

OHIO STATE
UNIVERSITY

OCT 25 1920

The TOILER

No. 142.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, OCT. 23, 1920.

Price Five Cents.

OPEN THE JAILS
THE TIME IS RIPE



The Working Class Demands The Release of All Political Prisoners

Strikes And The Public

By John Lawrence

It is contended—and rightly—that the sympathy of the public is necessary to the success of any strike. But let us examine first what is this public which we find represented to us as though it were a third factor, standing outside the two others: Labor and Capital, or the Workers and the Exploiters.

In case of a strike, be it in any branch of industry, we know that organized capital as a body sides against the strike. This is natural, since they are defending their interests, their "rights"—that is, their stolen profit. No one expects the exploiters to sit down and tamely hand over a portion of that booty which they have enjoyed so long. If only the workers saw **their** interests as well and defended them as stubbornly!

We have also the small capitalist or middle class—the small tradesmen and shopkeepers—who may be in some cases as pinched in their existence as the workers, but who nevertheless share the psychology of the exploiters. This again is to be expected, since their very existence as a class depends upon the continuation of the rotten and crumbling bourgeois system.

Put these two groups together and what is left in society?—The great majority of the population, which is nothing else but the working class.

Two Opposing Classes.

We have then two opposing classes, and there can be no third, detached, disinterested group outside of these in a strike or in any other situation. Let the fallacy be exploded at once that there is a third party called the public. Every consumer—setting aside the enemy robber group which consumes without producing—is at the same time a producer.

That sympathy which is needed to gain a strike is the sympathy of the working class. Every strike proceeds from the working class and is directed against the master class.

Every strike should have the sympathy and active support of every member of the working class. This support can be expressed by refusal to scab, by boycott, by financial contributions to the strikers, by sympathetic strikes in allied in-

dustries. There are no "just" and "unjust", there are no "reasonable" and "unreasonable" strikes.

Every economic strike—that is, one which has for its objects shorter hours and more pay—represents an attempt on the part of the workers both to better their wretched conditions, to live a little more like humans,— **and to get back a small portion more of that surplus which they have earned and of which they are systematically robbed**—not the whole surplus yet, mark you, only a portion of it.

The Case In A Nut Shell.

When then do we not find all of the working class solidly backing every strike? Why are we confronted with this pitiful and exasperating spectacle of workers pitted against workers, of workers defending the very bosses that are robbing them, and glibly repeating the "arguments" with which these masters cover up the bald fact of their robbery?

The situation in a nutshell is this: A minority of workers in America are class conscious; the rest, through ignorance or apathy, are still unconscious. The conditions of conscious and unconscious are alike, but the former **knows his position** and the latter does not.

The class-conscious worker knows that the working class produces all the wealth in the world, and at present receives back only a small fraction of this wealth in the form of wages. He knows that the capitalist class produces nothing, but lives on unearned rent, unearned interest, and **unearned profit taken out of the workingman's product**. He knows that this state of affairs can exist because the capitalist class is well organized, because it is in fact the ruling class, having at its disposal, to uphold and defend it, all the forces of society—the schools, theatres churches, newspapers and the government.

The class-conscious worker is aware that the workers can change this society, with its horrible evils and suffering, into a better society in which all shall work save the young and unfit, in which all shall enjoy the full fruits of their labor and develop into such splendid men and women as the world has never seen.

For An American Triple Alliance

By J. J. D'Arcy

President, Lodge No. 107, United Assn. Of Railway Employees.

The railroad men of Philadelphia, who are still on strike and determined to stick to a finish, are taking the lead in what we hope will soon develop into a nation-wide movement to strengthen and solidify the forces of labor for the coming struggles with the organized capitalist class. Seeing the great power wielded by the famous "triple alliance" of British miners, railroaders and transport-workers, we have started the ball rolling for the same kind of an organization in America.

We are holding conferences now with the striking anthracite miners of the Pennsylvania fields and we are also in constant communication with the transport workers of Philadelphia. The following circular which we have addressed to the miners sets forth our ideas on the subject. If the rank and file all over the country will take up the idea and push it through in spite of the so-called "leaders", who are only agents of the capitalist class in disguise, we will soon have a power that will be able to tell "conciliation boards" where to get off at.

Appeal To The Miners.

You are still on strike, in spite of the influences that are trying to drive you back defeated. We railroad workers have been on strike for the past sixteen weeks. These two facts should mean something to both of us as workers.

Last year the steel workers went on strike. They were defeated. They fought alone. Last year you coal workers went on strike. You were defeated. You fought alone. We railroad workers also went on strike. If we continue on as at present, we, too, must be defeated. All these defeats took place because no effort of the kind we are now making was then made. Mr. Miner, if you continue striking in the same manner as you did last fall, alone, you will again be defeated. Past defeats must have demonstrated to you, as they have to us, that this is the truth.

There is one answer. This is it: **THERE MUST BE A COMBINATION OF THE FORCES OF THE WORKERS WHO ARE FORCED TO STRIKE!** We are asking you at this time to cooperate with us, not only because we must have

you in order to win our strike, **BUT BECAUSE YOU MUST HAVE US IN ORDER TO WIN YOUR STRIKE!!** With the miners and railroad workers united, there is no power on earth that can deny us even a portion of that which we demand. **WE MUST** get together for the first time in history of the American labor movement, and unite our forces to give the boss the soundest licking he ever got; a licking which he will so remember that hereafter the mere threat of a strike on the part of our **JOINT ORGANIZATION** will be sufficient to bring him to his knees in granting our demands.

