

THE TOILER

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UNEMPLOYMENT ON INCREASE.

NEW STRIDE TOWARD NORMAL CONDITION OF SLAVERY TAKEN BY WORKERS DURING APRIL.

That the hundreds of strikes in force in the United States since the first of May has but accentuated a condition that was growing instead of abating according to popular belief, is the substance of a report of the labor situation throughout the country for April, just issued by the U. S. Employment Service.

According to this report, the army of jobless received additional recruits during the past Spring month equaling 4 per cent. The report states:

"Despite popular belief that unemployment throughout the country has gradually lessened over the April period, actual figures compiled by the United States Employment Service, Department of Labor, reveal that conditions at the close of April are 4 per cent worse than at the close of March."

Of 53 industrial centers east of the Mississippi 28 show decreases in employment as against 25 showing improved conditions. The Pacific Coast is almost universally shown as having lost ground during April, inactivity in shipbuilding and lumbering accounting for much of the reduction.

Employment afforded by 1,424 firms, located in the 65 principal industrial centers, normally employing 501 or more, or a total of 1,600,000, shows a net decrease of 7,037 workers on the pay roll. The net decrease of these same establishments since

January 31 has been almost 50,000, or 2.9 per cent.

Iron and steel dullness has been particularly responsible for much unemployment in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Plants show a decrease in employment of 30,055, or 7.8 per cent for the month; but, in contrast, a boom in automobile and automobile parts manufacturing has enabled that industry to show the greatest increase in employment reported, 22.3 per cent for the month, or an addition of 31,986 workers.

Textiles and leather products show some recovery, accounting for gains of more than 10,000 of the total gains of 42,688 in the four industries showing improvement—automobiles, leather, textiles and liquors.

Greatest numerical gains of cities are reported by Detroit, Chicago, Toledo and Passaic, but in percentage of gain the four leaders are Denver, Detroit, Toledo and Passaic, in the order named, with Chicago far down the list.

In many cities continued stagnation in building trades, due to combined high costs of materials and unsettled wage controversies between employers and workers, has affected large numbers and in general retarded increased activity in other lines. This same dullness in building has been reflected in either suspended or part-time operations in Western coast lumber producing centers.

CONSERVING SACRED INSTITUTIONS.

By WALTER JOHNSON.

Justice has been done. The New York Law Journal, the official law paper for the First Judicial Department, says so, and says it is delighted. The paper stands for the constitution and against change in the same way that government papers and government departments always do. The conviction of Benjamin Gitlow for criminal anarchy has been affirmed. He was found guilty of advocating a change of government, a workers' government. A change of government is never legal, whatever the laws may be.

It was quite illegal for the American Colonists to declare their independence. They owed their allegiance to King George III of England. But the economic interests of the property owners and of the new trading class in this country required a government, a constitution, a state, which would rule for them and not for English landlords and traders. The class knew what it wanted and by the aid of its philosophers and statesmen it took the necessary revolutionary steps to get what it wanted and to defend it. In very much the same manner as Woodrow Wilson led us to make the world safe for democracy, George Washington and his abler associates led the people, the workers, to make America safe for Americans. When Woodrow Wilson got through he tried to form a new government, a League of Nations, by means of which the capitalists of the most capitalistic countries would divide up the world and hold it peacefully for the capitalist class. But the capitalist class is not united and will continue to lead nations to war to settle the question of the ownership of oil and iron. So Wilson failed. But Washington succeeded in establishing a state, a government, a constitution for the property owning and trading classes of America. And that constitution, with certain improvements which make it work better for the capitalists, is more sacred today than it ever was.

It has become much too sacred, in fact. The Declaration of Independence challenged the "divine right" of kings and lords. That was the object of the declaration, to show up the buncombe of the old ruling class and to inspire the people, the workers, to help set up a new government.

The workers were not organized, they were not grouped together in factories as they are now, ready to form their own government as they are doing now in Russia. Nevertheless, they could be appealed to overthrow a king's government, a landlord's government. It was easy enough to explain to them that a people had a right to destroy any government which did not serve them. The right of revolution was preached by the "founding fathers". Revolution no longer "Divine".

But now things are not the same. The workers are organized. The working class is finding itself. It is becoming conscious of itself in the same way that the trading class became conscious of itself. The trading class no longer preaches the right of revolution. That class no longer needs a revolution. It has the power. It will hold the power until another class, the working class, led by its own philosophers and statesmen, takes the necessary steps to discard the "divine" government of the capitalists and establish the class government, soviet government, factory government, of the workers.

Yes, the present government, established after challenging the "divine rights" of kings and lords, has itself become "divine". Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, said that "a little rebellion now and then is a good thing". Of course he meant a little rebellion by property owners and business men, not by workers. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that the government was a human institution and that he, Thomas Jefferson, one of the "founding fathers", was flesh and blood and bone, and human. But now he has become "divine". He was "divinely inspired". Mr. Harding speaks of the "divine inspiration of the founding fathers".

The constitution is sacred. What could be more sacred? It was "divinely inspired", it is legally strengthened by new laws whenever a comma in the constitution begins to totter; it is judicially extended and guarded by judges whenever it comes up for discussion. What is more sacred?

Gitlow the first victim. After President McKinley was assassinated a Criminal Anarchy Law was passed in the State of New York in 1902. Ben Gitlow was the first "criminal" to be tried under this law. It was charged that he "feloniously advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity and propriety of overthrowing and overturning organized government by force violence and unlawful means", says the New York Law Journal. It is perfectly plain to the editor of that paper that Gitlow advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States and of all the States, "not by the free action of the majority through the ballot box, but by organizing the industrial proletariat, as soon as possible, into militant socialist unions, and at the earliest opportunity, through mass strikes and similar unlawful means, if necessary, compel the government to cease to function, and then, through a proletarian dictatorship, take charge of and appropriate all property."

The New York Law Journal does not point out when and how the use of "force, violence and unlawful means" was advocated. On the contrary, it was advocated. On the contrary, it was advocated. (Continued on page 2.)



THE FIRST STEP TOWARD AMNESTY.

Measures for Amnesty That Have a Real Meaning.

The "right of petition for a redress of grievances" is one "right" which is not likely to be taken from the workers; for the very simple reason that its usefulness to them is nil. It is a safety valve thru which they are allowed to blow off any surplus resentment against, opposition to and anger with the powers that be. Such activity in no way injures them and affords the workers a sop with which they may lull themselves to quietude. It is one of those "rights" so generously granted by capitalist governments because it is so harmless to them and their power to rule.

The ruling powers are not compelled to heed petitions. Eventually they all find their way to the waste baskets of the governors, even if they are read. Being simply the expressed desire of masses large or small in number, without any organized power to compel action in conformity with their demands, their petitions are worthless to force action from the ruling class.

It is time workers realized the uselessness of petitions to move the

powers that be to action favorable to them. Between the workers and capitalist governments is a chasm too wide to be bridged by any such democratic measures. We are ruled by a capitalist dictatorship and nothing but a threat of that power to dictate will compel any attention to our needs, requests or demands.

The workers, liberals and all sympathizers of humanitarianism have been for two years petitioning the ruling class of this country for the freedom of political prisoners. Their petitions have brought nothing tangible to the petitioners and less than nothing to the worker-prisoners in the jails. Mooney, Debs, a host of I. W. W. prisoners and champions all of the cause of the workers, lie as deeply in capitalist prisons today as at the beginning of their prison terms. The petitions have brought them only deferred hope but no release, no mitigation of the cruelty practiced against them. No let-up in the constant jailing of revolutionists has been brought about thru this endless petitioning.

It is time to adopt new measures.

It is time to discard these useless melodramatic and utopian methods of ending this criminality of the capitalists against the workers. IT IS TIME FOR THE WORKERS TO TAKE ACTION THAT MEANS SOMETHING TO CAPITALISM! Only a threat of its profits; only a threat of its power to rule; only a threat to take power into their own hands and open the prison doors will have any effect upon the ruling class. Only a blow directed at the vital center of capitalism—profits, will have the effect of opening the prison doors.

Councils of Action organized in the labor unions, in conjunction with the masses of the unemployed must be erected. Workers must prepare in the shops, ships, on the railroads, in the mines, everywhere industry is carried on to take such steps as will compel the masters to open the doors of America's political prisons. This is the work that lies ahead. Action is what is needed. Action alone, action that threatens capitalism's power can free the political prisoners.

The Shop Delegate System.

Thruout the realm of labor unionism a new factor is rising and attracting the attention of forward looking union men and women. The striking failures of the old ways of unionism to get results for the rank and file, the mismanagement, graft and scandals of the union officials; their tendency to become conservative, to become dictators over the workers instead of remaining their servants and carry out the wishes of the membership; these, together with the crying necessity of making the unions more the weapons of the workers in the battle with the employers instead of a mere machine for the profit and pleasure of a ring of officials, is turning workers' throats toward more efficient methods of rank and file control of the unions.

