

THE TOILER

NO. 167.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, APRIL 16, 1921.

PRICE FIVE CENTS.

BRITAIN ON VERGE OF REVOLUTION.

Triple Alliance Takes Up Battle of Miners in Ultimatum to Government to Accede to Nationalization.

Incipient revolution hovers over the British Isles. What the outcome will be within the next few days or weeks no one can prophesy with any assurance of certainty. The facts today are: The Triple Alliance of Miners, Transport Workers and Railroad Workers are united solidly together in a great combination and with one common aim against the government of the British Empire—to force it to nationalize the coal mines. The government has appealed to the "public" to volunteer in a "defense force" for a period of ninety days to assist the police in controlling the situation now beyond the power of the government without armed assistance.

For the past two weeks the situation has gradually grown more unsettled. Beginning in a strike of 1,200,000 miners, the movement now embraces the entire railway, and other land transport systems, probably 3,000,000 workers.

The direct causes are: The violation of the agreements between the government and the miners for government control of the mines until August and the setting up of a Wage Board before March 31. Instead, the government has turned the mines back to the private owners and refused to inaugurate the Wage Board, thus returning to the conditions prevailing before the war.

The situation is very grave. The

miners, learning lessons from previous strikes, have ordered out the pump men, thus flooding the mines and entailing a loss to the owners of millions of pounds sterling. They have refused to set the pump men to work as a condition to meeting in conference with the government and owners concerning the adjustment of their grievances. They are using every weapon against the government.

One reason for the solidity of the miners and transport workers in that the same situation facing the miners will also come before the railroad workers in August when the roads are scheduled to be returned by the government control to the private owners. The government is thru with any experiments in "socialization" and fears the nationalization of the mines as an irrevocable step toward socialization of basic industries which may lead to the supplanting of the entire system of private ownership and capitalistic exploitation.

In the meantime unemployment and privation stalk thruout Britain. To the critical conditions induced by an army of one and a half million unemployed is now added an industrial and political crisis which may mean even the crumbling of the government and the power of the British Empire.

The Bolsheviks Believe in Advertising.



The above halftone is made from one of the advertising posters which have become a common sight upon the walls of Russian cities and villages. We have heard much of the wide publicity given all public affairs under the Bolshevik regime by the method of poster advertising, but the one from which this cut was made is the first that we have seen. It measures 2 feet by 3 feet and is printed in bright, reds, greens, and yellows on a good quality of tough paper.

It represents the Russian workers, industrial and peasant, marching in a united line into the headquarters of the Communist Party, scorning the imitations of the representatives of the old regime, capitalists, military, priests and vodka peddlers. The Russian text reads: Enter the Communist Party. Proletarians of the World, Unite. One writer on Russia, concerning this method of advertising, writes:

"Captain Francis McCullagh, a British officer who spent some time in Soviet Russia in disguise, relates in a series of syndicated articles how the Bolshevik war minister, Trotzky called a medical officer upon the carpet for not making a better stand against a typhus epidemic. The medical man protested that it was all on account of the people's failure to guard against dirt and lice.

"Then start a war on dirt and lice or face a tribunal," ordered Trotzky.

In the next few days a flood of posters, circulars and printed matter appeared, calling upon the people to destroy dirt and lice as they would a "reactionary."

Another writer relates how advertising matter is used to sell the people on recruiting, on education, on art, on technical instruction, and even on sports. Posters seem to be a favorite medium. Says this writer:

"You will find posters on every wall, in a thousand stores of Moscow, on telephone poles, in rooms, in factories; they are everywhere. Picture posters for propaganda purposes. Perhaps a proletarian rock, flaunting a red flag, with a capitalist ship going to pieces at the foot of it. Or a poster recruiting for the Communist Saturdays, with a description of the consequences of laziness, and beside it the results of industrious work. Or else a picture poster attacking the old greasy Czarist officials and the aggressive military officers. Placards with red stars, recruiting posters of the Communist party, showing a procession

of workers passing by some representatives of the old order with an air of refusal, and entering a house upon whose gable are the initials of the party.

"But these are not the most interesting posters. More remarkable, more significant are posters of a different order. For instance, some wall bears the information that some where proletarian courses are being given on world problems, literature, problems of natural science, with excursions into the field of bacteriology, geology, agriculture, accounting, finance, etc. Entirely gratis, of course.

"Another poster requests people with a love for inventing and inventors' talent to invent all sorts of substitutes.

"Another poster calls the proletariat of a certain district to an evening discussion of questions on art.

"Another poster announces an industrial exhibition, with a platform where the principles of a technical education may be discussed.

"One poster asks the public to attend several lectures given by technical experts, dealing with the technique of the use of clay as a building material.

"Another poster announces lectures on forestry.

"The Soviet Republic makes a determined propaganda in favor of sports. In every corner, on every wall and other spaces lending themselves to the purpose there are sporting posters. Whoever has the desire may become a sportsman. Private yachts, tennis court rentals and expensive yacht club memberships are not required."

of the refusal today of the supreme court to review their convictions.

Haywood, former secretary of the I. W. W., and fourteen others were sentenced to twenty years and fined sums ranging from \$20,000 to \$35,000.

They and others were sent to the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth Kas., but subsequently were released on bail bonds aggregating \$500,000 pending the outcome of their appeals.

The trials resulted from an extensive raid on the offices and homes of members of the I. W. W. conducted by the department of justice on Sept. 5, 1917. A total of 168 men were brought into court on charges of violating the selective service and espionage acts, and ninety-seven of them were convicted. Some of these served their sentences.

In appealing to the supreme court from decisions of the circuit court of appeals sustaining their convictions, the men argued that the principal evidence used against them at their trials was illegally obtained in that it was seized by federal agents during the raid without search warrants or other court order.

A request for general amnesty will be the next step in the efforts to save from prison Wm. D. Haywood and his associates convicted of having conspired to obstruct the war activities of the government.

This was announced today by Otto Christenson, attorney for Haywood, after he had learned of the supreme court's refusal to review the conviction of Haywood and his co-defendants.

Washington, April 11.—William D. Haywood and seventy-nine other Industrial Workers of the World who were convicted before Federal Judge Lapdis at Chicago in 1918 of attempting to obstruct the government's prosecution of the war, must return to federal prison as a result of the supreme court's refusal to review the conviction of Haywood and his co-defendants.

SOVIETS WOULD TRADE AMERICAN WAR PRISONER FOR CONVICTED COMMUNIST.

Would Swap Kirkpatrick for Either Larkin or Gitlow.

Coming on the heels of the confirmation of the conviction of Benjamin Gitlow, in the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court of New York, on April 1st, is the information furnished by "Rosta" of Vienna, that the Soviet government is willing to trade Captain Kirkpatrick, an American military prisoner for the pardon by the New York authorities of either James Larkin or Benjamin Gitlow.

Gitlow and Larkin were convicted some months ago on charges of violation of the state criminal anarchy law and were remanded to Dannemora Prison awaiting the appeal of their cases. Gitlow was recently transferred to Sing Sing.

The ruling in the case has been awaited with great interest for several weeks because of its bearing upon the cases of Larkin, Chas E. Ruthenberg, I. E. Ferguson and Harry D. Winitzky, all convicted on the same charges.

Judge Read Between Lines.

Justice Frank C. Laughlin, in writing the decision of the Appellate Court, declared that when people advocate such doctrines as the "Left Wing Manifesto," there "must necessarily be great latitude for reading between the lines to determine what is implied in the doctrine, and they should be held responsible for advocating what they must know is essential to the accomplishment of their purpose."

The charges against Gitlow and Larkin are that on July 5, 1919, they "feloiously advocated, advised and taught the duty, necessity and propriety of overthrowing and overturning organized government," in writing articles printed in the Revolutionary Age. Whether Gitlow's case will be carried into higher courts is not yet determined by his attorneys. Bail in none of these cases is allowed by the Court.

