

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE IS LAUNCHED IN NEW YORK.

INDEPENDENT LABOR ORGANIZATIONS FORM A UNITED BODY TO ABOLISH CAPITALISM AND ESTABLISH A WORKERS' SOVIET REPUBLIC.

SENTIMENT AGAINST REACTION IS CRYSTALIZED.

Progressive and radical organizations of the American Labor Movement have long felt the need for a common base from which to attack the reactionary control of the American movement. For many years the opposition to the Gompers machine has been growing. It has resulted in the creation from time to time of various sporadic organizations of more or less stability and more or less intelligent understanding of the problems that had to be faced and the tactics that ought to be used in order to bring the great masses of workers into line behind the radical program.

With the present industrial crisis threatening the very existence of the labor movement through its widespread unemployment and the open shop drive, it has become increasingly necessary to give to American labor a militant leadership, a scientific economic program and a class conscious rank and file. As was confidently expected, the recent A. F. of L. convention in Denver has utterly failed to do anything to stem the tide of defeat after defeat that has been increasingly the lot of American labor ever since the signing of the armistice. The Denver convention was only the culmination of years of futility and weakness of the A. F. of L. More than anything else in recent years it has shown that the A. F. of L. under its present leadership, with its lack of any semblance of a progressive program, is utterly incapable of coping with the pressing problems facing the workers.

To Oppose Reaction.

The growing discontent with the prised of affiliated organizations representing every part of the United States has crystallized. With the launching of the American Labor Alliance, comprised of affiliated organizations representing every part of the United States and varied fields of working class endeavor, the radical elements in the American labor movement have at last come together. With a close working agreement as to purpose, program and tactics, twelve of the most active and widely known workers' independent organizations have come together in an affiliated organization to present a united front against every enemy of the working class, from the master class government to the weak and reactionary labor leaders.

The plan for forming the American Labor Alliance was conceived at an informal conference of a few representatives of radical organizations. These called a convention of representatives from fifteen independent organizations to which ten responded with official delegates and two others with unofficial, fraternal delegates. Organizations officially represented were: Friends of Soviet Russia; The Irish American Labor League; National Defense Committee; Finnish Socialist Federation; Associated Toiler Clubs; American Freedom Foundation; Ukrainian Workers Club; Industrial Socialist League; Marxian Educational Society and the Hungarian Workers Federation. Unofficially the Arbeiter Bildungs-Verein and the Pacific Coast Educational Bureau were represented.

The first named ten organizations became affiliated with the newly formed American Labor Alliance when the governing rules, submitted by an elected sub-committee were unanimously adopted. They are as follows:

Governing Rules of the American Labor Alliance.

Art. 1. The name of the organization shall be the American Labor Alliance.

Art. 2. The purpose of the American Labor Alliance shall be to propagate to the workers the idea of the abolition of the capitalist system thru the establishment of a Workers' Soviet Republic; to uphold the interests of the workers in the class struggle; to fight against reactionary policies in the labor movement and to defend class war prisoners.

Art. 3. Any organization which declares itself to be in agreement with the purpose of the A. L. A. and which agree to abide by its working rules, may be affiliated upon vote of a majority of the Executive Board.

Art. 4. The affairs of the organization shall be administered by an Executive Board of seven members elected by convention. The decisions

of the Executive Board shall be binding on all affiliated organizations.

Art. 5. The A. L. A. shall be financed by voluntary contributions from the affiliated organizations and from sympathizers.

Art. 6. A convention of the A. L. A. may be called at any time by the Executive Board or upon demand of a two-thirds majority vote of the affiliated organizations.

Elected Officials.

J. P. Cannon, Associated Toiler Harrison, Industrial Socialist League were elected to the Executive Board by unanimous vote of the convention. Upon Adjournment of the convention the Executive Board immediately went into session. It elected Caleb Harrison as National Secretary and decided to Clubs; William Woodworth, Marxian Educational Society; L. E. Katterfeld and Edgar Owens, National Defense Committee; Michael Dardella, Ukrainian Workers Club; Dr. Walenka, Friends of Soviet Russia and Caleb establish the National Headquarters in New York City.

The Executive Board proposes to embark immediately upon three main lines of endeavor, Lyceum, Literature and Defense. Speakers are to be routed throughout the country to speak for the A. L. A. and for the various organizations affiliated, on propaganda, educational and defense matters. Literature in the shape of pamphlets and leaflets on subjects of immediate interest to the working class will be published and given the widest circulation. The scope and character of the different organizations will be enlarged and the various activities carried out on a national scale.

The Ripening of Revolution in the United States.

By JAMES A. MARSHALL.

(Taken from "Moscow" of June 17th 1921.)

The originators of the world war, the dominant class in all the belligerent countries, assign to the war the role of bursting the fetters of national exploitation, and by establishing a world dominion to abolish the objectionable competition in the field of international exploitation. In reality the world war let loose the Social Revolution, and released everywhere the forces of proletarian upheaval. Capitalism everywhere is facing bankruptcy. It is incapable of solving the social problems which itself has created, and which have become more acute as a result of the war. The working class is everywhere agitating to seize its patrimony and to cut the gordian knot by proletarian revolution.

Everywhere—and yet, not everywhere! The United States seems to form an exception to all the large capitalist countries.

But, this is more apparent than real. Even this colossus of American capitalism stands on the clay feet of a thoroughly disorganized capitalist world economy, and is built upon the slumbering volcano of a discontented working class. The war filled the pockets of the rich and gave the American capitalists the welcome opportunity of drawing wealth out of the misery of the European nations. And yet, though it appears to be brimming with health and full of arrogance, American capitalism is incapable of effecting the return of industries to pre-war conditions without disturbances.

The bankruptcy of the capitalist countries of Europe presses down on it like a heavy load and poisons its very existence. The giant is at a loss how to face the present crisis. Violence seems to him the only remedy for the growing unrest of the working class. But this violence in accordance with the unavoidable laws of nature generates a power that will destroy it in the end.

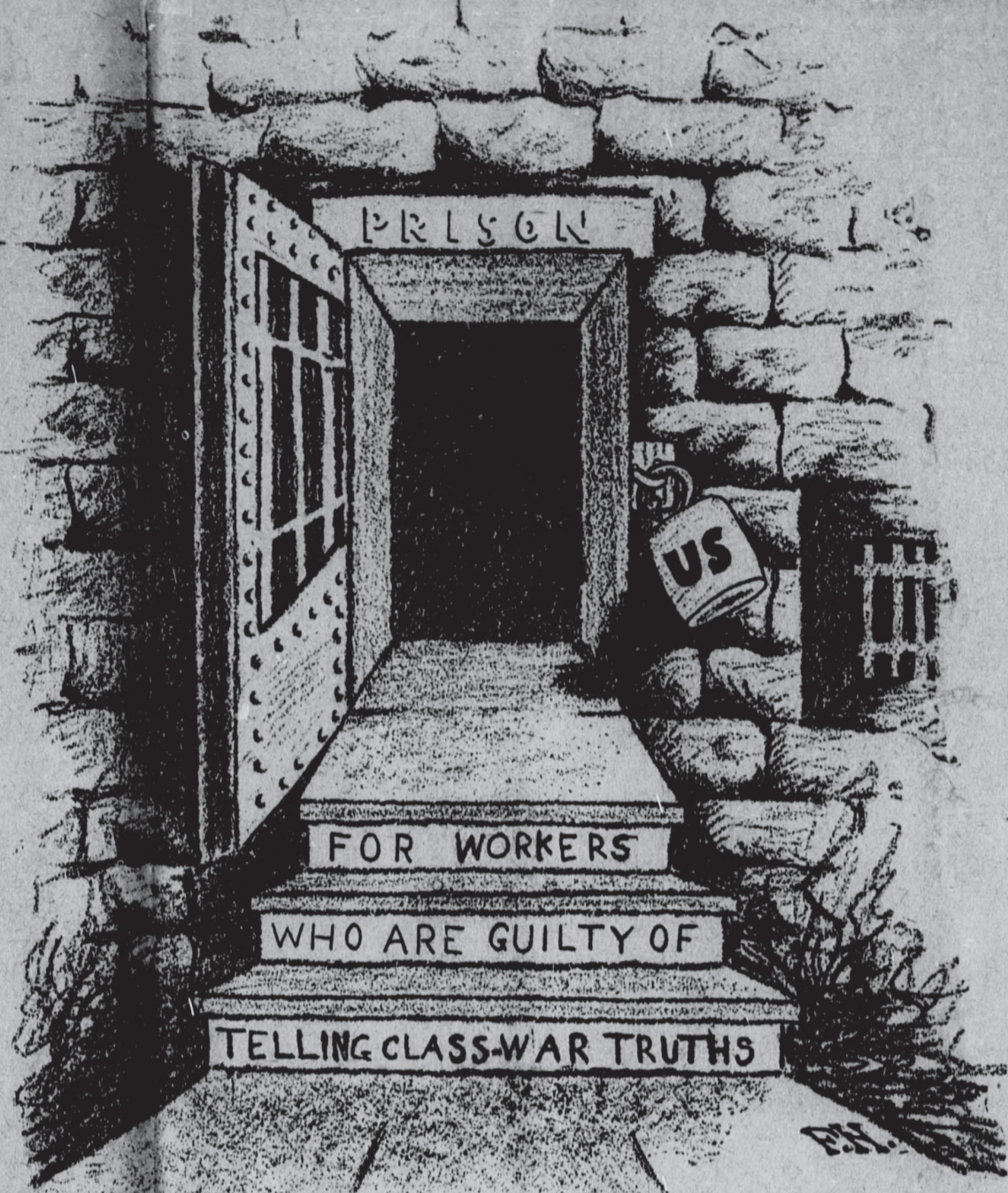
The present crisis is extensive and terrible. Millions of workers are out of work. The figure is supposed to be 6-7 millions. At any rate no less than four. These four millions unemployed form the Army of Reserve with which the American capitalist

Local branches of the affiliated organizations will be established in the industrial centers. All true progressive organizations will be encouraged to affiliate and the entire mass of progressive and radical workers will be united to present a common front against its enemies.