The following leaflet addressed to workers in the Dress Industry in New York brings out the points of advantage of the Shop Committee and the Shop Delegate System over the present system of union management by elected officials over whom the membership has little or no controlling influence.

To the Workers of the Children's and Misses' Dress Industry: Brothers and Sisters!

If there are any strikebreakers, and workers in whom the enthusiasm and fighting spirit for their own betterment is still lacking; if there are workers who even to-day do not understand the great need of the working class to line up solidly, as a class, to successfully defeat all attacks of the bosses who are the capitalist class—the bosses, who live on the work of us workers,—if our own ignorance is still breeding and perpetuating our own misery; then all this may be a sorry fact, but it is a fact nevertheless and needs remedy!

In a war or fight the greatest advantage or strategy belongs to those who are not afraid of finding and examining their own weak spots as well as their own strength, and so compare it with the strength and weak spots of their enemy.

In other words, to win we must not be afraid of truth. And our strike is a war of one class, the working class, against another class—the capitalist class.

Did we always know this? Did our Union Officials know it?

If so, how did they manage our Army, the Union, and how did they train us for such a fight as we find ourselves in now? Their skill in the management of our Union, their skill in the art of training the rank and file membership can be judged by the results we are facing right now in our strike.

The results are miserable! They failed utterly! The failure of the Union Officials is due to one or the other defects, as follows: They either do not understand, or they do not care!

The only people satisfied in our present form of Union Management are the Union Officials. To make it strong, healthy and powerful, it is necessary to make it a Union of the Workers, and not an Institution to please the Officials.

It must be a Union capable of utilizing the active enthusiasm of the workers, a Union capable of educating and acquainting the workers with the realities of the class struggle, a Union built upon the strong foundation of the Shop Delegates and Shop Committee system of union management. Why?

Because under the Shop Delegate system of union management the workers control the Union through their Shop Delegates directly! It also means a management by the workers, instead of the rule of Officials.

The workers in the shop elect a Shop Committee and a Shop Delegate.

The Delegates of all the shop will meet. They will be the Shop Delegates' Council, representing the whole industry.

This Shop Delegates' Council will elect the Executive Committee of the Union.

All office help and technical management needed for the Union may be hired and fired by the Executive Committee as they see fit.

The workers, through their Shop Delegates, will be able to recall or dismiss any member of the Executive Committee who is inefficient or incapable or unwilling to serve the interests of the workers.

The shop will be a solid unit. It will remain organized for any emer-

BRAIN TEASERS

By SARGENT.

The job you have beats two in the employment office.

The alarm clock is the worker's delight and the unemployed's last friend.

Workers can put up buildings but can't put up much of an argument for living in them.

Rockefeller worked once but found there was nothing in it. He quit, got others to do the work and now he is a billionaire.

"A rolling stone gathers no moss." Just now there's many a bare backed home guard hanging 'round.

You can be a greenie and still be short on the long-green.

Save one another on Sunday, skin one another on Monday and keep it up until Saturday night.

The tramp, pan-handler and criminal are with us again and in increasing numbers. "Normalcy" reigns supreme.

Banks are quite full and the workers quite empty. That tells where property is.

Holdups on the highways, holdups in shop and factories—what difference?

The Delegates being responsible to the workers in the shops where they have been elected, will see to it that the Executive Committee which they elect is composed of members of ability.

Thus, under constant surveillance the Office Managers will work as regular employees of the Union, who may be fired at any time by the Committee, and who will be our servants instead of our masters, as they are now.

Do your own thinking!!! LONG LIVE THE SHOP DELEGATE SYSTEM OF UNION MANAGEMENT! LONG LIVE THE UNION OF THE WORKERS!

The Shop Delegate Propaganda Committee.

Stedman's Red Raid.

By ROBERT MINOR.

Editorial Note:—This noteworthy pamphlet by Robert Minor is the latest booklet issued by The Toiler. It constitutes such a terrific indictment of the American Socialist Party as to arouse the utmost aversion in the minds of every class-conscious worker. We shall publish it in The Toiler in three installments of which this is the first. The pamphlet deserves the widest distribution among these workers still clinging with respect to the memory of the almost defunct Socialist Party. The pamphlet is of 20 pages and sells for 10c per copy, 10 or more copies 6c each. Place your order at once.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY:

Seymour Stedman, a leader of the Socialist Party, is conducting on appeal, in the Supreme Court of Michigan, a suit against certain men and women known as Communists. It is a civil suit for property, but the civil suit has a connection with criminal prosecution, with deportations of workers and with the red raids of Attorney-General Palmer, that demands to become known to the membership of the Socialist Party.

Stedman and the National Office of the Socialist Party have denied the part they played in this affair. They have publicly proclaimed that "no such thing occurred." In reply to this denial the proof of Stedman's actions was offered to the National Office of the Socialist Party, that Office, through its Secretary, Otto Branstetter, refused to publish the proof and gave continued wide publicity to stories that seek to conceal the facts.

Therefore this statement, drawn from public facts and from the court record, is laid before you.

THE TOILER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

(The Author of this pamphlet must acknowledge the collaboration of George Hamilton of Detroit in its preparation. Some of the passages of Hamilton's interesting booklet, "The House of the Masses Trial," are embodied in this pamphlet without more than this acknowledgment.)

On January 2, 1920, the Department of Justice came down in a terrific sweep on the Communists and Left Wing Socialists in the United States. Workingmen and women were dragged from halls and homes and thrust into jail. Those who were citizens were held for prosecution under "Criminal Syndicalist" laws. The aliens were held for deportation. The raids were repeated again and again with a ferocity unprecedented in the history of America.

The raiders swept down upon the "House of the Masses" in Detroit, the clubhouse and educational center of the Michigan Socialist Party which had been expelled from the national organization and had taken the name of "Communist." Doors and desks were broken in with axes, property destroyed, literature confiscated. All workingmen and women found in the building were arrested. Seven hundred were imprisoned in the corridor of the post office building for many days without bedding, toilet facilities or proper food. Some of them were beaten over the head with clubs. One of them died from his sufferings. For days the reign of terror continued in Detroit. Workmen were picked up on the streets and thrust into jail. Their wives and children were arrested and questioned when they came to bring the prisoners food.

As quickly as possible after hearing of the arrests, Seymour Stedman, lawyer, later Socialist candidate for (Continued on page 3.)

BRITISH COAL STRIKE STILL ON.

Uneasiness Creeps Over Land as Miners Stay Out.

The British coal miners' strike is still on. Negotiations, moves and counter moves have brought forth nothing favorable to an immediate settlement.

Lord Curzon, spokesman for capital, has reiterated the statement in Commons that the government would not yield to the demands of the miners for a national pool of profits. However, some leading capitalists have expressed themselves as fearing they could not win against the stubbornness of the miners.

Unemployed to the number 4,000,000 now tramp about England idle. Industrial stagnation is gradually creeping over the industrial field giving cause for great uneasiness. This is reflected in the stock market where industrial shares have taken a woeful slump. Retail business

is hard hit and the estimation is made that fully 50% of the business power of the country is paralyzed. The government has prohibited the use of coal in breweries and distilleries and is urging the use of oil and wood for some industries. The shortage of coal has hit even the smart set who have been compelled to forego some of their social events due to the strike.

The Communist press is bitter in its accusations against the betrayers of the membership of the Triple Alliance, Thomas, Hodges and Co. They are raising funds with which to aid in feeding the miners' children while the strike lasts. The miners show no indication of returning to work under the conditions offered them by the government and the mine owners.

The Red Trail in the Wake of May Day.

Red May Day has passed. In America, the land of "liberty", of "free speech", "free press" and all the other freedoms which have long since disappeared from the social and political life of the workers, the passing of Red May Day has left a Red trail marking the latest crimes of the master class committed against the workers.

More than a score of workers have been arrested, jailed, some beaten, all put thru the "third degree" by the thugs and scum whom the capitalist prison system hires for these purposes. Heavy bail, even as much as \$10,000 cash for each or more than twice as much in property bonds have been required to get them released pending their trials under charges of "Criminal Syndicalism", the bosses' weapon of persecution against workers who attempt to tell some of the bitter facts and truths to the working class concerning their own lives and the government which governs them.

Warren, Ashtabula, Canton, Cleveland, Dayton, Pittsburgh, contributed victims to the arrests made on May Day. "Criminal Syndicalism", read the charges against them. Under this law, now adopted in more than half the states of the nation, the bosses have contrived a weapon available for use in practically any case where they believe the workers are attempting to question their right to rule and exploit. To circulate a leaflet calling upon the workers to organize and demonstrate their power is called "criminal syndicalism". To put up stickers calling for the opening of trade relations with Russia is apparently, grounds for throwing men in jail under this law.

