

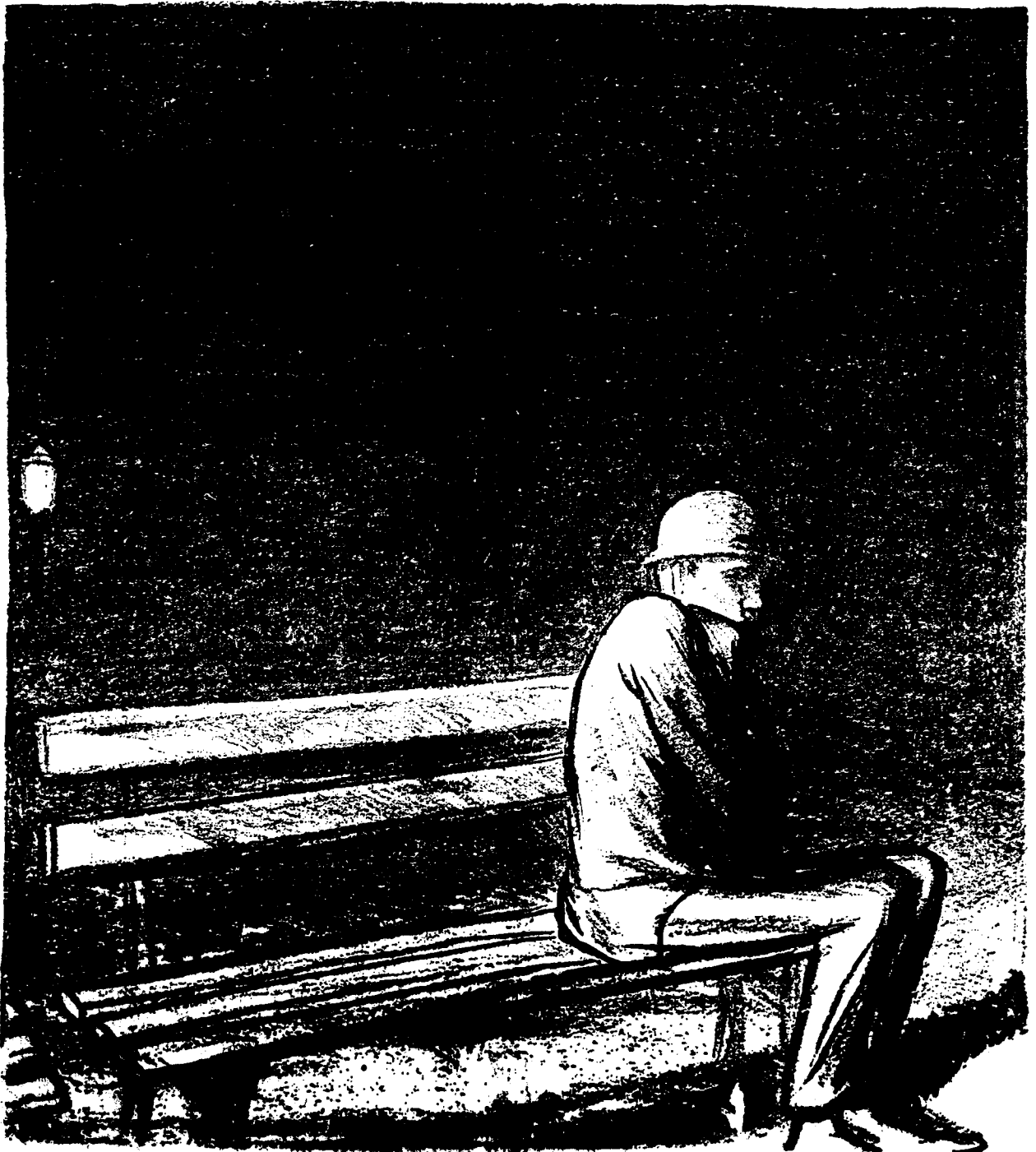
The TOILER

No. 155.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, JAN.

1921.

Price Five Cents



Surplus

The Third International Rejects The U. S. Socialist Party

By George N. Falconer.

"Workers! Leave the American Socialist Party. It is your enemy and ours. Already in America there is a revolutionary party, the United Communist Party, the American section of the Communist International. These are our true comrades. Thousands of them have suffered for the revolution. This is the party of the revolutionary working class.

"And to the leaders, the officials of the Socialist Party of the United States—the Bergers, Hillquits, Londons, Lees—we have only this to say:

"You have disgraced the name of "Socialists." You apply for admission to the Communist International; **WE ANSWER BY DECLARING WAR UPON YOU TRAITORS TO THE WORKING CLASS, WHO, ON THE EVE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION, SOLD OUT TO THE ENEMY TO SAVE YOUR SKINS.**"

The foregoing rejection and castigation of the United States Socialist Party by the Executive Committee of the Third International, formed in Moscow in March 1919, is something new and unique in the annals of revolutionary party history.

The officials of the Socialist Party, having eliminated the "red" or Communist element from their party ranks a year ago, and ambitious to shine as a real, true-blue, law-abiding political party, loyal to "old-fashioned American ideals," definitely entered the ranks of reform parties by adopting the following declaration at their May 1919 convention held in New York.

"Its (the Socialist Party's) ultimate aim in politics is to secure a majority in Congress and in every State Legislature to win the principal executive and judicial offices, to become the dominant and controlling political party of the country in order to accomplish Socialism."

"This childish and antiquated conception of the task of a Socialist Party," to quote the Third International, was, to say the least politically idiotic, and to make a bad case worse the convention adopted a resolution favoring affiliation with the

Third International, the terms of which were such as to cause surprise "that it could be offered in a convention of a party" calling "itself Socialist." The resolution begins with a long preamble, dealing with inconsequential Socialist nothings. The section dealing with the Communist International reads as follows:

"The Socialist Party of the United States therefore declares itself in support of the Third (Moscow) International, NOT SU MUCH BECAUSE IT SUPPORTS THE 'MOSCOW' PROGRAMS AND METHODS, but because:

"(a) 'Moscow' is doing something which is really challenging to world imperialism.