Fills a Great Need.

It is not only that ten organizations, totaling a joint membership of many thousands of workers, have become united to work out more thoroughly and efficiently their common problems, that constitutes the chief reason for the encouragement of the militant working class. It is true that these organizations and those which will soon join represent the best elements of the American labor movement. That they have been organized into one centralized organization is encouraging indeed; it is a great beginning. But what offers the greatest cause for encouragement is the fact that this new organization will fill a long felt and vital need. It is the organization that the working class of America has been looking for. The expressed opinion of all the delegates present was, "The American Labor Alliance is the organization that our membership has been seeking. Now that it has been formed we shall not only have an increase in the number and activity of our membership, but we shall attract to our standards all the truly class-conscious workers of America."

Headquarters of the American Labor Alliance have been established at 201 W. 13th St., New York City. All communications should be sent to Caleb Harrison, Secretary, at that address.



WHAT JAILS ARE FOR—AND WHY.

"For Workers Who Are Guilty of Telling Class-War Truths" ought to be carved in the stone fronts of every prison in the United States. The bald truth ought to be proclaimed from the dungeon doors themselves. Workers should be branded upon their minds in indelible characters. Workers ought to and must know the truth—American prisons are for workers who proclaim and teach the irreconcilability of the rulers and the ruled, of master and slave, of capitalist and worker. THAT is what American prisons are for.

A hundred American dungeons testify to the truth of this statement. Atlanta, San Quentin, Alcatraz, Sing Sing, Dannemore, Ellis Island, Leavenworth, Walla Walla, Montesano, McNeils Island, Governors Island, Jefferson City, and scores and scores of lesser known state and county jails and prisons bear within their foul walls the dead yet living evidence of this assertion.

American prisons are for workers who bring the gospel of emancipation, of broken fetters, of freedom and economic justice to the working class of this country. Let who will bring to the capitalist class a new method

or scheme by which their slaves may be more deeply exploited—they will be welcomed with open arms, they will be set upon the seats of the mighty. But let one bring to the exploited a message of deliverance, of work without exploitation, of a world without slavery—the jail of the master class will swallow him up.

This is so because the master class rules thru its DICTATORSHIP—camouflaged as a political democracy where a FEW workers are permitted to VOTE for CAPITALIST PICKED candidates.

Only a WORKERS' government, a SOVIET government can successfully terminate this rule of capital over men and women. Only a soviet government can take out of the hands of the capitalists the power to jail the spokesmen of the workers. Only a Soviet government in America can end the bloody, inhuman dictatorship of the capitalists. This only, can create a condition in human society where the necessity of prisons will finally disappear. The abolition of classes thru the victory of the millions of poor over the few rich—this only, is worthy the efforts of the workers. Give it your support.

Jewish Nationalists Join Mud Throwers'

By H. S. BLOOMFIELD.

If you think that only the English papers are engaged in lying about and throwing mud at the workers' republic of Soviet Russia, you have another think coming. Capitalism is international, consequently any paper that speaks for the master class, regardless of language or nationality must uphold the capitalist system, with its deception and robbery.

In "The Jewish Daily News," which is the mouthpiece of the Jewish world to do, contains in the issue of July 18 two items in English, one was an editorial, part of which reads as follows: "Sovietism was to bring happiness, it was to be the reign of peace and of the fullest development of human right." "Our readers know that the Jewish Daily News at no time had any faith in Bolshevism and in its leaders. We felt that these crack-brained theorists would cause ruin." "The Bolshevik officials are at pains

to root out everything culturally Jewish." After stating the above quoted lie, for it is nothing else, the Jewish Daily News, turns about face and brands itself—LIAR. For, directly under this dirty editorial, on the very same page, there appears a two column heading which reads: "Cable Brevities From Across The Seas—Jewish Correspondence Bureau Service," under which headline appears the following cable report:

"Berlin.—Professor Albert Einstein has accepted the invitation of the Commissariat of Education to deliver a series of lectures in Soviet Russia. Einstein is making preparations to leave Berlin shortly. He will proceed to Moscow and then to Petrograd to lecture on his "Theory of Relativity."

to root out everything culturally Jewish."

Professor Einstein will be permitted to engage in activities for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem."

The Jewish Daily News has been established over forty-one years, but it is yet an amateur liar—it is not consistent as a liar.

Professor Einstein has been paraded up and down the American continent by this very element of Jewish chauvinists to gain prestige in the eyes of the American capitalists for the Jewish national party or as they are called "Zionists," who want a Jewish national homeland where Jewish parasites can exploit the labor power of Jewish workers.

As far as I know, professor Einstein is not concerned with or rather does not devote his time to the political, but to the cultural problems of the Jewish people; therefore he has taken upon himself the task of establishing in Jerusalem a Hebrew University in which activities he will

be permitted to be engaged even while in the land of "Bolshevist officials who, are at pains to root out everything Jewish."

Anyone with a bit of common horse-sense can readily comprehend the motives that are behind such attacks upon the first workers' republic. Lies, slander, mud throwing and abuse, and jails, police and machine guns will be used against the workers struggling for emancipation from capitalism wherever and whenever the master class think it advisable.

Although Einstein is not a Bolshevik, yet the Bolsheviks appreciate the benefit of knowledge and they cordially invite not only Professor Einstein, but anyone from whom knowledge and education may be derived. The Bolsheviks are doing all in their power to spread the truth—to educate the masses of Soviet Russia by teaching them all the arts and sciences.

American workers, as well as Jewish workers, don't let the capitalist press poison your mind, throw away your hatred for the workers of other nationalities and put forward your hands in brotherly solidarity; march shoulder to shoulder against the forces of capitalism—unite and fight together—until all the workers of all nations are free from capitalist slavery.

WORKINGMEN AND WORKING WOMEN BE ON GUARD.

White Motor Company of Cleveland, increased the work week from four to five days. Fine. Only the workers get the same pay for the long week as the short week. This is not reducing wages! Maybe it's "providing work."

Government troops guard Rome with machine guns. Patriotic Fascist and unpatriotic communists are fighting there.

Seek Benefits of Unemployment

UNEMPLOYMENT COUNCIL DEMONSTRATION WILL TAKE UP THE LEGIONS OF NATIONAL UNEMPLOYED LIONS OF OUT OF WORK

The Unemployment Council of New York has arranged for an Unemployment Demonstration to be held on Monday, August 6th, at 1 o'clock at 123rd St. and Fifth Avenue, New York City.

All Labor Organizations of New York and vicinity have been notified of this meeting and are preparing for same.

The Unemployment Council of New York has taken steps through the National Unemployment Council, with which it is affiliated, to call a convention of Delegates from the various Unemployment Councils and Committees now in existence in more than 50 cities in the United States and as many in Canada.

Many communications received from various parts of Canada indicate that they are favorable towards the holding of an International Unemployment Convention, so as to centralize the activities of all existing Unemployment bodies and those yet to be formed.

Face to Face With Hunger.

In the United States as well as Canada a hard winter is facing the Unemployed and unless they are organized by the various Councils in great enough numbers to compel the state to care for them this winter by granting them Unemployment Compensation, the Unemployed and those dependent upon them will suffer unacceptably hunger, cold, disease and death in great number.

The Unemployment Council of New York is determined to do its share in uniting the unemployed nationally and internationally so that they may relieve the prevailing miserable situation and finally do away permanently with unemployment.

It is the duty of every Labor organization to get in back of the Unemployment Councils of their respective localities, by sending delegates to these Councils to help carry on the work that is so necessary if the unemployed are to eat and be kept warm this winter—and there is hardly a worker who can exclude himself from the ranks of the unemployed. Those of us who are fortunate enough to be working now, may not be working in a week or a month or two, and then we too will face hunger and cold.

The problem of Unemployment is not a problem for the Unemployed alone—it is a problem of the entire working class, whether employed or not, in this spirit alone can Unemployment be coped with successfully. Solidarity of the worker once established and maintained—and unemployment, hunger, cold, and economic fear will become a thing of the past.

BRIEFS.

I. W. W. driven out of Kansas harvest fields. Reason? Too much propaganda against the farm owners.

Ku Klux Klan organizes in Cleveland. "Best citizens" are being imported to join.

While the capitalist press points to the Russian famine as a product of bolshevism, Harding asks for an investigation of the famine in the American cotton sections. Guess too much democracy down there is the cause.

Twelve delegates at a labor convention in France are wounded in a free-for-all which breaks out during a debate on the question of affiliation with the communist international.

American Legionaries prevent Ida Crouch Hazlet, socialist, from speaking at Des Moines. Wonder what they would do to a communist?

One hundred and twenty children working in the underwear mills of Lawrence, Mass., were found to be totally without underwear with the exception of seven. This was not in the summer either.

"Union labels for our underwear," battle cry of the A. F. of L. Whose underwear?

The first dollar Charles Ammon earned since his discharge from the army last September, he mailed to the war risk insurance and then shot himself.

E T O I L E

LAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 6, 1921.

