

Disarmament Number

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1921

No. 196

What Can The Washington Conference Do?

A searching Analysis and Expose of Entente Imperialism by the Communist International

♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

American Agricultural Problems

by H. M. Ware

♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦

August Strindberg

by Jacob Wittmer Hartmann

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LABOR AND THE LAW

THE injunction issued by Judge A. B. Anderson of the Federal District Court ordering all officials and members of the United Mine Workers of America to refrain from seeking to unionize the Williamson coal field in West Virginia, and forbidding the collection of funds for the miners' union by the "check-off" system, marks the most far-reaching and dangerous extension of the power of the courts over the right of organization that has yet been attempted. Furthermore it draws attention to the position before the law of the American workers, who have not yet won a full legal recognition of their right to organize such as has been won by the workers of other great industrial countries. Such injunctions are merely an expression of the sense of power of American capitalism to-day and its consciousness of the impotence of the American labor movement under its present leadership.

Samuel Gompers himself has best summed up the present situation. He says:

"If the orderly, well-regulated, patriotic labor movement of America as it exists and has been conducted for more than forty years, if these activities are outlawed, the conservative element will be eliminated and will be absolutely no use to the working people of this country.

....*"The working people of the United States will find some way to express themselves, to protect themselves, and to protest against conditions imposed upon them in decisions such as Judge Anderson's. They will make short shift of their conservative leaders and will find others to guide, or go with them in a course not quite so reasonable or normal as at present."*

For once Gompers is right. May we respectfully suggest that the elimination begin at once with the "Grand Old Man" himself and progress speedily right down the line.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE GARMENT WORKERS

The most important labor struggle for years in the district of New York is foreshadowed in the announcement of the cloak and suit manufacturers of their intention to

re-establish piece-work in the industry beginning on November 14th. The conflict in the women's garment industry which has been lowering on the horizon ever since the armistice is now gathering force and will soon break forth. The employers in the garment industry as elsewhere find the present movement an opportune one for attacking the workers' organization and standard of life. If they succeed, the cloak shops, and after them the dress and waist and all other shops manufacturing women's clothing, will sink back into the conditions of the sweat-shop, long hours, excessive overtime, low wages and piece prices, fearful pressure of work in seasons, speeding up, undermining of union organization by abolition of the equal distribution of work and equal standards of time wages. The whole structure of collective bargaining built by the Cloakmakers Union at so much sacrifice and expense during the last ten years since the first great strike of 1910 would thus go down at one blow.

The attack on the needle workers is part of the concerted plan of the capitalists to crush the laboring masses. We feel sure that the garment workers will stand together and fight back hard to maintain the present working conditions. They have done it before and they must do it now. Otherwise they'll lose their union.

SOVIET RUSSIA MAKES NEW PEACE OFFER

THE bourgeois press hails the Soviet offer to pay the pre-war debts of Russia as "final proof" that the great Communist experiment has collapsed." Communists will certainly not take this view. This offer is merely an extension of the present policy of economic concessions to foreign capitalists which has been decided upon by the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Russia grants a very limited right of exploitation of her natural resources in return for definite economic and political advantages one of the most important of which is the breaking down of capitalist aggression against Russia. Russia's diplomacy is not one of bluff and bluster, but of utter frankness and simplicity. Russia wants peace and she is willing to pay a high price for it. For she seeks the opportunity to demonstrate practically to the world the superiority of communism over the other economic systems.

WHOOPIING IT UP IN KANSAS CITY

THE convention of the American Legion now in session at Kansas City takes us back to the good old war days. Jingoism, sentimentality, stupidity, brutality rampant! The professional war-makers who have come to America to conduct propaganda for another war, Foch, Beatty, Diaz and Jacques, are not welcome here as the bourgeois press represents. They are hated and loathed by millions as the authors of a terrible war and a cruel peace.

THE LABOR IMPERIALISTS

THE naming of Samuel Gompers and John L. Lewis by President Harding on the Advisory Board of the Disarmament Conference should deceive no one as to the character of the Disarmament Conference or of these honorable annexes thereto. Gompers and Lewis of America and Henderson and Thomas of England support the Disarmament Conference, as they supported the last war, as they will support the next war. This gallant company of labor careerists has long ago signed itself over body and soul to the service of the capitalist order, and stands ready to betray the workers to militarism once again if it has the power.

ARMAMENTS AND WAR

Three years have passed since Armistice Day. But the experience of these three years does not show that the capitalist world has learned anything from the fearful destruction of the world war or that it will hesitate even for a moment in hurling the world into a destruction still more fearful.

The capitalist governments have not yet dared to publish the facts regarding the most terrible disaster that ever befel humanity. When Lloyd George was asked last winter in the House of Commons: "Is the right honorable gentleman aware that it is reported that there were 30,000,000 casualties, including 9,000,000 deaths, and that the cost amounted to over \$200,000,000,000 direct and \$250,000,000,000 indirect, and would it not be advisable to have an authoritative statement to hand down to future generations, so that they might know what the war meant?" The "right honorable gentleman," while admitting the figures to be "substantially accurate," evaded the proposal of an investigation.

At this moment when it is preparing for new wars the capitalist world cannot afford to lift the lid from the charnel-house where tens of millions lie rotting.

The loss of human life in the war reached staggering totals far above the official figures. To the 10,000,000 actually killed must be added some 15,000,000 deaths through disease and other causes indirectly due to the war and some 20,000,000 more who were never born due to the decrease in the birth rate. The loss of life thus reached the enormous sums of 36,000,000—as large as the total population of a country like France at the outbreak of the war. If we add to this the tremendous wastage of disease and famine brought about by the blockade of Germany and Russia at the close of the war, the total loss of life on account of the world war would approach 50,000,000 human beings.

The economic loss caused by the war is only less appalling. To the \$200,000,000,000 expended directly on the war must be added the loss in production, about \$50,000,000,000; the reparation charges, another \$50,000,000,000; the loss in shipping and cargoes to neutrals \$10,000,000,000, and the economic waste in the loss of life, about \$70,000,000,000, making a total economic loss of almost \$400,000,000,000.

The war to end war has not been succeeded by any lull in wars and preparations for war. The four great imperialist powers, Great Britain, France, Japan and the United States, appropriated in 1921 three times as much for their combined navies as before the war in 1912, and six times as much for their armies. Great Britain spends twice as much on her navy as before the war and five times as much as upon her army. France has increased the expenditures for her navy in the same proportion as Great Britain and her army six times. The United States is the worst offender in this respect, having multiplied her navy appro-

priations five times during the period 1912-1921, and her army appropriations seven times. For the year after the war ending June 30, 1920, the American Congress appropriated 92 per cent of the total budget for military purposes, leaving 8 per cent for all other expenses of government.

The burdens of militarism are strangling the economic life of the imperialist nations. Even with the most severe taxation they are unable to raise enough income to meet their gigantic expenditures. The budget of the United States, now the richest nation in the world, shows a deficit of \$2,000,000,000 for the current year, and \$1,500,000,000 for 1922. The deficits of the imperialist nations in the years after the war are many times larger than the total budgets of pre-war years. These nations are drifting rapidly toward bankruptcy and are forced to consider a way out.

There are two ways out. One is the drastic reduction of armament all around and the revival of normal economic life. The other is war. The first method attempts to allay the ulcer of militarism by soothing applications and attempts to disperse it. The second would bring it to a head. The first method offers the only hope of prolonging the life of capitalism and avoiding for a time the last terrible catastrophe. But disarmament, total or partial, is to-day an Utopian dream. All the economic and political forces of the moment are driving the capitalist nations pell-mell in the direction of war.

Our memories would be short indeed not to recognize in the present international situation a repetition of the bitter drama of ten years ago, but on a vastly extended scale. The competition in armaments is far more bitter and desperate than that which was described as suicidal at that time. The imperialist rivalry for markets for goods and investments has been transferred from Africa and the Near East to the Far East, but is driven now by the overwhelming need of a ruined economic system with collapsed home markets staking its last chance upon foreign markets, and by the absolute necessity of export capital because of the world crisis.

