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CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, DEC. 25, 1920.

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And the Workers get the Crumbs.

An Appeal To Left Wing Labor Unions

By J. J. D'Arcy.

FELLOW WORKERS:—

The American Federation of Labor is breaking up. As we all well know, many of the locals in the Garment trades withdrew in 1912 and formed the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The taking of the Charter from Local 460 I. A. of M., of New York City, caused many other locals of machinists throughout the Country to withdraw and form the Amalgamated Metal Workers. Old Local 72 of Textile Workers after a long and successful strike against not only their employers but also their labor officials, together with many others throughout the Country brought about the birth and growth of the Amalgamated Textile Workers. The stand taken by millionaire officials of the railroad Brotherhoods has caused the formation of an outlaw railroad union. The failure of the machine controlled United Mine Workers to protect and advance the interests of its dues paying members has led to an insurgent union movement among the miners.

The above, Fellow Workers, merely records a few of the many failures of the A. F. of L., but before we dismiss the matter with a smile of contempt for the organization which has long misled the workers, it might be well to ask ourselves a question: "Are we, as we stand now, any better able to protect and promote the interests of the workers." Undoubtedly, different from the A. F. of L., we are sincere. Our sincerity is not even questioned, but what is absolutely open to question is whether we have the economic power to protect our workers, in view of the conditions which will be hereafter set forth. The answer is that we have not!!! We cannot as Amalgamated Garment Workers, as Amalgamated Textile Workers, Amalgamated Metal Workers, or as Outlaw Railroad Workers, or as Insurgent Miners, or as I. W. W. alone, do anything to advance the interests of the workers as a whole, in the face of present conditions, which are as follows:

Thousands of mills are closed. Millions of workers are out of employment. Mills are continuing to close—more men and women are continually being thrown into the ranks of the unemployed. This condition threatens the existence of our or-

ganizations, if they continue to present, and the progressive labor must therefore address itself to what to do in this crisis of unemployment. Tactics will not solve the problem in our individual groups are powerless to cope with the situation, so this show our progressiveness, by uphold the interests of the working class to be greater than our own personal interests. At the end, however, the interests of the class as a whole are identical with our interests. There is only one way, however, to prove that we do so represent the interests of the workers. That is, by fighting the class single-handed to a well deserved defeat, in one powerful, progressive, centralization, to an overwhelming victory. This is realized by practically every member of our organizations, but the necessary initial step has yet been taken. The purpose of this appeal is being sent to every progressive organization in the Country is to initiate just such a centralization. The Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Centralization has that it has a right to assume this duty. It is a delegated body, composed of representatives from the locals of the various organizations which it is addressing this appeal. It can be merely the means of bringing about a centralization we will be well content.

We must remember, that the disgruntled members of the A. F. of L., would long ago have left they did not consider us powerful enough to protect their interests, and joined us, but for that they stayed in an organization which is representing even themselves, merely for want of a better one. Therefore, the fact that we have secured them in the past, is as much due to neglect, as progressives, as it is to their progress. As soon as we are able to bring about a concert of action amongst ourselves, by forming into one great, centralized, national, organization all the amalgamated unions, all the Independent unions and the I. W. W., the last chapter in the history of the American Federation of Labor

been written by reason of the fact that we have absorbed its membership.

We have written this letter in the hope of bringing about such a national organization of progressive labor bodies. There is but one way in which this can be accomplished, which is by bringing the representatives of all these various unions to a convention which will be held when we can secure sufficient support. By entering into such a plan, it does not mean that we are compelled to submerge our identity as unions, it only means that we will give our undivided support to any action that our delegates will take, our representatives, in such a convention should we decide to hold it ourselves, as such progressive organizations.

In conclusion, we have one sincere request to make: that you will immediately write our com-

mittee, whose names and addresses are signed at the bottom of this letter, and tell us whether you will be willing to send delegates, whenever that may be called, to such a convention as has been outlined above. If this project can be materialized the dream of the workers throughout the United States will have become a reality at last!

Let us know your attitude at once. The time is short, for our unemployed brothers have got to eat!!!

Fraternally,

J. J. D'Arcy,
President Local 107,
United Association Railroad
Employees.
2124 No. Marston St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

The Cost-Accountancy Of Revolution

By Bertram D. Wolfe.

There is heavy firing on the Anglo-Russian front and the "reports" are heard clear across the Atlantic. At the very moment when British capitalism is entering into commercial relations with Soviet Russia, British professorial liberalism is launching a new offensive of reports against the revolution.

More truly single-handed is the war of Bertrand Russell, the professor, against the Third International, than was the war of Gabriel D'Annunzio, the poet, against the League of Nations, but our professor is making up in versatility for what he lacks in numbers.

His first onslaught on Soviet Russia was "The Report of Bertrand Russell, 'Trained Observer'." Next was launched "Bertrand Russell, Philosopher, on Historic Materialism." And his latest adventures in dispassionate polemics might well be styled "Report on the Cost of Communism by Bertrand Russell, Cost-Accountant."

It is in the New Republic for November 3rd that Bertrand Russell sets out to "count the costs" of revolution, and he ends his accounting report with the expert recommendation that the revolution ought to be abandoned as "the price mankind must pay to achieve communism by Bolshevik methods is too terrible."

Now the cost of revolution is made up of two components:

- 1) what we pay for revolution, or what we must give up; and
- 2) what we get in return.

As to what we must give up—first, we must give up our FREEDOM.

Fortunately, we have freedom to give up. Of this Bertrand Russell (recently liberated from jail where he was placed for classless and hence harmless pacifism) makes no doubt.