Louise Bryant Visits Kirkpatrick. Writing in the Russian Press Review, published in English in Moscow, Louise Bryant, wife of the late John Reed, American Communist who died last November in Russia, describes a visit to an internment camp where Captain Kirkpatrick is held a prisoner of war. Describing this visit and the conditions she met with there, she writes:

"We spent about six hours in the Andrenevsky Camp. We were allowed to walk about the camp and to speak to the prisoners quite freely, un-

accompanied by the officers of the administration. We saw nowhere any vestiges or bars on the doors of the cells. The prisoners pay visits to each other just as tho they were in any small town. For instance, an American, Captain Kirkpatrick, invited us to drink coffee with his Hungarian friends. I got the impression that I was in a Rest Home and not in a prison at all. Nobody, of course, can ever feel happy in a prison, but the example of the Andrenevsky camp can be of much use to many of our prison reformers."

Captain Kirkpatrick was captured during the Red drive against General Wrangel. Interned with him in this camp are numbers of counter-revolutionists of note. Some members of the Hungarian nobility such as Count Szechenyi, brother-in-law of Gladys Vanderbilt, have found lodging from their labors here.

According to the Rosta Agency, Captain Kirkpatrick feels very peeved because the United States government has not made decisive efforts to secure his release and has requested political friends here to intercede in his behalf.

Should such an exchange of prisoners take place as is intimated to be possible by the Soviet government, it would meet with great enthusiasm by thousands of radicals here who are friends of Gitlow and Larkin. And, now that the question of amnesty for all political prisoners is attaining such momentum, it is within the realm of possibilities.

Another writer relates how ad-

A MAY DAY ALBUM.

You know The Toiler does things a bit differently than most working-class papers. Besides just publishing a real workers' paper, we do various other things. And we do them for the reason that they help tremendously in raising the standard of working-class thinking and action.

AND NOW WE HAVE PUBLISHED A MAY DAY ALBUM. This handsome album, with artistic cover in two colors, will contain a number of new photographs of the Russian Revolution, pictures of Lenin, Rosa Luxembourg, Liebknecht and others. Also articles on Soviet Russia, May Day, American political prisoners, the Third International and the Red Labor International, and original cartoons.

IT WILL COST ONLY THIRTY CENTS! AND IT WILL BE OUT ON THE FIRST OF MAY!! Send in your orders now. Single copies, 30c. Twelve or more, 25c each. A TOILER CARTOON BOOK AT HALF PRICE—50c.

We have cut the price of our Toiler Cartoon Book exactly in half. Other of life's necessities may still soar high but this one has really come down. Those we have left on hand will go at the half price rate. A MAY DAY ALBUM AND A TOILER CARTOON BOOK FOR 75c. As many as you want, one or a hundred—at that price. While you are ordering one just say "send both." You will be pleased.

THE TOILER
3207 CLARK AVENUE CLEVELAND, OHIO.

KEEP THE WORK GROWING!

The "Unemployment Edition" of last week was a big one. Forty-seven thousand Toilers were printed of this issue. Scores of orders for bundles ranging from 50 copies to as high as 5,000 were filled. Scores and scores of cities were made the distributing centers for that issue.

Yet, big as was this issue, it is but the first big step in a campaign of work which The Toiler intends to carry on among the unemployed of America—with your co-operation.

You have taken the first step. The next and following ones must also be taken. We must reach the unemployed with more Toilers. Each week must show an increase in the number distributed among them. They must be educated in ways and means of ending unemployment in America.

The Toiler will deal in each of its issues with this grave and growing problem—UNEMPLOYMENT FOR MILLIONS. You must help us in this work. You must help by supplying the funds with which to publish the paper and by distributing them.

You must organize with others for this work, get their contributions and help. Be on the job with a bundle of Toilers every week among the unemployed.

The regular price for Toilers for work among the unemployed will be 1 cent per copy. Join the UNEMPLOYED PROPAGANDISTS—NOW! Use the blank.

THE FREE PROPAGANDA FUND

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

Name

Address

City State

Send me copies of the latest issue.

SUPREME COURT ORDERS HAYWOOD AND 79 OTHER I. W. W. TO JAIL.

Washington, April 11.—William D. Haywood and seventy-nine other Industrial Workers of the World who were convicted before Federal Judge Lapdis at Chicago in 1918 of attempting to obstruct the government's prosecution of the war, must return to federal prison as a result of the supreme court's refusal to review the conviction of Haywood and his co-defendants.

VERY SPECIAL "MAY 1st" EDITION

APRIL 30. ORDER NOW 1c per copy.

WORKERS AND THE STATE.

By Walter T. Johnson.

H. G. Wells professes to believe in the existence of ninety-nine classes. Of course he has his own idea of what constitutes a class. He cannot point to ninety-nine class struggles. We see two classes and one struggle. The State, including Congress, the courts and troops, is the instrument of the one class, the capitalist class, against the other class, the workers. Throughout the world the struggle is becoming clearer and more bitter. Where civil war between the classes is not continuous and widespread, it nevertheless breaks out here and there every day. In this country we observe that the use of armed force in industrial disputes is increasing. Some of the battles in this civil war are Butte, the Great Steel Strike, Colorado, the Boston Police and West Virginia.

We are living in an epoch of civil war. More than ever the working class needs a strong organization. The decisive struggle is coming. The vanguard of the working class, consisting of those who understand the struggle and how to fight it, must be ready. Without this vanguard of workers which places the interests of the whole working class above that of any group of workers, a successful revolution will not be possible. The capitalists understand that fact. That is why they make it illegal to be a Communist. And this is how they do it:

New and apparently unconstitutional laws were passed for the purpose of punishing or deporting individuals for being Communists. Any law which is passed to punish political opinion or to prevent political organization is apparently unconstitutional. A law which may be unconstitutional is usually not rigorously enforced until it has been tested in a higher court. There is a rule which has been established in criminal procedure that where the constitutionality of a statute and its correct interpretation have not been passed upon a higher court, or in cases where some new questions of law are involved, a certificate of reasonable doubt should be granted, thus giving the defendant the benefit of the doubt.

But when it comes to trying a class conscious worker for taking part in the class struggle, then the courts refuse or forget to grant a certificate of reasonable doubt. He is guilty of leading his class, therefore he is guilty, however old the law or however new, and whatever doubts there may be about its being constitutional.

Ben Gitlow was convicted over a year ago. His case was full of unusual features. It was the first instance in which a law passed 13 years before was used. The constitutionality and the proper construction of the law had never been passed upon by a higher court. There were questions of fact in the case so novel that no legal precedent existed. But in spite of all these unusual features the court refused to grant a certificate of reasonable doubt.

Take down your dictionary and look up the word "justice." Or, better still, borrow your children's school book on the American Government and read what it says about judges being independent and impartial. Then think about the cost of living and big business trying to break up your unions. Then read what the judge said in Ben Gitlow's trial: "When I consider what opportunities this country offers all its inhabitants, I find it difficult indeed to be patient with defendants like these."

Two months ago the case was appealed, but so far there has been no decision. The appeal will most probably be dismissed and then it will be necessary to carry the case to a still higher court, the Court of Appeals, and perhaps to the United States Supreme Court. This will cost a lot of money. Congress cannot reduce the salary of a judge, but legal red tape can make it more and more expensive for a worker to have his case heard in court.

Ben Gitlow's case is one of many. It is the first of the Communist cases. The cases of Harry Winitzky, Jim Larkin, Ruthenberg, Ferguson and Georgian are just as urgent. Read The Toiler and learn what happens.

In the meantime raise money for their defense. Send your contributions to Geo. M. Dunaif, Treasurer, National Defense Committee, 339 Stone Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. Sell defense stamps to your shop mates and your union members.

Later: Gitlow's appeal has been dismissed.

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

(6th Installment.)
"RESOLUTION ON THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION."
(Adopted by the Congress unanimously.)
Moscow Pravda, July 30, 1920.

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

The world proletariat is on the eve of decisive battles. We are living through an epoch of direct civil wars. But the decisive hour is near. In almost all the countries where there is a considerable labor movement the working class will have before it in the immediate future a series of fierce armed encounters.

Now more than ever does the working class need a solidified organization. The working class must prepare ceaselessly for the coming decisive struggle without losing a single hour of the precious time that remains.

