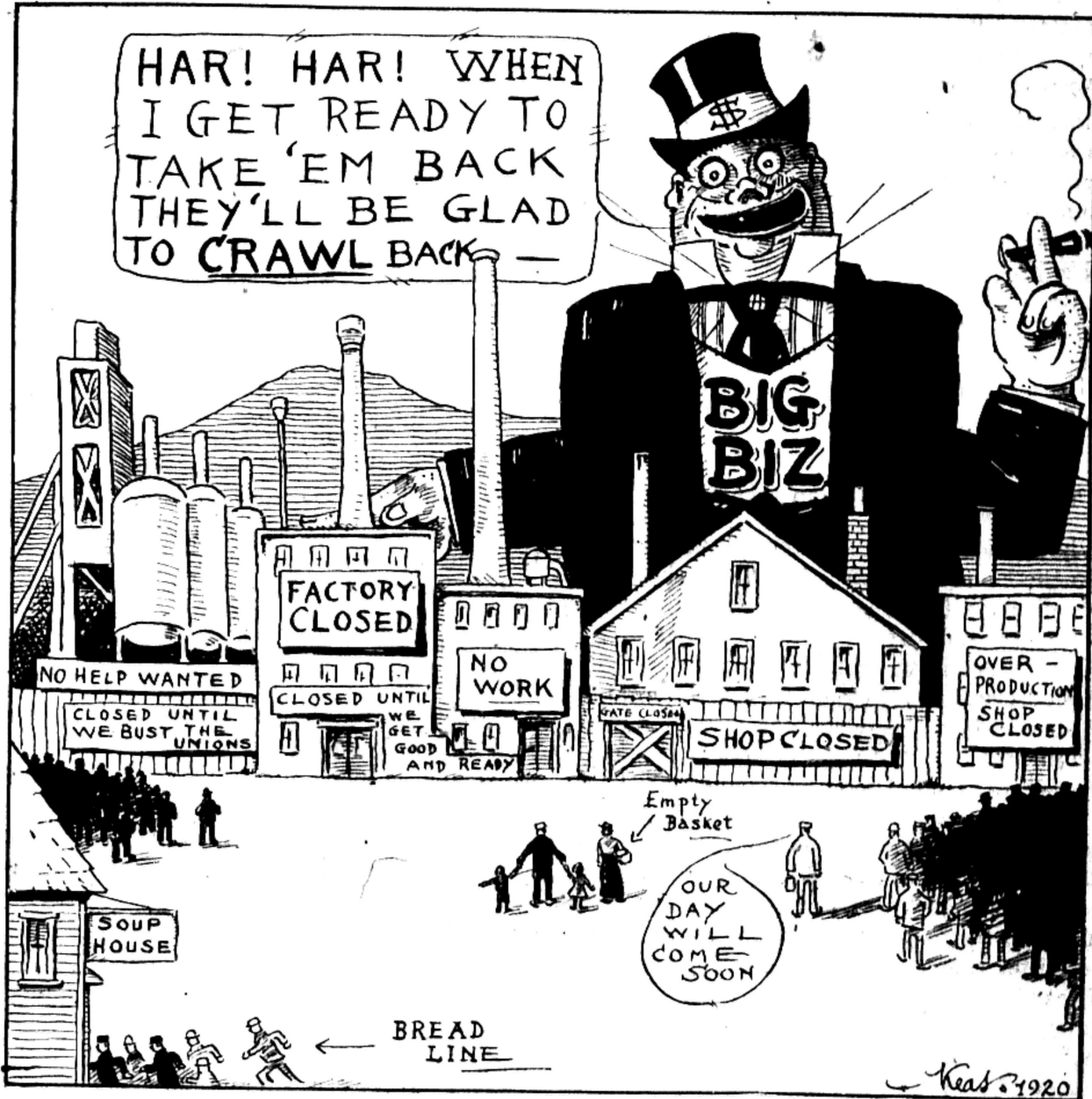


The TOILER

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The Power That Must be Taken Away

Another Letter On Trade Unions

By M. P. Black.

Editor of the Toiler:

I am sure that every reader of the Toiler is as delighted as I am to note that in your last issue you opened a discussion on Trade Unions with invitation to your readers to take part. Your answer to Comrade Cole was a splendid beginning for so timely a symposium. The subject reveals a large field for working class thought.