The capitalist class is scared stiff at what it faces today. Five million unemployed and hungry, strikes in every trade, a working class becoming more class-conscious and revolutionary, more determined to voice its protest against intolerable conditions. These have driven the capitalists white with terror; driven them into a frantic state of nervous paralysis. They feared on May Day a just retribution of the workers for the crimes committed against them. All because a wide distribution of leaflets took place demanding trade with Russia, demanding the ending of the capitalist system and the erection of a workers' government. A score of workers were picked up and charged with criminal syndicalism.

They must be defended. Money must be raised immediately. Within a week a number of trials will take place. Attorneys have been engaged. We must prepare to defend these workers against the criminal intentions of the capitalist class. You must help—and you must do it now. The Mid-Western Division of the National Defense Committee is aiding in the collection of the necessary funds. Send your remittance to MID-WESTERN DIVISION OF THE NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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

DAY SITTING OF AUGUST 3.
CONCERNING TRADE-UNIONS.

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

(10th Installment.)
SITTING OF AUGUST 2.
(Petrograd Pravda, August 3, 1920.)
IN MEMORY OF SOVIET HUNGARY.
The session opens under the presidency of Comrade Zinoviev.

Before the opening Comrade Zinoviev calls the attention of the delegates to the fact that August the 2nd is the anniversary of the downfall of Soviet power in Hungary, a year since the event that brought about the death of Comrade Samueli and thousands of other comrades—revolutionary workmen and peasants. He proposes to honor the memory of the fallen by rising, and expresses confidence that the Hungarian Republic will soon come to life again, to the horror of the Hungarian and the world bourgeoisie.

Comrade Zinoviev concludes his speech with the exclamation: "Soviet Hungary is dead—long live Soviet Hungary!"

THE PROBLEM OF THE INDEPENDENTS

Comrade Dittmann (Germany) is given the floor and reads a written statement of Comrade Crispian (Germany), who was taken ill, wherein the latter protests against certain speakers who put him in the category of Socialist-Pacifists. He states that in the course of 26 years of revolutionary activity he has always professed and preached the idea of class struggle, and only through such struggle will the destruction of capitalistic exploitation be accomplished.

Comrade Wynkoop proposes to consider the question whether or not the Congress has instructed the Executive Committee to continue negotiations with the Independents.

Comrade Radek objects, as he considers the question has already been decided in the positive, by the vote on the resolution on the report covering this point.

The motion of Comrade Wynkoop is rejected.

The floor is given to Comrade Bukharin to report on the question of parliamentarism.

REPORT OF PARLIAMENTARISM.

Comrade Bukharin begins his report by stating that he will give the general content of the resolutions adopted by the Committee on the question of parliamentarism. On the concrete amendments to the theses proposed by the executive committee of the III International, a further report will be made by Comrade Wolfstein (Germany), and Comrade Bordiga (Italy) will make a supplementary report.

Comrade Bukharin first draws a parallel between the role of parliamentarism before the World War and the evolution of this role during the war: "The period of peace in the development of imperialism is characterized first of all by a community of interests of the imperialistic bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the metropolis (in any case of a certain portion of the more skilled elements of this proletariat). It is this community of interests that Kautsky denies so stubbornly in his writings. This community of interests is reflected in the fact that the trade-unions of the yellow Social Democracy and other organizations of the proletariat have, so to speak, become a bourgeois apparatus of State power. Parliamentary representation also has been one of the forms under which an organization of the proletariat became, in fact, an apparatus of capitalist oppression.

"During the war, however, the elements of the proletariat that had penetrated into the bourgeoisie came more and more to lose their influence on those organizations of the proletariat which were becoming the weapons of class struggle, and the means of destroying the apparatus of class oppression, the means of overthrowing the bourgeois state in the struggle for a new order. That is why parliamentarism at the present moment has retained for us its significance. For us it does not represent what it does for the reformists, namely, a method of solving certain concrete demands; for us it is merely the arena for our conflicts with the bourgeoisie, and a means of agitation and propaganda among toilers, a means for organizing the wide popular masses around our flag.

Membership of Parliamentary Fractions of the Proletariat.

"If one analyzes from this point of view the membership of the most important parliamentary fractions of the proletariat, one finds the membership of such absolutely un-satisfactory.

The Socialist Independent Party in Germany counts 82 deputies, of whom only 20 are Communists, 20 absolutely definite reformists, while 40 will be the 'marsh'.

The best Socialist Party that belongs to the Communist International is the Italian Socialist Party. What do we find here? It appears that in this party 30 per cent are adherents of Turati, i. e., Rights and definite reformists and opportunists, 55 per cent from the group of Seratti, and only 15 per cent of

its parliamentary delegation will be the Left Revolutionary Wing of the group of Bombacci.

"The French parliamentary fraction consists of 68 deputies, of whom 40 are definitely opportunists, 26 delegates from the group of the Center, and only 2 revolutionary Socialists.

"The Norwegian party has in its parliament 19 deputies, of whom 11 are Rights, 6 belong to the group of the Center, and only 2 are Lefts.

"Thus the working class is represented in parliaments by opportunists and reformists, and at best by the Center—that is, the Center of a Socialist Party which is analogous in its composition to the German Independent Party.

"And what does this party of Independents really represent?"

Characterization of the Independents.

Comrade Bukharin recalls a conversation with Haase, who, of course, considered himself a revolutionary and proudly referred to his speeches as confirming his opinion on himself. He indicated to Bukharin a speech of his in which he pointed out that the sending of troops to Finland was a violation of popular interests. As though the sending of troops to France, or to Russia, or to any other country is not the violation of popular interests.

Bukharin takes several other facts from the speeches of Haase, and says that it is really laughable that Haase and other members of the party of Independents continued to consider themselves revolutionaries when in the very speeches which they believed to be most revolutionary they appeared opportunistic in relation to the entire group of the Independents.

He gives also several citations from a speech of Oscar Cohn, who speaks of the "danger of exaggerating one's strength," and of other things, but does not say a word about Moscow. And Kautsky refers to Moscow only when he finds it necessary to condemn "terror and violence."

"The Independents wish to decide questions of actual life by parliamentary methods. They introduce projects of law and amendments to such, as though this can give any result within the framework of the rule of capitalistic society.

"Comrade Dittmann says that they were not able to carry out the resolutions of the Leipzig party congress on adherence to the III International, because they were 'busy with the elections to parliament.' It is surprising that they do not understand the enormous significance for revolution of the decision of the Leipzig party congress? Can one be surprised that the Independents do not make the decision of this congress on adherence to the III International the fundamental watchword of their election campaign? They do not understand the significance of present parliamentarism for revolution. They do not understand that a parliament is only a tribune, merely a weapon of revolutionary struggle, simply the organization of broad toiling masses for the inevitable armed struggle between exploiters and the exploited.

Antiparliamentarism of American I. W. W.

"This is the character of parliamentary opportunism. We find much more sympathetic the antiparliamentarism of the American Industrialists (I. W. W.), who instinctively feel a distrust of, and a proper hatred for, opportunistic parliamentarism. But when, like Comrade Hortwig, they try to build a theoretic foundation for their negative attitude toward all parliamentarism, it has a quite different significance, and we should condemn absolutely such an attitude. The American Industrialists (I. W. W.) simply do not understand political struggle and with naive frankness believe that the general strike, for example, is a question of industrial struggle, and not of political struggle. And, on the other hand, they think that yellow parliamentarism is properly understood political struggle. When they oppose the general strike to yellow parliamentarism they quite properly give preference to the first method of struggle. This is coarse empiricism on the part of American workmen who know very well the character of the parliamentarism of yellow Socialists, and of the Gompers' band. But when Comrade Hortwig develops the theory that not only cooperation but even contact with the bourgeoisie is sinful, then his assertions do not deserve attention."

In answering Comrade Hortwig, Bukharin calls the attention of the Congress to the fact that sometimes Soviets of Workmen's Deputies, consisting exclusively of workmen, nevertheless take a line that is purely reformist: "But even in the most reactionary institutions, in the most active capitalistic institutions of exploitation, we must have our own men, or if one can so express oneself, our spies.

"Activity in parliaments for the revolutionist contains the maximum of danger. I believe that many are opponents of revolutionary parliamentarism simply because they are afraid to hold these most dangerous revolutionary positions. Russian Bolsheviks worked in the Imperial Duma under the Tsar's regime, and in the Constituent Assembly. They did not fear contact with the bourgeoisie because they went into these institutions not for reform work, but for revolutionary struggle.

"And all three parliaments (Russian) in which we took part performed a great service for the revolution.

Revolutionary Parliamentarism.

"You have not yet experienced parliamentarism. When you will have worked as we have, when you will organize parliamentary scandals, when in the parliament you will begin violating parliamentary rules of procedure, when they begin arresting you and turning you over to be tried by courts, and when you will use the parliamentary rules of procedure, not for agitation and propaganda, but to organize the workmen for the purpose of 'direct action' and other forms of revolutionary struggle—then you will understand just what revolutionary parliamentarism is.