"(b) 'Moscow' is threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world simply because it is proletarian.

"(c) Under these circumstances, WHATEVER WE MAY HAVE TO SAY TO MOSCOW AFTERWARD, it is the duty of Socialists to stand by it now, because its fall will mean the fall of a Socialist Republic in Europe and also the disappearance of Socialist hopes for years to come."

This bit of bourgeois Socialist impudence is scored unmercifully by the International's Executive given for "affiliation" have nothing to do with Communism, and while grateful for the sympathy of said party, because "Moscow" is "threatened by the combined capitalist forces of the world," the Third International sees no valid reason for such a party's wishing to join it, nor for the Third International to accept such a party. Socialist "sympathy," like a Socialist ballot, is not worth a damn, unless backed by industrial force and true communist tactics or, better yet, by both; it is a snare, a fraud. This Socialist Party resolution, says the Third International, is based on a misconception of the role of the Communist International.

3rd International "Organ of Aggression."

"THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IS IN NO SENSE A DEFENSIVE ORGANIZATION. IT IS AN ORGAN OF AGGRESSION, THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION, FOR THE FORCIBLE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITAL-

IST STATE EVERYWHERE, AND THE SETTING UP OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. Concerning questions of principle and fundamental aims, it is impossible to consider what the American Socialist Party "may have to say to Moscow afterward."

"On the contrary, the Communist International has something to say to parties desiring to affiliate, before they are accepted.

"The Communist International is not 'Moscow,' but a centralized and disciplined organization now comprising the great majority of the revolutionary working class parties of the world."

The Communist International is not a sanitarium for weak-minded, fig-leaf Socialists. It is in no sense a church nor a League of Conciliation, nor is it a social fire-escape helping weak-kneed rebels out of the hell of capitalism into the heaven of Socialism. To all individualistic capitalist lackeys like the Hendersons and Mac Donalds of England; the Longuets of France and the Hillquits, Lees and Germers of America, the Third International declares its purpose in language so clear and simple that even a lawyer, a priest or a university professor might without great effort understand.

Communist International Not a "Hotel."

- "The Communist International is not a hotel where travelers may come with their own baggage and carry on their private affairs. **THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IS AN ARMY IN WAR TIME; VOLUNTEERS WHO JOIN THE ARMY OF REVOLUTION MUST ADOPT ITS PRINCIPLES AND OBEY ITS ORDERS, SUBMIT TO ITS DISCIPLINE.** None but Revolutionary Communist Parties are accepted in the Communist International. They must adopt as their program the program of the Communist International—open revolutionary mass-struggle for Communism thru the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of worker's Soviets—accepting as binding all resolutions of the Congresses and Executive Committee of the Communist International. They must create a **strongly centralized form of organization, a military discipline; all party members in public office; in the labor unions, in all forms of public activity, must be absolutely subject to the full-powered central committee of the**

party, which is the supreme organ directing all the phases of party work."

Socialist Party Membership.

Membership in Socialist Parties has generally been a very tame affair. Pay your dues, contribute to a defense fund, listen to a lecture now and then by Rev. Charles Doolittle or hear an essay on parliamentary procedure by an honorable member of the bar, every two years vote for certain petty bourgeois shopkeeper statesmen like the Meyer Londons, the Solomons and the Waldmans of New York who, when elected, serve capitalism and forget Socialism. The Third International reminds us of a few of the political stunts worked off lately by American Socialists:

"The 'Socialist' Aldermen of New York who voted for the Liberty Loan, who voted for money to erect the Victory Arch; the 'Socialist' Congressman, Meyer London, who congratulated the King of Italy upon his birth-

ONE EVENING ABOUT SIX WEEKS AGO

I read to my wife the first hundred pages of the manuscript of "Men and Steel." I simply couldn't read any more. I was too excited to sit still any longer. "That's almost the saddest and most hopeful and most beautiful thing I have ever read," Mrs. Liveright said to me, as I walked up and down the room. "I remember when you read me the first translation of 'Men and War.' I can recall the first time I heard 'Tosca', and you know how that big mass meeting in Madison Square Garden thrilled me. But those pages of 'Men and Steel' move me more than anything else that I've ever read or hear or seen"

Horace B. Liveright.

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day, who voted for the war credits; the 'Socialist' Legislators at Albany who declared openly against Communism; the 'Socialist' District Attorney of Milwaukee, who imprisoned workingmen for breaking up a religious meeting; the 'Socialist' officials who called in the Chicago police to expel the Communists from the 1919 convention—all these 'comrades' are still members of the Socialist Party of the United States; in fact, they controlled the May convention."

And these pink-pale-pill Socialists voted for the resolution favoring affiliation with the clean-cut, revolutionary, fighting Third International, whose avowed object it is to crush capitalism and establish Communism thruout the world!

What Must Be Done.

What must a Socialist Party do, seeking membership in the Third International? **They must act.** They must translate Socialist principles into Socialist deeds; Socialism, the hope of the world, must be made a reality. The class struggle must no longer be a thing to toy with, but a real struggle of the working class against the exploiting class for supreme power. "All Power to the Workers." No compromise with the enemy.

Socialist Deputies, Congressmen or Aldermen—if such are ever needed—must "consistently denounce bourgeois democracy and social patriotism and also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social pacifism; they must systematically demonstrate to the workers that without a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state no talk of disarmament, no international arbitration, no League of Nations, can save mankind from new imperialist wars."

Eugene V. Debs, Revolutionist.

"It will be pointed out that the selection of Eugene Debs as presidential candidate proves that the American Socialist Party is a revolutionary party.

"It is a characteristic tactic of centrist parties to make use of revolutionary phrases, of revolutionary personalities, to deceive the working masses, to persuade them to follow opportunist leaders.