Mr. Miner, representatives of our organization will soon visit your Unions, and it will then be the duty of you, who have had the opportunity to read this leaflet, to see that these representatives are given a chance to talk to you **NO MATTER HOW MUCH THE PULL-BACKS OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT MAY OPPOSE IT.** **MR. MINER, WE RELY UPON YOU. YOU MAY RELY UPON US.**

Joint Organizations:

UNITED ASSOCIATION OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES OF NORTH AMERICA; and WORKERS, SOLDIERS AND SAILORS COUNCIL OF PHILA. AND VICINITY.

92 per cent of the whole government expense is for the army and navy. The 640,000 civil service employees account for only 4 per cent of the annual expenses. "Peace" loving America! There will soon be an army of 300,000 regulars, 435,000 national guards with the latest equipment — even tanks — mainly for home use. Workers who failed to reach the front during the late war, may still learn what tanks are like in action.

In order to **RAISE PRICES**, the Rubber Growers' Association has decided to reduce the output of raw rubber 25 per cent.

In 1923, the United States will be the leading power, with 16 warships with 16-inch guns as against none for England.

The Policies Of The Amalgamated Clothing Workers

Albert Verblin.

Among the bourgeois liberals and democrats for whom the A. F. of L. is somewhat reactionary, such a "radical" union as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America stands in great esteem. That is the only kind of a "progressive" union that appeals to these bourgeois radicals. And that is only natural because what these bourgeois radicals want above all is peace between capital and labor. The idea of the class-war is very distasteful and terrifying to their refined tastes and they would like to find some "peaceful solution" of the bitter economic and social war between the masters and slaves. And in the machinery of reconciliation invented by the leaders of the Amalgamated or rather by Hart Schaffner and Marx, the liberal editors and readers of *The Nation*, *The New Republic* and such magazines find the cure-all for all social and economic ills of society. That is why they think so much of the Amalgamated.

But the class-conscious worker, especially the one who works in the clothing industry knows better. He knows that the whole machinery of reconciliation is nothing more than a sham because he knows that there can be no such thing as peace between worker and employer. The machinery of adjustment is far more in favor of the bosses than it is in favor of the workers. Otherwise the bosses would not praise it as much as they do.

How "Conciliation" Works.

During the war and a year or so after the armistice, there was such an enormous profit in clothing that the manufacturers were ready to grant a great deal in order to have continuous production. The agreement which the Amalgamated offered the employers was exactly what they wanted. It guaranteed production because it strictly prohibited any stoppages on the part of the workers. The bosses aware of their interests accepted the agreement and sent their workers to join the union. In some cases the bosses had to drag the workers into the union.

The whole agreement with the machinery of adjustment can be characterized as follows: It gives the bosses an opportunity to choke the workers in the slack season and it takes away from the workers the chance to get back at the bosses during the busy season. During the slack season the

the employers can do almost anything with the workers while during the busy season they use the agreement to make the workers give them continuous production.

One can hardly blame the bosses for playing such a clever game. That is to their interest and in that they show themselves far more class conscious than the "leaders" of the union. The bosses have a class-conscious militant policy while the leaders have a typically petty-bourgeois, trader's and peddler's policy.

"Leaders" Use Radical Phrase."

One must also realize that the leaders of the Amalgamated are, without exception, "Socialists." They are continually throwing out phrases about the future society, but since they are satisfied with the present society (who would not be at a salary of \$7,500 a year?) these phrases are meaningless and used to mislead those workers who have just begun to see the light. They have succeeded in building as strong a machine as any good old A. F. of L. Union and they are not averse to using a dictatorship of the union politicians in order to crush any opposition from the rank and file.

Everything went along smoothly up to the present time. The workers made money and were to a large extent satisfied. There was a little murmur of protest here and there but it did not amount to much. But when the crisis came upon the clothing industry and thousands of workers were thrown out of employment and many thousands more worked only part time, discontent became rife and the "socialist leaders" who, like their friends of the Socialist Party, are nothing but petty-bourgeois reformers and opportunists, began to seek for some means to quiet the discontent.

The "Unemployment Fund"

The first thing our "leaders" did was to come out with a scheme of an "unemployment fund" that would solve the problem of unemployment. This unemployment fund is to be given by the bosses. Think of it! The bosses would take the money which the workers made for them by their hard labor and make an unemployment fund. It doesn't make much difference to the bosses

whether they pay the money in the form of wages or of an unemployment fund. Pres. Hillman gave the whole thing away when before the Board of Arbitration at Baltimore he said, "If you don't give us an unemployment fund we shall have to ask for higher wages."

The class-conscious worker looks with contempt on an unemployment fund that comes from the bosses. First because it doesn't come from the bosses but from the sweat and blood of the workers and second because he does not wish to enter into any partnership with his enemies. If there is to be an unemployment fund let it come direct from the workers.

To solve the unemployment problem, as far as it can be solved under the present capitalist system, by demanding week work from the bosses instead of the slavish speed-up system of piece-work is too revolutionary a step for the socialist leaders. That would endanger the organization (they mean their jobs) because it would mean a big strike. But week work is the only thing that in any way can solve the problem of the unemployed. In the last two years or so the piece-work system with overtime created a super-abundance of suits and that is one of the reasons why we have such terrible unemployment. The capitalists cried "Production, production" and the union leaders echoed "Production production" and as a result we are going around idle.

Cooperative Schemes To Fool Workers.

The second thing the leaders did to quiet the rising discontent is to enter the cooperative movement. A discussion of the cooperative movement in relation to the unions would take too much time but the idea, as Hillman expressed it, that the cooperative banks and factories would help win strikes is ridiculous. The workers win strikes by struggle and by showing a spirit of solidarity. All the cooperatives will do will be to add some more job-holders to the present business-agents and other officials.

