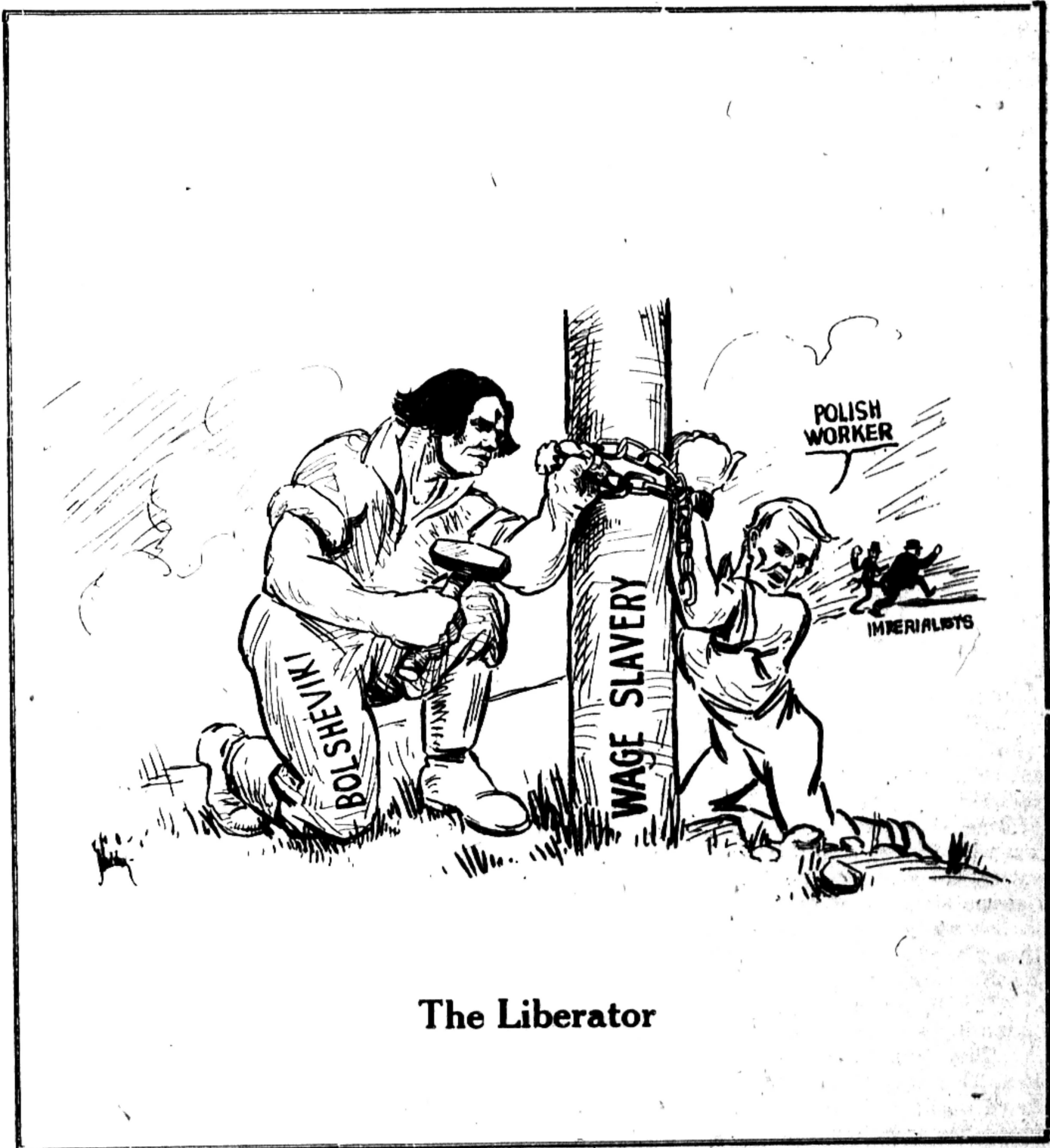


# The TOILER

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The Liberator

## The Political Prisoners in Dannemora, N. Y.

Reports of discrimination against Larkin, Gitlow, Winitsky and Alonen, the political prisoners confined at Dannemora were of such a nature that the National Defense Committee sent its attorney to investigate. The attorney's statement corroborates in every detail what was charged against the prison authorities, who according to their own word, are acting on instructions from the State.

Larkin is a man of tremendous vital energy. His cell is in the old vermin-infested part of the prison. He works in the cotton shop—the worst in the whole prison, where he winds spools of thread. He must breathe the air laden with cottondust. Men are sent to that shop as a punishment. It takes only two years for a man to contract tuberculosis. The officials are endeavoring to get Larkin to say or do something for which they may punish him. He has been expressly told that if he does not work to the satisfaction of certain officials, he will NOT LEAVE THE PRISON ALIVE! He merely replied, "I am not in prison for pleasure's sake."

### Larkin Looks Years Older

Gitlow is taking his term in prison very philosophically, never relaxing in his ideals. Larkin's sense of social injustice is so intense that the treatment of prison life causes him more suffering than all the insults or bad physical conditions. He continually finds things to provoke outbursts of indignation, as for instance, the dinner-table, which is nicely painted on the side that visitors to the prison see, but actually stinks on the side on which the prisoners eat. The milder treatment of degenerate professional criminals in comparison with that accorded men of respectable character; the graft, pull and politics are such as to outrage his sense of justice. Larkin's hair has turned white, and he looks several years older than when he went to prison, less than three and a half months ago....

It is the obvious intention of the government to crush these men.—Now, what did they do?

