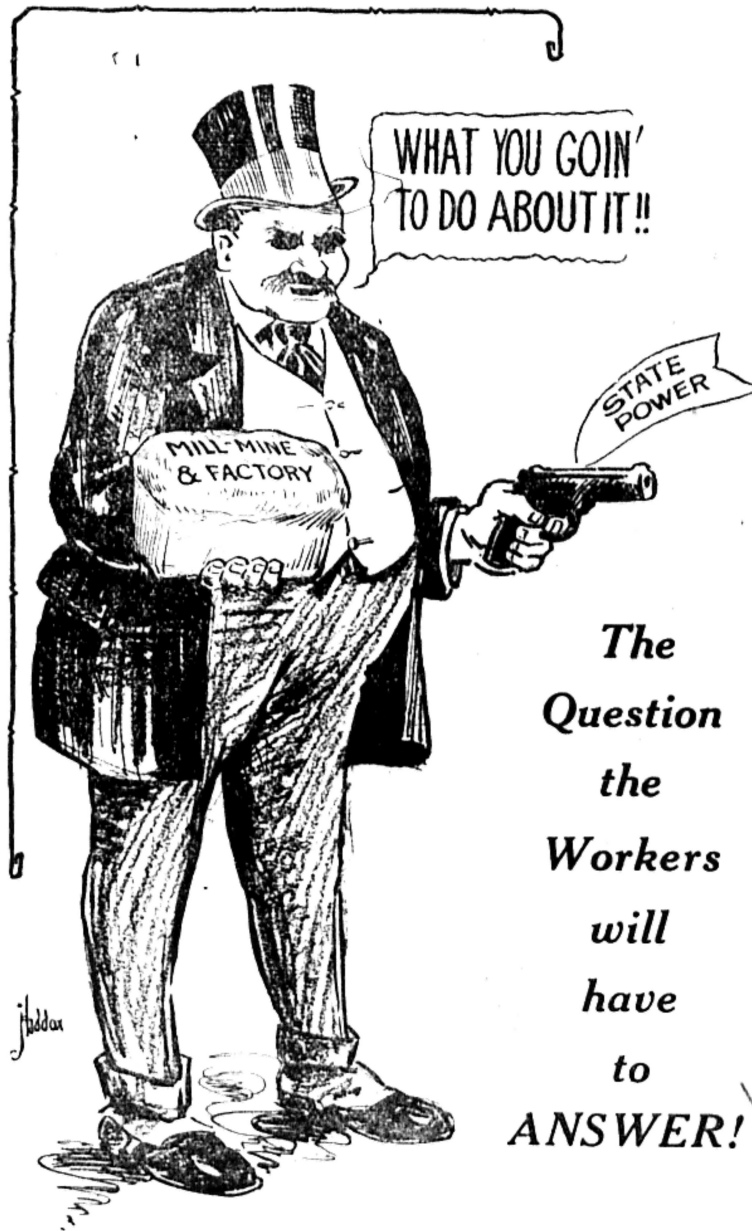


# the TOILER

No. 152.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY JAN. 1, 1921.

Price Five Cents



*The  
Question  
the  
Workers  
will  
have  
to  
ANSWER!*

WORKERS  
S.F.D.  
+++

# The Cigarmakers Convention

By Tom Clark.

The drift to industrial unionism cannot be topped. The chaos now ruling industry by which one union scabs on the other, and all of them are eaten by the bosses, has opened the eyes of all classes of workers. They see, or are beginning to see, that unless they are able to build a compact organization, embracing all the workers of an industry, they will be unable to fight the bosses.

The strike of the cigarmakers which took place last year, was lost because only a small portion of the cigarmakers are organized, the result being that the market is flooded with goods made in open shops. And these scab cigars and tobacco products are smoked by union men, who pride themselves on being union men! It was clear, therefore, that something had to be done to organize the whole industry.

This step was taken at the instance of the membership of the Shop Institution organization of New York and vicinity, which called a special convention of all tobacco workers. The convention met in New York on Dec. 4, and was attended by about 150 delegates.

There were assembled all kinds of fighters—and fighters are needed in this industry. When one considers whom and what the tobacco workers have to fight—the tobacco trust and several powerful concerns;—when one considers that the trust recently declared a dividend of 55 per cent, and, in spite of the high prices still being charged for tobacco goods, is trying to reduce wages; and when one considers that workers are being discharged without any appeal, it becomes clear that only a powerful organization can remedy matters. Of course, there is the International Cigarmakers' Union, a unit of the A. F. of L., and typical of the A. F. of L. But the spirit of it is such that there are five times as many unorganized workers as organized.

Hence something had to be done. The advocates of the Shop Delegate system immediately recommended an industrial union—and INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM was the slogan accepted by all the delegates. It was merely a question of the form. There were men and women who had passed through any a strike and knew the necessity of solidarity, but could not yet find the basis for unity.

And this could be attributed to various causes. There were I. W. W., Syndicalists, Anarchists, Communists, Socialists and conservatives at the convention, and no type of union seemed able to satisfy all. In fact, the most violent discussion arose when a provisional preamble and constitution were presented. The preamble stated that the struggle of the workers is a political as well as industrial one. The class conscious tobacco workers recognize the class struggle, the fight between workers as a class and the bosses as a class, and will fight for the overthrow of the capitalist class by industrial and political means. The constitution merely provided for an industrial union, without for the moment specifying the type.

These two propositions were bitterly fought by the Spanish workers, who are splendid class conscious fighters, and may be depended on in any struggle. But, as syndicalists and anarchists, they would not accept the struggle on the political field declaring that it could all be taken care of on the industrial. Furthermore, they would not bind themselves to a centralized form of industrial unionism demanding shop autonomy.

A new industrial union was born at the convention, the "Amalgamated Tobacco Workers of America". Workers in other unions and all the unorganized, numbering more than 150,000 men and women, are to be invited to join the new body. The immediate demands are work by the week; 40 hour week; uniform wages; even distribution of work during times of depression; shop committees and committees for education and propaganda.

