

# THE TOLLER

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## American Democracy Too Late to "Save" Armenia

BY THE FEDERATED PRESS.

Washington (Wa. Bur.)—There is dismay at the White House and state department over the ridicule which all eyes in Europe have heaped upon the Wilson-Davis statement concerning Russia, Armenia and Turkey.

Beginning with the Colby note of August 10, Europe has either ignored completely every Wilson utterance regarding Russia, or has replied so contemptuously that the state department cannot make public any of the results.

However, the Davis-Wilson proposal that all the powers give a public pledge to guarantee Russia from attack, in order that Henry Morgenthau may sail to Constantinople and "mediate" in behalf of Armenia has provoked a positive outburst of laughter in Europe.

"Are we reading 'The Arabian Nights'?" asks the London Chronicle. "The circumstances are that there are neither wars nor massacres in Armenia, whose people, for the first time in many centuries, have a government of their own, and a territory much more generous than the Allies ever offered them. Their government, however, is a Soviet government, under which all religions enjoy equal rights."

Talat Pasha, one of the Turkish leaders whose rebel government, in alliance with Soviet Russia, has made

peace with Armenia and driven the Allies out of nearly the whole of Turkey, says of the Wilson-Davis-Morgenthau meddling:

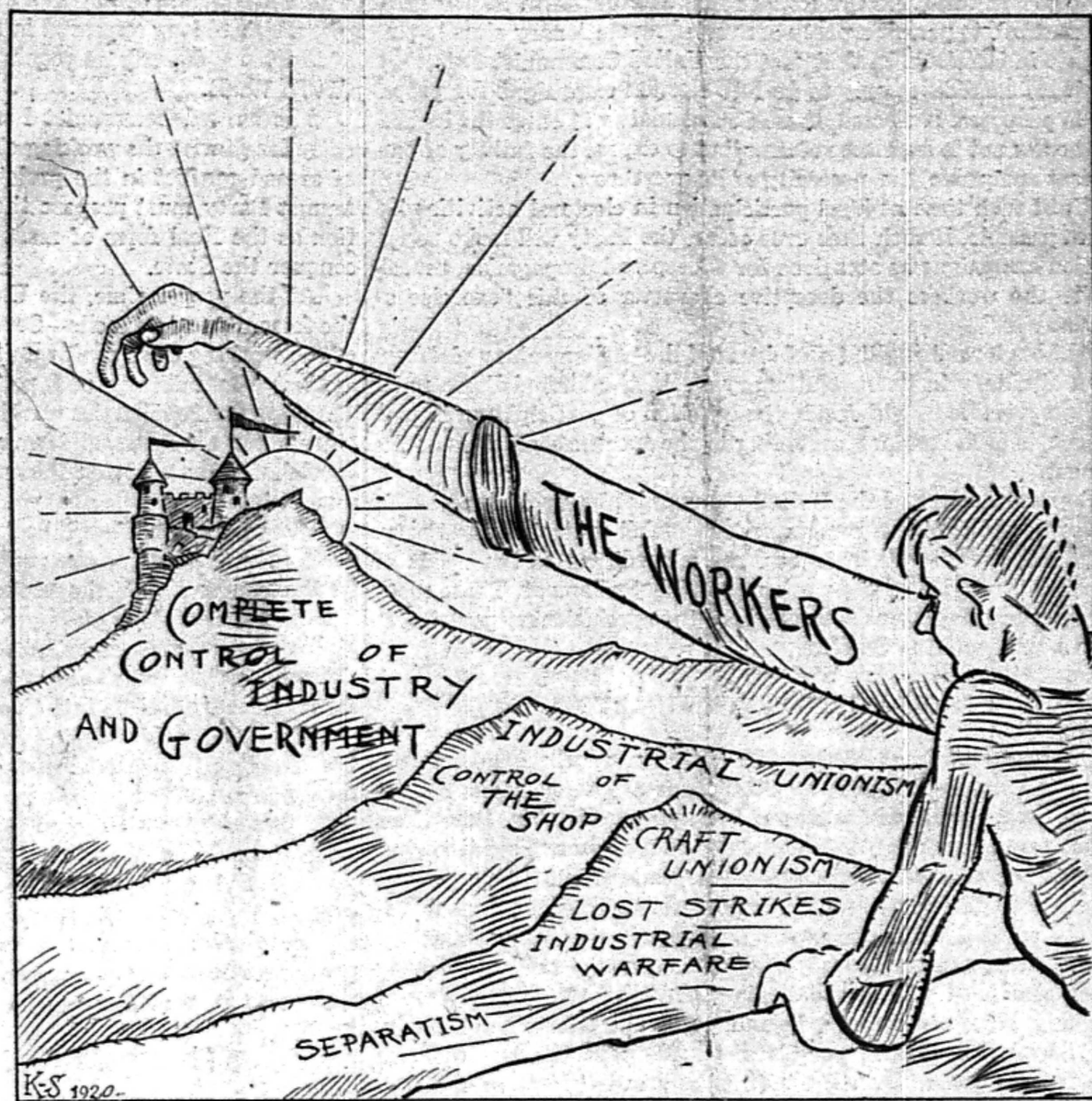
"There is no longer any conflict between Turkey and Armenia. And if there was Morgenthau would be the last man in the world to settle it. The Turkish people have little confidence in his good faith or impartiality. How President Wilson, after all of Morgenthau's statements about the Turks, could name him as mediator, even if mediation were necessary, is beyond the comprehension of every Turk."

President Wilson was informed several weeks ago that Morgenthau was persona non grata to the Turks, yet he proceeded with his fantastic paper diplomacy as if his own preference would sweep away all opposition. For being all dressed up with no place to go, Morgenthau has only the president to thank.

## Mrs. De Falco Offers Sacco-Vanzetti Freedom For Cash

By John Nicholas Beffel.

Boston, Mass.—With the arrest of Mrs. Angelina DeFalco, charged with offering to guarantee an acquittal in the Sacco-Vanzetti case for a large sum of money, that case has hit the front pages of the Boston newspapers with a bang. All four Sunday papers—the Herald, Post, Globe and Advertiser—



IN YOUR GRASP IF YOU WILL BUT REACH.

reviewed at length the new arrests and the events leading up to it.

Each paper pointed out the international significance of the prosecution against these two labor organizers, which has impelled the Italian government to order an exhaustive investigation of the facts behind it. Both the Herald and Post ran stories under two-column heads, and next day the Post carried another extended account of the developments. Then the record appeared with a detailed history of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, citing its connection with the torture and death of Andrea Salsedo in New York; that history being published in two installments.

"Many well known local people have always doubted the guilt of Vanzetti and Sacco," declares the Post, "while labor unions here and in the mill cities of Lawrence, Lowell and Fall River have declared that the two men are being 'railroaded' by the Department of Justice."

When arraigned in police court here, Mrs. DeFalco was accompanied and re-

presented by Attorney Samuel L. Bailen, who obtained a continuance until January 27th. The charge that Mrs. DeFalco had unlawfully solicited law practice for two prominent attorneys at Dedham, and tried to have the work of defending Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco transferred to them, caused a notable stir in court and law circles in Boston and surrounding towns. Dedham is the seat of Norfolk county, and it is there that Sacco and Vanzetti were held in March for a payroll robbery and two murders committed last April in South Braintree.

Mrs. DeFalco's chief accuser is Alidino Feliciani, treasurer of the Sacco-Vanzetti committee, who filed the complaint. Chief Justice Wilfred Bolster of the Boston municipal court ordered the warrant for her issued after he had read lengthy statements by Feliciani and other persons who declare that they heard her make the alleged proposal to throw the trial to the side of the defense.

It is charged by Feliciani that Mrs.

DeFalco sought to have the present defense lawyers pushed into the background, and the whole case put into the hands of the two others. Sacco and Vanzetti are being defended by Attorneys William J. Callahan and Fred H. Moore.

Speculation as to whether the alleged proposal of Mrs. DeFalco to sway the coming trial in favor of the two Italian workers was a bona-fide offer or a trap to involve the defense committee is contained in one of the stories published in the Boston Post. The latter theory includes the idea that possibly it was intended that the defense committee members were to pay a bribe, and then be themselves subjected to serious charges.

## VANZETTI DEFENSE MEETING.

A meeting for the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti will be addressed by F. G. Biedenkapp of the Workers Defense Union at the North Congregational Church, 72nd and St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, Feb. 15th at 8 P. M.

## The Amalgamated Commissary Stores

By Mary Heaton Vorse.

Down on Attorney Street is a grocery store that is like a slit in the wall. There is nothing to distinguish it from other stores around there, except that there is a sign above it which reads:

AMALGAMATED STORES ASSOCIATION, Store No. 1.

And that means that there is all the difference between this grocery store and the others around it that there is between a society which is run for people and a society which is run for profits.