They fought and worked for a new social ideal They investigated. They questioned. They found wealth and the control of all the means of producing wealth, such as factories, mines, rail-

ways, etc., in the hands of a few people. They found the great mass of the workers unable to provide for their families, so that their wives and children had to assist in earning a living. They saw a body of idlers on the one hand, who never earned and never would earn a penny, yet had money in plenty to spend They saw children of 4 to 13 years forced to labor; women, even married women forced to prostitute themselves—to provide enough to live on. They saw that the great labor class received a job only if the boss gave it to them—and he gave it to them, only if he could make a profit out of them.

### Why They Became Agitators

They lived through the great war and saw fortunes piled up on the corpses of millions of men, forced to prostitute themselves—to provide go up faster, so that the workers, in spite of the so-called "prosperity", were worse off than before They saw that workers were forced to strike, for laws could not, and would not be passed to improve the position of the working class. They saw that strikes do not help the workers, since the cost of living advances above what they gain. This was because the bosses, the capitalists, control the means of production.

They saw that the municipal, State and Federal governments interfered in strikes, by legislation, injunctions, by the use of the press, school and the pulpit—and finally by the use of troops.

So these four men decided that THE WHOLE THING WAS WRONG AND HAD TO BE CHANGED.

They agitated for a change, to put the control of the workers' lives and livelihood, their comfort and well-being, in the hands of the workers. They argued that a worker, manual and mental is entitled to a living. They demanded that every human being render a social service, and that no one live on the work of others.

They challenged the present order of things. They challenged the whole capitalist system. They challenged the government which, as the workers have learned only too well, is in the hands of the capitalists.

## The Italian "Lock-in"

By Emil Lyon.

Workers "locked-in" the factories, with rifles, machine guns, tanks and aeroplanes ready for use in protecting themselves from attack!—this is a new development in the labor struggle.

The present situation in Italy developed out of a contest between the metal workers and the bosses in that industry. To starve the workers into submission the bosses declared a lockout. They expected that by driving the workers out on the streets for a period, as the American Woolen Co. did at Lawrence and other New England points recently, they could quickly starve them into submission.

But the Italian metal workers didn't intend to be starved through a lock-out. They have come to believe that the industries have a different purpose than to serve merely as profit-making machinery for the capitalists. They declared that if the capitalists wouldn't keep the metal works running and give them the opportunity to work, produce goods the country needed, and earn a livelihood for themselves, they would.

### Running Industry without Bosses.

They answered the lock-out with a lock-in and the bosses in the metal industry haven't yet recovered from their astonishment. To think that these downtrodden wage-slaves, who have always been more or less content to eat out the hands of the bosses, should have the nerve to take control of the factories, just as if they belonged to them and go ahead manufacturing goods without regard to the men of "superior brains" whose property they were! Such a thing has been unheard of before!

The Italian workers are proving themselves equal to the job. They are keeping the industries running. When those industries which supplied raw material to the metal works began to cut off the supply, they quickly found that that method of getting at the metal workers wouldn't work. The workers in other industries showed their solidarity with the metal workers by taking over the raw materials needed and sending them to the metal works.

In order to fully grasp what has happened in

Italy one must imagine the steel workers locking themselves in the steel trust plants and going ahead with the production of steel after the steel trust had shut down the plants. Add to the picture that the coal miners and railway men continue to deliver coal, in spite of the orders of the bosses, that men on the iron ranges send down the ore and the steel trust ships continue to deliver it, all under compulsion of the workers, and one gets an idea of this astounding new development in the labor movement in Italy.

### Where is the Government?

Naturally the question arises, what has become of the government, that is always so quick to step in to protect the private property interests of the bosses and to beat the workers into submission? Why has not the Italian Government used its armed forces to dislodge the workers?

The reason why the government has not acted is not difficult of explanation. Italy has for many months now been on the brink of revolution. The work of organizing Soviets has been underway for some time. The Italian workers are ready for the struggle for control of the state power. The Italian Government hesitates and seeks to bring about a compromise because it fears that an attack upon the metal workers will precipitate the revolutionary struggle for control of the state. It fears the result of such a struggle would be the overthrow of the existing government and the establishment of a Soviet Government.

The Italian workers are not under any illusions as to the situation. They know that they cannot permanently hold the industries which they have seized, without having to deal with the government, which is the representative of the bosses. They know that the workers' revolution cannot be won without first overthrowing the government of the bosses and setting up the Soviets and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The arms in their hands means that they are ready for that struggle.

# A Talk To Miners -- and Others

By L. J. Wydra.

The fighting coal miners of the Belleville, Illinois District, who have always been in the forefront of the industrial struggle in America, are now beginning to wake up to the fact that labor's fight for freedom is a world-wide affair and that the workers of all capitalist countries must stand or fall together. It was with this new idea in mind that local union No. 2703 of Nigger Hollow mine No. 1 passed a resolution endorsing Soviet Russia with its working class government and calling on all class conscious workingmen, especially miners, to stand by our Russian brothers and refuse to do any work that would help their enemies.

Following this lead, the sub-district miners' convention held at Collinsville passed a similar resolution and the subject is up for discussion in a great many of the other locals in this district. For the information of miners and other workers in different parts of the country, I will quote a part of the resolution adopted which sets forth the reasons for the action we have taken.

## Workers' Control in Russia.

"Today in Russia the entire control of the government is in the hands of the organized workers. The management of industry fixing of wages, hours, shop conditions and other phases of the work of production is handled directly by the labor unions without any bosses or "operators" drawing any profits from the labor of the workers or exploiting them in any way.

"The idle, parasite class, that lives by sucking the blood of labor, realizes that when the working people of other countries see that working class control is a success in Russia and that it is much better than the present system of wage slavery, they will organize themselves for action to follow their example. Therefore they are doing every thing in their power to break down the Russian Soviet Government. They blockade the country and thereby starve innocent women and children, hoping by this to weaken the courage of the brave workers and peasants.