"In western Europe, not to speak longer of Russia, the revolutionary expediency of all these methods of class struggle has been clearly established by the activity of Comrade Liebknecht. If a party is genuinely proletarian and genuinely Communist, then it has no reason to fear contact with the bourgeoisie, because such contact is for it simply a new conflict and a new phase of the class struggle."

SITTING OF AUGUST 2.

(Petrograd Pravda, Aug. 4, 1920.)

DEBATE ON THE REPORT OF COMRADE BUKHARIN.

The Italian delegate Comrade Bordiga expresses the thought that the experience of the Russian revolution, and of the Russian Communist Party could not always be applied in practice in Western European revolutions. Parliamentarism in the West at the present time is a mask which hides from the proletariat the apparatus of its oppression. Democratic representation in parliament should therefore be abolished. This is absolutely necessary in order to give the class struggle the requisite distinctness.

The representative of English labor, Comrade Cosler, then comes forward and emphasizes the fact that the Communist Party in England is still in the primary stage of its development, and discourses on parliamentarism disturb its revolutionary work.

In the name of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Comrade Shablin comes forward and shows that the experience of parliamentary

activities in the Bulgarian Communist Party indicates that revolutionary activity in parliament is possible and expedient.

The floor is then taken by a second English representative of labor, Comrade Murphy, who in the most decisive and determined manner defends the theses of Bukharin.

"Hostility toward reformatory parliamentarism," he says, "can not serve as a reason on principle for objecting to revolutionary Communist parliamentarism."

The floor is then given to Comrade Lenin.

SPEECH OF COMRADE LENIN.

Comrade Lenin, replying to Comrade Bordiga, shows that the reactionary role of parliament by no means obviates the necessity of carrying on revolutionary work in that parliament: "During the Kerensky period the revolutionary significance of the Soviets was not worth a broken penny, but no one for a moment doubts the necessity of the work of the Soviets. Parliaments, like Soviets, are no casual institutions, artificially created. They reflect the real relations of life. Every parliamentary crisis is essentially a reflection of crises that are real, nascent, or already accomplished in actual social life."

"You speak of the necessity of abolishing, and not utilizing, parliament. The Russian Communist Party can refer to the work which it did. We dispersed our Constituent Assembly; we already had no parliament, but we did this after the conquest of authority, after the victory over the bourgeoisie, and after the peasants and backward workmen, who were formerly represented in parliament and believed in it, had come over to our side because of our agitation from within and because we destroyed that belief. You speak of the working class being organized into syndicates, and say that these syndicates should be the arena of agitation and propaganda. But where will you organize and agitate among the peasants, clerks, and retrograde workmen who do not join syndicates? It must be frankly admitted that in this sense a parliament can not be replaced, and that not only syndicates but even Soviets can not take the place of parliaments at a certain stage of development of the revolution.

"Comrade Sukhi says that parliament will cost us very dearly. It may be that you are too weak. Perhaps you fear that you will not have sufficient means or people; that the chosen delegates will not be submissive to you; that you will not gather a sufficient number of these electors together, etc. But if you are so weak, how then can you speak of a dictatorship of the proletariat, of a victory over the bourgeoisie, of the organization of production, and of the other problems of any Communist party, which problems depend for their realization first of all on discipline, power, and means? The consciousness of weakness or the fact of this weakness is a poor argument in the working out of guiding principles. You must work. You must work for the increase of your powers, for the organization of wide masses of toilers, and for their unification by means of iron discipline in organization."

The concluding words were spoken by Comrade Bukharin, who defended the theses presented by him.

Comrade Radek takes the floor with a report on the question of trade-unions. He dwells on the relations which should be established between the Communist International and trade-unions. Comrade Radek says that these relations are predicated upon the position of such unions as mass organizations of the working class. It is necessary, therefore, to give a calm, businesslike analysis of the possibilities which are open to the trade-union movement and to the evolution that is before it.

Comrade Radek protests against the idea that trade-unions are diseased tumors resulting from abnormal social conditions. He finds that a negative attitude toward the growth of the trade-union movement is prompted by that bitterness which was called forth by the activities of the trade-union bureaucracy. But by its very nature the growth of the trade-union movement is the growth of the organization of the laboring class, which by established usage forms its battalions into columns within the confines of its trade-union organization.

Comrade Radek further analyzes the situation of workmen in the United States and remarks that 80 per cent of them are outside of trade-unions. The conclusion was drawn that it was necessary first of all to organize the entire laboring class as far as possible and therefore to form new trade-unions, which would be summoned to activity and to an organized class struggle of the less qualified workers, those whom the aristocratic trade-unions do not honor by admission to membership in their organization.

(The proceedings were interrupted by Comrade Zinoviev, who announced the arrival of a representative of the Soviet Republic of Khiva. This representative closed his address to the congress with the following: "Long live the world-union of toilers! Long live the world-proletariat! Long live the leader of the world-proletariat, Comrade Lenin!")

Debates.

Following the appearance of the representative of the Soviet Republic of Khiva the debates on the report of Radek are continued. As associated in preparing the report on trade unions, Comrade Fraina takes the floor. He considers it necessary to add to the report of Comrade Radek by pointing out the fact that the new organization of the working class, the necessity of which was set forth by Comrade Radek, is already in existence in such movements and organizations as the "I. W. W.," "Shop-Stewards," and industrial workers of the world. All these organizations are revolutionary and capable of militant activity.

Comrade Tanner next takes the floor and begins his speech with a full recognition of the soundness of the theses proposed by the committee. There can and shall be no difference of opinion on this question. He then takes up the question of the meaning of the word "shop-stewards," in the new trade-union constructive effort. The "shop-steward" will undoubtedly have to play a big role not only in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalistic regime but also in the organization of a world democracy upon new Communist principles.

Thereupon the morning sitting closes.

(Next week Debates on Trade-Unions)

OUR MAIL BOX.

SNAPPY LETTERS TELL WHAT READERS THINK OF THE TOILER AND OTHER THINGS.

"We got the first number of The Toiler from a friend and I found it is awfully good for workers like we are. You can't find any paper among the thousands of workers in the steel plants.

"That's why I would like to have The Toiler for this year."

Stanley K.
Stelton, Pa.

Work in the Unions.

"Please find \$1.50 enclosed for which send me your Combination books and 50 Toilers to give away. The last lot I received made at least two new readers for you.

I am a union man and give your papers and books away in the union halls. Last Friday I attended three union meetings and The Toiler was left on tables in each lodge room. I heard one man say, "where in hell did these papers come from?"

I think a man in a union can do the work better than out of the unions.

James S. C.
Attleboro, Mass.

A May Day Boost.

"Inclosed find a P. O. order for five dollars to be used in the interest of The Toiler as the Editor sees fit.

"I have a small chance to do any agitation but still have one of those things they call a job, so feel duty bound to make this little sacrifice on the return of our International Labor Day. Brother Capital has taught me how to draw up my belt a notch to do it.

R. A. H., Springfield, O."

First Acquaintance.

"A friend of mine in Butte, Mont., sent me a copy of your Unemployment Edition. This was the first issue I saw of your paper. In these days of yellow socialism, it does one good to run across some dog that has the real red in it.

Enclosed one dollar for a six month subscription. Would send more, but I am having no picnic trying to make a living as a "Bush Buncher" in the hills of Calif. Keep the good work going."

C. O. B.
Kelseyville, Calif.

CONSERVING SACRED INSTITUTIONS.

(Continued from page 1.)

trary it says:

"While no use of force was specifically advocated, the learned court points out, with great cogency and force, that the aims and ends advocated could not be accomplished without force, violence and bloodshed, and that therefore it is reasonable to assume that the use of such means was intended."

So you see the right of revolution preached by the divinely inspired founding fathers now amounts to this: We can vote every once in a while for a change of congressman or even for a change of president, just as we voted for Wilson to keep us out of war. But if we do not like being kept out of peace and out of trade with Russia we must not go behind the ballot box. Mass strikes are illegal and we cannot change the government, but only the party in power. If we advocate these forbidden things we must know (as the learned court points out) that they can only be accomplished by force, violence and bloodshed. There is no legal way.

And so Ben Gitlow lost his appeal. We need more funds to carry the case to the Court of Appeals. This

is an important case and must be fought. Can we change our government legally or only illegally?

We want to see Gitlow free. We need him. The cases of Larkin, Winickzy, Ferguson, Ruthenberg and Georgian are just as important.

We want all the legal privileges we can get. We must not let our leaders be outlawed without fighting at every point. If they are to be outlawed, then it must be as the result of a legal fight which shall open the eyes of all workers to just what is meant by Americanism, the law, the Constitution, equal rights, the ballot box, the public, this government and the workers' government.

And, do not let working class families be deported without protesting. They are taken to Ellis Island, which, as Secretary of Labor James J. Davis says, needs delousing, and those who do not die are eventually deported, husbands and fathers with or without their wives and children.