Every penny which bought these goods was given voluntarily by workers to help other workers, whom they did not know, whom they would never see. This made all the difference of a civilization between that run-for-solidarity commissary store and the run-for-profit grocery stores up and down the street.

That little slit in the wall of a grocery store was the vanguard of a new civilization. It has a wonderful significance to anyone who wishes to look at it with insight. This store has been built with sacrifice. These rows of bundles and canned goods represent the little margin of comfort, leisure, pleasure of other workers. They are not groceries; they are the small enjoyments of the workers, the coveted extra bit of furniture, books, the very clothes of hundreds of people. These goods represent the swift response of thousands of anonymous people to meet the need of other thousands of unknown brothers and sisters.

If you have vision you can see standing on the shelves not only things to eat, but the hopes and desires of men and women willingly surrendered for a larger cause. The people who made these Amalgamated stores possible cared about other things than their own comfort and leisure. It is an inspiring thing to conceive of a whole industry voluntarily taxing itself of all the margin of comfort.

The labor movement is going on the road to achievement when the workers in different cities prove that they have learned that victory for some is a victory for all. Very soon we will have surmounted the wall that divides industry from industry. A few years ago this wall loomed formidable. Now it has shrunk in size as the workers' power has increased, and they are realizing the meaning of solidarity.

The latest development in the forging of this precious spirit of solidarity, this spirit of mutual understanding and mutual help, is the opening of the commissary, the rolling up of the million

dollar fund which comes in steadily week by week. In Baltimore we learn that beside the tax of twenty percent on every worker's wages the girls have voted to give extra money for the milk fund for the babies. All through the industry in every city the workers are rallying to the defense of the New York workers. The actual result of these sacrifices are the five stores, two in New York, two in Brooklyn and one in Newark.

I went down to the Attorney Street store on one of the first days. The crowd surged up over it; the crowd extended down the street, men and women. The store was so full that the door had to be closed. Inside the clerks worked with frantic haste. Whenever anyone came out with his bundle others were eager to take his place. You could realize that even this waiting was another lesson in solidarity.

The natural way for a person to feel if they go to a store and cannot be waited on at once is to get mad, and then when they get mad the next thing is to want to blame someone for your inconvenience—that was what plenty of good, sturdy housewives were doing. In the midst of the crowd was a stout, vociferous woman. She was telling the world what she thought of a union which kept people waiting. She railed and scolded.

She had no thought beyond herself. She thought only of her inconvenience, only of her own annoyance. For her solidarity had no meaning. She had not yet learned her lesson. This store to this woman was a store like all other stores—only not so well run. She had longed to the old order. A Union to her had no other object than getting the workers' wages raised, and the moment it stopped doing that she got angry and wanted to blame somebody. She didn't even know that to start a chain of stores, to register the people of a great industry, to go through the delicate task of deciding who shall have relief and who shall not, is a tremendous undertaking, one pretty nearly impossible if every one doesn't help, if every one hasn't good-will.

This woman trying about "I've been here two hours and I can't get my groceries yet. Do they think I can wait all day?" was fighting for Mr. Bandler, though she didn't know it.

But there was another spirit abroad beside that of criticism, for one woman like that, there were scores who understood the meaning of the store. A woman put it this way:

"What's the matter," she said to the noisy woman. "Why do you complain? Aren't we all waiting the same as you?"

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## Two Months of Activity of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions

By J. T. Murphy.

The era of social revolution has brought its challenge to the labor unions of the world no less profoundly than to the political parties. Expressing as they do the fundamental movement of the masses they are immediately responsive to and reflect every intensification of the economic struggle of the workers. Hence we are witnessing not only millions of workers flocking into the unions as their only refuge, but also the union launching forth into great struggles and more intensive fighting than has ever characterized their experience. Their immediate economic issues are bringing them face to face with great political realities and forcing the unions to take upon themselves new activities, change their objectives and become weapons of revolutionary struggle. Sectional strikes merge into general strikes and with increasing frequency are compelled to openly challenge the power of the state.

Conversely, political issues arising out of the conflicts of the imperialistic struggle surge through the unions and make of them a battle ground and rallying force for the warring partisans. Thus are the masses within the unions impelled toward making the choice between the reformists and revolutionists and thus has begun the vital conflict for a new alignment of the labor unions.

This is as much an international problem as a national one for we find the Amsterdam Bureau of Trade Unions—now the rallying ground of reformists—the most important weapon in the hands of the international capitalists. Its leaders betrayed labor during the war and since the signing of the imperialist peace they have pursued a policy equally treacherous. The war shattered the Second International and gave birth to the Third or Communist International. What the Second International was in relation to the political

movement of the working class, the Amsterdam International is in relation to the union movement of the workers. Unable to resurrect the Second International and make of it an effective power against labor, all attention is now directed to the unions as a means for the conduct of the policy of amelioration pursued by the capitalists to defeat the workers as they press forward to revolutionary ends. Thus the Labor Union International expressed in the Amsterdam Bureau becomes utterly useless as a means of combat and a powerful bulwark against the revolutionary masses.

Hence, just as the revolutionary Socialist parties in the Second International had to face the issue of shaking themselves free from the reformists and ultimately decided on the formation of a Communist International, so also have the revolutionary workers' organizations to face a similar issue. Some had already faced the issue and were outside the Amsterdam International before we had arrived at the critical stage of current history. These unions were mostly revolutionary unions from their inception and the intensification of the struggle simply strengthens their determination to stay outside and, at the same time, gives them an impulse toward the formation of a new International of Labor Unions. With this strong tendency already manifest and the obvious need of all these unions being brought together pressing upon the movement, the choice between the policy of "boring from within" the Amsterdam International and that of leaving it, becomes immediately sharpened. To persuade the revolutionary unions to go into it would be an impossibility, even if it were prepared to accept them, and the fact that the labor union movement is largely dominated by a reactionary bureaucracy, both nationally and internationally, thus making a double entrenchment of reformism, would make for interminable

delay in the rallying of the revolutionary forces for action in any policy of capturing the international bureaucracy. The rapidity with which the economic struggle of the workers is becoming a revolutionary struggle impels us to make for the rapid mobilization of the workers under revolutionary leadership. The unions of the workers are mass organizations. The conquest of the national organizations therefore and their severance from the Amsterdam Bureau, and its direction to a new centre of leadership is an immediate source of weakness to reformism and a gathering of strength for revolution. The path pursued by the revolutionary parties in the formation of the Communist International is seen to be the path which must be pursued by the revolutionary organized masses.

The problem therefore becomes clearly the problem of rallying the revolutionary union forces outside the Amsterdam Bureau along with the forces which can be drawn away from that organization as they become revolutionary in purpose and outlook. The unity of the "left" union forces against the "right" becomes the slogan of the hour. Forms of organization are realized as of less significance than purpose and objectives, and conservative prejudices of less immediate value than revolutionary action.

This was anticipated by the First Congress of the Communist International, but it was not until the Second Congress of 1920 that time became ripe for action.

II.

By June, 1920, delegates began to arrive for the Congress and the Executive Committee of the Communist International immediately took advantage of the presence of union delegations in Russia and convened a conference of representatives of Great Britain, Italy, and Russia to consider what steps

should be taken to give effect to their views with regard to the union movement of the world. At this conference there were present Zinoviev (chairman of the Executive Committee of the Communist International), A. Losovsky, H. Tomsky, G. Thyperovitch, V. Schmidt (member of the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Council of Labor Unions), G. Melnichansky (of the Moscow Provisional Council of Labor Unions), D'Aregona and Giuseppe Bianchi (of the Italian General Confederation of Labor), Enrico Dugoni (of the National Federation Landworkers of Italy), Emilio Columbino (of the Federation of Metal Workers of Italy), Robert Williams (Transport Workers' Federation of Great Britain), A. A. Purcell (of the British Trade Union Congress).

Comrade Zinoviev explained the point of view of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He pointed out the serious danger threatening the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all countries, thanks to destructive work of the Amsterdam International, around which millions of workers are still rallying. He declared that the "yellow" Amsterdam International Labor Union is by no means only a technical organization of the international labor union movement. It is closely bound through the social conciliators—Jouhaux, Legien, Appleton & Co.—to the League of Nations through the Washington Bureau of Labor. The Amsterdam International is now a political weapon in the hands of the Entente, in fact the strongest weapon that still remains in its hands. It is thus the task of the revolutionary proletariat to knock this weapon out of its hands and smash it. He observed the need for the creation of the Red Labor Union International and conduct a united struggle under the banner of Communism, and for a united effort against the Amsterdam International. He said the time was ripe for such

an organization and for such a fight and he was of the opinion that it was extremely important and feasible to immediately organize without delay a section of the Labor Union movement in connection with the Communist International so that at the time of the Second Congress of the International it would be an accomplished fact. There were many unions outside of the Amsterdam Bureau of Trade Unions. The Third All-Russian Congress of Labor Unions have already joined the Third International and a number of other unions outside of Russia had declared for affiliation. The organization of this opposition section to the "yellow" International of Labor Unions would not only bring clearness into the relationship of the labor unions, syndicates, etc., towards the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but would also stimulate the already started process of the detaching of the labor masses of the whole world from the "yellow" International, the whole strength of which is given to the support of the counter-revolutionary Entente.