Thus by these policies do the "leaders" try to blind the eyes of the workers. Instead of developing a revolutionary class-conscious spirit they develop a peddler's spirit of reformism. It is up to the class-conscious workers to agitate in the shops and factories, form shop committees and workers' councils and in that way wrest the power from the union politicians and place the union on a real class-conscious revolutionary basis.

The Triple Alliance

The effort of the striking yardmen at Philadelphia to effect a combination with the anthracite miners and the transport workers is more important than a dozen conferences between national officials of these three organizations would be. We regard this beginning as highly significant for the reason that it starts from the rank and file. The new structure of militant unionism must be built from the bottom up, through action of the workers themselves. It must be a movement depending on the initiative of the workers, responsive to their will at all times.

The beginning of the movement for an American Triple Alliance could not be made under more favorable auspices. What better assurance of its vitality and integrity could be wanted than the simple fact that it is initiated by striking workers who are brought face to face with the necessity of expanding their organization and multiplying their power in order to cope with the ever growing power of their enemies, the capitalists?

These valiant switchmen of Philadelphia have set an example that might well be followed in all parts of the country. Without waiting for long parley, between officials, or endless discussion of ways and means and conditions of federation, they have gone directly to other bodies of workers with their simple proposal to unite for common action. It is worth while to note also that their manifesto, printed in this issue, says nothing about a triple alliance at the ballot box to elect some of "labor's friends" to office. They want an alliance for industrial action. This is more evidence of their good sense.

Local unions of miners, railroadmen and transport workers ought to take up this idea without delay. The way to do it is to follow the lead of the Philadelphia yardmen. They went directly with their propositions to the nearest local union of the other workers they could find. If other localities will do the same thing, the movement will quickly find a way to federate itself. Don't wait for Moses. Go and do it yourselves.

The French Labor Congress

By Max Worth.

European Correspondent for the Federated Press

The Special Congress of the General Federation of Labor opened at Orleans on Monday, September 27—exactly three weeks after the opening of the British Trades Union Congress at Portsmouth. The French Congress began with a sharp attack by a revolutionary minority, on the Federation and its officers.

Since the General Strike of last May, there has been a large element of discontent with the direction of the Federation. This discontent was finally focussed in a "minority movement" that began with a regional congress in Lyons, and that was continued at similar conference in Paris, Marseilles, and finally in Orleans. The final session of the minoritarians at Orleans closed on the day before the Congress opened.

At the Lyons meeting there were about one hundred minoritarian delegates. At the Orleans session, there were delegates from 331 local unions; 6 departmental unions (like our state federations), and 3 industrial federations (like our internationals).

Censure The C. G. T.

The total number of local unions having delegates at the Congress of the Federation is 2,178; with 68 departmental unions and 35 industrial federations. As yet, therefore the minoritarian movement is not numerically very strong. It is its existence rather than its strength that makes the situation significant.

The final session of the minoritarian movement, on Sunday the 26th of September, passed a resolution severely censuring the Federation for its failure to adhere to the principles of revolutionary syndicalism laid down at the Congress of Amiens.

According to the Amiens' decision, the motion insists, "the union must organize and absorb the technicians, and not be absorbed by them, for fatally, in that case, it is no longer the spirit of the worker and the communist that remains predominant, but the bourgeois and hierarchical spirit of the technicians."

The decisions at Lyons (1919) were clear-cut, asserts the motion, but in the year that follow-

ed the Congress of Lyons, "the C. G. T., which should have moved toward the left, has navigated the waters of the right, wholly abandoning direct action, in principle as well as in method."

Minority Wants Action.

It is action that the minoritarians want. They have had enough of resolutions. It is in revolutionary action, the resolution contends, and not in affiliation with the International of Amsterdam that the hope of the C. G. T. really lies. There are, in this resolution, more than two thousand words, some of constructive suggestion, but for the most part of criticism, and insistence that the C. G. T. has been faithless to its traditions.

But what to do? The minoritarian finds himself in this predicament. His group is not strong enough to control the Federation. Therefore he has two courses—one, to remain in the Federation and carry on propaganda there; the other to form a new organization. Moscow has insisted that the Communists remain in the Federation; *La Vie Ouvriere*, organ of the Communists, has taken this attitude consistently.

On the other hand, there is a strong movement, particularly in the South, for a new organization. The capitalist papers are hailing this sign of division with glee. The labor press is opposing it vigorously.

Majority Socialists in conference in Cassel, Germany, are evidently looking for a split in the ranks of the Independent Socialists. The Herald correspondent is informed that the Right wing of the Independents will probably reunite with the Majority Socialists.

Krassin, soviet representative, presented the Russian reply to the British government. The soviets offer to begin the repatriation of British prisoners immediately. The reply does not refer to the other points of note sent to Moscow by Lord Curzon.

Your Job

Some workers imagine they own their jobs. They speak of their jobs as if they were married to them.

The worker has only got the loan of his job, and the loan terminates as soon as the boss (the real owner) decides that it is not profitable to keep the worker on it any more.

For the worker to speak about "my job" he would have to own the enterprise in which he works. As long as the real boss can sack him he certainly cannot speak of owning it.

Ever since the early communism was abolished mankind has been divided into two classes, the owners and the loaners.

The owners first owned their slaves, same as they possessed other animals. The owners did the supervising, the slaves had all the "jobs." When this system disappeared, a new one came into vogue, known as feudalism, under which the serfs had the loanership. The serfs had all the "jobs" going and the Barons enjoyed everything that the serfs produced.

To-day we have a system known as capitalism. Like the serf had the loan of the land, the wage worker has the loan of a job, on condition that he "makes good" which means that he produces a surplus over and above his own requirements, which goes to the owner. The job does no more belong to the worker than the land belonged to the serf, or the spoils under slavery belonged to the vanquished.