If at the time of the Paris Commune (1871) the working class had had a united, even if a small, Communist Party, the first heroic uprising of the French proletariat would have been much more powerful and thousands of mistakes and weaknesses would have been avoided.

The struggle which is before the proletariat now that historic conditions have changed will have a much greater influence on the historic fates of the working class than in 1871. In view of all this the 2nd World Congress of the Communist International calls upon the revolutionary workmen of the whole world to turn their attention upon the following:

1. The Communist Party is a part of the working class, precisely its most advanced, most conscious, and therefore most revolutionary part. The Communist Party springs into being through a natural selection of the best, the most conscious, the most self-sacrificing, and far-seeing workmen. The Communist Party has no interests different from the interests of the working class. The Communist Party differs from the whole mass of the working class in that it contemplates the historic path of the working class in its entirety, and strives at every turn of that path to defend the interests, not of the separate groups, not of various trades and professions but the interests of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party is that lever of political organization by means of which the most advanced part of the working class directs the mass of the proletariat and semiproletariat along the right road.

2. As long as the governmental authority has not been conquered by the proletariat, as long as the proletariat has not established its rule once for all and has not guaranteed the working class from the possibility of a bourgeois restoration, so long will the Communist Party by right have in its organized ranks only the minority of the workmen. Up to the time of the seizure of governmental authority and during the period of transition the Communist Party may, in favorable circumstances, exercise undivided ideological and political influence upon all the proletarian and semiproletarian strata of a population, but it can not bring them together in its ranks in an organized manner. Only after the proletarian dictatorship will have deprived the bourgeois of such powerful weapons of effective influence as the press, the school, the parliament, the church, the administrative apparatus, etc., only after the final defeat of the bourgeois social order will have become evident for everybody, only then will all or practically all the workmen begin to enter the ranks of the Communist Party.

3. The idea of a party should be strictly differentiated from the idea of the class. The members of the "Christian" and liberal professional labor unions in Germany, Great Britain, and other countries. The more or less considerable circles in the tries undoubtedly constitute a part of the working class which still follow Scheidemann, Gompers and Company, undoubtedly constitute a part of the working class. In the presence of definite historic factors there are possible in the working class very numerous reactionary strata. The problem of Communism does not consist in adapting itself to these retrograde parts of the working class, but in raising the whole working class to the level of its communistic vanguard. The mingling of the two conceptions, the idea of the party and the idea of the class, may lead to the greatest of mistakes and confusions. For example, it is clear that in spite of the tendencies or the prejudices of a part of the working masses during the imperialistic war, a Labor Party should without fail have come out against these tendencies or prejudices and in defense of the historic interests of the proletariat, which demanded on the part of a proletarian party a declaration of war against war.

For example, at the beginning of the imperialistic war of 1914 the Socialist-Traitor Parties of all the countries, supporting the bourgeoisie of "their own" country, invariably asserted that such was the will of the working class. And they forgot entirely that even if this were so the aim of a proletarian party under such circumstances should have been to fight against the moods and tendencies of the majority of the workmen, and to defend the historic interests of the proletariat in spite of everything. So, on the threshold of the twentieth century, the Russian Mensheviks of that time (the so-called "economists") rejected an open political struggle against Tsarism on the ground that, as they alleged, the working class as a whole had not as yet matured sufficiently to understand political struggle.

In the same manner in Germany the Right Independents, whenever they make their half-way steps, allege that they represent the desires of the masses, not realizing that a party exists precisely for the purpose of marching in front of the mass and of showing the mass the road it is to follow.

4. The Communist International is absolutely certain that the bankruptcy of the old Social-Democratic Parties of the II International can not under any circumstances be represented as the bankruptcy of the proletarian party system in general. The epoch of the direct struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat brings forth a new party of the proletariat—the Communist Party.

5. The Communist International rejects most decidedly the view that the proletariat can accomplish its revolution without having its own independent political party. All class struggle is a political struggle. The object of the struggle, which inevitably becomes transformed into a civil war, is the conquest of the political authority. However, the political authority can not be seized, organized,

and directed except through this or that political party. Only when the proletariat has for its leadership an organized and experienced party with strictly defined aims and a concrete worked-out program of its immediate actions in the domains of both internal and external policy, only in that case will the conquest of political authority be not an accidental episode, but will serve as the starting point for an extended period of communistic construction on the part of the proletariat.

That same class struggle demands that the various forms of movement of the Proletariat (the professional and trade-unions, co-operatives, factory committees, the cultural and educational work, the elections, etc.) should be unified in one center and be directed in common. Only a political party can be such a common unifying and directing center. The refusal to create it, strengthen it, and submit to it signifies the refusal to accept the unified direction of the separate fighting detachments of the proletariat operating in the different arenas of the struggle. Finally, the class struggle of the proletariat demands concentrated agitation, which would illumine the various steps of the struggle from a single point of view, and would concentrate the attention of the proletariat at each given moment on the definite problems which are common for the whole class. This can not be accomplished without a centralized political apparatus—that is, without a political party. Therefore the propaganda of the revolutionary Syndicalists, the followers of the Industrial Workers of the World, against the need of an independent labor party has been objectively of assistance, and is still of assistance, only to the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolutionary Social-Democrats. In their propaganda against a Communist Party, for which the Syndicalists and the Industrialists wish to substitute only the trade and professional unions, or some formless "universal labor association," the Syndicalists and the Industrialists touch hands with the deliberate opportunists; the Russian Mensheviks, after the defeat of the revolution of 1905, preached for a number of years a so-called labor congress which was to have taken the place of a revolutionary party of the working class; all kinds of "yellow laborites" in Great Britain and in America, who in reality follow a deliberate bourgeois policy, preached to the workmen a creation of formless labor associations or of indefinite exclusively parliamentary formations, instead of a truly proletarian political party. The revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists desire to struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, but do not know how to do it. They fail to note that the working class without an independent political party is a body without a head.

Revolutionary Syndicalism and Industrialism constitute in this a step forward in comparison with the old and stale revolutionary ideology of the II International, but in comparison with the revolutionary Marxism, i. e., with Communism, Syndicalism, and Industrialism constitute a step backward. The declaration of the "Left" Communists of Germany (made by them in the program declaration of their constituent Congress in April), in which they say that they create a party, "but not a party in the usual traditional meaning of that word" (Keine Partei im ueberliefernten Sinne), is a capitulation from the point of view of ideology, before those views of syndicalism and industrialism, which are reactionary views.

The working class can not triumph completely over the bourgeoisie through the use of only the general strike and the tactics of "crossed arms." The proletariat must have resort to armed uprising. Those who understand this must also understand that out of this inevitably flows the necessity of an unorganized political party, and that the formless labor associations are insufficient for this purpose.

The revolutionary Syndicalists often speak of the great significance of a determined revolutionary minority, but in reality a determined revolutionary minority of the working class, a communistic minority, ready to act, having a program placing before itself as its object the organization of the masses, such a minority will be the Communist Party.

6. The most important object of the true Communist Party consists in being in a close contact with the widest circles of the proletariat.

In order to achieve this the Communists should work also in those associations which, while they have no elements of a party character, cover large working masses, as, for example, the organizations of the old and wounded soldiers, in various countries, such committees as the "Hands off Russia" in Great Britain, and Association of Proletarian Tenants, etc. Especially important is the example of the Russian so-called "nonparty conferences" of workmen and peasants. Such conferences are called in almost every city, in every labor quarter, and in every village. The widest circles of the most retrograde working masses take part in the elections to these conferences. These conferences discuss the most pressing questions, such as the questions of food supply, the housing question, the problems of education, the military situation, the political problems of the day, etc. The Communists strive in every way possible to make their influence felt at these "nonparty conferences," and they do this very effectively, so far as the party is concerned.

The Communists consider it their most important task to conduct within these mass organizations systematic organizing and educational work.

7. The Communists do not in any way scorn the mass nonparty labor organizations, even when under certain circumstances they have a clearly reactionary Black-Hundred character (the yellow associations, the peasant unions, etc.). The Communist Party conducts its work constantly within these organizations, always trying to prove to the workmen that the idea of nonpartisanship as a principle is deliberately inculcated in the workmen by the bourgeoisie and its obsequious agents, in order to divert the proletarians from the organized struggle for Socialism.