## THE CAPITALIST PRESS.

"I rush out of my house,  
And drag you in,  
You foul thing:  
Reeking with sweat and filth,  
The putrid slime of all the dirty world.  
I devour you through the eyes,  
Incorporate you into my life:  
Incorporate you into our composite life.  
Why do I lust after scandal, and you.  
Man's failures, miserable delinquencies, tragic  
horrors—and you.  
Why can't I rest until I have brought you in?  
You foul thing!"

press themselves in the **TERMS**  
 the shop delegates must report  
 They must be able to answer all  
 must carry out all instructions. If  
 y can be recalled **AT ANY IN-**

in the shops different groups  
 different systems, and, at their  
 st plans will be adopted.  
 sily see why the bureaucrats of  
 e the Shop Delegate system un-  
 nstitutional — they are fight-  
 OBS! They are satisfied as long  
 e in and they control the shops!  
 s, will not be satisfied until we see  
 CONTROLLING the union.

it is easy for the officials to cor-  
 rection time, and by bulldozing  
 er" anything they want.

y do in the name of "democracy"!  
 unnot frighten us with that cry.  
 "democracy", Gompers and his  
 ar on Soviet Russia! In the name  
 Noske and Scheidemann shot  
 t, Rosa Luxemburg and the re-  
 kers of Germany! In the name of  
 e best fighters for the working  
 a are being murdered and locked  
 the name of "democracy", fakers  
 ep the workers from improving  
 — and at the same time pocket  
 usands of dollars stolen from the

kers of the International! The  
 system is the only democratic sy-  
 t is the only system in which the  
 ntrol. It is the only democratic sys-  
 is the only system in which the  
 ntrol. It is the system that forms  
 ement by which **ALONE** the wor-  
 can emancipate themselves from

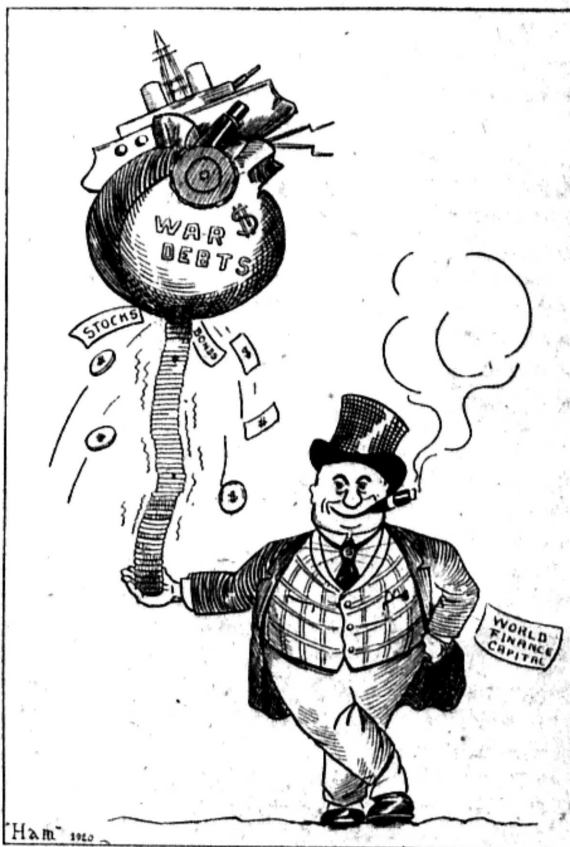
first step — and it must be taken.  
 g delegates, we must link up the  
 of one industry in a city with those  
 ries, so that we have a Central  
 for all the industries in the city.  
 delegates from this Central Body  
 dy, and from there to a National  
 ally will control the work of the

In this way, we will create an organization  
 that will be able to fight those bosses. You know  
 that the capitalists are united in their Chambers  
 of Commerce, Manufacturers' Associations etc.,  
 ready to crush us like one man. We must be pre-  
 pared for this fight.

We are not to be discouraged by little set-  
 backs. They only drive us on with greater de-  
 termination. The Shop Delegate system, the shop  
 steward movement and industrial unionism are  
 more effective methods of fighting the bosses un-  
 der the present system. We know they cannot free  
 the workers from wage slavery.

But this first step—the Shop Delegate system  
 —we must adopt—in the name of **WORKERS'  
 DEMOCRACY!**

Shop Delegate Propaganda Committee.



How long can he do it?

Labor won the War. Now it has to fight  
 those who MADE the war. Some reward!



**How long can he do it?**

Labor won the War. Now it has to fight those who MADE the war. Some reward!

## The Italian Lesson.

By U. Steklov

The Paris clerical paper "La Liberte" discussing the recent events of Italy expresses the hope that the french workers will "benefit by that lesson."

That the Italian working class movement is highly instructive no one would deny. But it is not instructive in the sense which the bourgeois press takes it. The lessons to be derived from that failure are not of the kind imagined by the hired scribes of the imperialist press.

The movement presents a number of lessons of the most serious nature. The first is that partial, unsystematic capture of individual enterprises without the overthrow of the capitalist system as a whole is in advance doomed to failure. To take over individual factories while leaving untouched the whole capitalist system of production and distribution, of banking credit and marketing and so forth, is to face certain defeat. Even if the attempt of the Italian proletariat had not been frustrated by government violence and the treason of compromisers that movement would hardly have advanced if it had remained at its initial stage. The very logic of events would have forced it to a higher stage—to the complete socialization of production and distribution.

But a radical change in the existing relation in the economic field presupposes a radical change in the political field. In order to begin socialist reconstruction, in order to make indentures into the sphere of bourgeois economic relationships, and in order to be safe from attempts at restoration by the reactionary elements, the working class must at a preliminary stage, capture in full the political power. To leave the apparatus of the state in the hands of the bourgeoisie while at the same time attacking its economic privileges as to prepare a bitter disappointment. Even without the use of violence or bloody suppressions, the bourgeoisie, since they retain the state mechanism, can gradually paralyze all such attempts on the part of the proletariat and create disaffection in its ranks. The bourgeoisie would naturally, combine the two methods of action, as was the case in Italy.

In order that the proletariat may be able to begin such a fundamental transformation of all the social relationships with full understanding and determination, ready to take the most energetic steps it must first of all purge its ranks of the opportunist, shaky and traitorous elements that are ready, in the most decisive moment to compromise with the enemy of the working class and to betray their own. The movement of the Italian workers failed because it did not develop and remained at its initial stage of disorganized and crude capture of individual enterprises. It was due to the fact that the compromising leaders have tried consciously, to hold the movement at this lower stage and used their influence on a number of workers to draw them away from the main current. They have succeeded in creating confusion and cleavage in the ranks of the workers. They also gave encouragement to the downhearted bourgeoisie, helping its most able and hypocritical group to fool the workers with so called, concessions and thus gradually bring to naught the whole movement.

Such are the fundamental lessons we draw from the events in Italy. In spite of the bourgeois scribes, the proletariat learns from the defeat met by the first revolutionary attempt of the Italian workers these very lessons.

The proletariat learns from his mistakes. As the rising class whose future is before him, his temporary failures and defeats only serve to strengthen him. And, first of all, his failures only help to increase his class-consciousness and create the revolution in the minds without which the revolution in the social relationships is impossible. There is no doubt that the lessons the proletariat will derive from the events in Italy serve to bring nearer his day of victory and accelerate the collapse of the capitalist system.

But the people will not put off with  
The people will learn, and they  
soon, that the bread exists and  
no other means than refusing  
before the sacred rights of capi  
ownership in land.

