

The TOILER

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The War In West Virginia

By Paul Hanna.

Two Polish families are among the coal miners ejected from company houses, who live in the tent village at Nolans. All the others are Americans—white Americans descended from the oldest Colonial families, and black Americans whose ancestors came in on special invitations, all expenses prepaid, from Africa.

In all this region that same racial percentage holds good. Foreigners are as rare as pro-union mine owners. In numbers the whites and blacks are almost equally divided. In militant devotion to the union each race strives to excel the other.

Last night word came that a little group of miners, isolated in a mountain pocket far from a union local, were in need of an organizer. One man was available to make the trip at once and establish the local. He is a tall, slender negro, middle-aged and with only one eye saved from a mine explosion years ago.

"You know the Baldwin gunmen have a dead line around that place," the black man was told, "but someone must go in there right away. Can you make it?"

"I kin make it," the negro replied; "and ef you hears I didn't arrive you all kin look for me along the road."

Negroes Active In Union

Today I saw some photographs of a black organizer whom the operators' thugs had caught at Dinges. His head and arms were covered with bandages, concealing the wounds inflicted by clubs and blackjacks before the "detectives" decided the man was dead and left him lying in the road.

Many of the local union officers are colored men, proud of their responsibilities and conscious of their affiliation with a great national body of 600,000 miners, whose moral and financial strength is behind the movement to bring labor civilization to darkest West Virginia.

East of Mingo lies McDowell County, a stronghold of operators' tyranny. A local merchant, related by marriage to reactionary mine owners, told me this story: Some weeks ago a big oblong box came down by freight from McDowell, addressed to "United Mine Workers, Wil-

liamson, West Va." Inside lay the mangled form of a union organizer, and to it was pinned a note which read: "And if any more agitators come into McDowell County this is what they will get."

That same local merchant told me the square deal enjoyed by union men under the law in Mingo County will not last beyond election day. I asked for an explanation.

"You can talk all you want about law and order," he replied, "but I can tell you the union is going to be suppressed. Here's how it works. We had a lot of old stock here that we couldn't get rid of, so I shipped it over to Logan and went along the streets with two boys distributing handbills announcing a special sale. Within five minutes the sheriff comes up and grabs me. Then he read the handbill, and smiled.

"That's all right," he said, "I thought you were getting up a union meeting. If it's just a sale of goods you can go into any of the camps and scatter your bills around. If I had been a union organizer he would have clouted me over the head and shipped me out in a box. That's the way they handle 'em in Logan and McDowell, and they will do it that way here after election, law or no law."

A Dynamiting Job.

The dynamiting and total destruction of a power plant near here is one of the outrages by "miners" which startled the newspaper readers of the land and paved the way for a call for Federal troops. After a little detective work of his own, Sheriff Blankenship arrested two night watchmen who have signed written confessions that they were engaged by the owners to blow up the plant.

"George", said a mine boss to a young fellow with wife and baby whom I met at the tent town at Nolans, "you got no business in this strike. You were in the army and fought in France and you ought to know better."

"Yes, I did fight in France," answered George. "That's why I'm in this fight, and that's why I mean to stay in it till we get a little justice and freedom from you all."

Minneapolis Workers Defy Injunctions

By Leslie R. Hurt

(Formerly U. S. Marine; member World War Veterans.)

Minneapolis is in the midst of the greatest open shop fight in the history of the state of Minnesota. The kings of Organized Greed have united as one to crush the organized labor movement. Labor in turn has flung back the challenge, and the death struggle is on. The minions of Midas have found it necessary to invoke the assistance of the capitalistic courts and already two judges, hearing the voice of the master, have answered.

Judge Daniel Fish, some few months ago, did some special work for the Citizens' Alliance, the most despicable labor hating organization in the country, by issuing an injunction restraining organized labor from picketing the Vanstream Meat Market, "unfair to the workers." Only a few weeks ago, Judge W. W. Bardwell, seeking to ape the methods of the former Czar and the ex-Kaiser, issued a second injunction in which the rights of free speech, free press and assemblage were denied. Rights which are presumed to be guaranteed under the constitution of the U. S.

Restrained From Picketing Movie.

The Trades and Labor Assembly were ordered to discontinue picketing the Wonderland theatre, a low-class moving picture house which has fought organized labor for the past two years. The Labor Review, official organ of the Minneapolis workers, was also restrained from printing the facts of the case. After several mass meetings, held in various parts of the city, the leaders of organized labor decided to disregard the injunctions, and the arrest of four prominent members of the Trades and Labor Assembly promptly followed.

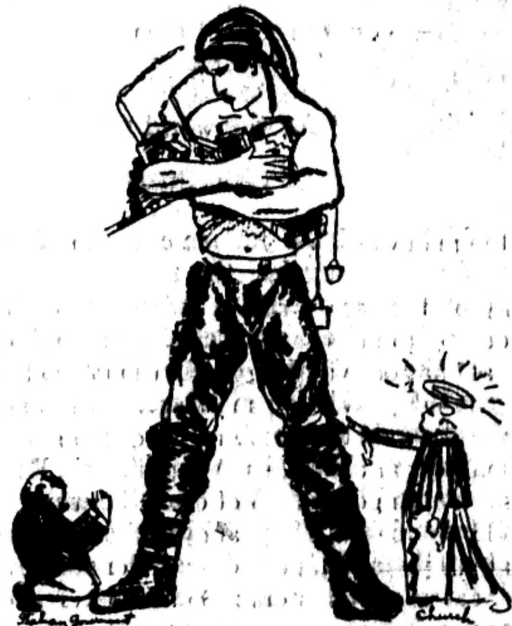
R. D. Cramer, Editor of the Labor Review; Lipman Thompson, secretary of the local School Board; Dan Stevens, and Leslie Sinton were found "in contempt of court" and fined \$125. each. Upon refusal to pay this tribute to the Czar of Judicial Autocracy they were sentenced to spend six months in the Hennepin County Jail.