8. The old "classical" division of the labor movement into three forms (the party, the professional or trade-union, and the cooperatives), has clearly outlived itself. The Proletarian Revolution in Russia has brought to the foreground the basic form of labor dictatorship, viz. the Soviet. In the nearest future the following division will establish itself: First, the party; second, the Soviets; and third, the productive unions. But the work both in the Soviets and in the revolutionized productive unions must be invariably and systematically directed by the party of the proletariat, i. e., the Communist Party. The organized vanguard of the labor class, the Communist Party, serves equally the interests of the economical, the political, and the cultural struggle of the working class as a whole. The Communist Party must be the soul of the productive unions, of the Soviets of Workmen's Deputies, and of all the other forms of proletarian organization.

The appearance of the Soviets as the chief form of the dictatorship of the proletariat furnished by the history does not in any way diminish the directing role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution. When the German "Left" Communists (Cf. the appeal of their party to the German proletariat entitled "To the German Proletariat," dated April 14, 1920, and signed by "The Communist Labor Party of Germany"), declared that "even the Party should adapt itself more and more to the idea of the Soviet and assume a proletarian character" ("Wird erfordert dass auch die Partei sich immer mehr dem Raetgedanken anpasst und proletarischen Gedanken annimmt"—Kommunistische Arbeiter Zeitung No. 54), this is a timid expression of the idea that the Communist Party should presumably dissolve itself into Soviets and that the Soviets presumably can take the place of the Communist Party.

This idea is profoundly incorrect and reactionary. In the history of the Russian Revolution we saw a whole epoch when the Soviets were against the proletarian party and supported the policy of the agents of the bourgeoisie. The same thing has been observed in Germany; it is possibly also in other countries.

In order that the Soviets could fulfill their historic mission it is necessary on the contrary that there should exist a Communist Party sufficiently strong to be able not merely to "adapt" itself to the Soviets, but to be in a position to exert decisively a pressure on their policy, to compel the Soviets themselves to give up "adaptation" to the bourgeoisie and the White Social-Democracy and to be able through the instrumentality of the Communist fraction in the Soviets to lead the Soviets after the Communist Party.

Those who suggest that the Communist Party should adapt itself to the Soviets, who consider that through such adaptation the "proletarian character" of the party is strengthened, render a very poor service to the party and to the Soviets, for they do not understand the significance of either the party or the Soviets. "The Soviet idea" will conquer all the sooner, the stronger the Communist Party which we shall be able to create in each country will be. "The Soviet idea" is now recognized ostensibly by many "Independent Socialists" and even Socialists of the Right. But these elements can be prevented from corrupting the Soviet idea only if we shall have a powerful Communist Party, capable of determining the policy of the Soviet and of leading the Soviets.

9. The Communist Party is necessary for the working class, and not only before the conquest of governmental authority, not only at the time of the conquest of governmental authority, but even after that authority has passed into the hands of the working class. The history of the Russian Communist Party which has held governmental authority in the huge country for three years, shows that the role of the Communist Party after the conquest of governmental authority by the working class has not only not decreased but, on the contrary, has increased to an extraordinary extent.

10. On the day following the seizure of governmental authority by the proletariat, its party still remains only a part of the working class. But it is precisely that part of the working class which has organized the victory. The Communist Party

in the course of the two decades, as we have seen it in Russia, in the course of a number of years as we see it now in Germany, conducting its struggle not only against the bourgeoisie but also against those "Socialists" who really serve as the conductors of bourgeois influence over the proletariat, has drawn into its ranks the most stable, far-sighted, and advanced militants of the working class. Only in the presence of such a united organization of the best part of the working class is it possible to overcome all the difficulties which rise before the labor dictatorship on the day after its victory. The organization of a new proletarian Red Army, the actual destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and the creation in its place of the beginnings of a new proletarian state apparatus, the struggle against the guild tendencies among separate groups of workmen, the struggle against local and particularistic "patriotism," the blazing of new paths in the domain of newly created labor discipline—all these fields the decisive voice belongs to the Communist Party, whose members through their own example lead the majority of the working classes.

11. The aim of a political party of the proletariat disappears only with the complete destruction of classes. In the process of achieving this final victory of Communism it is possible that the specific gravity of the three fundamental proletarian organizations of our time, the party, the Soviet, and the productive unions, will undergo changes, and that eventually a unified type of labor organization will become crystallized. But the Communist Party will become dissolved completely in the working class at the time when Communism will cease to be the aim of the struggle, and when the whole working class will become communistic.

12. The 2nd Congress of the Communist International should not only affirm the historic mission of the Communist Party in general, but should indicate to the International Proletariat at least in its fundamental features, precisely what kind of a Communist Party we need.

13. The Communist International considers that the Communist Party should be built up on the basis of iron proletarian centralism, particularly in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to be able to direct successfully the activities of the working class in the long and persistent civil war which impends, the Communist Party itself must create within its own ranks iron military order. The experience of the Russian Communist Party, which has directed the civil war of the working class for the course of three years, has shown that without the strictest discipline, without complete centralism, and without unbounded comradesly confidence of all the organizations of the party in the directing party center, the victory of the workmen is impossible.

14. The Communist Party must be built on the basis of democratic centralism. The main principles of democratic centralism are the election of the upper body by the lower body; the absolute compulsory nature of the decisions of the upper body for the lower, the latter being subordinated to the former; and the existence of an authoritative party center, as the undisputed directing institution of the party life from one Congress to another.

15. A whole series of communist parties in Europe and America, in view of conditions of siege rule adopted by the bourgeoisie against the Communists, are compelled to exist illegally. We must remember that under such circumstances it is some times necessary to give up in part the strict application of the elective principle and to make it possible for the directing party institution to invite in members as has been done in Russia. In what amounts to a state of siege the Communist Party not only can not place very serious questions before all the members of the party for a democratic referendum (as proposed by a fraction of the American Communists), but on the contrary must delegate to its directing center the right in a critical moment to make decisions for all the members of the party.

16. To preach wide "autonomy" for separate local organizations of the party is equivalent at the present time, to weakening the ranks of the Communist Party, impairing its efficiency, and render-

ing assistance to the petty bourgeois anarchist centrifugal tendencies.

17. In a country where the bourgeoisie, or the counter-revolutionary Social-Democracy is in power, the Communist Party must learn to coordinate its legal work with its illegal work, and the legal work must always be under the effective control of the illegal party. The parliamentary fractions of the Communists, both in the central and in the local governmental institutions must be entirely and absolutely subordinated to the Communist Party as a whole, irrespective of whether at the given moment the party as a whole is a legal or an illegal organization. All the deputies who in one form or another refuse to submit to the party must be expelled from the ranks of the Communists.

The legal press (newspapers and publishing houses) must be absolutely and entirely subordinated to the party as a whole and to its central committee. No concessions in this regard are permissible.

18. The basic starting point in the whole organization work of the Communist Party must be the creation of communistic groups. Everywhere, wherever there is even a small number of proletarians or semiproletarians, in every Soviet of Workmen's Deputies, in every professional or trade union, in every cooperative organization, in every shop, in every house committee, in every governmental institution, everywhere where there can be found at least three people sympathetic with Communism, it is necessary immediately to organize a communistic group. Only the organized activity of Communists makes it possible for the vanguard of the working class to lead the whole class. All Communist groups, operating in nonparty organizations, irrespective of whether the party is at the given moment legal or illegal. The Communist groups of all kinds should recognize further subordination to each other in a strict hierarchical order, and as far as possible according to a most rigid system.

19. The Communist Party should almost everywhere begin as a municipal party, as the party of the industrial workmen living mostly in the cities. To secure the easiest and the speediest victory of the working class, it is necessary that the Communist Party should become not only a party of the cities, but also of the villages. The Communist Party should conduct its propaganda and its organization among the agricultural laborers, the small-propertied, and the middle-class peasantry. The Communist Party should make particular effort to bring about the organization of Communist groups in the villages.

