the peasantry learn from experience that only the dictatorship of the proletariat can save it, that the social revolutionists and Mensheviks are nothing but the hirelings of the landlords and capitalists.

But if the military bond between the proletariat and the peasantry became—and it could not but become—the primary form of their solid union, it could not have held together even for a few weeks without a certain economic tie between these classes. The workers of the state gave the peasants the land and protection from the landlord exploiters, the peasants gave the workers food in advance up to the time of the re-establishment of the larger industry and production.

6. Transition to Regular Economic Relations Between the Proletariat and the Peasantry

The union between the peasant small-holders and the proletariat will be quite regular and solid from a socialist point of view, only when the completely restored transport and larger industry will enable the proletariat to furnish to the peasants all the products which are necessary to them and to the improvement of their farming. Owing to the conditions of extreme penury in the country this could not be achieved at once. The proportionate requisition was the only available measure for an insufficiently organized state to enable it to stand firm in the incredibly difficult war against the landlords. The bad harvest and lack of fodder in 1920 aggravated the ruin of the peasants, and made it unavoidably necessary to pass over to a levy on the farm products.

A moderate levy on farm produce will introduce an immediate improvement in the conditions of the peasants, while interesting them at the same time in enlarging the area of tilled land and improving their farming methods.

The levy on the farm produce is a transition from the requisition of all the surplus products from the peasant to a regular socialist exchange of commodities between industry and agriculture.

7. The Significance and Conditions of the Admission of Capitalism and Concession by the Soviet Power

The levy on farm produce naturally means the liberty of the peasant to dispose of all surplus remaining to him after the payment of the levy. In so far as the state will not be able to supply the peasant with the products of the socialist factory in exchange for all this surplus, in so far does the liberty to trade in this surplus inevitably involve the liberty for the development of capitalism.

Within the established limits, however, this is not dangerous for socialism, so long as the transport and the larger industry remain in the hand of the proletariat. On the contrary, the development of capitalism under the control and regulation of the proletarian state (in other words, "state" capitalism of this peculiar kind) is advantageous and necessary in an extremely ruined and backward peasant smallholder country (naturally only to a certain degree), in so far as it is capable of immediately improving the state of peasant agriculture. This refers even to a greater extent with regard to concessions. Without

effecting any denationalization the workers' government leases out certain mines, forests, oil fields, etc., to foreign capitalists, in order to obtain from them supplementary implements and machines, which would enable it to accelerate the restoration of the larger industry in Soviet Russia.

The payment made to the concessionaires in the form of a share in the highly valuable products is undoubtedly a tribute paid by the workers' government to the world bourgeoisie. Without in any way seeking to veil this fact, we must understand clearly that it is to our advantage to pay this tribute in order to accelerate the restoration of our larger industry and bring about an improvement in the condition of the workers and peasants.

8. Success of Our Food Policy

The food policy of Soviet Russia in 1917—1921 was undoubtedly very crude, imperfect and gave rise to many abuses. Its realization engendered a series of mistakes. But it was on the whole the only policy possible under the given conditions, and it accomplished its historical mission; it saved the proletarian dictatorship in the ruined and backward country. It is an indisputable fact that it improved gradually. In the first year (October 1st, 1918, to October 1st, 1919, the State collected 110 million poods of grain, in the second 220 millions, in the third over 285.

Now, since we have already gained the necessary practical experience we hope and plan to collect 400 millions poods (the amount of the levy is 240 million poods). It is impossible for the workers' government to secure a firm foothold economically unless it is in possession of sufficient stores of food products; only in such case will it ensure the slow but undeviating restoration of the large industry and create a normal financial system.

9. Material Basis of Socialism and the Plan for the Electrification of Russia

The only material basis of socialism is in large machine industry which would lead to the reorganization of agriculture. But one cannot be limited to this general idea. It must be dealt with more concretely. The large industry to be carried on along the lines of modern technique and be capable of reorganizing agriculture, would imply electrification of the whole country. We have had to draw up a scientific plan for such electrification of the R. S. F. S. R. and we have accomplished it with the aid of over 200 of the best scientists, engineers and agricultural experts of Russia. This work has been completed, published in the shape of a voluminous work and approved, in general, by the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December, 1920. At present the convocation of an All-Russian Congress of electro-technicians has been arranged which will be held in August 1921, and which will examine this work in detail, whereupon it will receive the final confirmation of the State. The electrification works of the first period are calculated for ten years, and will require about 370,000,000 working days. If in 1918 we had eight newly constructed electric power stations with 4,757 kw., in 1919 this figure was increased to 36 with 1648 kw., and in 1920 to 100 with 8,699 kw.

