

## For Action in the Unemployment Crisis.

One of the defects in the present methods of handling the unemployment crisis is that those endeavoring to take charge of the unemployed have spent too much time in gathering statistics and data regarding the situation. As desirable as definite information is it will not feed the hungry; it will not give them a place to sleep in. ACTION is what is wanted and needed! Action to put ON the job again, men and women who are now tramping the streets, applying at closed doors for a job. Action must be taken soon—or there will be something more than an unemployment crisis!

"To-day, for instance, there are four million men seeking employment. They will form, unless conditions change, the nucleus of a Bolshevik government." Thus spoke a famous engineer, one who is well acquainted with the problem facing the country to-day. 4,000,000 hungry men, disillusioned and restless, will not easily be convinced of the correctness of capitalist "law and order." They will not have great respect for the "law and order" that forces 4,000,000 men and women to stop producing, while 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 people are being deprived of the necessities of life. They will not be much impressed with declamations of the wonders of America, with its "freedom and equality", with its "opportunity for all", especially the industrious, when, without warning, without provision for the barest needs, 4,000,000 people are thrown into the streets—4,000,000 industrious, active people—and forced to beg and starve! They will not listen to Americanization plans which teach them the splendors of American institutions, since, marching up and down the streets, they have too frequently come into contact with preservers of "law and order" who have ordered them along—because they are out of work!

4,000,000 unemployed are the breeders of Revolution in America. This army is the largest army of un-

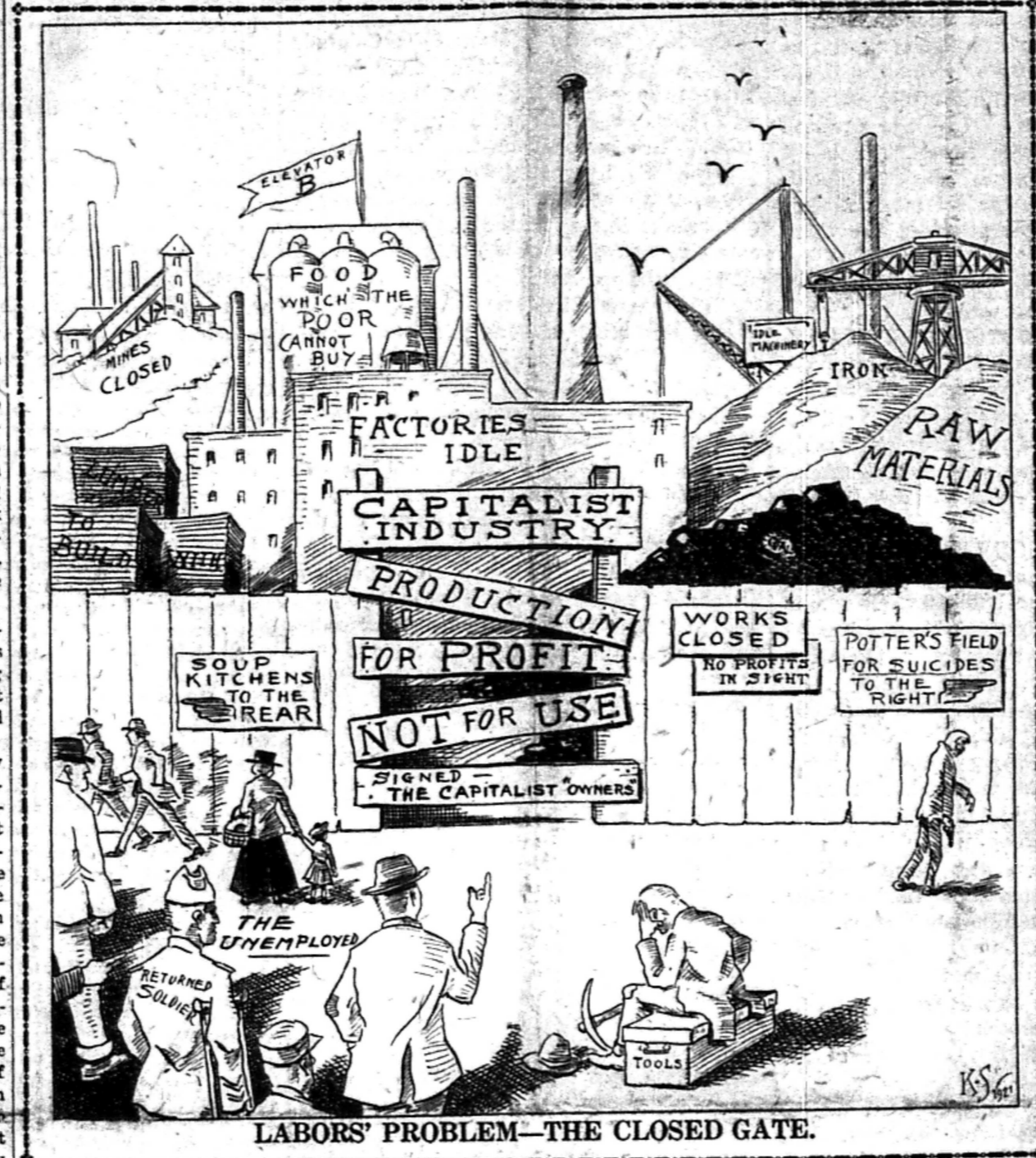
employed in the world. In spite of all the wealth that America boasts and that these workers have helped to produce, America may also boast the largest army of unemployed.

The International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations states that there are 33,000,000 unemployed men and women in the world to-day! 33,000,000 men and women, who a few months ago, were told that the world must be reconstructed. Production and more production was needed, they said, since the world was suffering from a scarcity of products. Every worker must be willing to work overtime; he must be willing to give of his best energy. For six years, the world was occupied with destruction—now, at last, we could build up again. Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and even the bourgeois-socialist Ebert of Germany called on the workers to work, work, WORK! Work would save the world. Work would make impossible again a disaster such as had just taken place. Work, work, WORK! Therein lay the hope of mankind!

And now 33,000,000 men and women—workers—fathers and mothers—are tramping the streets looking for any kind of a job—anything that will furnish them with bread and butter!

Industries are operating at very low capacity. The steel industry, regarded as the barometer of the country is working at 20 to 30 per cent capacity. The building trade, automobile, clothing, leather, glass, are operating with reduced forces. While the coal operators are closing down mines, under the pretext that there is an abundance of coal, thereby depriving hundreds of thousands of miners of work, the price of coal remains at the maximum figure. While the packing concerns are using the open shop slogan as a means of decreasing their working force, on the pretext that there is no profit in operation to-day—the cost of meat is raised. While the clothing industry

is practically at a standstill, the few terms offered—the price of clothing declines at an imperceptible rate. While the workers are being gouged and browbeaten, while they are being



LABORS' PROBLEM—THE CLOSED GATE.

deceived into a false belief that there is an abundance of stored up merchandise, the capitalists are pocketing higher profits and declaring for themselves unparalleled dividends. While the workers are being deprived of the right to produce and earn a living, the capitalists, monopolists and controllers of prices, are artificially maintaining prices—proving conclusively that the law of supply and demand has no meaning to-day. Capital rules despotically—it is still master of the world—it forces 33,000,000 workers and their dependents to STARVE, WHILE THE FIELDS AND FACTORIES CRY OUT FOR PRODUCTION!

How long will the 4,000,000 men and women in America tolerate this travesty on "liberty?" How long will they allow politicians and statesmen, capitalists and newspapers, clergymen and educators to continue this game of deceit? How long will they continue to be hoodwinked as to the cause? How long will they be intimidated and remain helpless with bound hands? How long will they wait before taking ACTION—Action that will mean something?

It is time to organize the unemployed. It is time to organize them for ACTION! It is time to call into motion all the forces that will bring the unemployed together and create a body that will put an end to misery on one hand—misery poverty, suffering and squalor; and wealth on the other—wealth, splendor, luxury, leisure and ease. It is time to consolidate all the jobless, weary, hopeless masses.

For black times are ahead. Industries are not opening their doors. Mines are not raising more coal. Farms are not calling to the unemployed. Railroads and ships are not seeking more help. Months of struggle await the workers and the unemployed, who will have to fight for bread!

The unemployed must get together. They must organize into a solid body in every town. They must get into

their ranks every jobless man and woman in the town. They must elect Committees of Action. They must link up these Committees in the industrial districts. They must organize a National Committee of Action, which shall create plans for calling them whole army of 4,000,000 unemployed into ACTION. Into action against whoever will keep food and shelter from the jobless! Into action against whoever will deprive the workers of the right to work. Against whoever supports the right of the capitalist to profit against the right of the worker to the product of his toil! Against whoever and whatever stands in the way of emancipation from the rule of King Hunger!

Call your meetings! Elect your Committees of Action! Get the unions to help you! This is a problem that only the whole working class can settle. It is a problem of the workers against the exploiters.—The ground-down, unorganized, broken-up forces of labor against the capitalists organized and ready to fight with every weapon at their disposal.

Beware of spies! They are put there by the bosses, to incite you to uproar in order that the government will have reason or "excuse" to shoot you down! Beware of fake leaders! They endeavor to get control, and then betray you!

Organize and be prepared to act! If you do not act yourselves, nothing will save you. Keep control from below. Let the action be your action! This time you must fight—it is class against class!