The international organization of the proletariat can be strong only if in all the countries where Communists live and struggle there shall become established the view of the role of the Communist Party which has just been stated. The Communist International invites to its congresses every professional or trade union recognizing the principles of the III International and ready to break with the Yellow International. The Communist International will organize its own international section of red professional or trade unions, which accept the doctrine of Communism. The Communist International will not scorn work in every nonparty labor organization, if the latter should desire to conduct in earnest a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. But the Communist International in every such case will point the following to the proletarians of the whole world:

1. The Communist Party is the chief and the basic instrument for the liberation of the working class. We must now have in every country not groups and movements but a Communist Party.
 2. In every country there must be only one united Communist Party.
 3. The Communist Party must be built upon the principle of strictest centralization, and during the period of the civil war must establish within its ranks a military discipline.
 4. Wherever there are at least 10 proletarians or semiproletarians, the Communist Party must have its organized group.
 5. In every nonparty organization there must exist a party Communist group, which must obey implicitly the party as a whole.
 6. Defending firmly and undividedly the program and the revolutionary tactics of Communism, the Communist Party must always be in the closest contact with the mass labor organizations, and must hold itself away from sectarianism in the same measure as from lack of principles.
- (Next week Lenin's Report on Colonial Questions and Discussions.)

TO ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS OF THE WORLD.

BOYCOTT ALL GOODS MADE IN SPAIN

The Executive Committee of the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo" (National Confederation of Labor, of Spain) sent out some time ago an appeal to the workers of the whole world to help the Spanish workers in their heroic struggle against persecution. In order to put a stop to the terrible ravages of the reaction in Spain, it was recommended that a world wide boycott against Spanish import and export goods be declared on January 15th. Thousands of the noblest fighters for freedom in Spain have been arrested, deported and murdered after the manner of the martyr Francisco Ferrer! The Spanish workers have again made an appeal to the German proletariat for solidarity, contained in the following letter brought to us by French comrades:

TO REVOLUTIONARY GERMANY, GREETINGS!
In order to officially acquaint the

PROLETARIAT with the terrible condition in which the Spanish working class finds itself today, I have been sent to France by the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo."
Our greatest desire would be to come to you and to explain our situation in the same way that it has been explained to the French organizations. At the same time we would like to bring you brotherly greetings from all those who have fallen, day by day, in the struggle, of all those who have been murdered or are held in captivity, be it on the streets of Spain or in "Fernando Po," in Mahon, in Montjuich. You should know that in the last named fortress twenty-five of our comrades, among them PESTANA, are incarcerated. Altho the situation is desperate, it is not possible for us, no matter how much we may desire to do so, to send delegates to all countries with an appeal for solidarity, which in this case should

bind the international proletariat together in a common aim.

As for you, Revolutionary Germany, I greet you in the name of the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo" and am using the opportunity offered by the visit of comrade Haussard, to fervently implore you to do everything in your power to keep up the strictest boycott on all products of Spanish manufacture.

Save our Spanish brothers, who today are facing death! They are being murdered every day by the wholesale, as sheep in a slaughter-house!

LEON XIFORT,
in the name of the "Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo."
We are sorry to say that up to the present time the desperate appeal of our Spanish brothers has

been in vain. But now we must act with a will! We therefore request that all labor organizations at once take steps to initiate co-ordinated action, and that they send us the addresses of their officials, so that as quickly as possible an understanding can be arrived at.

This action will receive international support from the Information Bureau of the Revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrials in Amsterdam. It should also be the concern of labor parties and other central organizations to give international publicity to the boycott of all goods made in Spain.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the
FREIE ARBEITER-UNION
DEUTSCHLANDS (Syndicalists).
FRITZ KATER, Berlin, O. 34
Kopernikusstrasse 25, 11, Germany.

ATTEND
THE TOILER BALL
AT
PARKVIEW PALACE
110th ST. & FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK CITY
Saturday Evening, April 23, 1921
TICKETS 50 CENTS.

THE TOILER

ONE YEAR | SIX MONTHS | FOREIGN
\$2.00 | \$1.00 | 1 year, \$2.50

Address all mail and make all checks payable to THE TOILER 3207 CLARK AVENUE, CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Entered as Second Class Matter, February 21, 1917, at the Post Office at Cleveland, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

BUNDLE ORDER PRICES

Bundle orders in any quantity 3 1/2c. per copy. Bills upon bundle orders of 100 or more rendered monthly. Bills must be paid upon presentation.

Published weekly by the TOILER PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION TELEPHONE: LINCOLN 3639.

THE WHITE GUARD ORGANIZERS.

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

HOOVER ELECTROCHEMICAL COMPANY 25 Pine Street, New York.

February 16, 1921.

Gentlemen:-

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

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

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

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

Yours very truly, E. H. HOOKER.

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

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

"STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"THROW DOWN YOUR TOOLS! CALL A GENERAL STRIKE!"

"SHOW THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT YOUR POWER!"

"SHOW YOUR CLASS SOLIDARITY!"

"STAND BY SOVIET RUSSIA!"

"Down with all the capitalist governments of the world!"

"Down with the capitalist government of the United States!"

"Long live the Communist workers and peasants of Poland!"

"Long live Soviet Russia!"

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

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

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

EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

The Revolution at Kronstadt

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

TRANSLATIONS BY MILNER.

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

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

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

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

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

'That is how it happened. In Kronstadt, part of the marines let themselves be led astray by the agitation of the S. R-s., and after a day since the beginning of the commotion, an exaristic general appeared on the scene, raising open mutiny against the Soviet rule.'

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

'Similar experiments were done by the S. R-s. on the North and South in Russia, and with this same result. However, our democrats have not learned the lessons yet of the last years of the Russian Revolution, they are still attempting to look for luck anew,—and this time they set their hand on Red Petrograd.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'The Government's Communication 'A new white guard plot. 'Insurrection of ex-general Kozlovsky and the battleship 'Petrovavlovsk.' ('Petrograd Pravda,' March 3, 21). 'Already on the 13 of February, 1921 in the Paris newspaper 'Utro' (The Morning) appeared a telegram from Helsingfors of the 11 of February, stating that in Kronstadt had broke out an insurrection of the marines against the Soviet rule. The French counter-espionage went a little ahead of the tidings. A few days after the certain, set, date the events actually began, expected and, beyond doubt, prepared by the French counter-espionage. In Kronstadt and Petrograd appeared white guard leaflets. At the time of arrests the directing spies were caught. At the same time the right S. R-s. began intensified agitation among the workers, taking advantage of the difficult food and fuel situation.'

'On the 23 of February in Kronstadt commenced a commotion on the battleship 'Petrovavlovsk'. A black hundred-S. R. resolution was adopted. On the 1 of March commotion on the 'Petrovavlovsk' was revived. In a joint assembly a similar resolution was adopted. On the morning of March 2 openly appeared on the scene a group of the ex-general Kozlovsky (the overseer of Artillery). Ex-general Kozlovsky with three officers, whose names are not yet verified, came out in the role of mutineers. Under their leadership were arrested Commissaire of the Baltic fleet comrade Kuzmin, chairman of the Kronstadt Soviet, comrade Vasilyef, and a line of other responsible individuals.'

'In this way the latest events are fully explained. Also this time behind the S. R-s. stood a czar's general. Taking all this into consideration the Soviet of Labor and Defence decrees:

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

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

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

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

Moscow. The Kremlin, 2 of March, 1921.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'Provocation by the S. R-s. comes out in greater and gr-ater clearness. Before us lies an 'extra edition' of the S. R-s. newspaper 'Narodnoje Delo' (The National Affair) of the 23 of February, 1921. This newspaper is published by the S. R-s. in Reval. It is the chief organ of the S. R-s., in it are articles by the 'chairman of the Constituent Assembly' Chernof, printed side by side with the productions of smaller and greater dignitaries.'

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

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

'Notice: all this was written before the mutiny in Kronstadt. Count-ess-spies of the French "Okhrana" (Russian word for political police), apparently, forestated their own prepared provocation.'

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

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

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

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

LONDON AND SEATTLE.

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

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

Dear Comrades:

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

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

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

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

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

Your Comrade

Wasil Holyk.