However humble this beginning is for a vast country, nevertheless the start has been made and the work is progressing even better and better. After the imperialist wars, after millions of prisoners of war had become acquainted in Germany with modern advanced technique, after the strenuous but hardening experience of the three years' civil war, the Russian peasant is not what he was in older times. With each month he sees ever more clearly that it is only the leadership of the proletariat that will be capable of liberating the mass of peasant small holders from the wage slavery of capitalism and lead them to socialism.

10. The Role of "Pure Democracy," the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, the Social Revolutionists and Mensheviks as Allies of Capitalism

The dictatorship of the proletariat does not mean the cessation of the class struggle, but its continuation in a new form and with new weapons. As long as the class division prevails, as long as the defeated bourgeoisie of any one country increases its attacks on socialism tenfold and on an international scale, so long is the dictatorship indispensable. A class of small peasant holders cannot but pass through a series of vacillations in the epoch of transition. The hardships of the transition period, the influence of the bourgeoisie will inevitably call forth vacillations in these masses. The proletariat, weakened and partly unclassified, owing to the destruction of large machine industry which constitutes its backbone, is confronted with the most difficult historic task of standing firm against these vacillations

and carving the work of the liberation of labor from the yoke of capitalism to its successful issue. The political expression of these vacillations of the petty bourgeoisie is the policy of the petty bourgeoisie parties, that is to say, the parties of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals which in Russia are represented by the parties of the social revolutionists and Menshevists. Having at present their headquarters and papers abroad, these parties are practically working in a block with the entire bourgeois counter-revolution, and are rendering it good service. The wise leaders of the Russian higher bourgeoisie is with Miliukov at their head, the leader of the "Cadet" (Constitutional Democratic) party, clearly, precisely and frankly appraised this role of the petty bourgeois democracy, of the social revolutionist and Mensheviks. On the occasion of the Cronstadt uprising during which it appeared that the Mensheviks, the social revolutionists and the white guards had joined forces, Miliukov pronounced himself in favor of the slogan: "Soviets without the Bolsheviks." In developing this idea, he wrote: "Make way for the social revolutionists and Mensheviks" (Pravda quotation from the Paris "Latest News," 1921); because this policy leads to the shifting of the power from the Bolsheviks. Miliukov, leader of the higher bourgeoisie, quite correctly estimated the experiences of all the revolutions, which have proved that the petty bourgeoisie is incapable of holding the power and serves only as a cover for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, serves only as a step towards the absolute power of the bourgeoisie.

The proletarian revolution in Russia has once again confirmed the experience of 1789-1794 and 1848-49, and in the words of Friedrich Engels, who wrote in his letter to Bebel, dated December 11th, 1884: "Pure Democracy . . . acquires for a short time a temporary importance at the moment of the revolution . . . In the role of the last anchor of salvation of the bourgeois and feudal economy . . . Likewise in 1848 the entire feudal-bureaucratic mass supported the liberals from March to September, in order to keep the revolutionary masses in subordination. . . . At any rate both during the crisis and the day after it, our only adversary will be the entire reactionary mass grouped around pure democracy and this, I think, must not be lost sight of."

N. LENIN.

Moscow, Kremlin, June 13th, 1921.

BUILDING TRADES

This is how and why they form rank and file committees in Chicago:

"WHEREAS, the present situation within Chicago building trades, aggravated by the notorious Landis decision, clearly indicates that said decision is nothing but an ill-disguised move on the part of the contractors, the bankers and big business to establish the "open shop" in Chicago building industry. In fact, the terms of this decision prohibiting strikes, removing all former restrictions on the use of non-union made material, giving the contractors the privilege to employ non-union men, and establishing a scale of wages below what is recognized as a decent standard of living, means the open shop in all its viciousness and

WHEREAS, this situation, in all its consequences, seriously threatens the existence of labor unionism and the right of the workers collectively to express their desires and determine working conditions; thus demanding action on the part of the rank and file members of the Chicago building trades unions to intercept this concerted move of the employers; and

WHEREAS, the building trades council has been put in a position where it is tied hand and foot and consequently unable to act, therefore be it

RESOLVED, that we elect from our rank and file membership a committee of three, this committee to be given full power to:

- 1) Get in touch with all local unions affiliated with the Chicago building trades council, inviting them to select a committee of three in like manner;
- 2) Call a conference of all these committees, thus elected, within ten (10) days from this date, for the purpose of discussing ways and means of unified action of all building trades unions, and take such steps as the situation may demand.

Signed

Leaflets tearing the mask from Judge Landis, impartial arbitrator, were issued by the committee of the rank and file of Chicago building trades. Only thus can all the crafts be united in their opposition to the employers who are entrenched behind the Landis award.

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION "ARRESTED"!