Since the Russian Revolution the popularity of the Soviets or workers Councils has become universal. We have seen in the last German and Hungarian Revolutions as well as in the recent Italian uprisings that these councils of workmen played a prominent role. In England the Shop Stewards movement and in Scotland the Scottish Workers Committees have been constantly developing. Due to the similarity of industrial conditions there is no doubt that this country too will, before long, witness the birth of this movement.

Trade Unions And Shop Committees

What relation then will the Trade unions bear to the shop committees? Will the shop committees displace the Unions? To answer these questions definitely would be mere prophecy. But by tracing the origin and development of both, and, by observing what conditions have obtained in countries where examples are more complete, some light can be thrown on their logical course.

So far, the trade Union movement has shown itself to be an organization for the protection of the daily interests of those portions of the working class, which, being related by craft, have banded themselves together. The mission of the trade union is to increase the pay, shorten the hours and to better the conditions of the working class.

Because of the failure of the Trade Union Movement to adapt itself to the changing conditions of industrial development, and its failure to discern the sharp contrasts and the irreconcilability of class interests, it has allowed itself to be dominated by a traitorous and pernicious labor bureaucracy. Such reactionary leadership has tended to nullify the true purpose of the movement.

While trade unionism flourishes mostly in times of comparative peace between capital and

labor, shop committees have their birth and thrive best in moments of greatest crisis. When Capitalist oppression and "sabotage" is at its height, when the working masses are faring worst, then it is that the workers' not along craft lines, but along industrial lines voluntarily organize into shop Committees.

Purpose Of The Shop Committees.

Is it then that the Shop Committees will be merely a new form of organization striving for the same things the trade Unions presume to offer? No. The mission of the shop committees is more than that.

The disintegration of Capitalism, resulting from the inherent contradictions within it, and hastened by the late war, has caused the capitalists to attempt, more strenuously than ever before, a new lease on life. Already in this country the owners of industry are adopting more and more the methods used by capitalism in Europe. They seem to find it more profitable to close down production to force acceptance of their terms on the working class, than to continue producing at a loss. They lay off their help and rehire them more cheaply. They fail to invest their capital at the time when prices are highest. This is Capitalist "sabotage".

All this, the trade unions, due to their reactionary leadership and their inefficient organization, are unable to meet. The workers must give resistance to these new and more vigorous class attacks. Since their struggles must be directed against the employers, they find themselves voluntarily organizing in their particular shops, regardless of political opinion, craft or nationality.

The owners are more economically fit to endure a long drawn out strike of the folded arm than the workers. The slaves are driven to desperation. There is only one thing to do — control the factories. But in doing this they meet the powerful opposition of the state. They are set face to face with armed authority. Then comes the political struggle. The shop committees are forced into open opposition to the Bourgeois State.

From this we see that the mission of the shop committees is workers' control of industry.

At the crucial moment they are changed from mere industrial shop committees to a political rallying point in the struggle for power.

Will The Trade Unions Die?

Either the reactionaries will retain control of the trade unions, in which case they will be a bulwark of capitalism, or, the bureaucracy will be displaced by a militant leadership, in which case the trade unions will perform a revolutionary function. Since the trade unions are, essentially, a working class organization the latter is more probable.

We see that the trade unions are still thriving in Russia. They served a revolutionary purpose during the conflict. And now with these very shop committees or soviets established as the organs of state power, the trade unions in Russia, now established on a more industrial basis are aiding and supplementing the soviets in industrial reconstruction.

The above article is excellent and we hope that every week we will be able to publish contributions that show the same clear insight. There is one point, however, in regard to soviets and workers councils that must not be overlooked.

Zinoviev, the president of the third international, in a thesis on Soviets has pointed out the danger in too premature organization of these very potent instruments of the working class. He showed, for instance, how the soviets that were organized during the German revolution were subverted to the interest of Scheideman Noske and Co. He tells us to observe also how the soviets in Petrograd, before the period when the workers of Russia took a decisive stand against the constituent assembly, were very often misled by Kerensky's followers and other reactionary factions.

When the idea of the soviets became popular in this country there were widespread efforts to organize local councils. Because there was no need for them they withered away one after another. The organizations of soviets must be preceded by certain definite conditions or they amount to less than nothing. There must be a period of national turmoil, with a spirit of revolutionary aggressiveness developed on the part of the working class, before soviets can be effectively organized.