"They also furnish money and supplies to different generals of the old czar's regime who have tried time and again to organize armies to defeat the revolutionary forces. But the brave soldiers of the red army, fighting for bread and freedom, have defeated all such attempts.

"We declare our firm opposition to any war which the capitalist governments of the world may undertake against our Russian brothers and appeal to all coal miners to refuse to produce any coal or to do work of any kind to help them in this murderous conspiracy."

## The West Virginia Struggle.

Another matter which should be considered by the organized coal miners is the struggle in West Virginia. This is a very important affair which should concern the miners at large, especially the Illinois miners. Our brothers there are hounded by corporation thugs, spies, etc. The miners' wives and children are suffering, being starved and thrown out of their homes in a so-called "free" country. Why is it that President Lewis and the other officials of the U. M. W. of A. do nothing?

The coal miners in West Virginia are carrying on the struggle to free themselves from the clutches of the coal corporations and we must recognize that an injury to one is an injury to all. Their fight is our fight and if the officers of our union do not want to take action, then I say it is high time the rank and file should take it up. And if 400,000 coal miners cannot do it alone, let us take the entire labor movement. Let us all unite as a body of workers to help the coal miners of West Virginia win their struggle.

## Railroad Workers and Anthracite Miners.

The same thing applies to the so-called "out-law" railroad workers and the anthracite miners who are making a fight for living wages. We are not doing our duty when we stand idly by and offer no help to any body of workers who carry on their battle alone against the organized power of the capitalists class.

Fellow workers, the time has come when we as workers in general must unite as a solid body in One Big Union to accomplish our freedom. And furthermore, working men and women, it is our duty to look after the coming generation to see that they are not enslaved as we are at present. The slave chains of the masters are clinching tighter and tighter. Let us get rid of that slavery. It behooves us, vanguards of the coming generation, to work, to organize for working class control in industry and government.

# The War In West Virginia

By Paul Hanna

Staff Correspondent for the Federated Press.

Here are some things I have learned:

There is no strike of miners here. Seventy-five per cent of the mines about Williamson are 75 per cent closed because the owners have instituted a lockout against every workman who joins the union.

About seventeen of the 62 mining companies about Williamson have broken away from the lockout employers and are now operating in harmony with the union.

All the others which pretend to operate at all are heavily guarded by armed gunmen, usually affiliated with the Baldwin-Feltz Detective Agency. A union organizer who tries to approach such a mine is likely to be killed and almost certain to be beaten up.

Any miner who gives up his job at one of these guarded mines and tries to escape through the "cordon sanitaire" to the free world outside is beaten if caught and may be killed if he persists in the effort. Concrete illustrations of this condition are abundant and will be cited in a later story.

The crux of the present situation and the reason the troops were brought is this—the lockout and the lockin have both failed to break the solidarity of the miners and restore the old dictatorship of the operators.

The miners who have been locked out are backed by a monthly fund of \$600,000 provided by the United Mine Workers of America, and are sure that victory will be theirs if only the United States government will defend and preserve their legal right to conduct meetings and continue the work of peaceful organization.

The locked-in miners, brought here with out knowing of the struggle which exists or believing that conditions might prove tolerable after all, usually run away at the first chance and have to be expensively caged while they remain.

For the operators only one possible road to victory remains. They must obtain martial law at all costs.

Martial law would put an end to the miners' meetings, stop peaceful organizing and frighten the simple, illiterate population of these lost mountains into a belief that they must return to

peonage in the mines or else defy the United States government.

Within the law the operators have been beaten to the edge of the cliff and are about to drop over the side. But a few murders up or down this dark valley—done by anyone who can be induced to do it—may still bring martial law and give the operators a further lease on the dictatorship.

The stakes are high, and the game intensely bitter.

## Straight Shots

(From Bill Haywood's New York Speech.)

There is no reason why working men should kill each other. If we will, we can establish a society in which we can live happily together.

It was only because we worked for a world in which men could be happy that we were sent to prison. It is difficult to believe but it is so.

Education is the one thing the boss is fearful of. He does not want you to know anything except the machine you are working and not to much about that either.

Some members of the I. W. W. may have said, during the war, that Wilson was crazy. A lot more people say it now.

They charged us with having printed the preamble of the I. W. W. To that charge answer we are guilty. We will continue to print it in Slavish, in Chinese and Japanese, in Swedish and in every other language, except Russian and Italian. They already understand it.

I speak in the interest of Communist, Anarchist, and Socialist, and also every laboring man who is in prison, wherever it may be. I myself am called a convict. My number is 13016.

Sam Gompers had as much to do with the jailing of the I. W. W. as any other single individual in the country.

# Americanizing French Capitalists

By Max Worth,

European Staff Writer of The Federated Press.

"That is the great danger here in France—the French capitalists are becoming Americanized!" Henri Sirolle, railroad worker and propagandist, discharged and imprisoned for his part in the May strike, emphasized his words by striking his fist against his open palm.

"That is it," he repeated "Americanized!" "You see," he went on, "the tradition here in France is for the employers to gouge their employees wherever that is possible. Consequently it is easy to get the workers to see that the employer is exploiting them. That has been the situation here for generations, and it is the thing to which we are accustomed. Then came the war, with its intimate contact between the capitalists here and in the United States.

"What has been the result? Our capitalists have begun to practice the American method of handling the labor problem—not all, of course, but the bigger and wiser ones. They have stopped fighting labor, and now they are going to the leaders of the big unions and offering to divide up! That is the new thing we have to face here.