"People are to be taught to think in a certain way," he warns us "and all free intelligence becomes taboo. Every kind of liberty is banned."

Shades of Burleson! Shades of all the expelled professors from Marx to Nearing and all the jailed opinions from those of Bertrand Russell to those of Sylvia Pankhurst! Shades of the British censorship! What a discovery!

Second, we shall learn to know "almost universal poverty" and "hunger will bring an absorption in food which to most people makes life almost purely animal!"

And this when all Europe is in the grip of a pitiless famine. When the masses of the Balkans and the Russian border states and the central powers (capitalist all) are dying in millions of

starvation. When a million unemployed are marching the streets of England's cities, and the spectre of a financial crash is haunting the United States.

At least in Russia the **producers** are fed, and what there is, is distributed. In the capitalist States surrounding her, no one is fed, not even the soldiers that are sent to overthrow her. It is only in Russia of all the central-European countries that there is something else besides "an absorption in food that makes life almost purely animal." It is only in Russia that it is possible to go on producing, for in her neighboring countries the very laws of capitalism make further production impossible. And even in England and the United States Capitalism is once more re-enacting her ghastly jest which the economists style "Over Production."

However little our Professor may know of "absorption in food" thru personal experience with hunger, nevertheless he must have had access to the scholarly reports of the British Factory Commission and the American Department of Labor. Yet he is blissfully unaware of the fact that every one of these reports from the one that Marx made the basis of his study of the workings of British capitalism, down to the report of the Interchurch Movement on the Steel Industry in the United States, has shown dying wages, "undernourished" children ("undernourishment" is more academic than starvation), bestial hunger, unemployment (another academic term for starvation), and hours so long and toil so arduous and economic position so insecure that there is nought left to life save mere animality and pre-occupation with food.

But "the terrible price" is not the worst feature of Mr. Russell's cost report. After we have paid it, we will find that we didn't get what we paid for. Why? Because (Oh refreshing discovery!) Communism is against Human Nature.

For look you, under Communism "there must be administration, there must be officials who control distribution." And these men are "the repositories of power." And "power is sweet" and "few men surrender it voluntarily. What motive could they have for surrendering it voluntarily? What motive could they have for surrendering it? What motive is possible except idealism, love of mankind, **non-economic** motives of the sort that Bolsheviks decry?" Especially is this true "if



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ism nature is what the Marxists assert it to be. It is you have it. Mr. Russell has become an "economic determinist" for the nonce, long enough to use "materialism" against the Bolsheviks which (in his next article) he will turn into "Historic Idealism." Which, Mr. Russell. What do the Marxists say of Human Nature to be?

task, as we can gather, the only assertion that they make concerning "Human Nature" is that it changes as its material basis changes.

In John of England borrowed money of the King of York and spent it on tournaments, and when they being spent unproductively, John was unable to find it again and pay it back, with interest. Then interest was usury and human nature was "instinctively" against it and the King was as revolting as the hangman. But when John P. Morgan lends money to the South Sea Company, which money, being spent "productively," returns again an hundred-fold, "Human Nature" is quite pleased with the taking of interest and is high to reverencing the taker.

ARCAIC Human Nature in the shape of primitive man supports himself by hunting, grubbing and thieving and knows neither agriculture nor herding. He can get the most out of an enemy captive by mauling, cooking and eating him—and Human Nature is "instinctively" cannibalistic.

But when the aforesaid humanly natural primitive man learns how to get considerably more out of his captive by setting him to tending the soil and planting crops, cannibalism becomes unprofitable, ergo sinful, ergo "instinctively" abhorrent to Human Nature.

And "non-economic" motives, Mr. Russell, what are those? Is it not the essence of Marxism to assert that just such motives as you dub non-economic motives such as patriotism, religion, love of mankind and the like, have an economic or material basis?

But alas, we do not understand the same thing as the term, economic motives." And I fear we have gotten your conceptions of Marxian materialism from such "Marxians" as Seligman or Loria or Mallock. Else I cannot imagine where you discovered that "the materialist conception of history, in the last analysis, requires the assumption that every politically conscious person is governed by one single desire, THE DESIRE TO

INCREASE HIS OWN SHARE OF COMMODITIES!" (The capitals are my own, but merely, I presume, because dispassionate academic calm does not capitalize.)

Marx's only formulation of his theory of historic materialism declares:

1. Men as producers enter into certain relations (such as master and slave, foreman and laborer etc.)

2. These relations are the economic structure of society.

3. This economic (material) structure determines the political and indeed, the whole ideological structure. (Thus, if slavery is a necessary relation during a given period, then the law of the period, its religion, its ethics, its philosophy will sanction slavery.)

4. Modes of production change.

5. But religion, law, morality and philosophy are conserving factors and tend to stand still.

6. Because they protect obsolete privileges and outworn relations, they become fetters upon the further development of the forces of production.

7. But the class whose privileges are protected fights to maintain these privileges. Against them rises a class whose one opportunity and whose whole interest lies in developing the new modes and relations of production. Thus comes the period of social revolution.

Thus the core of Marxian materialism is the explanation of social revolution. It is very little concerned with individual motives and least of all with the cheap pocket-book "economic" motives that the petty bourgeois economists have read into it and which you have developed to their highest form in your "single desire, the desire to increase his own share of commodities."