"Comrade Debs has a fine revolutionary record. All the more shame to the 'Socialist' leaders of the American party, who have ex-

ploited the imprisonment of Debs for their own selfish, non-revolutionary purposes, and who, in nominating him for President, once more attempt to cover up and justify their compromising and cowardly attitude—at the same time refusing to consider Comrade Debs' proposal for unity with the Communists.

"If the majority of the American Socialist Party endorses the decisions of this convention (held in May 1919), then we have but one thing to say to those honest workers who still may remain within the party:

"You are being deceived. The Socialist Party of the United States is not a working class party but an auxiliary organization of the American bourgeoisie, or world imperialism. It is not leading you toward Socialism—it is betraying you to the counter-revolution."

The foregoing extracts are taken from the document published recently by the New York Call of November 30, 1920. The "document" in full was first published in the **Russian Press Review**, October 1920, No. 5. "It is the first evidence we have observes the Call, that the application of the Socialist Party for affiliation reached Russia and was considered." "Whether," the Call continues, "this is intended as an official reply we do not know." (Subsequently The Communist, official organ of the United Communist Party, published the "document" as an authentic, official answer from the Third International.) Editorially the Call expresses the hope that other Socialist Party papers will publish the document so the membership may know the facts.

Certainly the membership should know; they should be told the truth; if those in charge of Socialist Party affairs are really interested in the working class and sincerely desire Socialism—Socialism in its working clothes, which means Bolshevism—they will blanket the United States with the "document" now under discussion. As the **Butte Daily Bulletin** recently observed editorially:

"With the coming into power of the Republican Party, British propagandists will be unable to function. This does not mean that the liberties of the American people will be made more secure nor that their standard of living will be increased. It does mean that the world stage will be cleared of its obstructions and the issue set clearly before us. The two great nations of the world—America and Britain—will fight for world supremacy. We shall

see imperialism stripped naked and thus be in a better position to conduct our own fight. It therefore behooves us to educate the working class to an understanding of the imperialistic policy of the ruling class. We must keep our heads clear so that 'foreign' nationalistic movements shall not be used as a means to drive us into war. We must be prepared to engage in real work and not waste time in discussing the future of the working class but concentrate on the position as we find it today. Furthermore we must reach the masses and this means that we must work with the labor movement, fighting with it in all its fights and not standing aloof offering words of advice that are as

meaningless as the prayers of a Zulu to his jumbo god."

Here's hoping for a clean-cut revolutionary movement in the United States. Forget not that **Social Revolution depends not upon material conditions only; it depends upon these plus clearness of vision to assist in the evolutionary process.** Changing economic conditions must drive and revolutionary knowledge and ideals must inspire and enlighten before any new class can function.

Let us be up and doing, every woman, every man, and work for the Better Day.

"Out of the East the dawn is rising—
"Out of the night the day appears."

To the Technical Engineers of All Countries

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The year following the October Revolution, was marked by the sabotage of the Russian intellectuals. Societies such as those of doctors, teachers, consulting engineers, etc., took part in this sabotage in every way, hindering the work of the Soviet Government. Now, however, after the lapse of three years, we see these people marching side by side with the workers. The subjoined appeal issued by the Engineer's section of the Industrial Union of Transport Workers in an example of the radical change which has set in, in the minds of the Russian intelligentsia. It is to be voted that this manifesto is signed by Professor Greduskui, formerly leading member of the Executive Committee of the Cadet Party and Vice-President of the Second Imperial Duma.

* * *

The bourgeois and social-patriotic Press who have sold their literary honour for francs and pounds, is full of insinuations about Soviet Russia. To please their masters, they represent the Soviet Republic as a country where chaos and sanguinary arbitrariness reign supreme, where peaceful citizens are killed without trial, where the centres of culture and education are destroyed, the intellectuals persecuted, and the economic resources of Russia senselessly wasted. All this, however, is most conclusively refuted by the great self-sacrifice and love with which the masses of the Russian people maintain their Socialist rights; by the great educational work carried through by the emancipated workers, the stamping out of illiteracy in the back-

ward country, the dozens of new universities and institutes being opened, and by the light of knowledge and education which the Soviet movement is introducing even in the remotest Kalmick villages.

The sympathies of all the better elements of humanity for Soviet Russia continue to grow. H. G. Wells, Anatole France, Forei, Henry Barbusse, the late Jack London, and Professor Timiriaseff, the most talented people of our time, are our friends or our adherents. Gradually, not only the representatives of art and letters, but also of science are coming to our side; it is because the vitality of Communism is so great and the economic work carried through by the Soviet Government is so imposing. The State distribution of commodities which turns the State into an enormous labour co-operative society saves us from starvation under the most unfavourable conditions. The systematic trustification of Russian industry, which abolishes chaos and competition in production, inspires us with the unshakable conviction that the end of the severe struggle will signify the beginning of the grandest unfolding and development of the Russian State industries. It goes without saying that we could not attain the successes standing to our credit if it were true that Soviet Russia is "shooting down professors and hanging engineers." On the contrary, we owe our successes to the fact that people with knowledge, who are prepared to work honestly, are placed in such material conditions as will secure them a peaceful activity free of domestic cares and will allow them full scope for scien-

tific initiative. At the instance of the representatives of Russian science, a number of scientific and educational organisations, technical societies, and laboratories have been established.

The Soviet Government is doing away with the system of favouritism, official servility and flattery, career hunting, intrigues, etc. Now the door is wide open for every energetic worker of science, and there is no need for one to depend on influential connections.

Imperialism, which is the torture of the masses of the people, compels modern technique to serve the purposes of destruction of man by man and directs the creative and inventive faculties of the engineers to the shedding of human blood. Our activity, which may turn our earth into an industrial hive of buzzing machines engaged in useful production, is now diverted to its mutilation and destruction. Our science is corrupted, and becomes destructive: armoured trains, torpedo boats, ammunition factories, military aeroplanes, dynamite on which gluttonous Imperialism feeds—half the guilt for all this falls on us, engineers. Some of us have sold our professional conscience for comforts of life, others, out of fear, obediently carried out the murderous orders. The results are cemeteries as large as whole countries.