And there is the war scare! This old device for forcing up military expenditure for the profit of private armament corporations, which flourished in the decade before the war, was one of the potent factors in bringing on the World War, and in lining the pockets of the international armament trust. The war scare is compelled to make its way more discreetly to-day. War weariness is so general that the old crude appeals to national hatred and fear must be softened by vows of international friendship and good intention. Armament propaganda must be veiled in the form of disarmament conferences. Lord Fareham of Lee, a member of the British Armament Trust, and the author of the famous slogan for a bigger navy in 1909, "We want eight and we won't wait," now comes to the Washington Conference as an apostle of disarmament and international brotherhood, together with Lloyd George, Briand and other authors and leading business managers of the Great War. In the present state of world opinion probably the only way in which the war scare for the greatest world war can be conducted is through a Disarmament Conference. The ways of democratic propaganda are devious but they reach their end.

In the United States there can be little of disarmament at the present moment. With the steel companies working at 30 to 50 per cent of their normal production and the former munitions plants standing idle, there is every reason to expect greater rather than less armament. The enormous idle capital of the United States in the metal and munitions industries can find employment in only two directions under present conditions, in the manufacture of war materials to prepare for war or, far better, in the furnish-

ing supplies for the war after it has been launched. Precisely the same forces that carried the United States into the European War in 1916 are carrying her into the Far Eastern conflict to-day, but those forces are many times stronger, and their need is many times greater.

When Judge Gary, in a speech made at a dinner last May, complimented Japan on her new naval program and encouraged her to proceed with it, he spoke as a shrewd American business man. For the manufacturers of war materials, among whom the United States Steel Corporation stands foremost in this country, competition in armaments among nations is an essential condition of existence and of profits.

And the profits which war and preparation for war must now make possible are not the paltry 6 per cent of pre-war days but the swollen surpluses to which the war has accustomed the profiteers.

The Armament Ring, composed of the United States Steel Corporation and the Midvale and Bethlehem Steel Companies, was one of the chief beneficiaries of the great war. The profits of the Steel Corporation rose from 6 per cent for the years 1912-1914 to 24 per cent for 1916-1917, and those of the Bethlehem Steel Company from 14 per cent to 49 per cent during the same period; while during the banner year of preparedness, 1916, the profits of these three companies were 31, 32 and 146 per cent respectively. The net income of all steel companies rose from \$75,000,000 for the first period to \$368,000,000 for the second. War and preparation for war is evidently good business for the United States Steel Corporation. The present crisis is very bad business. Therein lies the measure of hope for disarmament.

The Dupont Powder Trust, the manufacturers of explosives and other war materials, are in the same situation as the steel industry. The fabulous profits of war-time have vanished. Instead there is an enormous idle equipment which cannot even be used in producing the commodities of peace for the foreign market because of the economic crisis. The great efforts of these organizations for the capture of foreign trade have collapsed, and instead they are forced to turn their eyes to the only possible alternative of production—war and preparation for war.

The unemployment crisis itself may exert a considerable influence in the direction of war. Jingoism and foreign wars have long been known to statesmen as a remedy for domestic unrest. If the idleness of the workers in the United States produces a situation really dangerous to capitalism, as it well may if it is prolonged and intensified, the government may find in war the way out of economic stagnation and industrial unrest. War may be administered to the ruined economic system as oxygen is administered to the dying man, to stimulate a last flicker of life before the final collapse.

The capitalist system began with the slogan of economic liberty and peace. It is closing with that of military slavery and war.

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The Railroad Fiasco

The railroad strike has been called off. Five hundred thousand workers who voted to strike have surrendered at the behest of their leaders. But the issue is far from closed. It is at best postponed. The struggle is bound to be fought out in time.

All the developments have to date run true to form. The railroad workers have time and again expressed readiness to fight for their rights and fight hard. Yet, what of that? The union bureaucracy refused to lead the masses into struggle, though it was to be purely defensive and economic in character. We must take off our hats to the Communists. They have long ago made it clear that the union bureaucrats are only "labor lieutenants" of capital.

Our dominant union leadership refuses to struggle even for the most moderate demands—the maintenance of wage and working conditions. The reason for this is obvious. Nowadays strikes are sharp struggles. Once entered upon the strike tends to assume broader and deeper dimensions. Sharp struggles demand a strong, courageous leadership. And courage and strength are the last qualities in the world one can dare attribute to America's labor leadership. It is an iron law in the trade union bureaucrats' manual of inactivity to avoid conflict with the capitalists at all costs. The labor-faker is well aware that a strike might endanger his hold on the masses. Like their friends the capitalists, they are ready to do everything in the world for the workingman except to get off his back. Whatever is likely to interfere with their sinecures must be shunned. Hence, the union bureaucracy runs away from struggle, prevents all tests of strength, and sabotages all strikes. The law of self-preservation must have its way. Not even parasites are immune from it.

The State—Strikebreaker

Today strikes tend to take on a political character and foster unity of the working masses against the Government, for the power behind the gun is the power behind the bosses. The State in America is a monstrous strike-breaking agency. It operates with deadly efficiency against the workers and for the capitalists. Injunctions, jails, a corrupted clergy and prostituted press, machine guns and gas bombs welcome the worker at every turn. Homestead, Ludlow, and Mingo are monuments to the terrorism of the American capitalist dictatorship. The surrender of the Brotherhood "Chiefs" is largely due to the Government's readiness to use force and use it to the limit in the interests of the railroad plunderers.

The right-about-face of the "aristocracy" of American labor offers the railroad workers in particular and the working masses in general much food for thought. But thinking alone is insufficient. The workers must get on the job and change the situation. The narrow craft divisions must be discarded. A closely-knit federation of all railway workers is the next step. Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor would help break down many of the factional barriers that proved so fatal in the last controversy. Besides, the mass of railworkers should take more interest in the life and management of the unions and watch their leaders. The workers must get together and pit their united class power against the capitalist oppressors. Then will the laboring masses learn to speak the only language their exploiters can understand.

Every reader is asked to constitute himself a committee of one to solicit advertising for THE TOILER. If you hear of an advertisement or meeting being planned, if you see one advertised, get into touch with the committee in charge and secure an advertisement for YOUR paper.

What Can the Washington Conference Do?

(Thesis of the Communist International)

I. The Washington Conference

The conference called by the American government for the settling of East Asian problems and the limitation of armaments is a fresh attempt of capitalist society to find a way out of the antagonisms created by the imperialist war. The ideas of "Mitteleuropa" and "League of Nations" have completely failed. Three years after the Armistice, and two years after the signing of the peace treaty Europe offers the spectacle of an immense cage, where all sorts of wild beasts are fighting for a bone thrown among them. Victorious capitalism has proved with glorious "success" its ability to create peace. Now it is the turn of the United States of America to take the initiative and solve that burning question, the East Asian problem, after having taken part in Versailles in the attempt to create a League of Nations and subsequently refusing to join their own creation. The United States wants to settle the armament question too. All this is to be the task of the Washington conference. Like all former attempts, this one also is doomed to be without results. At the best it will lead to a fresh grouping of the powers, and to a fresh sharpening of existing antagonisms. That this will necessarily be so is shown by the motives which actuate the United States, Japan and England, and by an examination of the antagonisms existing among them.

II. Re-entry of the United States into European Politics

The United States of America retired from the League of Nations because: 1, England, commanding six votes in the League, had branded it with its own seal; 2, the American capitalists did not care to guarantee the frontiers laid down in the Versailles treaty; 3, the Republican capitalist clique wanted to take advantage of the weakened interest of the American petite bourgeois masses in European affairs for the purpose of keeping the Democratic capitalist clique at a respectful distance from the sweets of office. Still, the United States was forced to take part in the game of world politics. The capitalists of Europe and the Allies owe the United States twenty billion dollars. Further developments of the European issues brought a decision not only on the question whether the debtors would be able to pay their debts, but on the question as well, whether the United States would be able to keep its industry, greatly expanded during the war, on the same level. If in 1919 part of the American capitalists could still believe that their prosperity is quite independent of the economic development of Europe, the terrible crisis of 1920-1921 showed that America cannot export her produce to Europe, if European economics continue to traverse the road of decay.