And far from neglecting your "non-economic" motive such as religion, morality, nationalism and other forms of ideology, they are the very data which Marxism sets out to investigate and seeks to explain. Nor does Lenine, as you feared in a former article, neglect the psychological differences between the Anglo-Saxon and the Russian. From your very paraphrases it was evident that he was trying to explain to you in terms of historic materialism, why that psychological difference exists, why the workers of great Britain are still largely dominated by petty-bourgeois ideology, and why and how they were developing a revolutionary ideology. To the Marx

ist, "psychology" is quite as changing as "Human Nature", and just as surely as the psychology of the Russian masses that begot the Kerensky regime developed into the psychology that begot Bolshevism, just so surely is the Anglo-Saxon psychology that begot Gompers and Hendersons even now yielding to the psychology that begets Larkins and MacLeans.

"How foolish do your fears seem now." If the communists in "power" egged on by your "Human Nature" attempt to carry out your nightmare of a permanent slave state "without altering the economic structure" except "to decree large salaries to themselves", they either (1) leave capitalism undisturbed, in which case counter-revolution will soon sweep them aside because it has the material basis of power, or (2) they make a league with capitalism and become its tools as did the Ebert-Noske government of Germany, in which case the revolution has to continue because capitalism under any other name doth smell as sweet.

If we omit your unfortunate sentence about not altering the economic structure, you are impaled upon the other horn of your dilemma. If the economic structure IS altered, what happens to money? And high salaries?

But let us not quarrel with vague language. Let us amend high salaries to your original supposed Marxianly-economic "desire to increase his own share of commodities." What then? Commissar Lenine or Commissar Larkin will be terribly well-fed. And will become over-fat. But only when there is the material basis of the capitalist profit system is an accumulation of commodities a source of boundless power. Under any non-capitalist system it is a mere miser-hoard.

You have fallen into the same error as a brother philosopher of a former day. John Locke thought that he could export feudalism to America, material conditions or no, merely because certain nobles thirsted for regenerated feudal power. But America's material conditions made feudal power impossible. The Fundamental Constitutions of John Locke declared that the man who wished to plant in the Carolinas had to hold the land as serf and pay feudal dues to his lord. But there were plenty of free lands just outside

the Carolinas, with no feudal dues and no Result, the "Grand Model" of the great sopher was never put into effect.

And you fear a State power without the material conditions necessary to the existence of a State. You dimly sense that a State is a product of classes and class struggle. Hence you desire a new class and new class consciousness. Hence your government has a class consciousness."

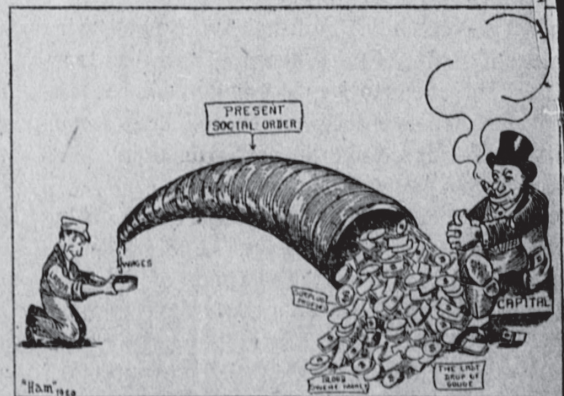
But really it is not new, for your next sentence discovers:

"The government (of Russia) has absorbed the capitalist mentality together with the governmental, and the fusion has given increased strength to the upper class." Hurry with your next article, for the sooner you make that clear to the governments of England, France and the United States, the sooner will they lift the blockade, and change their attitude from one of hostility toward the Soviet Government to one of active support.

And one more reason for hurry. You end your cost report with a note of hope:

"But if their (the Bolshevik) methods are rejected, how are we to arrive at a better economic system? This is not an easy question and I shall treat it in a separate article."

In the meanwhile we are left in the dark, and until you show us the way to costless, bloodless economic change, until that "separate article" is published, we shall have to delay the revolution.



The Horn of Plenty
Capital gets the Plenty and Labor gets horned!

Prepare To Manage Industry

By Robert Peters.

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will assert are too apt to place and the part that an industrial or- play under capitalism and in the communism. What Russia ex- the workers seized the political ere ought to teach the class con- at in America many lessons.

In W. W. was conceived it was not the e it function merely as a militant the exploiters, but also to train the manage and operate industry when Eoc destroyed in America. However, the thun kers of the World has been com- class te practically all its energies to ers with the capitalist class and its and as failed to function in any other is to ARE

caus happened in Russia? How can a re- monion under a similar crisis in Amer- that evolution? As we all know, Russian

Th at a standstill when the Bolsheviki mearer, on account of the war and the as a he technical men. The recent seizure natuicans by the Italian workers is also have. tentation! We also know that the in- and Russia are still in a crippled state the role to operate normally to-day, three

Th the dictatorship has been at the have re had been an organization of the orga cooperation with technicians to gather Un information, that is, to keep a record poin mines, mills, fields, and factories in sion keep tab on what was being produced, in voduets were made, who the consumer tion all facts necessary in the industries. are industrial organization had trained its apato manage industry, the desertion on tere technicians would not have been the grovt was.

pres Y realize the value of such an organiza- ces can't we in this country derive the trat the lessons in Russia and Italy?

"N United States, industry has developed to c where many of the proletariat realize

that industry cannot be operated without the aid of technicians. In other words we concede that the engineer and the specialist are complementary to the workers and vice versa. Comrades, do you realize that we must secure an industrial survey of American industry? Are you ready to begin this phase of the work? For a moment stop and think what it means to have in your possession the name and location of every industrial plant operating in the United States and all the details of their production and distributive work when the change takes place? Do you realize the value of having the class conscious workers actually training themselves to manage industry? If you do there is only one course of action to follow! You must immediately proceed to adopt this phase of our work!

Do You Go to Church?

Have You Friends Who Do?