The government will not stand by, idle. The government has prepared its forces to meet such situations. It has furnished the police with riot guns and hand grenades; it has supplied its forces with poison gas. Machine guns are provided, tank divisions have been formed.

You must consider this—your action must be in accord. ACT! ACT!

## FACE TO FACE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA.

**EDITORIAL NOTE:**—The extent and uniformity of unemployment conditions in the United States is revealed in the following reports from 17 states. We are unable to publish but one third of the reports sent in, but we have selected these as best showing the actual conditions prevailing. Aside from the actual information gleaned from these notes, workers should learn a for more important lesson. That is: they should remain where they are, not become a disorganized mass of wandering paupers; conditions are no better elsewhere. They should organize right where they are with all unemployed, in Councils of Action looking toward an amelioration of their present conditions and the eventual creation of conditions wherein such degradations cannot again be brought about. They must unify their forces for action with all workers to put an end to capitalism.

following week. No industries are opening up, but more are closing down. B. H.

We have two bread lines. Some factories have cut wages as much as 30%. You know we have the "whipping post" in this state—that is an indication of the conservatism of the workers. They are demanding nothing—of course they will get nothing. E. M.

**GEORGIA.**  
Atlanta:—The current report for the unemployed in Atlanta is 7,000 to 8,000. About 1,900 organized workers are unemployed, and the balance are unskilled, and unorganized.

Renting and tenant farmers are constantly leaving the soil, thereby swelling the unemployed army in the cities.

The union workers, are being cared for by their organizations. The city and county charitable associations have a limited sum to spend each month, consequently there are a great many families not getting enough to eat. There are no breadlines in the south to my knowledge.

The only industries picking up, are the cotton mills, and they only partially after reducing wages three or four times in past six months, the other industries that have not completely closed, are holding on by a thread.

The unemployed are not organizing or making demands, they seem to think their ship is coming in, some day.

As an average this report holds good throughout the state. J. F.

**ILLINOIS.**  
Belleville:—Among the coal miners. Two thousand coal diggers are unemployed here. An additional 500 will be added to the roll if reports of prospective closing of other mines are true. Have heard of no very great hardships as yet owing to the shortness of the unemployment period—4 to 8 weeks. Besides, a great many have left these parts in search of work. There will be something doing among the coal miners if this keeps up.

Among the foundryworkers. This place employs 450 foundryworkers. Four hundred are unemployed, have been so for about 4 months. Probably 50 are working half time. They have a good shop Committee System which the companies are trying to break. Union assistance is being given some

of the families. There is no hope of an early resumption of work. There is no organized attempt being made by the workers to find out what's wrong. L. J. W.

Moline:—The population is 35,000 and there are more industries to the block than in any other city of the middle-West. Fully 75 per cent of the workers are unemployed. Industries are closed almost completely.

The situation has brought about the usual number of charity relief. County, City, "poor funds" and Salvation Army breadlines. Unions have not yet established any relief measures.

There is no indication of industries opening and the workers have taken no measures toward demanding anything from the bosses. Tri City Railway Co. of Davenport has just announced an April Fool wage cut of 43 per cent. No indication of a strike. A Scheidemann socialist administration holds sway in that town. L. K. E.

**IOWA.**  
Serious unemployment general over the state. Jobless variously estimated from 25 to 33 1/2 per cent. Capital-

ist newspapers give editorial recognition but try to hide real conditions. They report situation as getting better; that public works are to be begun, schools and houses built, roads surfaced, etc., but this is mere camouflage. Work is not being offered. It merely exists on paper.

Des Moines, Davenport, Dubuque, Burlington, Clinton, Keokuk, Cedar Rapids, Council Bluffs, Ft. Dodge, Muscatine, Ottumwa, Waterloo, Sioux City and Mason City, which are the principal industrial centers, report equally bad conditions. Mason City reports 2,000 out of work.

Conditions on railroads particularly bad. Forces cut radically and those at work had a wage cut of from 10 to 20 per cent. Oelwein, 8,000 people, reports 1,000 workers laid off in C. G. W. R. E. shops. During recent ice-cutting season on Clear Lake, near Mason City, Culver Ice Co. advertised for several men to fill vacancies—500 applied. Among those applying were locomotive engineers, railroad firemen, conductors and brakemen, switchmen, shopmen, etc., from the five trunk lines entering

Mason City, who had been without work for months. H. E. K.

**INDIANA.**  
Gary:—Common labor is suffering the most in this steel center. There are great numbers of unemployed. Mills and shops are closing more and more instead of opening up. Those that are working are busy but two or three days a week.

The unions have done nothing in the way of starting any agitation on the question of unemployment. There is a great deal of dissatisfaction among the unemployed. S. B.

**KENTUCKY.**  
Louisville:—We have about 7,000 unemployed and the list is growing. The Avery Plow works laid off 300 and are working 100 men three days a week. Railroad shops are laying off men. The Wagon works laid off their men and are hiring them back at reduced wages. Other shops are working with reduced forces while some have closed entirely. O. P.

**MISSOURI.**  
St. Joseph:—Packing houses reduced forces from 6,000 to 2,000 and wages 25%. Shoe factories either closed or reduced forces and wages.

Same with overall plants and general factories. Railroads running with fewer men than since they were built. Wages cut 20% for those at work. Milling industries reduced forces, wages cut 25%.

Free soup kitchen for most needy. No organization of unemployed but ranking discontent is manifest. Everything points to another Coxey army—(or will it be a Red Army). We Americans are all floundering in the hell of wage slavery with the hallucination of eventually vaulting into heaven by becoming capitalists.

**MICHIGAN.**  
Grand Rapids:—Twenty two thousand unemployed. No soup kitchens as yet. Some plants entirely closed. Others still laying men off. Unemployed are quietly waiting. There is some begging. R. J. W.

Niles:—I have heard no estimate as to the number of jobless. I think Niles suffers more lightly because the Mich. Gen. Terminal recently built here furnished lots of work and continues to employ a goodly number. I estimate that the factories run one third strong. Several workers of whom I inquired that my estimate approximately correct. I was able to verify in one instance, the Rip Track Force at the terminal. A foreman told me they had laid off two thirds, reducing to 87 men. Reopening seems to be VERY SLOW INDEED. About all the shops are working bit on both short time and short help. One factory this week cut wages 15%.

The only manifestation of working class insurgency is that they have gotten out a workman's ticket for the city spring election.

**MASSACHUSETTS.**  
Boston:—Estimated number of unemployed 100,000. Everywhere men and women are begging for work at any wages—also begging for pennies and eats. A number of strikes are on against the reduction of wages. Amalgamated Clothing Workers are out against the Open Shop and reduction of wages. Considerable suffering exists but nothing is done for its relief.

Organization among the workless is increasing. A number of large mass meetings have been held which were addressed by speakers of national reputation. The workers listen eagerly and when it is shown that the capitalist system is at fault and a contrast made with the workers'

government of Russia, there is plenty of applause. Trade with Russia has been demanded at a number of meetings. Unemployment leaflets, showing that during the war the workers were forced to "work or fight," but now in peace times the capitalists are not forced to operate their factories. Great discontent exists and at Salem a demonstration was held at the city hall when great numbers of unemployed demanded work. S. D.

**NEW YORK.**  
Rochester:—Unemployed situation here is very bad, 15,000 being out of jobs. The number will be increased to 22,000 on April 1st when the Building Trades go on strike.

No unemployed meetings have been held and no demands have been made. Union assistance and charity institutions are helping the most needy. There are no breadlines as yet. H. S. M.

Jamestown:—Five thousand unemployed in this city. The Poor Department of the city administration and the Charity Association is aiding many. A general policy of the employers is to employ only those who are in direct need, thus pauperizing all.

This condition has remained about the same for two months. No sign of factories opening up. Unemployed have organized in Unemployed and Ex-service League. Have had a number of public meetings and demanded the four hour day at 80c per hour as a measure of relief. G. W. R.

**MONTANA.**  
Butte (Copper Mining district):—A cut in wages of all employees took effect January 20th. Wages were cut one dollar per shift regardless of whether workers were organized in the A. F. of L. or "under cover" in the One Big Union and the I. W. W. The craft unions of the A. F. of L. made a sorry spectacle holding "conferences" with the Bosses, at the end they got the open shop with the loss of the craft union working rules, so that now an electrician or a machinist can screw on a nut or a boilermaker can drive a nail and not infringe on the jurisdiction of the other craft.

Normally twenty thousand workers are employed in the Butte district; now the estimated number is (Continued on page 2.)

## "COUNCILS OF ACTION"

AT PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The Independent Labor Unions of Phila. announce the formation of a Labor Council.

Already a great number of the Independent Unions have taken the initiative and are in on the ground floor.

The purpose of the council will be to further the principals of class solidarity, and create a machine so as to produce the required results. Educational and mass meetings will be held in the near future.

While the Council is laying no claim to miraculous progress, it nevertheless states in plain terms that it is here to stay and will conscientiously fight the fight it has pledged itself to carry on.

Membership in the Council is given to all bona fide labor unions not affiliated with the A. F. of L. Every union is entitled to 3 delegates.

At the present time labor conditions in Phila. are in state of chaos and it is very evident that the bosses and their organization, the

Chamber of Commerce have no solution and care little about finding one.

It remains the work of the working class to find a means to destroy conditions such as are found today, and this council is one of the intelligent expressions of this knowledge.

We invite the critical attention of all unions not as yet affiliated and will gladly furnish information to all inquiries.