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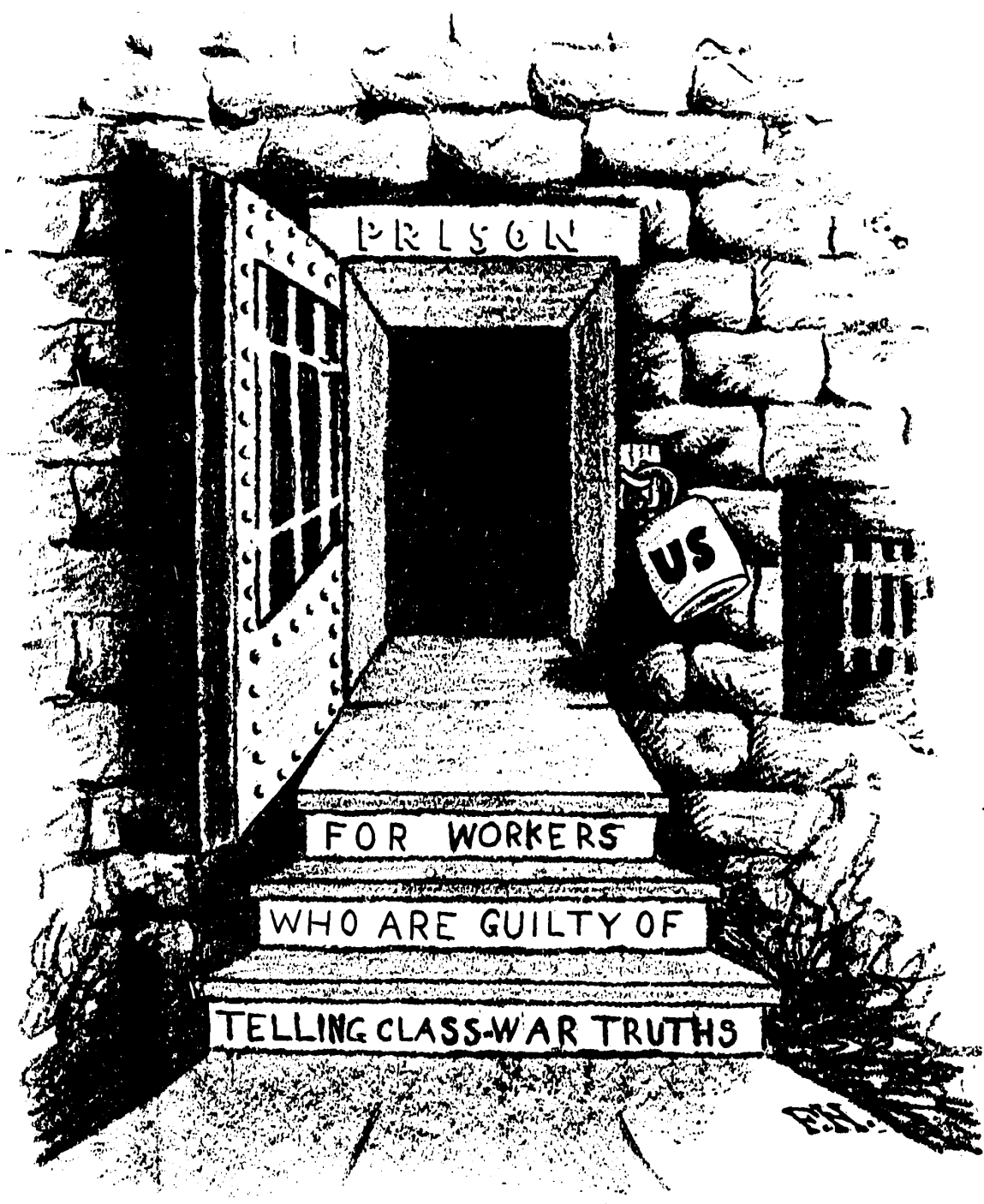
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WHAT JAILS ARE FOR-AND WHY.

The Working Class and Their Children AN APPEAL TO PROLETARIAN PARENTS.

By EDWIN HOERNLE.

Taken from a pamphlet of the above title published in Berlin by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. Published here in four installments. The pamphlet may be obtained of The Toiler by remitting 5c per copy.

II.

THE BOURGEOISIE POISONS OUR CHILDREN.

The governing class does not only kill our children physically, it also poisons their young minds. Especially in revolutionary times the bourgeoisie redoubles its energy to estrange the children of the proletariat from their class, to get them in opposition to their own struggling parents, brothers and sisters. During such times all schools, all private and public institutions become strongholds of counterrevolutionary propaganda and training, and it must be admitted that the governing class knows well how to inculcate into the young and fresh minds the germs of nationalism and monarchism, of bourgeois morals and sentiments.

To prove this, let us skip over the pages of a reader in use in our public schools. They are filled with religious stories, are overflowing with false and lying petty bourgeois morality. Take for instance the headings of a reader being used in the Berlin district schools: The Lord is everywhere; the Lord knows everything; the Lord thinks of all things; praise the Lord at all times; the Lord and His angels are guarding you.

Does not such stuff nauseate every revolutionary proletarian? Really, the Lord has indeed thought of everything, especially of His proletarians out of work and His hungry consumptive children.

Proletarian parents! How much longer will you permit of these lies being dished out to your children? Will you inactively stand by and see your helpless children imbued with slave morals, sugar-coated with the religious spirit of inactivity? Read for instance the following story taken at random out of the reader mentioned above, headed: The County Fair. — A rich woman gives money to a number of girls for which they are to buy what they like. When on their return they have to show the results of their shopping to the kindly spender it appears that only one of the girls has bought something "useful": a prayer book and a distaff. At this the rich woman is very pleased. Taking the girl's hands she addresses her as follows: I am very glad, my dear, that in your young years you think of work and prayer. By buying foolish things the others have shown plainly that they are concerned with nothing but pretty dresses and other vain things, that they think nothing whatever of piety and industriousness.

Do we need to add a word of criticism? Note the typical petty bourgeois spirit: The rich woman as benefactress. The praise of frugality. The poor girl being patronised. The point: Work and pray, live on hay, you will eat by and by in the sky. Take note of the matter of course manner with which poor and rich are being confronted here, the rich being trusted with the role of guardian! Stories of that description we could repeat by the dozen out of any reader.

That is the spirit dominating in our primary schools, to which must be added that of nationalism and monarchism. All that in spite of the so-called republic and its "socialistic" ministers. A great part of the lectures on history is still devoted to the worship of the dynasties, to the glorification of the imperial and royal despotisms. The heroic Kaiser! The benevolent Mother of the Country! The whole world appears to be the handiwork of inspired princes, politicians and generals. The history of the development of mankind is but a chain of wars and wise legislative measures, stress being laid upon the necessity for obedience and loyalty, and, to crown the whole, chauvinism.

The singing lessons also consist of nothing but religion and patriotism. Here as elsewhere the minds of the children are being filled exclusively with thoughts of the Father in the glorious land above the sky and the substitutes on earth, the kaiser and the various kings! And the composition lessons! And the slurs of the teachers, male and female, against the revolution, against the communists, against the worker on strike, against Soviet Russia. Those out of work are being depicted as too lazy to work, the children of the better situated, the reactionaries are being favoured, anyone industrious and modest must surely get ahead, today as ever.

Proletarian parents! Have you ever thought of what it means to have all this advice put into practice? It is to make your children seek the favour of the bosses later on, they are to prepare proletarian children for the dirty calling of scabs and blacklegs, of the lackeys and stoolpigeons of the White Guards. The whole school system is permeated with bourgeois egoism, with that hateful spirit of greediness and avarice which forms the moral basis for the capitalist order and which the bourgeoisie calls "the competitive system". One look into the arithmetic book of your children will show you that the whole capitalistic ideology is hidden between its lines and numbers, for nothing else is to be learned there than how to buy and sell and how to figure out percentage for usury.

The school teaches the children nothing about the true situation of the present day society, of the conflict of interests between capitalism and proletariat, about the economic and social perspective of all wars and revolutions. Consciously overlooking the results of the social upheavals, the school is still teaching the time worn fairy tales of church and nationalism, thereby instilling dangerous illusions into the minds of the unsuspecting young.

The school which is to prepare for life does not prepare the young proletarian for his life but for that of a servile subject of his exploiters.

The school, however, is but a part of the atmosphere the child is being brought up in. The proletarian child passes away a great part of his life in the yards and on the streets. The street of the capitalistic metropolis is not only the great panorama of life passing ceaselessly before the child, it is also at the same time, and mainly so in the proletarian quarters, an evil smelling gutter through which all scum of the capitalistic society passes by. Only seldom does the child come to know here of proletarian solidarity and of the proletarian struggle; for the most part it is thrown into acquaintance with the naked viciousness practised by the victims of capitalism: the gangster, tipsters, confidence men and other criminals. In the streets of our great cities the proletarian child sees the orgies of the profiteering bourgeoisie.

In the person of vile comrades, friends and neighbours, and in

the public houses and brothel districts the child is thrown into contact with vice in every shape and manner; the picture shows with their rudely executed posters that appeal to everything that is low in the children, rouse their bad instincts.

And although the child sees everywhere the contrast between poor and rich, hungry and appeased, slave and master, there is nobody to solve these problems for him, and the result is the quite natural desire of the simple mind: O, if I also would be well fed and warmly clothed. If I also could be riding in a car and look down upon the others! Thus the streets do not only not educate the proletarian child to class consciousness, but make him accept unquestionably the bourgeois theory of life.