If so, you and they should read

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM

By

Bishop William Montgomery Brown D. D.

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A Call to Action.

A call to action has been sent forth to the radical, outlaw, semi-revolutionary and revolutionary (if there be such) labor unions. The action contemplated is one looking toward unity of these Left elements in the trade union movement. Members of such unions as well as radicals in the A. F. of L. would do well to read and consider with a view toward a concerted movement along the lines indicated, the "Appeal to the Left Wing of the Labor Movement", by Mr. D'Arcy in this issue of The Toiler.

As logical as it was that in the development and experiences of trades unionism these Left elements should arise within the craft union body, and new industrial unions develop outside, so, just as logical is it that these Left elements, now numbering a score or so of more or less class conscious unions must sometime unite.

Tremendous forces are driving these elements together. Aside from those weaknesses necessarily inherent in small, struggling unions which make for a need for unity with all of their kind, other forces in society are steadily at work creating the economic and material conditions

which constitute always the driving force behind such social phenomena.

The savagery of capitalism, its thirst for power and its utter ruthlessness, the decay of the old forms of craft unionism with capitalism organized on CLU lines, because these stir the working class toward realization that only a united front of weapons can win anything for them, these form the driving forces which are driving now for unity of the Left Wing.

The time is propitious for a movement for unity. Delay is both dangerous and costly. A common basis upon which these law unions can federate should be found. Reference for this purpose is proposed. One believes that such a definite step toward realizing such a universal need should be taken once. Events move swiftly, a crisis is upon Labor today—today is the time to

A Receivership for Capitalism

The appointment of receiverships for capitalist business institutions are the order of the day. Due to the breakdown of the present system the regular toll of victims increased daily with no sign of letup.

As workers, we are not interested in maintaining these institutions above the threshold of insolvency. The sooner a majority of workers close their doors in general bankruptcy, that will be in the long run for Labor. As a matter of fact, the insolvency of capitalism and its breakdown and bankruptcy must be the first step toward the building of a higher form of industrial social system. As long as the old system is kept by some makeshift or other keep upon its feet just that long is the working class kept in a state of just that long are the workers betrayed, robbed of their historical heritage — control of industry and the world.

What is needed is the appointment of a receivership for the whole capitalist system. Capitalism is an utter failure if we accept the degree of human happiness and welfare which it has produced under its rule as a gauge of its solvency. The entire world is in misery. Disease, death, starvation and a dozen wars are raging, consuming flames over the whole surface of the earth. Not a nation or people are exempt from one or all of these plagues of capitalism. C

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ism has exercised every expediency to correct these, its self-produced evils, without success. It is still attempting to alleviate its own created misery, but each step it takes but sinks it the deeper into the quicksands. It cannot extricate itself. To the workers alone, does history appoint the task of creating a new world upon the ruins which capitalism is producing. No other section of human society is capable of fulfilling this task. To no other section will this most stupen-

dous and historic legacy fall. The workers themselves and alone, must accept the receivership for the greatest economic, social and cultural failure of history — that of the failure of capitalistic production and distribution and the whole social fabric which has been built up around it.

Let us prepare now thru education and organization to accept this receivership so as to save the human race from needless misery.

Sparks Are Needed

By Acton Spiritt.

In times like these, trade unions grow. It is when storm clouds gather over the National Economy, when Capital is hard pressed, that the thumb screws are turned tighter on the working class. And it is in just such periods that the workers must cast about for defense. The most natural and expedient course for the oppressed masses is to form trade unions. Not that trade unions ARE the best weapons at his disposal; but because they think they are, and because they are most always closest at hand. There is no doubt that the ranks of the A. F. of L. are growing.

That the A. F. of L. has grown in size does not mean that it has become more potent or powerful as a working class organization. It is the more natural that it should be; but, the Bourgeoisie have not only declared war on the trade unions and the closed shop from the outside: they have their puppets within—there are still the leaders.

Though it is the rule that the rank and file have become more and more discontented; as an organization, reaction prevails. While the local Unions and Central Bodies should be rallying points of the Class Struggle; forums for discussion of the position of the working class; schools in which is learned the process of capitalist production, and the relation of the worker thereto: they are meagre gatherings at which ignorance and apathy obtain rather than enlightenment and interestedness. At the same time the rank and file grows more rebellious. But they have no expression—the Leaders—there's the rub.

Yes, it is they, the leaders, who are mostly responsible for these dogmas; who wish to "arbitrate"; who sit in conciliation boards, and howl "National Calamity", parrot like, when a general

strike is proposed.

Still the rank and file is as dry stuff, needing only the inflammable spark. Sometimes the spark comes. Usually in the form of a "red" or two. There is a flare, radicalism and rebelliousness triumph. A "red" local is born. Then the trouble begins. The officialdom bullies and jerrymanders. The "reds" fight, but gradually become intolerant. If they are not expelled, they flirt with other progressive locals and withdraw.

Just here is where, in most cases, a mistake is made. Rebel elements, who now more than ever before need contact with the masses to lend them their ideas and their spirit of revolt, become segregated. There is no denying this. Excepting the Industrial Unions, the A. F. of L. contains the advance section of the American working class. If the leaders are narrow, autocratic and subsidized they can best be deposed from the inside. If the membership seem dull and conservative, they must be awakened and roused to action, and this cannot be done unless contact is had.

More over, the A. F. of L., no matter how reactionary, is still, essentially, a working class organization. Though it be somewhat slow and out of date, the fact that it has represented in it the largest masses of the organized proletariat adds to the promise of its being a potent and influential factor in the great struggles to come. And whether it will function as a revolutionary organization or a counter-revolutionary one depends largely upon the influence and the aggressiveness of the rebels within it.