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

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

M. Lojan.

FROM SEATTLE, U. S. A.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

200. Also, a Millionaires Club is putting up a fair meal for five cents, feeding about 700 per day.

Any one that wants to eat can get it by playing all of the soup houses regular and patrons are coming in from all over the country.

Cassidy.

AT PHOENIX

ARIZONA.

(Special Correspondence).

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

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

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

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

PRAVDA

Bohemian (Czechoslovak) Weekly by Organ of Uncompromising Socialism.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$2 per Year; Six Months \$1. Single Copies 5c; Bundle Orders 50 to 100 copies 4c each; 100 copies or more 3c per copy.

Address PRAVDA 1423 W. 19th Str., Chicago, Ill.

S. Francisco & Oakland Workers TAKE NOTICE!

WORKERS of the World, UNITE!

—AT THE—

INTERNATIONAL

LABOR DAY CELEBRATION AND PICNIC

SUNDAY, MAY 1, 1921

EAST SHORE PARK

NEAR RICHMOND, CONTRA COSTA COUNTY

Auspices INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MUSICAL SOCIETY.

SPEAKING, SINGING, DANCING, REFRESHMENTS, ETC. Proceeds to 'THE TOILER' and Defense Class War Prisoners

ADMISSION 25c.

Take S. F. Oakland boat, train to Albany, San Pablo Ave. car to Park

THE KARELIAN WORKERS' COMMUNE.

The Beginning of a Red Scandinavia.

By GEORGE HALONEN.

Soviet Karelia, or the Karelian Workers' Commune, is a red neighbor to White Finland and White Scandinavia. Diplomatically it may be called a Red "buffer state," a bulwark of Soviet Russia against the Northern White world.

The Karelian Workers' Commune was officially formed June 7, 1920, by a decree of the Soviet government of Russia. The Commune extends from the River Svir, in the south, across Lake Onega to the White Sea and around Kola peninsula to the Finnish frontier, and again southward for a thousand miles along white Finland. This equal area about two-thirds of Finland, contains but a small population, about 800,000. The politically and economically important Murmansk railway runs entirely through this district.

This Commune was established because revolution and only revolution will realize the self-determination of small nationalities. When the imperialistic states speak about the self-determination of small nationalities, they "realize" it by submitting them to the imperialist yoke. Under the guise of self-determination, the natural riches and the peoples of the small nations are exploited and oppressed.

White Finland, in its imperialistic dream about "Great Finland," also spoke about the "self-determination" of Karelia. The Karelians happen to be kinsmen to the Finns. Their language is very much like Finnish. This was enough for the Finnish imperialism to speak about "self-determination" of Karelia.

Economic Base of Finn Regard.

In reality the hishup of the Finns and Karelians was not the cause of the Finnish "love" of Karelians. The Finnish bourgeoisie, now playing with imperialism, knew something about the great natural riches of Karelia. There are great areas of forests. The total forest area is about 100,000,000 hectares, or one and one-half times that of Norway! The timber is worth hundreds of millions of dollars! So, it pays to speak about the "self-determination" of Karelia in order to gain possession of this great wealth.

Karelia is also rich in minerals. Even coal veins have been discovered. Also zinc, copper etc. Iron ore is in abundance. These possibilities have been but little investigated. A single lake, Vikujarvi, showed by investigation to contain about 11,000,000 tons of bog iron ore! The lakes and rivers are supplied with fish in great abundance. Water power can be obtained from many great water falls; all of which means, that once developed, Karelia will be one of the most important industrial countries of Northern Europe.

The Finnish capitalists wanted the "self-determination" of Karelia and of course, themselves as "guardians" in order to exploit and rob these natural riches.

After the Russian workers' revolution, the Finnish Whites concentrated a part of their mercenary troops in Karelia. The Allies also sent armies. The purpose was to form Karelia as a white basis against Red Russia. Karelians were oppressed and forced to join the anti-bolshevik armies, but many Karelians fled either to deep forests or when possible, joined the Red Army. The White Finns began their "self-determination" with plundering, robbing and murder.

The White rule, however, was put to an end by the heroic fighting of the Red army. And in the spring of 1920 the remnants of the Finnish Whites were driven from Karelia.

But in Finland as well as in other foreign countries the capitalists interested in the natural riches of Karelia, continued to speak about the "self-determination" of Karelia.

Their propaganda, however, was cut short by revolutionary Russia, which did not speak loudly about self-determination for Karelia, but actually realized it.

Soviet Russia Decrees Self-government. The Russian Soviet government published, June, 7, 1920, a decree concerning Karelian self-government. And August 4, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and Soviet government officially designated the plan of frontiers of this new sister-republic of Soviet Russia. Wide self-governing powers were given to the Karelian toilers in their own national and economical questions.

This "Declaration of Independence" of the Karelian Workers' Commune by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and Soviet government, says in part as follows: "Being in close touch with the workers of all nationalities residing in Soviet Russia, the working people of Karelia are now entering a new phase of their history. The future of the Karelian toilers rests in their own hands. On the basis of the self-determination of nations before them lies the unlimited possibilities of national development. The powerful union of the working peoples federated in Soviet Russia, will defend the rights of Karelian toilers, their national self-determination and their freedom from the yoke of all exploiters and oppressors. After fighting many hundreds of years against a barren nature for their existence, the Karelian toilers are now entering from oppression and exploitation onto the road of the family of different nationalities freed from all oppression and exploitation...."

"Hand in hand with the toiling forces of the Soviet Republic, helping its heroic Red Army and allied with the splendid sons of kindred Finland, the Finnish red communist forces, the toiling people of Karelia are freed from the violence of the white armies and from the yoke of robbers and exploiters. The toilers of Karelia, as well as the other peoples of the Soviet Republic, have, in the form of the soviets of workers and peasants, at last received the means of the social freedom and peaceful cultural and national development. The supreme authority in Karelia will hereafter reside in the hands of the Congress of Karelian Soviets, but temporarily the affairs will be directed by the Karelian Revolutionary Committee. The Karelian Workers' Commune, in accordance with the decision of the first All-Karelian Conference, will be in close touch with the Russian toiling people and as a whole with the Soviet Republic of Russia. Although being a part of the Republic, differing from its other parts through the national and economical conditions, it will receive its own able self-governing bodies with a wide liberty of action.... The Soviet government of Russia greets with deep joy the newborn Karelian Workers' Commune, which joins the family of workers' Soviet Republics, and it has full confidence that the Karelian Commune will grow and bloom as the advance guard of the working class in the far away Northwestern part of the Federative Soviet Republic. The Russian Soviet government gives to the Karelian Commune its promise, that it will give all help and defend it in its work, seeing in this an important step in the great construction work of the World Soviet system."

And so side by side the new Karelia, the Karelian Workers' Commune, is arising from the runs of the capitalist system, erecting the workers own structure of society, Communism.

And so side by side the new Karelia, the Karelian Workers' Commune, is arising from the runs of the capitalist system, erecting the workers own structure of society, Communism.

And so side by side the new Karelia, the Karelian Workers' Commune, is arising from the runs of the capitalist system, erecting the workers own structure of society, Communism.

And so side by side the new Karelia, the Karelian Workers' Commune, is arising from the runs of the capitalist system, erecting the workers own structure of society, Communism.

THIRD CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL WILL CONVENE JUNE 1

Third Congress of Communist etc. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has decided to convene the 3rd Congress of the Communist International on the 1st of June 1921.

The Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted the following provisional agenda:

Draft of Agenda for the Third Congress of the Communist International. 1. Report of the Executive of the Communist International.

2. The economic world-crisis and the new tasks of the Communist International. 3. Transition-period (special requirements, special actions and final struggle of the Revolution).

4. Fight against the Amsterdam yellow Trade Union Federation. 5. The Red Trade Union International and the Communist International.

6. Construction of the Communist Parties, the methods of their work. 7. Construction of the Communist International and its relation to the affiliated parties.

8. The Eastern question. 9. The Italian Socialist Party and the Communist International. (Appeal of the Italian Socialist Party against the resolution of the Executive Committee).

