

THE TOILER

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THE WHITE GUARD ORGANIZERS.

The following letter has been sent to many business men, together with literature describing the work of the American Defense Society.

HOOVER ELECTROCHEMICAL COMPANY 25 Pine Street, New York.

February 16, 1921.

Gentlemen:

I have recently been elected Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American Defense Society and have taken time to satisfy myself that the Society has done a wonderfully important service not only before and during the war, but since the war.

The Society has before it, I am satisfied, as important constructive work for the next few years as at any time in the past.

I enclose a summary statement of what the organization has heretofore done, as well as what it intends to do in 1921. This you will see directly concerns you and the interests you represent. For this reason I write to ask you to share with others the financing of the work.

This letter goes to certain business men prominent in their respective localities who it seems to me will be glad to send \$50.00 as their 1921 contribution. Please make your check payable to Beni L. Allen, Treasurer and mail it to the Society's National Headquarters, 116 East 24th Street, New York City.

Yours very truly, E. H. HOOKER.

Accompanying this letter is some interesting literature. In it is given the work of the Society during 1921. Specimens of their work are: They suppressed radical soap-boxing in many cities. 'The Society was the first agency to work towards the public discrediting of L. C. A. K. Martens. It has taken nearly two years for the Society's work to bear fruit. Martens is to be deported.' You will note they take all the credit! Here is another one of the Society's activities: 'To counteract the insidious propaganda of the Reds in their efforts to establish One Big Union for the violent overthrow of the government, the Society is now organizing Home Defense Committees throughout the nation. These Committees are being organized to take up the active municipal duties, performance of which are essential to human life in cases of general strikes involving municipal employees, and to replace city employees called to more active duty on the arising of such a situation in given localities. Winnipeg, Seattle and Boston are examples.' Stripped of its cheap, humanitarian verbiage, this means that the Society is enrolling potential scabs and is recruiting the White Guard of America.

As proof that its activities are needed, and to scare the business men so thoroughly, we presume, that they will shell out the fifty without a murmur, the Society prints the following document with all the glare of red type and large capitals:

"STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!"

'The capitalist governments of the world are fighting Soviet Russia! The French and British governments are going to send troops to kill Russian workers and peasants!

'The United States government is sending munitions to help Poland!

'The United States government is lending money to Poland and the capitalist governments of Europe to shoot down Russian workers!

'Hungary and Roumania are to be armed by the Allies and sent against Soviet Russia!

'WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES—WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

'THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENTS OF THE WORLD ARE DETERMINED TO CRUSH SOVIET RUSSIA, BECAUSE IT IS A GOVERNMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS!

'But the class-conscious working class of Europe is standing by Soviet Russia.

'British, French, Italian, German and Austrian workers are refusing to load munitions and move trains carrying war supplies against Soviet Russia!

'THROW DOWN YOUR TOOLS! CALL A GENERAL STRIKE!

'SHOW THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT YOUR POWER!

'SHOW YOUR CLASS SOLIDARITY!

'STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!

'Down with all the capitalist governments of the world!

'Down with the capitalist government of the United States!

'Long live the Communist workers and peasants of Poland!

'Long live Soviet Russia!

'THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.'

Such is the exhibit being circulated widely throughout the country by the Society, in order to obtain the funds necessary to organize its strike-breaking units. And in case the supply of matter fall short, the Society issues an appeal to its members to send to it copies of printed matter issued by agitators or radicals (who is a radical not an agitator, or an agitator not a radical?) proclaiming un-American principles. But the supreme jest of it all is revealed when we read the motto of the Society, proudly emblazoned—appropriately—across the blank contribution form. It reads: "National Welfare Forbids Class Privilege." In this, The Toiler heartily agree with the Society, and assure them we are doing our utmost to abolish the class privilege that their clients enjoy. A classless society is our aim; and in a classless society there can be no class privilege. We would, however, confer upon many of the members of the Society the privilege of going to work. And it is the dread apprehension of that ever happening, we are inclined to believe, which inspires the membership to contribute so readily to the Society's fund.