Meetings are held the 2nd and 4th Wednesday at Schuyler's Hall, S. Weamer, 6th Diamond.

Wilfred E. Pike, Secretary  
7417 Lawndale Ave.  
Phila., Pa.

AT LIMA, OHIO.

The Council of Action was formed for the purpose of assisting any organization of workers to:

1. Solve the unemployment problem;
2. Teach their membership and other workers their class material interest;
3. Perfect their economic movement;
4. Assist them in their political campaigns;
5. Have a common meeting-place for the exchange of all ideas of every kind concerning the welfare of the working people;
6. Render moral aid and financial assistance to victims of the class-war and persecuted workers everywhere;
7. Create a more tolerant attitude among all workers toward antagonistic opinions of other workers concerning various labor bodies;

The Council of Action declares itself to be absolutely unbiased and holds no spirit of prejudice against any bona-fide worker, organized or unorganized, so long as his efforts are directed toward the betterment of the conditions and environment surrounding the working classes.

The Council of Action shall maintain itself as a strictly nonpartisan and non-sectarian organization.

Adopted in mass meeting Lima, Ohio, Sunday, March 27, 1921.

# THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE 3rd, COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: Moscow 1920

5th Installment.  
SECOND SITTING.  
(By telephone from Moscow.)

Yesterday, July 23, in the Kremlin, in the Andrew Hall, of the Large Palace, in a very solemn setting was opened the session of the 2nd Congress of the III International.

Comrade Lenin opens the sitting. After the adoption of the bylaws as read by Comrade Serrati, Comrade Zinoviev is given the floor to report on the role of the Communist parties in the proletarian revolution.

"As this 2nd Congress meets," says Comrade Zinoviev, "the international organization of the proletariat has entered on a new phase; namely, one of organized constructive effort. In almost all countries we have at the present moment Communist parties.

"The 2nd Congress takes an absolutely clear and definite position on this question of the role of the Communist Party, striving for the conquest of power by the working class."

In defining the role of the Communist Party, the speaker points out that it represents the most conscious, advanced, and revolutionary section of the working class, carrying along with it the entire remaining mass of the proletariat and semiproletariat.

Then Comrade Zinoviev dwells in detail on the objections, on the one hand of the American industrialists (I. W. W.), and the English shop-stewards, and on the other hand of the "Left" Communist Labor Party in Germany.

"Statements to the effect that during the war only the Socialist Party went bankrupt, are incorrect, because this rebuke can be directed also against trade-unions. It occurs to no one to deny the role of trade-unions in the process of social revolutions."

The speaker further points out in great detail the role played by the Communist Party in the Russian Revolution. In his opinion, a Communist party should be organized on the basis of strict centralization, and should establish in its ranks military discipline: "It should subject to its influences all spheres of activity of the working class. Those comrades are wrong who try to separate professional and cultural work from the political. The Communist Party directs both trade-unions and Soviets in equal measure."

In conclusion, Comrade Zinoviev invites the delegates to make efforts everywhere to organize a Communist party, and to establish a close connection with the broadest working masses.

Zinoviev's speech is loudly applauded. In the debates on his report participate the delegates of America, England, Spain, and other countries and on behalf of Russia, Lenin, and Trotzky.

FROM "THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL," PUBLISHED BY THE RUSSIAN DIVISION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

## AGENDA OF THE CONGRESS. (Petrograd Pravda, July 25, 1920.)

The following agenda of the Congress are adopted: (1) Role and structure of a Communist Party before and after the taking over of power by the proletariat; (2) trade-unions and factory-mills committee; (3) questions of parliamentarism; (4) national and colonial questions; (5) the agrarian question; (6) attitude toward the latest tendencies of the "center," and the conditions of admission to the III International; (7) by-laws and constitution of the Communist International; (8) problems of organization (legal and illegal organizations, women's organizations, etc.).

### FIRST BUSINESS SITTING OF THE CONGRESS—CONTINUED.

In the debates on the report of Comrade Zinoviev on the role and structure of a Communist Party before and after the taking over of power by the proletariat, Comrades Lenin and Trotzky speak for the Russian delegation.

### SPEECH OF LENIN.

Comrade Lenin in the main answers Comrades MacLean and Ramsay. He admits that in capitalistic countries the Communist Party can not be a majority in the proletariat.

"It is in fact the conscious, energetic minority, and a Communist minority should not helplessly drag along behind a backward majority of the proletariat. It must lead the latter, organize it, and direct it toward Communist ideals."

In exactly the same way Lenin protests against the supposition that the peculiar situation of the English labor movement requires that the decision as to the line of conduct of the British Socialist Party should be left to the latter's free judgment. Lenin does not understand why in such a case this Congress and this International are necessary.

"Such tactics should be considered one of the worst traditions left by the activity of the II International. The 2nd Congress of the III International will, of course, act differently and will discuss in detail in the proper committee all these conditions of the English labor movement and the tasks resulting therefrom.

"The experience of the Russian, Hungarian, and other Communist Parties has confirmed with sufficient clearness and force that the policy and tactics of national par-

ties must be close harmony with the international conditions of the proletarian struggle and with all the tasks of the latter."

### SPEECH OF TROTZKY.

Comrade Trotzky believes that Comrade Lenin is not altogether right when he expresses the opinion that after three-fourths of a century since the beginning of the Communist International, at the 2nd Congress of the III International, one should not speak of the need or the uselessness of the Communist Party for the proletariat, inasmuch as this question has already been decided by the majority.

"Had this question been raised by Scheidemann, Renaud, or Albert Thomas, then, of course, it would not have been necessary to talk with them; one could simply have torn off their masks just as they frequently tear off workmen's heads. But this question has been raised by Monat and Rosmer, who started the struggle against the war when the German imperialists were almost at the walls of Paris.

"These questions have been put to me by Comrade Pestana and by French, Spanish, and American workmen, who quite naturally and legitimately have the political party of traitors and deceivers of the proletariat, who sincerely and deeply hate the bourgeoisie and are actively fighting against them. To these one should answer this question, and one should discuss this matter with them.

"Let us go ahead somewhat and ask Comrade Pestana what he will do when he returns to Spain. He will, of course, answer that he will explain to the Spanish workmen all our principles and ideas, and on the basis of the latter will organize the struggle of the workmen against the bourgeoisie.

"To translate this into political language it means that he will there organize a political party, and that this party will be a Communist Party.

"Comrades Rosmer and Monat will do the same thing, just as they have in the past, organizing the working class on the basis of a whole series of political resolutions and statements."

"All the Russian delegates," says Comrade Trotzky, "when they return from the Congress will have to face a whole series of questions; for example, the proposal of the Polish Government to conclude peace. Where shall we decide this question? In the trade-

unions? Of course, not there. It is true, we have a Soviet of People's Commissaries, but the Soviet of People's Commissaries also requires political control and definite political direction. We shall give it this political direction on the basis of the work of the party and the political control can be carried out only by the Communist Party."

### SECOND BUSINESS SITTING. (By telephone from Moscow.)

#### Organization of Committees.

The second business sitting of the Congress of the Communist International begins with the adoption of the proposal of the presiding body to form five committees to discuss the most important points of the program of the work of the Congress.

\*The following extract is taken from the full text of the speech by Zinoviev on this occasion as given in a special supplement of the Moscow Pravda, August 3, 1920:

"Sometimes you hear certain comrades say: 'Oh, yes, perhaps now, in fact, we still need a party so long as we continue to live under a bourgeois order, so long as we have not seized the power in our own hands. But just as soon as we secure a victory, the party will no longer be necessary.' I talked with good German workmen, Communists, on this point and heard these words from them, and I allow myself to refer in this instance to the experience of the Russian party. It was precisely after the seizure of power by the party, and the formation of our government, that the role of the party not only did not decrease, but increased and grew daily. Never was the importance of the party in Russia so great as it is at the present moment, after our victory. In all important questions and decisions the effective control of the party is absolutely necessary.

"It is true that sometimes people like Kautsky say: 'You have in Russia a dictatorship not of the working class, but a dictatorship of a party.' They think that this is a reproach for us. Not at all. We have a dictatorship of the working class, and consequently also a dictatorship of the Communist Party. The dictatorship of the Communist Party is simply a function, a sign of the expression of the dictatorship of the working class. Just what is our party? One should not confuse it with other parties that are composed of lawyers. Into our party enter 600,000-700,000 of the best workmen; that is the advanced detachment of the proletariat. And it is clear that the business of the working class is being conducted by its best representatives. Thus there is established simultaneously a dictatorship of both proletariat and Communist Party. The right of control over various organizations belongs to the party. That is as it should be in time of proletarian revolution. After the victory the role of the party does not decrease, but on the contrary, increases."

One representative from each national delegation is to enter the committees, and the Communist Labor Party of America will enter conjointly with the American Communist Party.

The announcement of this fact is loudly applauded by the Congress. The composition of the credentials committee is announced: Bukharin, Radek, Rudniansky, Serrati, Bonacci, and Rosmer.

### Zinoviev's Report.

Then Comrade Zinoviev is given the floor and reports on the work of the committee to discuss the role of a Communist Party in a proletarian revolution. Representatives of eight countries participate in this committee: England, Hungary, Germany, Holland, Italy, Russia, the United States of America, and France.