Six thousand dollars at least is needed to fight the cases. And money for the deportees' families. All class-conscious workers are urged to take up the work of raising funds for these cases. Send all you can collect to Dr. George M. Dunaff, Treasurer, National Defense Committee, 339 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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"COMMUNIST PRIVILEGES."

In reading any reliable work upon the Russian revolution, (the revolution par excellence), one is struck again and again by the recital of the simplicity of the lives of the Soviet officials and even physical hardships, endured by the government officials even to the highest. It is indeed a startling phenomena, one extraordinary in human affairs. The Commissars, equal in position and authority to the very highest officials in capitalist governments, live with their families on no higher plane and on no higher pay than skilled workmen. Indeed, Lenin's salary as Premier is equal only to that of the school teacher in a remote Russian village. The supposedly inherent weaknesses of human character to succumb to the softness and debilitating influences of power suddenly achieved have passed the Communists of Russia by. This is startling enough to attract attention. It is startling enough to cause one to enquire into the source of such power to withstand so human a temptation. Delve however deeply into the motivation of the communists for such asceticism, all that has yet been discovered is a powerful ideal and a true conception of individual and mass psychology. The Communists have remained unassailed by the historic temptation of every new ruling regime that has mounted the dias of power. A religious zeal, an asceticism rules them as completely after three and one half years of power as at the first moment of victory.

True, here and there a Communist in the employ of the government has given over to the temptation of peculation, it would be strange if such were not the case, considering the terrible suffering, hunger and privation to which they have been subjected. These, however, all witnesses agree have been summarily and severely punished, even to the point of being shot on proof of guilt. To be an avowed Communist and guilty of anti-social acts is sufficient grounds alone for the severest punishment. Non-party members equally guilty are punished less severely, a leniency being accorded them which no Communist could lay claim to. "If a Communist officer drinks, if a Communist official steals or takes bribes, he is relentlessly shot, whereas a non-Communist is only imprisoned," says H. N. Brailsford in his new book, "The Russian Workers' Republic."

The Communists have set themselves the stern task of being a living and worthy example to the great masses of Russian toilers with and by whom they are determined to construct a new society which will in turn, become an example to all the workers of every country. No adherents to any political faith ever set themselves such a stupendous task. Only the most heroic courage could urge upon any party such a task. Only the most sublime faith in their historic mission and a marvelous zeal could maintain them in their course. Yet we see no wavering in their purposes, no loss of faith in their historic duty, no weakening of discipline, no falling by the wayside. The undebatable fact remains that the power of Lenin and his party grows ever greater.

"The Communists have many duties but no privileges," is the way one writer sums up the matter. Such a statement has been verified by others. Is there an epidemic of disease? Communist doctors, nurses and aids are called upon to take the most dangerous posts. Does a new counter revolutionary leader spring up with a menacing band (financed by some outside Christian nation)? The Communist party is called upon to furnish soldiers for the front ranks. Does a factory work badly, Communist workers are called from their homes and set to work with the laggards in order that the factory may supply its full quota of products. In the face of every danger threatening the Russian people and the Revolution, the Communists take the front ranks, giving their services and their lives without stint in the miracle work of erecting and safeguarding the first workers' republic this world has ever witnessed.

These are the 'privileges' of the Communists, to give their lives first before they ask others to do so. "Rosta Wien" quotes a passage from "Pravda" dealing with this same matter of communist privileges. Considering that it has a bearing upon a very recent circumstance, it is well worth quoting here to show that the same heroic and self-sacrificing spirit animates the Communists, now as formerly. The quotation is as follows:

"They are always talking about the 'privileges' of the Communists. Such privileges do exist in practice although the Party carries on a bitter struggle against them and although they are incomparably less than the privileges which other governments give to their supporters. We call upon every one however to think over the following. When our Congress was taking place, the Congress of the ruling party, the unfortunate events in Kronstadt took place.

What did the Congress do? It sent one third of its members to the front as common soldiers in the most dangerous places. Up to the present it is known that three of them are dead and seventeen wounded and it is possible that other cases are not yet reported.

Where and when has a governing party acted in a similar way. When has anything similar happened in history? Nowhere and never.

Every one who was in Kronstadt can tell how heroically the delegates of the Congress fought.

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

THE RUSSIAN WORKERS' REPUBLIC. STEDMAN'S RED RAID

By GEO. N. FALCONER.

"Thousands of books appear annually, but they have no message—they bear no torch—they are simply the slaves of customers. The books published are handled by the trade; they are regarded as harmless. The pulpit does not object; the young person can read the monotonous pages without a blush—or a thought. On the title pages of these books you will find the imprint of the great publishers—on the rest of the pages, nothing. These books might be prescribed for insomnia."

Ingersoll.

Not so, this new book, just at hand, "The Russian Workers' Republic," by H. N. Brailsford, published by Harper's Bros. N. Y. Here is a sane book, a brave book. An inspiring book—a book worth the while. In this wide world of physical facts and social fictions the hungry hearts do vastly and sadly outnumber the hungry mouths. To feed the mind is as essential as to feed, clothe and house the body. Brailsford's book is a mental tonic, bracing and invigorating,—let us share our pleasure with the many thousands of "Toiler" readers.

KINDNESS AND COURTESY.

The author spent two months in the autumn of 1920 in Red Russia. He wasn't arrested, jailed or hit by a "Plug Ugly," his travelling was less uneventful and less uncomfortable than he found it in Poland, Austria, and Germany the year before. He "met invariably with kindness and courtesy and made many acquaintances, who represented every phase of opinion."

He didn't spend all his time hobnobbing with the big Reds; he gave many of them the go-by, and hiked through the working class districts and peasant villages, and saw, talked, and broke bread with real Russia,—the workers, peasants and soldiers who have played such a brave part in the greatest of world dramas—the Proletariat Revolution. What greater honor can come to a man than to associate with the plain folk who made and continue to defend their revolution.

VLADIMIR.

Vladimir is in the country, quaint, curious, and "so interesting" that he "remained for two weeks." He learned more about Russia in two weeks than in the other six of course. To be sublime, keep close to the grass. Ethel Snowden when in Russia, was surprised at not finding God; Brailsford believed with Tolstoy that "where love is there God is also." In the ancient little town of Vladimir, he found real men and women, the flesh, blood and soul of the present day Red Russia. On the edge of a forest a vast cotton factory had been built. Before the revolution, 12,000 employees were kept busy making cotton garments. The cheapness and abundance of labor were the attractions that had drawn capital to this place. No trade unions were tolerated before the revolution. Vast barracks dimly lighted and not over clean in fact filthy,—no form of association for education or recreation were allowed. These humans were mere "tools," "machines," who ground out profits for the owners of the mill. "The will of one irresponsible man backed by State, Church, and police had ruled the lives of this community. In servitude and degradation it had made wealth for strangers."

The Bolshevik revolution of Nov. 1917 changed all this. The company which had owned Sobinka vanished like a fiction. The big boss fled to some haunt of exiles. The workers' government, with its red guards, stood now behind the workers. Here in this lonely clearing in the forest the herd of workers became a self-governing community. It made plans. It acquired a collective will. As the new manager (a former artisan) and his expert heads of departments recounted its history, the positive meaning of the revolution was made clear to Brailsford. The belief is well high universal—thanks to our bourgeois slave education—that the workers are incapable of governing themselves, of conducting their own affairs. Revolutionary socialists have always declared that

What party has ever sent its best sons into death-dealing fire? Every honest worker should think about these facts. The Communists die in the first ranks and their example influences the others. The revolution conquers. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church" is just as applicable to the Communist State today as it was to the early Christian Church 2,000 years ago. The capitalist class and its lying press has never been able to make capital of charges of self seeking against the Soviet leaders and officials. That phase of Sovietism they have shied at as well worthy to be left alone.

the grand cure for poverty was for the robbers to quit robbing the producer. Soap boxers have grown hoarse bawling out this big idea. But the idea was so big that a majority up to Nov. 5, 1920 in the United States were not able to see it. It is so simple that only a few have been able to understand it. It is so true that but a few believe it. The solution of the poverty problem was solved by the Bolsheviks who said: Here, you big thieves, you have got to quit robbing the workers. From now on you have got to work or starve. Beginning to-day Nov. 7, 1917 you respectable robbers, parasites all, have your choice; work, go to prison, or be shot. Which? This to be sure was not a nice thing, but it was a sure thing, and the Bolsheviks prefer a sure thing to a nice thing. Don't you? You ought to.

"Without training or experience, amid war, civil war, and blockade, sometimes half starved, often without cotton for long months, grappling with every imaginable difficulty, material and moral, this community had striven, as its own master, to lay the foundations of a human and autonomous life." How nobler it is to be a live rebel than a dead hero.