Only the Soviet movement will liberate science from the necessity of serving criminal designs. The victorious proletariat leads us into a sphere of useful social production, into wide regions of peaceful conquests of the human mind.

Capitalist oppression has made technical science not only unmoral, but has brought it to stagnation and degeneration. Shutting out the wide field of invention, it drives our powerful work into the small channels of refining and perfecting the trifles of Capitalism. The efforts of the engineers are not directed to the erection of great, hygienic proletarian centres, but to serving the appetites of High Society for luxury—and this is the sign of decline.

The Russian engineers were at one time the enemies of the proletarian revolution. They were in error. Events have proved to them the rightness of the cause of the revolutionary workers. Now the Russian engineers have become convinced of the fruitfulness of the economic measures of the Soviet Government, and are now glad to contribute their share of work to the social endeavours.

Engineers' sections have been formed in the large industrial unions of Russia. They do not

pursue narrow professional interests; these are sufficiently well looked after by the Soviet Government. Their main aim is to unite closely the industrial body of manual and intellectual labour by distributing the highly skilled human labour in the given industry and carrying out scientific and practical measures on a large scale. Among others, the engineers of the Russian Riverside Workers' Union formed a section which is devoting much energy and time to the spreading of scientific education among the workers, by organising lectures, conversations, exhibitions, excursions, etc. The work of an engineer is immeasurably more pleasant and fruitful when under his guidance are people who work with enthusiasm inspired by consciousness and knowledge.

The Soviet system is instilling this consciousness into the masses, and thus helps us in our work.

Comrades, the capitalist order compels you to be the slavedrivers of hordes of factory workers, compels you to be their executioners. A wall of estrangement is artificially erected between you and them. The long-suffering workers have lost patience. The workers are preparing for the revolutionary storm. Like dynamite opening for itself the shortest way through a rock, the workers open their shortest historical Soviet road towards a happy state of society.

"We hear sounds of approval not in the sweet words of praise, but in the wild shouts of rage."

These words describe
Nicolai Lenin
Premier of Soviet Russia.

All the capitalist statesmen, diplomats, financiers, "great men" rage at Lenin. To Lenin, it is the greatest praise—for their rage shows how well he is serving the interests of the workers.

NICOLAI LENIN

HIS LIFE AND WORK

By G. Zinovieff

is more than a character sketch of Lenin the man, it is also a sketch of the revolutionary character of the leader and statesman of the Soviets, containing many pages of lessons on tactics and principles of the Proletarian Revolution.

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Follow our example; approach the working class in daily labour. Have no fear of the proletariat. Do not hinder their revolutionary work. The proletariat is a class filled with generosity, humanity, inexhaustible energy, and with the greatest possibilities. Do not shut yourself up in close reactionary caste corporations. Join in the fruitful work of the trade unions like friends; you will be hailed with joy and greetings. Enlighten them with science. Follow the revolutionary class in politics.

We, the Russian engineers, trust in the power of the proletarian revolution, and we shall march hand in hand with the workers along the same Soviet path.

The proletariat of the brain and the proletariat of manual labour are brothers. The union of the mighty hand and of the clear head is unconquerable. It will approximate the realisation of Communism, which comes with mechanical inevitableness to take the place of the decayed capitalist order, and will establish the highest and most perfect form of production and unchain science and morals—for the attainment of which the best part of humanity lives and dies.

On behalf of the Engineer's Section of the Transport Worker's Union.

Nikozovsky, Chairman.

Professor Gredeski, Secretary.

Screwing Down the Safety Valve

By H. W. Garner.

There is one particular part of a high pressure boiler which is known to everyone having any knowledge of a locomotive or high pressure boiler, to be of a very great importance.

This part is known as the "safety valve." It is small indeed, but if we are to measure it by its importance, then we find it to be of considerable size; for upon this safety valve depends the life of the boiler. So long as the safety valve is operating properly all is comparatively safe, but if some inexperienced mechanic were to screw the valve down tight thereby preventing it from operating, the result would be, the boiler would blow up with a loss to the owner and in all probability a loss of lives as well.

Now the labor movement may well be compared to the steam in the boiler, and the boiler represents the capitalist system. Anti-strike legislation and other legislation restricting the rights of the workers may be compared to the safety valve. While our politicians and blind statesmen may be compared to the inexperienced mechanic. Our reactionary labor leaders seem to fit in very well as a more experienced helper, who has an idea that it isn't wise to screw the safety valve down tight but isn't much inclined to challenge the higher qualification of his master mechanic.

Now of course the boss wants the safety valve turned down pretty tight so to prevent any waste in motive power. But he is as ignorant as his inexperienced mechanic, and to the observer who stands back, watching the controversy of the mechanic and the helper, one trying to screw the

valve down tight while the other is trying to persuade him to leave just a little chance for steam to escape. There comes the realization that either is bad policy, for if the mechanic is successful in having his way, the boiler will soon go up in a cloud of steam and the thing will be done for, while if, on the other hand the helper is successful in affecting a compromise and leaves just a slight escape for steam, he has only prolonged the big event, for just as soon as the boiler becomes weakened and defective from long usage, the thing will go up with possibly a greater roar and a greater loss. No matter which wins out, the mechanic or the helper, the blow-up is going to occur just the same.

While we stand back and watch the struggle of the workers for freedom, and watch the safety valve being screwed down, in the way of anti-strike legislation and the restrictions of the workers' rights in one way or another, let us examine the boiler (the capitalist system) we find it to be very defective, it has long since become worn out, and should have gone to the scrap heap long ago. The realization dawns upon us, that the time is not far distant when the capitalist system will give way to the workers, just as the defective boiler gives way to steam. The screwing down of the safety valve will only hasten the day, and we turn again to the inexperienced mechanic and the compromising helper, and we say: do your best to serve your master, but as the hands of inexperienced men and compromisers cannot stay the motion of and compromising labor leaders stay the workers' revolution.