10. The Communist Labour Party of Germany and the Communist International. (Appeal of the United Communist Party of Germany against the resolution of the Executive Committee of the Communist International).

11. The Women's Movement. 12. The Young Communist Movement.

13. Election of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. Headquarters of the E. C. 14. Other business.

G. Zinoviev.

1) The Executive affirms its resolution in the Italian question and continues to support the Communist Party of Italy.

2) The Executive protests most determinedly against the support given by one of the presidents of the United Communist Party, Com. Levi, to the centrist fraction of Serrati in Livorno and after Livorno. The Executive is firmly convinced that the overwhelming majority of the German sister party on the Italian question is on the side of the Italian Communists and of the Executive and not on the side of Com. Levi.

3) The Executive declares its agreement with the resolution of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of February 1st and begs the Central Committee not to recognise any explanations of this resolution which could mean support to the Centrist Serrati fraction and create difficulties for the Italian Communists.

This resolution was unanimously adopted by the Executive Committee

The Karelian National Economy. The economical questions in Karelia are solved the same way as in Soviet Russia. The Karelian Council of National Economy was established by a decree of the Karelian Revolutionary Committee on September 30, 1920. All economical questions and local economical councils as well, are under control of the Karelian Council of National Economy.

The work of this council is organized on the same principles as the council of national economy in Soviet Russia. All economical plans, finances, etc., must be submitted by the Karelian Council of National Economy to the Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia for approval. The foreign trade will be arranged in co-operation with Soviet Russia. The economical development of Karelia is therefore only a part of the general development of Soviet Russia.

The Future.

With the powerful help of the workers of Soviet Russia, the Karelian toilers will be able to build a new, beautiful Karelia. This, however, cannot be realized immediately. The reconstruction requires both time and sacrifice on the part of the Karelian workers. In spite of great natural riches, the Karelian Workers' Commune at the present is yet poor. There is a scarcity of everything. Industries, transportation, etc. must be rebuilt.

It is a great task. But the Karelian toilers are not afraid. They work and again work, because they deeply understand that they are working not only for themselves, but at the same time for the benefit of the workers of the world. The stronger they are able to build Karelia, the stronger will its influence become in Finland and in Scandinavia. And the nucleus of a Red Finland, of a Red Scandinavia, will grow, sweeping Northern Europe with revolutionary experience, enthusiasm and energy, helping, on its part to make an entire red Scandinavia.

of the Communist International after an exact examination of the situation. The representatives of the United Communist Party of Germany voted for the points 1 and 3 and against point 2.

Executive Committee of the Communist International.

The Executive Committee declares once more that it considers the Italian Communist Party to be its Italian section and supports the same in its revolutionary struggle by all the means and authority at its disposal. The leaders of the Serrati fraction for the sake of 14,000 pure opportunists have rejected from the party 60,000 communists. The Executive Committee places the appeal of the Italian Socialist Party on the agenda of the Third Congress. Till the decision of the Congress the Executive Committee instructs the small bureau with publishing an open letter to the Italian Socialist Party.

THE INTERNATIONAL AND THE WOMEN OF THE EAST.

The First Congress of the women workers of the Azerbaijan Republic has sent the following greetings to the Communist International: "We the working women of Azerbaijan, who have for the first time raised our voices at this First Congress in Baku, send fraternal greetings to the Communist International. The women of the East are waking up, they are now casting away the heavy chains of long oppression and are taking a firm stand in the ranks of the workers under the Red Banner of the world revolution. We swear, comrades, that from this moment the cause of the revolution has found a loyal ally in the women of Azerbaijan. It is our hope that our awakening will be followed by that of the millions of the women of the East. Long live the union of the working women of the West and of the East! Long live the Third International!"

President of the Congress of the East

Victoria Zeitlin.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE "BUND" AT MINSK.

"The Executive Committee of the Communist International sends its fraternal greetings to the Jewish Communists. Comrades, you are aware that the Executive of the Communist International, after having discussed the question in a special commission, decided to invite you to enter the ranks of the Russian Communist Party. This decision was dictated by the endeavor to attain closer unity of all communist forces. The Executive appreciates the adherence of many members of the "Bund" to the organization, which stood in the front ranks during the dawn of the revolutionary movement in Russia. The Executive, however, reminds the comrades that even the bolsheviks changed the name of their party when the interests of the cause demanded it. The Executive Committee indicates further that the German Lefts have done the same, and a number of other countries in the West are doing so now. There can be no victory for us in the difficult but glorious struggle that we are waging unless we have full unity of communist forces. Everything should be subordinated to the aim of unity. With comradely greetings. Chairman of the Executive of the Communist International. G. Zinoviev. "Russian Press Review."

ROBERT MINOR

Will Speak on the Open Shop and What it Means.

ROBERT MINOR, whose cartoons in great American daily newspapers and in the more radical magazines, and whose stories written on various European battle-fronts, and in Moscow and Berlin during the Revolutions, have made him famous as a writer, is coming to this city. He is announced to lecture on "THE OPEN SHOP A MODERN RETURN TO SLAVERY."

MINOR is a hearty advocate of the resumption of trade with Russia as a means of reopening factories and bringing employment to the unemployed. He maintains that the Russian market is the greatest field for the sale of American manufactured products that can be found in the world for many years to come, and that it would be a suicidal policy for Americans to permit that trade to be monopolized by European governments to the exclusion of the United States. The past policy of refusing the enormous potential trade of Russia Minor declares to be the policy of fear and ignorance that has brought unnecessary business stagnation and consequent suffering to the laboring masses of the United States.

MINOR himself lived through the greater portion of the Russian Revolution in Moscow and later was an eye-witness of the Berlin uprising of Communists. He made the personal acquaintance of the leaders of the Russian Soviet Republic and watched that peculiar form of state grow into its present strength. He calls it a "new form of civilization" and believes that it cannot be destroyed but must be dealt with.

MINOR declares that the International financial interests responsible for the prevention of trade with Russia, are at the same time using the business depression for the purpose of destroying labor unionism in the United States. Minor is a firm believer in labor unionism, which he has seen grow to enormous strength in European countries. He tells of what he calls a "spy system" that he says has grown to immense proportions in the United States, permeating every union and every important industrial plant. Spies, he says, are used to demoralize employees, and provoke trouble at moments inopportune to the workers. He claims to demonstrate that the old "provocateur system" of Czarist Russia has been adopted in many American plants, to the demoralization of industry, the degradation of employees and to the promotion of a very dangerous hysteria in the minds of many employers out of whom the spies extract a luxurious living.

MINOR contends that the Open Shop Drive has an aim impossible of attainment, but that if attainable it would reduce American industry to a condition of slavery. At a mass meeting to be held at Remmey's Hall, E. 55 and Woodland, on April 26th evening, at 8 P. M., Minor will deliver his lecture under the auspices of the National Defense Committee of Chicago. Admission is free. Minor will also lecture on the same subject at Akron on the 27th and at Canton on the 28th.

At a mass meeting to be held at Remmey's Hall, E. 55 and Woodland, on April 26th evening, at 8 P. M., Minor will deliver his lecture under the auspices of the National Defense Committee of Chicago. Admission is free. Minor will also lecture on the same subject at Akron on the 27th and at Canton on the 28th.

LA CONQUISTA Italian Labor Paper Comrades wanted as Agents Passyunk Station Box 2521 Philadelphia, Pa.

G. Zinoviev. "Russian Press Review."

Problems Before The Railroaders.

By E. K. HENRY.

On Monday, May 9 of this year, at Savannah, Ga., will begin the regular bi-ennial convention of the Order Of Railroad Telegraphers, one of the so-called "Sixteen Associated Recognized Standard Railroad Labor Organizations." This organization has a membership of approximately 80,000. While the telegraphers enjoy a "key" position in the railroad industry, they have been in the past somewhat backward in taking advantage of their tactical position, due to the fact that the majority of the membership are rather conservative and uninformed as to the significance of the labor movement in its wider aspects. There are many reasons for this, one of which is that most of the telegraphers live widely separated from each other in way stations and block offices, over the country, and are unable to meet with their fellow workers to discuss and consider the burning labor questions of the day. Although they have access to the telegraph, this medium is but a poor makeshift for direct contact with their fellow workers in meetings.