In the last two years the economic life of Vladimir has not only been reconstructed; the workers have installed electric lights in the barack dwellings, have introduced a drainage system, created creches and kindergartens—simple indeed, but clean and kindly—under qualified nurses and teachers for all the younger children. What do you think of this, you American villagers—ye Gomerites and Spargoites? You who glory in and pride yourselves on your blessed democracy. Schools for old and young have been established: a theatre, "movie" and a fine library of 900 volumes were creations that surprised and pleased our traveler. In a word Vladimir with its working population have literally been "born again" and by the way, not from any aid of the Holy Ghost, but through the joint partnership of head and hand, backed by force, physical and spiritual of Russia's workers. Everywhere Brailsford went he was confronted with the "will to create."

The social will of thousands who before the revolution had been the passive and submissive tools of the boss, the owner of the factory—was and is to-day stirring throughout every nook and corner of the Red Empire. True history, romance and epic poetry are being lived in Soviet Russia these glorious days of unemployment, starvation, hopelessness and death in so-called democratic England and America.

Out of the night the day appears, in Red Russia.

In this factory in the forest near Vladimir, the baffling problem of revolutionary Russia is already started. "Started," not finished, if you please. "Russia has hardly yet begun Communist economy. She has only struggled to survive amid war, civil war and blockade. One thing she has done (glory be)—she has broken the power of autocratic wealth to order the lives of men." Let's have more of it.

Right here I find only the first chapter has been reviewed and there are nine more, as follows: "Cloth From Corn"; "A Provincial Administration"; "Education and Art"; "The Communist Party"; "At the Front"; "The Armed Doctrine"; "The Two Revolutions"; "The Creative Will". I should like very much to say something about chapters VI and VII—the Communist Party and "The Creative Will", but the editor of "The Toiler", says, says he to me: If you've any thing on your mind send it in. Especially if it's short. God help us, everybody wants it short.

As the Dictatorship of the editor is equal to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and as discipline is necessary to all good Bolsheviks, I stop right here. Get the book, however, if you have to steal it. The Toiler sells it.

(Continued from page 1.)

the vice-presidency, went to Detroit and there in the Court of Chancery filed a Bill of Complaint in which he alleged and offered to prove to the civil court that the arrested workers advocated the overthrow of the United States Government and capitalism "by the use of direct or mass action."

The first man he named in his Bill of Complaint was under arrest, or on bail after arrest, on a State Criminal Syndicalist warrant which charged that he belonged to an organization that proposed to conquer and destroy the government by direct or mass action; the criminal warrant quoting as evidence to this effect certain language from the Manifesto adopted by the Communist Chicago Convention. In Stedman's Bill of Complaint, which he served upon this man as quickly as it could be prepared after the arrest, Stedman made the same charge that was made in the criminal warrant, and quoted as evidence the same passage from the manifesto of the Communist Chicago convention that was quoted in the criminal warrant.

The workers under arrest for deportation were held on virtually the same ground as that of the Criminal Syndicalist law—the ground that they belonged to an organization that advocated the overthrow of the government by force and violence. Stedman applied his Bill of Complaint against these, too; he alleged and offered to prove to the civil court that they advocated the destruction of the United States Government by "direct or mass action," and that they were members of an organization with that aim.

It was the purpose of Stedman, not actually to participate in the criminal prosecution or deportation of the arrested Communists, but to take time advantage of their arrest by making against them the same charges that they had to face in criminal hearings. As a consequence of incriminating answers or failure to answer his charges, Stedman hoped to obtain possession of the defendant's property. To take this advantage he untruthfully alleged to the court in writing:

"That... the defendants... were expelled from the Socialist Party of the United States because among other things, they advocated the use of direct or mass action, as the primary and principal means of securing a change or destroying the 'capitalist system' and the present form of the government of the United States...." (From court record).

I do not mean to dispute whether the Left Wing Socialists of Michigan (later known as Communists) did advocate the overthrow of the government and the capitalist system by direct or mass action. Stedman seems to have proven that they did. But his allegation that their advocating the overthrow of the government was the reason for their expulsion from the Socialist Party of America is false.

How It Came About.

A short review of the matter is necessary. The real reason of the expulsion of the Michigan Socialist Party is neither the reason appearing on the official records of the Party's National Office, nor the reason that Stedman gave the Court in his Bill of Complaint.

The Socialist Party was a thriving organization in Michigan, energetic, quick and progressive. The Russian working class revolution had a profound effect upon its thought. Party activities intensified rapidly in the winter of 1917-18, and the organization looked about the city of Detroit to find a suitable building to

meet the requirements of its modern growth.

The prohibition law had caused many beer halls in Detroit to be vacated and offered for sale. One of these was "Schiller Hall," a splendid building on Gratiot Avenue, containing a big auditorium, several smaller meeting halls, offices, big barroom and well equipped restaurant. Under the depression of prohibition this building had been offered for sale for \$70,000. The members of the Socialist Party of Michigan in Detroit bought it. \$10,000 had to be raised for the first payment, and workmen and women busily scurried around, working hard until they obtained \$11,500 for the purchase.

The party moved its headquarters into this hall, establishing a thriving educational center such as is seldom seen among Socialist organizations of America. The hall was crowded night and day with classes and meetings.

But under the law of Michigan a political party cannot, as such, own property. To overcome that technicality of the law the Detroit Socialists formed a corporation, through which to hold the club-house property, called "The Workers' Educational Association," and put into the charter of the corporation a provision that none but a member of the Socialist Party of America could be a member of the Association, and that none could be an officer of it unless he had been continuously a member of the Socialist Party of America for at least the three preceding years.

Questions of the Revolution.

Questions brought out in Socialist thought by the Russian Revolution were discussed with acute attention,—questions of tactics for working class conquest of power, questions as to the nature of the State, questions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the building of a Socialist International. Very early the trend began clearly to show itself as toward a Left Wing orientation. Michigan and the city of Detroit became a part of the Left Wing of the Socialist Party of America. Their district continued for a time to be represented in the National Committee of the Party by the "Right Wing" leaders, Victor Berger, John M. Work and Seymour Stedman, men hostile to the radical tendencies of the Michigan Party.

Right Wing Leadership.

As you know, the Socialist Party of the United States had been under the control of the "Right Wing" leaders for many years. The control of these leaders was notable in May 1912, when "Section 5, Article 2" withholding party membership from any one advocating any tactics contrary to the laws of the United States, was put into the Party Constitution. The party was in May 1912 at its highest tide of membership with about 180,000 members in good standing. In the summer of 1912 it lost 50,000 members. The membership continued to decline, with fluctuations, until it shows now a net loss of 105,000 since 1912.

Two years ago, in May 1919, the American Socialist Party seemed about to be revived by the stimulating intellectual and spiritual effect of the founding of the First Socialist Republic. The referendum vote for National Executive Committee aroused energetic participation throughout the party ranks. Most of the members of the National Executive Committee had shown themselves hostile to the new spirit and opposed to the tactical measures brought to prominence by the Russian Revolution. It became apparent that the "Right Wing" leaders were in danger of being defeated in the

referendum election for National Executive Committee, in May 1919.

Cutting Off the Left Wing.

While the reports of the referendum election were being received at the National Office, the National Executive Committee was called into session by the Right Wing leaders. As the returns arrived from over the country it became known to both factions in the office that the Michigan Socialist Party had voted solidly against Victor Berger, John M. Work and Seymour Stedman. While the election returns were pouring into the office, and before they had been tabulated, Adolph Germer, then National Secretary of the Party, was called upon to make a report on the Michigan Party's Left Wing tendency that he had formerly been commissioned to investigate. Germer reported that the Michigan Socialist Party convention had passed two resolutions which might serve as a reason for expelling them. One of these was a resolution forbidding party spokesmen to advocate "reformist" laws. The other required party spokesmen "upon all occasions to avail themselves of the opportunity of explaining religion on the basis of the materialistic conception of history, as a social phenomenon."

The referendum vote on these two resolutions by the Michigan Socialists Party had not yet been tabulated; therefore they had not yet been adopted. But Stedman, Work and Berger could not wait for the Michigan vote on the resolutions to be tabulated, because that would have been to wait until the Michigan vote was also tabulated against themselves as candidates for re-election to the National Executive Committee. The National Executive Committee pretended that the two resolutions had already been finally ratified in Michigan, and upon the ground that the resolutions were contrary to the national party constitution they expelled the Michigan Socialist Party from the Socialist Party of America on a motion of Seymour Stedman. The "Federations" that were known to have voted Left Wing, were also thrown out. Then thousands more were thrown out; until it was clear that the "Right Wing" leaders had been saved their positions. The Socialist Party of America lost about 60,000 members and retained about 25,000.

(Continued next week.)

NO MASTER

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Saith man to man, we've heard and know
That we no master need
To live upon this earth, our own,
In fair and manly deed.
The grief of slaves long passed away
For us has forged the chain,
Till now each worker's patient day
Builds up the House of Pain.
And we, shall we too crouch and quail
Ashamed, afraid of strife;
And, lest our lives untimely fail,
Embrace the Death in Life?
Nay, cry aloud, and have no fear;
We few against the world!
Awake, arise! The hope we hear
Against the curse is hurled!