22,000 March In Protest.

Escorted to prison by an honor guard of World War Veterans, Post No. 1, followed by 22,000 members of the rank and file, marching in protest against the imprisonment of their leaders, the four men surrendered themselves to Earle Brown, Hennepin County's millionaire sheriff.

Finally, finding that even prison walls failed to break the morale of the workers, the vicious industrial autocrats insisted that six more prominent labor leaders be cited for contempt of court. These men are determined that they will go to jail, too, rather than bow to the treachery of the "slave driving" master class.

Labor is beginning to see the dawn of a new day, the birth of a new freedom and the passing of modern capitalistic autocracy. The workers are realizing that industrial organization is absolutely necessary to accomplish the much desired results and to bring happiness and sunshine into the lives of those who toil for their daily bread.



Italian Labor Takes The Industries

The Death of a Social System

By S. Macaulay

In his book, "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," J. M. Keynes, at one time a representative of the British Treasury at the Paris Peace Conference, has the following passage:—

"In continental Europe the earth heaves and no one but is aware of the rumblings. There it is not just a matter of extravagance or "labor troubles"; but of life and death, of starvation and existence, and of the fearful convulsions of a dying civilization...."

There is a pessimistic note in Mr. Keynes' writing which is perhaps natural to one who has not experienced the keen pleasure of arriving at the solution of the riddles and paradoxes presented by the economic chaos of Europe.

Mr. Keynes may have heard of Marx, but he says nothing in his book to indicate that he has considered the application of Marx's theories. The remedies he proposes are of the usual type put forward by the bourgeoisie, and futile.

In one point, however, Mr. Keynes is in agreement with Marx; he speaks of the death of a civilization. Socialists have pointed out, have been pointing out for the last half century, that social systems have no permanency, that they rise and fall with the changes produced by the improvement in the methods of production. The case in point is hardly the death of a Civilization; it is the demise of a social system, and the demise is closely connected with the birth of a new system.

I propose, therefore, to substitute the expression "social system" for the world Civilization.

The History Of Class Struggles.

The history of the human race has been a history of class struggles, the manifestations of which have been different in different countries, and under different economic conditions. But there has (since the institution of chattel slavery) always been the conflict of interests upon which the class struggle is based.

Assyrian, Chaldean, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Aztec economic history all present the same spectacle of rise and fall. What is the canker that lay at the root of them all, that lies at the root of the present system? What is the common factor of unsoundness?

It is SLAVERY. The enslavement of one class by another.

But why, it will be asked, should slavery be a disintegrating force? Is it not true that thousands of slaves were not only contented, but happy as slaves? It is perfectly true. The position of the chattel slave of the old days was infinitely better than that of the industrial slave of today; his master was also his owner, he had a personal interest in keeping him in good repair, the slave was an investment of so much money, and so must be looked after. But the slavery of the wage-worker is a different type; it is a concealed slavery; it has the appearance of freedom; the slave is not bound to one master, he is the slave of a CLASS, he belongs to a slave CLASS.

The industrial slave of today is driven at a rate unknown in the days of chattel slavery; the cut-throat competition for markets compels an intensification of exploitation which makes the life of the chattel slave appear a holiday in comparison.

It is this very intensification which is at the root of the "industrial unrest" which is making itself manifest in all capitalistically developed countries. Consciously or unconsciously, the slaves are beginning to feel the gall-sores. They are becoming class-conscious. In most cases they are in utter darkness as to both the disease and the remedy, and it was not until Marx exposed the disease that the remedy was also made plain.

"Concessions" To The Workers.

During recent years the various Governments have been frantically making concessions to the workers. Unemployed insurance, old age pensions, profit sharing, etc. etc., have been the sops thrown to the "animals" to pacify them. But they refuse to be pacified. Distrust of Government and Parliaments, National Assemblies and Cabinets is openly expressed, and in some cases they have been overthrown. Disgust at the futility of "parliamentary action" is plainly manifested in the strikes and resorts to industrial mass action which are prevalent.

These expressions of discontent on the part

of the workers are being met by counter moves on the part of the masters. There is a drawing together of both classes, a spirit of solidarity is showing itself amongst the workers which heretofore has not had expression.

The hand-writing has appeared on the wall, and the masters class, unlike the Eastern king of old, have read it, and are prepared to fight to a finish.

Mr. Keynes sees only the death-throes. He either could not or did not see the birth pangs. He sees the utter break-down of an economic system. He foresees a struggle of an intellectually bankrupt class to retain its supremacy, in defiance of these very principles of efficiency which the modern "business" governments are supposed to be based upon.

The Parting Of The Ways.

Fellow-workers, we are at the parting of the

ways. There is a dangerous piece of ground ahead of us. Are we prepared to do our part in the re-organization of society? The Russian workers took the bull by the horns and have shown us a magnificent example.

The imperative need today is for **UNITY OF ACTION. MASS ACTION. ECONOMIC ACTION.** And the formation which appeals most to the mind of the writer of this article is **THE ONE BIG UNION.** In such a formation and in the shop stewards movement are to be found the machinery upon which the new order of society is to be based. Let the ruling class weep over the death of their civilization. It is our task to assist at the birth of the **NEW ORDER. AND OUR ASSISTANCE MUST BE METH- ODICALLY ORGANIZED, OR IT WILL BE USELESS.**

They Wait...

By Michel Marty, in "La Vie Ouvriere."
(Translated For The Toiler)

Seamen—inured to the hard of the open, of machinery, of the dangerous ocean—once they were men... Sailors of the Black Sea, convicted for having refused to be lawless and conscienceless mercenaries, they are in prison.