Z N A N J E South Slavic Weekly For Rates Address 2741 West 22 Street Chicago, Ill.

THE IRISH PEOPLE For Workers of Irish Birth 262 West 23 Street New York City

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

The Revolution at Kronstadt

The True Story of the Kronstadt Rebellion as Told in the "Petrograd Pravda".

TRANSLATIONS BY MILNER.

What actually took place in Kronstadt and Petrograd in the beginning of March? I am in an advantageous position to give to the readers of 'The Toiler' the true story of the situation. I have received the 'Petrograd Pravda' of March 2, 3 and 4, 1921. So my duty now is: not to write the story but to translate and connect the news, reports and decrees in regard to the "mutiny."

In the issue of March 2 there is nothing in relation to the "uprising," so I have to begin with the issue of March 3, where we find the first news.

A Leader in the "Petrograd Pravda" of March 3, 1921, reads "Revolution in Danger."

"Since the end of last month among the toilers of Petrograd an increased propaganda was carried on for the Constituent Assembly by the gentle Socialist-Revolutionists, taking advantage of the increasing difficulties in supplying food and fuel. Behind the democrats stood outspoken white guards, developing open 'pogrom' (massacre) and black-hundred agitation.

"We always pointed out, that the agitation for the Constituent Assembly by the S. R.-s. lays the road to the rule by the reactionary war clique and the Dictatorship of the generals.

"That is how it happened.

"In Kronstadt, part of the marines let themselves be led astray by the agitation of the S. R.-s., and after a day since the beginning of the commotion, an ex-cathartic general appeared on the scene, raising open mutiny against the Soviet rule.

"Let us remember, when in 1918 the S. R.-s. overthrew the Soviet rule in the Volga valley and in Siberia, the rule of the Committee of the Constituent Assembly was not of long duration, the government of the democrats was ended by their ally, the Czar's general Kolchak.

"Similar experiments were done by the S. R.-s. on the North and South in Russia, and with this same result.

However, our democrats have not learned the lessons yet of the last years of the Russian Revolution, they are still attempting to look for luck anew,—and this time they set their hand on Red Petrograd.

"The S. R.-s. gave an ex-general the opportunity to get hold of Kronstadt,—the agitation of the S. R.-s. became he gate, thru which directly stepped in, counter-revolution.

"Revolution in danger! Thru this leading and betraying the enemy captured one of the foremost of the revolution, from which the Red Banner had never been lowered! The reaction of the S. R.-s. and the general's have their hopes on the first city of the Russian Revolution: Red Petrograd.

"Taking hold of it counter-revolutionists think to become the head of the Soviet Republic and carry their dirty work to triumphant conclusion.

"Our enemies, however, are mistaken in their reckoning. They forgot, that the workers of the Red Capital know how to defend their achievements and finish with the mutineers.

"Red Petrograd has seen harder days. In the Summer of 1919 Yudenitch marched on Petrograd, when Finland threatened us with war. The traitor succeeded in capturing the fort dominating Kronstadt-Krasnaya Gorka, but it did not remain long in their hands,—the workers of Petrograd smoked out the counter-revolutionists from there.

"But at that time we had to fight not only with traitors at our back, but to beat back enemies on innumerable fronts.

"Will not Soviet Russia now, defeating its enemies, be able to render impotent a gang of bandits, taking advantage of our economic difficulties to deliver a treacherous blow to the workers republic?

"The Cry: 'Revolution in Danger!' always gathered the working masses under our glorious banner, stained in the blood of innumerable sons of the toiling populace, dying for the workers and peasants.

"The workers of Petrograd know how to defend their city in incomparably harder moments, when they had to beat back on all sides the attacking white guards,—they will not surrender their city to the enemy now, after a triumphant termination of the struggle with the white guards.