"I do not mean this in a bad sense—the leaders are not bought with money—but they are offered jobs and preferments of various kinds. They get social attention. They are told that the interests of labor and capital are the same. They are granted increases in wages and the eight hour day without having to fight for them.

"The employers appear to be yielding everything, and they are yielding a good deal, but they are holding the power, and they are using this new method to get the workers on their side. This far it has succeeded remarkably. The workers are taken in by it because they do not know what it means.

"Take the Millerand government—it is held in power on exactly that principle. Millerand understands the workers—it is only a little time since he was an extreme Socialist—and he knows that they can be deceived by appearances. Consequently, he apparently gives them

everything—in reality, they get nothing.

"In short, the workers of France are to be bought off—a little extra money; a comfortable factory; a recreation centre; a share in the profits,—but the one essential thing—the control of the industry, and of the surplus, will remain where it is today, in the hands of the owning class. Is not that the American system?"

"But, will this succeed in France?"

"Not for long. The workers are too class-conscious. They are too old in the struggle. Then, too, they have ever before their eyes the example of Russia. This is a stage in the concentration of capitalist power. It brings us one step nearer the control and direction of industry by the workers."

## Write For the Toiler

The Toiler will come a great power in the labor world if the active men and women on the firing line of the class struggle will lend a hand. To give the paper punch and variety it takes the work of many people.

Make it a point to send in something every week or so—a news story, propaganda article, paragraph or clipping that can be useful to the editor in getting up the paper.

Articles suitable for the "My Own Shop" department on the back page of each issue are especially wanted. Judging from the reports we have already received, this is the most effective kind of propaganda.

Drawings are also greatly appreciated as it is the plan to use several small ones each week in addition to the cover cartoon.

Many workers who have never had any practice in writing hesitate about making the start. But you will find it is mainly a matter of work, and if you stick to it you can get your ideas across so that they can be understood. Don't worry if you don't happen to be familiar with all the rules of grammar and composition. Good sense makes good enough English. Besides nearly all the readers of the Toiler are workers and they will understand what you mean if you talk their language.

# The Suffrage Sham

By Harry Stone

The mentally emancipated worker cannot help but view with distrust the recent granting, after many years of bitter struggle, of the right of suffrage to more than twenty million women. The idea is spreading among the workers more and more that no permanent good can ever be gotten, under the capitalist system, through the medium of voting. When they really want anything they use other means—the strike, for instance. This is true of the every day struggle. Voting, also, cuts little figure in the calculations of those who are seriously thinking and working to organize the workers for future control of industry and government.

But, more to the point, can woman suffrage, excepting through its educational possibilities, help the masses of working people? NO. In the first place, the capitalist politicians wouldn't have granted it if this were the case. They are in the business of hamstringing the working class, not helping it out. But more detailed reasons why woman suffrage does not menace the control of the parasite class can be given if they are needed.

## Working Women in Minority

The majority of women who got the vote and who will use it most were the women of the upper crust and middle-class elements. These women are well satisfied with things as they are and will not support any effort to change them by the ballot or other means. They can be safely trusted to act on the side of the capitalists and against the workers whenever the issue is raised in an election. Their votes, as well as their hearts, will be where their treasure is.

Besides the fact that a majority of the women voters will be of non-working class elements, it is the way the suffrage is juggled and controlled that makes assurance doubtfully sure for the ruling class. Throughout the country we see the wives of the rich men organizing propaganda societies for the purpose of "educating" women voters to their particular brand of politics. The mediums of publicity are open to them—the press, pulpits, magazines, etc. The working class press and other means of spreading propaganda and information are pitifully small in comparison.

Woman suffrage, on the whole, will be a con-

servative force. Indeed, that is why the capitalist class permitted women to have the vote. In order to overcome the growing disillusionment among the workers in regard to the ballot, the ruling class must steadily increase—or, rather, pretend to increase—suffrage rights. It is hardly likely that suffrage rights will be taken away entirely, although it has been done, in effect, in many cases by short-sighted politicians such as those who controlled the New York Assembly and who fired out the five elected socialists because they didn't like their looks.

## The Ballot Box Illusion.

But the "wise" capitalists are not in favor of this kind of action because that destroys one of their strongest weapons—the illusion of the workers that through the ballot they really have something to say about the government.

Capitalism needs for its preservation every tool that it now makes use of. As long as the workers are willing to have their slavery confirmed by elections, the ruling class will not object. They will even permit special elections in between the regular ones for that purpose, if necessary.

As we have said, this delusion about the value and power of the ballot in the hands of the workers is one of the things that holds capitalist rule up. Sooner or later we have got to get it out of our heads. It is true that working class parties in other countries have made good use of political campaigns for propaganda purposes. And once in a while a true revolutionist like Liebknecht has been elected to a legislative body and used it as a sounding board for revolutionary speeches. This is necessary to be done, and no doubt it will be done here in this country.

But this is only sabotaging the governmental institutions not trying to use them for the purpose of emancipating the workers. This is a job that cannot be done through the use of any machinery made for the purpose of enslaving them. A government suited to the needs of the working class would be one in which the right to vote would be restricted to productive workers. Then all the power would lie in their hands and suffrage would really mean something.

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## "Civil Liberty"

The Federated Press sends us a series of nine long articles by a "liberal" lawyer on the subject of "Civil Liberty—How we got it; How we lost it; How to regain it." The title of the series as well as the subject matter seems to proceed on the theory that civil liberty is some sort of natural or divine right which we possessed for a long time and have just been deprived of through the machinations of unworthy officials who are not true to the constitution, American traditions, etc. The inference being that when we were permitted to write and speak without being arrested we were "free" and that when the unfaithful officials are brought to see the error of their ways we will be free again.