I saw them—gaunt, with drawn features, they were calmly waiting. I asked them about the details of their misery; the five francs per month which their families are allowed to send them, their wretched life which slowly passes by with a glass of blackish water, called coffee, bought each morning, to cheat starvation... the wooden planks which serve them as a bed

... But they cut my pitying questions short: "Don't waste time!" they said. "Have they understood our action? Are they going to help us?"

I explained. They answered:

"Words, always words; they don't know how to organize as we did, in spite of our officers, of cold and the hardship of being so far..."

I kept quiet. They continued:

"They don't work together. Disagreement. Quarrels in the shops. Apathy. Weakness at the bottom! At the top, force and ferocity. Have we then sacrificed ourselves in vain?"

I searched for words to console them and to make them understand the weakness of men tossed about by the force of circumstance. They said to me:

"Here—hunger, cold, silence, pallets of straw, guns... we were already acquainted with that on the coasts of Russia. We can endure all... but at least they should understand... they should unite... they should help us..."

The guard grew impatient. Moving toward the door; with tears in my eyes, I left them, while they cried after me, they who remained behind:

"Tell the people of France that we wish they should feel the iron hand of a tyrant, since they do not know how to be free."

And I went away, crying.

An Open Letter To American Labor

By H. E. Keas

(Cert. 248, Div. 96, O. R. T.)

Brothers, Comrades and Fellow Workers:

A paper of, by and for the working class! Such a paper is **THE TOILER**. Here is a **REAL** paper of the great masses of the American workers, a paper in which you will find expressed the deepest aspirations and most earnest longings of our toiling brothers in the mines, in the mills, on the railroads and in the fields, the powerful rank and file of American labor.

Neither misguided officials nor so-called labor leaders control it. In it they have no voice. The rank and file has no use for stumbling-blocks. We particularly have in mind here those labor lieutenants of the capitalist class who have so often wantonly betrayed the workers' cause as, for instance, in the recent "outlaw" railroad strike. So then, primarily, **THE TOILER** is the organ of that great body composing the American labor movement which has been so often without voice in time of crisis, which, though pitifully in need of a medium of publicity during the times that are of greatest moment to its organized effort for betterment, so many, many times finds itself in the grip of forces almost beyond its power to control, the press, the pulpit, the armed forces of the greedy plunderbund, all the means of repression of present-day government and, last but not least, hindered by reactionaries in its own ranks, the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. These latter are the ones who by every underhanded means, try to "control" and swerve the organized effort of the workers aside from its real purpose, and thereby so disorganize and enmesh the workers in a maze of hypocrisy and falsehood, that almost every strike and protest movement in which they so valiantly enter, is to them a lost effort.

The Mission Of The Toiler.

Right here is where **THE TOILER** comes in. Its mission is to combat by every means within its power all harmful tendencies in the American labor movement. It has entered the lists definitely and without counting the cost, for the amalgamation, the welding together of the many different factions and working class groups, both within

and without the organized labor movement, into one wide-awake, powerful whole, a program that will give it **REAL POWER**, where now it has little beyond the mere desire. **THE TOILER** lays particular stress upon the creation of shop committees and workers' councils of the rank and file, in the mines, in the mills and shops, on the railroads and in the many other fields of industry, these committees and councils to be officered directly by men of their own choosing, so that at all times the great body of American labor may have full control of its own ordered destiny. That, in short, will be the continued policy of **THE TOILER**. The vital importance of such a movement to the American working class, should not be underestimated. It is but the outward sign of the new times, in which the great labor movement, in ever increasing numbers the wide world over, is demanding, and in no uncertain terms, that day of the under dog has come to stay.

The Men Who Make The Toiler

ARE YOU WITH US? In line with the expressed policy of the magazine, many of us of the rank and file, among whom is the writer, have given of our spare time and labor, and will continue to do so, that this new voice of the workers, this clarion call to action of the toiling masses for **POWER**, shall be gotten up in such shape and distributed so widely, that its message may be read by every worker in the land, wherever his daily toil finds him.

Can you write? Can you draw? Are you able to tell us of the struggles of the workers in your particular industry? If you can do this, give us your best effort. The workers need your help. They will assuredly appreciate what you may be able to do for the good of the rank and file. But if you are unable to do these particular things, there is **SOMETHING EVERYONE CAN DO**. Help to spread the message of **THE TOILER** where you work. Circulate it among your associates in the mines, in the mills, on the railroads, everywhere among those who toil. This is not a hard task. Co-operative effort works wonders. And this co-

Appeal To Transport Workers and Railwaymen

Comrades:

The Executive Committee of the International Transportworkers Federation is able to place on record its profound satisfaction with the manner in which the manifesto has been responded to, calling upon transportworkers, seamen and railwaymen to refuse to handle arms and other war material destined to assist the Reaction against the Russian People. The answer came as if the manifesto was an urgent command.

The replies received by us, and what is most important the attitude of the Transportworkers and the Railwaymen afford ample proof that the appeal of the International Transportworkers Federation corresponds to a deep rooted conviction in the minds of the workers. The course demanded by the Executive Committee embodied the intel-

operative effort on your part may be accomplished in two ways:

Two Ways To Help.

1. Subscribe to THE TOILER for six months—for a year. Then when you have read it, pass it along to your fellow worker. He will enjoy reading it and it will furnish him food for thought.
2. Order a bundle and sell them in the shop, in your meetings or other places where you and your fellow workers get together. You may order them in lots of five—ten—twenty—one hundred or a thousand copies. They go like hot cakes. And you will find a ready spirit of co-operation among your brothers in industry, who, like you, have become awakened with the spirit of the new times. They will be on watch for the arrival of the paper. They will help you to spread its vital message. Together you will be hastening the day when the worker will be master of his destiny.

ONE OF THE ABOVE TWO THINGS YOU CAN DO. Some of you will do both. We are doing our part. **WILL YOU DO YOURS?**

WE KNOW YOU WILL!

lectual and human aspirations of Transportworkers in all countries.

Shipments To Poland Blocked.