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

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Toiler Publishing Association

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"Surplus"

Surplus, surplus everywhere. Wherever the eye may turn it is greeted with a sight of surplus commodities. The shops and stores are stocked to overflowing with surplus food, clothes, hardware, furniture, machinery. On the farms there is surplus grain and cattle and hogs and other products. Prices are falling because the surplus is so great. Productive machinery has stopped and still the surplus is not depleted. Prices are marked down and down (in those lines least organized) and still the bottom is not yet plumbed.

But if the surplus of manufactured commodities is great—just as much so is the surplus of human beings. Here too is a great and ever growing surplus. But let us first note that the surplus here is a surplus of one class only—the workers. Nowhere have we read or seen or heard of a surplus of shirkers. It is only the workers who pile up in menacing quantities in such times as these. In spite of a war that took its ten millions of dead there yet remains a vast quantity of surplus humanity—that is, people without "visible means of support"—cash or jobs.

There is a direct relation between the surplus

stocks and the surplus workers. Each is in a way, a cause and an effect. The worker, by working hard and long, produced the quantities of goods. Because he piled them up, they turned him into a surplus.

If the worker received a return for his labor equal to the value of his product, no surplus would exist. Then instead of creating a "surplus" and freezing and starving because of it, he would take a vacation well clothed, housed, fed in comfort and security.

The surplus we see all about is really not a surplus at all. All of it is wanted, needed by the hungry and illclad millions. Every bit of it is demanded by the necessities of decent living. Yet it lays in the warehouses locked up out of reach of the very workers whose labor and sweat produced it.

Was there ever such an anomaly in history? Can such a contradiction be conceived? It is almost unbelievable that human beings in the twentieth century would tolerate such a palpable misery creating economic error. Starvation with food in reach. Freezing with only a pane of glass to keep us from the warm woolens. Misery, with all the comforts which science can invent, all around us. Verily, we workers are fools.

But by suffering we learn. Misery spurs us on to learn. Hunger drives us to action. These are potent causes which teach us the way to remedy these evils and to eradicate them. No longer must we produce for profit. USE only must be the motto and the slogan of intelligent workers applied to industry. Production for profit is starving millions all over the world. It must stop. The workers must take and operate industry for the uses of the millions, not for the profits of millionaires.

Workers—which do you prefer—A dictatorship of the capitalists or a dictatorship by the workers?

* * *

If some one must be held down, should it be the millionaires or millions of workers?

* * *

Do you stand with the workers in their fight for more of the world's goods—more of life? If not, what claim have you to manhood?

* * *

They compelled us to work during the war, now they won't let us work. The people who are handling affairs seem to be such a crazy lot anyway—or is it ourselves—the workers who are foolish.

Working Within the Unions

A. Verblin.

It is sufficiently clear to those of us who are consciously fighting for the destruction of the present social system and for the establishment of a communist society that the unions furnish the best field for our propaganda and agitation. In the unions are found the great masses of workers without whose active support the revolution can not be accomplished.

The folly of creating "artificial unions," thereby isolating the most conscious workers from the masses and leaving the masses to the mercy of the "labor leaders" is or ought to be plain to all. The Third International strongly condemns such a policy and urges the revolutionary workers to stick to the masses organized in the existing unions.

But let us not for a moment suppose that the "leaders" will look with favor upon our activities within the unions. Our new policy of working within the unions is far more dangerous to them than the policy of the I. W. W. which created unions on paper and cried "Join the I. W. W." The masses of course did not respond and the I. W. W. is still a union on the chart. When Mohammed saw that the mountain did not come to him, he went to the mountain but the I. W. W. insists on the mountain coming to it.

Tactics of the Bureaucracy.

The "leaders" of the trade unions will naturally use every means to drive the "reds" out of the labor organizations. Nothing will be too dirty for them. As a last resort they will even spread rumours among the rank and file that a certain "Bolshevik" is only a stool pigeon and in the pay of the Department of Justice. This was actually done by "leaders" of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of Chicago when in the election for officers of Local 39, the most powerful local in Chicago, one of the real radicals threatened to put a dent in the "political machine". Rumors were spread concerning him that he was only a stool pigeon sent in by the Dept. of Justice to corrupt the organization.

How to circumvent the Bureaucracy.

We can see then that these "leaders" will resort to every means to kill our activities. But we must not allow ourselves to be driven out so easily. We must use all efforts to stay with the masses and

continue to educate the workers on a class-conscious basis, urging them to take power into their own hands and make of the union an instrument of struggle against the capitalist class.

One of the mistakes that the revolutionary workers make in their agitation within the unions is to allow themselves to be placed in a position of hostility to the union. This gives the politicians a chance to raise a hue and cry that we are against the union and gives them a chance to expel us more easily.

We must not allow ourselves to be placed in such a position. We must take the position that the union is the workers and that we are not opposed to the union but to the false leaders. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, when considered from the view point of the membership, can be said to be a radical union because it contains a radical element, but from the point of view of the leadership it is not much better than any A. F. of L. union.

The point is that by coming out against the union we weaken our position. After all, it is immaterial by what name the union is called. We must clearly define our position to the rank and file that we are not against their union but that we are against the labor bureaucracy, the tactics and policies of the "leaders." We are not trying to destroy the union. We wish to change the union.

Rank and File vs. Bureaucracy.

Within the trade-union movement there exists a wide gap between the exploited rank and file and the comparatively well-to-do officials. The officials have no economic worries. The uncertainty of employment does not bother them. During a strike they continue to draw their salaries. The workers are conscious of this gulf between them and the officials and it is our duty to deepen that gulf, to show the workers that only through a change in the form of organization can the officials become the servants of the rank and file instead of being their bosses.