Among these were also revolutionary Syndicalists and representatives of the English organization, I. W. W. Nevertheless, the theses were adopted by the committee unanimously. Having announced this last fact in the midst of loud applause, Comrade Zinoviev proceeds to outline the substance of the debates in the committee, giving an analysis of the objections to the principles of centralism which were made in the committee and in open sitting:

"Where there is, as for example in France, such a weak bond between separate organizations and the revolutionary proletariat—for in France one speaks of the Party—the Communist Party must be united and must be centralized, both on an international scale and with respect to its national subdivisions, which are, in substance, for example, the national parties of Russia, America, etc.

"The need of a strong world unity of the proletariat is too evident to allow discussion of any kind of autonomy.

"Autonomy should mean, first of all, that the workmen of all countries remember constantly that the enemy for each one of them is at home, and that this enemy is the bourgeoisie and the White Socialists.

"As for the revolutionary Syndicalists, as well as the representatives of shop-stewards, we shall not follow the example of the II International, which always harassed and persecuted all workmen who were not in agreement with its ideas.

"We shall work in conjunction with all honest and honestly misguided workmen, and together with them we shall learn and make mistakes, because fundamentally, in our class aims and ideals, we represent with them a single proletarian revolutionary whole."

The theses are adopted unanimously. (Next week—Resolution on the Role of the Communist Party in the Proletarian Revolution.)

## THE MEANING OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

By M. H. ROGERS.

The spectre of hunger and want is haunting the lives of millions of workers as a result of the decrepit and worn-out social order.

The great problem of unemployment, which confronts nearly one half of the workers in this country, and reduces them and their disconsolate families into pauperism, is insoluble under the prevailing system, where the means of producing the necessary subsistence of life, are privately owned and controlled.

However solicitous the reactionary labor leaders and meal ticket artists may be over this ominous and grave crisis; however vigorous they may protest against the predatory

and greedy rulers, who keep the lash of hunger and starvation over the lives of millions of toilers; however, they may invoke the capitalist lawmakers for amelioration of the suffering wage slaves, who are being driven to the abyss of starvation. This problem of unemployment can not be solved and the sufferings resulting from it mitigated by all the altruists, reformers and capitalist lawmakers combined.

The mandarins of opportunism in the Yellow Socialist Party, who propose the purchasing of industry by the capitalist state through bond issues, as it was proposed and sponsored by the sophisticated editor in the Miami Valley Socialist is not the solution of the problem.

For decades the apologists and flunkies for the present system as well as the reconciliationists have tussled with phrases about anti-

shops and factories has developed to the point that it has become incompatible with the present method of distribution, which is really appropriation. Thus the whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production and exchange broke down under the pressure of its own creation and everything is thrown out of joint. This contradiction of the present capitalist order contains the germs of its own destruction. To accelerate their emancipation, the workers must take into their own hands the productive forces and reorganize them upon a communist basis, through the weapon of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and through the formation of workers Councils (Soviets); by introducing universal service, and by inaugurating industrial discipline. Then and then alone, will the wounds of humanity caused by the decomposed system be healed, and never again will the producers of wealth lead a precarious life as they do under capitalism. Then will humanity rise to the undreamed of heights.

All kinds of schemes are concocted by the plutes in order to perpetuate their predatory and avaricious interests. Church, school, newspaper and scientists are subsidized, are working indefatigably in order to patch up the crumbling pillars upon which capitalism and its institutions rest.

To the credulous and ignorant worker however, this phenomenon of unemployment is taken as a matter of course, as though it was predestinated by the Omnipotent. He finds his consolation by looking with reverence to the past, when his father suffered precisely from the same affliction, and then the Almighty became kind and merciful and gave him a chance to sell his labor power to a master. The ruling class see to it that such a trend of thinking should pervade the wage slaves, so their prestige and power will endure and remain intact.

The solution of the problem lies in the recognition of the social nature of modern production and in harmonizing the modes of distribution and exchange with the socialized character of the means of production. The fact is, that the socialized organization of production within the

shops and factories has developed to the point that it has become incompatible with the present method of distribution, which is really appropriation. Thus the whole mechanism of the capitalist mode of production and exchange broke down under the pressure of its own creation and everything is thrown out of joint. This contradiction of the present capitalist order contains the germs of its own destruction.

To accelerate their emancipation, the workers must take into their own hands the productive forces and reorganize them upon a communist basis, through the weapon of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and through the formation of workers Councils (Soviets); by introducing universal service, and by inaugurating industrial discipline. Then and then alone, will the wounds of humanity caused by the decomposed system be healed, and never again will the producers of wealth lead a precarious life as they do under capitalism. Then will humanity rise to the undreamed of heights.

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## FACE TO FACE WITH UNEMPLOYMENT IN AMERICA.

(Continued from page 1.)

two thousand. Reports in the papers and on the streets are that there will be a further reduction of the force and another cut in wages down to \$3.50 per shift for miners.

Several unemployment meetings have been held and at these the workers were told the cause of unemployment—and the remedy—production for use and not for profit, however, the workers are still trying to dodge the issue, they still think they can "slip by" under the capitalist system and are not ready for a different one, or rather they are not willing to line up and struggle

for a different system—its a case of "Let George do it." When the question of food, clothing and shelter reaches the acute stage for all of them, then and then only will the mass act, in the meantime the radicals can and are doing the agitating and the employers oppressing, so that "THE DAY" is not far off.

There are no bread lines in Butte, not because they are not necessary, but because the unemployed will not take the trouble to organize and demand what is theirs by right—  
F. G. C.

**OHIO.**  
Bellare:—There are 3,000 unemployed here, 2,500 in Martins Ferry and 10,000 in Wheeling, W. Va. across the river. No breadlines or soup houses yet, no union assistance; these will come later. Charity is working on a large scale in taking care of families.  
On reliable authority it is learned that the largest mills will not reopen this summer. The organization of unemployed is being carried thru now.  
F. W.

Youngstown:—There are 22,000 unemployed here, of which 3,000 are railroad men, several thousand of the building trades and the rest steel workers. No bread lines yet. The general opinion is that the number of unemployed is growing. A fight against the Open Shop is expected May 1st, when the present agreements expire. Unemployed are weak and submissive, not seeming to realize what they are up against.

Girard, Niles and all surrounding towns, also New Castle and Sharon, Pa., are about the same as here. Warren, O., has a soup line. The labor unions are dead to existing facts and their leaders spend their time fighting the radicals. Steel workers want to organize, but NOT in the A. F. of L.  
W. H.

Cleveland:—One hundred thousand unemployed. All industries hit about alike. None opening up. Only industry booming is "crime." City Mission feeding 400 men once a day. City relief for 4,000 families has been extended for some time. Considerable begging on streets. Work-

ers' savings about exhausted which means considerable increase in general misery within the next few weeks.  
H. P.

**PENNSYLVANIA.**  
East Pittsburg:—This is a small town, but normally in the surrounding towns there are employed about 80,000 men and girls. Some small shops are closed down entirely and the number of closed plants are increasing.  
At present there are no bread lines and the unemployed are making no demands as a body. Wages have been cut everywhere from 15 to 25 per cent. There are plenty of robberies going on.  
X. Y. Z.

Rankin:—The general estimation is that 60% of the workers here are unemployed, 35% are working half time and the other 5 per cent who are working full time are former scabs and bosses' pets. Wages have been cut 15 to 25%.  
Industries are still closing down. There are no bread lines yet and the workers have formed no organizations to alleviate the situation.  
J. T. and others.

**UTAH.**  
Salt Lake City:—There are about 25,000 idle men in city and section. Industries are either closed entirely or working part time. Railroads have reduced their forces to the lowest point in seven years and there are reports of cuts in wages on all roads here.

Two soup kitchens have been established. One by the religious elements. It feeds about 60 men a day and furnishes provisions to 25 families. The other is operated by the Mexicans of this district. It feeds about the same number. Working conditions are getting steadily worse and the streets and parks are filled with idle men.  
An out of work Fellow Worker.  
WEST VIRGINIA.

Fairmont:—One thousand men are out of work here and immediate vicinity. The number is increasing. The City Hall is filled every night with homeless, moneyless workers.  
Mines are closed down or running part time. The unemployed are making no organized demands for a hu-

man and decent existence. Mines are well organized.  
J. H. S.

Cameron:—One glass house closed March 23rd, lack of orders and repairs. Number thrown out, 23 orphans unemployed men and 16 men and 13 girls unorganized. Don't know when this plant will resume.  
Window Glass Co., closed a year ago. Organized men thrown out 82, unorganized, 15. Have heard nothing of opening up. Chumley glass house closed last fall. Fiftyone organized men and 48 unorganized girls were thrown out. No sign of starting up. The Spang Machine Co., operating 4 days a week with a cut of 10% in wages.  
Three Flint Glass Workers.

**WISCONSIN.**  
Milwaukee:—A fair estimate of the number of unemployed here is 35,000. Many plants are working but part time, some breweries only 4 days in two weeks. Feeding of the workless by charity kitchens, etc. have not been instituted.  
Some out door work, road building, etc. is picking up a little owing to good weather, but on a very low wage basis, as low as 27 1/2 cents an hour. An advertisement for 100 men for tunnel work brought out an army of 500 unemployed.  
S. M. E.

State Federation of Labor states 13 to 45,000 unemployed. About half who are employed working half time. Unemployed Committee is holding meetings and demanding opening of trade with Soviet Russia as a measure to relieve the situation.  
J. A.