Such a viewpoint shows a total lack of understanding of the real issue we are confronted with. The situation in society, briefly stated, is this: There are two classes, one of which is the ruling class. In America the ruling class at the present time happens to be the capitalist class.

The Government is not a thing which represents the interests of "all the people"—as this sort of propaganda takes for granted—but, on the contrary, it is the special instrument of the ruling class and its main purpose is to keep the workers where they are.

This is not simply our theory of it; it is the actual fact. Under these circumstances the working class, naturally, has no "rights" whatever, civil or otherwise, which accrue to them as a result of "constitutional guarantees." Under certain conditions the Government of the ruling class permits a certain amount of free discussion to the workers, but this is never done in recognition of their rights to it. They allowed free speech, more or less, in America before the war because they did not consider the revolutionary movement to have sufficient strength to be dangerous. They allow civil liberty to a large extent in Italy at the present time because the organized workers are so powerful they cannot help themselves.

One of these two conditions must exist before any of the rules of "democracy" apply for us. Neither prevails now in this country. The time when the revolutionary movement was regarded as harmless by the ruling class has passed forever, and the time when we will be strong enough to take such rights as we need has not yet arrived. In the meantime civil liberty is bound to languish.

But there is another aspect to this question that cannot be passed by. The freedom we are fighting for is not merely the freedom to meet, speak and write without being persecuted. That is only one small plank in the platform of the revolutionary workers. The big, important objective is freedom from labor exploitation and all the abuses that follow from it. The goal of the labor movement is complete control in industry and government, nothing less. Not equal rights with the capitalists, but a society without any capitalists in it.

The struggle for the accomplishment of this real and serious purpose requires that we rid ourselves of all illusions and see the issue clearly as it is. One of these illusions—and a most harmful one—is the idea that the capitalist class is going to recognize any "rights" except those which we have power to defend.



## No Place To Live

40,000 tenants in the city of New York have been notified to move on October 1 unless they are prepared to pay greatly increased rents. This is only an incident in the nation-wide house shortage which is already resulting in the greatest privations to the workers. Inadequate room and extortionate rents—this is becoming the rule in every industrial center.

Karl Marx estimated that the break-up of the capitalist system would be due when it could no longer "guarantee a living to the slave within his slavery". That period is not far distant here in America and it has already arrived in most of the European countries.

When the workers cannot have a roof over their heads, when the oncoming panic throws them out of work and the prospect of actual hunger stares them in the face, it is quite likely that they will ask themselves if existence under capitalism constitutes a living. They will then turn—as Marx said they would—to the task of organizing for the overthrow of capitalism and the erection of a social order adopted to their needs.

## The Mob

What is a mob?

A mob is a mass of men, unorganized and unarmed, held together by some aim, not clear to the whole body of men. It generally consists of workmen, particularly, nowadays.

An army is a body of men, well organized, well disciplined—well armed. This body exists for only one purpose: to shoot and to kill.

The interference of State militia and Federal troops in labor troubles is teaching the American workers how to change a mob into an army.

## Freedom

Organized workers of Duquesne, Pa., want to hold a meeting. The chief of police forbids it for FEAR that something irregular might be said.

They hold it just the same.

Six speakers, one after the other, are pulled down from the platform and arrested. The meeting is broken up. The men are taken to court, found guilty and sentenced.

They appeal the case. The higher court upholds the decision....

Organized workers in Spokane, Wash., hold a convention. The convention is dispersed and ten of the delegates arrested....

What kind of a country is this anyhow?

Jail is the only FREE place the government provides for workingmen.

## The Picket Line

Italian capitalists would no doubt prefer an earthquake to a revolution but it looks like they are going to get both at the same time.

Latest reports indicate that the red flag flies over 300 Italian factories. That couldn't be done in the state of New York because there is a law against it. Or could it?

John Spargo, the ex-socialist has sailed for Italy to study the labor movement and see what he can do to help the capitalist of that country out of the bad hole they are in. We are glad to lose him, but we hate to see the Italian workers get him.

The labor movement of Kansas City, Kansas was afraid there might be some misunderstanding of their sentiments toward the anti-strike law enacted by the Kansas legislature. So they carried this sign in the labor day parade:

.....  
 : To Hell With Governor Allen's :  
 : Industrial Court Law. :  
 : .....

The 780 refugee Russian Children now in New York in charge of the Red Cross were each presented with a picture of Woodrow Wilson last week. Soon after, 200 of them tried to escape from their custodians.

A gang of burglars in broadcloth meet in a hotel room in Chicago and decide that Mr. Harding shall be nominated. Another band of plutocratic cut-throats gather at Frisco and agree on Mr. Cox. Then they tell us: "Here, this is a free country. You are free to take your choice."

# Trade Unionism At the Cross Roads

By W. McLaine (England)

The trade unions exist because between those who own the means of wealth production and those who have nothing to sell but their power to labour, and are forced to sell that to the highest bidder in order that they shall live, there is a perpetual conflict of economic interests, which manifests itself in the workshop, mine and factory. This conflict is most clearly seen in those places where wealth is produced, because the desire of the employer for a greater profit, which can only be gained at the expense of the workers' energy, leads him continually to make attempts to take it out of his employees either by "speeding up" or by wage reductions. On the other hand, the workers desire and strive to obtain as great a return for the expenditure of a given amount of energy as they possibly can. The conflict of the workshop is reflected in all the walks of social life. In politics the master class dominates and uses the machinery of the State, including in the last resort the armed forces, to prevent the workers from securing any appreciable advantages that circumstances might favour their obtaining. In the educational sphere the workers' children are shut out from participating in the delights of continued study, and are supplied with just sufficient knowledge of the elements of education as will enable them to function as workers in office or factory or warehouse. In the Press, we note how the economic struggle is distorted, and how the workers are made to appear to be unreasoning animals making demands which if conceded would put an end to the cosmic scheme. The Press that, when a strike takes place, calls for "a whiff of grape-shot" to be used against the strikers, is but reflecting "the wish that is father to the thought" in the minds of the owners of the land and factories, and their desire that they shall be confirmed in their ownership, and that the workers shall on no account be permitted to claim any "place in the sun."