As far as we can gather, any attempts made to forward the implements of war to assist Poland are being met with a general refusal to work. Without hesitation, Transportworkers have banded themselves everywhere as a party against reaction, militarism and capitalism.

We are in receipt of two request by telegraph from the Council of Action of the British Labor Movement, and from the Executive Committee of the British Transportworkers signed by Robert Williams, Harry Gosling and Ernest Bevin, to convey heartiest congratulations to French, German, Belgium, Austrian, Czecho Slovakian, Italian, Dutch and other Transport & Railwayworkers who are successfully resisting the transport of munitions of war on behalf of international capitalism against Soviet Russia.

It is a pleasure to us to send this congratulation to all Transportworkers and railwaymen and to add the warmest thanks of the Executive Committee of the International Transportworkers' Federation to all those workers, and not in the least to the British workers, who have so brilliantly performed their duty to Socialism, the revolution and their International.

Stand Fast For Proletarian Peace

Comrades:

You have seen to it that the instructions of your International Federation have been so far carried out as one man—in some countries under precarious circumstances. We thank you for this but urge you to remain alert and to maintain your splendid attitude until a just and proletarian peace has been achieved and in order to avert the outbreak of a new world war be alert.

Persist in your refusal to handle war material! Transportworkers, Seamen, and Railwaymen of all countries maintain the united front in the glorious fight against Reaction, Militarism & Capitalism.

For the Executive Committee of the International Transportworkers Federation
Edo Finmen, Secretary.

THE TOILER

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Alleged Prosperity

Bosses who have been pocketing billions, profiteering on the needs and misery of the working people of the country, are issuing bulletins and posters to be pasted up at every convenient corner, telling the working class how happy and contented it IS and SHOULD BE.

Why not?

Aren't the bosses happy and contented? Haven't they every reason to be? Haven't they been profiteering to their heart's content, with the United States government looking on — and **DOING NOTHING?** No, we are mistaken. We remember that a government agent arrested a small retailer in Brooklyn about three months ago — and **HAD HIM CONVICTED!** Glory to the Department of Justice!

But when these same bosses, of the "America First" Publicity Association, have the impudence to talk prosperity in the face of government reports on unemployment; when they have the gall

to talk about plenty of food for all and industrial peace, it becomes time for the workers to tell them a few things.

One of their latest "bulletins" tells us that "earnest cooperation in every field of human endeavor, with Uncle Sam standing by to see that fair play is given to all alike, will quickly open the gates to happiness and a new prosperity. It means food and raiment in abundance for all classes. . . . a permanent solution of difficulties which heretofore have arisen from labor troubles and the establishment of an enduring peace between employers and employees."

"Prosperity" in West Virginia.

Who said that Uncle Sam stands by to see that fair play is given to all alike? In West Virginia, Federal troops are being used as a strike-breaking agency and not for the protection of the citizens of the State. The mine owners employed gunmen and thugs and detective-agencies to spy on and shoot down American miners who WERE NOT SATISFIED WITH THE SPLENDID CONDITIONS THAT THEY HAVE TO WORK UNDER — the prosperity we hear so much about from the "America First" Publicity Ass. In Colorado, the government troops were ordered out during the trolley strike in Denver, because the men went on strike and refused to let scabs take their jobs. In the brass strike in Connecticut, troops were on hand at once, because the workers were earning so much money that they went on strike for wages and hours that would make it possible for them merely to live decently. When the port workers went on strike in Galveston, Federal troops were called out to bulldoze the workers:

In the steel strike, the government got "inside" information about what was going on among the workers BY MEANS OF SPIES, WEAKENED WORKERS AND DETECTIVE AGENCIES! In the railroad strike, the government suddenly became "law-abiding" and took the part of the Gompers' organization against the "outlaws". BUT THE GOVERNMENT HAD TO START A COMPLETE INVESTIGATION OF THE WHOLE RAILROAD INDUSTRY BECAUSE OF THE CHARGES THAT THE "OUTLAWS" MADE! In the coal strike, the gray-haired sage of the White House threatened the miners with the use of FORCE, if they dared to strike!

Legislation Against The Workers.

Legislation against the workers is the order of the day—see the Lever Act. Injunctions are issued by United States courts to keep workers from combining and refusing to work even if they can not earn enough to keep their bodies and souls together—earn enough to make it possible for them to turn up every day on the job in order to **HAMMER OUT PROFITS FOR THE BOSSES**. Criminal syndicalist laws have been enacted in twenty-nine States—laws that enable a judge to send a man up for 5 to 20 years, even if he does no more than make the workers discontented enough to want to join a union to protect themselves from the bosses—and from the government. The Lever Act is for the workers—but not a **SINGLE BIG PROFITEER HAS BEEN MOLESTED BY THE LAW!** If any worker thinks there have been no profiteers, then let him look at the price reductions that have been made in the past few days and he will see that for **FIVE YEARS THE BOSSES HAVE BLED THE COUNTRY, AND THE GOVERNMENT HAS SAID AMEN TO IT!**

Let us examine some more facts about this alleged "prosperity".

On Sept. 20, Franklin Lane, ex-Secretary of Interior, issued a long statement about a shortage of labor, mentioning, among other things, that "in the rest of the country, the demand and supply appear balanced". (Let it also be mentioned that this report was prepared for a life insurance company.)

On Sept. 19, the day before, the Department of Labor stated that "ten out of fourteen representative industries showed a decrease in the number of employees on the payroll in August". The automobile industry employed 10 per cent less men, the woolen industry 6 per cent, the leather, hosiery and underwear industries, 5 per cent, the car building industry 3.5 per cent, the paper making industry 1.5 per cent less.

And the "America First" Publicity Ass. has the insolence to talk about co-operation and "plenty of food and raiment for all".

There Is Plenty For All

There is plenty of food and clothing for all! There is plenty of work for all! There is no need of part of the population enjoying great abundance while the great mass of the workers slave and get nothing but food and a roof—and a poor one at that!