The Conference agreed that such an organization was necessary and proceeded to take necessary measures for publicity, for the organization of the Provisional Committee, and for the convening of a World Congress of Labor Unions. Several further conferences were convened at which were present the representatives from Spain, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, France, Georgia, besides those already mentioned as present at the first conference. All of these with the exception of Williams and Purcell (who while in agreement had no mandate to act on behalf of their organizations so far as committing them to become part of a new international is concerned) were agreed to become part of a Provisional Council of the Red Labor Union International. In the discussion which took place a sharp cleavage of opinion

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# The Program of the American Arm of the Communist International

**EDITOR'S NOTE:** The only political international of workers of any power or consequence in the world today is the Third (Communist) International with headquarters in Moscow. The old Second International of the Socialist parties is dead. Not even the reactionary American Socialist Party will accept it, probably because it realizes it can never be galvanized into any semblance of life. Since the Second Congress of the Third International concluded its sessions at Moscow last summer, with representatives of 22 countries represented, the International has steadily gained in power and prestige. It has purposefully split up in all countries the old socialist parties, carrying the more revolutionary elements with it, or building new Communist parties instead. Every country now has a single Communist party closely allied with and under the discipline of the Third International, or is forming one at this time. The Congress of the Third International was the greatest political event of the year just past. Indeed, so important was it that the United States government has recently issued an official publication containing the official acts of this world congress of Communists.

In the United States but one party, the United Communist Party has succeeded in gaining recognition from the Third International. Other parties have applied but without success. The Socialist Party has been rejected with scorn. In view of the growing world importance of the Third International and its purpose to build up in every country a unit of revolutionary communism, the Toiler feels that it should inform American workers of the program and policies of the American arm of the Third International, the United Communist Party. American workers, many of them, will find new and startling statements, theories and programs advanced in this document, some undoubtedly with which they will not agree. However, in the interest of information and the duty of workers to keep abreast of all large political and economic developments of the workers, we offer it to our readers. The Program as here printed is taken from The Communist, the official organ of the United Communist Party. It will be concluded in two numbers.

## PROGRAM OF THE UNITED COMMUNIST PARTY.

The United Communist Party came into existence at the close of the world war that has doomed capitalist civilization.

It is steadily perfecting its machinery for assault upon the American capitalist system, the most powerful remaining stronghold of world imperialism.

In the short period of this party's existence as the American section of the Communist International, it has accomplished much of the preliminary labor of organization, and has begun its historic role as the aggressive, class-conscious vanguard of the American proletariat.

American capitalism is the most ruthless and formidable expression of world-wide capitalism. In resolutely confronting this enemy, it is necessary to understand the nature and development of its being.

The essential characteristic of capitalism is production for profit, on the basis of private property in the principal means of production and exchange. This property is concentrated in the hands of a few.

Starting as the simple tool of the handicraftsman, the means of production have developed into huge and complicated masses of machinery, around which have gathered hosts of workers whose sole part in the productive process is that of burdensome labor, for which they receive the scanty pittance allowed them by their taskmasters in the form of wages. The enormous values accruing from industry, apart from that portion allotted to the workers as wages, are appropriated by the numerically small, but politically and economically powerful employing class.

Thus we have, on the one hand, a small class of idle capitalists, living luxuriously on the proceeds of the labor of the toilers; and, on the other, the great mass of workers whose sole asset is their power to labor, which they are compelled to sell to their masters for a bare sustenance.

The economic grouping of these two classes inevitably generates irreconcilable antagonism. On the part of the capitalists, the desire is to extort the fullest value for a minimum return; and, on the part of the workers, a constant effort to increase the wage for which they are forced to sell their labor-power.

Owing to the existence of the capitalist system, a small group of imperialist governments had the opportunity for four long years to compel the workers of various countries to cut each other's throats. The bourgeois war has cast the entire world into a state of extreme destitution and starvation. Unless the capitalist system is overthrown, the repetition of such a criminal war is not only possible, but inevitable. The war has mechanically destroyed economic ties the world over, the development of which was one of the most important conquests of capitalism.

Meanwhile, the ruination of mankind is going on. The growing burden of the destructive forces of imperialism and increasing exploitation are gradually drawing the workers closer to an understanding of social forces and a revolutionary determination to overthrow the whole capitalist system instead of bettering their standard of life within the limits of the present system. To develop and direct this struggle for the seizure of the instruments of production and exchange, by means of the overthrow of the capitalist State and the establishment of the Proletarian Dictatorship through the Soviets; the complete abolition of classes and the realization of socialism—the first step of Communist society—is the responsible task of the United Communist Party.

## ATTITUDE TOWARD PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

The form of government of the United States and of its constituent states, is the model for capitalist democracy. It places the law-making power into the hands of "representative parliaments," i. e., congresses, assemblies, city councils, etc. The placing of this law-making power in the hands of a body elected, ostensibly by popular vote, is the basis of the contention of the ruling class and the democratic reform socialists, that this government is, or by reforms can be made, a government "by the people." In this confusion lies the greatest obstacle to the working class understanding its situation and liberating itself. "The people" is a collective name for two antagonistic and irreconcilable forces that have no common object, and therefore cannot hold power together—the class that lives by its own labor and the class that lives by exploiting labor. "Government" consists in the domination of one of these classes over the other; therefore, both classes cannot at the same time "govern." These two irreconcilable classes cannot be summed up under the one term, "the people."

The "democratic parliament" or congress is but a blind to obscure the fact of class division. Congress functions, and can only function as the clearing house for petty differences, within the sphere of capitalist influence. The slight latitude to "popular will" is a latitude allowed only within the boundaries of basic capitalist interest. Exercise of that will, outside of these limits, is punished as a crime.

The American Congress is only the means of concealing the dictatorship of the capitalist class. It cannot be the arena for the struggle of the proletariat for power. Nor can parliamentarism be one of the forms of proletarian rule during the period of transition.

Least of all can it be part of a Communist order in which there will be no class struggle and no State.

Therefore the United Communist Party's attitude toward parliamentarism is hostile. We recognize that at a future time industrial crises and revolutionary mass manifestations may compel the capitalist government, for the sake of reawakening faith in bourgeois government, to permit a party of avowed revolutionary aims to participate in elections. In that case the United Communist Party will nominate candidates only to go into election campaigns for propaganda purposes. If elected, these Communists will enter the legislative bodies not to legislate reforms, but to expose the futility of parliamentarism and prove the necessity of its overthrow.

Until such time as legal participation in electoral activities becomes possible, if such time ever occur, the Party will make use of election campaigns as occasions for widespread propaganda, revealing to the workers the deceptive character of this "exercise of popular will."

Although realizing the usefulness of the parliamentary platform as an auxiliary in its revolutionary work, the United Communist Party, nevertheless, will decide the question of participation in parliament, in each instance, according to the specific conditions of the moment.

Representatives of the United Communist Party of America, if elected to public office, remain under the full control of the Party. Their activities, in all instances, are subordinate to the needs of the mass struggles of the workers outside parliament. These mass struggles are the essential weapons of the revolutionary proletariat against the capitalist State.

## "SOCIALIST" REFORM PARTIES.

On the eve of the clash that will settle forever the issue between capitalism and Socialism it becomes necessary to clear the revolutionary ranks of all confusing and betraying leadership. Bourgeois reform parties making sentimental use of the name "Socialist," but ready at the moment of crisis to accept leadership of the capitalist State and to defend capitalist "democratic institutions," must, before the crisis develops, be exposed and deprived of all influence.

The American bourgeoisie is slow to learn the trickery already known and used with death-dealing effect by the bourgeoisie of Germany, Hungary, France, Poland, etc.—the trickery of employing "Social democratic" parties and leaders at the last moment to prevent a violent overthrow (i. e., any overthrow) of the capitalist state. Only recently has American capitalism begun to see the shortsightedness of its way, and to show signs of willingness to permit its misunderstood and mistreated servants, such as the "Socialist" assemblymen of New York State, to enter legislative bodies. Capitalism has compelled its humble "Socialist" servants publicly, and as a party to promise fidelity to the capitalist constitution, publicly to declare their willingness to defend the existing bourgeois State against "attack of foreign Bolshevik governments," and to amend their Socialist Party constitution so as to permit the voting of war credits for the defense of the capitalist government. The American bourgeoisie has done itself an ill turn in requiring its Noskes publicly to admit in advance their willingness to butcher workmen in defense of the existing state.