The Editor.

"They Won't Stick Together"

Said Jim Crow to his buddy on the same job: "The trouble with the working class is that it won't stick together. Reminds me of a story I heard some days ago. You know, a drowning person is supposed to come up three times before he's finally gone for good.

"Well, a life saver at the ocean beach made a grand rush to save a guy's life that had fallen into the deep water. The life saver got there just as the drowning man was coming up for the first time. He grabbed his leg, and the leg came off. It was artificial.

"The life saver waited till he rose the second time and as he came to the surface he grabbed hold of his arm. The arm came off. Artificial again.

"The life saver waited for the drowning man to come up for the third and last time. He grabbed him by the hair. It was a wig and the wig came off. That settled it. The poor guy drowned because he couldn't stick together."

Join Veterans' International

The Rank and File Veterans, an organization claiming 261 posts and excluding officers from membership, has notified Henri Barbuss, secretary general, of its willingness to enter the Veterans' International, which was formed at Geneva last May with the purpose of preventing future wars.

The Rank and File Veterans' Association is composed of labor exservice men and others with progressive ideas. Although it does not subscribe to all the declarations of the Geneva conference, it declares itself in sympathy with them in the general idea, and stands against universal military training.

Other groups, such as the World War Veterans (Minneapolis) will probably be asked to affiliate with the international.

"ARE THE WORKERS READY FOR FREEDOM"?

Will be the subject of a lecture by Tom Lewis. At Bushnell Hall 127 Federal St. Youngstown, O.

November 14th. — 8 P. M.

HE WILL SPEAK AT FINNISH HALL, WARREN, ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON.

Only workers invited.

Fakes And Fakers

By S. Watts

Just how long labor is going to stand being fooled one cannot tell. The elections are over—the workers have voted stronger chains to bind themselves. They still think in the terms of their bosses, believing that what is good for the bosses is necessarily good for them, the workers. Well, isn't it true—if the boss has plenty of work to give us workers, don't we benefit by it? Of course—but most workers forget that there is work for us workers not when there is a real NEED of something being done, but only when the boss can make a profit out of our labor. That is why cheap labor is always in demand. And by cheap labor we must understand the kind that gives the boss the highest return for his money.

And just as we workers have thought that what is good for the boss is NECESSARILY good for us, we think that if we vote the bosses' ticket, we are voting for something good for us. Well, the workers voted for Harding and Cox and other fakers, and they got what they voted for.

Yes, they voted for fakers, BIG FAKERS, one like the other, and the chains will drag on them for the next four years—unless something happens to upset calculations. Naturally, labor having voted for THEIR men—whose names are Harding, Cox, etc.—the capitalists and the government think they may rest in peace for the next few years. Labor expressed its will, and put the bust man in.

AND NOW LABOR WILL PAY THE PENALTY!

And yet we are inclined to believe that labor will pay no attention to what it has done — The decision of Nov. 2. will be forgotten when trouble comes.

AND TROUBLE IS COMING! It is coming fast!

Unemployment is on the increase. Mills are shutting down or working part time. Workers are being discharged and taken back at a lower wage. Immigrants are coming into the country by the hundreds of thousands. Exports are diminishing. "Money is hard to get, so that manufacturers are not "opening up" new fields.

And yet the workers of the United States

voted to enslave themselves for four years more to the bosses!

Of course, the Socialists offered them a "milk and water" program by which they could "save the constitution" the constitution that gives the capitalists control over the lives of the workers. They offered them a platform for nationalizing industry—forgetting that the postal system is a nationalized industry, and heaven knows there could not be worse slavery anywhere than in the United States Post Office. Of course, the Socialists further promised "democratic control" by the workers, but failed to tell them that they would NEVER BE ABLE GET IT BY VOTING FOR IT! For Socialists have a very childish notion of things, believing that the capitalists and the government might get rightened if the Socialists polled a big vote. — Socialists actually think that if they got a majority, the capitalists would simply say "Well, boys, you've decided to take over things and run them yourselves, so we, as good Americans, cannot oppose you. Take everything we have—only give us a job, at least."

Only things do not turn out that way.