## Soviet Work in Agriculture.

After the October Revolution the Soviet Government was faced with the complex problem of reorganizing agriculture on new lines, paying attention in the first place to the necessity of raising the productivity of labour.

Underlying the agricultural policy of the Soviet Government is the fact that the interest of town and country are inter-dependent.

By the decree of the 26th of October 1917 all the land was transferred to the toiling peasantry. The "Fundamental Law on the Socialization of the Land", promulgated on the 19th February 1919, abolished for ever all proprietary rights in land, mineral deposits, water, forest and living powers of nature and turned over the land "without any compensation for the use of the toiling people." In accordance with this law "only personal labour gives one the right to use agricultural land."

The subjoined figures give us a picture of the distribution of land prior to the revolution of 1905 and after the October revolution in 1919.

Prior to the Revolution of 1905: Private estates and state domains, 23.7 per cent; land in the hand of peasants, 76.3 per cent. in 32 provinces of Russia.

After the Revolution: Land belonging to Soviet Communes, Industrial Institutions etc. 2.7 per cent, land Collectively farmed 0.8 per cent, and in the hands of the peasants, 96 per cent.

The land of the landlords went chiefly to the peasants. Indeed, 85.9 per cent went to the peasants, 11.9 was taken by the State, and 2.2 per cent was occupied under collective farms. Thus, the first outcome of the policy of the Soviet Government was the transference of most of the land to the wide masses of the toiling peasantry. However, however large the area of land that had been in the hands of the peasants, it had introduced no change in the size of the plot of the individual peasant. In the majority of provinces the peasant is represented per head in no less, of a deciatine of land. Millions of peasants have grasped the opportunity of land added to their holdings. It was necessary to raise the agricultural productivity. With this in view, the object of organizing

agriculture on communist lines, the Soviet Government paid particular attention to collective forms of cultivation and to Soviet Communes. The organization of such forms of agriculture gave the opportunity to the poor peasants lacking inventory and means, to secure a livelihood for themselves and their families by passing to more advantageous and more efficient methods of cultivation.

The returns from the communes give the following picture.

On the 1st Nov. 1918 there were 950 com. (in 26 prov.)  
On the 1st Nov. 1919 there were 1986 com. (in 31 prov.)  
In September 1920 there were 1826 com. (in 42 prov.)

The area of land occupied by them was:

On the 1st Nov. 1918 73,328 deciatines in 26 prov.  
On the 1st Nov. 1919 97,345 deciatines in 31 prov.  
On the 1st Sept. 1920 140,786 deciatines in 28 prov.

The increase in the area of collectively cultivated land is to be ascribed to the reconquest of Siberia where the communes dispose of a large area.

The number of people in the Communes was:

On the 1st of March 1918 85,619 in 30 provinces  
On the 1st of Nov. 1918 91,676 in 30 provinces  
On the 1st Sept. 1920 76,052 in 33 provinces

There was also a large number of co-operative farms. Of these

On the 1st of March 1919 there were 422 in 19 prov.  
On the 1st of Nov. 1919 there were 3401 in 30 prov.  
On the 1st of Sept. 1920 there were 7510 in 43 prov.

The area of the co-operative farms was:

On the 1st of March 1919 38,459 deciatines in 19 prov.  
On the 1st of Nov. 1919 78,902 deciatines in 30 prov.  
On the 1st of Sept. 1920 504,920 deciatines in 28 prov.

The number of people on the farms was:

On the 1st of May 1919 97,290 in 31 provinces  
On the 1st of Nov. 1919 273,353 in 31 provinces  
On the 1st of Sept. 1920 459,629 in 33 provinces

The general picture of the collective movement in agriculture in September 1920 was as follows: Number of collective agricultural establishments 10,575; number of people 705,368; area 1,122,190 deciatines.

These figures however fall far behind the actual numbers. At the conference of representatives of such agricultural establishments, held in July 1920, it was ascertained that not all the

establishments had sent in returns. On the ground of certain data, the Agriculture on Communist lines Department assumes the number of collective establishments in the country to be not less than 15,000.

The Soviet Communes represent the newest form of agricultural activity. They were not in existence during the first year of the revolution and appeared first in February 1919. They are being organized for the purpose of increasing production by intensive agriculture and by increasing the cultivated area, thus preparing the ground for a complete transition to Communist agriculture and to the creation of exemplary agronomic centres.

All Soviet Comunes of state importance are in charge of the Commissariat for Agriculture. Apart from this a number of Soviet Communes are in charge of Industrial Unions and serve the needs of the organizations that have formed them. The recent returns of the Soviet Communes date from the end of July 1920. According to these there are 3076 Soviet Communes in 40 provinces of Russia exclusive of sugar plantations and Communes in charge of the Industrial Unions

(neither do these figures include the Ukraina, the Don, Siberia and North Caucasus).

The number of communes in charge of industrial organization is 1,020 in 27 provinces. The total area of Soviet Communes covers 1,638,567 deciatines. The total area of the Communes formed by industrial organizations is 600,000 deciatines.

All the land, no matter in whose hands it is, belongs to the State. The tenure, however, is very kaleidoscopic representing a mixture of personal and collective holding. It entails a tremendous work of surveying and redistributing the land. Our problem is to create one producing agricultural economy yielding the maximum of agricultural produce with the minimum of national labor, a task which involves the gradual redistribution of the land.

The chief hindrance in the way of building up agriculture on Communist lines is the lack of surveyors and agricultural experts. With 85,000 surveyors the agricultural problem could be accomplished in one year, but with the present number of 4,000 the work is naturally delayed.

## The Tragic Death of Three French Militants

Last summer the left syndicalist unions of France chose three delegates to go to Russia to represent them at the Third International as well as to try to organize the Revolutionary Trade Union International.

The delegates were comrades Marcel Vergeat, one of the secretaries of the Metal Workers Union; Lepetit, a well known militant of the Building Workers Union; and the exiled secretary of the Railroad Workers Federation, Leon Midol. For some reason or other, comrade Midol did not go.

When the two delegates arrived in Russia, they wrote back enthusiastic articles and letters about the achievements of the Russian Workers. Some of Vergeat's impressions were printed in "LA VIE OUVRIERE", organ of the left syndicalists.

After making a tour in southern Russia, Ukraine and Odessa, our comrades returned to Moscow, preparing themselves to leave for France in order to take part in the Orleans congress of the C. G. T. during the last days of September. As the international police was on the look-out for them, they could not return thru Finland, Esthonia or Poland. They had to choose the risky and uncertain

northern route, thru the icy Artic Ocean.