The proletarian family is not capable of giving to the child all he needs. Capitalism has dissolved and torn apart the proletarian family rendering them in many instances incapable of methodically educating their children. In many families is not only the father working, but also the mother. Who looks after the children? Who teaches them to be methodic and keep themselves clean? Who transmits to them knowledge of any kind? Who pays attention to their inclinations and gifts? Who corrects their mistakes and teaches them to help each other? Who coaches them in endurance and trains them to gain mastery over themselves? Who plants into their young souls the seeds of class consciousness? Who instills into them the enthusiasm for the great ideas of socialism, for the great struggle of the proletariat for freedom? Who explains to the child all that which it is brought into contact with? Nobody! Nobody who would give answer to his questions and solve for him his mental problems. There is nobody to neutralise the damning influence of the bourgeois school. Nobody who would help the child to understand the impressions occasioned by the stormy political present, the strikes and demonstrations, the risings, the arrests, and the processions, nobody who would explain to him the revolutionary meaning of all these happenings.

We, the proletarian parents cannot console ourselves by simply saying: It is all the fault of the situation, bitter need will do much in enlightening our children later on. No, if the position of the class were of itself making revolutionaries, why are there millions of indifferents who belong to no political party? Why are there still millions organized in the christian trade unions? How could it then be that the German and the English social-democratic parties are still strong in spite of the traitors who are still members and even leaders of them? Supposing the assumption to be true, where do the White Guards, the stool pigeons, the criminals and the prostitutes come from? Do not forget that one retains to the end of life the impressions and happenings of childhood! It is the influence, whether organized or not, of the existing bourgeois society, which does not allow millions of proletarians to be anything but slaves to the American capitalists.

The struggle for the soul of the proletarian child is therefore quite as important as the struggle for his physical wellbeing. The greatest duty that the revolutionary proletariat owes their children is to keep them within the class and educate them for the class, to imbue them with the spirit of proletarian solidarity and revolutionary energy. By their life upon the street our children lose their way and deteriorate morally and physically. They are being poisoned with the spirit of bourgeois lust of grab, of hypocrisy, greediness and corruption. The bourgeoisie incites our children against their own parents, brothers and sisters, while the proletarian parents are away from their children, slaving for the daily crust. As the proletarian parents are in many cases themselves in need of education and direction they are not capable of undertaking the revolutionary education of their children. Therefore the proletarian class as a unit must call into life organizations which are to realize new communes for education.

(Continued next week.)

48 Countries Represented at 3rd Congress

Translated By Rosa Spanier.

Moscow, June 26.—The fourth session of the Congress began with a report by Radek who, in the name of the Committee of Mandates, stated that 291 delegates were participating in the Congress with a decisive vote, 219 with a voice but no vote, and 100 fraternal delegates. In all, 48 countries were represented.

The mandates of the Bulgarian Communist Labor Party, formerly the left wing of the Social-patriotic Party, were not accepted. This party once considered the Communists as too moderate; nevertheless, it printed the articles of the renegade Kautsky in its party paper. The mandates of the Bulgarian left Communists also were not recognized in order not to split up the forces of the Bulgarian Communists who are now conducting a bitter struggle against their bourgeoisie.

The Roumanian Communist delegates, who because of repression by their government were only able to form illegal groups, were admitted to the Congress.

The Independent Socialists of Estonia, the Polish Bund and the Poale Zionists who are at this moment negotiating admission to the International, were accorded a voice without vote.

In assigning votes to the various parties, the Committee on Mandates considered not only the number of members in any particular party, but also the political conditions of the

EMIGRATION TO RUSSIA.

(By The Federated Press).

NEW YORK.—The soviet government has decided to grant entire mills and factories in Russia to groups of Russian workers returning from the United States, provided they can prove that they are capable of conducting the industry.

Although immigration from the United States into soviet Russia is at present restricted, the soviet government, according to a letter from L. Martens, published in the August issue of Soviet Russia, "has decided to encourage in every way possible the organization in America of all kinds of co-operative associations of Russian workers—including agricultural—to whom the government plans to turn over for specified periods and on certain conditions various public works and vacant lands, etc." The regulation of immigration from America into Russia is in charge of a special committee of the people's commissariat of labor, of which Mr. Martens, formerly the representative of the soviet government in America, is a member.

"As soon as the proper conditions for the admission of immigrants have been prepared," writes Mr. Martens, "such as sufficient housing, machinery for distribution, employment, etc., and as soon as we are in a position to direct the matter of immigration at the point of origin, i. e., in the United States, the frontiers will be immediately opened for the reception of immigrants. The first requirements of the problem are already being successfully met; the latter part of the problem can be solved only after the soviet republic has established a mission in America."

Under the present conditions, Mr. Martens advises, only organized groups capable of bringing with them a more or less complete equipment for the kind of work in which they are planning to engage should consider going to Russia. "Highly desirable," he says, "would be such organizations as agricultural co-operatives composed of any number of persons each of whom should come with a more or less complete set of machinery and implements and a co., for instance, building co-operatives, tailors co-operatives, hatmakers co-operatives, etc." In all cases each individual worker or organization desiring to go to Russia should make preliminary inquiry of the committee on immigration before undertaking the journey.

All those interested in any questions relating to the return of Russian workers from the United States may communicate direct with the committee on re-emigration, People's Commissariat of Labor, Moscow.

Mail service between Russia and the United States is now established.

More Signs of Prosperity.

In the last 6 months, there have been 9,005 commercial failures in the United States, with liabilities amounting to \$308,000,000. That is more than 5 times the whole amount of last year, and more than 3 times that of 1914, which was by far the worst year since the panic of 1907. With six more months to run, and little prospect of betterment, this year promises to be a banner year in bankruptcy.

Bankruptcy means the decay of the capitalist system. With all the suffering it entails on the working class, we workers must rejoice. Give us more of this "prosperity". The capitalist system is on the road to hell. The capitalists and governments are up in arms to preserve the system. We workers will give it the last jolt that will finish them both. Then we'll take things in hand ourselves. That will be the end of commercial failures.

"Surplus" Milk.

Babies and school children are suffering from undernourishment. This is due not only to the poverty of the workers but also to the alleged scarcity of certain food products.

It is a well known fact that food is destroyed in order to keep up the prices. Rice was kept in storage in China or was shipped to America and reshipped to China with profits added on, while millions of the workers were starving in China. Apples were allowed to rot in the orchards last fall, while workers clamored for cheap fruit. Potatoes were used as fertilizer this spring, since it did not "pay" to convey them to market. Milk is poured into the sewer in the middle west, so as to maintain high prices. This is the act of a combine which not only fixes the price given to the farmers, but, by its depredations, artificially maintains the price of milk to the consumer at a war level.

These are capitalist methods. This is efficiency. Workers who endeavor to put an end to the system that breeds such methods are called Bolsheviks.

MAYFAIR TO MOSCOW: CLARE SHERIDAN'S DIARY.

BONI & LIVERIGHT, 1921.

A BOOK REVIEW THAT IS NOT QUITE ONE.

I think there are comparatively few people who can write a successful diary. By success I mean to tell the story without marring it with disclosures of a personality more or less uninteresting, unintelligent and unattractive. One's personality, injected into page after page of a book will have to be a strong one to bear the wear and tear and shine as resplendently on the last page as does the author's photograph on the front cover.

The diary form of writing is one which lends itself readily to an illustration of one's inmost self; and it is because of this fact that, it seems to me, much credit must be given Clare Sheridan for choosing such an "acid test" of character as a trip to Moscow and having the courage to tell us of her journey in "From Mayfair to Moscow".

Singular, only describes in an infinitely small way the book she has written. It is singular in many respects, and must be read to be appreciated. The one singular thing of a cultured woman of the English bourgeoisie venturing into Russia in the fall of last year is enough in itself to cause one to pause a moment to enquire what sort of person is this?

Indeed, the question arises even in the first page of the introduction but through the book one finds such satisfactory answers. For half the book, in fact, Clare Sheridan and the rest a charmingly told story of an artist's unusual adventure into that mysteriously enticing human maelstrom—Soviet Russia.

My intention here is to let the book speak for itself and for its author. Concerning the author's violation of bourgeois good form, she writes on page 1: "There are people in England who are indignant at my sculpting Lenin and Trotsky. There were people in Moscow who were horrified because I had done Winston Churchill... I love humanity with its force and its weakness, its ambitions and fears, its honesty and its lack of scruples, its perfections and deformities." That paragraph explains Clare Sheridan and one feels after reading it that here is an honest person whom one can trust on all occasions.

As a sculptor, depending upon her work to support herself and children, Mrs. Sheridan has learned to work and of the need and value of work. Says she of her early training: "I was brought up with the idea that for a girl it was only necessary to know French, take care of one's hands and do one's hair carefully in order to get married and live happily ever afterward." But she was rebellious and took unkindly to the prescribed formula. The gratification of her artistic temperament consumed much of her time that she did eventually marry, and: "For four years after that I lived in the country, and during those four years I forgot everything except the creation of forms I was intent upon. The two children which are the result—are my best bits of creative form," she writes. Then, in the chronology of her life, came the World War, a broken home, the death of her husband in battle and a few days later, the birth of her son. Surely here was test enough of the strength of a woman. But in her work she found salvation.

The Diary really begins with her chance meeting with Kamenev and Krassin, then in England attempting to negotiate a trade agreement. It was Kamenev who later invited her to accompany his entourage upon the return to Russia. "I thought he was joking, and hesitated a moment, then I said, 'Let me know when you are going to start and I will be ready in half an hour.'" That is just what one would expect her to say.

She sculpts the two Bolshevik Commissars and enters upon a considerable struggle in her effort to get properly out of England. It appears that Mother Grundy was busy as was very likely. A relative informs her that she "is being criticized as having too much freedom." Says Mrs. Sheridan: "I visualized the great band of people who grudge me that freedom, because they have not got it, and because they know that freedom counts above everything." A thoroughly sufficient answer.