"The Proletarian Revolution," a 450-page book by Lenin and Trotsky, was seized in the first part of November, 1919, under a warrant issued from the District Court in Cambridge, Mass. The said warrant was issued only after the sworn affidavit of a police officer that the books were "immoral, indecent and manifestly tending to corrupt the morals of youth." The state law under which they were so seized, containing the said quoted wording, was passed by the Massachusetts legislature over fifty years earlier, and was intended of course to apply to papers, books and prints containing obscene pictures and writings.

The real party behind the seizing was District Attorney Nathan Tufts, now removed from office.

When the books were seized the public press contained long and sensational stories to the effect that more "red" literature was being bottled up; but the peculiar thing is that there was no authority under the Massachusetts laws for seizing literature that was merely radical, and so this police officer, acting, of course, on the suggestion of a district attorney who wanted to be governor and so decided to get more advertising for himself by attacking an element that he thought had no votes—this police officer swore that the said books were "immoral, indecent, manifestly tending to corrupt the morals of youth."

Next the district attorney, or the police officer acting for him, had the judge set the case for a hearing to determine if the books were really immoral, indecent and so on. But they did nothing about it, and Thomas G. Connolly, attorney for the owner, had to take the unusual course and himself demand a hearing.

The case was finally set for a hearing. The district attorney did not appear, but telephoned some excuse from somewhere miles away. The judge continued it a week. Again the D. A. did not show up—another excuse. Continued another week. Then the D. A. did appear. Mr. Connolly (the judge made it a private hearing, although Mr. Connolly did not want a private hearing) asked Mr. Tufts to point out a single immoral or indecent word. Tufts said, "Well, his assistant had said to him—" and drooled off into another excuse. Mr. Connolly told him the only indecent things about it was his seizing the books in the first place through a warrant that was based on perjury. Continued another week, despite Mr. Connolly's protest, to help the D. A. to find something indecent in the books. Mr. Connolly asked the judge to take the book home and read it himself in the meantime. The judge agreed.

At the next hearing the Judge said he had seen nothing immoral and indecent in the book, that it put him to sleep in fact.

Meanwhile Mr. Connolly had been told by his people that it was very important to get the books back, without any attempt to show up the D. A. and his perjured henchmen. So at this hearing Mr. Connolly suggested that as it was clear that the D. A. was "in bad" he would ask another week's delay and try to reach an agreement with the D. A. Granted. And then in the D. A.'s office Mr. Connolly said:

"Well, Mr. Tufts, you haven't a leg to stand on. My people, however, need the books. I suppose you want them to sign a release, in which they will agree not to sue you?"

Tufts: "Yes."

Connolly: "All right, here it is," and handed a signed release. "Deliver the books not later than to-morrow afternoon, at this address, giving the D. A. the address.

The books were delivered at the address given that very afternoon, and so the case was dropped.

Verily, Law and Order is a great institution.

* * * * *

However, the book is GUILTY!

In the eyes of capitalism it IS IMMORAL.

The proletarian revolution surely does not intend to behave decently towards the international exploiters!

And if changing the morals of youth from what they are to-day to what every revolutionist wants them to be, is corrupting them, here also we are guilty.

It is this, to the capitalists immoral, indecent and corrupt book, which we now offer to you FREE.

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The capitalists have always been humbugs. And never meaner or more treacherous humbugs than when pretending to humanitarian motives.

The craftiness, cunning, unscrupulousness and callousness manifested by the capitalists the world over at this epoch of history surpasses all villainy known or guessed at.

The humanitarianism of capitalism with regard to Russia has only one end in view—to utilize the famine by any and every means to bring about the overthrow of the Workers' Republic in Russia and reseal the aristocrats and big land owners on the back of the people.

The capitalists will stop at nothing to regain Russia as an associate exploiting government. What difference if millions starve? And capitalism is crafty enough to know how to place its forces in order to spike the guns of pure humanitarians, using even these for its own end.

The few weeks that separate the famine victims from the rigors of the Russian winter are passing all too swiftly. There is no time to lose. Capitalists delay, investigate, prevaricate. **LABOR MUST ACT!**

Russian workers have no illusions on the matter. They know that for four long years they have poured out their blood defending the world citadel of Workers' Rule against these same humanitarian capitalists, who through Czarist generals, have done their utmost to crush the Soviet Republic.

The Russian workers know that it was only the strong **UNITED POWER** of the World Proletariat that forced the bursting of the blockade. And they know that only by **UNITED PROLETARIAN ACTION**, independent of all Imperialist Philanthropy, will the Hunger battle be won.

Let Labor **ACT QUICKLY**, and act **INDEPENDENTLY**. Let Labor make its own independent collections and prevent the International Bourgeoisie from making use of the Famine Crisis for its own ends. Let us upon this Fourth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution resolve to **UNITE** the workers of America so that both Famine and Imperialism may be defeated.

The Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street

New York City

(Organize a branch of the Friends of Soviet Russia in your city. Write for information and particulars.)