Adopting such a policy we can attract to our side those militant workers who have been instrumental in organizing the union, who have suffered much in the strikes and have acquired a loyalty to their organization. Every time we come out against

the union we alienate their sympathies because they feel that it is their union and are hostile to any one seemingly attempting to destroy their organization.

In the fight against the reactionary leaders we

must be bold and fearless but we must adopt those tactics which will best serve our end, i. e. of getting control of the unions and educating the workers to the necessity of using the unions as a weapon against the capitalist system.

All-Russian Union Of Educational Workers

The All-Russian Union of workers in education and socialist culture was only recently established. The first All-Russian Conference of Educational Workers which took place in July 1919 laid the foundations of this union. At this conference 210 delegates were registered (120 of whom were communists) representing about 70,000 organized members. The activity of the educational workers in organising a trade Union began however as early as 1905. In order to estimate the present position of the educational workers it is necessary to acquaint oneself with the character, the membership and the work of the previous trade union organizations. The most important of all previous teacher's unions was the All-Russian union of teachers, formed by the liberal circles, after two All-Russian conferences in April and June 1905 which represented about 70,000 members. This union was at first a corporative craft organisation, admitting exclusively school-teachers and no other workers in education. At the same time it represented a professional political organisation which reflected the liberal or at best the radical attitude of the democratic intellectuals.

Almost from the beginning of the union's existence, teachers with Socialist views who disagreed with the political programme of the union, founded their own organization in Petrograd and Moscow, in some of the towns of the Volga district and in the Baltic provinces.

During the reaction the activity of the All-Russian teachers' union was almost suppressed, especially after 1909. Only after the February Revolution was it brought to life again and the period from February until September 1917 may be considered as that of its highest development. At that time the political line of the union had already taken definite shape, and did not even satisfy the socialist minimalist programme.

When the October Revolution broke out, the real democratic elements among the educational workers united with the proletarian masses and

abandoned the narrow organization and the leading organs of the union which represented a bloc of the liberal middle-class and the right wing socialist parties.

The only possible tactics to adopt towards a union which deliberately fought against the policy of the Soviet government, was to separate the wide masses of educational workers from "leaders" who had lost all trace of revolutionary thought. The body which carried out this scheme was the Union of Teachers-Internationalists then established in Petrograd. This body was weak in the Capital and much stronger on the periphery; it included within its ranks communists, former left social revolutionaries, anarchists, internationalists and also members who did not belong to any political party. During the first year, the union gained about 12,000 members and led an energetic struggle against the All-Russian Teachers' Union.

The All-Russian Teacher's Union was dissolved by a decree of the All-Russian Executive Committee on the 3rd of December 1918. At this time the union decided to establish a strong trade union organisation of educational workers. At the united conference of communist sections of the congress of provincial departments of the Commissariat of Public Education, and of the second congress of the Union of teachers-internationalists in 1919, the following fundamental principles were adopted for the purpose of establishing a wide organisation: 1) The All-Russian Union of workers in education and socialist culture embraces all workers in education who take part in the work of socialist construction and march hand in hand with the proletariat in its struggle for the complete triumph of the Socialist Revolution and of international communism, 2) The most important tasks of the union, within the borders of the Soviet Republic are:

1. Joint work of the organised proletariat and the organs of the government on questions of socialist structure in the sphere of national culture

and education on the principle of the struggle against the relics of the bourgeois system.

2. Raising the level of political consciousness, education and productivity of labor of educational workers.

3. Creation of the most favorable technical and economic conditions of their work.

4. Cooperation with the Peoples Commissariat of Education and its local departments for the working out and carrying out of the programme and schemes of Public Education.

A provisional executive committee was elected and prepared the summoning of the first All-Russian Conference of educational workers which took place in July 1919. This Congress of workers in education and socialist culture, adopted the Statutes which apply to all proletarian industrial unions and its activity continued to develop in complete solidarity with all other proletarian organizations.

The work of the conference was based on the above mentioned principles. During the following nine months the union did considerable work. At the third Conference of trade unions which took place in April of this year, representatives of over 117,000 educational workers were registered, while at the time of the first conference they had only 70,000 members. The contact between the Central committee and the localities and that between the provincial branches and the district sections was extremely weak in the beginning but is becoming stronger in spite of the bad conditions of postal and railway communications. The eighth and the ninth meetings of the Central Committee took place conjointly with representatives of a number of provincial branches of the union. Provincial conferences took place in Moscow, Petrograd and other districts of the union; and their minutes are sent to the Central Committee. The Central Committee which was elected at the first conference holds its meetings once a month, when it examines important questions.

The Central Committee worked out statutes in conformity with the fundamental trade union statutes and instructions concerning mobilisation of educational workers and the registration of local units. The wage standardisation department worked out for all educational workers a wage scale confirmed by the Peoples Commissariat of Labour. At the present moment the department is busy with working out the question of labour standardisation, naturalisation of wages (payment

in kind) etc. The control and distribution of educational workers is administered by the union. At the Peoples Commissariat of Labour and at all provincial departments of labour, sections for registering and distributing educational workers are established; responsible representatives of the union are at the head of these sections.

The extent of the union's participation in Soviet organs can be seen from the fact that the union has three representatives on the Government Committee of Education, and sends its representatives to the local departments of Public Education according to the decree of the Council of Peoples Commissaries of the 10. October 1919, issued on the union's initiative.

At the present time the department of Labour Protection is engaged in a scientific investigation into the harmfulness of the profession, i. e. this department will have to specify the extent and character of sickness among educational workers and will have to make arrangement for those categories of educational workers which require special conditions of labour, special clothing, special supply of soap, etc.