The book is replete with scores of bits of conversations between the author and the two Commissars and with others relative to them and what they stood for. Speaking of a story of Kamenev's life as a revolutionist, which he narrated, she adds: "It is a marvelous narrative, pray God, I may never forget it". One feels the steady spiritual pulse beating in Clare Sheridan when such passages are read.

That she regarded her journey to Russia as a possible crisis or even the end of life itself, is shown in several passages relating to her last preparations.

In tender paragraphs she expresses her wishes regarding the future of her little daughter and son. Of her daughter, she writes: "I do wish she could be brought up purposeful, not luxurious, and to feel that she will have a career. Work alone brings happiness, and the desire to achieve or to attain is the only satisfaction." Of her possessions, she lucidly explains: "I have not much to leave, my philosophy of life is to travel light and not to accumulate, but to throw off".

One feels the courageous conviction which moved her to enter upon this enterprise in the paragraph where she counts the possible cost and makes her decision. Says she: "I don't care what happens to my work. I've worked hard and done my best. I hoped to make a name for myself. I am ambitious to do good work. It's a very, very long road to climb, and I'd like to get further along it—but this is a great adventure and worth doing—and I am rather tired of the great uncertainty of the future, and so, if it all ends so soon it ends well". To her children, she leaves this splendid injunction: "Work, Work, always Work. Don't turn your backs on the World's new doctrines, not even if you have something to lose... Remember the millions whose lives are not worth living and who MUST be helped." Only the highest type of motherhood leaves her children a legacy like this.

Standing out to sea with England wrapped in a shroud, Mrs. Sheridan indulges in this healthy, sane bit of philosophy. "Now for the first time I have leisure and calm to think over what I am doing. There persist in my mind faint echoes of warnings, but I must have no misgivings. It seems to me unlikely that Kamenev would invite me to go to his country if I were likely to be either unhappy or in danger there. There are moments in life when it is necessary to have blind faith." Truly, there is something marvellously eternal in this woman's life sources.

One must recognize the wholesome democracy of the author. Outside the Kremlin gate an old peasant mistook her for Sylvia Pankhurst. Upon learning his mistake, he said: "But you are not Sylvia Pankhurst, are you?" "We must reach the workers with our information, and therefore, your English? and I hope a good Communist." "I did not answer, I just pressed his hand."

After much scurrying about and much more waiting, the sculptress is accorded a working room in the Kremlin—because it is near to those she is to do, whose time is dear. There are many delightful snatches of conversations and scenes recorded that throw full light upon the interesting life upon the heads of the Soviet government. Recording a conversation with some department head or other, she says: "Happily no one in this country knows anything about my family, bringing up, or surroundings. I have not got to live down my wasted years, I can stand on my own feet and be accepted on my own merits."

Mrs. Sheridan is the fighting type. On page 110 in speaking of her fear that not all women would be happy in the larger political life of women under the Soviets, she says: "Personally I prefer my life with all its struggles and its uncertainties since everything crashed for me, than the days of peaceful home protection and inactivity."

Of the opportunities placed before artists under the Soviets the author gives an illuminating paragraph. "I love the bed-rock of things here. If I had no children I would remain and work. There may be no food for the body, but there is plenty of food for the soul, and I would rather live in discomfort in an atmosphere of gigantic effort, than in luxury among the purposeless." These are not the words of an ordinary sensual bourgeois, but of a highly purposeful woman of developed social instincts.

However, this article has already become too long and I realize that only Clare Sheridan and not her book have as yet reviewed. But I suggest that you read the book. There is but one paragraph to add. Let us take her comment upon the conclusion of her work in Moscow.

"My work is ended but I am loth to go. I love this place. I love the people who pass me by in the street. I love the atmosphere laden with melancholy, with sacrifice, with tragedy... I would like to live among them forever, or else work for them outside."

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

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AN ALLIANCE OF LABOR.

The American Labor Alliance comes upon the political horizon at a most propitious moment. It finds scores and hundreds of political and semi-political workers' parties and groups, civic, fraternal and cultural bodies working at cross purposes with each other at a time which calls for amalgamation, unity and close cooperation.

That this Alliance of Labor will be able to federate these now independent organizations, or at least many scores of them and build up a unified educational and propagandist movement embodying basic needs and recognized principles of advanced labor is wholly within the realm of possibilities. A glance over the field of working-class organizations will convince one that there is sufficient unity of purpose in many of them to establish a federated body of this kind.

The American Labor Alliance is not a political party, yet it is a political movement, has a political end. Its purpose now is education propaganda and unified effort of the radical, revolutionary and semi-revolutionary elements of American labor. It purposes to unify thru a central body the great mass of discontented, "left" political and economic forces of the country and to rally them about a common aim. It purposes to concentrate its energies upon the reactionary labor leaders and their policies and to awaken the unionists to the danger of such leadership and such policies.

In short, the Alliance purposes to become the voice of the hitherto voiceless. It purposes to be the weapon of those who have had no weapon. It offers to hundreds of workingclass bodies the element which has long been lacking to make them effective participants in the class struggle—unity of action. The Alliance fills a great need in the United States. It will fill that need the more complete as it grows in numbers. Doubtless the reader is a member of one or more organizations to whom the Alliance would be a great boon. Write to the organization's headquarters and get particulars.

WAGES ON DOWNWARD CURVE.

One is reminded in every day's reading of the press that wages are determined on a downward curve. In instance after instance it is noted that some union or other has voted to "accept" a pay cut even as high as 30 per cent. Sometimes the acceptance is of a second wage cut since the beginning of the period of depression.

While the outstanding feature which strikes one upon reading these notices of capitulation is that of the downfall of wages, there is one other circumstance which is of equal or more significance. That is, the matter of the impossibility of the unions to maintain the wages in the face of unemployment.

It is not merely incidental in the unemployment period that wages are falling to the level of existence. If the unions were a vital force in maintaining the wages of their members, if they had any real power to resist the attacks of the employers, there would be a different story to tell. The facts of wage cutting bear out the assertion that the unions as at present controlled in their craft form—are useless weapons in the hands of the workers. They can no more resist the encroachments of the bosses than a clay wall can resist a tidal wave.

The hopelessness of the situation is seen when one contemplates attendance at union meetings. The members are not there. They refuse to attend. They refuse to pay dues. The union holds no interest for them. They sense and even believe that the union is helpless and must acquiesce. Seeing union after union give in to a reduced wage, a feeling of helplessness takes possession of them. They cannot find a way to turn the craft unions into a workers' weapon against the bosses. And, it must be admitted, there is no way it can be done. In contemplating these present facts, the convincing truth is borne in upon one that Labor needs a new form or organization—must have it if it is to survive. The new form will be born of this unemployment period. The time is ripe for new developments. Craft unionism has failed, it must give way to the industrial form. Craft union members themselves must take the lead.

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM: Analysed and contrasted from the Marxian and Darwinian points of view. By William Montgomery Brown, D. D. The writer, a Bishop in the Episcopal Church, smites supernaturalism in religion and capitalism in politics.

Comments: "One of the most extraordinary and annihilating books I have ever read. It will shake the country." "I call it a sermon. The text is astounding:—Banish the gods from the sky and capitalists from the earth." "It came like a meteor across a dark sky and it held me tight." "Bishop Brown is the reincarnation of Thomas Paine and his book is the modern Age of Reason." "It will do a wonderful work in this the greatest crisis in all history." "A remarkable book by a remarkable man of intense interest to all the world."

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EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE TOILER

Some Crimes of the American Legion.

By Arthur Warner in "The Nation".

The Legion and Labor.

When one considers that at least nine out of ten of the men mobilized by this country for the European War belonged to what is commonly called the "workingclass," there must be something wrong with an organization among them that is regarded either with veiled distrust or downright hostility by the rank and file of organized labor.

The drift against the Legion is apparent not only from the columns of the labor press, but from definite official action taken by various bodies of workers. As far back as December, 1919, Detroit Local No. 127, Automobile, Aircraft, and Vehicle Workers of America, ordered its members to resign from the American Legion or be fined \$100. It was alleged that the Legion had been used to break strikes and that various posts had "violated the constitutional right of free speech and assemblage."

Shortly after, members of the Chicago Painters' Union, Local No. 275, announced their intention to exclude Legionaries from their membership. About the same time the Detroit Federation of Labor, the central body of the city, denounced the Legion by resolution, and in the following May the Central Federated Union of New York—representing the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor in the district—called upon its adherents to withdraw from the Legion, charging strikebreaking in connection with the dock workers' fight.

True, also, there have been expressions from labor in favor of the Legion. The executive council of the California State Federation of Labor asserted its confidence in the Legion early in 1920, while in the spring of the same year Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, gave the Legion his indorsement, although he was careful to say he was speaking only in his personal capacity.

What do the facts show? Here, unfortunately for the Legion, there is abundant material for labor's distrust. The New Jersey department chartered a post in Bernardsville which admittedly consisted mainly of men who had helped beat the "outlaw" railway strike. Opposition was withdrawn when the applicants consented to sign a statement that as strike-breakers they had acted as individuals and not as prospective members of the American Legion.

A year ago the Citizens' Committee, organized by employers of New York City to fight the dock workers' demands, announced through the press that it was using members of the American Legion to operate an opposition trucking service. When criticized, Legion officers did not deny the fact; they said the men were acting as individuals.