This is the reason why the United States takes part in the decision of the German reparations question, why they participate in the Supreme Council deliberations on the Upper Silesia question and why they have taken a position of their own in the Russian famine question. In short, the United States has returned to the bosom of the Supreme Council, which appears as the real representative of victorious Capital, and in the hands of which the League of Nations is but a shuttlecock. The United States is now trying to get the leadership in world politics into its own hands, taking advantage of the difficult position in which its rival, England, finds herself at present.

III. Engand's Position

For the sake of victory, English imperialism caused the Dominions, economically fortified during the war, to take a share in the fighting. In 1917 English imperialism granted the colonies a voice in all matters concerning the foreign policy of Great Britain. The same imperialism is now compelled to recognize this right of the colonies because it is unable to cover the costs of naval armament by itself. The armaments, however, are necessary with a view to Britain's own allies and finally because Britain is forced to reckon with the colonies as factors of power.

Instead of Great Britain we now see a federation of Great Britain and its autonomous capitalistic colonies, whose ultimate interests do not coincide with the interests of the centre. While English imperialism wishes to conserve the connection with Japan for the sake of having an ally in the case of a conflict with the United States and also in order to have the possibility of playing the go-between between American and Japanese imperialism, at the same time stirring up Japanese-American antagonism, the young imperialism of Canada will not stand any sharpening of relations with her mighty neighbor, her dependence on which grows from day to day. Canada has voted against the renewal of the alliance with Japan at the Imperial Conference and declined all responsibility in case of the renewal of the alliance. For Australia, Japan is the only enemy she has to reckon with, and America the natural ally in case of a conflict with Japan. The South-African farmers will have nothing to do with political conflicts at all. This attitude of the Dominions resulted in robbing English imperialism of its freedom of action towards the United States of America.

The constant sharpening of economic rivalry between the United States and Great Britain has put the question to both rivals whether this rivalry—in an atmosphere of great political antagonisms—will not result in an increase of armaments and ultimately lead to another world war.

In another world war England would find herself in a much more dangerous situation than in 1914-18. England without being in a position to count on the unconditional support of the Dominions, will in all probability, find France among her enemies. The endeavors of France to rule the entire continent of Europe with the help of the vassal states of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania, as well as her eastern policy, bring her into an ever growing conflict with England. English imperialism has rendered the destruction not only of the naval but of the land forces of Germany possible. The disarming of German capitalism has made French militarism a ruling factor on the continent. France, in the present state of development of long-distance guns, aviation and submarines, would not only be able to blockade England completely but might even be venturesome enough to attempt the invasion of England. This state of affairs forces the English government to attempt an understanding with the American government. The result of such an understanding would be the birth of an Anglo-Saxon capitalistic trust whose centre of gravity would be in America. This trust would be directed against Japan.

IV. The Isolation of Japan

Japanese imperialism has grown rich at small cost as war contractor to the Allies during the war. It took advantage

of the fact that owing to the war, England was incapable of supplying her colonies with a sufficient quantity of goods. At the outset of the war, Japan prevented the participation of China in the war by diplomatic means, took Kiauchau and the province of Shantung away from German imperialism and put herself in Germany's place. Japan supported unrest in China and took advantage of it in order to play the part of an ostensible organizer, but in reality in order to make herself the ruler of the enormous empire which slowly proceeds towards unification by way of feudal dismemberment under the leadership of the bourgeois south. The results of the world war render doubtful the fruits of Japanese victory. The defeat of Germany and the exit of Russia as an imperialistic power capable of allying herself with Japan for a common plundering expedition, have forced Japan to count exclusively on the support of England in case of a conflict with the United States.

V. The East Asian Plans of the United States

By reason of the necessity for a colossal extension of sphere of economic influence, the United States of America considers China and Russia (Siberia) as big markets which are to be conquered as a favorable opportunity for investing American capital.

Considering the unique position of America as creditor of the entire civilized world; considering the competition of American industry not only with Japanese but with English industry as well, the United States is opposed to all special rights and privileges which have been won by other imperialist states like England, France and Japan in China and may be won by them in Siberia. America is attempting to crowd Japan out of China with the slogan of the "open door," a slogan put forward by the American Secretary of State John Hay as early as 1900. From the attitude of America in the question of the Chinese radio stations and the Yap cables, it is clear that she is prepared to take up the fight on the whole front. This attitude of the United States threatens the interests of England but much less so than the interests of Japan, for England, being a capitalistically stronger country, can fight American competition much easier than Japan; and also because the question of the Pacific coast is a vital one for Japan, whereas for England it is only one of the more important questions of international politics. If England has to choose between Japan and the United States of America, she will surely choose America. On this background the Washington conference shows up as an American attempt to rob Japan by diplomatic means of the fruits of victory.

VI.—The Probable Results of Washington Conference

The conditions for the limitation of armaments in the Pacific or for the distribution of its waters as naval bases of the several naval Powers depend on the results of the negotiations on the subject of the issues in the Pacific Ocean. England will take the part of Japan and will endeavor to come to a compromise rendering it possible for her to keep up the alliance with Japan and to include America formally in this alliance. The military weight of an alliance with Japan in the case of a war with the United States is very great; but the diplomatic weight of this alliance in case of a conflict with America is no less. To attain this end, Japan will be given certain rights in Siberia and America will get concessions in China. America will also get a share in the exploitation of Mesopotamian oil wells, etc. Should England succeed in creating such a compromise, she will endeavor to keep up a particularly close connection with Japan within the limits of the Anglo-American-Japanese alliance. These three Powers will then decide the degree of naval

armament permissible to other States. But should no understanding be effected on the questions at issue, both the economic and the armament conflict will grow sharper.

At the first opportunity, England and the United States would form a trust and despoil Japan of the results of the war in China as well as in Soviet Russia to the advantage of the United States. This understanding, however—like the peace of Shimonoseki at which Russia, Germany and France attempted to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory over China in 1894—will serve as a starting-point for new political groupings and fresh complications in world politics; in the opposite case, the process of the sharpening of political antagonism will develop faster still. These antagonisms can never, however, be quite put out of the way. The economic antagonism of England and America will always remain a dominant factor in world politics; neither will the Anglo-Japanese antagonism cease to exist. The antagonism of England and France will continue. And to all these, antagonisms between the capitalistic victors must be added the antagonism born out of their relations to the defeated capitalistic countries as Germany for instance, to the colonies and finally to Soviet Russia, the State which has opened a breach in the state system of international capitalism.

The Washington Conference and the Communist International

The attempt to draw the question of the limitation of armaments in continental Europe into the discussions at the conference has no chance of success. Although a limitation of armaments constitutes no danger whatever for France considering the complete disarmedness of Germany, still France will not consent to give up her efforts to become the first military power in Europe, the essence of French imperialistic policy being the ruling of the continent of Europe. Besides France there are several other States which have under the treaty of Versailles and other treaties received territories peopled by a hostile population.

In Poland there are great masses of Ukrainian, Russian and German inhabitants. Czecho-Slovakia offers a picture similar to the former Austria-Hungary; besides the Czechs there is a numerous German, Slovak and Magyar population. Roumania has Magyar and Bessarabian subjects in mass. A considerable part of the Bulgarian nation has been adjudged to Roumania and Yugo-Slavia. In the Near East France, from her basis in Africa and Syria, is threatening England's flank at her most sensitive spot, the Suez Canal.

France is endeavoring to hamper English policy in the East. This policy consists in creating a connection between India and Egypt by forming a great Arabic State completely dependent on English imperialism. To arrive at a state of affairs in which France consents to limit her armaments, England must first come to an understanding with France in all questions of world politics.

How little the capitalist States themselves believe in the possibility of disarmament is shown by the fact that the English government at the same time that it accepted in the heartiest manner Harding's proposal to begin negotiations about disarmament in Washington in the month of November, assigned 30 million pounds sterling for new warships because "Japan is building eight dreadnoughts to be launched in 1925 and has already assigned the sums for the next eight dreadnoughts, and because the United States of America in the year 1925 would dispose of twelve giant battleships."

The Executive Committee of the Communist International exposes the character of the Washington Conference. This conference will be unable to come to any results on the disarmament question, and will not contribute to bringing

(Continued on page 10.)

American Agricultural Problems

By H. M. WARE

Everywhere throughout America the actual producers of food are hungry. Some are literally hungry for the food they produce. All are suffering a mental and spiritual starvation. Everywhere the working farmer is coming to realize that his economic independence is about as tangible as the pot of gold at the rainbow's end.