Property has played an enormous role in humanity's history. To possess it has always meant to enjoy; to suffer from want of it has meant a slave's existence. So that up through history those who had no property have been at the mercy of the owners, either as chattel slaves, or as serfs or as wage slaves.

But to-day we have reached the point of a new departure.

As of old, communism was broken up because it was no longer to the best interest of society to maintain the establishment institutions, so to-day communism is being forced on us again because we produce collectively, because we all have to co-operate to gain desired ends, and because no worker to-day can place his hands on a commodity and say: I made this entirely myself.

The wage worker is in the illogical position

at present of neither to be able to say: This is my job, or, this is my product.

Socialism, or a socialistic system under which we socially enjoy what we collectively produce, will furnish for the worker ownership of his job and the enjoyment of what he helps to produce.

—The Glasgow Worker.

Lightning Rods

The lightning rods of the labor movement are those new-style labor skates who pose as "radicals" and "socialists". Their function is to gain the confidence of the rank and file with glib phrases so that they can catch the discontent constantly arising and run it into the ground.

The comrade fakirs just now are making a specialty of the co-operative movement. They are going to show the workers how to do away with capitalism by going into business themselves. They talk of co-operative banks which are going to finance workers on strike, stores which will feed and clothe them, and so on and so on until the worker with radical sympathies, but no understanding of capitalist society, almost sees wage-slavery co-operated out of business.

Just stop and think for a minute. The railroads, steel mills, mines, lumber woods, great factories, packing houses—in fact all the natural resources of the country and the machinery of production—are in the hands of the capitalist class. As long as they control them they are going to control society. Before the workers can be free they have got to take these things away from the capitalists.

The co-operative movement is not to be disparaged. In so far as it is possible for it to be developed with the meagre resources of the workers, it provides an excellent training school in voluntary organization and management for those workers who take part. But whenever you hear anyone holding it up as the means whereby the workers are going to be emancipated, or even going to have their conditions materially improved under capitalism, you can be certain that he is a crook who knows better or an ignoramus who knows next to nothing.

There are no substitutes for revolutionary action.

THE TOILER

ONE YEAR \$2.00	SIX MONTHS \$1.00	FOREIGN 1 year, \$2.50
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Address all mail and make all checks payable to
THE TOILER
3207 Clark Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

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

Bundle Order Prices

Five copies, payment in advance	3½c each
Ten copies, payment in advance	3½c each
Twenty copies, payment in advance	3½c each
One hundred copies	3.50
One thousand copies	35.00

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Published weekly by the
Toiler Publishing Association
Telephone: Harvard 3639

What Courts Are For

A St. Paul judge decided in a recent case that it is perfectly legal for a group of business firms to boycott a plumbing establishment which refused to join them in the "open shop" war on organized labor in the twin cities.

In Minneapolis, the adjoining city in the same state of Minnesota another judge sends men to jail without trial because they, under instructions of the Trade and Labor Assembly, advertised a boycott on an "unfair" movie.

Now, the average worker, who still believes what he read in the school books about law and government, is apt to say, "There's some mistake here. One of these judges is off the track."

But such is not the case. Both of these judges know what they are doing. There is no inconsistency whatever. Nobody is off the track except the worker who thinks he sees a contradiction in their decisions.

Courts are class institutions. They are part and parcel of the system of exploitation and op-

pression known as capitalism. They are functioning in good order and according to their historic purpose when they are used to beat down the organized workers and uphold the organized bosses. The work they are doing in the twin cities is just exactly the kind of work they were made for and which they will continue to do as long as the workers allow them to exist.

The "Left" Must Organize

The left wing was badly defeated at the machinists' convention, despite the fact that the great majority of the rank and file are more in harmony with the ideas they proposed than with those of the reactionary machine. The "reds" who went to the convention with such high confidence, emboldened by the knowledge that the men in the shops want a new deal in the union, soon discovered that it takes something more than enthusiasm and good intentions to buck the smooth-running machine of the reactionaries.

All the old tricks of the labor politicians were in evidence at this convention. At a crucial stage of the fight the radicals were demoralized by the defection of some of the leaders they had relied on to carry the fight on the floor. The machine "got to" them. The rank and file rebels were still further handicapped by the lack of agreement among themselves as to the tactics to be used and the program to be supported. Pitted against them they found a solidly united bloc of paid officials who were agreed to a man on what they wanted and how to get it. Old heads in the game of manipulating conventions were on the job at Rochester, leading and directing the fight for reaction.

We ought to take a leaf from the Russian book. The revolutionists in that country control the unions, soviets and other working class organizations despite the fact that in many cases they constitute but a small minority of the membership. They do this by virtue of their own organization formed for the express purpose of dominating the larger bodies. They go into every meeting or convention with a program worked out and agreed beforehand, voting and fighting in a solid body for whatever measures

the majority of their caucus has previously decided for.

"Leaders" who desert them are summarily dealt with. The revolutionary organization, which maintains over all of its members an iron discipline, quickly destroys the man who fails to carry out its orders.

The experience of the left wing at Rochester will be repeated every time as long as we remain without definite organization and trust to luck to carry us through. It is time to make the beginning for the real battles that lie ahead of us by forming in every local union an organized group of conscious revolutionists for the purpose of winning the labor movement of America for revolutionary principles.

Fake Radicals

The article in this issue on the policies of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers is a timely warning of the danger that threatens the awakening labor movement with the coming into power of the new type of labor lieutenant of the capitalist class—the fake radical. Gompers and his gang, with the ideas and the phraseology of a half a century ago, get a scant hearing from the workers who have heard the voices from Russia. They are being pushed aside, but into their places steps a smoother breed of labor skates who have mastered the modern lingo.