Most open of all attacks on labor by an influential body of the Legion, however, was that of the New York County organization a year ago, the Americanization Committee of which, under the chairmanship of Lonillard Spencer, drew elaborate plans for combating "radical strikes." As reported in the New York Times of May 7, 1920:

The Legion will act only when it is clearly established that the emergency is inspired by radicals and only in cases where there is inconvenience to the public. No sides will be taken in ordinary labor disputes. The Legion's preparations include a classification of all its members, so that men may be ready at short notice for every kind of duty. Each post will receive classification cards, so that it can report to the Americanization Committee the exact number of men it has who are skilled in different trades.

Mayor Spencer made it clear that the Legion did not purpose to take any part in labor troubles which were merely differences between employers and employees and which did not involve the public welfare. The sole purpose, he said, was to protect the public when serious conditions arose. Mr. Spencer's ingenuous proposal to discriminate between good and bad strikes makes it evident to anyone familiar with the A B C's of the situation that the consequence would be to tolerate unimportant squabbles over wages and hours, but to interfere in controversies involving the underlying rights and the progress of the labor movement.

An Ally of Big Business. "Birds of a feather flock together." The converse of labor's distrust of and hostility toward the Legion is found in the tenderness and affection felt for it by chambers of commerce, employers' associations, and big business generally. Proof of this is so abundant as scarcely to call for citation, but a round robin sent to various

packing interests in Chicago by Swift's purchasing agent shows a friendliness so marked and intimate as to be worth reproducing in full: SWIFT AND COMPANY Union Stock Yards Chicago.

December 26, 1919. At a meeting, held on December 23, 1919, presided over by Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, there were present representatives of the different stock yard interests and it was voted that they contribute \$10,000 toward a campaign for funds for the American Legion. A national drive is being made for the Legion and the amount asked from Illinois is \$100,000. Mr. James B. Forgan, chairman of the First National Bank, being treasurer of the fund for Illinois.

The Illinois enrolment in the Legion, in comparison with other States, is very much less than it should be. We are all interested in the Legion, the results it will obtain, and the ultimate effect in helping to offset radicalism. It is very important that we assist this worthy work, and at the meeting I was asked by the chairman to write to the different stock yard interests for their contribution. In prorating the amount, it was suggested that we use an arbitrary percentage as a basis and the amount you are asked to contribute is \$100.00. Will you please make check for this amount payable to Mr. Thomas E. Wilson, Chairman? Kindly send me copy of your letter to Mr. Wilson. Very truly yours, Nathan B. Higbie.

An open letter was addressed to Franklin D'Olier, when he was commander of the Legion, asking some pointed questions to which a public answer was requested. The letter was printed in the Stars and Stripes, dated Mexico, Missouri, August 1, 1920, and signed by Gale Johnson, editor of the Intelligencer. Here are some of the questions: Is it true that you, with certain persons, are planning to name your successor? Is it your belief that the Legion was founded for the purpose of suppressing legitimate strikes and maintaining "law and order," as the term is used by certain millionaire capitalists? Is it true that the chairman of two of the most important committees (National Legislative and National Beneficial Legislation), appointed by you, held positions on the Leonard Wood Committee in the pre-convention campaign and retained their offices in the Legion at the same time? Who are the 400 "friends of the Legion" who indorsed the notes for \$257,000, with which the Legion was organized? Was Coleman Du Pont, of the Powder Trust, one of them? Were the packers of Chicago? Was David Goodrich, of the Rubber Trust? Was Standard Oil Company? The questions have never been answered.

The Stars and Stripes, which is for the service men and is not hostile to the Legion, said editorially a year ago: The attempt of certain leaders to promote class hatred, antagonism to aliens, demands for jailing this fellow deporting that fellow, breaking this strike and outlawing that striker, proved a bad mistake. The apparently successful scheme to keep national control in the hands of the group of officers who founded the Legion at Paris, and who stood for universal service and Leonard Wood for President, has not really succeeded. It (the Legion) started out by borrowing \$257,000 from sources unknown to the membership; it sunk this money in its publishing venture, and then had its publication saved to it by other sources equally unknown to the membership. In other words, the Legion is subsidized and its members do not know by whom or for what purpose it is subsidized. It will be observed that both this letter and this editorial in the Stars and Stripes refer to the secret loan of \$257,000 with which the Legion was started and also suggests an affiliation between the Legion and the candidacy of General Wood for the Presidency. To this day the names of the men, or man, who advanced the \$257,000 have never been made public, although it has been stated that the money has been repaid. The enthusiasm of former service men for the Wood candidacy has never been adequately explained either. The general had not been in France and was without the war record that would naturally be demanded by young men just released from the army. General

INSULT ADDED TO The Present Unemployment and Marxism.

INJURY.

By E. K. HENRY.

"BURNED OUT AT FORTY!" Thus reads the heading, in big, bold-face type, of a circular issued by the Health Service Section of the National Safety Council. "Universal Safety," is the motto of this employers' organization. Not that they necessarily care about the safety and well being of the workers, but accidents and injuries, occupational diseases, etc., bring claims for compensation on the part of the worker, damage suits and settlements. There's the rub! The worker is merely incidental.

"Many men are 'burned out' too soon. Why? Because they suffer from diseases which they do not need to have," continues the circular. "Because they suffer from diseases which they do not need to have!" Oh, surely! The worker runs about just for the fun of it and picks up a nice, fine, dandy little disease to play with, that he does "not need to have!" Of course, low wages, poor working conditions such as unsanitary surroundings have nothing at all to do with the matter. Lord bless you, no! Not at all. Only a Bolshevik would imply such a wicked thing to the benevolent capitalist industrial masters. Why, they would not for a minute think of such a corollary to wage cuts and "open shop".... I beg your pardon!... "American Plan!" Why, the very ideal!

A half-tone cut of an aged, stoop-shouldered old man, printed by courtesy, Ohio State Board of Health, accompanies the reading matter. "This Man is Forty Years of Age. He Looks to be All of Sixty." Without a doubt! Twelve to sixteen hour shifts in steel mills and on railroads, in factories, mines or mills are not conducive to the buoyancy and appearance of youth. But only a "red" would think of that! "The wise man goes to a physician for thorough examination once each year and follows his advice." Does he? On two or three dollars a day, after trying to keep life in the wife, the kiddies and himself, not to speak of clothing them, all during the year, he jauntily trips down to the quack.... I beg your humble pardon!... doctor, and joyfully hands over a five spot.... and is examined. Yes he does! Willie had to have a pair shoes the day before—and he mournfully rubs the well-worn pants pocket where that five formerly reposed—and forgets it! But, of course, unemployment conditions have nothing at all to do with this. Those 5,000,000 workers out of a job, looking for a master and ready to take the job of him and his mates, should he rebel and strike against such accursed conditions of a dying wage-slave system, have no bearing on the matter. Not at all. Don't you know that the "gumment," (haskily) will deport or jail you for so much as even whispering such a thing?

"He 'keeps fit,' loses little or no time on account of sickness."—(Ah! We smell the cheese! Lost time means no surplus product produced by that particular worker who unfortunately gets sick, therefore, no profits. Gawd!)—"saves money on doctors' and hospital bills, and is still going strong at 60. Get a Physician to Keep You Well!" "Still going strong at sixty!" As a wage-slave producing unlimited surplus product for a capitalist master. There we have it. Sick or injured wage-slaves are a dead loss to the boss. A sick horse can't work. Don't organize! Don't educate yourself and your fellow slaves! Don't even so much as think of the capitalist-imperialist system of slaving for a mere wage, while your masters, the bosses roll in profits gorged from the sweat of the workers—your sweat—your work—YOUR LIFE! Don't think of the degradation, the misery, the suffering, the sorrow, disease, death, the execrable profit system brings to you and your loved ones. Don't think of an industrial system, a government of, by and for the workers, where the day's work will bring plenty, peace and pleasure for all. Don't dare think of Russia, the country of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, where Communism is in the making. Think of none of these things. "Get a physician to keep you well"—at a wage of three dollars a day and three dollars a doctor's call—and perhaps (?) you will not be "burned out at forty!"

Wood was specifically the hope of the business groups who were counting on the war spirit in the country to "put over" a regime of political and industrial absolutism. Yet it is undeniable that the Legion was a potent influence in making Wood a strong contender for the Republican nomination. It is true that the Legion never

The crisis which is now appearing in its most definite form was foreseen and denounced by Socialism as one of those types of collective sacrifice to which the lack of method in bourgeois production inevitably leads.... Marxism, understood in its most proper function of guide for the interpretation of social phenomena, gained headway as time went on; and since the war it has been the torch to guide Socialism through darkness, to set it again upon its way, and to foresee solutions for the most intricate situations. From the outbreak of the war it pointed out the whole imperialist character of the conflagration, and viewed it in the light of an economic crisis of over-production. For Socialism, the war was nothing but the means by which two groups of nations, overloaded with goods as a natural result of rapid production methods and free competition, set out to conquer new markets for goods produced in excess of their needs. Rapidly in the course of the war, when the demands of the armies almost completely absorbed the production of the various countries, the crisis of over-production became one of under-production, and practically the whole world had to suffer for lack of efficiency in production. The aim of the industrial bourgeoisie was fulfilled, even at the price of all the bloodshed on the battlefields, and the value of goods which had depreciated in 1914 rose rapidly to giddy heights. All industry began to breathe again; goods that had been lying in storage awaiting decay were now brought out and their value was restored by the needs of war. In this way every branch of industry was suddenly revived beyond expectation; moreover, the arrest of importation raised the value of goods competing against foreign merchandise, and thus rivulets of gold flowed into industries of every kind and color.