Not long ago I dropped my identity as a farmer in a fertile Eastern valley, jumped over my line fence, and plunged into the great migratory stream of the unemployed which is following the freights, East and West, North and South. Known as "Slim" to the other hobo's I covered thousands of miles, working from farm to farm and traveling from section to section on the freight trains, just one of the hundreds of "stiffs" hunting work. At meal time in the farm kitchens I came into intimate contact with farmers and their problems throughout the country. In the jungles and box cars I learned from one stiff after another of the battle of the migratory workers for a chance to organize, to find work, and to live. In Aberdeen, South Dakota, a partially deputized mob of hoodlums, American Legionnaires, and business men, held us up with guns, searched us for red cards and drove us out of town, because, forsooth, the Commercial Clubs had decided that three dollars a day was all that the farmers should pay to the stiffs, and the stiffs had started to organize.

To give you a picture of American farming it will be better to follow the season as I did from the planting of the fuzzy cotton seeds in the South to the cultivation of the fruit orchards of the Pacific coast, through the drought—burned fields of Montana and the great harvests of golden grain from the Dakotas to Kansas, then home to the eastern farms. The Southland is paying for the greed of its exploiters. The demand for cotton and the ability of the Negroes to produce it has saddled a one-crop system upon great areas in all the south-eastern states. This crop of cotton is not a food, and the result is that a crop failure, whether because of the weather, the boll weevil, or low prices, leaves the producer with no money and a crop he can not use himself. The result is widespread suffering in its most horrible forms of plague and starvation. The southern farmer, usually the negro tenant, must produce cotton because it is the only "cash" crop he knows how to grow. Every fall, if he is lucky, his crop cleans off his debt and leaves him completely "broke." He has neither food, clothes nor seed. The landlord or merchant, charging extortionate rates of interest, then carries him until his next harvest. He

has not even a sporting chance of ever catching up, to say nothing of getting ahead. This spring the bottom dropped out of the market for cotton. The merchants and landlords, unable to sell the cotton they had collected from the farmers, immediately restricted all advances of credit, and left the small owners and tenant farmers more hopelessly in debt than ever. There they can be seen leaning listlessly against their ramshackle cabins waiting for pellagra.

Tenant Farming in Cotton Belt

The Cotton Belt is also the Black Belt where about 80% of the Negro race lives. The exploitation of the negroes in this region is the most devilish form of slavery imaginable. Convict labor laws and the plantation system, combined with persecution at the hands of the law and the mobs, makes the life of the negro laborer a nightmare beyond description. The antagonisms of race prejudice are being used to keep the white workers at war with the negroes and so prevent them from joining as comrades in the class struggle. As some one so aptly said, "While the two dogs are fighting the capitalist sneaks up and steals the bone." The complications due to race prejudice are quite as serious in the farm districts and rural population as those which divide the workers in the industrial sections of the South.

In the northern districts of Texas and in Oklahoma the Black Belt and the cotton crop give way to a different type of farming. In the Mesquite range country, where large tracts of cheap land are devoted to cattle, many farmers are dependent upon their beef for cash. I have stopped at farms of over seven hundred acres where the owners could not afford sugar or coffee. Although these men owned their lands they were as burdened with debt as their southern neighbors. Their cash crop was cattle, but as in the case of cotton, the price had dropped out of sight. With bitterness and growing resentment they tell of shipping their cattle to Kansas City and receiving in return only a bill for freight charges, commissions and cost of handling.

Industrialized Farming on Pacific Coast

The South-west, New Mexico and Arizona, is not an agricultural country, but chiefly a sandy desert that must be irrigated. There is a change, too, in the economic status of the producers. Bigger farms operated entirely by hired hands become more common. In fact throughout the states from Colorado to the Pacific coast the big ranch is the typical farm

unit. Here may be found thousands of acres operated like a large factory. Here there are real unions among the migratory agricultural workers. The "Fruit Tramps," as the fruit packers are called, follow the packing season of the various crops—lettuce, cantaloupes, oranges, apricots, peaches, and apples; then back again from the apples of northern Washington to the lettuce of southern California. They are skilled workers specializing in one of the many operations of fruit packing. They have their wage scales and their strikes and feel far superior to the unskilled ranch hands and harvest stiffs who come in to do the heavy odd jobs in moving the crop to market. It is among these western stiffs of the extreme west that the I. W. W. is most active, successfully organizing and engineering strikes for better conditions, shorter hours and more pay. Here as nowhere else in America a real proletarian class appears in agricultural production.

Semi-Proletarian Farming in Montana

This definite class alignment disappears as you come east from Washington to Montana. After you cross the Cascade mountains and drop down into the plain country of Montana there is a blending of the proletarian and semi-proletarian producers. In some sections of northern Montana three years of drought have swept across the green fields of spring wheat and left brown withering crops. Following these years of crop failures came the drop in prices, and last year's poor crop was worth less than it cost. Here again producers of food sold their labor, this time in the form of grain, far below the market price or city wage slaves. Farmers about to be closed out by the banks have offered me their farms for fifty and even twenty-five dollars. Their equities were worth upwards of two thousand dollars but they could not raise the money to pay back interest and taxes and import food for the family and stock. If our transportation system were in the same condition as that of Russia today we would have our own famine district in northern Montana.

Non-Partisan League

The conditions are less difficult in most sections of the Dakotas. Crops were not total failures. More diversified farming is practiced. And the state of North Dakota is the seat of the farmers' political movement. The Non-Partisan League is the result of many years of extreme exploitation of the farmers by the grain gamblers of Minnesota. The North Dakota farmers were growing, harvesting and selling and running into debt at the same time. It was possible to organize them into a successful parliamentary movement on the basis of their common interest. In the northwestern part of North Dakota a large number of the farmers are old Socialists. They are for the most part of foreign parentage and have

been League members from its beginning. In the eastern part of the state the cities and larger towns constitute the stronghold of the Republican and Democratic parties which have combined for opposition to the Non-partisan League under the name of the Independent Voters' Association. The League is distinctly a semi-proletarian movement made up of working farmers, whose point of view is far in advance of the working farmers generally. Throughout the state these producers are alive to their position, and they are out in the open fighting against Big Business, Bankers, the Middlemen and the Railroads.

The farmers throughout the grain states from North Dakota to Kansas, are in debt in spite of their organizations. The small town bank has the power to break almost every farmer in its community. The small town Commercial Clubs decide the farmer's policy and the wages he may pay to his harvest help. By an ever widening cleavage the Commercial Clubs are separating the two exploited groups of proletarian and semi-proletarian workers who together produce the food. Class conscious farmers in North Dakota have told me that their bankers promised to lend them money to harvest the 1921 crop providing they agreed not to pay the harvest stiffs more than three dollars a day. The dissatisfaction and strikes resulting would separate the working farmers and the migratory harvest hands and line the farmers up more completely with the banks. Even those farmers who realize that their interest lies with the migratory workers rather than with the bankers are set at odds with the workers. On the other hand among the workers the I. W. W., whose policies and tactics fit the more industrialized farming of the West Coast, play directly into the hands of the Commercial Clubs in this section. They preach that the harvest stiff is the true farm producer and that once completely organized he will automatically take over the agricultural industry and run it, an impossible program in an industry still in the earliest stages of development. The exploited mortgaged owner of the grain states is a trained and skilled worker who does the major part of his work alone and only calls in help at the harvest season. Even in North Dakota less than 40% of the harvesting is done by hired help and only 17% in the United States. On farm after farm I have worked with stiffs who did not know one end of a harness from the other and had never handled a pitch-fork before.

Middle-Class Farming in Kansas

In Kansas, which is the premier wheat state, an unusual combination of good crops and war prices put the farmers more nearly out of debt than they were before the war. The sudden drop in wheat prices brought their rosy dreams to an abrupt end.

They are now joining the movement for marketing organizations to raise the price of wheat and so raise their wages for the 10 to 12 hours a day they work to produce the crop. They have not learned that a loose marketing organization can never function effectively against the highly organized capitalist machinery. They will learn eventually that they must organize as a class, as working farmers, literally as producers. There are a large number of farmers in the south-central states north of the black belt, both tenant and mortgaged owners, who are aware that the entire economic system of agriculture is at fault. In northern Texas, Oklahoma and parts of Nebraska the tenant farmers have been partially awakened to new possibilities, and the organization of tenants has proceeded farther than in any other region in the country.