The Trade Unions must develop into attacking bodies, therefore, because they are the organized expression of the workers' partial recognition of the fact of the class struggle, and that the basis of the capitalist system of wealth production is the exploitation of the workers, that makes economic organisation necessary.

## 2 What We Are Attacking

The individual employer with one small factory, employing a small number of workers, gave place to the large employer who in turn has been in great measure displaced by the trust, the combine and the great association. So interwoven is the fabric of capitalist society to-day that it is practically impossible for us to say where one industry begins and another leaves off, just as it is impossible for us to separate one armament firm or railway company from another, because, in spite of their apparent separate identity, they are in a large number of cases branches or subsidiary concerns one of the other, interdependent, interlocked, welded together, one and indivisible. The employing class tends to draw closer together and to become more despotic in character. The middle class—the shopkeepers, doctors, lawyers, etc., as industry becomes more centralised, are being crowded out and each in turn becomes the employee either of a multiple shop concern, a limited liability company, or the State. The means of production are now so highly developed and so costly, entailing vast aggregations of capital before they can be procured and set in motion, that it is impossible for either workers or small middle class men to become their own employers or to be free from dependence upon the holders of massed capital. Side by side with the divorcement of the workers from all ownership or control of the means of life, has grown up also the separation of the capitalists from active participation in industrial direction or management. The latter functions now devolve upon salaried managers and directors, some of them members of the working class, and others middle class men whose independent positions have been undermined by economic development and who have become workers now in fullest sense of the term. The lack of ability on the part of the capitalist class to manage or direct is clearly seen when we contemplate the appalling ineptitude of the "business men" controllers who now govern us, and who have been unable either to control or to do anything other than make confusion worse confounded. The working class becomes each day more definitely a propertyless class, and the gulf between the two classes has been widened by, amongst other things,

the centralisation movement that has been pushed forward by war conditions. New forms of State control have been tried and found to be to the advantage of Capital, because they have eliminated competing interests, have increased the power of the dominant class, and have given it full control over all the State machinery, which is now officially described as the "Executive." The Executive functions for and on behalf of those whose economic power enables them to control all the avenues of public expression and administration. The workers, therefore, stand arrayed against their exploiters. The struggle is no longer against the single employer or the group of employers. It is against the capitalist class as a whole.

### 3. How We Are To Attack

While Capitalism has been changing its form and character, and Capital has become more firmly fixed in the saddle, the organisations of the workers have remained to all intents and purposes the same in structure and in outlook. Formed to protect the interests of groups of workers, they have grown in size, but always with their group character stamped upon them. Skilled and unskilled have organised separately and have invariably pursued their own advantages with a complete disregard for the interests of other sections. As industrial processes have been simplified, the unskilled workers have found it possible to undertake new work, and to improve their positions as individuals. But the vested interests of craft and apprenticeship have stood in the way, and the employers, acting in accordance with their policy of "divide and conquer," have played off one section against another until both skilled and unskilled have suffered from the downward pressure that their own divided counsels invited. Because the workers have been divided, and because they have been guilty of civil war over demarcation and craft procedure, the development of machinery, etc., instead of producing a levelling up of social life (in the sense that all the hard work of the world could be done by the machine instead of by human effort), has levelled us all down, and tends further to reduce all the position of general unskilled machine minders. If we are to secure for our class the full fruits of our own endeavours it is imperative that within our own ranks there shall be unity of purpose and action. There must be an epidemic of amalgamations of competing unions. A more scientific form of industrial organisation is an essential having as its

unit neither the craft, nor the section, nor the sex, but the industry (in so far as the industry can be defined) in which those concerned are engaged; and the whole must be linked up in a great class organisation whose function and whose purpose must be to work out the emancipation of the working class.

In this building up of the great Industrial Unions care must be taken to guard against over centralised and bureaucratic control. The real power must be in the hands of the rank and file of the membership, and since industry, because of its structure, must be departmentalised, full representation on all governing bodies connected with the organisation must be accorded to all the departments of the industry concerned, not with a view to the advancement of separate claims or interests, but rather for the purpose of making the whole articulate and harmonious. Only those who do the work know how the work is done, and the workshop, the place where the economic conflict begins, must be the centre from which all life and activity shall radiate. The growth of the Shop Stewards and Workers' Committee movements is an indication that the importance of the workshop is being more clearly recognised. The workshop in the future will be what the trade union branch is now, with this difference, that whereas activity within the branch is confined to a few regular attenders, activity will be general because, while for various reasons trade unionists may absent themselves from the branch, they cannot (except temporarily) absent themselves from work. They must attend, and thus will be drawn into such activities as may be under consideration. The unions will need to become efficient fighting machines, capable of performing the work they will set out to do. New circumstances demand that new methods shall be adopted to meet them; new times, indeed, demand new methods and new men. Dependence upon leaders, men who often, because of their personal situations, desire a "quiet life," will pass of itself. The industrial democracy of the future will deem itself capable of attending to its affairs, and will act in purpose without regard to the wishes of "elected persons."