As soon as the war was over, the crisis of under-production was again in full swing. The five years' battle which is still going on consumed an immense amount of human labor, and in addition, the storehouses were empty; the cry of the bourgeoisie was then, "Produce more, consume less". From the start of the war up to the armistice, and from that time on until the seizure of the factories, (by the workers in Italy in 1920) the specter of unemployment did not appear; the men were employed first in the army, then in the shops. The Socialist and proletarian conquest of the eight-hour day has forced industry to take on a larger number of workers in order to obtain all the forces necessary for the once more increased demands of production. But shorter hours, as well as increased wages, rapidly produced in industry the feeling that private profits could not be as great as might be desired.

After-war Effects. And this is where we find the development of reaction, fatal, necessary, and Marxian in the absolute sense. Capital, instead of increasing, is being restricted by the new habits and new attitude of the working class, and can no longer safely and freely develop its function of social exploitation. The State, inevitable interpreter and executor of the demands and interests of capitalism, is heading the reaction against the workers and suppressing them with all the brutality in its power, in order to return to the economic situation which existed before the war. Men are of minor importance—it is the consolidated interests which come first of all; the system is still expressing its demands in full. And unemployment starts in. The cost of living, which has reached unbelievable heights, counteracts the actual amount of increase in wages, and—while the productive process resulting from the crisis of under-production is turning towards over-production—this situation is producing a crisis of under-consumption. The consumers cannot consume any more because of the unprecedented lack of proportion between the cost of necessities, and their own purchasing power. The equilibrium between consumption and purchasing power has been destroyed. And who is to blame? The worker, perhaps? No, but the

system forces them first of all, and the working-class as a whole, to suffer for it. When the demand decreases, the employer lays 'em off, because the number of workers exceeds the demand for production. If production were a social function it would also consider men, and could not go on without taking them into account; the man, the machine and the produced article should stand in constant relation with one another. But instead, man is used by the capitalist only when he can increase his capital, and when this is impossible, the worker is thrown into the street. Unemployment a Part of Capitalism. Thus this burning problem of unemployment which faces us today with all its agony and fear, is a necessary factor of bourgeois production and cannot be considered separately. Whoever thinks that production is not the ways and means by which men organize the satisfaction of their needs, but a source of profit for certain individuals, must want to have Humanity bound eternally with the heavy chains which she has borne up to now. Moreover, the only complete and absolute solution for unemployment lies in Socialism,—that is, in that form of society which provides for the health of all its citizens, and does not allow any groups to control for their own interests the destiny and lives of the majority. Bourgeois society, instead, perpetuates and makes legitimate this terrible social crime which prevents a man from working when he wants to, and places his very life in danger, merely because the demands of capitalist economy do not grant him the right to live! The situation then, after the great devastation of the war, has reverted to Marx, which is another proof of its truth.

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World War Veterans. By ROSTAN QUILLAN. A circular fell in my hands today which caused me to sit up and take notice. Particularly attractive was the opening paragraph. It is the program of an ex-service man's organization. Following is an excerpt from the national program of the World War VETERANS: "We unreservedly condemn as cowardly, unmanly and un-American the actions of members and officers of the American Legion in mobbing, tarring, and heaping other indignities on representatives of farmers' organizations, and we condemn similar activities on the part of other self-styled patriots" (probably reference to Ku-Klux Klan).

So far to the writer's knowledge this is the only open and above board protest from any quarters against the AMERICAN LEGION's mob rule and high class thugery. No public official has the inclination, much less the courage to speak against the violation of our so-called sacred principle of democracy, freedom of speech, and right of peaceful assembly. The next paragraph reads: "We are unalterably opposed to any form of compulsory military training and we challenge the authority of any group or organization to represent the great mass of ex-service men when they speak therefor." In regard to the profiteer, paragraph seven says: "In the event of war, all profits earned by every individual, firm and corporation shall immediately become the property of the United States Treasury." Another paragraph has this to say: "Any member of the World War Veterans who knowingly assists in strike-breaking automatically thereby ceases to be a member and disqualifies himself for reinstatement." Because of the international program, the recognition of the Irish Republic and also the present Russian government decided me then and there. Being an ex-service man and in harmony with the real hundred per cent. of this organization, I hid to 166 West Washington Street at the Federation building, Chicago. I ascended the elevator to the seventh floor—past the A. F. of L. headquarters. Amalgamated unions headquarters, past the editorial room of the radical paper, The New Majority—until a little room was reached. There I became one of the five hundred thousand militant members of what to some may seem a radical ex-service organization, but to me seems an organization of the ex-service men, by the ex-service men, and for the ex-service man and not for—well—not like the American Legion.

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER IN SOVIET RUSSIA

(Editor's Note:—The following is the sixth of a series of special articles on conditions in Russia which Mr. Foster was commissioned by The Federated Press to write. He already has described the constitution of the workers' republic and some of the problems the Red Army was called upon to face in its role of defender of Soviet principles.)

By WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Federated Press Staff Writer.
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MOSCOW.—Another grave problem which the Red Army had to face was the system of army control and command. In the Czar's army extreme bitterness existed between the officers and the rank and file. The former, who were exclusively aristocrats and bourgeois, lost no occasion to tyrannize over the common soldier. Hence, when the revolution came, a natural demand of the soldiers was for the right to elect their own officers. This was granted, and the system introduced into the old army, and later on into the Red Guard after the former had disintegrated.

The effect was chaos and general demoralization. Discipline vanished and the military units degenerated into debating societies. Elections of officers and commanding committees followed each other in swift succession. There was no head or tail to anything. Orders would be given to a regiment, and then maybe a week later word would be sent to headquarters that after long consideration the regiment had decided that the orders were impractical and should not be obeyed. The efficiency of the armed forces as a fighting organization was reduced almost to zero.

The officers of the Red Army met this issue. They pointed out the weaknesses of the system of electing the officers by popular vote, and declared that although his measure was a perfectly natural demand in an imperialistic army where the ruling powers were against the soldiers it was altogether out of place in a democratic army where the government was composed of workers and bound to give the rank and file a square deal. Surely such a government could be entrusted to select the officers of the army. This view prevailed and the system of electing officers by the common soldiers was left out of the Red Army.

But where could the government secure the necessary officers? The workers themselves knew little or nothing of the complicated business of modern war. Large numbers of ex-Czarist officers were at hand, and many of them wanted to join the new army. But they could not be trusted and a violent prejudice existed against them. Finally, however, many of them were accepted and put at the heads of the troops. But their authority was limited to purely military matters. Side by side with them were placed Soviet Commissioners, who looked after the political work of the army. They attended to the education of the soldiers and made them understand what the revolution meant. They also saw to it that the decrees of the government were carried out and that the army was not used against the interests of the revolution. Ill fared the officers, indeed, who ventured to engage in treasonable activities.

The general plan was to exploit the knowledge of the old-time officers, but not to let them secure any real power. And so well was this done that the government has been able to educate large numbers of worker officers and to build up a reliable army command. The ruling class monopoly of military knowledge has been finally broken. Military experts declare that if this had not been done the workers could not have constructed an up-to-date army and carried on modern warfare.

And so it was with a whole maze of problems, many of them unique in military experience. The Red Army triumphed over all of them and was able to crushingly defeat Russia's

multitudinous enemies. In the United States we make much ado over the difficulties of the army in the American revolution, but, compared with the overwhelming obstacles that confronted the Red Army, its troubles were negligible. As it now stands the Red Army is enormous in size and power. Just what its numbers are is not to be learned, but it is generally conceded to be the most powerful military organization in the world.

There is a studied effort being made by the enemies of Russia to make it appear that the Red Army is the same as other armies and has all their failings. But this is decidedly not the case. The Red Army is just as different from capitalistic armies as the Soviet government is different from capitalistic governments. It is pervaded throughout with a democratic spirit totally unknown in other military organizations. Between the officers and soldiers a feeling of brotherhood prevails, they dress exactly alike and address each other as "comrade." The Red Army is a people's army, defending the people's interests.

The Red Army is an organized crusade for the revolution. So militant and contagious is its proletarian spirit that its leaders can truthfully boast that "White" European troops cannot be used successfully against it. When faced by such soldiers the Red Army, in addition to its iron resistance, sets its great propaganda machine in operation. The prisoners captured are fed, entertained, educated and taken

OUT OF THE DAY'S GRIND.

By KARL COHEN.

Of late a restless feeling seems to have gripped me. I am hunting for something, I don't know what, and am unable to find it. At my work in the car shops I peer inquisitively into the faces of the other workers. They are

older than I, who am only a twenty-year-old apprentice, and perhaps I shall read in their faces the contentment which I seek. But outside mere humanness, that flash of animal good feeling which even the millionaire and the drunken sot share in common, there is nothing inspiring in their faces. The contrary in fact. I see selfishness, ignorance, deception and degradation. These are toothless old men in the carshops, tobacco chewing old cronies who are satisfied with the empty meaninglessness of their lives because they have childish minds and feeble bodies.

As I go home for lunch my quest continues. The girls of my own age have a stirring appeal for me as they smile and flirt in passing. They are pretty and flushed with bold confidence of youth. This, then, is what I have wanted. Real contentment can come from these beautiful girls who will transmit their radiant happiness to me. And yet I have tried this method before. There is something lacking in these creatures too. They are not deep. They lack intelligence; they are not frank and above board. If you would consort with them you must play to the galleries, must invest yourself in a glamour which you know you do not possess. All they require is external prettiness. I do not care—am too miserly of my energies, too lazy, to give them their price, emotional stimulation; diversion, amusement, for the coarse pseudo-happiness they would give me in return.

At evening I go with a literary acquaintance to a banquet of what he

Toll the bell. Another crime is writ
Into the annals of a dying state.
Two sons of Italy are doomed to death.
Two sons of Labor in whose breath
Rebellion flamed
Against a world of vice,
Against the slavery of men.
Have paid the price
That all who dare will pay again.