The United Communist Party makes use of this unusual opportunity to teach all intelligent workers that "The American Socialist Party," the "Socialist Labor Party," and any other party pretending to bring Socialism through means prescribed by capitalism law, are but the last trench in the bourgeois fortification. Communists will at the same time make clear to the toilers of city and country the futility of such frankly bourgeois reform parties as the "Farmer-Labor Party" and the "Single Tax League."

Where the yellow leaders of the Socialist Party advance their project for a "Fourth International," Communists will ruthlessly expose the project as a cowardly evasion advanced for the sole purpose of preventing the alignment of the American working class with the only revolutionary international, the Third (Communist) International. Communists will point out to the Socialist Party rank and file members that there is no difference in principle or program between the projected "Fourth International" and the old Second International that co-operated in most countries with the respective capitalist governments in dragging the working class to the destruction and murder of war. In the United States, where the "left" elements of the Socialist Party as it then existed, succeeded in obtaining a mild official and perfunctory opposition to the war, the Socialist Party officials have since succeeded in expelling all these "left" elements, and have revised their party program to its complete debasement. Having lost most of their working class following by this servility, the Socialist Party leaders now strive to avoid the loss of the rest of their following by building a new "International" that is but a duplicate of the Noske-Scheidemann Second International. United Communist Party members will hold up the "Fourth" as well as the Second, International to the contempt of the world, which all such "Internationals" deserve.

## MASS ACTION.

The mass struggle of the proletariat grows out of the ever-increasing antagonism between the workers and the capitalist class. The capitalist State is the expression of the organized power of the ruling class. Standing apparently over and above both classes it is, in reality, an instrument of coercion for the ruling class against the ruled.

The power of the State is used more and more openly and aggressively in the class struggle. Finally it is revealed in its true role as standing in the way of a proletarian victory. The economic forces of the workers, organized and directed against the forces of capitalism, are combated by the forces of the State. Strikes are declared unlawful; injunctions are issued against the workers; police and military units of the State are openly used against strikers, to drive them back into submission. Thus the workers are forced to recognize the capitalist State as their enemy and the economic struggle of the working class takes on political significance. The battles for higher wages and better working conditions are transformed into a struggle for political power. The scattered struggles of groups of workers against groups of capitalists now grow into revolutionary conflicts between the working class and the capitalist class defended by the capitalist state. The conquest of that State and the annihilation of its governmental machinery becomes the immediate object of the struggle.

Consciously to direct this inevitable development and to lead the working class in the final conflict is the historic mission of the United Communist Party. To this end the party makes the great industrial struggles of the workers its major campaigns. It will strive to give them conscious revolutionary direction. It will endeavor to develop an understanding of the strike in relation to the

overthrow of capitalism and the capitalist State. It will enter into organized, and lead mass protests and demonstrations, constantly, to disturb capitalist society. A whole system of mass demonstrations must be developed, growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalist State. The government will then function openly as a military dictatorship. The class struggle, which so long appeared in forms unrecognizable to the millions of workers directly engaged in it, develops into open combat.

**CIVIL WAR.**  
The United Communist Party will systematically and persistently familiarize the working class with the fact of the inevitability of armed conflict in the proletarian revolution. The United Communist Party must prepare the working class for armed insurrection as the final form of mass action, by which the workers shall conquer the State.

At the proper time, the United Communist Party will initiate the formation of Councils—Soviets—through which the whole power of the working class can be united into one overwhelming offensive against the military and police power of the capitalist State. Through the Soviets the working class will exercise its dictatorial powers for a successful termination of the civil war against the capitalist class, and for the reconstruction of society on a Communist basis.

Workers' Councils will be formed in time of revolutionary crisis as the instruments of the revolution. They will be used to organize the insurrection of the workers against the State and become the organ of the working class government under the guidance of the United Communist Party. As the proletarian State, the Workers' Councils will maintain order during the transition, and will transform capitalist society into Communism.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat through the Workers' Councils is only a transitional instrument for the fulfillment of an historic mission. After private property shall have been expropriated and converted to Communist use, class divisions will disappear. With the passing of class antagonism, the State—which is at any given period in history but the organ of domination of one class over another—will also pass out of existence. The Workers' State ceases to exist as a State, ceases to exercise the now unnecessary police and military apparatus, and is converted into the administrative organ, regulating social production and distribution.

## PENETRATION OF MILITARY UNITS.

The capitalist class of this country fully realizes the danger threatening it from the growing unrest among the workers suffering from the effect of economic depression.

The strengthening of the police; the creation of, and demand for state constabulary forces; the formation of private armies of spies and thugs; all this—ostensibly planned for the purpose of suppressing "race riots," or combatting a "crime wave"—in reality has no other object than that of preparation for the inevitable clash with the workers.

This clash is being forced by the capitalist class, by the gigantic struggle it has undertaken to crush all labor organizations, thus reducing the working class to a condition of complete slavery.

In this struggle, as in all other class struggles, the military forces of the State will be at the disposal of the capitalist class.

The United Communist Party must take into account the various military organizations which are at the disposal of the capitalists, and render others harmless to the workers.

Such organizations as the police, constabulary, and public and private forces of spies and thugs are counter-revolutionary to the core; and the United Communist Party has no illusion as to the possibility of converting them to the workers' cause. On them the Party declares relentless war.

The Party must also recognize the class character of such semi-military organizations as the American Legion, which have, in many instances, played a part in the suppression of the workers' movement. The membership of the American Legion, consisting mainly of former enlisted men, has been misled by the ex-officers who have seized control of the organization, and who have diverted the former private soldiers from their natural post-war class resentment. The cynical denial by the government of the ex-soldiers' demand for a war bonus, has somewhat weakened their blind reliance upon their officer leaders. By propaganda among the members, stressing the class distinction between their officers and themselves, some of them may be won away from their leaders. However, it appears certain that some of the units of the American Legion, at least, will be used, to a considerable extent, as a recruiting ground for the American White Guard.

The United Communist Party recognizes the fundamental difference between a conscript and a mercenary army and navy. The former, drafting its recruits by compulsion, furnishes a fertile field for Communist propaganda, and by its character and structure clearly reflects the economic class relationships of capitalist society.

In the mercenary army and navy and the "National Guard" (militia), although the same relations exist, they are to some extent obscured by the fact that membership is voluntary. Yet they contain many workers who were attracted into the service by the prestige enjoyed by a uniform, by the seductive promises of good pay and adventure, or by sheer economic necessity and starvation. The Party should conduct a systematic propaganda in all military units, making clear to them the real function of military organizations, in order to awaken class-consciousness in them and bring them over to the side of the proletarian revolution.

The United Communist Party will issue special appeals to the soldiers and sailors, which will be distributed among them and will create Communist groups in the army and navy, which shall be closely connected, in order to establish a unified revolutionary body within the armed force of the State.

Hundreds of thousands of workers who were drawn into the world conflict, or who voluntarily participated in it, were deceived by the capitalist class into the belief that they were striving to "Make the World Safe for Democracy," that a new and better world would be the result of this struggle.

The war now having terminated, and the illusions of the great mass of former soldiers and sailors having been shaken to a great extent, certain organizations have been formed which have as their aim the attainment of the same naive ideals for which they fought in the war. Such organizations are the World War Veterans, the Private Soldiers' and Sailors' Legion, etc. These organizations, although not fully class-conscious, and still professing much of the liberal idealism of the bourgeoisie, nevertheless align themselves

## Along The Soviet Front

By Propaganda Pete.

The appeal for a new trial of the members of the Communist Labor Party who were convicted of "conspiracy to overthrow the government by force of arms" has been denied by the Superior Court at Chicago. However the sentences have not yet been pronounced and in view of certain developments may reverse.

The charges against the 80 members of the Communist Party and 39 members of the L. W. W. which were to have been heard in the same court where the C. L. P. cases were tried have been dismissed.

In spite of the protests of the Western powers China continues to demand recognition and trade with Soviet Russia.

The Argentine Socialist Party's vote upon the question of joining the Third International was 5013 against and 3656 for. This means a newly organized Communist Party in Argentina.

The Commissariat for Labor in St. Petersburg has sentenced 4,000 speculators to compulsory work. In this country we send them to Congress.

In one district the Soviets have opened 244 new schools and 45 Libraries within a few weeks. In another 54 educational centres have been established.

The "Revolutionary City", Paris, has become the habitat of the world's reactionaries.

What became of Wrangel's army? 25 thousand are harbored at Gallipoli where disease and bad food conditions are wiping it out at the rate of a hundred a day. Other contingents are in Greece being maintained by the Greek government. 40,000 are stationed at Lemnos where Wrangel himself is staying. These armies are kept alive by the reactionary capitalist governments awaiting an opportunity to make another assault upon Soviet Russia.

A delegation of the Romanian Socialist Party to Russia has returned and made its report. It is expected that the Party will split upon the matter joining the Third International.

A Copenhagen dispatch states that German government officials have declared that German recognition of Russia would be established very soon.