They left Murmansk on a small sailing boat with one sailor and our comrades in France expecting them to arrive in time to counteract Merrheim's insidious propaganda against the Russian Communists. But there was no news from them for over a month and then anxiety and fear for their fate filled the hearts of their fellow workers. During the last days of November the metal workers and the COMITE DES SYNDICALIST REVOLUTIONARIES made in inquiry thru "L'HUMANITE" from the Swedish Soviet envoy. The news that he wired was distressing — Lepetit, Vergeat and Raymond Lefebvre, delegate of the French Communists, have perished somewhere in the sea.

The Committee of Revolutionary Syndicalists, a body representing all the left unions in France, immediately organized relief for the families of our martyred comrades and within few days the workers of Paris, themselves in the midst of unemployment and want, collected the sum of 10 francs.

## THE TOILER

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

Address all mail and make all checks payable to  
**THE TOILER**  
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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

### Bundle Order Prices

Bundle orders in any quantity ..... 3½c. per copy  
Bills upon bundle orders of 100 or more rendered  
monthly. Bills must be paid upon presentation.  
Order a bundle of Toilers weekly and sell them to  
your shopmates.

Published weekly by the  
**Toiler Publishing Association**  
Telephone: Lincoln 3639.

## What To Do About It

The cartoon on page one depicts a problem which American workers are now face to face. Not only in America but in the whole world with the exception of Russia, are the workers searching for the answer to the question which is so forcibly posed by the artist.

He who controls your job, controls you, your bread, your life. He dictates the terms by which you live, your wages, your hours, your amusements, your family life (or lack of it). He is the ruler over you. He is your Dictator.

His control over you, his dictatorship of your life and that of your family, is maintained by the power of the State. The State legalizes his ownership and his dictatorship. Unless the State protects him in his ownership of the tools and machinery of industry, you, the workers, would soon oust him and cease to bow to his dictatorship and would seize the industries and run them yourselves in your own and your families' interests.

But the State protects him in his power over you. It protects his ownership with guns, soldiers, bayonets. The State power stands between workers and the means of life and says: Hands off this is capitalist private property. In short, the

owners of industry control the State and the State power is used for them and against the workers.

As long as the State power remains in the hands of the owners of industry, **THEY** will be the dictators over the workers. No seizure of factory, or mill or mine by the workers will avail anything for the workers as long as the power of the State, the guns, soldiers, bayonets, the political control, remain in their hands.

The only thing to do about it—is to capture the State and become the Dictator.

We wish you a RED New Year!

## What Will Come After?

The far-flung challenge of capitalism to the A. F. of L. and its announced determination to replace the Union Shop with the Open Shop in American industries has raised a plaintive questioning from some of its own worshippers as to the wisdom of such procedure in view of possible consequences.

"What," ask these supporters of capitalism, "will come after the A. F. of L." Apparently, these bourgeois questioners dimly sense in a nebulous sort of way that perhaps all will not be so calm on the industrial field after the destruction of the A. F. of L. as is anticipated by Gary and his gang. And some of them even have the temerity to suggest that it is better to let well enough alone.

And the question IS timely from whatever angle the matter is looked upon.

It is inconceivable that labor, in the face of such an overwhelming defeat—granting that capital is successful in setting up the Open Shop, should cling to the weapons that had turned to putty in its hands. It is likewise inconceivable that labor should give up in despair and sink into a state of impotency.

On the contrary, every impulse, individual and social will drive the workers to forge new weapons more fitted for the conquest of the foe. Those will be weapons hammered out on the anvil of CLASS interests instead of craft interests. The Industrial as opposed to the Craft form is the future form of labor organization that will emerge from the ashes of this defeat.



And that will be a victory, for until such a foundation is laid no victory for labor is possible. Some corner stones of the new form have already been laid. To what extent these will

answer for the new structure remains to be seen but that either they or others will form the basis of the new order is as certain as that the hour of Craft Unionism has struck!

## Shadows Of The Sweatshop

By Mary Heaton Vorse.

Joe Kosinsky leaned over to his friend, Morris Peritz, and whispered to him — "What's eating you? You look like your family was all dead."

"My mother's sick," Morris answered.

It was at the meeting of the Cutters in the first days of the lockout. If it was successful it would destroy the organization, but in spite of the importance of the meeting, Morris had hardly been able to keep his mind on the speakers. The crowd of intent men seemed far off and dim, and he would see instead his mother jerking herself back and forth, back and forth, like a mechanical toy, made crazy by suffering, wrapping her two great arms around herself as though nursing the terrible pain that was eating her life away.

A hundred times during the meeting — "I wish I knew how Mama was," he thought.

Everyone was rising now. Everyone was going. The vision of his mother held Morris a second while the crowd jammed ahead of him. The hall was being cleared because a wedding was to be held there at six. Weddings went on just the same, strikes or no strikes, hard times or not. Morris met the wedding party, carrying great white boxes of roses up to the dressing room. "Baby coffins" flashed unseasonably through his mind. Morris shivered. He had death on the brain today. Again he saw the great silhouette of his mother wrapped in pain, her body jerking to and fro, to and fro, with an awful insistent rhythm.

A panic of anxiety seized Morris and he threaded like an eel through the weltering east side which meant life to him. Life here flowed in a hotter, richer stream than in other places. His well built, well dressed body slid in and out past gravely playing children, past the women doing some late buying from push-carts, on to his home.

He plunged up the two flights of stairs and then opened the door of the flat with caution. The place seemed very quiet. Then he heard his mother's voice, talking with insistent monotony. The rooms

were all threaded on a long dark hall, down which Morris tiptoed. He beckoned his older sister Reba who was standing just outside the front room.

"How's Mama been?" he asked.

"Mama's terrible worried about the strike. If I could get her mind off the strike, I think I'd get her asleep. The pain comes and goes. But no matter how hard the pain is she can't forget the strike. She's afraid we're going back to the old days.

"Mrs. Strunsky and Mrs. Edelson was in. They worried her by talking how the bosses are trying to get us at last, and how they want to smash us. All the time mama had seemed asleep but—then she woke up when they talked about the old misery again. 'Never,' she said. 'Never!'—and since then she's been rambling on—She stops and then she begins again. If only I could get her into bed.—"

They stepped into the familiar clutter, that meant home to Morris. There was a brand new sewing machine and beside it the familiar mending basket, large and overflowing. The children joked about their mother patching such worn out clothes.

"It's a wonder you wouldn't buy something new, Mama—she wouldn't be comfortable if her petticoat wasn't patched."

His mother sat in her favorite chair in the middle of the room. It seemed as though death had already blown a chill wind over her and isolated her from the circle of the living.

His two little brothers, the visiting neighbors. Miriam, the younger sister, who lived away from home, all sat on sofas and chairs, watching the sick woman. Morris went over to her.

"How are you Mama? Do you feel better?" For recognition she stroked his face. "Can I get you something. Mama?"

She spoke with effort.

"Get me the last saucepan I bought — the five quart one—you didn't see it yet Morris? Last time I was out I bought it."