In the meantime the dry stuff waits—sparks are needed.

Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia.

(From the Report of the Commissariat of Labor.)

Together with the question of compulsory labor, the most important question in the organization of labor is that of its protection. During the old regime as well as in the capitalist states of the West, there could be no talk of protection of labor. In the Western "democracies" the state protection of labor in reality amounts to the protection of capital against labor, and in Czarist Russia it was an auxiliary function of the "Okhrana" (Secret service).

Only the Soviet government has created the fundamental postulates for the real accomplishment of social protection of labor on a large scale. Four days after the October revolution (on Oct. 29, 1917.) a decree was issued "on the length and regulation of working hours" which laid down the fundamental basis of the new policy of protection of labor.

Although the Soviet Law met all the demands of the old socialist parties in respect to protection of labor, going, in some instances, even farther than these demands, still as yet we have had no opportunity to carry out all those laws in their entirety. The difficult conditions of the moment and, in the first place, the critical shortage of labor connected with the acute lack of material resources, has compelled us to narrow considerably the field of our activity both in respect of social, sanitary and hygienic protection of labor.

At present, the protection of labor is being accomplished chiefly through the spontaneous creative activity of the working masses. Not only are there state organs for the protection of labor elected by the trade unions, but also there is a local committee for the protection of labor in every factory. These local committees are the basic units of the whole work.

The term "protection of labor" at present has only an historical significance. For it is no longer necessary to "protect" labor. In practice labor protection is becoming an organ for the most rational utilization possible of labor power accompanied by careful attention toward its demands, and is also becoming an excellent way of organizing labor to ensure the health of the laborer and the physical development of the working class.

The fundamental accomplishments in the field of protection of labor in Soviet Russia are: 1) the fixing by law of the 8-hours working day for employees, and the permission of overtime work only with the consent of the trade unions and of the labor-inspection; 2) the reduction of the working day to 6 and 7 hours in specially dangerous industries; 3) a normal rest after every week of 42 hours (quitting the work two hours earlier on the eve of the resting-day) for all workers without exception; 4) a 2-weeks vacation every year for all laborers and officials and an additional 2-weeks vacation for those engaged in unhealthy trades; 5) the general protection of women's work widely and well carried out, exemption from work 8 weeks before and after confinement, freedom from work in order to nurse babies, additional assistance for nursing, gifts for the children's dowry, a widely organized system of nurseries, consultations and homes for mothers and children, the prohibition of some forms of dangerous work etc.; 6) careful protection of child-labor: prohibition in many cases of child-labor, with simultaneous provision for the material welfare of the children and for sending them to school, (according to approximate data about 5,000 children have thus been taken away from work); the prohibition to hire for work those who have not reached the age of 16; a 4-hour working day for minors between 14 and 16 years, and a 5-hour working day for those between 16 and 18; prohibition of underground, night and overtime work for minors; additional 2-weeks vacation and exemption of minors from harmful work; 7) provision for the workers of special protecting clothes, with soap and preventative accessories (glasses, respirators etc.) in connection with the character of the work and with the amount of resources at hand; 8) a series of measures for the improvement of the housing conditions of the workers; 9) special care of the hygienic and technical sanitary conditions of factories and other establishments (a series of regulations have been issued on this matter); the organs of the people's public economy are enlisted for this purpose, and, besides repairs, cleanliness is also cared for at special "Subbotnik" (extra voluntary work on Saturdays)

and "labor protection weeks"; 10) wide educational work in the field of protection of labor with organization of special courses in almost every province.

The carrying out of these laws depends always and everywhere on the organs which are established for their execution. The execution of the labour protection laws is undertaken by the labor inspection which is purely an organ elected by the workers. There are 600 inspectors in Russia at present. Of these 69% are workingmen, 30% are lower officials and only 1% of liberal professions. 87% of them have received elementary and home-education, 12% secondary education and

3% higher education. 75% are communists, 22% — non-party men and 3% of various other parties. It is quite natural that, being composed of such elements, the labor inspection secures the most careful and thoroughly proletarian control of labor protection as far as it is possible under the present conditions. As an aid to the inspection of labor, assistants are being created from among younger workers and from among persons with special knowledge—sanitary inspectors, physicians (there are 108 of these at present) and technical engineers (there are 171 of them in Russia at present: factory-engineers—114, mining engineers—50 railway engineers—74).

Gompers and the Ten Hour Day.

By Tom Mathews.

Do the members of the American Federation of Labor realize that there is a genuine conspiracy under way, organized and financed by the exploiting class, to wreck what semblance of organization the workers have, and establish the ten-hour day?

Pick up any journal of the capitalists, such as "System" for December, and you will find the praises of the ten-hour day being sung as they have never been before.

On the evening of December 2nd, 1400 plutes and near-plutes met at the Auditorium in Omaha and enthusiastically applauded the statement of speakers that "only ten hours of hard work each day can save the country from its present situation."

How will a ten-hour day affect the workers?

With an estimate of 40,000,000 industrial workers, one out of every five could be dispensed with. That means that 8,000,000 workers would be jobless. Since 2,000,000 have already allowed themselves to be thrown out of industry by the plutes there would be an unemployed army of at least 10,000,000. Then where would the great "collective bargaining" of Gompers be? What would become of the Union shops of the American Federation of Labor?

The archaic craft organizations cannot meet

this attack. While the robbing class is opening the campaign by laying off workers by the thousands, Gompers tells us that "our demands must be conservative if we are to win anything from a conservative Congress." While thousands of workers are threatened by starvation, Gompers tells us that we must be satisfied and beg only for small crumbs.