The union is actively engaged in improving public education being especially anxious to develop professional and technical instruction, to abolish illiteracy, to develop the structure of the socialist school to improve pre-scholar and post-

Communism and Christianity: Analyzed 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 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 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 squarely renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian 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. ¶I can sell three thousand within sixty days. **Write for terms to book sellers and to propagandists. Twentieth thousand now in press.**

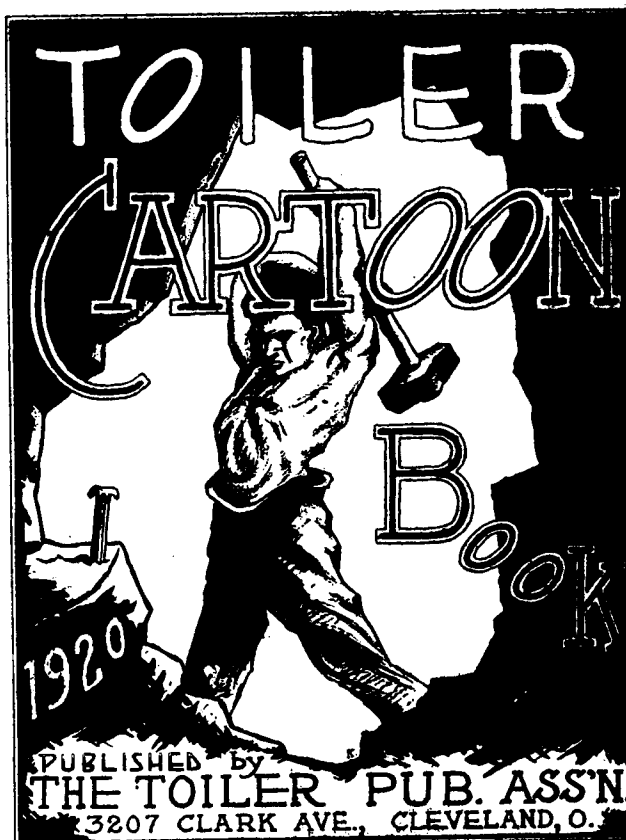
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graduate education, etc. Reports on different educational questions are regularly submitted for consideration to the local departments of Public Education. The union has taken an active part in the "Soviet propaganda Day" arrangements, in the propaganda centres on the railways, and in the "Front"—week. In accordance with the decision of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions the union carried out a military mobilisation of 10% of its members.

The union has published the following pamphlets: 1) Address to all teachers of Russia and to all the workers of Public Education—200,000 copies; 2) Address and instruction to all initiative groups of the union of teachers-internationalists, No. 1 5,000 copies; No. 2 10,000 copies, 5) Posner's, "The Red Army of Education"—a pamphlet—25,000 copies.

In the near future is expected to appear the first number of the periodical organ of the union: "The Red Army of Education." The Central Committee of the union has already elected an organising committee for the summoning of the second All-Russian Congress of workers in education and socialist culture which is already beginning; the publication of a special bulletin in cooperation with the Publication Department of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade-Union. The Conference is to take place during the summer of 1920, and promises a radical change among the wide masses of educational workers which will lead to a favourable solution of the question of improvement of Public Education, and will speedily raise education to a high level in a comparatively short time. This task set before the educational workers renders the part played by them a most responsible and important one, as they are a force which concentrates the necessary knowledge and ability for the purpose of laying together with the proletarian masses the first foundation of a new society.

The union of workers in education and socialist culture is confronted by immense tasks. It has to revolutionise the conception of those wide masses of workers who have up to now remained inert and increase the influx of new educational workers from amidst the proletarian and peasant masses, which must found a school of creative and efficient labour and to accept, in full, the labour programme of the advance guard of the proletariat for the reorganization of society upon real communist bases and principles.



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The Scandinavian Situation

(Special correspondence to The Toiler)

STOCKHOLM, 12-15-20.

What is actually happening in Scandinavia is a lockout of the workers in all industries. There are none exempt, not even those employed in the government-owned institutions, such as the railroads, erection of power stations, building canals, etc. Everywhere men are being thrown out of work in ever increasing numbers. Nothing else is of any importance right now, except that fact. Thru it all runs a red thread, that is, the masters expect to get cheaper labor. Some of the employers have already told their workers that in case they are willing to work for a wage 25 per cent lower than before, they would be able to keep them employed. That is the opening wedge in a campaign of wage-cutting. Of course, it is the usual whine—no markets, no profits.

NORWAY.—The railroad workers went out on

strike on the first of December. As the Norwegian railroad workers (just as their fellow-workers in the other Scandinavian countries) are very conservative, the strike, which was declared after several months of begging for arbitration, was lost at the outset. The strikers demanded only a slight increase in wages; now they are returning to work, beaten. It is sufficient to say that they are organized in a reactionary craft-union. Several other crafts offered to go out in sympathy, but the railroaders declined, afraid that a critical situation might arise thru such action.

DENMARK.—The report is about like that for Norway—no strikes, but increasing unemployment. Last year, at about this time, Copenhagen had about 20,000 unemployed; now there are 40,000. To sum up, the slaves are getting a Christmas gift of no mean size, from the masters.

Not America

By C. Amter.

There is a land where every child is fed, clothed and housed with special care as their right as children. But not America.

There is a land where no man must beg while others feast. But not America.

There is a land where every worker injured in industry or too old to work is pensioned and free from want. But not America.

There is a land where shoes are made because they are needed; food is made to eat, and machines to turn out articles for use and not for profit; where widow's grief is not made deeper by fear of the rent and bread bills and hungry children. But not America.

Where the workers not only work but own the works. Where bread sustains life, but fattens no one's pocketbook. Where music, art and drama are at the disposal of the workers, instead of a small class of parasites who live off the workers.

There is a land where labor has thrown the beast capital, off his shoulders, straightened himself to

his full height and is unafraid.

Where there is only one class—the working class, where all can join it and secure all its advantages.

But it is not America.

What then? Russia!

Well, we are going to have these things here too some day, right in America.

WHAT I SAW IN RUSSIA

By GEORGE LANSBURY
Editor London Daily Herald

PRICE \$1.50.