**WASHINGTON.**  
Seattle:—Conditions very bad. Streets lined with unemployed. Charity organizations working full blast. Several hundred unemployed are fed free of charge at the Union Record building. Work opening up very slowly and at low wages. This is also the general condition throughout this state and the coast.  
B. V.

Tacoma:—Ten thousand unemployed. Begging as becomes a past. Industries still closing. None opening up. No collective demands being made. So far, only promises have been given the workers for relief.  
A. B.



Warren Gamaliel has Unexpected Visitors.

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THE WORLD CRISIS. By J. PRICE.

The whole capitalist world is in the clutches of a monstrous industrial crisis. Thousands of factories are closing down, millions of workers are starving.

Our country, the "most prosperous" in the world, suffered most severely. Its army of unemployed is the biggest in the world. According even to the most conservative figures, there are over 4,000,000 men and women out of work in this country.

England, the second "most prosperous" country in the world, has the second biggest army of unemployed. According to official figures, there were in England no less than 1,750,000 unemployed on March 1, 1921.

France comes next, with a steadily increasing army of unemployed. Resolutions adopted by some of the most affected trades urge the workers not to leave the factories if threatened by their employers with a close-down.

The situation in Belgium has reached a crucial point. The textile, metal and glass industries are almost completely paralyzed. The dock and transportation workers are idle.

Holland was compelled to shut down many of its factories, leaving thousands of its workers in a most desperate position. Switzerland also is undergoing a serious economic crisis.

In Poland, the same situation prevails—lack of fuel and raw materials, factories closing, tens of thousands of workers out of work.

Not less acute is the situation in Italy, where the population is on the verge of civil war. There also the employers are taking advantage of the crisis to discharge the most revolutionary workers.

Germany has its 2,000,000 unemployed. The government has made an attempt to assist the starving men and women, but has succeeded in rendering assistance to no more than 400,000 of them.

Soviet Russia is the only country where unemployment does not exist. Even when the government is compelled to close this or that factory or shop, care is being taken that the workers do not suffer. In the Petrograd "Pravda" of Jan. 27, 1921, we read the following official announcement which speaks for itself: "The possible closing up of a few factories and shops in Petrograd will, by no means, affect the material conditions of the workers employed in those plants. None of them will be discharged. They will all be set to work at their trades in other factories remaining open. In doing so, attention must be paid to the interests not only of the given industry, but of the workers concerned, so that as far as possible, they may be placed in factories in localities in which they have previously worked and lived."

The unemployment crisis all over the world—Russia excepted—is growing more and more acute. The ruling capitalist class is unable to solve this problem. It is a disease that cannot be cured under the existing capitalist system of exploitation.

RESOLUTION.

Hon. Warren G. Harding, President. We petition you to do all in your power in favor of Amnesty for Eugene V. Debs and all other political prisoners, and to help bring some of the boasted Democracy our boys fought and died for. We favor trade with Soviet Russia and free open

discussion on all subjects. We feel impelled to call your attention to this resolution for we believe the general welfare is the supreme Law of the land.

Respectfully

Lodge No. 66 United American Railway Employees of North America Dayton, Ohio.

"GOOD INVESTMENTS" FOR CAPITAL WILL SOLVE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM, SAYS SOCIALIST PARTY.

BY ELMER T. ALLISON.

In every country of the world the workers have entered definitely into the phase of active, revolutionary effort against the capitalist class and its political implement, the capitalist State. Indeed, in some countries, as in Russia and Persia, the workers have clearly attained power over their class enemies and rule in their own right and authority.

The proletariat will not be satisfied with these. It demands power, immediate power, and the extinction of the capitalist class and the capitalist State. Therefore, any political party of the workers which ignores these facts, which still seeks to establish within the capitalist State, so-called reform measures for the benefit of the workers, leaving the capitalist class, and the capitalist State intact, deserves the severest condemnation of the workers.

How the Socialist Party Meets the Unemployment Problem.

Such a party is the Socialist Party of Ohio, or what there is left of it since the general exodus of the revolutionary elements which formerly composed it. Thru its official organ, the "Miami Valley Socialist," published at Dayton, it has launched a campaign, or what appears to be the beginning of one, for a remedy for unemployment. This proposed remedy so-called, consists of an amendment to the state Constitution enabling municipalities to take over idle industrial plants and operate them. This proposed amendment is to be secured by the Initiative and Referendum, upon petitions of 10% of the voters and is to be submitted at the next general election in 1922.

Constitutional Amendment

That the constitution of Ohio be amended as follows:

By inserting therein: "Article 1, Section 1b. Any municipality, by ordinance, declaring a public exigency to exist by reason of widespread unemployment, take for public use immediately and without its action being subject to referendum, any building, factory, machinery, power plant, or other means of said municipality, which by said ordinance is declared to be idle or to be employed for a private use detrimental to the public welfare; and such municipality may thereafter make such use of such property so taken as it may by ordinance declare to be necessary for the public welfare during such public exigency, including the establishment of co-operative industries, and without interference by the process of any court. Such property may thereafter be restored to private ownership by an ordinance declaring such public exigency to have ceased. Compensation may thereafter be made to the owner, if taken for only temporary public use, as a rental based upon the physical valuation of such property; and if the municipality shall by ordinance declare such property to be permanently needed for public use, compensation therefor may at the option of the municipality be paid either in annual installments for a period within fifty years or in larger amounts as such ordinance shall declare. Bonds may be issued by the municipality for securing funds for both operating such industries and compensating the owner; such bonds may be a lien against only the prop-

erty so acquired or against all or any other property of the municipality, and shall not be included in any limitation of the bonded indebtedness of such municipality prescribed by law. None of the restrictions of Article XVIII, Section IV, of the constitution shall affect this section with regard to the product or service to be supplied by such industries; and it shall be liberally construed in order that municipalities may have wide discretion and immediate power for dealing with such exigency."

In our issue of March 5th, we poked a bit of fun at this tremendous scheme of reformists. It was then before the State Executive Committee of the S. P. for approval and was approved as an OFFICIAL Socialist Party measure for solving the problem of UNEMPLOYMENT. Jos. W. Sharts, editor of the S. P.'s official organ, has answered our attack upon his unemployment plan in recent issues. He has made several statements which we believe should be answered because they have the value of throwing a light upon the present character of the Socialist Party of Ohio which is, in its flabby and reformist character similar to its parent, the Socialist Party of America.

Who is the Renegade?

Says editor Sharts in his answer: "The first blow at us and our program comes from The Toiler, a newspaper launched by the Socialist Party of Ohio, to be the official organ, but which deserted with the 'Left Wing' element and joined the Communist-Labor Party fiasco. ... Since that betrayal, it has not ceased to hurl its maledictions at the Socialist Party with the usual implacable fury of the renegade."

Let us see to whom history points as the deserter and renegade. The State Convention of the S. P. of Ohio was held in June 1919 previous to the formation of the Communist Labor Party the following September at Chicago. The Left Wing Council within the Socialist Party had been organized previously. The Ohio Party was tremendously "Left" in its tendencies, programs and activities. Something very significant occurred at the State Convention in Cincinnati in June that had an effect upon the course of state and national Party affairs. What was it?

The Convention of the Socialist Party of Ohio adopted as the first Section of the first Article of its re-written Constitution the following:

"Name. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party of Ohio and it shall be affiliated with THAT SECTION of the Socialist Party of the United States of America WHICH ENDORSES THE LEFT WING PROGRAM." The writer wrote that particular section. Editor Sharts was a delegate at this convention. Did he vote for its adoption? We are not positive, but in view of the fact that he represented himself then as "Left" in his inclinations, we believe that we are safe in stating that he did vote for it. At least the Convention adopted it, as did also the state membership on referendum AND IT WAS FOR THE ADOPTION OF THIS PARTICULAR CONSTITUTIONAL SECTION THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF OHIO WAS THROWN OUT OF THE NATIONAL PARTY BY THE REACTIONARY NATIONAL OFFICIALS WHO THEN, AS NOW, FILL ITS OFFICES. True to the Convention's act and the expressed will of the membership in the referendum adopting this section, the Socialist Party of Ohio stayed with the Left Wing in the Communist Labor Party at Chicago. Naturally it took the Party property with it, even if it did not take Mr. Sharts. In the decisive moment he chose to remain in the camp of the reactionaries and is there to-day—a renegade pure and simple.

Deep Water.

Editor Sharts steps off into pretty deep water when he attempts to ridicule our jibe at this "Socialist" scheme in referring to it as "a perfectly legal, peaceful way," quoting his own phraseology. Writes he, "If we had the bravery of the editor of The Toiler no doubt we would scuttle 'underground' write anonymously meet with the other communist comrades in a coal cellar, and there, while keeping a sharp lookout for the passing policeman, gnash our teeth at the capitalist system and breathe dreadful threats against it." This is indeed, heavy ridicule. Will Mr.

Sharts please glance at the top of the first columns on page 3 where the address of our "coal cellar" and telephone number is plainly printed for the express information of the "policeman"?

Purpose of a Working Class Party.

It seems to us that the question that ought to be asked and answered here is: What must be the purpose of a political party of the working class? It must be one of three things. Its purpose must be either revolution, the complete overturning of the capitalist method; or it must be reform within the capitalist system; or just plainly reaction in the interests of the capitalist class. For a political party of the workers to claim to be revolutionary and to adopt a program of reform is to place upon it the brand of the fraud and betrayer. This is what the Socialist Party of Ohio does in advocating this STATE CAPITALISM scheme of meeting the present unemployment problem.