The tremendous plans for education of Russian children are handicapped by lack of pencils, pens and paper. New York socialist papers are sending a cargo of pencils, pens and paper to Russia with money contributed by their readers.

The Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party of America, is debating the question of withdrawing from the C. L. P. on account of its refusal to accept the 21 points of admission to the Third International.

The Foreign Relations Com. in session heard some secrets of American exporters last week when they were called upon to testify as to their destination trade with Soviet Russia. The Com. would learn how business was being done.

Austrian Minister to Great Britain, Frankenstein, states that with the growth of hunger in Austria, Bolshevism thrives in proportion.

Premier Briand succeeded in suppressing a general discussion on the Chamber of Deputies of the arrest of alleged Bolshevik agents in Paris.

Johnnie Spargo, said one time to have been a socialist, told the Senate Committee that trade with Russia was bringing "revolutionary upheaval," which he is much opposed. Spargo says that capitalism's necessities can't get on you to learn to like it.

French merchants with warehouses of products and no market are growing impatient with the delay of trade with Russia while English and Italian commerce grows in quantity daily.

The Social Democratic Party of the little Duchy of Luxembourg has split over the question of affiliation with the Third International. New members are Communist Party in that country.

During the closing moments of the Pan-American Federation of Labor Convention at Mexico City, a motion picture show members of the Communist Party to address the Convention was shown and lost by one vote.

Gompers got a close call.

(Continued on page 4.)

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## "How Do You Like Your Boss?"

The conflict between the editorial and news pages of the capitalist press is often a source of surprise to the uninitiated and of amusement to those who are in on the know, to use a colloquial expression. Due to the fact that capitalist editors are paid to smooth out the wrinkles that appear in our complicated and conflicting social life while at the same time being compelled to some extent at least to give the facts of news value, these two duties often come into sharp conflict with some astonishing results which even the most cursory reader cannot fail to observe.

Let us take the Cleveland Press for February 2nd. On the editorial page is a cartoon by Darling, entitled "How Do You Like Your Boss?" It depicts a fence dividing Russian an American industry. Russia, a hungry lean and ragged individual, surrounded with broken machine parts and a tumbled down factory; while Bolshevik scans in consternation a paper labeled "bankruptcy". On the other side of the fense sits the great American working mule dining sumptuously from a full dinner pail from which protrudes the shank of a chicken, sandwiches, pie and fruit. Factories with plumes of smoke flowing from their chimneys, and jauntily Uncle Sam with a pay roll from an interesting background. Surely, a striking contrast—if it were only true!

A glance at the facts as they exist is all that is required to condemn this piece of nonsense and journalistic bastardy. Every one in America, possibly excepting the editor of the Press, knows that American industry is at a standstill; that there are nearly 5,000,000 unemployed in this country at this time; that industry is not booming nor is there any indication that it will boom in the near future. Hunger, want, privation and absolute suffering is the portion of American workers. If the editor of the Press was anything but a mental prevent hire do prostitute the truth, he would not let his job before casting this insult in the faces of his proletarian readers. Probably it is because he DOES know the true facts of the condition of industry that he dare not publish the truth—he might be on the unemployed list.

Aside from a consideration of the most patent and universally recognized facts, let us turn to the news pages of the same issue of the Press for its own condemnation. Doing so, we find a number of items indicative of the tremendous pressure and high speed of American industry at this time.

Here are the items:

The City Rent Commission acts to aid unemployed tenants.  
 The City Employment Bureau has found eight (8) jobs for married farm laborers!  
 The Pennsylvania R. R. at Wellsville cuts working force 60%.  
 Lack of funds halts water main extension at Canton.  
 Columbia Steel Co. at Elyria is working with 50% normal force.  
 Car riding in Cleveland has decreased 5%. Service on all lines is being cut and Company proposes a 20% reduction of carmen's wages.  
 Van drivers are locked out because they would not accept a wage cut.  
 State Department of Agriculture states many farmers have left the land after being rendered bankrupt by declining prices.  
 That in spite of falling prices in building material no improvement in the building situation is shown.  
 Considering that the Press is not a news paper, but only an advertising sheet for capitalist wares and a murder-tale bearer, this is considerable news of current events to glean from one issue. Any worker can supply additional facts from observation and experience to prove that the Press editorial pages are in violent conflict with the facts of industry as related in its news columns. In other words, the editorial page is a lie.

Let us consider the state of Russian industry just now. Every student and observer that has visited Russia has stated and proved over and over that the break down of Russian industry had reached it lowest level JUST BEFORE THE BOLSHEVIKS CAME INTO POWER, that is, during the reign of capitalism. That immediately they gained control, in spite of counter-revolution, invading armies from this country, France, England and Poland, in spite of a world blockade, industry, in the sections they controlled has steadily moved upward. Anyone familiar in the least degree with conditions prevailing there now, now, when American industry is dead, knows that conditions are rapidly improving. Figures will prove that in the lines of grain, coal, clothing, oil production and every essential industry the gain is doubling and trebling. These are facts recognized by any one pretending to be at all familiar with actualities. They should be, and we think they are known to the Press whether it wishes to admit it or not.

But of course, keeping the facts from the public is the real purpose of the lying capitalist press of which the Cleveland Press is but one part and a very insignificant one at that. We merely use it as an example which can be verified daily by any observant reader.

"How do you like your Boss?" is a misfire. In a city of over one hundred thousand unemployed it becomes a boomerang which returns to bump the thrower upon his senseless noodle. It provokes the reader to draw his own conclusions in respect to the truthfulness of the capitalist press and shows him how necessary it is that such weapons be made the first object of control of the proletarians when they come into power in order that the real truth may be told the workers.

The conviction of the five members of the Socialist Party Executive Committee and their sentence to twenty years imprisonment has been set aside by the Supreme Court.

And now we know just who it is that wants Debs in jail. His name is Wilson, the White House Guardian of the morals and liberties of the American people.

## 'Communism and Christianity' Receives Attention of Chamber of Commerce

Not only do the Chambers of Commerce attempt to establish the Open Shop, which means a closed shop to union men and women, but it also seeks to set the bounds of working-class reading and thinking. The autocrats of history who have hanged, guillotined and burned to death the thinkers of the past have nothing on these modern destroyers of progress and free thinking.

New ideas are acceptable to the masters of bread who control the Chambers of Commerce only if they support their rule and intrench their property rights. The man or woman who states a truth in opposition to their conceived right to rule unmolested over the masses and determine for them the lives they shall live and the thoughts they shall think, is considered a fit object of their wrath and they will leave no stone unturned to have them removed from their way.

Bishop Wm. M. Brown, the former Episcopalian Churchman, who has renounced the dogmas of religion and accepted Darwinism and Communism as the rule of his life and advocates them for the workers of the world has won the condemnation of this influence that today, as ever before, stands in the road of the worker's emancipation.

"Communism and Christianity," a book just recently published, which has already reached a circulation of many thousands of copies, is the cause of the taking up of the cudgels by the property interests against Bishop Brown. We urge every worker who reads this paragraph to order and read this book. We ask each of you to place a copy in the hands of every churchgoer of your acquaintance, and get their opinion as to whether the publication of Bishop Brown's book should be allowed to continue. See advertisement in this issue.

We reproduce here the letter from the Janesville, Wisconsin, Chamber of Commerce which Bishop Brown has received and his answer thereto.

JANESVILLE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE  
 Janesville, Wisconsin  
 January 22, 1921

To the President,  
 Bradford Brown Educational Company, Inc.,  
 Galion, O.

Dear Sir:—  
 There recently came to my attention a book bearing the title "Communism and Christianity," written by William Montgomery Brown, and published by your company.

The book is the most Un-American piece of literature that has ever come to my attention, and I am today appealing to the Attorney-General of the United States to stop its publication.

I want to appeal to you to stop the publication of this book without making it necessary for the forces in this country which propose to protect the nation, to expose your company and you and the author of the book. You may as well realize that such books as the one to which I refer cannot be printed and distributed in this country, and you may as well direct the energies of your company to something constructive. The intelligence of William Montgomery Brown is too good to be used in a destructive manner.

Yours very truly,  
 Lucian O. Holman,  
 Manager.  
 Galion, O., Jan. 24, 1921.

Mr. Lucian O. Holman, Manager,  
 Janesville Chamber of Commerce,  
 Janesville, Wisconsin.

My dear Mr. Holman:—  
 Your letter of Jan. 22nd is at hand and I am this day forwarding it to the President of the Bradford-Brown Educational Company, Inc.

As a member of the company and the author of the booklet, I take pleasure in saying that while I regret your attitude and action, I do not blame you; for, during nearly all of my life, I would have been of your way of feeling and doing.

With every good wish of the season, I am,  
 Very cordially yours,  
 Wm. M. Brown.

## KNOCKED SENSIBLE BY A POLICEMAN'S CLUB

(How Unemployment Changed the Mind of an ex-Soldier)

By Don Kennery.