"Tens of thousands of workers did not perish on the fronts, fighting against the white generals, to give

up the achievements of the revolution without struggle. No, this shall not happen! The new adventure of the nation's enemies will end just as lamentably to them as the attacks of their predecessors."

Wish Lathered the Thot. The bourgeois press made much noise about the statement—"Revolution in Danger!" In their, all-obscuring wish, that once for all the revolution be put in danger and destroyed, every word that hinted in that direction is taken for granted. The rallying slogan, the call to arms, used by the Petrograd Communists, is taken as a cry in fear and agony. This is why they told us: see, the Communists themselves say the revolution is in danger, what other proof do we need? These silly bourgeois scribes pick up anything to prove their wish, and give it to the reading public as a fact, a happening.

Now, let us see how the "revolution" happened, where it originated and who were its promoters.

"The Government's Communication "A new white guard plot. "Insurrection of ex-general Kozlovsky and the battleship "Petrovavlovsk." ("Petrograd Pravda," March 3, 21).

"Already on the 13 of February, 1921 in the Paris newspaper "Utro" (The Morning) appeared a telegram from Helsingfors of the 11 of February, stating that in Kronstadt had broke out an insurrection of the marines against the Soviet rule. The French counter-espionage went a little ahead of the tidings. A few days after the certain, set, date the events actually began, expected and, beyond doubt, prepared by the French counter-espionage. In Kronstadt and Petrograd appeared white guard leaflets. At the time of arrests the directing spies were caught. At the same time the right S. R.-s. began intensified agitation among the workers, taking advantage of the difficult food and fuel situation.

"On the 28 of February in Kronstadt commenced a commotion on the battleship "Petrovavlovsk". A black hundred S.-R. resolution was adopted. On the 1 of March commotion on the "Petrovavlovsk" was revived. In a joint assembly a similar resolution was adopted. On the morning of March 2 openly appeared on the scene a group of the ex-general Kozlovsky (the overseer of Artillery). Ex-general Kozlovsky with three officers, whose names are not yet verified, came out in the role of mutineers. Under their leadership were arrested Commissaire of the Baltic fleet comrade Kuzmin, chairman of the Kronstadt Soviet, comrade Vasilyef, and a line of other responsible individuals.

"In this way the latest events are fully explained. Also this time behind the S. R.-s. stood a czar's general.

Taking all this into consideration the Soviet of Labor and Defence decrees:

1) Ex-general Kozlovsky and his supporters are declared outlaws.

2) The city of Petrograd and the province of Petrograd are placed under a state of siege.

3) The entire civil and military power, in the Petrograd Fortified Region, is turned over to the Committee of Defence of Petrograd.

Chairman of the Soviet of Labor and Defence, Uljanof (Lenin). Chairman of the Revolutionary Soviet of War of the Republic, Trotsky.

Moscow. The Kremlin, 2 of March, 1921.

"This declaration—decree is followed by a decree of the Petrograd Committee of Defence, putting the above quoted decree in practice and is signed by Zinoviev, Lashevich and Avrof.

"In the issue of March 4 of the "Petrograd Pravda" appears a leading article which gives additional facts of the preliminary preparation and propaganda of the counter-revolution. In all previous plots the black-hundreds came out with the slogan 'for the Constituent Assembly.' Now knowing they will get no followers on this slogan, anymore, the following was invented: Hail the Soviets, Down with the Communists!

The demand was not the convening of the Assembly but a 'free re-election of the Soviets.' The same article points out, that regardless of what slogan the S. R.-s. have placed at the forefront, there is always a czar's general behind the scheme and the French bourgeois government finances them all. This is verified by the quotation of the facts from previous insurrections, they all began in demands for democracy, all were promoted and sup-

ported by the S. R.-s. and in all a czar's general was found. Knowing all these things the great mass of the Russian toilers refuse to take them at their face value. The economic situation in Russia is hard and any promise of immediate relief finds ready listeners, but as soon as the question is submitted to general discussion, the Communist argument always proves to be the strongest and most convincing, and the sailors and soldiers turn against their misleading officers and throw them overboard or behead them."