But, to quote editor Sharts in answering our attack: "We can't sail our boat where there is no water. The masses of working men and women of Ohio are still deeply and thoroughly conservative. We have to appeal to them. We have to enlist the support of conservative labor bodies. We are trying to accomplish something—adapting our plan to the material."

Indeed, it is just this philosophy this tactic and program, this reformist psychology which has damned the Socialist Party in the past. It is exactly what the working class has put behind it and will have no more. The real meaning of this paragraph of excuses is this: the workers are conservative. We must keep them so. They believe in the capitalist system. We must perpetuate this belief. We must teach them that reform, not revolution is sufficient. We must not teach revolutionary tactics—or we will not "get any where"—especially into political office where we can continue to cavort about our reforms and delude them still more. What, we want to know, is the purpose of the Socialist Party? Is its purpose revolution or is it reform? If it is revolution why does it not adopt and teach revolution to the deluded and enslaved masses? Where, in all this fol-de-rol about "opening the factories" for the starving workers is one word or syllable of the ringing challenge of revolution to the power and authority of the capitalist class and the capitalist State?

Editor Sharts goes on to say: "If (the proposed amendment) is not radical enough to satisfy the radicals, it may be conservative enough to gain the support of the conservatives who must be won." Since the Socialist Party is to follow in the footsteps of the Scheidemann socialist the conservatives must certainly be appealed to to save the day for capitalism, just as in Germany.

Making The World Safe for Capitalism.

When we enquired as to who would buy these bonds with which the municipalities are to purchase the industrial plants, we elicited this response: "Capitalism flows toward the best market. Capital never refused a deal where there was a market in sight.—If the bonds are a good investment, you may bet on it there will be capitalists to take them."

So, The Socialist Party's program for the unemployment problem is to establish the capitalist owners securely in "good investments" and "best markets." Finding the capitalists unable to carry on industry profitably for themselves, the Socialist Party will show them how to do it with gold edge securities thrown in. And this Socialist Party has the audacity to call itself revolutionary, and to aspire to the leadership of the enslaved and jobless workers!

It is nothing less than the old gospel, now shattered and almost destroyed, that the capitalist State can be made to function in the interest of the workers. It is the idea of bourgeois democracy gone crazy. The scientific conception of the State as an implement of CLASS rule has not dawned upon the Socialist Party of Ohio nor upon the mind of editor Sharts, the god-father of this outlandish, traitorous reformist scheme.

Follows Traitor Kautsky.

Nevertheless, editor Sharts is a legitimate son of the renegade Kautsky. He quotes Marx for his authority and recommends that we read the Communist Manifesto for sanction of his betrayal of the workers. In true Kautskian style he quotes the Manifesto, or such as suits the purpose of a renegade. Here is the passage he quotes to us which is capitalized just as he prints it.

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i. e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; BY MEANS OR MEASURES, therefore, WHICH APPEAR ECONOMICALLY INSUFFICIENT AND UNDESIRABLE, BUT WHICH, IN THE COURSE OF THE MOVEMENT, OUTSTRIP THEMSELVES, NECESSITATE FURTHER INROADS UPON THE OLD SOCIAL ORDER, AND ARE UNAVOIDABLE AS A MEANS OF ENTIRELY REVOLUTIONIZING THE MODE OF PRODUCTION."

Now, indeed, is the perversion of the Manifesto by this reformer apparent, and the hypocrisy of this renegade revealed. Let us quote the paragraph in the Manifesto just preceding the above quotation and analyze both. The quotation is from page 40—Kerr edition of the 10c pamphlet. It reads:

"We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of the ruling class to win the battle of democracy. "The proletariat will use its political supremacy, to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie" etc. as above quoted. Put the two paragraphs together as Marx and Engels wrote them and their meaning becomes clear to any except the perverters of Marx. Was there ever a more dastardly perversion of the meaning of Marx and Engels than in this Kautskian method which this cheap follower imitates? Here he attempts to lift out one paragraph, to separate it from its logical place in the body of the chapter and then to pervert its meaning further by applying it to his own misconceived ideas of working class tactics.

"The first step," says the Manifesto, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class. Why? Because either the master or the slave must rule. They cannot both rule. And after the workers have supplanted the capitalists as the ruling class, has created the proletarian State i. e. the "proletariat organized as the ruling class", in control of the armies, navies and police power, THEN begins the expropriation of the capitalists, as fast as possible under the conditions of the hour, which may indeed, be such as to prevent an immediate total expropriation as was true in Russia. To say that the expropriation of the bourgeoisie can take place before the workers have become the ruling class, before they have control of the State power is a plain misstatement of fact.

In attempting to make this quotation apply to his scheme of unemployment relief, how laughable is he. Where, in his scheme can he apply this: "to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie". Where is he wresting in any degree one cent of capital from the exploiters? In a scheme which offers the capitalists "best markets" for their idle capital and "good investments," where is there room for proletarian expropriation of capital? Such opportunity does not exist. The quotation is entirely inapplicable and cannot by any method of perversion or cheap lying be made to apply to this piece of degrading, reformist deceit.

What the Socialist Party of Ohio is attempting by this pseudo-relief measure is to delude the workers with the gospel of bourgeois democracy; that the workers can become the ruling class thru the operation of the political machinery of the capitalist State. All that's required says it, is to go and vote and you'll get what you want. The capitalist class has generously provided you with all the implements of establishing yourself in power. You can expropriate the exploiters any morning thru the Initiative and Referendum. This is the poison the Socialist Party pours into the brains of the workers. In doing so it is the best friend of capitalism.

The whole question, says the So-

MR. BLOCK HAS THE BLUES. By E. R.

They laid me off. Ain't that a shame? I worked so hard. I'm not to blame. I never kicked when pay was small. I worked and worked and that was all. One day a Red came up to me. And said: "Look here," says he, "It's wrong for you to work so fast. You'll lose your job; it will not last. When goods pile up in store and bin The boss will say with pleasant grin: "Get out, you Block, and—very well— If you don't like it go to hell." I told the Red: "Don't talk to me, To hell with your philosophy." My boss he heard it and he said: "I'm awful glad you're not a Red. Speed up now, show your loyalty, Curse all the Reds and stick to me." The Reds I cursed, faithful and true— Now look at me, I'm feeling blue. From Industrial Pioneer.



THE MOST WONDERFUL THING. By Tobias Blou.

I have found the most wonderful thing on earth; Men die for it, women sigh for it, children live by it. 'Tis the strongest pillar of man's social state; Nations live by it, capitalists thrive by it, workers sweat by it. 'Tis the life or death of millions, 'tis their fate; Glory unto those who can us rob, I have found the most wonderful thing on earth— I have found a job.

cialist Party can be decided by the simple relations of majority and minority. It is interesting to note what Lenin says in this respect. In "The Proletarian Revolution," Lenin, in speaking of the conditions obtaining in the active period of revolutionary effort, writes:

"In these circumstances to suppose that in any serious revolution the issue is decided by the simple relation between majority and minority, is the acme of stupidity, a typical delusion of any ordinary bourgeois liberal, as well as a DECEPTION OF THE MASSES from whom a well-established historical truth is concealed. This truth is that in any and every revolution A LONG, OBSTINATE DESPERATE resistance of the exploiters, who for many years will yet enjoy great advantages over the exploited, constitute the rule. Never, except in the sentimental Utopia of the sentimental Mr. Kautsky, (the Socialist Party, Mr. Sharts and Co.) will the exploiters submit to the decision of the exploited majority without making use of their advantages in a last desperate battle, or in a series of battles.

"The transition from Capitalism to Communism forms a whole historical epoch. Until it is complete, the exploiters will still retain the hope of a restoration, and this hope will inevitably express itself in ATTEMPTS at restoration. After the first serious defeat, the overthrown exploiters who did not expect their overthrow did not believe in it, did not admit even the thought of it, will with tenfold energy, with mad passion and with a hate intensified to an extreme degree, throw themselves into the fray in order to get back their lost paradise for themselves and their families, who formerly led such a pleasant life, and who are now condemned by the "rascals," the "mob," to ruin or penury (or "ordinary" labor). And these capitalist exploiters will necessarily be followed by a wide stream of the petty bourgeoisie, as to whom decades of historical experience of all countries bear witness that they are constantly oscillating and hesitating, today following the proletariat, and tomorrow taking fright at the difficulties of the revolution, succumbing with panic after the first defeat or semi-defeat, of the workers giving way to "nerves," whining, running hither and thither, deserting from one camp to another—just like our Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries!"

A PEN PICTURE OF "NORMALCY"

By Gertrude C. Harmon.

The number of unemployed according to current report differs widely, but I feel confident that 50% of the laboring classes of Kansas City are at this writing out of work.

The Kansas City Star published the statement in a recent issue that there were 900 families of Mexicans in the city in a starving condition, and that there was talk of shipping them back to Mexico—that the Santa Fe R. R. Co. was probably going to donate the car fare.

After reading this small and inconspicuous item in the esteemed Star I went into the Mexican quarter. I am glad I knew where I was otherwise I might have thought myself in the sections of starving Europe for which the charitable Red Cross is taking up subscriptions.