These men have learned the art of serving capitalism by mouthing socialist phrases. They talk of the class struggle and then fix up long term agreements which bind the workers not to strike. They speak of worker's control of industry while they actually strengthen the grip of the bosses' in industry by their "impartial" chairman and arbitration schemes. They make a parody of the shop committees by taking the ultimate decision out of the hands of the rank and file in the shops.

The rebel workers who have broken with the old-line fakirs must take up the battle now and see to it that they put at the head of the new independent movement they are forming such men as honestly represent the aspirations of militant labor. Even more than that, ultimate control in the new movement must not be allowed to rest in the hands of salaried officials, but in the rank and file through medium of the shop committees and industrial councils.

Hurry Up The Shop Committees

The most important task that confronts the revolutionary workers in America today is the organization, without one day's needless delay, of unofficial shop committees and industrial councils. This is the form of organization that will win through when the entire structure of antiquated craft unionism falls to the ground before the onslaughts of the organized capitalist class.

The shop committee system is not a new form of unionism; neither is it a substitute for unionism. It is a necessary supplement to the union. The shop organization unites every worker in the shop into an unofficial organization, regardless of how many craft unions may exist. It puts authority in the hands of committees of actual workers in the shops who are directly elected by the rank and file and subject to recall. It makes deals with the bosses by paid officials impossible. It makes solidarity and common action possible regardless of the attitude of officials.

More important still, the unofficial shop organizations constitute the basis of the workers' councils which, in the time of revolution will spring up to take all power into their hands. Upon them will ultimately rest the responsibility of effecting workers' control over industry. The building of unofficial shop organizations is also the natural and logical way to lay the foundation for the structure of the new industrial union movement without attempting the impossible task of doing away with craft unions at one blow.

Any person or gang addicted to robbery must be also addicted to lying. Capitalism, founded on an organized system by which the many are robbed by the few, could only be maintained by a systematic lying propaganda by its press and politicians.

The One Big Union is the best hope in the world for all who do honest labor: it is the greatest menace in the world to profiteers, politicians and grafters.

Jewish Nationalism and the Labor Movement

David S. Reisz

Are there any International Jewish Secret Societies aiming at world domination, as the British "Morning Post" claims, the "Literary Digest" of September 25th, quotes, and Henry Ford's "Dearborn Independent" also speaks of? How has the world found out that there are such Jewish international secret societies? — Surely these are interesting questions?

For answers and the proofs of those answers the reader will have to go to those who claim that they know them. The writer limits himself to the relationship of the revolutionary members of the workingclass of Jewish extraction to the Jewish international secret societies.

I have yet to find a Jewish active worker revolutionist who is also a member of a Jewish temple or synagogue or of a Jewish secret society.

The so-called Zionist-Socialist or Territorialist-Socialist can not be classified as a worker revolutionist, for he is much rather willing to give up his identity as a workingman than his identity as a Jew; the aim of these organizations being the establishment not so much of a socialist nation as rather the establishment of a Jewish nation—a Jewish capitalist nation, to begin with.

All Capitalists Alike To Workers.

Workingclass revolutionists can only unite with other workingclass revolutionists, be they Jewish or non-Jewish. The worker revolutionist, realizes the harmfulness of the capitalist system of exploitation—how it makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. He knows that in order to do away with the harmfulness of the capitalist system, he must take it impossible for exploitation to continue; he must dispossess all capitalist Jews as well as all capitalists of other or no denominations. The mere fact that the worker revolutionist happens to be of Jewish extraction, does not make him more sympathetic towards the Jewish capitalist exploiter than he happens to be to the non-Jewish capitalist exploiter. The worker revolutionist of Jewish extraction realizes that he has nothing in common with the capitalist Jew but racial descent.

The interest of the workingclass and the interests of the capitalist class being diametrically opposed the interests of the worker Jews and the interests of the capitalist Jews are diametrically opposed.

Samuel Jonson was speaking of his own time when he said that patriotism was the last refuge of the scoundrel. At the present time it begins to seem as if the advocacy of pogroms of Jews is the last refuge of the capitalist class.

Let us assume that the capitalist class will have found that the advocacy of pogroms of the Jews will result in the dispossessing of all capitalist Jews; what then? The workingclass will be no better off than before.

What The Workers Want

The worker revolutionists say to the capitalist class: "Abdicate from the ownership of the means of production and distribution. Restitute to the workingclass what is rightfully theirs." To this some capitalist source answers: "The Jews own Poland — The Jews own Hungary — The Jews own America — The Jews own the world." More outspoken ones add the "moral:" "Kill off the Jews."

The Jews, the capitalist Jews, may be dispossessed. Still the rich will continue to get richer and the poor to become poorer.

The advocacy of pogroms may be the last refuge of the capitalist class — what, when that will have run its course?

Knowing that there is also pogrom agitation directed especially against worker revolutionists of Jewish extraction, I shall treat of it in the next instalment of "Pogrom Agitation Directed Against Jewish Worker Revolutionists."

The Scab

Hell is not half enough for him,
The thing that scabs on his fellowmen.
He is all that's low, dirty, vile and mean,
Lower than the reptile that strikes at man unseen,
Brother to the cannibal uncivilised and wild,
Murderer of mankind, the woman and the child,
Worshipper of mammon, lover of gold,
Selling his honour like Judas of old;
Condemning his children to be wage-slaves,
Helping to fill the pauper's graves,
Despised by all, loved by none;
A thing to hate, a thing to shun.
Traitor to himself, to everything worth while,
The thing that we abhor, the SCAB that we revile.

W. O'DONNELL.

Increased Production

(Translated from "Umanita Nova" by F. A. Blossom.)