After almost five years of hell and high promises the workers seem to be worse off than they were before. Unemployment is here again, loosed like a grey plague, upon the land. Millions are now clutched in its cold embrace. Hunger, want, misery and uncertainty follow in its trail. Even men at work are compelled to hug their jobs closer to their greasy shirts in momentary fear of the fateful word that will hurl them into the ranks of the anxious army that always hovers about the Factory gates.

To many people in comfortable circumstances, "unemployment" is merely a disagreeable word, but to millions of us in the working class it is a harsh, brutal fact. As strange as it seems, when the whole world is crying out for the products of human hands, many a strong, honest, willing worker must vainly wander about looking for a chance, as Robert Burns says, "to beg his lordly worm to give him leave to toil."

The writer of this has been a steady worker all his life; made pretty good money and been fairly well satisfied. I spent eight months in France trying to "make the world safe for democracy" and, after the armistice, worked hard at home for "increased production." Now, somehow or other, they tell me we have "overproduction" and so I am out of work and my job has been taken by an "open shop scab," working under the "American plan."

A lot of this is quite new to me in spite of the fact that agitators have frequently entertained me with talk about such things. But I have always brushed revolutionary talk aside as the vaporing of irresponsible malcontents. I have always believed that a willing man could always find work to do.

Somehow I also had the notion that unemployment and such things were only for the other fellow and not myself—who had always made good and had even fought in the trenches to "make the world a better place to live in." Least of all did it ever strike me that in America, men like myself—millions of them—could be thrown on the streets because nobody cares to employ them.

I have been out of work a little over a month now, and the fact that I have been living in a fool's (or slave's) paradise all my life has just dawned on me because of this experience. Sometimes it takes this sort of stuff to jar a man loose from prejudice. So far I have kept my family together, but the hard part of the winter is still ahead. I am toughened to hardship myself but the thought of my little woman suffering with me seems so uncalled-for and cruel. Sometimes I almost regret that the world-war did not wind up in a world-revolution. At least we would not have to face things like this. Russia, I guess, is about the only country on the map where men are not starving for want of work. The harder it gets for a lot of us here the more we think of how the workers managed things in Russia.

The other night a big thought dawned upon me all of a sudden. You have heard of men being knocked senseless by a club before now; well I was hit with a club, all right, but with me it had the very opposite effect. All my life I have paid but little attention to what agitators call "capitalism." It happened however that a policeman tapped the idea into my skull—in other words it was a night-stick that knocked me, not "senseless" but sensible. Since then I have seen conditions in their true and ugly light—just as I now know they have always been.

It happened this way: I had sat down for a moment in a little park near the railroad tracks, I was tired out from a fruitless all-day search for employment. Pedestrians, hunched with the cold, were hurrying along the icy sidewalks. Luxurious automobiles were purring up and down the street. I sat alone on the bench and it seemed the whole world—excepting myself—was comfortable and secure. Through the smoke and steam of the railroad yards I could see the dim-lit skyscrapers of the city tower, high-massed and huge, into the

darkening sky. At this moment these grey buildings, and the gaunt factories and bleak streets seemed to weigh upon me like a nightmare. I felt like a hunted animal in a hostile environment. Not knowing where to turn next and being ashamed to go home to report my failure, I dropped my chin on my coat to keep the cold wind from lashing my face. It seemed incomprehensible that I, who had always felt myself a part of this busy world, should find myself thrown in the discarded like a useless thing—a willing worker who had always done his best.

Then came the revelation. I didn't know he was a policeman when he told me to "get the hell out of there" or perhaps I should not have answered as I did. At all events the impact of the club on my skull let in a blaze of light that will illumine my brain to the end of my days.

When I looked at the landscape about me as I started to trudge homeward everything appeared miraculously different. Wherever I looked it seemed to me the world bore the imprint of private greed. There was nothing in it that I or my kind owned or could own. We were simply chattels to be used or discarded at the will of a gigantic invisible autocracy—and the policeman and all that stood back of the policeman, were parts of a rotten system of labor repression. The factories, railroads, stores—the very dwellings in which the majority of us live and work are all owned by somebody else. There is nothing in fact that we own but our labor power and we cannot dispose of this unless some master of bread gives us permission to do so. The world has been stolen from us while we were asleep. And those who possess it will keep it as long as we remain asleep. But I felt that I, at least was awake—thoroughly and unmistakably awake.

For instance I was suddenly aware of the fact that the disinherited—the likes of me had built all this mighty jungle of modern life, and that it, by rights, belonged to us and not to the other fellow who now claimed ownership. I felt that all these factories and railroads and things that we built and operated for another man's profit should belong to us and that there should not be anything, anywhere that is owned by the gang of idlers who, having autocratic industrial and political power, keep the workers in a state of helpless subjection. And I may as well confess it, I longed for a mighty dictatorship of the proletariat in America to uproot Czarism as was done in Russia and to make the land safe for Labor.

For one bright moment the vision of society free and regenerated loomed

before my mind. I saw how great and glorious and happy the world would be if it were freed from the curse of capitalism. As I went onward through the wintry streets my blood was fairly tingling with the vision. The policeman's club was indeed a magic wand to fill a man's mind with pictures such as those that burned themselves into my bewildered brain.

If it takes an honest-to-God revolution to bring about this great social readjustment and make it possible for the workers to rule the world and render justice to the worker, the prize will be well worth the price.

I guess the Bolsheviks were right. All power to the workers!



Argentine transport workers have tied up hundreds of ships in a strike which is spreading to all parts, even to the ranches.

Secretary of War Baker, states that the present unemployment is splendid time to reduce the expense of getting men into the army. No advertising is needed now, hunger is urge enough.

2000 Negroes and whites competed for 100 jobs at 30c per hour at the Municipal Employment Bureau at Baltimore last week. Hunger knows no color line. Neither does the Boss.

We're getting back to normalcy with a whoop, or with soup! Cincinnati Machinists have opened a soup kitchen in their headquarters. This is the first soup house in Cincinnati since 1903.

This is called progress.

G. Bernard Shaw states that after a thorough investigation of the species known as the 100% American patriot, he came to the conclusion that he was 95% village idiot. Correct, Bernard.

Union miners have been barred from jury duty on the jury selected to try the 24 men accused of participation in the battle between citizens and private detectives at Matewan, W. Va. last May.

The rights of citizenship count for nothing against being a union man with ideas.

Employees of the General Electric plant at Schnectady have had their wages cut 10% and all bonuses sliced off.

The White Motor plant at Cleveland has discontinued furnishing music at the hash room during the lunch room. Employees have been notified that forces will be reduced another thousand men March 1st with a three day week instituted for those remaining.

The "break the Brotherhoods" campaign of the railroad Companies has started with a drive for a reduction of wages of 2,000,000 men.

25% production for three days a week is the present schedule of the Ford automobile plant at Highland Park, Detroit.

None of this Blue Law advocacy or Negro-burning have as yet been laid at the door of the Reds. Strange.

A bill has been introduced in the New York Legislature prohibiting an Alien from acting as a picket in strikes or as a strikebreaker. What we need is a law preventing Alien employers from ordering lockouts.

"All well and happy" wireless Martens on way to Russia. That's more the reactionaries who sent him home can claim.

A significant statement emanates from the New York Stock Exchange. Trading in Russian Imperial bonds has been stopped due to fact that no interest has been paid on them by the Soviet Government. Also as there seems no likelihood of the Soviets falling trading will cease.

Workers, Spread the Light of Socialist Truth

Read, think. Sell literature to other workers. Get on the Firing Line with Socialist weapons.—Books, Pamphlets. The education of the workers must be their own work. You can help by reading and selling the literature from this office.

Books About Russia	Cloth Bound Books, 75c Each
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WHAT I SAW IN RUSSIA.—Lansbury . . . . . \$1.00	Evolution of Man.—Boelsche.
RUSSIA IN 1919.—By Arthur Ransome . . . . . \$1.00	Germans of Mind in Plants.—Francis.
RAYMOND ROBINS' OWN STORY.—By William Hard . . . . . \$2.00	Karl Marx.—Liebknecht.
Labor Laws and Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia 25c	Making of the World.—Meyer.
Nicolas Lenin, His Life and Work, Zinovieff . . . . . 25c	Marx vs Tolstoy.—Lewis.
Communism and The Family, Kollontay . . . . . 10c	Science and Superstition.—Lewis.
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Communism and Christianity: Analyzed and Contrasted from the Viewpoint of Darwinism; by Bishop William Montgomery Brown. D. D. Paper, pages 184, aristic 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 Age of Reason. Every comrade buys one and comes back for more. It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "I think it is one of the most important books of a Socialist nature issued in a number of years. It is full of marvellously good material and will open many eyes." "Sold twenty-five in a fifty-cent three hundred for next meeting." The author, an Episcopalian ecclesiastic, has squarely renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxist philosophy of economic determinism. In this book he approaches the subject of Socialism from a new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all. It can sell three thousand within sixty days. Write for terms to book sellers and to propagandists. Twentieth thousand now in press.