There are factories that the workers have built. There are machines that the workers have constructed. There are **REAL** homes that the workers have erected. If, as the bosses allege, at present there is no over-abundance of food, no plenty of work, it is because the bosses themselves decided to lower production and boost prices—and, therefore, closed their factories. And **THEY DID THIS IN DEFIANCE OF WHAT THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BOSSES THEMSELVES HAD SAID—that production must be stimulated.**

There are factories and machines and farms and homes — **but they belong to the capitalists.** And they and the government determine whether they may be used or not. Of course, profits must be made — that is what industries are for.

But what about work for the workers?.....

What if the workers one day should decide that profits are no longer necessary? What if they, **AS A CLASS**, should decide to take over the industries, mines and land, and **OPERATE THEM FOR THEMSELVES?**

That would be against the law—and the constitution?

For the present, it would be. And for the present, the bosses may live in peace. Also the government.

And the government may still make laws against labor, issue injunctions against the workers, send troops against them.

American workers in Montana, Colorado, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Texas and Brooklyn have answered governmental terror and force with counterforce.

What if the workers should learn to **ORGANIZE** their opposition and **FIGHT BACK AS A UNIT?**

Mr. Wood, president of the American Woolen Company, closed up his mills. They were his mills, so no one had the right to complain, 40,000 lost their jobs, 200,000 souls were threatened with starvation.

The workers are people of all nations: Italians, French, Canadians, Lithuanians, Poles, Syrians, and Franco-Belgians. Of course, patriotic Americans call them "aliens," but they are just the right people to produce \$43,000,000 profits for the American Woolen Company in three years.

Appeal To The Labor Unions

By The Communist International

(The following appeal from the Third International to the labor movement of the world is now being featured in the European labor press. It is reprinted here for the information of the leaders of the Toiler. — Editor's note.)

The labor unions numbered over ten million members on the eve of the fourth of August, 1914, when first the imperialistic slaughter began. Nevertheless, the labor unions almost everywhere failed to offer any serious opposition to the imperialistic butchery. On the contrary, in an overwhelming majority of cases, the leaders of the old labor union movement had placed themselves and their organizations entirely at the disposal of capitalist governments. The whole apparatus of the old labor unions was given over to the service of the imperialistic general staff. All the laws dealing with the protection of labor were revoked by the bourgeoisie with the full assent of the labor union leaders. Compulsory work equivalent to penal servitude for labor, extending even to sixty year old women, was introduced by the bourgeoisie with the approval of these very same leaders of the unions. Moreover, the administration of the old labor unions had delivered their organizations into a moral slavery to the bourgeoisie. Papers and magazines published by the old labor unions were sending their blessings to the workers who went to death for the sake and in the interest of capital. These papers repeated capitalistic lies about the "defence of the fatherland" and made themselves everywhere the propagators of bourgeois ideas among the mass of organized workers.

Old Unions Were Powerless

Corroded by the gangrene of opportunism, betrayed by leaders, nursed in the lukewarm atmosphere of reformism, the old labor unions showed themselves powerless to offer any kind of a protest against the imperialistic slaughter.

The so-called "independent" unions, directed by the Legiens* virtually united with the treacherous yellow unions—the suppliers of strike-breakers.

* Carl Legien at the time of the war was the Secretary of all the "international" trades unions with headquarters in Berlin. — Edit. Note.

But, presently, the war is over! An imperialistic peace, concluded at the expense of the people, showed even to the blind the purpose for which this imperialistic war was waged. The armies are demobilized, the workers return to their organizations.

What will happen to the labor unions? What course will they now follow?

The old leaders of the labor unions again are attempting to force these unions upon the bourgeois path. From the ranks of the "leaders" of the old movement came forth the most loathsome executioners of the working class, such as Noske in Germany and Páidél in Hungary. Tomorrow — Messrs Jouhaux in France and Gompers in America, if circumstances are favorable, will become the very same Noskes — the same hangmen of the working class as we have seen them in more than one country.

Characteristics Of The Old Unions

What were the characteristics of the old labor union movement which brought it to actual capitulation before the bourgeoisie? The narrowness of craft unionism! The organized separatism! The making a fetish of bourgeois legality! Depending upon the aristocracy of labor — viewing with contempt the mass of semi-skilled common labor! High membership dues, inaccessible to the average worker! Concentration of all management of the unions into the hands of the bureaucratic officialdom, degenerating more and more into a caste of functionaries of the labor union movement! The propagation of a "neutral" attitude towards the problems of proletarian political struggle—equivalent in deed to the political support of the bourgeoisie! The perversion of the system of collective bargaining, which in actual consequence led to the point where collective agreements were concluded by the labor union bureaucracy, enslaving the workers of a given trade for a number of years to the capitalist! The boasting of those insignificant improvements (for example, the only nominal increase in wages) which the unions succeeded in obtaining from employers in a peaceful manner. The accentuation, as if of primary importance, of the problems of charity and petty

mutual assistance! — to the detriment of the strike funds and the militant problems confronting the unions! The regarding of the labor unions as organizations which strive to attain but a partial improvement — within the frame of the capitalist structure — not in the least taking upon itself the task of revolutionary overthrow of the entire capitalist system! Such was the old labor union movement—the old trade unionism! Upon this background the Gomperses of America could directly bargain with union votes at presidential elections! Upon this background the Legiens of all countries could transform the labor unions into mere tools of the bourgeoisie!

The New Unionism

Will the labor unions continue to follow along the old, out-worn, reformist — in reality bourgeois path? THAT is the most important question confronting the international labor movement! We are deeply convinced that this will not happen. Through the suffocating structure of the old labor unions a fresh breeze blows! The "factory committees" that are being created in England, the "industrial councils" of Germany, the new crystallization centers within the French syndicates, — "the Union of Unions", as the Triple Alliance in England, the fresh currents in the trade unions in America—all this is indicative of the fact that within the labor union movement of the whole world a fundamental revaluation of values is taking place. Before our very eyes a new labor union movement is forming! What must be its characteristic traits?