But while the majority membership is very conservative and in some few cases reactionary, there is a wide-awake minority of fellow workers in this organization who at all times keep themselves informed on the more important labor questions, both national and international, and who are ever ready to bring enlightenment to their comrades in the railroad industry. These fellow workers can not be too much commended for the great work they are doing. Self-sacrificing, they at all times should merit the support of increasing numbers of the rank and file.

At the Savannah convention, so we are informed, there will be taken up on the floor many questions which are now agitating the labor movement of the world. According to their importance, I classify them as follows:

1. Affiliation with the new International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions the counter organization to the "yellow" Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, which was organized in Moscow, Russia, July 15, 1920, with a membership of approximately 10,000,000 workers. This new international is the only organization of labor unions sufficiently class-conscious and able to combat the rapidly reactionary policy of the infamous Labor Bureau of The League of Nations, of which the Amsterdam International is but an offshoot.

2. Trade with the Russian Soviet Government that production in industry may be resumed and the widespread unemployment now existing be alleviated.

3. Active support, both moral and financial, in the frame-up cases of Mooney and Billings, Sacco-Vanzetti, which are now being exposed in all their rottenness. The recent confessions of the perjured witness McDonald, and the disclosures made by many who took part in the frame-up of Mooney and Billings, are now stirring the labor movement to action as never before. The Sacco-Vanzetti case, which from all appearances will be a second Mooney case, is but another indication of the depth to which the master class descend in their dastardly desires to imprison or take the lives of active class-conscious workers.

4. The One Big Union of the railroad industry. This was considered at last convention but failed for lack of support.

5. And last but by no means least, better support of the radical labor press. This means the papers that are not "yellow"—THE TOILER, TRUTH, etc.

That the introduction of these questions will create great interest and be the cause of much heated debate in the convention is not to be doubted. That they will be taken up for consideration in other railroad union conventions we may feel assured. Even though they may fail of passage, their being brought to the attention of the rail workers will do much to enlighten the workers employed in the industry and clear the way for a much better understanding of the significance of events in the future. We would suggest to all readers of THE TOILER that they bring this to the attention of telegraphers and other railroad workers with whom they may be acquainted, pointing out to them where they may procure full information on the above questions, or still better, that they hand them pamphlets and other printed matter covering the subjects which we have enumerated.

UNEMPLOYED MEETING Sunday, April 17 ACME HALL, 2.30 P. M. Tom Clifford, Speaker.

WHY SHOULDN'T FARMERS STRIKE

By Mac MacDowell.

Every morning before daylight, thousands of farmhouses begin to stir. Lanterns flicker from house to barn; cows are fed, and then bucket by bucket, can by can, and earload by earload, a great river of milk begins flowing towards the city.

This great milk flow supplies 21 per cent of the Protein, 27 per cent of the Fat, 5 per cent of the Carbohydrates consumed by the people of the United States every day. But these figures only show the importance of milk as a carrier of the food elements.

Modern research in the physiology of nutrition has shown that, besides the food elements, other substances known as vitamins are absolutely necessary to sustain life. Many eminent professors bring evidence to prove this and further to show that milk is without doubt our most important food, WHY? Because it contains BOTH forms of these vitamins and because both "forms are essential. Look at the ads in any street car by a yeast firm. Yeast contains but one form.

Milk then is a mighty weapon in the hands of working farmer. He holds in his hands the health and happiness of the nation. WHY SHOULDN'T HE USE THIS WEAPON TO STRIKE THE MIDDLEMEN FOR A LIVING WAGE FOR HIS LABOR?

Every morning before daylight thousands of city homes begin to stir. Gas jets flicker from room to room. Men are fed. Then, one by one, they go out into the street and become part of the great river of men pouring into the hungry factories.

This great army of men supplies 100 per cent of the necessities of life manufactured from the raw products of the Earth, which are consumed by the people of the United States every day. Without the labor of these men, all industry would stop. Babies would die of cold. The city would be dark. Transportation cease. Starvation stalk abroad.

Labor power then is a mighty weapon in the hands of the city worker. He holds the health and happiness of the nation. WHY SHOULDN'T HE USE THIS WEAPON TO STRIKE THE BOSSES FOR A LIVING WAGE FOR HIS LABOR?

What's the difference? There none. The farmer who "owns" his farm EXCEPT for the mortgage on it; who "owns" his machinery EXCEPT for the notes against it, is not as well off as the city worker who uses the boss's machinery. The organized action of the city worker limits his hours—the farmer's day is limited by sunlight.

It's up to you city workers to take off the boss's smoked glasses and see the farmer as he is. Forget that infantile stuff about his being "petty bourgeois".

He is about a hundred years behind you in organization. So when he strikes, as he did through his milk organization of New York in 1916, DON'T join the scab army of the N. Y. "Times" by yelling about babies not getting their milk. Pull your belts tight around your guts and refuse to take any milk until the farmer wins.

It is about time that you learned the importance of the agrarian workers to your own success in the struggle against "Middlemen"—or Capitalists as you know them. When the final struggle comes. When the STRIKE is not for a living wage but for the ownership of all industry, success will be possible only if the workers of the farms understand the struggle. That understanding will be possible if they are made to feel the support of the city workers in their preliminary struggles against their "Middlemen". You must support them even if they seem unorthodox to your more, revolutionary viewpoint.

"Which is more sacred—private profits or human life?" That is the question to-day. It is the question that is answered in

'Open the Factories'

Mary Marcy's latest pamphlet. Shall we starve because there are no profits for Capitalists? Shall we use soldiers to shoot down starved and desperate workers?

Or shall we disregard the howls of the profiteers and open the factories and feed the workers?

YOU are going to help answer that question. Whatever you decide it must be answered. Better read "Open the Factories" and learn how to answer it rightly, scientifically. 10c per copy—12 copies \$1. Order of The Toller.

Communism and Christianity: Analysed and Contrasted from the Viewpoint of Darwinism, by Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D. Paper, pages 184, artistic cover, price 25 cents. Six copies mailed for \$1.00. Comments by eleven persons:— One of the most startling and revolutionary books ever issued. — It comes like a meteor across a dark sky. — Send twelve copies. It is the best book I ever read to open the eyes and set the brain working. — It held me tight. I call it a sermon. The text is astounding. Banish gods from skies and capitalists from earth.—Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Aze of Reason.—Every comrade buys one and comes back for more.—I think it is one of the most important books of a Socialist nature issued in a number of years. It is full of marvelously good material and will open many eyes.—Sold twenty-five in a jiffy; send three hundred for next meeting.—The author, an Episcopalian ecclesiastic, has renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book he approaches the subject of Socialism from the new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all.—I can sell three thousand within sixty days.

Write for terms to book sellers and to propagandists. Twentieth thousand now in press.

THE TOILER CLEVELAND, OHIO 3207 CLARK AVE.

BOOKS for TOILERS

Priced Low for Propagandists

- NICOLAI LENIN, HIS LIFE and WORK, Zinovieff 15c, 8 for \$1.
- COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM, Bishop Wm. M. Brown 25c, 6 for \$1.
- COMMUNISM and the FAMILY, Kollontay 10c, 12 for \$1.
- INDUSTRIAL AUTOCRACY, Mary Marcy 10c, 20 for \$1.
- DREAM OF DEBS, Jack London 10c, 12 for \$1.
- INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE and INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, Lozovsky 10c, 12 for \$1.
- DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, Kamenev 10c, 12 for \$1.
- CONSTITUTION OF SOVIET RUSSIA 10c, 12 for \$1.
- SOCIALISM and RELIGION, By B. S. P. of England 10c, 12 for \$1.
- OPEN THE FACTORIES, Mary Marcy 10c, 12 for \$1.

One of each of the ten copies will be mailed postpaid to one address for \$1. Combinations in any amounts of the various titles may be selected at the above stated rates.

These low prices enable you to help in their distribution. Order a dollar's worth or more and circulate them among the workers.

THE TOILER CLEVELAND, OHIO 3207 CLARK AVE.