In the "Petrograd Pravda" of March 4, 1921, we find the following news item from Kronstadt:

"According to the information reaching the Committee of Defence the picture in Kronstadt today is as follows: First of all began the division of butter and other supplies on the boats.

"The leaders-in chief are general Kozlovsky, captain Burkser and officer Shirmanovsky. Besides this there were occasions, when sailors drew out officers from cabins and occupied same themselves. The chiefs of the insurrection are encouraging the wavering sailors with promises that Finland is coming to their assistance, and that in Petrograd, if not today, then tomorrow, will be an insurrection."

An interesting and informing brief article is published in the "Petrograd Pravda" of this same date. Translated in full it reads:

"Provocation by the S. R.-s. comes out in greater and greater clearness. Before us lies an 'extra edition' of the S. R.-s. newspaper "Narodnoje Delo" (The National Affair) of the 28 of February, 1921. This newspaper is published by the S. R.-s. in Reval. It is the chief organ of the S. R.-s. in it are articles by the 'chairman of the Constituent Assembly' Chernof, printed side by side with the productions of smaller and greater dignitaries.

"The 'extra edition' is devoted to the 'events' in Petrograd. With yard size type is announced, that in all Russia there is now transpiring an insurrection of the toiling populace against its oppressors, that the workers of Petrograd and Moscow are aroused against the Soviet rule. That 'Vasilyev's Isle is in the hands of the insurrectionists,' that 'Communist collectives in Petrograd are mysteriously cut up;' that 'Trotsky flees from Moscow,' and 'on the streets of Moscow and Petrograd between workers and soldiers on one side and Communists on the other, are raging pitched battles' and similar nonsense.

"At the conclusion is printed an article under the title "At the Opportune Moment," which begins with the words: 'Accomplished.' Before our eyes commence to visualize in all its glory and power the real second of March national revolution, the cry 'hail the Constituent Assembly' became the battle cry of the awakened revolutionary toiling masses."

"Notice! all this was written before the mutiny in Kronstadt. Counterspies of the French "Okhrana" (Russian word for political police), apparently, forestated their own prepared provocation.

"We can imagine, with what pleasure the merchants, bankers and pensioned generals and "Okhraniks" living on the mercy of the French bourse, accepted the announcement of the S. R.-s., that the Communist collectives in Petrograd are mysteriously cut up. Tears of joy mingled with smiles of pleasure and content run down the faces of the black-hundreds.

"Provocateurs of the S. R.-s. built themselves a nest under the roof of the Estonian bourgeoisie in Reval and from there carry on bribery and provocation.

"Workers, learn! Think, whose affairs are promoted by the S. R.-s.!" "Who for the revolution, is with us! Who is for counter-revolution, goes with the S. R.-s. and the czar's generals!"

Having these facts and explanations before us, we can sum-up the case of the aborted revolt as follows: Schemed and originated in Paris; worked out in detail in Reval; carried into practice by Socialist-Revolutionists and the generals of the ex-czar, it met its just reward at the hands of the true Communist soldiers of the Red Army and the Proletariat of Red Petrograd!

LONDON AND SEATTLE.

The difference between them is one of degree of hunger. When Seattle, or any other large American City, becomes as hungry as London, the picture presented of London in the letter below will be duplicated here—even to the use of police clubs—and more!

FROM LONDON, ENGLAND. London, March 24, 1921.

Dear Comrades:

An writing you a few words about what have I seen during one day in London, England:

1. There was a great demonstration of unemployed. I cannot tell you how many thousands participated. More than one thousand various signs were carried. The police, with clubs, were beating women and young girls upon their heads. I could not look at such acts committed upon hungry poor women who were looking for work.

2. In the evening a great mass meeting was held. About 25,000 workers were present. Two flags were displayed, Union Jack and ours (Red Flag); workers removed the Union Jack; fight began and thereby meeting was stopped.