One cried, "I'm innocent!"
And one just paled
And tragedy looked through his eyes.
Perhaps he thought of those
Who went before and failed—
Yet won... Perhaps of sunlit Italy
Where he was wont to roam
And dream the golden dreams of youth—
Life, Liberty and the eternal quest of Truth.

The State said they had killed to rob—
These men—who are so far above

The jury and the judge—their peers!
Who heard the words of Justice
And the Brotherhood of Man with sneers.
So far above the frightened slaves
Who spied and lied
And swore to God,
While upon bleeding Truth
With perjured feet they trod.

Toll the bell. The Commonwealth (!)
Has bent its knee once more
To prejudice and power.
As in the days of old,
When witchcraft was in flower,
Two lives will burn in sacrifice
For having dared to think and be
Unlike the stone-faced judge
And all the legal lynching bee,
Who dare not, cannot hear
The martial music of the free.

MATILDA ROBBINS.

ONLY 500,000,000 DOLLARS.

By KATE COOK.

500,000,000 dollars for the railroads, nothing for the dying babies in the hot cities.

500,000,000 dollars for the poor bankrupt heads of the railroads, nothing for the ex-doughboys who risked their lives while the railroad heads sent their sons to be \$1 a year men at Washington.

500,000,000 dollars for the impoverished railroad corporations, and nothing for the six million unemployed now walking the streets of the United States.

500,000,000 dollars for the railroads, and the committee to aid the unemployed discharged because of lack of appropriations.

There are thousands of soldiers looking for work.

There are thousands of skilled and unskilled men and women in every department of labor on the edge of starvation.

There are homes for crippled soldiers, for sick babies, for sick mothers, which are crying for funds.

There are hundreds of thousands of school children, part time, because there are no funds to build schools.

There are hundreds of scores of infants dying in the heat for a piece of ice and a breath of fresh air.

Where are the funds for all these

screaming rottenness?
Has the government any funds for them all?

Of course not—how could you expect it to have?

Governments do not exist for the care of babies.

Such naivete!

Governments have millions for hogs—God save the hogs—but babies

—well, they are much cheaper than hogs. They lie around practically unclaimed, but hogs are expensive. What a pity we have not yet learned to eat roast baby, Virginia style. Then at least they would be kept clean, happy and healthy until killing time.

And this would not require more than the hog subsidies.

And why should the government subsidize the soldiers?

They had all the glory of battle. They went through hell in No Man's Land.

Can they ask more?

They saved the country!
They fought for Democracy!

Is it not the fact of the government indemnifying the poor, misunderstood railroads to the tune of 500,000,000 dollars proof of the Democracy for which they fought?

Is it the government's fault that the soldiers are now either dead, crippled or out of work?

Can the government be expected to worry about babies, soldiers, unemployment or schools?

Has it not far weightier problems?

Again I ask: what does government exist for?

BIRDIE PERLSTEIN

By Sanford Hamilton

First Article.

A bird said to a cat: "We have common interests; let us get together." The cat jumped (!) at the offer and was quite pleased with the result. The bird? Being in the belly of the cat, it had no opinion of its own. Such a bird is Meyer Perlstein of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The employers' association of Cleveland's garment industry is the cat that swallowed Birdie Perlstein. An article in the June issue of "System" says that Perlstein "bids fair to be one of the largest forces for good in the whole labor movement. 'System' is a magazine of Big Business. And—The amount of praise Big Business extends to a labor leader shows to what extent he is betraying the working class.

The bird will be kind enough to understand that I do not say he sold himself for money. Here..... he can fill in the dotted lines with all the fine names he wants to call himself. The point is this: the cat swallowed the bird. That's all. Now we are all set. Let's go.

Once upon the time "he was a radical. He believed in ownership by the workers and accepted the trades union only as a step toward complete control." Now he recognizes "that the manufacturer and the worker alike may gain their livings only through the service that they render."

Will Birdie Perlstein please answer this question: if manufacturer and worker alike gain their living only through service, how can the manufacturer afford to spend on the upkeep of his motor car more than the worker has to spend on food and clothing for his family?

The cat answers. The bird, being in the belly of the cat, has no opinion of his own. That's why the article in "System" says: "There is no doubt that he is intelligent." Can you imagine a magazine of Big Business saying that much of Bill Haywood? The article goes on: ".... He had

passed the fighting stage in his work and he had brought himself mentally to the constructive stage."

By "constructive" Big Business means such an arrangement of affairs, that if the worker can't be hypnotized into submitting to the blood-sucking operation he can be knocked down and tied to the operating table of exploitation.

Birdie Perlstein accepts the "constructive" program. "This is a big thing for a man to do." And it takes a big man to do a big thing and big men don't bother with trifles, so—

When "the manufacturers would not agree to a closed shop, Perlstein for the unions did not press the point."

We won't go just now into the details of the Agreement. And I leave for another article the write-up Birdie got in the issue of June 11 in "Finance and Industry", another magazine of Big Business.

The "System" article alone is enough to prove that Perlstein is a Judas.

And I'll take it back, Mr. Perlstein, only when you show me an article in a magazine of Big Business flattering William Z. Foster, or any other real man, really representing the interests of organized labor.

MAKING NATIONALISTS.

In California the following patriotic gem is sung by the school children. It is supposed to teach them to be "good Americans":

If I am an American,
This is the land for me.
No other country will I love,
America for me.

If I am an American,
I must talk it, too.
If in this fine big land I live,
No other talk will do.
So I'll tell my mother dear,
And tell my father, too,
That in America
We all must as Americans do.
The Nation.

DAWN

Youth Section of The Toiler

WE YOUNG COMRADES!

The soft summer winds stir the green fields and flowered meadows. The roses are in full bloom and there are butterflies in this sunshine and from everywhere arises the drowsy hum of bees. The swallows are crossing and recrossing the warm summer air and everywhere birds are chirping and singing from the shaded branches of the great green trees. Loud is the joy of the children who on such days can leave the smoky towns behind and walk through the woods and the meadows. Hay stacked in the meadows is filling the air with its sweet scent. The cattle in the pastures are lowing contentedly. Everywhere reigns quiet and peacefulness. O, if one could but always stay out here where the brooklet ripples sweet cadences over its mossy stones. O, if one could for ever remain in the cool shade beneath the trees! If one need never return to the hot and dusty streets, to the narrow and ill ventilated rooms of the tenement houses, to the dead stone piles to which comes only the heat but never, never the summer.

Many thousands, nay, millions of proletarian children are living year after year within these great stone piles, without spring, without summer, in dark rooms, in dusty and dry streets. Many thousands, nay, millions of proletarian children never see the glories of nature, the woods, the wheat fields and lakes! How many see them but every Sunday, how many only every few months!

Proletarian children, young comrades! Have you ever tried to think why to you summer does not come, why so very many of you never or very seldom can have a good meal? Have you ever tried to think of the reason why so many of you have no warm garments and no good footwear in winter, why you cannot wear pretty light dresses in summer, why so many proletarian children are sick and feeble?

Young proletarian boys and girls, shall that go on for ever? Shall we proletarian children keep on being poorly nourished wallflowers? Shall the sun and the summer, the flowers, the woods, joy and health belong only to a few children living in the quarters of the rich or in the country homes on the outskirts of the cities? Why shall we proletarian children be confined to the cellars and garrets of the tenement houses and to the dusty noisy streets? "Because we are poor", says your mother. But why are just we poor? Will there always be poor people? We do not want to remain poor any longer!

That is the cry of the Communist Children's Groups all over the whole world.

We do not want to remain poor any longer!
A proud and daring word. Do you know the tale of the young boy who

made himself a sword to kill the dragon that lived in the dark woods and lived on human beings? There still exists such a dragon! Every day, every year he devours thousands of proletarian children. I shall tell you the name of that dragon. His name is CAPITALISM. But this dragon no longer lives in the dark woods, in the stony cliffs, far away from all human beings. The dragon Capitalism abides in the very midst of your city the streets of which he walks in the broad light of the day. He is riding in a car, he sits in the offices of the factories the wheels within which move at his will. Thousands, nay millions of poor people slave and sweat, hunger and suffer for this modern dragon.

The dragon Capitalism, is found in the remotest villages, he is everywhere. He is here and in Paris, Berlin and Rome. He passes you by in the shape of a shrewd businessman, of a finely dressed lady, of a proud officer, of a banker, of a country squire.

Thousands are even serving him of their own free will. So for instance the minister who says that the poor should be content. And the teacher when he tells you of the heroic deeds of the kings and his nobles. Even your own mother serves that man-eating dragon when she tells you that nobody is able to do anything to improve your sad position. That so many workers share the belief of your mother is one of the sources the dragon Capitalism draws his strength from. The same was the case at the time of the boy who killed the dragon. Everybody was afraid of the man-eater. Nobody dared to approach him. And for that very reason he could continue eating men until that boy came and killed the dragon with his sword. Remember the tale of Jack the Giant Killer, of the valiant little boy who slew the giant whom nobody had dared to approach. The Communists are the giant killer of today. In Russia the Communists have chased the dragon out of the country, in Germany the giant killer is struggling bitterly with the dragon. In other countries the struggle has just begun.

Proletarian children, do you not wish to assist the giant killer in his noble work? Do you not wish to become a part of him? The Communist Children's Groups are little Jacks with the ardent wish to kill the giant. They can hardly await the time when they can approach the dragon, they are right now taking up the battle against the servants of the man-eater, against the ministers and the teachers, against everybody who intends to keep the workers in a state of ignorance, poverty and serfdom.

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Chas Polich.

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