Working Farmers in the East

The East from Iowa to the Atlantic coast, is the land of general farming with a diversity of crops grown in regular rotation. Dairy cattle and hogs are the important stock. Hay, corn, oats, and wheat are produced on separate fields. The small farms support the dairies necessary for the milk supply of our greatest industrial centres. Potatoes and truck are added to the farms in the outskirts of the cities. In this section, in Virginia and north of the Ohio river, are concentrated the most important factors for the success of the proletarian movement, a large percentage of the farms of the country, the most fertile and productive area in the world, the bulk of the total population, and fully 75% of the total industries of the country. The importance of the farmers in this district is obvious, at least to the banker. Here the mortgaged owners and tenant farmers operate the farms while the small country banks, welded together in the American Bankers' Association, follow a concerted policy in controlling them. They penetrate every rural organization and activity. They own the press, the schools and often the very farms. The eastern farmer is being poisoned against the city workers by insidious and open propaganda. His struggle against a system which is forcing him to the wall must be used to make him one with the city workers in their struggle. This is not only true of the farmers in the east but of all working farmers. The mortgaged owners and the tenant farmers as well as the farm laborers are forseeing the inevitable result of the pressure of the capitalist system.

General farm bankruptcy is only a matter of time. Farmers have hung on year after year, increasing their mortgages, renewing their notes, blindly hoping for a crop which would pull them out of the hole. Then along comes a drought, a crop failure or a drop in prices, and it becomes evident that their position is a hopeless one. The average farm, even

in good years, returns only 2½ to 3%, yet every cent borrowed by the farmer either in the form of a mortgage or notes costs at least 6%, the difference representing an annual drain which is reflected in the steady increase in the national farm mortgage debt. The 1920 census reports show that in some states this farm mortgage debt has increased 200% and in some states 500% during the last decade. Owners are being forced to become mortgaged owners. The class of mortgaged owners is becoming mortgaged to the limit, and is slipping into the tenant group which shows an increase with each census. This is an outline of the automatic process of capitalist exploitation as it affects the farmers throughout the United States. It is a slow process, too slow to keep pace with the movement of the industrial proletariat against the same exploitation. A proletarian struggle will depend for its ultimate success upon the support and co-operation of the semi-proletarian strata of the rural masses. It thus becomes the duty of every intelligent worker to assist in uniting the exploited working farmers with the city proletariat.

What Can the Washington Conference Do?

(Continued from page 7)

peace among the nations. This conference is only an attempt to defend the interests of the stronger Anglo-Saxon imperialist pirates at the cost of the weaker Japanese robbers, at the cost of China and Soviet Russia. This character of the Washington conference is outlined all the sharper by the fact that Soviet Russia was not invited, thus robbing her of the opportunity of exposing the despicable game that is to be played there with the fate of nations.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International warns the working masses and the oppressed nations against hoping that any diplomatic combinations whatever will be capable of emancipating them from the menace of an armed capitalist peace. Nor will this conference liberate them from exploitation by the capitalist states. The Executive Committee of the Communist International summons all Communist Parties and all trade unions affiliated with the Red Trade Union International to sharpen their fight against the imperialist states whose conflicts of interest will lead to a fresh world conflagration if proletarian revolution does not disarm the capitalist class and create a real peace covenant of the workers. The Executive Committee of the Communist International calls the attention of the working masses of the world to the intrigues woven in Washington against Soviet Russia.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International invites the masses of China and Korea and the people of East Siberia to join their forces more closely with Soviet Russia, the only state which is endeavoring to build up relations with the nations of the East on a foundation of equal rights and brotherly aid.

We request that labor unions, branches of the American Labor Alliance, branches of the National Defense Committee and other workers' organizations take advantage of space in THE TOILER to announce meetings and entertainments. It will add to their success and you will, at the same time, assist THE TOILER financially. Rates are \$1.50 per column inch per issue.

August Strindberg

By JACOB WITTMER HARTMANN

In the seventeenth century in England it was possible to take seriously as a revolutionist a man who might die clasping a Bible in his hands and proclaiming with his last breath: "Here is the only truth." When August Strindberg died in 1912, with a Bible in his hands, and with the words "Here is the only truth" on his lips, the period in which the class struggle had expressed itself in religious forms was so long past that it was impossible to consider him seriously as a revolutionist. There was little excuse for such an untimely utterance from the mouth of a man who had lived all his life in countries in which the thin veneer of Christianity was already felt to be a joke, and where the class struggle had already led to the formation of international organizations both of workers and employers, and—especially in his native Sweden—had assumed the sharp and clear outlines of the general strike and nation-wide lockouts.

But the sixty volumes of Strindberg's collected works present so many singular fluctuations between pacifism and ferocity, between chauvinism and universality of interest, between libertinism and asceticism, between woman-worship and woman-hatred, that it will not surprise the reader to add to the many contradictions presented by the life and works of this remarkable man the fact that although he died with a Bible in his hands, uttering words of curious inappropriateness, he had, many years before, been a revolutionist of great clarity of mind, an atheist, an iconoclast in every field, a foe of the State, and not only of the monarchic State.

In 1884, August Strindberg wrote a pamphlet called, as a sort of Lutheran reminiscence, "August Strindberg's Little Catechism for the Lower Classes," never fully completed, the manuscript of which is the private property of a Stockholm publisher and which has come out in only one printed edition in Swedish, namely, in Volume XVI (1913) of the definitive edition of his collected works. A partial translation, by the present writer, appeared in instalments in *The New York Call* early in 1916. It is the most concise and venomous attack ever directed in writing against the class system of society. Like Luther's Catechism, it is divided into sections, each dealing with a different portion of the author's political creed.

The first Section, "Society," begins with an almost Marxian definition of society, and concludes with the following striking question and answer:

"To what instrument does the Upper Class resort in order to hold down the Lower Class?"

"To Religion, Politics, Law, Sciences, Arts, Morals."

You could hardly state the thing more comprehensively than that. Strindberg adds a few words by way of explaining his answer:

"All these things arose out of more or less artificial needs, but on the whole under the wing of the Upper Class, and with the object of advancing and solidifying its power."

The second section, "The Lies of the Upper Class," takes up in succession all of the above means by which the Upper Class holds down the Lower Class, and expresses them in their bare reality. Politics is defined as both "the statesmanlike method by which the Upper Class keeps down the Lower Class," and as, also, in general, "any treacherous dealing." Foreign politics is

"the co-operation of the Upper Classes of the various nations. The question: "Upon what powers does the sovereign ruler rest?" is answered: "Upon capital, superstition, and brute force. The sovereign, in constitutional countries, has more power than is commonly believed. He has at his disposal all patronage all titles, all stipends, all reptile funds, all the reptiles (which are protected against all harm)." The Article on Laws begins in a particularly spirited and humorous fashion:

"What are Laws?"

"An invention of the Upper Class to hold down the Lower Class by legal methods."

"Did the Upper Class write the Laws?"

"Yes!"

"In their own interest, against the Lower Class?"

"Yes, of course!"

"What is the principal thing required by the Upper Class of the Lower Class with regard to the laws?"

"Respect for the laws. Therefore judges are not removable (by the Lower Class)."

The article on Sciences and Arts first takes up Economics.

"What is Economics?"

"A science invented by the Upper Class to enable them to get at the fruits of the labor of the Lower Class."

"What is the fruit of the labor of the Lower Class?"

"Capital."

"Can Capital exist without labor?"

"No! Therefore capital should be the slave of labor and not *vice versa*. The Arab in the desert may come upon a piece of gold and yet starve to death. The landlord proprietors in Frioul became poor as soon as all their peasants and day-laborers felt the country and they could not find any help. In the tailors' strike at Paris, great firms were obliged to go into bankruptcy. The economists tell us that capital is accumulated labor, but they are careful not to say whose labor it is that is accumulated. They permit us to think it is that of the capitalist!"