He went obediently to the kitchen. It was full of light blue ware that matched. His mother had bought it luxuriously piece by piece from the pushcart man who sold seconds. He found the saucepan and brought it to his mother. She looked at it with a cloudy smile. —

"For years I wanted a blue enamel kettle — ever since I came here — From the first I ever brought home a bundle of pants to finish—Papa was sick. 'Never mind' I said, 'I'll go and get work.' How strong I was in those days. A girl with the courage of three — That day I stopped beside a store full of blue ware. I looked in the window. 'Pretty soon,' I thought, 'I'll buy me one of those.' Do you know how long I waited — twenty years—

"How light the bundle seemed the first day! Oh God, Oh God, how heavy it grew! That's like life, it seems sweet when you are young — it gets bitter" — She rocked to and fro, her heavy body swaying with pain.

"Don't talk, Mama. rest" Morris patted her hand.

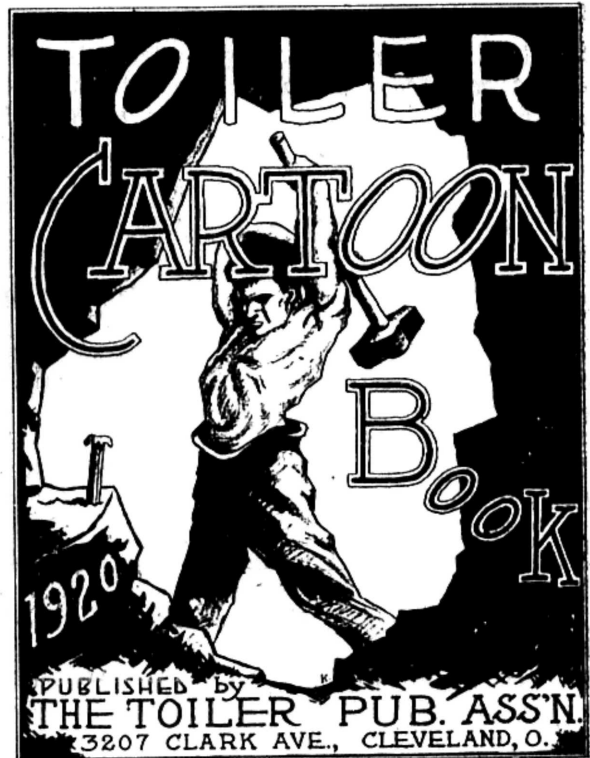
"Rest—rest—" her voice went on with its monotonous insistence, "how long it was, I never knew rest. Toil and work, work and toil—it never stopped. Papa and I couldn't stop for birth or death.

"The day you were born, Morris, what a day —what a terrible day! Was there any end to the road between the shop and home? I staggered under the load. I swayed like as if I was drunk. I sat down with the pants on the steps of the Library at Astor Place. People looked at me with my bundle. I had no shame. I didn't care. Italian women taking home their bundles of clothes walked past me. One after another, great strong women, they streamed along, each one with a heavy bundle balanced on her head. They were all going home to work half the night.

"'What will I do,' I thought. My pains are on me. Must I have my child in the gutter like a dog?"

"I tried to get to my feet. Four times I tried. At last I got up. I tried to lift my bundle. It was like it was made of stone. It was like it was riveted with iron rivets to the pavement. I couldn't move it. What could I do? If I should leave it behind, it would be ruin.

"One of the Italian women noticed me. She stopped and said something to me I could not un-



## The Cover Indicates the Contents

The above illustration is a reproduction (much reduced) of the cover of The Toiler Cartoon Book for 1920. This Cartoon Book is just as good as the illustration indicates. In fact, you will find upon examining it that it far surpasses all expectations in the quality of its contents.

We are not printing more than a million so if you want one—order now.

Nearly 40 pages—a real worth-while souvenir of an historic period—1920. All the best cartoons we published this year. \$1.00 a volume.

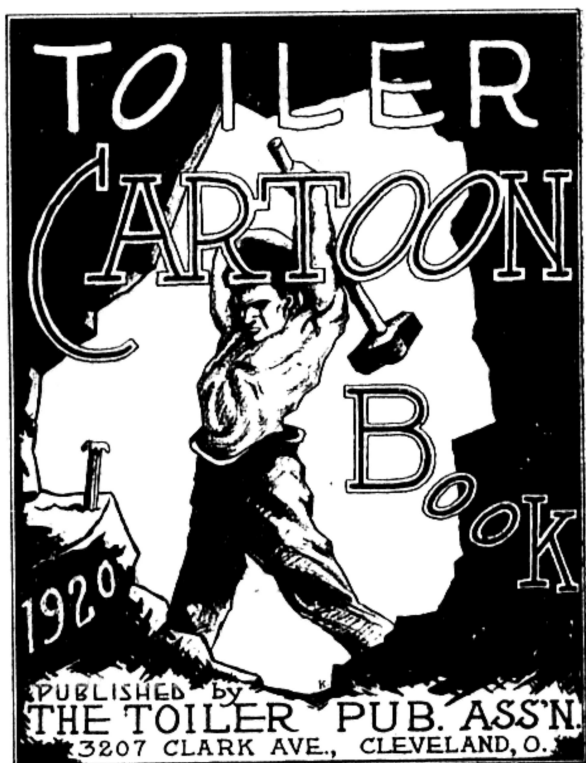
### ORDER BLANK.

Enclosed find \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for which mail me \_\_\_\_\_ copies of The Toiler Cartoon Book for 1920.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_



## The Cover Indicates the Contents

The above illustration is a reproduction (much reduced) of the cover of The Toiler Cartoon Book for 1920. This Cartoon Book is just as good as the illustration indicates. In fact, you will find upon examining it that it far surpasses all expectations in the quality of its contents.

We are not printing more than a million so if you want one—order now.

Nearly 40 pages—a real worth-while souvenir of an historic period—1920. All the best cartoons we published this year. \$1.00 a volume.

### ORDER BLANK.

Enclosed find \$——— for which mail me —— copies of The Toiler Cartoon Book for 1920.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

nd. I answered and she didn't know what I must the same we understood each other. 't we both of us women? Weren't we both carrying home heavy bundles and we were going to sew all night and with us our child—that we could eat. Where would I have been r her? She called to her friends. They gathered about me. They took her bundle between hem. She lifted me to my feet. My bundle she put on her head. In this way I got home.

"Then you were born, Morris. Each baby — what a worry. You remember, Reba — come close to me — you were my only help, you helped wash and dress the new babies. You were the only one there to hand me a cup of water.

"How hard papa worked in those days. Winter's mornings he would crawl out before the light, bent down like an old man he would stir around making himself tea. Coughing, always coughing—I could hear him come up the stairs nights. His cough came ahead of him and when he left I could hear it going off in the distance. He would wipe his mouth with a rag and I would see him looking at it. I knew what he was looking for. How many went that way! What with the long hours and little food. And then he would look at me and the children. We would sit there and the spectre of death would stand between us. Fear went to bed with us, and fear got up with us.