### 4. Our Objective.

No form of organisation and no plans for attack can be of service unless the workers possess a clear recognition of the mission and purpose of the working class. Is our purpose the mere secur-

ing of an extra few shillings per week or the reduction of one, two or even many hours of labour? If it is, then the workers' industrial movement need but hand itself over to the tender mercies of the Alliance of Employers and Employed. The employing class will of itself concede these things, knowing well that "contented" workers, tolerably well cared for, will do more work and will be quite "safe." Our purpose must be clear and definite, and be the guiding inspiration of all our activities. It must be nothing less than the full and complete determination by ourselves of the conditions under which we live and work, and the full control by ourselves of the wealth we produce. The accomplishment of this purpose cannot be the work of benevolent, philosophical professors engaged in analysing society, or of social quacks with distorted vision. All progress comes from below. The working class has been brought into being as a class, and has become recognisable as a separate social entity by the development of the productive forces. Capitalism has produced it, and will be destroyed by it. No compacts with the employing class can serve the purpose of Labour. No class truces can be entered into, because even when declared for a period, as during the war years, they have not and could not be observed by the capitalist class, notwithstanding that the workers were prepared to keep their side of the contract.

The spirit that led the South Wales miners, the workers on the Clyde, and later on the engineers, to challenge capitalist law and order in the shape of the Munitions and Defence of the Realm Acts, is the spirit that will carry the workers through to their final goal. This spirit should not, however, be wasted in struggles for trifling gains. It must be conserved and even disciplined in order that when called upon to be used it may be found ready and prepared. All forms of working class activity need to be co-ordinated. We have seen how the State—capitalism in its most highly developed form—has taken part in industrial regulation and control, and because of this the struggles of the future will bring the workers into conflict with capitalism at its very nerve centre—the State. The programme laid down by the President of the Trade Union Congress at Blackpool for the closer linking up of the industrial, political and co-operative phases of the movement is more comprehensive than any proposals yet taken up by organised Labour. But behind it there

must be the driving force of Labour in revolt against modern conditions, and Labor determined to work out its own salvation.

### The Cross Roads.

Trade Unionism has reached the cross roads. It has to choose between a losing policy of defence and a policy of purposeful and determined attack. It has to choose between alliance with Capital for the maintenance of capitalist supremacy and a condition of things in which Labor will always play second fiddle in the oligarchs' orchestra; and the asserting of its position in the struggle for freedom as an integral part of the armory of a fighting working class. United, Labor conquers all; divided it remains the tools of its exploiters. United, resolute, determined and refusing to be side-tracked by specious promises or arrangements, the working class nationally and internationally can consolidate its forces, close its ranks, and prepare, first for the clearing the ground of the encumbrances of autocracy and despotism, industrial and political; and secondly, for the building of the new society by the labor of its own hands. Those who do the work of the world have the first claim to full and free opportunities for self development, for education, for leisure, and for the enjoyment of all the good things of the earth, which without their labour could not be produced, but which, because they have so far not had the will to prevent it, have been filched from them by a class whose usefulness in society has long passed away. A glorious future is our heritage; it awaits us and it calls us on. Our own class interests demand that we shall obey the call and march shoulder to shoulder, skilled and unskilled, men and women, all banded together for one common purpose—the winning of true freedom.

### ROBERT MINOR

Will fill a series of speaking dates in Ohio beginning Oct. 17th to 30th inclusive. He will speak under the direction of the National Defense Committee.

**Arrange a Robert Minor Meeting.**  
We will help you do it. Address The Toiler for particulars.

## Don't Forget!

It has been nearly two years since the world was made safe for democracy, but more than two thousand men and women still suffer in American jails and penitentiaries for the cause of labor.

Don't forget them!

When you sit down to a good Sunday meal, don't forget the boys who subsist on the vile prison stews.

When you go to sleep in a soft bed, don't forget the hard iron cots in the jails and those who lie on them for you.

When you walk in freedom through the parks, don't forget the freedom lovers whose range is the prison corridor and cell.

When you are tempted to give up the fight, remember they were not afraid.

They are in there for us.

Are we out here for them?

## The Government

The United States Government does not send troops against Russia.

But it furnished the funds to equip the armies of Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenitch and Poland, who did make war on Russia.

The United States does not send troops against Russia.

But it refused to trade with Russia, thus starving men, women and children.

The United States government does not send troops against Russia.

But it lets no medicines reach Russia, so that epidemics killed off the people.

The United States government does not send troops against Russia.

But it spread lies about the Soviet Government, in that way making American workers believe that "democratic" government like in the United States, is the only 100% true and perfect kind.

### ATTENTION, Dr. FRANK HANNEN OR MINNIE HANNEN

W. E. Reynolds wishes to correspond with you on a matter of importance.

Address The Toiler.

WALTER GABRIEL, convicted in New Jersey for membership in the Communist Labor Party, has been released on a cash bond of \$5,000, provided by friends, after the judge refused to accept the same amount in liberty bonds.

RESPONDING to the recent letter of G. Zinoviev, chairman of the executive committee of the Third International, calling upon the Balkan proletariat to rally around the international communist organization, the congress of the communist party of Jugo-Slavia, by a large majority, declared itself for the overthrow of the capitalist system through the arming and dictatorship of the proletariat. Four hundred delegates, representing 80,000 members attended the congress.

## NICOLAI LENIN

by Zinovieff

His co-worker and life long comrade.

President of the Third International.

LENIN DID NOT DROP FROM THE SKY in the hour of Russia's crisis and assume the terrific responsibilities of the leadership of the revolution. On the contrary, he was a recognized reality for many years in European revolutionary circles.

And he was most frequently in a minority. Not until all other leadership had failed was he called upon to take his place at the helm of Russia's destiny and the leadership of the proletarian world revolution.

His friend and comrade, Zinovieff, tells in this pamphlet of his life previous to election as Premier of the Russian Soviet Republic. It is a 48 page pamphlet of consuming interest and inspiration. Every Communist, Socialist and Radical will find it a valuable addition to his library.