"More production!" say the reformers.

And we, too, say "More production."

But we want to know first for whose benefit it will be and what things we are to produce. And we want to know, also, why there is not enough produced for everybody.

Some people say that there cannot be a revolution because production is insufficient and we would be in danger of starving to death.

We say there must be a revolution, so that we may be able to produce and put an end to the chronic semi-starvation of the greater part of the population.

No one will deny that production, especially of the things of prime necessity, is insufficient to satisfy the needs of all. This is a universal and permanent condition, inevitable under the Capitalist system, and it can be remedied only by changing the system.

The Waste Of War.

The war, with its enormous waste of wealth and labour, brought the scarcity of available products to such a point that the Capitalists themselves are alarmed over it, realising that the workers are no longer inclined to resignation. The Capitalists are now demanding that the situation be saved through the efforts of the workers.

But the workers are tired of toiling for others. They remember that, when they used to submit meekly to being exploited without limit by the bosses, they were no better off than they are at present.

There have never been enough of the good things of life even in normal times, even when there was said to be an abundance, even in those so-called over-production crises which threw the workers out of work.

The poor, hungry, the ill-clothed, the homeless, when they see the stores heaped with food and clothing, when they gaze at the spacious mansions of the wealthy few, are easily persuaded that there is an abundance of everything, and that, if it was shared in common, there would be enough for all.

But the fact is that, if you take into account the countless masses who are insufficiently nourished, who are clothed in rags and who live

crowded in filthy hovels, it at once becomes clear that this apparent abundance comes solely from the fact that the vast majority of the people do not consume enough.

It is natural that this should be so.

Production For Profit Only.

Since the means of production (land, machinery, factories, etc.) belong to a small number of persons, who use them to employ others and get a profit off their labour, it follows that production increases as long as profit increases and that it is arbitrarily stopped when its further increase would tend to diminish profits. In other words, the employing class allows production only of as much as they can sell with profit, and shut off production as soon as their profit or hope of profit stops.

That is why the entire economic activity of society is regulated, not by the desire to satisfy the needs of all, but by the interests of the owners and their competition in order to keep up prices, for the strange spectacle of unemployment even when there are still urgent needs to be filled, for land uncultivated, for the misery and subjection of great masses of working people.

Under such circumstances, how would it be possible to produce enough for all?

The Workers Must Save Themselves.

Even to-day, when the Capitalists for their own salvation have every reason to sacrifice their own selfish desires, their greed, in order to try to calm the wrath of the people by satisfying the most urgent needs of the masses, even to-day, when the most intelligent of the Capitalists cry aloud the need of increased production, people are out of work, land is poorly cultivated or not cultivated at all, labour is wasted on many things that are useless or actually harmful to the public, the better part of the national budget is sunk in expenditures for war.

Capitalism cannot save the workers, and cannot even save itself.

The workers must save themselves by taking over the management of production—and, in order to do this, they must take possession of the machinery of production.

Therefore, there must be a revolution.

A Story That Does Not Rhyme

By H. N. Garner.

In a capitalist daily paper I read these headlines:

OPERATORS TO TRY TO BREAK MINERS STRIKE.

Many Men Recruited From Rubber Plants To Take Places of Strikers.

Then the article goes on to say that one hundred and twenty-five men, recruited from the factories of Akron and other points in Ohio have arrived in West Virginia to be used as strike-breakers. It is thought (the article states) the miners will use every effort to keep the strike-breakers out; but the authorities are taking no chances and increased numbers of troops have been placed about the railroad station and other danger points.

Strikers Live In Tents.

The article states that 107 men, women and children are housed in tents, and preparations are being made to put floors of boards in the tents to be prepared to carry the strike into the winter. Food is being cooked on stoves made of rocks and mud. None of the children wear more than one garment. Men and women are shabby, food is scarce and of poor quality....

High up on the bluffs (The article continues) across the river are the W. S. Leckie collieries, working under normal capacity because of the labor shortage. Around the mines are empty houses, comfortable dwellings. The company stores are stocked with food and clothing, and awaiting the strikers are jobs which, according to mine operators, would pay each man an average of three hundred dollars per month. In the face of this the miners refuse to go to work and they freely give their reason. It is a desire to affiliate with brother coal miners throughout the country.

* * *

Now you have read the bosses' story, the story that does not rhyme. What do you think of it?

Let's look it over again. The big rubber plants in Akron laid off thousands of workers in an effort to reduce wages. The workers cannot live on the wages they could get by going back. They are probably hungry; most all workers would

be if out of work for a few weeks. 125 men are going to the coal fields of West Virginia. I doubt if they know they are to be used as strike-breakers; but it's a safe bet, once they arrive in the strike zone, there will be no escape for them except at the risk of their lives.

Troops To Protect Scabs

Miners will use every effort to keep strike breakers away. And why not? Increased troops have been placed around the station and other points. Troops are soldiers used to protect strike-breakers. Oh, yes! the same soldiers who enlisted to protect "the flag of freedom" now used to protect those who scab on the workers who are striking for freedom and justice.

One hundred men, women and children are now housed in tents and preparing to live, or rather stay in tents up into the winter. Think of little children staying in tents, wearing only one garment in cold winter weather. Good jobs awaiting these men which would pay three hundred dollars a month—what a joke! How many of you were ever in a coal mining district? I have been, not in the district dealt with in this article, but elsewhere, and conditions and wages are pretty much the same, except where miners are organized strong enough to force better conditions.

How The Miners Live.