Never before has there been such a favorable time for the organization of the Left Wing movement in the trade unions. Unity of the Left Wing movement is essential, but that unity should be on the right principles. The educational work of the Left Wing should emphasize the fact that the purpose of industrial unionism is the abolition of the capitalist system and the erection in its place of the Worker's Republic.

The progress of the Left Wing can be readily measured by its willingness to repudiate the yellow trade union international of Amsterdam, and to become an integral part of the International Trade Union Congress of Moscow. When the entire labor union movement has become imbued with that understanding, the plutes will forget their ten-hour day dreams in their efforts to save their power.

May the Left Wing hasten it!

They're Making a Bolshevik of You.

By E. T. A.

John, they're making a Bolshevik of you. They? Yes, they—the bosses. Of course you are fighting against it. I've watched the fight you have put up against them, but I am convinced John, that they have you headed straight for the camp of the Reds.

And it isn't your fault either, John. You've done the best you could. But one can't win every battle. Sometimes you have to lose. And sometimes its best you do, John—so that you may learn how to win one later. If they—the bosses, had left you alone it would have been alright. You were never called a Bolshevik in the shop. You wouldn't read their stuff. You always said, "Work for the boss and he will work for you. None of that Bolshevik bunk for mine." To you, the Boss was a Good Angel who gave you a livelihood for your family merely for sweating eight hours a day in his shop. And you were grateful.

And you were never "radical" in the Union either, John. True, you were seldom present at a union meeting. The business agent collected your dues and that was about the whole extent of your union activity. No, John, it certainly wasn't the Union that started your think tank to simmering. As I've just told you, it is the Bosses' fault—not your own—not the Union's, the Bosses have done it and if you're looking for revenge, go down to the Chamber of Commerce and get even. I see it still riles you a bit yet to listen to this.

The Bosses have put Bolshevik thoughts in your head, John. Slipped them in unawares even to yourself. And all because the shop closed down two months ago. I shan't forget the look in your eyes when the foreman told us on Friday, "Everybody gets paid in full tomorrow. Don't know when we will start up." They didn't ask if WE could stand three months of unemployment. And I knew you couldn't. You see, I know how you have to live, how many there are in your family, the rent you pay, the sickness you have had, your daily wages etc. There's no fooling me, John, I know the worker's circumstances are about the same as another's and the average, taking it straight thru is never good enough to carry him thru a winter period without a job.

And there's the rub. No jobs. No jobs anywhere. You have walked the soles off a pair of shoes looking for one, but you haven't found it. And you aren't likely to for a while. For everywhere the shops are closing. More workers are being turned out, none are being hired. The factories are silent. And the outlook is not encouraging. "When will the shops open," is being asked on every side, in the newspapers, everywhere. But no answer has been given. Only one thing is certain, they will not open early enough to prevent indescribable suffering by millions of workers—including you, John.

And there you have it—that is what has turned the trick, suffering, want misery, unemployment, despair. These are the seed from which spring the Bolsheviks. The Bosses' own doings! You didn't want to be unemployed, you weren't hankering for hunger and rags and bills at the grocery and the butcher's. All you asked was just about enough to live on sort of satisfactorily—and you would never have gotten these Bolshevik ideas in your head. But the Bosses wouldn't let you be comfortable in your scanty pay. They took it away. Took away the only thing there was between you and hunger and rags and unpaid grocery bills and worry that makes you look sick.

Small wonder, John, that you are thinking about the events of the past five years. Of how you have held up the Bosses' hand at every turn, worked overtime during the war, performed all the stunts required of a loyal 100% American worker, got all worked up about "saving the

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OF
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World for Democracy", and that sort of stuff. And now you are asking yourself, "What have I got out of it"? And the answer is that you have not gotten anything out of it except enough to keep you and your family in semi-comfort WHILE YOU WERE WORKING!

And it's making a Bolshevik of you. It's getting into your head that those Bolsheviks must be pretty clever to put a game across like that on the Bosses—taking the factories away from them and running them all for the workers. And making all the conditions of work themselves too, setting the hours, the rates of pay, making it so that no worker can be fired as long as his work is up to the standard fixed by the workers themselves. And guaranteeing every worker a job too, never closing down until all have what they need and plenty too. Pretty clever, those Bolsheviks.

To tell the truth, John, the only ray of hope you have now is that which comes stealing across the world, the thin red line that already has encircled the globe and is spreading wider and wider every day. And it's precisely these conditions of unemployment, job scarcity, hunger, rags, starvation, general misery, these and the impossibility of the Bosses fixing things so as to prevent them, that the thin red line grows wider. It's precisely the same things that made Bolsheviks of the Russians that are making Bolsheviks of you and workers everywhere. And the Bosses can't stop this.

Yes, John, they turned you out of the shop a merely more or less contended slave. When you go back in the spring, you will go as an awakened worker—a Bolshevik if you please.

American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia.

In reply to a statement sent out by the American Defense Society to Governors of all States warning them against a campaign of organized labor for resumption of trade with Russia, the American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations With Russia has sent out a letter to the governors and newspapers throughout the country branding the statement as un-American and libelous.

The telegram issued by the American Defense Society states that the campaign of labor is being made "falsely in the name of organized labor by radicals who opposed the interests of the United States in the great war," and calls upon the Governors to give publicity to this statement so that everywhere citizens' committees may be organized to combat the action of labor. It further states that "there is reason to believe that the movement to promote commerce with Soviet Russia, is backed and financed by Lenine and Trotzky and their agents."