Other current cultural terms are interestingly defined. Thus, History is "The account of the past, insofar as it can be placed in a light favorable to the Upper Class"; Esthetics is the "doctrine of exalting or belittling works of art";

"Zola has depicted the sufferings of the Lower Class and the crimes of the Upper Class, and is therefore called a writer of filth. Filth is the name with which the Upper Class designates everything that is connected with the Lower Class."

It is in the Article on "Marriage" that Strindberg begins to reveal traces of a vicious hostility to women, which may be seen even in the definition of marriage: "An economic institution in which the man is forced to work for the woman whose slave he has become." It is a definition of which any man should be ashamed who has gone as far as Strindberg did in grasping that marriage is in reality a mutual slave-driving, in which both man and wife are in every way at each other's mercy, unless they are provided with a sufficiently great fortune

to make complete independence of each other possible. And in many beautiful stories (especially in the collection "Married") Strindberg has also pointed out marriages that even had in them the germs of happiness until outside economic pressure poisoned the springs of joy and drove the parties to the match into positions of mutual hostility and hatred.

There is one further work of this type on which I wish to touch in closing. It is a rather long short story (of one hundred pages), called "The Isle of the Blest," which has never been translated into English. This story, also written in 1884, resembles Anatole France's "Penguin Island" in that it is a veiled attempt to outline the history of "civilization," with special reference to Sweden, just as the Frenchman's book attempts the same task with France as his text.

"The Isle of the Blest" treats of the fortunes of certain Swedish emigrants, who are described as being shipwrecked on a fruitful and salubrious island while on their way to the Swedish Colonies in America. So healthy and sane is their life on this island by reason of the bountiful supply of food, and the clement airs, which make even clothing and a roof unnecessary, that they feel hardly any temptation to transplant to the island any of the vicious authorities or sanctions to which they were accustomed at home in Sweden. Memory of their past bondage does indeed impel a number of the islanders to desire the introduction of law, religion, education, and the other blessings of civilized life, but they are fortunately deprived of their memory of European experience by partaking of the berries of a kindly bush that grows in their new habitat. One of the islanders only does not eat the blessed fruit, and therefore he remembers the old customs, but the memory of them does not harm him as he is a very intelligent man whose love of institutions is not increased by his familiarity with them.

The happy life on the Island of the Blest goes on with no serious consequences for anyone. The fruits and vegetables which grow without any cultivation are abundant sustenance even for the increasing population, which is enlarged by the many births due to the free unions contracted by the men and women living on the island. But this blissful period of concord and peace does not last forever. Rumbings from below make it apparent that the island is really but the projecting apex of a submarine volcanic cone, and the guests of many years take to their boats and leave just in time to behold great masses of hot lava flowing down to the sea. After several days of drifting in their open boats, the refugees land on a great continental mainland with a cold and inclement climate. The necessity arises of resorting to fishing and hunting for their food, shelters must be erected and disputes arise over the division of the spoils of the chase, the sharing of dwellings, and the supporting of the numerous progeny that had been produced on the Isle of the Blest. One by one the baneful institutions of European civilization are of necessity introduced; the unwillingness of the men to support children not begotten by themselves forces the restoration of marriage (the economic nature of which is clearly brought out); private property is reestablished and a police force as well as an army are created to protect the new owners in their arrogated freeholds; the State arises as an instrument by which the ruling class holds in subjection those who toil and are oppressed. In short, an entire Marxian history of society is enacted, under the guidance of the one man who has not eaten of the berries of forgetfulness, and who therefore is aware of just what institutions are required in order to express each specific need of the disordered and increasingly unwieldy social mechanism. It is not necessary for us to pass in review

here the many sly references Strindberg makes to the history of his own country, the sharp parallels in the new kingdom to the story of the Swedish royal dynasty, the many interesting devices by which the new dynasty of those who had tasted the Blessed Isle maintains its rule over the lowly. "Liberty of the Press" is the name given by one of the first monarch's successors to an edict by which he restricts almost completely all the rights of the Lower Class to any kind of self-expression. Schools are established in order to prevent the rising generation from thinking for themselves and thus becoming a danger to the new tyranny. The whole story is an admirable review of the origin and progress of class society, and includes at the end a tolerably correct indication of the method by which the problem of eliminating that system may be solved.

Strindberg is not remembered chiefly for the works he wrote in order to emancipate the working class from century-old superstitions and restrictions, but there is much hidden gold in some of his output, and those who aim to prepare the minds of the workers for their own liberation might do worse than draw some of their material from under the dross upon which Strindberg's present reputation chiefly floats.

Book Review

Dynastic America and Those Who Own It
By Henry H. Klein

Published in New York by Henry H. Klein

This little book is quite startling and a bit too concentrated to be entirely digestible. Its pages are full, cram full, of facts and figures. With an utter contempt for the privacy of the bank accounts and the sacredness of financial intimacies of our leading Midases, Mr. Kline has written a book of revelations. He has collected a great deal of information. Had he spread it a little thinner, over more pages, given one the time to ruminate, had he broken his news more gently, taken us gradually from the bread line to fabulous fortunes, the book would have gained in effectiveness. It is difficult to grasp and appreciate the significance of the mass of data compressed into so brief a space. The fatigued mind grows dizzy and wanders a bit light-headed from Mr. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil unto the third and fourth generations of the trustlets it controls and the fortunes it has so thriftily amassed.

There is undoubtedly a great deal of dynamic material in the book. It is a statistical cross section of the machinery of capitalism and well worth the time of any one interested in the strong boxes of American Imperialism. But Mr. Kline has a motive all his own in presenting it. He proves that an American dynasty with world ambitions exists, that a few men have usurped powers greater than government. Then with apparent fervor and sincerity he states that the mere limitation of private fortunes will straighten out the numerous disorders of our disordered and disorderly civilization. How ever unsatisfactory this panacea may seem, the book itself is rich in ammunition for better marksmen and as such should be recommended.

The Rank and File

PIECE WORK IN THE GARMENT TRADE

New York cloak makers will hold no conference with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Arbitrarily they have decreed that on Nov. 14 the piece-work system is to be re-introduced into the New York garment trade.

"I feel certain that the workers will vote unanimously for a strike," said Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, which is taking a strike vote here following the announcement of the Manufacturers' Association that wages will be cut and the piece-work system installed. "There is no doubt that the women's clothing manufacturers throughout the country are attempting to restore the sweatshop conditions which existed in the industry until they were banished by our organization." He declared a general strike of the 100,000 women's garment workers in the country is seemingly inevitable. It will affect at least 400,000 more persons whose work depends upon them."

The union has completed plans for the lockout here, which will be extended to include the other producing centers which are expected to be attacked by the manufacturers in their attempt to break the workers' organization.

SEATTLE COAL OPERATORS EVICTING MINERS

The union miners locked out by the Coal Operators' Association in Washington are now to be thrown out of their homes. More than 5,000 coal diggers and their families will join the ranks of the West Virginia and Texas miners, who face the winter with the prospect of tents for shelter. The wage agreement does not expire until April 1, 1922, but the open shop is to be installed in the Washington mines and no mere scrap of paper can protect the workers.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYEE

The Oil Producers' Association has come out with a happy family reunion plan to take effect as soon as the strike in the oil fields is over. Needless to say, labor will be the step-child. Meanwhile at Taft, Cal., the wives and daughters of the strikers are doing picket duty and asking the non-union workers why they are taking the bread out of the mouths of their brother workers. They are meeting with success, as many of the scabs are leaving.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF STRIKEBREAKERS

The Unemployed Council of New York, which meets at 7 East 15th St., has carried on propaganda until now under the slogan "Work or Compensation." The slogan has not been changed, but the cold weather demands action. See that your union takes part in it, or in the council in your locality. Send a delegate and see that he works. It is a union problem. It is work for the unemployed or lower wages all around and millions of potential strikebreakers.

NO DUAL UNION FOR HOWAT

Alexander Howat, speaking in an interview held in prison, stated: "Kansas miners are planning a dual organization, but are fighting to remain in the United Mine Workers of America without sacrificing their principles." It will be a hard fight, but they have the right idea. We send greetings to Howat.