I saw little babies with only one rag—several made from mill sacks—to cover their nakedness in the raw spring weather, and the skin was sunken over their little cheeks. Their ribs protruded, while their mothers huddled them in skinny arms, and looked up at me with the big melting hungry eyes one may see in the hopeless, hungry collier dog, lost in a strange town.

How are they being fed? They are NOT being fed—they are starving—these poor stranded aliens, brought up here to slave for that devil, the R. R. company that offers to carry them back for "sweet charity."

Unions are helping some of the unemployed. But mainly they are carrying for themselves as best they may. Most of the laboring class here are "thrifty" and they laid by a little while the sun shone for the proverbial rainy day—now the rains of adversity are upon them, and they are seeking out their tin store, with tragic eyes looking ahead to the time when it shall be gone.

The Kansas City Kansas published an item the other night, so I am told, stating that 7,000 had applied for assistance in Wyandotte county alone.

There are no bread lines—there is no organized charity at all adequate to care for the situation. The young and unattached are drifting—many of them—the families are going hungry.

The schools here have put in milk and Graham crackers to serve to the children who are undernourished, but it's not free. 5c pays for a half pint of milk and a few crackers. There is a slight profit that the teachers are supposed to use for giving the food to those who cannot pay. It helps the kiddies a little—but it's a very small drop in the bucket.

Few industries are completely closed down, but most are running on half, and less, of their usual forces, and practically ALL at reduced wages. The packing houses recently reduced wages and raised prices all in the same week.

The unemployed are not organizing and making demands at all—they are just taking their medicine and grumbling under their breath. A few of the floating proletariat made an effort to organize, but the city workers did not take it up and help—it failed.

LET HIM HAVE THE EVIDENCE.

By JOHN WESLER.

Five million men seeking work for a moment turned expectantly to the White House. "Nothing to-day, boys," says Hughes, "there is no use starting trade with Soviet Russia. You know production and jobs are found only where there's private property."

That capitalist politicians do not willingly take a step like opening trade relations with Soviet Russia is not surprising. The same twenty or thirty fat chieftains of Big Business that controlled the Wilson Administration control Harding even more. This banking clique hesitate to trade with Russia for fear they will help her become a radiant example of proletarian controlled production, a model for the workers of all countries.

The liberal and so-socialist supporters of trade with Russia naturally find much to be thankful for in the Government's reply to Litvinoff. But Mr. Hughes inserted a few ambiguous and promising phrases if for no other reason than to give those who make optimism an excuse for inaction, some peg to hang their false hopes on.

Optimism at present is fatal. Some thought that capitalist cupidity and immediate desire for trade would prove a more powerful motive than fear. The fact is that financial capital, at this particular moment, is opposed to an increase in trade and is deliberately sabotaging production. The capitalists all over the country are now engaged in a feverish conspiracy "to liquidate labor," to shatter the trade unions, to sink the workers' standard of living. And this sinister plot can succeed only at a time of slack trade, of widespread unemployment, of starvation. Therefore thumbs down on trade with Russia.

Ultimately, in the fulness of time, the need for foreign markets and concessions will draw the American capitalists to the limitless resources of Russia. This craving for spheres of influence and colonies—without foreign markets our much vaunted private property production would collapse—not long ago prompted the various national groups of competing capitalists to send twenty million men to slaughter. ("Production is conditioned on the safety of life"—if the dead could hear!) For a moment it seemed that our own money kings would be among the first of the competing capitalist swine to scramble into the concessions and profits in Russia. But our capitalist class and their political advisers have again proved themselves the most clumsy and dull-witted of their kind.

"Small business" is strong for trade with Russia. But what politician takes them seriously? This class which can be so easily bulldozed by a spectacular investigation or the chastisement of a naughty trust!

Secretary Hughes asked Soviet Russia for "convincing evidence" of "fundamental changes" before consenting to trade relations. However, what will drive the ex-judge and the whole cabinet into action is not so much a fundamental change in Russia as in the hearts of the workers of this country! The American workingclass must supply the Secretary of State with "convincing evidence" that they will not quietly endure the willful sabotage of trade by our capitalist rulers while one-seventh of the working population of the U. S. are without jobs and the rest are in daily fear of being thrown out on the pavements. The workers, employed and unemployed, must submit positive proof that they will no longer put up with politicians that aid and abet the bankers and merchants in artificially creating unemployment to further their open shop conspiracy.

Let him have bushels of evidence to prove that the workers in this country resent his refusal to open trade negotiations just because the government of Soviet Russia is in the hands of one section of their own class. Let labor lend emphasis to its attitude by casting off the old fool Gompers with his maudlin attack on Soviet Russia.

It was by evidence of this type that the English workingclass kicked Lloyd George into signing the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement.

Workers! Let Hughes have the evidence! Tell the world! Demonstrate! Act! Act now, for yourselves and for the workers of Russia.

They did, however, establish a small restaurant where they supplied themselves and all comers with food at cost, where about 50 to 75 men are fed at a reasonable price—if they have the price.



In the Bread Line.

By ELMER T. ALLISON.

I have sat in the seats of the sorrowful;

I have eaten the bread of Charity; I have stood in the bread line.

It was one of those belated days of Winter that sometimes come after the first promises of Spring appear. The air was filled with snow driven before a 40 mile an hour gale from off Lake Erie. It was not snow precisely, but was more like sleet only instead of round particles they were sharp edged and, with the force of the wind, cut sharply and tormentingly into one's face. Pedestrians moved with haste when forced upon the freezing streets, buttoned closely in their outer coats. Autos were curtained and the beginnings of a fringe of icicles hung about their tops. It was steadily growing colder.

At 10.30 in the morning I reached the City Mission on St. Clair at 14th Street. I had come with the intention of getting an interview about the Mission's bread line, but upon arriving, something changed my mind and I decided to do the interviewing in a more first-hand manner.

Before the door of the Mission, which opens directly upon the sidewalk, the bread line had already formed. Huddled against the closed doorway, with turned-up collars and hands in pockets, backs bowed against the driving wind, stood perhaps a hundred hungry men. Precisely as cattle hunch before a closed barn in a storm, waiting for the open door, beyond which are fodder and the comfort of shelter and stall, so, hunched before this promise of animal comfort did they shiver in the blast eager for the allayment of fleshly miseries.

Even as I stood upon the outer edge of the semi-circle of fodder aspiring humanity, the door opened and they filed in. I joined them quickly assuming the role of unemployed worker. The crowd walked quickly to the front seats and sat in welcome comfort. This, it struck me, was rather unusual procedure, especially for these workers, whose church going must be of the slightest. Later I understood why they walked eagerly to the front seats.

The Mission occupies a store building with a center aisle and seats on each side. A rostrum occupies the front end and there are an organ, scripture texts upon the walls and song books in racks on backs of the seats. Acting as usher and general factotum about the place, was what might at an earlier time have filled the position of bar-room bouncer. He had all the physical qualifications for such a job; a barrel shaped body, heavy and solid, not too intelligent face, stiff, coal-black hair unparted and coming to a point above a sloping forehead. A short, white scar divided the bristles on the back of his head. He bore all the resemblance of a "reformed" character in the old tales of religious, anti-rum literature.

I took a seat against the wall in about the center of the building. The seats were filling quickly. Many came without overcoats, wearing frayed and worn garments long since past their maximum service, rubbing their gloved hands to take out the sting of frost. There were men of all ages and several nationalities. Young fellows of twenty, wearing somewhat embarrassed smiles at their surroundings and present circumstances. Old men of past sixty, gray of hair quiet and meditative. And there were Negroes, perhaps one in 15 were colored men. I looked in vain for the vagabond and "vicious" types. They were not there. These were just workmen, thrown upon the scrap heap by a consciousness, unsocial industrial machine. I looked for the "American" types of faces and found them all around me. "This is largely an audience of American born," I concluded, after a careful survey in all directions. The hall held about 300 seats.

A quiet, genial camaraderie pervaded the atmosphere. Conversation carried on in low tones showed many were acquainted. Such circumstances as brought these men together are conducive of friendliness and conversation. There was no visible evidence of class or caste; black sat beside white—all were equal—equally "broke", equally hungry, equal in their immediate desires for food. "Glad they didn't keep us waiting outside," spoke a voice behind me.

I turned half around. Two men were conversing together, in an apparently new and probably temporary, friendship. "Yes," answered the other, "it's the coldest day of the winter." The first spoke in the accent of an Englishman, the other was American. Neither wore an overcoat. "It was beastly cold in that car last night," said the Englishman. "Did you sleep any?" "Not a bit, wonder why we didn't have any heat? I don't want to go down there tonight." "Where did you sleep," I asked. "Down at the Union Depot, there's a couple of empty Pullmans. They've had steam heat in them except last night." "Any blankets," I inquired. "Only a few, but cars were full up but it was too cold to sleep."

"But at that, it was better than I had it the other night," said the Englishman. "I slept under a lumber pile and got soaked till the water ran out of my clothes. Had to let them dry on me and caught a bad cold." He was peaked and ill looking.

With the exchange of these confidences, we began a general conversation while the rear seats filled with the later comers. The American was taciturn, perhaps because he had no adventures to relate. But I learned a bit of the recent history of the Englishman. He had come to New York from Australia last summer and in the fall had "paid his way" to New Orleans, coming north as his funds declined and unemployment spread over the country. "I had money up to two weeks ago," he said. "Would have yet, if I had worked my passage instead of paying out money. And then, I thought I was going to stay in New York, so bought an overcoat last fall." I wondered where his overcoat was now, he was not wearing it. Doubtless the pawn shop held it.