Officers of the American Labor Alliance for Trade Relations with Russia declare that the work of their organization has not only been planned and financed by labor unions of New

York but that the Alliance was formed by 512 authorized delegates of labor unions of Greater New York who met in conference on the 21st of November when resolutions were drawn up calling upon the State Department to open trade relations with Russia at once so that the present unemployment situation might be relieved. Five International Unions, they say, were represented at this conference and over one hundred labor organizations, representing all trades, and every cent of their funds was contributed or pledged by labor unions of New York in open meeting.

"We know of no propaganda in this country," says the letter, "paid for by the Russian Government, nor do we know whether there exists propaganda paid for by other foreign governments that are commercial rivals of the United States. We should be pleased to have the American Defense Society reciprocate by informing the public of the sources of its income."

Despite the threat of the Defense Society to organize counter activities through citizen's committees, the American Labor Alliance will continue its nation-wide campaign for resumption of trade with Russia and will immediately en-

the support of the workers in twenty-five of the largest industrial cities in the country in their campaign for trade with Russia.

The officers of the Alliance declare that the plan to form committees to work against any campaign that will help solve the unemployment situation by opening up an unlimited market for American goods is "thoroughly un-American and

can only lead to that lawlessness and mob-violence that the Defense Society claims to deplore."

"Whether the American Defense Society is concerned about the thousands of unemployed in labor's ranks or not, we do concern ourselves very seriously and we consider this a legitimate field for thought and action for true Americans," say the officers.

The All-Russian Union Of Art Workers

After the February Revolution more than 15 art unions were created in Russia. These unions were independent and in no way connected with each other.

All these above mentioned narrow-corporative and craft Unions were never of great importance. Actors in a theatre entered one Union, orchestra players joined another, stage workmen a third etc. All these Unions issued different instructions, —no wonder that since the revolution the Art Workers decided to create one large Union which was finally formed in the beginning of 1919. At the present moment the All-Russian Union of Art workers unites workers in all branches of art and enters with equal rights into the family of proletarian unions, headed by the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions. All these above mentioned Unions joined hands and formed one big Union of Art workers including all actors of the drama, opera, ballet, kinematograph, circus and music-hall: managers, balletmasters, music conductors, composers, dramatists and authors of kinematographic scenarios, musicians (including those in the Red Army and the fleet), chorus singers (including church and synagogue choristers, chapel masters, organ players etc.), kinematographic operators, acrobats, clowns, circus riders, and riding masters, trainers, athletes, wrestlers, gymnasts, couplet singers and other music-hall actors, theatre artists (scene painters, property men etc.) as well as image painters, photographers, workers in the kino-ateliers, theatrical hair dressers, and costumiers, dressmakers, shoe makers, carpenters, electrical engineers, house painters, theatre employees (managers, cashiers, controllers etc.), door keepers, servants, watchmen, circus saddlers, and stable boys. The great Chaliapine as well as a simple ticket porter enter with equal rights into the Union. We must add that the union includes also tuners of musical instru-

ments, musical instrument makers, teachers in all branches of art as well as employees in picture galleries and museums and all employees in the following departments of the Peoples Commissariat for Education: 1) The Theatre Department, 2) Music Department, 3) Photographic and Kinematographic Department, 4) Department of Fine Arts, 5) Department for the safe-keeping of museums and monuments of antiquity.

Each theatre, circus, kinematograph and workshop has a local committee which is the primary organ of the Union. The functions of the latter are the same as the functions of local factory committees in other Unions. At the present time the Union numbers nearly 150,000 members and has branch offices in more than 150 towns.

Under the reign of the Tzar the artists were in a miserable position, now they are in better conditions than other workers. Before the revolution theatres played every day: theatre workers did not know what rest was. Now, according to a decree of the Soviet Government, all theatre workers have their holiday on Monday instead of Sunday because it would be unreasonable to deprive working people of theatres on Sunday. Before the revolution managers and impresarios took from theatre workers everything they could. Now, all theatres are nationalized and are administered by a collegiate board which includes representatives of the Union of Art Workers. The Union has also its representatives in the collegiate boards of the Art Sector of the Commissariat of Education and in the corresponding departments of local Soviets.

Now that the blockade may soon be raised, we are ready to take the initiative for the organization of an International Union of Art Workers.

Art is international.

Artists have always been internationalists.

There is great need in organizing a world Labor

ge of Art Workers. We appeal to our
 an comrades. They must help us to organ-
 international Union of Art Workers.
 Russian people have awakened from their
 . They long for theatres, music and works
 But the needs of several millions cannot
 fied by our artists alone. In towns as well
 e country actors have to play several times
 n the evening. We appeal to our European

"Europe must give us kinematographic films
 "Eastmen Kodak" apparatus, chemicals, musical
 instruments, strings, mouth pieces, colors etc. The
 blockade must be raised.

Come to Russia, comrades, and you will see that
 the Russia Soviet Republic is neither a desert
 nor a barbarous country. You will convince your-
 selves that Art occupies a place of honor in our
 lives.