Taking the year around the miner makes what could hardly be called an existence, much less a living. Moreover here is another place where the story does not rhyme. Think this over: If the miner makes 300 dollars a month we all know his children would have more than one garment to wear. He hasn't been on strike so long that his children would have worn out all their clothes. He would have some household goods, stoves at least. What do you think, good comfortable company houses—how many of you have ever seen a company house in a mining camp? If you never saw one, then just imagine a farmer's cow shed after it gets to leaking so badly that he does not keep the cow in it any longer, and you have a pretty good picture of a company house. They stand on legs on a hill-

side, providing the rains have not washed the legs from under them. The furniture consists of a few sticks such as the miner can buy with his three hundred per month, divided by two and then some subtracted, and taken to a company store to pay for food.

Do you think he has anything left with which to buy furniture for his "house" or clothes for his children? If you do, then just make a visit to a company store on payday. Such is the life of the miner, and varying a little one way or the other, is the life of the average worker. While some workers are a little more fortunate than the West Virginia coal miners, none of us are secure under a capitalist rule.

A New Deal Is Needed

These miners were ejected from the company houses by the company thugs because they joined a union. While some of us do not live in company

houses, how long before we would have to take to the tent as the miners did if we should get out of work. It is all wrong and will be all wrong until the workers awaken to the fact that the coal and all other natural resources of the earth must belong to all to be used by all.

The brain and brawn of labor shape these natural resources into consumable products. Then in order to get the use of these products they must pay to the master who does no work a price far greater than the wage they get for producing them. I say this is wrong. Let us organize to establish a new order of society based on common sense and justice. Let's say all those who do the work of the world and those who are willing to work, but disabled by age or sickness, are entitled to own collectively all they produce collectively; but those who are able to work and refuse to do so are entitled to nothing. When we have done this, fellow workers, then we will have right to claim we are civilized.

"Prosperity"

If prosperity is as widespread as they say, why do the bosses and government take the trouble to tell us about it? If the American worker is really enjoying so much of it, why are they so afraid of Bolshevism? For the government and the bosses know very well that there is no stronger barrier to radicalism than prosperity.

When the New York Times talks about aliens forming industrial unions, which are "among the ablest, most vigorous and successful labor organizations in the country," and have as their program the control of their industry by means of a soviet. When it states that in the steel industry, the coal mines and the textile trades, there is a similar movement in its early stages. And when finally, it declares that these PEOPLE ARE "MADE REVOLUTIONARIES BY THE CONDITIONS THEY FIND ON OUR SOIL," firstly, we are inclined to have the editor sent to Sing Sing for ten years under the criminal anarchy law; secondly, we have clear evidence that prosperity is being measured ONLY by capitalist bank-accounts.

The Department of Labor recently stated that there was a decided decrease in the number of men employed in ten out of fourteen representative industries. Unemployment is growing all over

the country. Laid-off men are being rehired at a far lower rate. Manufacturers' associations have opened up a campaign to introduce the open shop; that is to say, to break up the union, which is the only support the worker has under the present system.

Prosperity, with bankruptcy staring them in the face, with a crisis approaching this winter, owing to the European trade disappearing! Prosperity, with revolutionary Europe threatening the very existence of capitalist America! Workers in all parts of the world have a foolish habit of imitating one another.

Unemployment, closing down of mills, high cost of living, long hours, hard working conditions and hunger have made European workers rebellious. The same conditions are coming to America. Will they, as the New York Times says, make revolutionaries of American workers? Yes, we think they will.

All Italy is shaken by the effects of a two hours nation-wide strike in protest at the arrest of political offenders. There was sharp righting in many towns. Several were killed. The offices of *Lavoratore*, the Trieste labor paper, were burned.

British Labor Moves Again

As this issue goes to press, the long-awaited strike of a million British miners begins, and the eyes of the militant labor world are on them. In defiance of the Lloyd George government and the whole organized capitalist class of Britain; spurning, even, the eleventh-hour advice of Smillie to retreat, the miners have stepped boldly forward into a situation that is bound to have far-reaching consequences.

An associated press despatch speaks of the apprehension felt at the possibility of the "triple alliance" coming back to life through a sympathetic strike of the transport and railroad workers. The New York Times sees a close connection of the action of the miners with the rapid development of the communist movement in the mining areas. This paper draws some comfort from their theory that "the public is against the strike." But the working class of England, well organized, conscious of its power and determined to use it, needs no support from any outside source within the country.

The overwhelming majority in favor of strike action—635,098 to 181,428, sets at rest all doubts of the solidarity and determination of the miners. The Times sees "revolutionary designs" in their refusal to accept any of the proposals of the government. And they have good reason to; because defiance of the government is a long step toward repudiation of the government.

Federal Prisons

During the war, it was stated that the government was too busy to occupy itself with the prison question. Since then, despite one scandal after the other, things were supposed to have changed for the better.

New comes another "leak" about the federal prison at Baltimore. A federal Inspector of Prisons, investigated the Maryland Penitentiary and found that the guards BLACKJACKED and BEAT the prisoners.

To be sure, Mr. Palmer did not want this information to reach the outside world, but "news" has a way of getting out. In addition to beating the prisoners in a most brutal fashion, it was stated that one cell house was crowded with desperate criminals, which is contrary to regulations.

While the war was on, prisoners at Leavenworth and Alcatraz learned what it meant to be

a federal prisoner. They learned what it meant to be strung up by the writs, to be manacled to the bars, to be put into vermin-infested dungeons reached by neither air nor light. They experienced being drenched to the skin with a hose and turned out into the night air to be chilled to the bone, then to be returned to the cell and made to lie on the cold cement floor without any covering. They were put through torture that made several of them insane. During the war the government pretended to have an excuse. But now?

It has been established beyond doubt that the government is determined to make it especially "hot" for political prisoners. To be sure, anybody with a little understanding would realize that POLITICAL PRISONERS CANNOT BE BROKEN. But government officials are too dense to grasp that.