\$1,000,000 FOR OPEN SHOP DRIVE IN CHICAGO

Building trades organizations, civic clubs, the Chamber of Commerce, Boards of Trades and business men's associations are co-operating in Chicago to raise a war chest of one million dollars to establish the open shop system in Chicago. Chicago employers, after exhausting every means in their power to persuade the workers to abide by the decision of Judge Landis relative to proper wage reductions, have decided that there is no social necessity to be served by temporizing with the discordant labor elements any longer. Keep up the fight.

WHAT DID THEY EXPECT?

"The railway workers are heartbroken because the sixteen national leaders were afraid to follow Debs to Atlanta," said Jerome T. De Hunt, president of the New York district council of the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Station Employees, at the weekly forum of the Community Church in New York.

THE BISHOP APPROVES

In England the unemployed are demonstrating. The Bishop of Winchester approves. He said, "We can only demand that work should be made, in order that men, women and children shall have at least a minimum livelihood until the trouble lessens." He thinks the nation should ration itself. Take the Bishop's advice and "press for action." Don't say it is foolish to demand work or food of the Government. Let the Government look foolish by not knowing what to do.

AN EFFECTIVE PROTEST

John Golden, an I. W. W. held in solitary confinement for ten months, in San Quentin, California, was released from solitary and given a light job in the prison jute mill as the result of a swarm of protests from his fellow workers outside.

INEFFECTIVE SILENCE

Ben Gitlow, member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is in prison for criminal anarchy; that is, for refusing to be a Hillquitter, refusing to be one of the unattached who wait to see what happens, and coming out squarely and in a practical manner to organize the working class for its revolutionary task. Could members of the Amalgamated have him released? Not by remaining silent.

"OFF AGAIN, ON AGAIN"

The Board of Elections of this city recently ruled that the names of Benjamin Gitlow and Harry Winitsky, now serving terms in state prison for alleged violation of the "anti-anarchy" law, could not go on the municipal ballot. The state supreme court ordered the board to place the names on the ballot. Now the appellate division of the court has reversed the ruling of the supreme court and upheld the board of elections. Justice Alfred Page, writing the decision of the appellate division, declared the "court is not powerless. It will not lend its aid to the accomplishment of an absurd and foolish thing."

Joseph R. Brodysky, counsel for the Workers' League, which placed Gitlow and Winitsky in nomination, served notice of an appeal to the Court of Appeals.

ANOTHER MINGO

THURBER, Texas, Oct. 23.—Coal operators have adopted tactics similar to those employed in the West Virginia fields in a vain effort to bring the miners to "terms."

Following the refusal of the miners here to accept a reduction of 33 1-3 per cent in wages from the present wage schedule—which does not expire until March 31, 1922—operators proceeded to evict the miners from company owned houses. The same procedure was reported from Strawn and Lyra. At Thurber, however, the company owns not only the houses but the water system and electric facilities. As a result, many of the miners and their families are living in tents outside the town's limits.

SOLVING THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM

YUMA, Ariz.—A chain gang is to be established to handle the hordes of hoboes taken from passing freight trains. The police are raiding trains and arresting as many as forty men at a time. These jobless men are to be put to work improving local streets.

IRISH AMERICAN LABOR LEAGUE TO HOLD CONCERT AND BALL

The first Grand Concert and Ball of the Irish American League will be held on Friday evening, November 11th, at the Lyceum, 86th Street and 3rd Avenue. A varied program is prepared by the arrangements committee, which will include songs in Gaelic, Irish dances and selections of Irish airs. The affair will take on an international aspect as several organizations affiliated with the American Labor Alliance of which the I. A. L. L. is a member have promised their co-operation. The proceeds will be devoted to "The Irish People," a radical publication which was compelled to suspend temporarily for want of funds. It is very important that all workers should assist the I. A. L. L. in making this affair a success as "The Irish People" was the only Irish publication circulating among the Irish workers in America, that stood for the Workers' Republic. Tickets are fifty cents each. They can be secured at the headquarters of the I. A. L. L., 250 West 25th Street.

THE FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

The Friends of Soviet Russia is extending its organization from one end of the country to the other. There is no large town in the United States which has not already set its machinery into action and begun collecting funds for Russian famine relief. From New Hampshire to California and Washington, the money comes in.

In the week of Oct. 25 to November medical instruments and medicines valued at more than \$1,000 were sent in by Chicago. Farmers in the West and Middle West are contributing grain and other food supplies.

The friends of Soviet Russia was at first reluctant about encouraging the collection of clothes, but rather stimulated the idea of collecting as much money as possible, since food was and is the prime requisite in Russia. In fact, the Soviet Government expects America to supply chiefly grain and flour. Other food products are obtainable in European countries, thus eliminating the tremendous transport charges.

The few months of experience that the Friends of Soviet Russia has had have demonstrated that there are many people willing to donate food and clothing, who hesitate about the contribution of money.

Hence, the F. S. R. has decided now to add to the general drive for funds and the collection of clothing. All clothes should be in good condition.

It is most important at the present time to get as many people interested and active in relief work as possible.

Labor unions are responding with unusual vigor. The Chicago Federation of Labor, the Detroit Federation of Labor, the Seattle Central Labor Council, the Tacoma Federation of Labor, the Seattle Central Labor Council and Tacoma Central Labor Council are already lined up with the F. S. R. Large locals of important international unions are co-operating. One of the significant phenomena is the large number of locals of the United Mine Workers of America which have contributed. One of the largest single contributions was from the Croatian National Society, of Pittsburg, which donated \$11,000.

Up to date the Friends of Soviet Russia has received \$175,000. It had set the goal of \$200,000 by November 15. The prospects are that this sum will be received before then.

WELLS' LECTURE ON "BOLSHEVISM AND FAMINE"

Hulet M. Wells, who will speak in English at Lexington Theatre at 2 P. M. Sunday, November 6, has just returned from a four months' trip through Russia, the latter portion of which was through the famine area of the Volga region in company with Kalinin, President of the Russian Soviet Republic. He therefore has first-hand knowledge of the terrible privations suffered by the Russian workers in their effort to build up a working-class republic. Wells went to Russia as correspondent for the Labor Daily of Seattle and has already written a series of articles which outline his interesting story of working-class achievement in Soviet Russia. He was present at the several international labor congresses at Moscow and can tell of the splendid growth of the international working class movement.

Wells was formerly President of the Seattle Central Labor Council and has been known for years as an active and devoted leader of the working class on the Pacific coast. He took a leading part in the celebrated Seattle general strike and has spent years in prison because of his devotion to the working-class cause. When the Seattle Central Labor Council determined to send a representative to the Red Trade Union International, they were unanimous in the choice of their veteran leader, Hulet M. Wells.

His lecture will be on the subject, "Bolshevism and Famine," and is delivered under the auspices of the Friends of Soviet Russia, which is engaged in the collection of funds for famine relief for the starving Russian people. He will describe from intimate knowledge just how the workers of Russia are solving their staggering problems and will indicate the manner in which the American workers can assist them in their present need. The meeting will start promptly on the hour set.

PRESENT STATUS OF CASE

The present status of the Sacco-Vanzetti case finds the two comrades declared guilty of a pay roll murder. The death sentence has not yet been passed upon them though December 1 is set as the date upon which this is to take place. An appeal for a new trial was heard October 29. No decision has yet been rendered upon the hearing.

Now is the time for American workers to show their solidarity. Do not allow the blood of Sacco and Vanzetti to stain the hands of labor. Demand the freedom of your comrades.

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

The American Labor Alliance National Office is taking on a degree of activity which indicates the purposefulness and power of the organization. Speakers are being routed, leaflets printed and distributed, meetings arranged in many parts of the country, correspondence with locals and individuals interested is increasing.

SACCO-VANZETTI DEMONSTRATIONS

The American Labor Alliance has linked up its national propaganda with the international labor movement in arranging for meetings throughout the country for Sacco-Vanzetti on November 20th.

At a conference held last Friday at the National Office, 201 West 13th Street, New York City, a number of labor and defense organizations met in conference to arrange for mass meetings for the condemned comrades. The Workers Defense Union, Italian Defense Committee, the Irish-American Labor League, the National Defense Committee and other organizations were represented.