It grows, it grows—are we the same,
The feeble band, the few?
Or what are these with eyes aflame,
And hands to deal and do?
This is the host that bears the word:
No master, high or low!
A lightning flame, a shearing sword!
A storm to overthrow!

THE IRISH PEOPLE

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THE VAMPIRE AND THE MINER.

"A fool there was, and he dug a hole,
Even as you and I;
And he slid in the hole on a slippery pole.
And worked like the dickens digging coal.
Even as you and I;
He struggled away till the work was done.
Even as you and I.
And found when 'twas over he'd dug a ton,
And he pointed proudly to what he had done.
Even as you and I.
He brought the coal to the light of day,
Even as you and I;
"And it isn't the rich bog that makes us mad,
And fume and fret and sigh;
It's the hopeless idiot that digs that hole,
And keeps on voting to dig the coal.
For a vampire that don't give a damn for his soul,
Even as you and I.
THE WORKER.

MAY DAY SPIRIT MOUNTS HIGH IN MINNEAPOLIS.

(Special to The Toiler.)

Minneapolis, May 2nd.—Demonstrating their solidarity with revolutionary labor the world over, between ten and fifteen thousand workers marched in the May Day parade here Sunday. For twenty-four hours there had been a steady downpour of rain which only stopped about half an hour before the time set for the parade to start. But in spite of the unfavorable weather crowds of workmen began to form in line long before the designated hour, two o'clock.

Revolutionary banners were unfurled to the silent gaze of thousands of spectators who lined the sidewalks of Nicollet Ave., down which the parade proceeded to the parade grounds. "We want the working class to be the ruling class," "He shall not eat who does not work," "Workers of the world unite," "All power to the workers, down with parasites," "We hail the Workers' Soviet Republic of Russia" and "Long live the Third International" were some of the slogans which carried a message of hope to the oppressed workers who witnessed the parade, but uttered a menacing threat to the members of the exploiting class.

At the parade ground the vast throng was addressed by W. F. Dunn, editor of the Butte Daily Bulletin, J. O. Bentall, editor of Truth, Duluth and by Andrew LaFin of Chicago. W. F. Dunn pointed out that the working class had never yet secured anything by waiting for the capitalist class to fulfill its promises, but that only by organizing their potential power and going after what they wanted could the workers improve their condition and free themselves from wage slavery.

J. O. Bentall declared that the instinct to produce, to create, dominates the entire universe and that when workmen are locked out of factories and away from their tools, they are being denied the opportunity to give expression to the universal creative impulse. In order that men may be free to work, to create and to enjoy the fruits of their labor, they must themselves possess the means of creating and not allow these to be owned, as at present, by a small minority who are thereby enabled to dictate how, when, where, and under what conditions a man may work.

Amid vociferous cheers the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The first Congress of the Second Socialist International held in Paris in 1889 decided that the first day of May should henceforth be set aside as a day for the mobilization of proletarian forces and for international brotherhood.

"For thirty years the May Day festival has been a symbol of proletarian solidarity and fraternal unity between the workmen of all nations. On that day workmen of all lands have demonstrated their hope and aspiration for the day when labor will be free from the exploitation of capitalism and master of its own destiny.

"May Day 1921 finds these hopes on the eve of fulfillment. When the bourgeoisie masters of Europe criminally hurled workmen at each others throats, they sounded the knell of their own doom. Thirty million killed or wounded, milliards of fresh war debts, countries ravaged, starvation rampant, industry paralyzed, unemployment mounting, these are the results of the misrule of the capitalist class.

"But out of the chaos in which the old order is tottering to its ruin, a new world is arising. The universal misery and despair which the war has inflicted on the workers of all lands, victors as well as vanquished, has fanned the flame of revolution. A new day is breaking. Already we see the red dawn in the

east. The workers of Russia by force of arms, have overthrown their bourgeois government, they have erected a Workers' Republic and are defending it from the assaults of a capitalist world with their invincible red army.

This bold act has acted like a clarion call to the workers in all countries. Everywhere workers' organizations are gathering together their forces to put an end to the misery and misrule of the capitalist class. Millions today throughout the world are demonstrating their desire for a new order of society.

The workers of Minneapolis in mass meeting assembled this first of May, 1921, pledge our loyal support to the struggling Russian Republic and declare our solidarity with all efforts of the working people everywhere to free themselves from the exploitation of capitalism.

"We demand the resumption of trade with Russia which will open our factories and give work to the millions of unemployed.

"We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly for the release of our fellow workers who are rotting in the masters' prisons because they upheld the principles of industrial democracy and opposed the butchery of workers in an imperialist war.

"We pledge ourselves to support all efforts at international co-operation between working class organizations that will be proposed in the coming Congress of Red Industrial and Trade Unions at Moscow, Russia.

"We pledge ourselves to resist the efforts of the capitalist class to destroy existing working class organizations; we are determined to strengthen our organizations until we are able to take all power into our own hands.

"DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!
"UP WITH THE WORKERS' RULE!

"LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOVIET REPUBLIC!
"LONG LIVE THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL!"

The parade was held under the auspices of the International Labor Day Committee, composed of representatives from practically all of the working class organizations in the city, who forgot their minor differences in order to celebrate together the international holiday of Labor.

Early in the week preceding May Day thousands of leaflets were mysteriously distributed in Minneapolis and St. Paul urging the necessity of erecting a Workers' government in this country. We, American Workers, will no more stand the tyranny of the bosses and of their government," declared the circular. "We have had enough. The United States government stands for the bosses against the workers! It uses the law-making bodies, the courts and the troops against the workers.

All newspapers in the Twin cities printed extracts from the circular and every one of them interpreted it to be a call for an uprising on May Day. Authorities declared the circular to be one of the most incendiary and treasonable documents ever circulated against the United States government. The circular was signed by the United Communist Party of America, but all efforts of federal agents to discover who were responsible for its distribution were unavailing.

The city government must have accepted the interpretation of the newspapers seriously for about an hour before the May Day parade, about twenty-five policemen entered the I. W. W. hall and made a thorough search for fire arms! Also large numbers of policemen were detailed to guard the line of March and the parade grounds—doubtless from the expected uprising!



AND THIS IS CIVILIZATION!

"WE LEARN A LITTLE IN ENGLAND."

By JOHN PAUL.

"...There is life to come. Which martyred men have made glorious For us who strive to follow."

Much has been, and will be, no doubt, written on the debacle of the 'Triple Alliance' in England, but a concentration of the vicissitudes and trials of the various movements leading up to this, reveals with emphatic truth the fact that the rank and file have been once again betrayed, as never before by the traitors, who for the present hold the reins of leadership. The 'Triple Alliance' from the rank and file point of view is still secure: the breach made by the leaders is manifest of nothing save of their own opportunism and sectional spirit. The last-hour decision of the National Union of Railwaymen leaders, Thomas and Cramp, not to declare a strike in sympathy with the miners, was received with acclamation of joy by representatives of the Capitalist Press. Such platitudes as "a victory of sanity and moderation" and "a return to common-sense" became the calls of the day, and Labor had the chagrin of finding its leaders complimented by Lloyd George, in terms of insult to the movement generally. Any move towards industrial solidarity has been frustrated by the Labor fakirs. Although at the moment it is difficult to foresee the future moves of the miners, it is, nevertheless, possible to assent without a shadow of doubt that the miners, representing the vanguard of the class-conscious workers in this country, will not compromise in their struggle with the Cost-Bosses, and will fight, even to the bitter end, to frustrate any effort to reduce the present standard of living. They have no doubt of the issue. The miners will win. Even now, after the struggle has aged but two weeks, some of the capitalist papers, still fearful of the 'revolution,' and anxious to restore industrial peace, advise that the mine-owners' terms are "too drastic" and "premature" and urge immediate revision favorable to the demands of the striking men.

Capitalist State Mobilizes. The most important, and least suspected, move by the government has been the formation of a "White Guard," camouflaged under the name of "Defence Force." Recruiting, costing a quarter-million pounds per day... (how ironical! Further subsidies on coal cannot be granted because the financial condition of the country does not permit them...) has been feverishly carried on and the excessively large number of unemployed has made a fairly generous supply of recruits possible. In addition, the King has declared "a state of emergency," and free speech and open air meetings banned. London has been treated to a replica of the war conditions and preparations of August 1914. With all the love of display and the desire to create a suitable psychological condition, favorable to them, the government have massed troops, machine-guns and other sinister war material in nearly all London's parks, in the provinces and all "affected areas." Nothing in expense and endeavor has been spared to consolidate the "security of the nation." Calumny, lies and other forms of governmental propaganda are evident everywhere, and the same apprehension, the same atmosphere of grim possibilities, pervades life today, as was so manifest during the darkest days of the war. Different from those days, the enemy is in our own midst. These preparations have been called for nine weeks, but it is evident that

this is not the case. The 'White Guard' is a permanent force until the Red Guard manifests its existence and asserts the solidarity of the masses. This anti-strike Frankenstein of the Government, created and enlarged under the pretext of "maintaining the peace," has been sufficiently provocative to have caused small disturbances in some quarters, but the masses, though bitterly resentful of such display of force and Potsdam tactics on the part of the government, have wisely realized that bloodshed and futile effort will result of any violence or opposition; and the hope of the government will be realized—the suppression of all radical organizations, whose suppression is otherwise impossible—should civil war evolve of these measures.