Why?

"What strange power has Lenin? Why does every adversary, one by one, fall before him? Why do they all underguess him? Why do all European governments falter and waver between courses, losing their hold on half "their" populations, till Lenin can say to Lloyd George, "I command more men in England than you command"? Why is he the leader of the only nation that can dare to order its population into war?

"The answer is that Lenin is a scientist in a scientific world. Capitalism by its nature must follow its mad militarists into combat with Soviet Russia, like months to a flame". Robert Minor in The Liberator.

The pamphlet

Nicolai Lenin

by G. Zinovieff

which is a history of the life of Lenin answers many questions like the above. It is intensely interesting, instructive and educational. All the world is asking—what about Lenin? This pamphlet helps to answer that timely question in an understanding manner.

Now ready for delivery. 25c per copy. 15c each in lots of 25 or more.

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All Hail, The Worker's Day

Wave on, loved flag of Liberty; swing thy crimson
 banner high;
 New hope now holds the hearts of men,—its sign
 is in the sky;
 A countless army has sprung forth; in field, by
 forge, in mill
 Men take the pledge and take all risk thy promise
 to fulfil.

Well may you tremble, tyrants, who plot, and rob,
 and slay,
 The crimson banner in the East fortells the dawn-
 ing day;
 Your hosts of greed can only thrive when hidden
 from the light,
 Long centuries have you held your sway through
 ignorance and might.

You've buried in the prison cell the noblest in the
 cause,
 You've sought to check the march of Truth by
 many ill-famed laws;
 Yet all your plots avail you naught the rose-hued
 dawn to stay,
 A billion tongues take up the cry. "All hail, the
 Worker's Day."

J. C. C.

Propaganda

Mr. Wilson wrote his note to Italy through the agency of Secretary Colby, for the purpose of sending it as propaganda to Russia and Poland.

Undoubtedly, Mr. Wilson overrated his powers as a propagandist, since he merely repeated the old discredited doctrines for which he has been notorious the past three years. Nevertheless, should one expect just a bit of consistency from a statesman? Perhaps not.

How ready the Allied governments, and particularly Mr. Wilson, were to condemn the Russian Soviet Government for carrying on educational and propaganda work among the enemy troops and for dropping printed matter behind the enemy lines. How ready they were to damn every sentence that Russian propagandists wrote about the position of the working class in capitalist countries, although they knew that EVERY WORD WAS TRUE. How fearful they were of the printed word; yes more fearful than of bullets.

So Mr. Wilson turned to it, himself. But he used a broken pen and the dry ink of yesterday.



Robert Minor

Will Speak in Cleveland

at

North Congrega-
 tional Church

72nd & St. Clair Avenue

Acme Hall

2416 E. 9th Street

Tue. Oct. 26.

AT 7:30 P. M.

Wed. Oct. 27.

AT 8. P. M.

ADMISSION FREE

My Own Shop

A "Close-up" of The Frisco Telephone Exchange

By Mercedes Mercier.

Flash, flash flash! Quickly I plug-in.

"Asleep at the switch again, Central", booms the angry subscriber in my ear, "Gimme 875 Main, and make it snappy for a change!"

I hasten to give him his number. Flash, flash, flash! Twelve more lights appear on my board. I rush to plug-in one, and others take its place!

"Miss Mercier, a little more pep there, yells the supervisor (oh, god, how I hate that woman's voice!), always at my back, always urging me to be quicker, quicker, and still quicker!

Such is the life of a hello-girl! She first starts in at a school, where she is trained in the operation of a switch board, and to learn parrot-like (mechanically if you prefer) the fixed sentences that you hear her greet you with whenever you have an occasion to use the telephone. This takes about two weeks to a month, according to the ape-ing ability of the slave-girl, as I insist she never has to use her head, but to follow directions which she has learned mechanically! Next she is taken to the exchange to "listen-in" and to practically learn the ropes, so to speak, and to wear off nervousness.

The "Regular Operators"

Then she graduates proudly to the position of a "regular operator." (Time was when there were "regular operators" and "substitutes", but that time has past, but the former name still lingers and retains that "superior" sound.) An operator must sit at the edge of her chair and there plug-in, plug-out, and listen, plug-in, plug-out, and L-I-S-T-E-N all day long! How monotonous! How nerve wracking! How boring! Coupled within this continuous strain, they have the watchful eye of the supervisor on them all day, reproving them for this

and that, nagging at them to speed-up, and continually listening-in to hear if the slaves parrot their sentences correctly, if not they lose demerits and a chance for advancement, to where, I know not! Maybe they will have a chance to marry the president's weak chinned son, as per the movies, who knows?

The life of a telephone operator at her trade is not long. Her nerves soon give out and she must go! A common sight is to see girls fainting at their work, and also seeing them crying hysterically in their reliefs. Only a strong girl can stand the grind, then only to her sorrow.

A Strike That Failed

A steady flow of girls come and go. A standing ad. is in the Oakland and San Francisco papers asking for help, but there are few takers, as the slaves can find more lucrative wages, and easier work elsewhere and as a result the telephone company is always short handed.

A year ago the girls struck for higher wages and better working conditions. Male and female workers were out a 100% strong, but they lost and went back to worse conditions, thanks to the A. F. of L. and craft unionism.

If the girls want to get better conditions on the job and to better their wages of \$16.50-20.00 dollars per week they will have to organize as a CLASS in a ONE BIG UNION OF WORKERS, and then to show a little mass solidarity in their fight against their masters as a class. Then and only then can we, the telephone girls and the rest of our fellow wage slaves get what we want, less work, more liesure, food and clothing and still better life, life, and still more life that is free!