THE TOILER, 3207 Clark Ave. Cleveland, Ohio

# Last Days With John Reed

A Letter from Louise Bryant  
 Moscow, Nov. 14, 1920.

Dear Max—  
 I knew you would want details and a story for the Liberator—but I did not have either the strength or the courage. As it is—I will be able to write only a very incoherent letter and you may take from it what you wish. Jack's death and my strenuous underground trip to Russia and the weeks of horror in the typhus hospital have quite broken me. At the funeral I suffered a very severe heart attack which by the merest scratch I survived. Specialists have agreed that I have strained my heart because of the long days and nights I watched beside Jack's bed and that it is enlarged and may not get ever well again. They do not agree, however, on the time it will take for another attack. I write you all these stupid things because I have to face them myself and because it must be part of the letter. The American and German doctors give me a year or even two, the Russians only months. I have to take stimulants and I am in not a bit of pain. I think I have better recuperative powers than they believe—but, anyway, it is a small matter. I once promised Jack that I would put all his works in order in case of his death. I will come home if I get stronger and do so.

When I did reach Soviet territory I was at the opposite end of Russia from Jack. When I reached Moscow he was in Baku at the Oriental Congress. Civil war raged in the Ukraine. A military wire reached him and he came back in an armored train. On the morning of September 15th he ran shouting into my room. A month later he was dead. We had only one week together before he went to bed, and we were terribly happy to find each other. I found him older and sadder and grown strangely gentle and aesthetic. His clothes were just rags. He was so impressed with the suffering around him that he would take nothing for himself. I felt shocked and almost unable to reach the pinnacle of fervor he had attained.

The effects of the terrible experience in the Finnish gaol were all too apparent. He told me of his cell, dark and cold and wet. Almost three months of solitary confinement and only raw fish to eat. Sometimes he was delicious and imagined me dead. Sometimes he expected to die himself, so he wrote on books and everywhere a little verse:

Thinking and dreaming  
 Day and night and day  
 Yet cannot think one bitter  
 thought away—  
 That we have lost each other  
 You and I...

But walking in the park, under the white birch trees and talking through brief, happy nights, death and separation seemed very far away.

We visited together Lenin, Trotsky, Kamenev, Enver Pasha, Bela Kun, and the white Ballet and Prince Igor and the new and old galleries.

He was consumed with a desire to go home. I felt how tired and ill he was—how near a breakdown and tried to persuade him to rest. The Russians told me that he often worked twenty hours a day. Early in his sickness I asked him to promise me that he would rest before going home since it only meant going to prison. I felt prison would be too much for him. I remember he looked at me in a strange way and said, "My

dear little Honey, I would do anything I could for you, but don't ask me to be a coward." I had not meant it so. I felt so hurt that I burst into tears and said he could go and I would go with him anywhere by the next train, to any death or any suffering. He smiled so happily then. And all the days that followed he held me tightly by the hand. I could not leave him because he would shout for me. I have a feeling now that I have no right to be alive.

Of the illness I can scarcely write—there was so much pain. I only want you to know how he fought for his life. He would have died days before but for the fight he made. The old peasant nurses used to slip out to the Chapel and pray for him and burn a candle for his life. Even they were touched and they see men die in agony every hour.

He was never delirious in the hideous way most typhus patients are. He always knew me and his mind was full of poems and stories and beautiful thoughts. He would say, "You know how it is when you go to Venice. You ask people—'Is this Venice?'—just for the pleasure of hearing the reply." He would tell me that the water he drank was full of little songs. And he related, like a child, wonderful experiences we had together and in which we were very brave.

Five days before he died his right side was paralyzed. After that he could not speak. And so we watched through days and nights and days hoping against all hope. Even when he died I did not believe it. I must have been there hours afterwards still talking to him and holding his hands.

And then there came a time when his body lay in state with military honor, in the Labor Temple, guarded by fourteen soldiers from the Red Army. Many times I went there and saw the soldiers standing stiffly, their bayonets gleaming under the lights and the red star of Communism on their military caps.

Jack lay in a long silver coffin banked with flowers and streaming banners. Once the soldiers uncovered it for me so I might touch the high white fore-

head with my lips for the last time. On the day of the funeral we gathered in the great hall where he lay. I have very few impressions of that day. It was cold and the sky dark, snow fell as we began to march. I was conscious of how people cried and of how the banners floated and how the wailing, heart-breaking Revolutionary funeral hymn, played by a military band, went on forever and ever.

The Russians let me take my grief in my own way, since they felt I had thrown all caution to the winds in going to the hospital. On that day I felt very proud and even strong. I wished to walk according to the Russian custom, quite by myself after the hearses. And in the Red Square I tried to stand facing the speakers with a brave face. But I was not brave at all and fell on the ground and could not speak or cry.

I do not remember the speeches. I remember more the broken notes of the speakers' voices. I was aware that after a long time they ceased and the banners began to dip back and forth in salute. I heard the first shovels of earth go rolling down and then something snapped in my brain. After an eternity I woke up in my own bed. Emma Goldman was standing there and Berkman, and two doctors and a tall young officer from the Red Army. They were whispering and so I went to sleep again.

But I have been in the Red Square since then—since that day all those people came to bury in all honor our dear Jack Reed. I have been there in the busy afternoon when all Russia hurries by, horses and sleighs and bells and peasants carrying bundles, soldiers singing on their way to the front. Once some of the soldiers came over to the grave. They took off their hats and spoke very reverently. "What a good fellow he was!" said one. "He came all the way across the world for us." "He was one of ours—" In another moment they shouldered their guns and went on again.

I have been there under the stars with a great longing to lie down beside the frozen flowers and the metallic wreaths and not wake up. How easy it

would be!  
 I send greetings to all old friends.  
 Good luck to all of you.

LOUISE.  
 From The Liberator.  
**THE AMALGAMATED COMMISSARY STORES.**

(Continued from page 1.)  
 You act as if you were going to a regular store. Don't you know that this is our store?  
 "What do you mean?" the angry woman said.  
 "Well, it's like this. We shouldn't be angry if we have to wait the first days. The people in the other cities and those who are working in New York have given their money, and we who are profiting by it, the least we can give is our patience. We've got to help together to make the commissary a success, the people who buy things no less than the people who are selling. You can't expect everything to work like a machine the very first day. And the more you roar the worse you make it."  
 So you can see the spirit of co-operation gaining over the spirit of impotence. Another lesson in solidarity, another milestone on the road to welding the whole industry into a magnificent fighting unit.

And it would be strange if those who came to take should be less generous than those who gave; it would be strange if one part of the industry should be full of understanding and generosity, while the other part—the ones who were to benefit—should expect this new enterprise to run with the precision of clockwork and be angry if it did not.

A big experiment in solidarity is what the commissary is, both for the workers who give and those who take. Throughout all the halls the question of who shall have relief and who shall not is being discussed daily. It is a hard question. Slack season was long. In all the shop meetings this is a burning question.

I was in a meeting of Italian women where the question was being explained. They sat there quiet, absorbed. The question in every mind was, "Can I wait? Do I need the cards as much as

other women? I know it is not only the men and women who give to the million dollar fund who are supporting the stores, but those who make up their minds that they can wait a while yet, before applying for relief."  
 The lockout is now nearly two months old. It did not come the way industrial disturbances usually do, on the wind of excitement; it sneaked into New York. One day the clothing industry was slack—it had been slack for months. People had come to take partial employment as almost the normal course of life. Discouragement was in the air; all through the industry there was a coming and going of men looking fruitlessly for jobs. And then came the lockout. The employers imagined that they were strong enough to brow-beat the workers into taking any terms, even terms which would smash the organization.  
 Now for eight weeks a curious thing has been in progress all through the halls where the workers meet daily.

All through the halls of the Amalgamated that peculiar thing called "morale" has been forged. That means in other words that the workers are being knit more tightly together every hour and every day. Anyone who has visited the halls right along knows this. There is something different astir than there was at the slack moment eight weeks ago when the workers first found themselves locked out.  
 Then they seemed a little dazed, almost as though they didn't know what had happened, almost as though they hadn't grasped what the employers were trying to do to them. Today it is different. That spirit which we call "solidarity" has become every week stronger and stronger. By attacking the workers the employers have succeeded in making them realize the meaning of the class struggle. In all the many halls where clothing workers meet daily, the same thing has been in progress, the forging of the force of workers into a fighting weapon.

## Program of the United Communist Party.

(Continued from page 2.)

with the organized working class. In the approaching decisive struggle, these organizations, if thoroughly permeated with Communist understanding, will fight in the ranks of the working class; due to their military experience they will be invaluable in the struggle. The United Communist Party will carry on an extensive propaganda among them, organizing Communist groups within their membership and striving to transform them into fighting units of the working class—the nuclei of a Red Army.