My Own Shop

By Frank Merriwell

ve been reading the interesting articles ap-
 g in The Toiler, entitled My Own Shop, and
 been much interested. They often raise very
 tant questions which we at our shop thresh
 uring our noon day lunch. Occassionally,
 the boss has eyes turned elsewhere, my
 y worker, Price, who is one of those intense
 eals, will turn to me and quietly remark,
 d how are all the slaves in our own shop."
 r own shop is somewhat different from ac-
 ts of any that have heretofore appeared in
 Toiler, because we fellows are all common-
 ers.

e work ten hours a day, at the rate of 50c
 hour, six full days each week. By the strictest
 omy and by depriving ourselves of the little
 ries, such as the movie show, candy for the
 , and the wife (who is always in such cases
 most industrious and economizing creature)
 stantly adding patch upon patch and darning
 redarning our socks, we manage somehow
 stretch the 30 bones over considerable surface
 the family expense, even though the grocer is
 stantly reminding me of the balance incurred
 ring the illness of little George, and that no
 yment has been made there on. George, by the
 y is the youngest of six in the family, although
 king considerably for proper nourishment, is
 lovely little fellow, who because of his loveliness
 ds further burdens upon my life, by constantly
 ging upon me to buy the needfull little articles
 at go to make childhood happy.

I fared pretty well during the war, having
 een employed in a construction gang, on a weekly
 age of \$75.00. The kids all had shoes then, and

our luxuries were most exquisite, consisting of a
 social gathering of the family around the stove,
 one or two nights each week, with apples, cider
 and pop corn enough to go around two or three
 times.

Of course I had to buy war stamps and liberty
 bonds out of my wages, but gee whiz! those were
 the good old days. And Patriotic? Say! I was the
 right hand bower of Uncle Sam. Every night I
 would read the newspapers and how it thrilled
 me when an account appeared therein of the
 American Dough Boys going over the top with a
 song on their lips, and a chassin' Heinnie back
 to Berlin.

The newspapers, the preachers and the whole
 country seemed to just worship the laboring man,
 and all told how Labor would win the war and
 make the world safe for Democracy. Labor was
 IT and no getting around it. Sam Gompers too,
 the head and tail of the Labor movment, as he
 was called, had he not come out boldly and an-
 nounced the American Federation of Labor was
 100% American? (What ever that is). Any way
 I was one of the 100% Americans, my boss hav-
 ing presented me with a badge of honor, which I
 wore with much dignity upon the lapel of my
 Sunday coat, indicating 100% effeciency as a
 working man in my shop.

But times have changed a hell of lot since
 then. My \$75.00 a week pay envelope has dimin-
 ished to \$30.00 and all the while the cost of liv-
 ing has been going up and up. The war saving
 stamps that I had bought and the Liberty
 that I had intended to save, have long

to pay the grocery, meat, coal, gas and rent bills. The kids are out of shoes, and little George is wearing his patched up war times clothes.

And behold you! The other day a solicitor ventured into our home, in quest of funds for the suffering children of Europe. Of course I can sympathize with the children of Europe as I sympathize with all suffering humanity, particularly with the people of Russia, against which this government and the Allied Nations, who fought against the Kaiser to make the world safe for Democracy, have established a blockade, compelling millions of the children of Russia to starvation. I made no contribution to the solicitor. I may have had other reasons but the main reason was: that I had nothing to give.

However, in our own shop we are building a new pottery; that is: the contractor is doing the building, while we laborers are just doing the work. We have what is commonly called a "cinch," for all we have to do is: do the work.

The contractor "assumes the responsibility," he doesn't get wages, he just TAKES the profits.

John Price, whom I spoke of above, is a dogone queer fellow. He hasn't the slightest respect for his employer, he does as little work as he possibly can, and often times I have seen him stop right in the middle of his work and argue with one of the other fellows, about "class consciousness!"

At our noon day lunch, when we discuss the cause of high prices and low wages, Price will bust in like a whirlwind and proceed to lecture us about Value, Price and Profit and end up in condemning the Capitalist System. Sometimes he will launch into an attack upon the American Federation of Labor with a fury that would make Billy Sunday's attack upon the Devil appear as a Grammar school oration in comparison.

And so the days pass on, with Price continually adding converts to his gospel of "class consciousness", I, too, having succumbed, partly due to his teachings and partly to the low wages.

Hard economic conditions, nurished with the sound logic of the teachings of Price has developed more brains within me than all the other years of my life combined.

the union Since becoming class-conscious I am beginning to 'read up' a little, and I know now what I have been all these years.

I have been reading quite a bit of the plans of the Chamber of Commerce to nationalize the industries by destroying and establishing the Open Shop. Now I think that the Chamber of Commerce Unions as they are organized at the present time. What the C. of C. fears, is the socialist movement that is developing within the A. F. of L. and make of it a Revolution, aimed, not at the raising of wages. The A. F. of L. is at the present time, but of the complete overthrow of the capitalist class. At present however, the capitalist class is trying to ing to fear from the A. F. of L. and it is. But these officials, as well as the Chamber of Commerce are fully aware that the rank and file of these Unions are greasing the toll for Gompers and his Labor Lieutenants are for a ride into oblivion. However the end is but the natural and logical development of the class struggle, and we can patiently work the whole matter with complete optimism.

The present offensive against Labor Unions, develops the class conflict more sharply. The class lines will be more tensely drawn. The working class will realize more and more the necessity of class organization and class struggle. The Revolution is inevitable, and the Chamber of Commerce is unconsciously assisting in the development of that condition which is necessary for the success of the Proletariat Revolution. "Class-Consciousness."

If the Unions are destroyed and we are left to abject slavery, then class organization will automatically follow. The oppressed nations of people are always Revolutionary. Russia was considered the oppressed people on earth, yet today it is the vanguard of the Proletarian Revolution. It is a bulwark against capitalism that has the death knell of capitalism over all the world.

Marx says that Capitalism will dig its own grave, and I might add thereto, that it will dig its own grave, but it will crawl into the grave, lie down and commit suicide.

In conclusion I want to pay my utmost respect to the thousands of John Prices in the labor movement, for it is such as they that lead the Labor Movement. May their work never cease and their spirit never die.

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