The new labor movement must cast overboard all remnants of the craft union narrowness. It must ordain instead an immediate struggle, hand in hand with the Communist Party, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soviet regime. It must abandon the reformist patching of the worn-out capitalist garments. It must keep in the foreground the weapon of the general strike in combination with armed uprising. The new unions must introduce the principle of most rigid centralization and organization by industries and not by craft. The new unions must strive for the accomplishment of actual control by labor over industry and, afterwards, with the overthrow of capitalism, to take an active part in the organization of production by the victorious working classes. The new unions must wage a revolutionary struggle for immediate socialization of the basic industries — keeping in mind that without the

inauguration of soviet power by the proletariat no serious socialization is possible. The new unions must systematically banish from their midst that strata of "leaders" — bureaucrats — which is wholly permeated with bourgeois ideology, which is altogether incapable to direct the revolutionary combat of the proletarian masses. The new unions must effect that cleaning within their ranks which was accomplished a few years ago by the Russian labor unions and which is now undertaken by the labor unions of Germany and many other countries.

The Lesson Of The War

The lesson of the war has not been lost. The proletarian masses will have their say. The labor unions can no longer limit their task to a struggle for an additional cent or a dollar. Fantastic prices for articles of first necessity reigning now all over the world make completely illusory these "victories" of which the old type of unionists are so proud. The labor unions will either perish of their own exhaustion or else will change into truly militant organizations of the working class.





A mighty strike wave, shaking the entire European continent and also America and other parts of the world, remains as the proof that the labor unions will not rot at the roots but will undergo a speedy metamorphosis. The labor unions cannot and will not stand aside from those magnificent problems which are now attracting the attention of the entire world, and which divide all humanity into two camps of white and red. Every union is now compelled to take an interest in the questions of mobilization, demobilization, indirect and direct taxation, of the payment of war debts, of nationalization of railroads, mines, important industries, etc. With each day, to any member in the ranks of the labor unions, it will become clearer and clearer that neutrality propagated to the labor unions by the bourgeoisie and opportunists is a common bourgeois trick; that in the decisive grappling of the two classes one cannot be neither warm nor cold.

Division in the ranks of the labor unions has begun. A year will pass, and another, and we will not recognize the old unions. The old bureaucrats of the labor movement will become generals without armies. A new epoch will bring forth a new generation of proletarian leaders of the transformed labor movement.

The "Yellow" International

But, foreseeing this, the bourgeoisie is not drowsing. Through their long tested servants, through the old leaders of the labor movement, it is attempting again to take these unions into its hands. In Amsterdam, as you know, was held a convention which declared itself the international gathering of labor unions. Legien, Jouhaux, Gompers, and other bourgeois agents attempted to direct the flow of the labor movement along the old channel. The much talked of League of Nations, which is in reality a confederation of imperialistic robbers, convoked in Washington, and afterwards at Paris, a ludicrous convention for "the international protection of labor": having apportioned two-thirds of the votes to the bourgeoisie and one-third to the bourgeois agents such as Legien, Jouhaux and company, who call themselves "labor representatives"!

At these conferences, packed by the bourgeoisie, they are attempting to put a straight-jacket upon the labor movement which is awakening to new life! It is intended by the joint efforts of bourgeois ministers and the bureaucrats of the labor union movement again to place the labor

unions upon the Procrustean bed of bourgeois reformism!

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TURNS TO THE ORGANIZED PROLETARIAT OF THE WHOLE WORLD WITH THE APPEAL: —PUT AN END TO THIS BOURGEOIS DECISION! EXPOSE THE SHAMEFUL COMEDY WHICH IS BEING STAGED BY THE IMPERTINENT BOURGEOISIE! PROCLAIM TO THE WORLD THAT YOU HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE PUPPETS OF CLEMENCEAU AND WILSON!

Unions Play Important Part

The best portion of the world proletariat is extending demands for the formation of soviet authority, and the time is not distant when all mankind will win for itself the soviet proletarian form of government. Labor unions play a great role in the reconstruction of capitalist economy upon a basis of communism. To the labor unions will belong a place of honor alongside the soviets, just as we see it now in Soviet Russia.

The WORKINGMEN



**Demand the freedom of
Mooney and All Political Prisoners**

The WORKINGMEN



Demand the freedom of
Mooney and All Political Prisoners

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL FINDS ERRONEOUS THE VIEWS OF THOSE COMMUNISTS WHO EXPRESS THEMSELVES AGAINST THE NECESSITY OF LABOR UNIONS GENERALLY. **THE INDUSTRIAL COUNCILS**, FOLLOWING THE DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES (FACTORY COMMITTEES), WHICH ARE BEING CREATED IN A SERIES OF COUNTRIES, FAR FROM EXCLUDING THE NECESSITY OF LABOR UNIONS, ARE THEMSELVES BECOMING—AS IT IS NOW TRANSPILING IN RUSSIA—THE BASIC NUCLEI OF THE INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL ASSUMES THAT THE TIME HAS COME WHEN THE LABOR UNIONS, EMANCIPATED FROM THE INFLUENCE OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE SOCIAL TRAITORS, MUST IMMEDIATELY BEGIN TO CREATE THEIR OWN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION, ALONG THE LINES OF THE VARIOUS INDUSTRIES AS WELL AS ON A WORLD WIDE SCALE!