We observed the late arrivals, wondered what were the wages of the "bouncer" whom we agreed had risen from the "depths of sin" to his present exalted position. Quite a commotion was created when a little, wiry, grey bearded old man walked briskly to the very front, shook the snow from his shoulders, greeted the "bouncer" familiarly and took a seat. Evidently, he was among the regular patrons. "What earthly chance has an old man like that," indignantly inquired the Englishman. "We have it a bit better in Australia. Over there he would be pensioned instead of subsisting on charity. But of course," he added, as if to not wish to give an erroneous impression of that country, "we have the capitalist system just the same." "This unemployment situation is getting fierce," spoke the American. If it doesn't stop there's going to be a revolution in this country. The people won't stand it."

"They fed twice a day up till last week," he continued. "Now they feed only once. Wonder where they get the price." "Oh, they would rather keep us alive on charity than to give us a chance to earn our own living. Look at the Easter windows up town. Filled with finery, sheer waste, while you can't buy a pair of shoes at a price you can pay," replied the man from Australia. "All these charitable institutions have the moral support of the government," he added.

Several, I observed had succumbed to the warmth and comfort of the place and fallen asleep, in what was undoubtedly the first moments of real comfort they had enjoyed in many hours. The day before, Easter Sunday, had been a shivery one in the morning, giving way to an interminable and heavy rain all afternoon and night, until the barometer fell lower and turned the rain to snow. These men had spent Sunday in seeking shelter and food, wandering from place to place, half clothed, many almost shoeless, soaked with wet and bitten with cold. And now, with the warmth of the shelter, nature relaxed its vigil and slumbered.

"A new preacher today," spoke a voice. Two young chaps in their early twenties, walked down the aisle, one mounting the platform while the other seated himself at the organ. In a studied attitude of fellowship the youngest opened the services exhorting everyone to sing heartily. He dwelt upon the matter of singing as tho' it were the chief end of man, citing how "we young fellows sang on the long hikes when we were in

the army." He expressed himself as pleased, because so many had appeared at the house of God "to attend these services." My American friend hid a smile in a song book as he said: "yes, to get something to eat." We sang from page 16—"Jesus, Jesus, sweetest name I know—Fills my every longing—"

Everybody sang heartily and with an apparent will. They seemed to realize they were expected to fulfill a certain obligation and proceeded to render the tithes. But I could not but reflect that these grown men were rendering a homage they did not feel. They were paying a price for their bread. Then the boy prayed for their souls' salvation and introduced as "the preacher for to-day," Brother So-and-so.

The songs did seem to put life and color into the audience, and when the minister told a joke—about a bar-keeper, he won a bit of a laugh. He was fat, well fed and, like the youngster before him, plainly displayed the all-too apparent fact that he felt he was a doer of good deeds—to an audience that ought therefore to show its appreciation.

It is the peculiar and ineradicable quality of charity mongering that it breeds degradation of both the giver and the receiver. There is that in the psychology of human kind that it can neither receive, nor give, without injury to self. And so it was that the preacher stood before these homeless workers, by surference of the fact of the alms obtainable, and offered them soul salvation, in that thinly disguised and detestable tho' sincere enough spirit of consciously "doing good."

However, he was merciful in the shortness of his sermon. "We're going to make it short this morning," he said, "because there are others outside waiting to come in, and because of the cold, we don't want them to have to wait." He closed with a plea to the men to lead "upright, clean lives." With a peroration on the beauties of the Christian religion, he asked, "how many of you want that kind of religion?" Perhaps a dozen hands went up. The purport of the sermon had missed fire, it seemed to me. Perhaps these hungry men were thinking more of shelter, food, and the cold outside, than the beauties of "upright, Christian living." A prayer by the pasty faced organist closed the meeting. He too, seemed to regard it as a duty to help save the souls of his listeners, for his importunities to God were all for THEIR salvation.

The business of serving had been, by practice, reduced to a science. The organist directed the movements of the diners. The first served was the front row which arose, marched to the rear past a counter, where a tin cup of coffee, a three weiner sandwich and a bun were handed each. After being served, they turned about and retraced their steps to their former seats. Thus there were two files, one going to be served and the other returning to their seats until that side of the house had been served. Then the operation was repeated by the other side.

In my assumed role of a hungry, unemployed worker, I was now called upon to play a distasteful part. In the first place, I wore a clean white collar, a new tie, and worst of all, I thot, a warm, new overcoat, which I felt as I rose to follow my row, were altogether too conspicuous. Besides I had eaten all the breakfast I wanted. I certainly was not craving weiner sandwiches, coffee and a sticky bun eaten out of my lap.

My conscience smote me, too. The grub I'm going to eat, tho' I, some poor devil is going to need. But, I concluded, I'll have to play thru to the end. I got my coffee, sandwich and bun and regained my seat. With the aid of the coffee and a sustained effort I swallowed all but half the sandwich. This is becoming tragical, tho' I, and I cast about as to how to dispose of the remainder. I glanced sideways at the Negro boy beside me. He had hastily eaten and drank his portion. I concluded there was yet a large vacancy inside his skin. "Can you eat this," I asked. He nodded his woolly head and took the offer. I congratulated myself upon my strategy and wiped the stickiness from my hands.

All had eaten, hungrily, greedily, and now were finished. Upon a signal from somewhere,

OH! WARREN, YOU JUST STOP YOUR JOKING.

By MORITZ J. LOEB.

Noting the failure of all the usual methods that have been used in the attempt to destroy the Soviet government, president Harding and his cabinet have adopted a new tactic. They are trying to make the Russian Communists laugh themselves to death. The most screaming joke ever perpetrated in international relations was the result of the answer of the United States government to the Russian regarding he proposed trade relations.

"Production," so we are assured by the brand new vaudeville troupe now occupying the principal offices of this country, "is based upon the safety of life, the recognition by firm guarantees of private property, the sanctity of contract and the rights of free labor." Until Russia makes fundamental changes in the direction of these bases of production there can be no commerce between us.

Considering only 20,000,000 lost their lives because of the recent little maladjustment in our ideal economic system we can pass over the first necessity in the means of production.

We have many examples of the glorious results that come to a noble people because of the sacredness with which capitalist governments hold their contracts. Chief among these is the fulfillment of Mr. Wilson's late 14 points and the solemn word that the war was being fought to save democracy.

No one of a sane mind could doubt the many benefits that come to the American workers because the bosses are secure in their private ownership of all the means of production

and exchange. Who would pay the wages if there were no privately owned industries?

Oh, Warren dear, if you had only left that part about the rights of free labor out of your letter! Then I could laugh along with you and your company of jesters and the Bolsheviks. But honest, when I think of what free labor really means in our free country, free opportunity for 5,000,000 unemployed to look for jobs that don't exist; free soup that can make them realize how hungry they are; free alleys to sleep in at night; free advice to be ambitious and industrious, to believe in Jesus and salvation; and free jails for agitators and those who don't appreciate that they are free labor.

I keep on thinking that if we were making and sending machinery and manufactured goods to Russia that perhaps some of those 5,000,000 jobless souls would be able to find jobs. Then they could exchange some of the above freedoms for the freedom to slave in someone else's factory.

I keep on thinking that pretty soon when Germany and Italy go astray and start to misbehave like the Russians are now doing, pretty soon we won't be able to trade with them either and then perhaps a little later there won't be any country at all in Europe that will be fit to carry on commerce with our great and virtuous country.

And then I think that perhaps there will be 10,000,000 looking for jobs here, instead of only 5,000,000.

Oh, Warren! You just stop your joking!



THE BUGABOO!

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, ETC. AS REQUIRED BY ACT CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of The Toiler, published weekly at Cleveland, Ohio, for April 1921.

State of Ohio, County of Cuyahoga. Before me, a Notary Public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of the Toiler, and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443. Postal Laws and Regulations.

1st. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and business manager are:

Publisher, Toiler Publishing Association, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Editor, Elmer T. Allison, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

Business Manager, Elmer T. Allison, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

2. That the owners are: Walter Bronstrup, 1244 Walnut, Cleveland, O.

Elisabeth Bertram, 2502 Kingston, Cleveland, O.

Elmer T. Allison, 3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, O.

the first row arose and marched rearward, followed by each row in turn. We filed out dropping our tin cups into a large box as we passed into the snowy street. Now, what will they do where will they go? Where would I go, were I one of them, I asked myself. I could find no answer. One young chap, tall and good looking, lit a cigaret. Men smoke, most men do. When prosperous they smoke cigars or high quality cigarets, when not so prosperous they smoke low quality cigarets, "roll their own." But these men did not smoke. Neither cigar, nor cigaret nor pipe graced their lips,

3rd. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: There are none.

4th. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bonafide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds or other securities than as so stated by him.

Elmer T. Allison, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30 day of March 1921.

(Seal) P. W. Efferth, My Commission expires May 8th 1921.

many of which must have longed for the luxury of tobacco. And I judged the economic condition of these men by the absence of tobacco. They had not even tobacco—they were dead broke, and when one stepped to the curb and unblushingly picked up a cigaret stub and proceeded to smoke, I was verified in my conclusions. They did not linger about the doorway but straggled up and down the street in a ragged line, gathering their insufficient garments about them out of the clutches of the wind. A waiting line of men filed in to take the vacated seats as I turned away.