3. Communist papers are being sold at every store, and it is hard to obtain one for they are immediately sold.

4. Have seen Krassin and asked him whether Great Britain has established trade relations with Soviet Russia; he said, "Yes" and that in ten days a Soviet Envoy will come to London, furthermore he said that Poland has signed peace with Soviet Russia.

Your Comrade Wasil Holyk.

The capitalist press does not keep us informed about the real situation in old Europe; about the discontent which prevails in the capitalist countries. However, no ink or paper is being spared to tell us stories and lies about the downfall of Soviet Russia. Great Britain, the castle of world imperialism, is shaking. The worm Unemployment, is eating the very root of capitalist society the world over. German uprisings and the Miners strike in England may bring the unexpected. The world proletarian Revolution sweeps on its way!

What would our gentlemen, Yellow Socialists, Social Patriots and Opportunists, advise the workers to do in such unbearable conditions?—probably, "Wait four years till a new election comes"!!!

M. Lojan. FROM SEATTLE, U. S. A.

Comrades:— In regards to the unemployment in Seattle, Wash., it is a hard proposition to figure out but will give you what I have learned. Population of Seattle is 315,000. It is estimated that in normal times the employed number 75,000. Present unemployed approximately 30,000.

The capitalist paper estimates 18,000 1st of March they apparently would keep it as low as possible.

Labor Temple Unemployment Organization is going to the farmers Grange and gathering potatoes, carrots, parsnips and cabbage and giving it out to the married men and women with children, 8,000 unemployed are registered.

A soup kitchen is giving one good meal a day to single men, feeding 800 per day and from all indications is supported by the Chamber of Commerce.

Salvation Army is feeding 400 per day. Home Mission feeding 500 per day.

These two Organizations are supported by the well to do and the business men.

There is also a Restaurant here that gives a bowl of soup and bread and butter between 2 and 4 in the afternoon to its full seating capacity.

200. Also, a Millionaires Club is putting up a fair meal for five cents, feeding about 700 per day. Any one that wants to eat can get it by playing all of the soup houses regular and patrons are coming in from all over the country. Cassidy.

AT PHOENIX

ARIZONA.

(Special Correspondence). "The town where the sun always shines" is a gloomy place for the workers these days. 30,000 Mexican cotton pickers were brought in here from over the border some time ago. The cotton growers have all gone broke and the Mexicans in a number of cases were not paid their last months' fortnight's wages. Thousands of these Mexicans are living in the open with their families and literally starving to death. The Building Trades Council here opened a food kitchen at the Labor Temple and fed them and forced into the public eye a condition the plutes and the press here were trying to cover up. They are being gradually sent back.

The building trades here are at an almost absolute standstill. Thousands of building workers are idle. There seems to be no immediate prospect of even a little pick up in that line. Stores and other distributive agencies are laying off help; the tourists are leaving; five banks in the county "went flewie" these past few weeks. Unless you can live on sand and sun this is a good place to keep away from. In the surrounding towns things are even worse if that were possible. The copper mines which are the industrial base in this state are closing down flat.

The World War Veterans organized an Auxiliary here. The Organizer was arrested before he was in town six hours, at the instigation of an Anti-Socialist stool who has been operating here. Results, a large crowd of unemployed attended trial. Organizer was dismissed. The stool squelched and warned by the judge not to try to start anything. Five others arrested charged with selling Communist literature etc. some at the complaint of the "Stool", others led by D. of J. agent. All cases thrown out. D. of J. agent not to be found at trials.

The story of the Russian Revolution is being got to the workers here and they assimilate it with avidity. The releasing of those arrested shows how the powers here are reading the barometer of working class discontent. The workers here are rapidly acknowledging that the Dictatorship of the Capitalist must be overthrown. An effective literature and mouth to ear educational campaign is being waged here by the vanguard.

PRAVDA Bohemian (Czechoslovak) Weekly by Organ of Uncompromising Socialism.

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