AGAINST THE YELLOW "INTERNATIONAL" OF LABOR UNIONS WHICH IS BEING ATTEMPTED AT AMSTERDAM, WASHINGTON AND PARIS BY BOURGEOIS AGENTS WE MUST OPPOSE A REALLY PROLETARIAN RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS. TO GO HAND IN HAND WITH THE THIRD COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

New Unions In Germany

In a whole series of countries the labor unions are undergoing a sharp process of change. In Germany, which was the bulwark of the bourgeois yellow labor union movement directed by Legien and Noske, a whole succession of labor unions are turning their backs upon the yellow social democrats and are siding with the proletarian revolution. A number of unions have already banished their leaders who delivered labor head and all to the capitalists. The labor unions of Italy are almost entirely standing upon the platform of soviet authority. In the labor unions of Scandinavia the flow of proletarian revolution is growing with each day. In France, in England, in America, in Holland, in Spain, the rank and file of the labor unions are forsaking the old bourgeois tactics and demand now new revolutionary methods. **IN RUSSIA THREE AND ONE-HALF MILLION MEMBERS OF LABOR UNIONS WHOLLY AND UNRESERVEDLY UPHOLD THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP!** In the Balkan states the majority of the labor unions have entered into close organized relation

with the Communist parties and are fighting under their glorious banner!

The First International (International Workingmens' Association), the directors of which were Marx and Engels, strove to unite within its ranks the various proletarian organizations including labor unions that in general that recognized not in word but in deed the revolutionary struggle and endeavored to attain the dictatorship of the working class. **THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL HOLDS THE OPINION THAT IN THE GATHERINGS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL MUST PARTICIPATE, NOT ONLY THE POLITICAL PARTIES OF COMMUNISM, BUT ALSO LABOR UNIONS HAVING A REVOLUTIONARY BASIS. THE RED LABOR UNIONS MUST UNITE INTERNATIONALLY AND BECOME A PART (SECTION) OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!**

Must Break With Yellow International

WITH THIS SUGGESTION WE TURN TO THE ORGANIZED WORKERS OF ALL THE WORLD. THE SAME EVOLUTION AND THE SAME CHANGE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE PROLETARIAN POLITICAL PARTIES IS INEVITABLE ALSO IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. JUST AS THE LARGEST POLITICAL PARTIES LEFT THE SECOND YELLOW INTERNATIONAL, SO ALL HONEST LABOR UNIONS MUST BREAK WITH THE YELLOW INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS GENERATED IN AMSTERDAM!

WE CALL UPON THE ORGANIZED WORKERS OF ALL THE WORLD TO OPEN THEIR MASS MEETINGS FOR THE DISCUSSION OF THIS APPEAL; AND WE ARE DEEPLY CONVINCED THAT THE HONEST PROLETARIAT OF ALL THE WORLD WILL SINCERELY GRASP THE HAND OFFERED THEM BY THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

LONG LIVE THE NEW LABOR MOVEMENT—PURGED OF THE DISEASE OF REFORMIST OPPORTUNISM!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL OF THE LABOR UNIONS!

signed G. ZINOVIEV,
Chairman of the Executive Committee
of the Communist International.

CLAY WORKERS' STRIKE

Uhrichsville, Ohio, Oct. 9th.

About the first of the year a clay workers union was organized in this town. Sometime in April the Clay Manufacturers Association decided that the Union was becoming too strong. The result was that five men were discharged at the Evans plant. A committee was appointed to meet the Company but they refused to meet the committee or make an adjustment in any way. A meeting was then called and a strike vote was taken and the vote was unanimous in favor of a strike. This week is the twenty-third the boys have been on strike but they will stay out twenty-three more if necessary. The company is importing scabs but are only getting about one-fifth of their former production.

Many of the men imported have been told by

the Company there was no labor trouble at their plant of any kind. Many of these men had union cards and immediately left. They are now building houses on their own ground thinking to hold their imported men more easily.

A Subscriber and a clay worker.

THE BETTER CLASS

The "better classes" are made up of all kinds of people. Bankers, lawyers, merchants, college men, and all people "worth while" are there. The latest recruits are the American Legionnaires.

Of course, the legionnaires are only there when the "better classes" have certain work to do. When scabs and strikebreakers are needed, when men are wanted to protect strikebreakers, all the "better classes", and the legionnaires and thugs and gunmen join the police, militia and federal troops in shooting "respect" into the bodies of the strikers.

In times of trouble, the "better classes" and all people "authorized" to carry arms, stick together against the working class.

The workers might learn something in solidarity from the "better classes." They might learn something in method from them, too.

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.

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The Councils of Action

By Max Worth.

European Correspondent for the Federated Press

"How strong are the Councils of Action?" I asked George Lansbury, Editor of the Daily Herald and one of the members of the Central Council.

"Strong enough to stop the war with Russia," he answered. "Strong enough to tie up every important British industry within forty-eight hours. And let me tell you, the Councils are not going out of business until this country has made peace with the Government of the Soviets."

Mr. Lansbury then explained how the Central Council had come into being at the critical hour when it seemed certain that the Government was about to declare open warfare against the Russians; when indeed, it was supposed that the Government had sent a drastic ultimatum to Russia. The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress, the Executive Committee of the Labor Party and the Parliamentary Labor Party each selected five members of the total of fifteen.

"The Council, so constituted, was called the 'Labor and Russia Council of Action.' Later, nine other men were added to the Council making its present membership twenty-four. A special Labor Congress, summoned to consider the emergency, endorsed the Council and gave it full power to take such action as might seem necessary to prevent the war with Russia.

Local Councils Spring Up.

"Meanwhile local Councils of Action have been organized in some four hundred of the principal industrial centres of the United Kingdom. The movement has grown like wild-fire and has behind it the unanimous support of practically every branch of the working class movement in Great Britain.

"The British people do not want to fight a war with the workers of Russia. They are firmly convinced that the Russians have the right to set up the kind of government that suits them. The Council of Action was organized at the psychological moment when it rounded up all of that tidal-wave of intense feeling.

"The real strength of the Council lies in the fact that it holds an economic mandate. It has

power to cause direct and immediate action on the field of production."