A general survey of conditions in Russia obtained in a two months by the note Editor of England's greatest Labor Paper. The difficulties of transportation, general condition of labor, problems of food and health are described. The cultural activities of the Soviet Government, showing its great results even in the midst of war, pestilence and blockade are thoroughly discussed. Address The Toiler.

For Trade With Russia

The American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia, which recently held a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden at which ten thousand American workers demanded the immediate lifting of the Blockade on Russia and protested against the deportation of Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, representative of the Russian Soviet Government, has announced that the hearing before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate on the resolution introduced by Senator France of Maryland, will be held during the third week in January.

Senator France's resolution calls for immediate resumption of trade with Russia and the establishment of all communication with that country. The hearing, according to Senator France, will cover several days, during which labor representatives will be called on to present their arguments fully. Members of the American Women's Emergency Committee, which has been asking for trade resumption on the ground that the suffering of

women and children in Russia might thereby be ended, also will appear at the hearing and various commercial interests will be asked to present their case.

From all parts of the country resolutions passed by Labor unions demanding trade with Russia are coming to the New York Headquarters of the American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia. Among the International labor organizations that have already passed resolutions are; The International Association of Machinists, International Ladies' Garment Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, International Seamen's Union, International Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers, United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Union, Grand Division of Sleeping Car Conductors, International Jewelry Workers, International Fur Workers, International Brotherhood of Stationary and Eccentric Fireman and the International Association of Woodcarvers.

PUNCHES.

Secretary Houston says the war cost \$24,010,000,000.

This would have built 10,004,166 bungalows costing \$2,400 each.

This sum would have paid the expenses for the education of 6,002,500 students during a four years course at a University at \$1,000 per year for each student.

* * *

Some one said there were 31,000 new millionaires made during the war. Lets see $\$1,000,000 \times 31,000 = \$31,000,000,000$. Oh! I begin to see who got that 24,010,000,000 dollars.

Really though, we should try to keep such things as quiet as possible.

Did I hear someone say—it was a war for Democracy?

"Competition is life."

In New York it begins with birth and ends with death.

The east side infants cannot compete with the west side infants, so they (the east siders) have to go—(die).

The west side infants are saving and careful, so they can go to the country in summer.

The east side infants never think of to-morrow.

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My Own Shop

Frank Evans.

Since losing my "good" job for radical activities, I have for the last year, been unable to secure regular employment. As a result, I have been compelled to do anything and everything for a living. My shop has been the City of New York.

Lest you forget, you must know that New York is the metropolis of the West; the center of fear, hope and ambition; wealth, position and beauty; luxury, splendor and culture. It is the Diamond of the West, the Center of civilization. To a much greater extent however it is the home of poverty, starvation, filth, disease, and wretchedness.

Untroubled by "Bolshevism," untouched by the war, unchallenged in their control, the rulers of society, the forces of "lawncorder" have been proved by events to be totally incompetent to maintain the peace of the community. The news reports for only one day are sufficient to prove that the people of America, are restless, dissatisfied, unhappy,—something wrong—in the midst of all the attainments of civilization. Let us turn to the New York Times, Saturday, December 18, 1920, and as all honest people do, let us read the headlines announcing the news events of the previous day on pages number 1, 2 and 3. WE read as follows:

Kaplan loses fight to get jail terms for contractors. Lockwood committee, 6 to 1 votes against recommendation to courts. Untermeyer sustained. Accuses Murphy's friends of trying to sow dissension. Iron erectors paid I. W. W. Suspected of hiring them as "Agents Provocateur"—Open shop closed to union men.—Fifth Avenue arms to fight crime; Another Hold-up, Victim is Dying; Enright's (police commissioner) men scour city in autos. Fifty detectives assigned to patrol city day and night. Enright sees no need for citizens to form posses for protection. Insists crime is checked. Declares police are in control. Jewelers form vigilantes. Merchants association calls meeting to deal with violence. \$25,000 reward for slayer. Hylan (Mayor) defends police, but urges arming of messengers. Judges propose remedies. Rosalsky proposes 25,000 vigilantes. McIntyre and McAdoo for life sentences.—Women held up in Taxi in Central Park. Police Lieutenant Horton, dying, killed his slayer. Brother of dead hold-up man and woman companion held on murder charge. Death car quickly found. Purpose of 146th Street visit was not rob-

bery but to beat up a bellboy.—New handit victim dying in hospital. Young salesman held up. Met pistol with fists. Robber escapes after wounding veteran twice. Police take up search.—

Built on the basis of exploitation, i. e. robbery, maintained only on the basis of the poverty and wretchedness of the masses, it is quite conceivable that such a society, rotten at its very foundations, must show symptoms of its disease with every new development. The politicians, in this matter as in all others are now busily engaged in throwing the blame for this condition from one to another. But it is not their fault. They are for too small to be of any consequence in the social currents. Their own corruption lies hidden in the corruption of the system. They are its creatures and as vermin they must be death with.

On every hand the doom of capitalist society can now be plainly seen. The crash is now not far off. Civilization, and with it, humanity, are now facing the supreme crises. Only one force can save us and that is the working class. Is it prepared to take over and run industry? On the answer depends the fate of humanity. Workers, day by day the capitalist class and its creature, the government, is growing more impotent. Day by day they become less powerful to hinder you in your historic mission. At our peril, do we delay. We must get control of the job. We must make ourselves capable of its management and we must crush with every means at our command, the slightest opposition to our rule.

A society controlled by the working class will be a society run on the basis of justice. A society controlled by the proletariat will be in its essence stable and peacefull. A society controlled by us will make life worth while. And a society controlled by workers means that the individual will become normal and healthy instead of the corrupt, sickly, mentally unbalanced type produced by capitalism. **IS IT NOT WORTH WHILE? IS IT NOT A WONDERFULL PRIVILEGE TO BE OF THOSE WHO BROUGHT THE SOCIETY OF WORKERS INTO BEING? IS IT NOT A WONDERFULL PRIVILEGE TO LIVE IN THE PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE FINAL EMANCIPATION OF HUMANITY?**