The torrent of protests which have aroused European diplomats and government officials to take cognizance of the murder about to be committed upon these two workers in the name of American justice, has stirred the whole world of labor into action. Labor in the United States has been slow to grasp the significance of the crime to be committed against it, due to the reactionary press and labor officialdom. However, the rank and file workers are taking up the case of the victims and a deep feeling of resentment is beginning to take hold of their minds against the made-to-order persecution of these radical labor men.

The conference decided that the co-operation of all radical groups should be obtained for great and united mass-meetings on November 20. Conferences of local labor and workers' political organizations will be called by the A. L. A. where plans for unity of action will be discussed. All such organizations without exception will be invited to participate in the demonstrations. Collections to be taken are to be forwarded to the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee in Boston. An attempt is being made to secure Madison Square Garden for an immense demonstration. Frank P. Walsh has been invited to speak.

The A. L. A. locals are now engaged in making these meetings as successful as possible. All radical groups and workers are urged to assist in this action of solidarity for the liberation of the two worker victims.

NOVEMBER 6 MEETINGS

On November 6 the A. L. A. will conduct scores of meetings throughout the country in honor of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The question of disarmament and the so-called Disarmament Conference will also be the theme of speakers at these meetings. Collections at these meetings will be placed in the organization fund of the A. L. A. It is expected that with the enthusiasm which the celebration of the Great Revolution will arouse, the organization fund will receive a substantial boost.

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International Documents

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO THE WORKERS OF EUROPE AND AMERICA

Working men and working women!

The troops of the Entente having violated the Versailles peace treaty, abominably cruel in itself, are occupying important industrial districts in Germany in order to compel the people to agree to conditions which if they should be realized would mean a complete subjugation of the German working class. Two and a half years have passed since the Versailles treaty was signed, for two and a half years the Entente had a chance to show on what grounds it would reorganize the victorious world bourgeoisie; for two and a half years it had a chance to prove whether victorious capitalism is in a position to guarantee to the proletariat suffering from its rule at least bread and work. Six millions of unemployed in America, two millions of unemployed in England, constantly growing unemployment in France at a time when stores are full of unsold goods—this is the first reply of the Entente to the question as to how victorious capitalism will establish peace. The growing poverty in Germany, the decay of Austria and Hungary is the second reply. The victorious countries produce much merchandise which finds no export because Central and Eastern Europe are ruined and not in a position to buy. Hence the unemployment. On the other hand, Central and Eastern Europe are stifling from the lack of the most necessary goods, because the policy of the Entente is killing their purchase capacity, as was the case with Soviet Russia, and is purposely cutting them off from the rest of the world.

The victorious capitalist governments feel the danger of the growing unemployment which must cause a revolutionary movement and see only one way out of the situation: Put Germany down on her knees, put the yoke on the German people, compel them to pay an unheard of contribution, regardless of starvation and poverty. If this plan should succeed, the only outcome of it would be the overcrowding of France, England and America with German industrial supplies, the increase of unemployment in the Allied countries and a complete enslavement of the German workers, who would be down-trodden under a double yoke, that of their own capitalists and that of the Allies. The German capitalist government could not and cannot protect the German people from this slavery, or the world proletariat from a further destruction of the world economy.

The present government of Germany built its powers on the bones of 20,000 workers killed by it, and it fears the German working masses more than all the scorpions of the Entente. Up till now it still hoped that a compromise between German and Allied capital would be possible; a compromise which would enable the German capitalists to retain as large as possible a part of the profit in their hands and to squeeze out of the German workers the indemnities for the Entente.

For the right to live on the charity of the Entente as its flunkie in exploitation of the German workers of the German bourgeoisie not only agreed to all kinds of humiliations but it is ready to sell the German workers to the Entente as cannon fodder against Soviet Russia. The Paris and London usurers were insisting on the payment of the sums owing them, they needed the last drop of blood and sweat of the German proletariat! The German bourgeoisie pressed to the wall by the Paris conference, collapsed and does not know how to get out of this situation.

The Second International that once upon a time advocated the freedom of peoples was also to blame for the situation. Firstly, because during the imperialist war it gave up the proletariat completely into the hands of the capitalists and thus made possible the victory of capitalism which brought to the working people unemployment and disorder. Secondly, because it participated directly in the Paris and London resolutions—these cruel attempts on the life of the German people. When the German social democracy participated in the government together with the German capitalists, it helped them to disarm the German working class and together with it put obstacles in the way of a union between the German and Russian workers, when this union could have compelled the Entente to give up playing with the fate of the German working masses. If the German social democracy cleared the way leading first to Versailles and now to the Paris resolutions, then the Belgian social democratic party, member of the Second Interna-

tional, was also a direct participant in the Paris resolutions. Mr. Vandervelde, chairman, and now member of the Second International, was a participant in the Paris resolution. He stands for the same aims as the renegades of the Second International, as Briand and Lloyd George. He demands with drawn sword the acceptance of the Paris resolutions and to reinforce his demands sends into Westphalia and the Rhine district battalions of Sengalese negroes.

And what is the Two-and-a-Half International doing, this ridiculous International which met recently in Vienna? It is appealing to the reason of the dying capitalist world, muttering about the unrealizable demands of the Entente. These demands cannot be called unrealizable. The possibility of their realization, the possibility of enslaving sixty millions of people by the action of the Paris and London banks is possible as a result of the war against which the heroes of the Two-and-a-Half International could make no further move, but murmurs about conciliation with the capitalists.

This possibility is the result of the policy of Adler, Hilferding, Longuet and Wallhead, who continued the struggle with capitalism only in words and retarded in every way the growth of the revolutionary forces.

The Communist International does not hope to be able to restrain the victorious bourgeoisie by parliamentary protests. The Communist International depends only on the revolutionary energy of the proletarian masses in all countries. It says to the French, English, American, Belgian and Italian workers: If your bosses succeed in putting a yoke on Germany and squeezing out of her the required indemnities, it will signify growing poverty not only in Germany, but also in France, England, America, Belgium and Italy, because the oversupply of

your markets with German goods will subject you to growing need and unemployment.

That is why the proletariat of the Allied countries must not be satisfied with mere verbal protests. Powerful street demonstrations must impress upon the bourgeoisie that you will not remain calm spectators of their shameful game. The Communists of all countries whose soldiers are on German soil must develop now a strong agitation among the soldiers and explain to them that they act as executioners of the German people and that it is their duty to refuse this role.

And to the German workers the Communist International appeals to abandon any hope that the capitalist government of Germany is capable in any way of defending the interests of the German people from the attacks of the Entente.

The second step must be the union between the German proletarian republic and the Russian Soviet Republic. By its three years of heroic struggle the Soviet Republic compelled victorious capitalist England to conclude peace with it. It proved to the international proletariat that, if only it wished, it would not find itself disarmed before international capitalism. The establishment of a German Soviet Republic, its union with the Russian Soviet Republic would prove to the Entente that there is a limit to the power of the tyrants; the sympathies of the proletariat all over the world would be on the side of the workers fighting for their rights and existence.

This would speed up the revolutionary development in the world and create a basis for the joint work of reconstructing the shattered, pauperized and bleeding world!

Proletarians of the world! Every day in which you do not move further in your fight against capitalism will bring you a great economic disorder, with every such lost day the danger will grow that when at last your patience is exhausted and you find yourselves forced to rebuild the shattered world with your own hands, you will be faced only with a heap of ruins.

Proletarians of the world! The Communist International calls upon you to put aside your indecision and increase tenfold your efforts for an attack against the Bastille of capitalism.

Down with the slave yoke of the Entente! Down with the German capitalist government!

Long live the German Soviet Republic!

Long live its union with the Russian Soviet Republic!

Long live the World Revolution!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

ORGANIZE

You sympathize? Well and good! But sympathy won't feed the STARVING MILLIONS in Russia.

It will take DOLLARS to do that. It will take dollars to clothe the bodies of these STARVING MILLIONS of children, women and men against the winter, now close at hand.

Dollars and clothes and food can be secured in quantity and efficiently only through ORGANIZATION.

TO YOU WE SAY—ORGANIZE!

Call a conference of representatives from Labor Unions and other workers' organizations.

Organize a BRANCH of The Friends of Soviet Russia.

Plan a systematic canvass of your city for contributions in money, clothes, canned foods, medicinal supplies.

Write the national office to the address below for further advice.

But in the meantime—

ORGANIZE

The Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street

New York City