Outside of the bourgeois military organizations, the party will carry on a propaganda exposing their true nature, discouraging voluntary enlistment, and systematically destroying the false prestige which these institutions still enjoy in the eyes of the workers.

The United Communist Party will oppose, with all measures at its disposal, any attempts of the capitalists to involve the workers of this country in an imperialistic war. If, despite the Party's efforts to arouse the working class into open rebellion against the designs of the imperialistic bourgeoisie, the latter succeeds in conscripting the workers into its army, the members of the Party must not evade conscription, but shall work actively for Communism among their fellow conscripts, that their arms and military training may be used against the capitalist State.

Concluded in next week's issue.

## TWO MONTHS OF ACTIVITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

(Continued from page 1.)

was at first apparent between those who belonged to syndicalist organizations and those of the general trade union movement. This was intensified when the syndicalists were re-inforced by the Shop Stewards' Delegates and those of the I. W. W. These were of the opinion that the first proposals for the Provisional Council and for the conditions attendant upon the entrance to the International were of a character which encouraged the reformists and prevented the rallying of the "left" organizations such as the Shop Stewards, Syndicalists, and I. W. W. Finally, the differences were practically eliminated and after the conclusion of the Congress of the Communist International the Provisional Council of the Red Labor Union International was established by the union representatives which had been in attendance at the Congress. These were:

- M. Tomsky—All-Russia Trade Unions;
- Shablin—Hungarian Trade Unions;
- Peskonia—Spanish Syndicalists;
- Nilkitch—Confederation of Trade Unions of Jugo-Slavia.
- A. Nadson—Norwegian Industrial Union;
- Taro Joshiharo—American I. W. W.
- Colombino, Bianchi, and D'Arragona—General Confederation of Trades Union of Italy;
- J. T. Murphy—British Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees;
- Miradze—Georgian Trade Union;
- Maring—Dutch Transport Workers' Federation;
- S. Sturne—German Syndicalists;
- Maring—Transport Workers of Dutch East Indies;
- A. Rosmer—French Syndicalists.

A Provisional Executive Committee was elected by the Council: Comrades Tomsky, Rosmer, Murphy. A general appeal to the union movement of the world was drafted and issued immediately by the Council and the following temporary constitution of the International Council of Labor Unions was adopted:

Name.  
 A temporary international organization established upon agreement among the representatives of labor unions of various countries shall bear the name: The Temporary International Council of the Red Labor Union International.

Aim.

The Temporary International Council of the Red Labor Union International has for its purpose:

1) To carry on a large scale propaganda and agitation for the idea of revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary mass action for the purpose of the overthrow of the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

2) To carry on a struggle against the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie and the hope of peaceful transition from capital-

ism to socialism, which is poisoning the world's labor union movement.

3) To consolidate the revolutionary class struggle of the world's labor union movement and to carry on a determined struggle against the International Bureau of Labor attached to the League of Nations and the program and tactics of the Amsterdam International Federation of Labor Unions.

4) To take the initiative in international campaigns on the occasion of the more important facts of the class struggle, to take up collections for the support of strikers in the great social conflicts.

5) To collect all materials, data, and documents which characterize the international labor union movement and to inform all organizations which belong to the International Council with regard to the situation in various countries.

6) To publish books and pamphlets dealing with the question concerning the international labor movement.

### Construction.

The Council is composed of one representative each from Russia, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, France, Georgia, Germany and from such other organizations as will join the International Council of Labor Unions. The Council also includes one representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Council elects an Executive Bureau of three, including the General Secretary of the Council and a representative in the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

### Bulletin.

The Council will publish a bulletin in four languages, bearing the name of "Bulletin of the Temporary International Council of the Red Labor International."

### Conference.

To the participation in the international congress are invited only such unions and organizations as are conducting in their respective countries a revolutionary class struggle and stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat.\*

The system of representation at the International Conference shall be as follows: Individual unions, extra-union organizations, federations, etc., having less than 500,000 members shall send two delegates each; those having over 500,000 members may send an additional delegate for each 500,000 organized members. The International Bureau of separate industrial or trade unions may send one delegate each with consultative vote.

\* Note: As the revolutionary labor union organizations which have not yet declared themselves with sufficient clearness with regard to the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as the I. W. W., and some syndicalist organizations, the Council instructs the Bureau to address to them an appeal and to ask them to refer this question for the consideration of all their sections. At the same time they are invited to participate in the International Conference.

### Location.

Pending the convening of the International Conference which shall be as early as possible in 1921, the location of the International Council shall be in the city of Moscow. The place of the Congress shall be determined later by the Provisional Council.

Several meetings of the Council have been held and in addition to the foregoing, various other rules and regulations for the conduct of the business of the Council have been provisionally agreed upon. Since the business was carried through, several delegations from the trade unions have arrived here and interviewed the Council with regard to affiliation. These were from the Italian Syndicalists, the Central Commission of the German Trade Unions, and one of the American unions. The Italian Syndicalists joined the Council after a lengthy controversy, respecting the position of the Italian Confederation of Labor. It was not until it was made clear that the Confederation of Labor must immediately withdraw from the Amsterdam Bureau of Trade Unions and openly accept the policy of the Council, that the Syndicalists finally agreed to become members of the Council.

The German Trade Unions have not yet come to a decision, but it is rapidly becoming clear to them that if they would be true to the revolution no other course is possible for them to pursue. Meanwhile the Council will be represented at the Conference of the Betriebs Rate, to be held during the next few weeks in Germany, and to the rank and file thus gathered in conference a direct appeal will be made.

Efforts are also being made to direct contact with the other German organizations and with those of Austria and Switzerland. Within a few months we expect similar contact to have been made with Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the Americas and a whole network of organized propaganda activities to have commenced.

In Britain the organized campaign on behalf of the Red Labor Union International is already well begun. A committee has been established, manifestos issued, and the challenge to the British union movement to throw off its reformism and face the revolutionary issues of the international working class have been made in no uncertain fashion.

The Russian trade unions, true to the revolutionary task they have so well begun, have rallied to the International Council with all the enthusiasm that characterized their initial efforts in this direction. They have responded with funds for the strikers of other countries and other material support, and each Industrial Union is sending out its special call to their kindred industrial workers to rally to the cause of the proletarian revolution.

### III.

The organization of the propaganda of the Council has been started and manifestos have already been issued to the organized workers of Great Britain, America, Germany, India and France. It has also made arrangements for the publication of brochures on the fol-

lowing subjects: "Industrial Unionism versus Craft Unions"; "History of the Russian Trade Unions for Last Fifteen Years"; "The Work of the Unions in Russia"; "Extra-Union Organization"; "Tariff Policy in Industry (Wages and Payments in Kind)"; "Why We Apply Methods of Payments by Results" (in Russia); "Trade Unions and the Communist Party"; "Trade Unions and the Soviets"; "Trade Unions and the Red Army and the National Militia"; "Educational Work of the Unions"; "Yellow and Red" (historical tendencies in the union international); "Labor Legislation and the Trade Unions"; "Mutual Relations of the Industrial and Communist Internationals"; "Trade Unions and the International"; "Workers' Control of Industry"; "What the Amsterdam International Has Done for the Working Class"; "Civil Peace and the Unions." Arrangements have also been made for the publication of the "Bulletin" of the International Council, which will be issued fortnightly in four languages.

For the distribution of the literature and the conduct of the propaganda of the Council various other arrangements will have to be made according to the peculiarities of the movement in the various countries. In some countries where the antagonism between the unions are embittered the problem of organizing the propaganda will have to be approached differently from those countries where the movement is more uniform and the antagonisms less keen. The Council is making arrangements for the establishment in each of the countries of at least one central propaganda committee with its members drawn from the revolutionary unions, where possible, the Communist Party. They will not hesitate to form more than one National Committee where these are necessary. These committees are to undertake extensive propaganda throughout the unions by means of the publication of manifestos, the use of labor papers, by conferences of the unions, by controversy in the press, by the organization of speakers, distribution of our literature and general agitation throughout the labor movement. Every branch of the union movement is being circularized and asked to pass the following resolutions:

1) This (branch or committee ..... meeting of (organization .....)) calls upon the Executive Committee to sever the connection of this organization with the Amsterdam Bureau of Trade Unions.

2) This branch (or committee ..... meeting of (organization .....)) calls upon the Executive Committee of this organization to immediately affiliate to the Red Labor Union International, to take all necessary steps for the election of delegates to the World Congress of Labor Union Organizations in ..... called by this body, who shall be instructed to pledge this organization to the revolutionary policy of the Red Labor Union International and to respond to the calls for action that may be issued by its Executive.

In addition to these activities, other organized efforts have been made in various countries. But evidence of the ripeness of the

(Signed)

J. T. MURPHY,

Member of the Provisional Executive of the International Council of Trade and Industrial Unions