The debacle of the 'Triple Alliance,' the provocative measures of the government, the open alliance of the army with capital, will all serve to make the masses realize that the organizations of the Labor Party and Trade Unionism, are incomplete, sectional and ineffective. The most formidable enemy, however, of the class-conscious worker is the worker who is not class-conscious. Our first move must be to enlarge the appeal of the Red Trade Union International, and to destroy the sectionalism and deficiency of class consciousness, of present trade union organization. The unwavering, clear policy of Communism must be made manifest and all Left-Wing elements must consolidate their front. It is safe to predict a large number of new adherents to the Communist Party.

The worst danger to the worker is bad or incomplete organization. We have realized this in England today. The "Herald," Labor's powerful daily newspaper, admits that there is something wrong with the methods of political and industrial organizations. It remains for we Communists to show where the fallacy lies.

The Revolution is not dead; rather Capitalism in England is realizing that it is alive. The Revolution will come soon, and sooner when the workers realize the lessons of this struggle. The Labor fakirs must go and the movement cleared of Right-Wing traitors. The class-conscious workers will spread the uncompromising militancy of Communism everywhere. There is little to fear of the army. The men who form it are of the working class, many are comrades, a large majority have no love for militarism, starvation and unemployment having driven them to the "hospitality" of the uniform. The "White Guard".... what matters it when the working class of Britain shall decide what their lives shall be? We have fallen now... to rise later in greater strength. There will be completeness, then, in the right of the workers to decide, without wishing bloodshed or strife, the desire to work in communal co-operation and rid England at last of capitalist exploitation and the curses of wage slavery.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

During the year 1920 2,700,000 illiterates in the whole of Russia were instructed in reading and in writing. The work accomplished during the first months of 1921 give great hopes that the figure of 1921 will be achieved. The number expected is 18,000,000.

"Novij Put" reports that the Leipzig publisher of the works of Maxim Gorki has arrived in Petrograd. He has brought samples of Russian text books which were printed in Leipzig.

Late Bulletins From Russia.

Economic Reconstruction.
After the signing of the Treaty of Riga postal communication with Russia was resumed. On the very first day over 1000 letters left the Warsaw Post Office addressed to Russia.

One of our mounted scouting detachments has captured and killed the leader of the bandit bands who have been carrying on their business in the districts of Broleswetz, Gluchow and Schostensk (Province of Tschernigov).

In a meeting of the Charkov municipal Soviet Kun made the official statement that the bands of Machno have been beaten, their documents captured, and Machno himself wounded.

In the Province of Kostroma the large electric stations have been built which supply 1900 settlements with electric light.

After the return of the demobilised Red Soldiers in the county of Orechov (Province of Orenburg) the place is not to be recognised. The peasants who formerly did not want to hear of collective management have now formed three such organizations. In the elections to the peasant committees demobilised Red Soldiers were elected in every place.

A Russian Commission consisting of three engineers is here on the way to Germany for the purpose of taking over the 1,000 locomotives which have been ordered in Germany. The delivery shall commence the middle of May.

Available for Export.
Moscow, April 4th.—The following goods are ready for export in Soviet Russia: Flax 1,500,000 pood, Hemp 600,000 pood, Hides 7,000,000 pieces,

Petroleum 10,000,000 pood, Benzine 5,000,000 pood, Unrefined Naphtha 8,500,000 pood, Lubricating Oil 3,500,000 pood, Goatskins 1,000,000 pieces, Russian Kid 500,000 pieces, Horsehair 100,000 pood.

Besides the official Swedish mission which has gone to Russia to study the question of the resumption of business relations a private delegation representing Swedish export interests has gone to Russia for the same purpose.

Workers' Welfare.
A sanatorium for children suffering from lung trouble has been opened in Samara.

The Commissariat for labor has issued a decree by which all women who manage a household in which there is a very sick person to be cared for are to be excused all compulsory labor. The same regulation applies where a relative of the family dies or in similar cases.

Rules for Worker's Holidays.
Moscow, April 12.—The Council for Labor and Defence has issued the following orders regarding the holidays for workers during the year 1921.

Every worker and employee who has worked continuously for six months has a right to a holiday for which all the usual pay and food allowances of his trade are to be issued to him in advance. As pay the average earning of the last three months work is to be taken.

Each worker and employee who does not wish to take his holiday has the right to a compensation allowance corresponding to the average earnings of the last three months.

In 1921 the holiday shall not exceed one month in which no sick vacation is to be reckoned.

Workers may also have in addi-

tion a two weeks vacation for the purpose of engaging in agricultural work.

"Ivestia" reports from Kiev that thanks to the energetic sanitary measures against the typhus epidemic it had been successfully mastered. Since March 21st no new case of Typhus has been reported.

Education.
The council of Commissaries has allotted a sum of 650 million roubles to the commissariat of Education for the support of the University of Moscow.

In the province of Tambov there are 2,126 schools for the instruction of illiterates, with a staff of 2,900 teachers.

In the Province of Witebsk there are 1,460 courses for illiterates with over 18,000 pupils. On March 15th 1,200 pupils were dismissed from the courses as having reached a satisfactory stage in reading and writing. The number of illiterates in the whole province is about 380,000.

The students of the faculty of mining in the Tashkent University have decided along with the students of Petrograd and Jekaterinoy to join the trade union of miners.

The Commissariat for Education has announced a competition for novelists. For the best novel a prize of one million roubles is to be given.

The well known Russian savant, Dr. Manuchin, passed through Riga on his way to Paris where he will work in the Pasteur Institute. He has taken his latest scientific works with him including his work on Spanish Influenza. A part of his work is already in London as Wells took it with him on the occasion of his departure from Petrograd. The Soviet government has placed the means for this visit to Paris at the disposal of Dr. Manuchin.

BOOKS THAT EDUCATE.

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

Books About Russia

- "Barbarous" Soviet Russia.—McBride \$2.50
- Russia in 1919.—By Arthur Ransome \$1.50
- Labor Laws and Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia 25c
- Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work, Zinovieff 15c
- Communism and The Family, Kollontay 10c
- Structure of Soviet Russia, Humphreys 10c
- Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Kamenev 10c
- Constitution of Soviet Russia 10c
- "Left Wing" Communism, Lenin 50c
- The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade, Lenin 40c
- The Proletarian Revolution in Russia, Lenin and Trotsky, Compiled by Fraina, Cloth \$1.00
- Paper75
- Marriage Laws of Soviet Russia25
- The Russian Workers' Republic, Henry Noel Brailsford \$2.50
- The Crisis in Russia, Arthur Ransome \$1.80
- From Mayfair to Moscow, Clare Sheridan's Diary \$3.00

Scientific Classics

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

Educational Pamphlets

- Stedman's Red Raids, Robert Minor 10c
- International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, Losovsky 10c
- Communism and Christianity, Wm. M. Brown, 25c
- Socialism and Religion, By B. S. P. of England 10c
- Wage-Labor and Capital, Marx 10c
- Scientific Socialism Study Course 10c
- Communist Manifesto, Marx and Engels 10c
- Shop Talks on Economics, Marcy 10c
- Industrial Socialism, Haywood 10c
- Industrial Autocracy, Marcy 10c
- Value, Price and Profit, Marx 15c
- Evolution and Revolution, Fischer 10c
- No Compromise, Liebknecht 15c
- Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels 25c
- Marxism and Darwinism 10c
- Eighteenth Brumaire, Marx 25c
- Strength of the Strong, London 10c
- The Apostate, London 10c
- The Class Struggle, Kautsky 25c

- The Right to Strike, Marcy 10c
- The Dream of Debs.—London 10c
- Class Struggles in America.—Simons 10c
- Open the Factories, Mary Marcy 10c
- Bribing the War Press 5c
- Role of the Labor Unions in Soviet Russia Losovsky 5c
- State and Revolution—Lenin..... 50c

Cloth Bound Books, 75c Each

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

Miscellaneous

- Men and Steel, Mary Heaton Vorse \$1.00
- Interchurch Steel Strike Report \$1.50
- Man or the State, Philosophical Essays \$1.00
- Stories of the Cave People.—Marcy \$1.25
- News from Nowhere.—Morris \$1.25
- The American Empire, Scott Nearing (Paper)50

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

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

The following magazines may be obtained of The Toiler office
The Industrial Pioneer (I. W. W. monthly).... 25c
The Liberator (monthly) 25c
Soviet Russia (weekly) 10c
Good Morning (twice monthly) 15c

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