"Was it a wonder th' babies got sick? Was it any wonder they died? Un, it is a bitter thing to go through the pain of bearing and then the pain of losing. But there is a bitterer thing yet and that is when they die that you should be glad for their sake."

Pain stopped his mother's speech. There was silence. Throughout the room a little sound only broke it — Reba crying softly to herself. She seemed remote and lonely in her fashionable plain clothes.

Memories flowed past Morris as she talked. He remembered a dank tenement house. When you opened the door foul air rushed out past you like an evil animal. He remembered the tide of pants mounting so high that when you went into the room you thought of pants first and human beings last. Pants every where and his mother's fingers flying as though driven by fear while he sat and played beside her with spools on a string. Snatches of talk went on over his head of underpay, of the cost of thread. The older children were at work beside her and if he cried, Reba hushed him. His

mother never seemed to hear. Often he crawled into the hallway and out into the odorous street.

She spoke again: "I would sew and sew. The children would sicken before my eyes. Their cries would beat upon my heart. I could not stop to tend to them. My hands could not stop work. The others must eat. Once when father was out of work, the baby lay dying. I knew it, I had seen his blue lips. There were eight more pants to finish—'When these are done, I'll take him up,' I thought, I finished the work and I looked around. He lay still. I went to him. Dead, dead. I had not stopped work even for death."

Again she spoke.

"You remember, Reba—how you would pick bastings and pick bastings—sitting on your little stool. You would nod asleep. How many times have I waked you up, jogging you with my foot. How many times have I thought — 'Must I bring children into the world to live in a dark hole, to work almost before they can walk, only that they may have a crust of bread to eat?' That was the time when clothes were made of the blood and bones of men and women and children. Former went into the making of clothes

"Oh, the long years, one after the other like that—Oh, the long years!

"I remember when your papa just joined a union. 'You will lose your job', I said. I was frightened. I didn't understand."

He would explain. "There is a city full who suffer like us. Not a few. Hundred and hundreds — hundred and hundreds—the shop full of girls and women speeding their lives away. Thousands and thousands and thousands living like us. Who will help us if we don't. No Moses will come to lead us from this bondage.'

"Strikes one after another and the men scabbing on each other because of misery and hunger. 'You're a fool,' Mose Stich said to papa — 'How can you organize an industry like ours? There's too much labor; the people are too wretched. You'll be out of work all the time.'

"When the boys and papa began bringing home good money and the hours grew shorter, what a pleasure! I could look with joy on Moe and Henry! These boys can go to school, they can learn something.

"Sometimes when I would hear the children talking that women were making twenty and thirty a week, 'I am dreaming,' I would think. But the union grew and grew. Do you know how?

Through hundreds and thousands of acts of courage. Men and women who dared to face hunger, who dared to face despair—Oh God, for what, for what, for nothing?

"Thank God Papa never saw this day. 'The Lord has delivered us from bondage again, Mama,' he would say. 'Our children will never suffer like us.'

"Is it all in vain? MUST we go back to slavery? They are so strong. They have no pity." She rose slowly to her feet and lifted her hands above her head.

"Oh, God," she cried. "Won't they ever let us go? Must it be as it was before? Must the little children work and the mothers drag themselves from childbed to go to work? Must fear break them? We had a few years when at last we could live! The young wives could bear their children in peace. Is it all over?" She stretched out her

hand before her. "Look, look," she cried, "you see them—can't you see them—the going out of their homes for the bundles? you see the pale children hurrying over their — hunger driving them?"

She sank back in her chair exhausted head dropped on her breast Reba and Morris to her.—

"Mama, Mama!"

She rallied herself — she sat up in the chair pushing them from her. Her hands groped on the floor. She seemed to find what she sought and over it she made sharp gestures with a terrible rhythmic haste.

"Mama what're you doing? What is it, Mama?" cried Morris; Reba waited;

"Don't you see what it is? Don't you know? Mama thinks she's sewing—she's sewing pants!"

## Good News From Australia!

We are indebted to the Sydney "Socialist" for the following facts which we think will interest our fellow-workers of the I. W. W.

1. The recently released from prison Fellow-Worker, Tom Glynn has written a masterful foreword to Zinoviev's "Appeal to the Industrial Workers of the World". A certain R. S. Ross writes: "no one can read Tom Glynn's foreword without perceiving that the recognition of something more being needed than the industrial weapon..."

John Sandgren and a few of his followers in America have not learned as much in spite of the fact that they were out of jail. We are happy to know that Fellow-Worker Glynn has had the courage to throw overboard a few of the timeworn dogmas of the "pure and simple industrial unionists" who are as "revolutionary" as Sam Gompers and his prototypes the world over.

2. "Delegates representing the I. W. W., Australian Socialist party, S. L. P. and other militant working class groups, met in conference in Sydney last week (in the beginning of November) and agreed to form themselves into a Communist party," with the following —

### COMMUNIST PROGRAMME.

(1) Arranging communist study classes under its own auspices or under those of other Labor organizations;

(2) Holding wherever possible, public meetings for necessary propaganda, as its aim is to spread the communist idea as widely amongst the masses as possible, recognising that social revolution will be only possible with an intelligent following of the Communist Party by the masses at large;

(3) For the same reason and for the education and recruiting of new members, distributing communist revolutionary literature;

(4) Forming groups of its members in every mill, factory workshop and field, so that it is always in a position to direct and control through its members every industrial dispute and disturbance of the workers, keeping always in mind the same end—social revolution—and trying to utilise every spontaneous action of the workers for that one end:

(5) Directing its members to take an active and, wherever possible, a leading part in every craft or industrial union, and endeavouring to have its members elected into the executive bodies of these organizations so that these organisations also are directed in their activities towards the same one end of complete social revolution.

(6) Endeavouring and actively working to replace the existing craft unions by more up-to-date

at industrial unions, which would be more ageous for social revolutionary mass action, all as an important factor in the communist construction of society.

(7) So controlling its members, that each and every one of them acts strictly according to Communist principles;

(8) Taking an active part in the election for the existing legislative bodies, whenever it may be for the advantage of the complete social revolution, to demonstrate inside those institutions that such institutions are expressly for the buttressing of the existing capitalistic system, and that therefore they are working absolutely and always in opposition to the interests of the toiling masses, and to demonstrate that whenever these institutions legislate in the interests of the workers, they are doing so not because they sincerely desire to do so, but always because of a danger of revolt from those whom they are exploiting, and always with the purpose of preserving the existing capitalist system. While the Communist Party endorses parliamentarism for revolutionary purposes, it does not exclude from its ranks those holding contrary views, providing that they submit to party discipline.