The Position Of The Government.

"What is the position of the Government with regard to the Council?" I asked.

"The Government holds that it is unconstitutional", answered Mr. Lansbury "that it is in fact a Soviet. Consequently they have launched a savage attack against the Council and everyone connected with it. And that is exactly what we needed to make our ground sure. The more the Government attacks the Council as a workingman's soviet, the more the workers will feel that they have to support it. The best service the capitalists can do it to go on with the attack.

"Take the case of the Herald. Before they printed that story about our having been subsidized by the Russians with Chinese bonds, our circulation was around three hundred thousand. On that attack, we went up thirty thousand. During the last few days, we have been attacked again — this time by the leader of the press. Yesterday we printed close on to three hundred and seventy-five thousand."

The Next Step Forward

"Organized labor must form a general staff, or must delegate to some other authority the power to organize and to act in all matters concerning the welfare of labor. Capital is organized today as it never was before, locked and interlocked together, regimented, ready for mobilization at a moments notice. Our forces must be in as great a state of preparedness and must never be caught lacking.

"At the present time we are in the throes of tremendous industrial difficulties. I believe that Lloyd George and British capital have deliberately organized and schemed us into the present position. They want a big fight with our forces, and they are choosing their own ground. The present Council of Action is authorized to deal only with the Russian crisis. What British Labor needs is a Council of Action that is on the job all of the time and ready to deal with any emergency."

"Bob" Minor's Speaking Tour

Were you asked to name, off hand, the greatest event of the 20th century, you'd probably reply, "World War!" Yet the World War, in itself was nothing unusual, except in scope. In point of lives lost and property destroyed and the invention of new methods of annihilation it does stand out. The fact is, however, that the War, not yet really over, is largely forgotten.

But the Aftermath—the toppling of the Mighty; elevation of the Lowly; kaiser and king join the army of unemployed; the czar goes to his reward. Dictatorship of the Bourgeoisie goes down before Dictatorship of the Proletariat. And today the international plunderbund of financiers and industrialists, ever so much like a bunch of hysterical cock roaches, scurry to cover when the white light of revolution is turned upon them.

He Saw Two Revolutions:

Revolution! That is the great event. Successful in Russia. Defeated (temporarily) in Germany. Out of the mass of contradictory reports appearing from day to day in the press of the land what is the real truth of the revolution? Would you know? Then come and hear Bob Minor.

Minor was there. He lived in Moscow eight and a half months, including the period of most desperate famine and lowest ebb of the Labor Republic. He knows the Russian revolution. He was in Berlin and witnessed the Spartacus revolution and its tragic end in the extermination of the revolutionary working class. He knows the German revolution.

The Story of "Bob" Minor

Minor's story is genuine, as he himself is genuine. He was born in San Antonio, Texas, in 1884. When fourteen years old, after four years school, he got a job as painter's apprentice. Let's follow him: Office boy at 15; farm laborer at 16; railroad construction laborer at 17; carpenter, member of Carpenters and Joiners Union, at 18. And then "the road."

Even as a kid Minor was in the habit of amusing himself and his associates drawing caricatures. As he grew older he turned his talent to account. He got a job as cartoonist on a small daily in his home town, and at the age of 21 took his village fame to St. Louis and went to work as illustrator on the St. Louis Post Dispatch. His caricaturing soon advanced him to the position of chief cartoonist on that newspaper, a position he held for seven



years. It was during this period of his career that he joined the Socialist Party, but in a splitting of factions Minor ceased to be a member.

On New York World Staff

Then to France, where he set up in a painting studio in Paris for the better part of a year. Returning to America he became a cartoonist on the staff of the New York World. However, his political education among the workers of France led to friction with the World editors. But as the Big War began they patched up their differences and Minor was set to work drawing anti-war cartoons for the evening edition. But when forces operated to pull the United States into the war and the big newspapers began to drop their attitude of neutrality, Minor and his editors again clashed.

In the summer of 1915 he suddenly left the New York World and went to work for the Socialist New York Call without salary.

Again we find him in Europe, this time as correspondent-artist for a newspaper syndicate. Upon his return he made a lecture tour of the United States, bitterly denouncing war, analyzing its causes, and predicting that a great revolution was certain to come at its end.

When the Mexican war scare came

in 1916, Minor was sent as correspondent. But while in the western states the Mooney frame-up caused him to enter into a long and bitter struggle to expose that plot. He was chosen publicity director and treasurer of the International Workers Defense League. As soon as the cases reached a deadlock wherein the corrupt authorities could not proceed with the execution of Mooney and his associates, he left his position and went to Russia.

In Russia and Germany

He was in Russia the greater part of 1918 in close touch with the revolutionary leaders. But immediately upon the signing of the armistice he crossed the border into Germany. He saw the magnificent, but forlorn, attempt of the revolutionary workers of Germany to establish a real workers republic; saw their betrayal by the reactionary social democracy in collaboration with junker and militarist; saw the revolution fail in a sea of workers' blood.

Soon after this he was arrested by the French authorities for making a speech at the Paris Labor Bourse advocating a general strike to prevent shipment of munitions to the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia. He was turned over to the American authorities at Coblenz, Germany. British, German, French and American authorities collaborated in making out a case against him which was said to involve the death sentence. The trial was to be secret, but newspaper friends made the arrest public after which the labor press of Paris and London made a protest so vigorous that Minor was released.

Dates In Ohio

And now he is going from place to place lecturing on the subject of the Russian and German revolutions. He will speak at the following points in Ohio: Youngstown, Oct 17th, evening; Bellaire, Oct. 18th, evening; Byesville or Cambridge, 29th, evening; Cincinnati, 21st, evening; Dayton, 22nd, evening; Canton, 24th, evening; Cleveland, 26th and 27th evening; Tiffin, 28th, evening; Toledo 30th, evening.