We ask you to help in its wide distribution.

25c

Ready for delivery Oct. 1st. Advance orders solicited.—Address the Toiler.

### Depression Hits Akron

The scourge of unemployment is being laid upon the industrial population of Akron, the Tire City. The Goodyear Company has laid off 15,000 hands in the past month; the Goodrich Company, 12,000; and other firms have dismissed a proportionate number of their workers.

Altogether, there must be about 30,000 recently unemployed. And this in a city of 200,000 population. This huge accession to the ranks of the unemployed is making itself keenly felt through the consequent depression in trade.

Large tire manufacturing firms, which formerly were working three eighthour shifts in the twenty-four hours, are now working one shift only, and with a "skeleton crew" at that.

Together with this partial cessation of industry is an effort on the part of the employers to lower the wages. The men have been earning from eighty cents to a dollar an hour, for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, during and since the war. If anyone applies now for a job, he is told that he will be taken on at 38 cents an hour.

The result is that the American workers, who form a large portion of Akron's labor population, are getting fighting mad; and every

morning may be seen, at the depot, crowds of Bulgarians who are taking their hard-earned savings to Europe with them.

They cannot live on the new wage scale, they will tell you, and, anyway, they prefer to return to a country where they are permitted to organize, and where their meetings are not broken up with club and gun. This may be true, that there is such a happy land; but what are

### "Good, Clean Unions"

A resolution indorsing universal compulsory military training was unanimously adopted by the Illinois American Legion, at its annual convention.

The legion stands for "good, clean unions," and recognizes the right of collective bargaining, for this type of labor organization, it declared in answer to charges made by various union men through the state that the Illinois American Legion was being used against organized labor.

As a part of its campaign against "radicalism," and to push its "Americanization plans," the legion went on record as favoring the enactment of legislation to force all aliens to register each change of their address. This system was in use by the late Czar Nicholas of Russia.

### "Suffer the Little Children..."

"Practically 90 per cent of this bead stringing is done by children of from 4 to 13 years of age...."

"A person picking up 1,000 beads per hour and working a fifty-six hour week would still be shy of earning their \$2.00...."

"She went to great length to explain to me the urgent need of clothes, shoes and food of these people working for her and the help this bead work provided...."

"In another instance, the mother offered information to the effect that she had first tried the work herself, and had given it up after half an hour because it made her dizzy...."

New York Child Committee.

United States Government reports are constantly telling us about the 'prosperity' of American workers.

In Europe, these conditions are causing the revolution.

### You can do it too!

During the past two months we have built up an army of dozens and dozens of comrades who subscribe for a weekly bundle of Toilers and sell them to other workers—in the shops, at union meetings, on the street, everywhere.

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5 Volumes or more 90c each.

# My Own Shop

## Farm Implements and the Men who Make Them

By T. W.

The great factories which manufacture farm implements are all run on the "open shop" system. That means they work from nine to twelve hours per day. Most of the slaves would just as soon work the twelve hours, for their reasoning is "the more hours I work, the more I make".

All production is carried on on the piece work basis, which is a curse to the human race. In this style of labor the worker is forced to work at a high-tension, nerve-racking speed in order that he may make wages enough to live on.

### "Timing" The Workers

Every job is timed by a man who is called the "timer". This is the way it works: When you begin on a certain piece of work on which there is no price already established, you have this man come and time the job. You go to work on it and he holds a stop watch on you. There is no use for you to try to loaf on the job as he knows you are supposed to "hit the ball", and often enough he will remind you of that fact.

Your job is timed so that you can make a certain wage per day providing you can keep working all day as fast as you did the few minutes the white-collared guy held his stop watch on you. No time is allowed to change tools or set up on different jobs. You do that on your own time.

### Low Wages and Big Profits

I have heard it said that the average piece worker in these plants pays for his day's wages and the cost of his material the first two hours of his work each day. I don't know just how accurate this estimate is, but anyone who will compare his wages to the value he adds to the material he handles can see it is not far off. If anything, it is too conservative. So, fellow-workers we can readily see what enormous profits the farm implement trust makes out of our toil. Men who work under the piece work system, as a rule, are broken down in the course of a few years. Steading on their feet day after day,

working at break-neck, they soon give way in their back, limbs and feet.

Many of the workers are bitterly discontent. You can often hear one complain that he is tired of working like a dog; he would like to see his shop organized. But many things stand in the way. He can't go into a shop that is organized because the chances are he can't prove he served four years as an apprentice or because the dues are too high. Instead of drawing the workers together, the A. F. of L. unions do more to keep them apart or keep them out entirely.

### A Craft Union Failure

In one large implement factory the workers did try to organize because the wages were cut. Men with large families were going to work hungry, slaving every day and not making a living, and living going up. They organized a union and they all felt very confident that the day had come when they could lay down terms to the boss. But the union died at birth. The bosses had the names of each and every worker who joined, the amount of dues paid, etc.

This was the work of stool-pigeons, of course. The failure had a very bad effect because it made the men suspicious and they began to accuse each other of acting as a spy for the boss. The A. F. of L. union—after collecting the initiation fees and dues—left the workers to fight their own battles, as they always do.

### Keep On Fighting!

But, fellow—workers of the piece work factories, we have got to keep on fighting for a union until we get one that will do us some good. So let us organize ourselves into a One Big Union of all machinery shops and make ourselves a body of class conscious workers and educate ourselves that in solidarity there is strength. In this way only can we hope to raise our heads.

As it is now we have nothing to say. If the boss wishes to he can make your life on the job a living hell. Yet you can't complain because you have no organization to back you up. If you raise your head or open your mouth in protest, you are fired and blacklisted.