(9) Issuing from time to time, necessary and timely manifestos and calls to the masses for a particular action at a particular time;

(10) Inviting all the intelligent workers, men and women, to study Communist ideas, to understand them properly, and to try to establish Communist groups wherever possible, strictly on the principles outlined in this programme, be it in a friendly circle, a factory, a workshop, a craft union, or an industrial union.

We have been accustomed to read in the I. W. W. papers of late that if they joined the Third International it would mean 'good bye unity.' From the above we conclude that the principles and conditions of the Third International mean UNITY, but of a certain kind. That is REVOLUTIONARY UNITY. Unity which does not tolerate counter-revolutionary activities and propaganda into which Sandgren and his kind of unionism have been indulging in lately.

We congratulate the Australian Wobblies on their keen sense of International Solidarity and class consciousness.

An American I. W. W.

## The Elimination Of Money In Soviet Russia

By J. Larin

The Soviet Government has passed a resolution on the report of the writer of these lines, charging the Commissariat for Finance to submit to the Council, within a month's time and by agreement with the respective authorities, a draft of a decree concerning the abrogation of payment for all products supplied by the Food Commissariat to workers, employees, and their families, including all produce supplied on food cards of the first and second categories. The decree will also include the abrogation of all payment for living rooms rented by workers, employees, and their families in State and municipalised houses; and, finally, the abolition of payment for all kinds of fuel distributed to the workers, employees, and institutions by the Chief Fuel Department, as well as for gas, electricity, telephone, water, drainage, and so forth. At the same time, the Government has organized a special Commission charged with the task of

elaborating, within a month's time, a plan involving the complete abolition of money settlements, including settlements of banking accounts, as well as settlements between industrial Soviet enterprises and Soviet institutions.

It is quite possible that this new great improvement in the organisation of the Soviet system may yet come into force before the anniversary of the October Revolution (7th November), but in any case not later than January 1st. Simultaneously with this, there will come into force the decree drafted by me, and ratified by the Government, concerning the abolition of payment for transport of goods by rail, as well as the abolition of almost all passenger fares. (In case of workers and employees going to work, to school, or for their holidays, delegates proceeding to conferences, trade union excursions, etc. etc.)

In the jubilee number of "Pravda" on the oc

cession of the anniversary of the October Revolution last year, it was pointed out that the first year of Soviet rule was devoted chiefly to grappling with the factories and works, that the second year was occupied in establishing the machinery of economic administration, and that the work of the third year should be to prepare the ground for greater changes revolutionising the relations of every-day life. And here we see gradually emerging before us one such radical change — the money, reduced to the vanishing point and money itself being abolished.

The beginning was small. The question was first concretely raised early in 1919 at the town conference of the Moscow organisation of our party, which unanimously approved my report and recognized the necessity of dispensing immediately with all payments in connection with provision for children, supply of clothes, apartments and food to workers. It was evident, however, at the time that the psychological conditions for this innovation had not sufficiently ripened, and its realisation went on slowly. In April the decree was adopted concerning the gratuitous feeding of children, which, from the originally fixed age of fourteen, was gradually extended to the age of sixteen. Some time after, the free distribution of clothing for workmen was instituted, and subsequently the free distribution of soap. At certain intervals followed the abolition of payment for postage of ordinary letters, etc. Of great importance was the institution of payment in kind as part of the workmen's and employees' wage, which became one of the bases of the distributing policy of the Government. Finally, all these measures are now being supplemented and complemented by the above-mentioned decree. Money will shortly only serve the workers and the urban population as means of purchasing on the "Sukharevka" (market) as long as it exists.

But the unification of the various parts of Russia (Siberia, Turkestan, Caucasus, Ukraine) accomplished by last year's military campaign should serve to accelerate the elimination of the speculator. We are already getting cotton and fuel from the formerly isolated regions. We have had seven times more cotton in the centre by October 1st than we had in January, 1920. The Ivanovsky and other works are beginning to work; and within a year the peasants will find it more advantageous to hand his produce over to the State in exchange for textile goods than to hide them for

the speculator who will pay him in paper,

It is difficult to give a comprehensive idea of the importance which the gradual disappearance of money will have for the whole course of social life, for the psychology of the average person. The man in the street has been accustomed from time immemorial to the idea of money as the most habitual phenomenon of social relations, and perhaps even of nature itself.

And now the ancient pillars of the commercial system are coming down like a house of cards before the first organised efforts of the victorious proletariat. Looking at this first display of creative effort made in the first and most difficult period of the existence of the new order, we can imagine the progress which will be made in the future when, after the final wars, we shall be able to put to better effect the resources and man-power of one-tenth of the globe which is at our disposal. Our children will grow up, and money to them will be a reminiscence, and our grandchildren will learn of it from the coloured pictures in their history books at school.

## 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.*

To banish Gods from the skies and capitalists from the earth is the purpose of this book by Bishop Brown, formerly of the Episcopal Church, now turned Revolutionary Socialist. The modern "Age of Reason" is what some call this book. If you are a church goer or have friends who are, then this is the book you should read and have them read. It is not an attempt to reconcile Scientific Socialism and the Christian religion but is a call to Christians to discard their theological dogmas for Marxian Communism. Eighty four pages—25c.

order of

THE TOILER, 3207 Clark Ave.  
Cleveland, Ohio.

## Increase Your Knowledge Of Socialism This Winter

# Buy Your Books of The Toiler Book Department

### About Russia

LENIN—THE MAN AND HIS WORK.—By Albert Rhys Williams .....	\$1.50
RUSSIA IN 1919.—By Arthur Ransome .....	\$1.60
RAYMOND ROBINS' OWN STORY.—By William Hford .....	\$2.00
Labor Laws and Protection of Labor in Soviet Russia	25
Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work, Zinovieff .....	25c
Communism and The Family, Kollontay .....	10c
Structure of Soviet Russia, Humphries .....	10c

### Scientific Classics

Landmarks of Scientific Socialism, Engels .....	\$1.25
Socialism and Modern Science, Ferri .....	\$1.25
Philosophical Essays, Dietzgen .....	\$1.50
Positive Outcome of Philosophy, Dietzgen .....	1.50
Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch .....	1.25
Ancient Society, Morgan .....	1.50
Ancient Lowly, Ward, 2 vols., each .....	2.50
Essays On Materialistic Conception of History, Labrioli .....	1.25
The Universal Kinship, Moore .....	1.25
Savage Survivals, Moore .....	1.25
Woman Under Socialism, Bebel .....	2.25
Economic Determinism, Parce .....	1.25

### Educational Pamphlets

Socialism and Christianity, Wm. M. Brown .....	25c
Socialism and Religion.—By B. S. P. of England.,	10c
Wage Labor and Capital, Marx .....	10c
Scientific Socialism Study Course .....	10c
Communist Manifesto. Marx and Engels .....	10c
Shop Talks on Economics, Marcy .....	10c
Industrial Socialism, Haywood .....	10c
Industrial Autoeracy, Marcy .....	10c
Value, Price and Profit, Marx .....	15c
Evolution and Revolution, Fischer .....	10c
No Compromise, Liebknecht .....	15c
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, Engels .....	15c
Marxism and Darwinism .....	10c
Mr. Block and the Profiteers, Riebe .....	10c
Strength of the Strong, London .....	10c
The Apostate, London .....	10c
The Class Struggle, Kautsky .....	25c
Truth About the Lusk Committe .....	15c
The Right to Strike, Marcy .....	10c
Industrial Problems. — Richardson .....	10c
The Dream of Debs.—London .....	10c
How the Farmer Can Get His. — Marcy .....	10c
Think or Surrender.—Kirkpatrick .....	15c

### Cloth Bound Books, 75c Each

Art of Lecturing. — Lewis.	
Communist Manifesto.—Engels.	
Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonapart.—Marx.	
Evolution of Man.—Boelsche.	
Germs of Mind in Plants.—Frances.	
Human, All too Human.—Nietsche.	
Karl Marx.—Liebknecht.	
Making of the World.—Meyer.	
Marx vs Tolstoy.—Lewis.	
Science and Superstition.—Lewis	
Science and Revolution.—Unterman.	
The Social Revolution.—Kautsky.	
Social Studies.—Lafargue.	
The Triumph of Life.—Boelsche.	
Feuerbach: Roots of Socialist Philosophy.—Engels.	
Value, Price and Profit.—Marx.	
Origin of the Family.—Engels.	
World's Revolutions.—Unterman.	
Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.—Engels.	
Anarchism and Socialism, Plechanoff.	
The Evolution of Banking.—Howe.	
Struggle Between Science and Superstition.—Lewis.	
Collapse of Capitalism.—Kahn.	
Evolution, Social and Organic.—Lewis.	
Law of Biogenesis.—Moore.	
Positive School of Criminology.—Ferri.	

### Miscellaneous

Debs—His Life and Writings, Karsner .....	\$1.50
Man or the State, Philosophical Essays .....	1.00
Stories of the Cave People.—Marcy .....	1.25
Pelle the Conqueror, 2 vols., .....	4.00
News From Nowhere.—Morris .....	1.25
Labor in Irish History.—Jas. Connolly .....	50
From October to Brest-Litovsk.—Trotsky. ....	35
The Proletarian Revolution in Russia.—Lenin and Trotsky. ....	75

### Jack London's Best Stories, \$1.00

The Little Lady of the Big House.	The Iron Heel.
Michael Brother of Jerry.	Martin Eden.
	The Sea Wolf.
A Daughter of the Snows.	Adventure.
Tales of the Fish Patrol.	The Son of the Wolf.
The Mutiny of Elsinore.	South Sea Tales.
The Valley of the Moon.	The Star Rover.
The Turtles of Tasman.	Jerry of the Islands.
The Call of the Wild.	Burning Daylight.
The Faith of Men.	Before Adam.
The Night Born.	Moon Face.
John Barleycorn.	Smoke Bellew.
A Son of the Sun.	White Fang.
5 Volumes or more 90c each.	

### "THE TOILER"

3207 Clark Avenue — — — Cleveland, Ohio



## Just Before Dawn

By Carl Cohen

As the year 1920 fades away, I sing this requiem to its memory. Three incidents of the old year, which I experienced, will, I think be, of especial interest to "Toiler" readers; for they are episodes with which we are all familiar, and present a problem that sooner or later, we must face.

(1) While waiting for the train at Kenton, Ohio, I noticed an almost sightless old man. He was evidently very poor as his clothes were bedraggled and shabby. One lense of his glasses was painted red; his only eye peered weakly out of the other. But in spite of his miserable appearance I remember what this tottering derelict said to me, when the witticisms of the wealthy retired farmers of Kenton have been forgotten. . . . "I was working here in the nickel smelting plant. The hot acid flew up and my eye burnt and crackled like frying grease. . . . I think doctors are the most despicable class of people. He could have saved my eye, but he wanted the one hundred and fifty dollar fee so he removed it. He had no business to, I was only sent there for treatment. . . . No, I am not working at the plant now. They told me it was dangerous to stumble around the fires. They give me eight dollars a month damages, but the president of the company told me last week that he could not promise that it would continue much longer. I dont know what I'm going to do".

(2) And now I am in Crooksville talking to a gaunt miner, who is old but fired with the spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt. His brother was working a few feet from him one day in the mines when suddenly his life was crushed out by tons of falling coal. His son had been killed three years ago—decapitated by a freight car."

"I was there at the time", he says. "I loaded the car that killed him. The cry went up man killed', the super" ran out of the office and yelled 'Was the pony hurt'. Lord! It would be better for us to be born donkeys, or negro slaves—we would be more valuable to the masters then.

(3) Half-way across the continent, and I am in the visitors room of one of the large prisons of the world. Across from me at the long table, at which prisoners are lined on one side and visitors on the other, sits a curly headed lad of nineteen twenty. The guard has placed us at the end

seats, so close to him that my hands rest on his blotting pad. The conversation is necessarily somewhat general. The "criminal" is studying bee-culture in his spare time. His bond has been placed at three thousands dollars, but the people of Kansas are too patriotic to put up such a sum for a citizen who has dared to join the I. W. W. (his only offense). However my friend tells me that he knows his countrymen pretty well and he is stoically preparing to spend his third consecutive Christmas behind the bars as a slave of Uncle Sam.

These are not isolated cases, fellow workers. There are millions of such people as the above three. Our jails are overcrowded with the cream of American thinkers and doers. Workers are maimed and killed by the thousands from unnecessary accidents.

We all know that such conditions exist. That America has become a country of grasping profiteers and degraded slaves — a country of putrid morality. Why do we not see the facts clearly? Why do we tolerate such conditions? Because the masters think for us through the press, pulpit and movie. Because we, the workers, are afraid... Afraid for our wives and children. We would rather be spiritual prostitutes and have barely enough of the physical necessities than to face the realities of life frankly and bravely. When things become acute we will starve anyhow, and our bellies will tell us to revolt. That is why the most misserable element of society gives greatest promise for the future.

To these unfortunates, these despairing outcasts, and desperate revolutionists, the new year will owe its hope and inspiration. The fact of their presence, of spiritual agony everywhere, cries stronger than a million voices.—

"The old year is rotting away. We are done with bestial ignorance, prisons, disease of mind and body. We, the most distressed victims of the old order will be the bulwark of the new state. We will be the virile element which, when theoretic reformists fail, will successfully uphold the proletarian revolution".

**Sell The Toiler In Your Shop**