At any rate, "milk and water" did not attract the workers. They preferred to repudiate the League of Nations—and now they will not have to go to war—in Europe. Still, the workers had better not be too sure even of that! They might remember that "he kept us out of war" and we reelected him for that—and before we knew it, we were in the middle of war!

Besides, all the wars do not take place in EUROPE. There is plenty of room on this side of the ocean—and there are lots of rich prizes that our capitalists want over here.

But what has the League of Nations to do with the worker? He will be used for cannon fodder whether he wants it or not. He has elected a man to office who stands for a system that is bound to produce wars, and the worker will have to do the fighting! If Cox had been elected, the worker would have the same number of wars to fight. And if Debs were elected, the worker would be used for the same thing. For remember, there was a "Socialist" government in Germany that shot down workers— using those who happened to

be in uniform against those who were not. The Premier of Poland was another Socialist, and he led out the Polish workers to slaughter the Russian workers.

So the American worker got what he voted for—and he ought to be content for the next four years—unless something happens!

But something may happen!

No matter how he has voted, a man with an empty stomach; a man without a job and with a wife and children to feed; with the landlord pounding on the door for the rent and threatening him with eviction; a man who has lost his credit at the store, whose clothes and shoes get so shabby that he cannot even apply for a job; a man who sees the rich drive past in limousines, who knows there are beautiful palaces where there is no want; who has to look his children in the face and know they must HUNGER,—is a man who will not care much whether he voted for Harding, Cox or Debs. A man like that will begin to think of something different from voting.

Of course, all the candidates told the American worker how interested they were in his cause. Didn't Harding represent Wall St. and isn't Wall St. the friend of labor? Didn't Cox stand for the Democratic party, and haven't the Democrats in the past four years done a lot for labor—in the form of Lever Acts, forced arbitration, espionage laws etc? Didn't Debs tell of his love for the worker, and didn't he stand for a party one of whose spokesmen said that if the workers of another country came to this country to help the American worker establish a Workers' government here, he and his party would fight them? They all asked for votes—but votes won't fill an empty stomach!

With industry slowing down, with wages dropping with a thud, while prices remain in the air, with several men competing for ONE job, THERE IS TROUBLE AHEAD!

And do you think the American government and the State governments do not know that? Why are they strengthening their National Guards, providing them with tanks? Are National Guards used for foreign service? Why are they providing their police with machine and riot guns? Are the police used for repelling the enemy? Why are "best citizens" putting their trucks and motor cars at the disposal of the police—in case of "emergency", "strikes" etc.? Has the City become so weak that it must appeal for help to private

citizens—and always CITIZENS OF THE WELL-TO-DO CLASSES?

They have been doing the same thing in Europe. In Germany, the workers kept their arms when they returned from the war. According to the treaty of Versailles, the whole German people must be disarmed. The German "Socialist" government disarmed the workers—but let the middle and upper classes—the bosses and their kind—keep their arms. In Italy, the soldiers had not handed over their guns. The government tried to get them away—but it allowed the "best citizens", bankers, lawyers, merchants, to form White Guards to assist the State in "protecting property". In England, the House of Commons recently passed a bill empowering the government to take "any steps" in case of a coal strike. And this meant the use of force.

Governments are governments, and workers are workers. One government is called a monarchy, and the workers are in rebellion against it. Another is called a democracy, and the workers are forced to fight it. One worker is a Swede, another an Italian, a third a Russian, a fourth an Irishman, a fifth a Frenchman, a sixth an American—and they all fight when stomachs get empty and jobs are not to be obtained.

They have fought in Germany and Italy—but they lost, because they were not well enough prepared. And now they are getting ready to fight there again. British workmen are marking time for the moment, till they really know what they want and LEARN HOW TO GET IT! Russian workers discovered three years ago that they wanted a change—a complete change and they got it.

American workers have fought in sections. Thus, out in Montana, they have been ready at all times to fight for their rights. In Washington, they have lined up together against their bosses. In Michigan, Galveston, and now in West Virginia and Alabama, workers know that there is only one certain way to win.

So, although the workers of America have voted themselves into slavery for the next four years, when trouble comes, they will forget about the piece of paper on which they wrote the name of some faker. They will know what they have to do, taking an example from the workers of Europe, and of Montana, West Virginia and Alabama!

Waking Up a Local Union

By Bill S.

I think that there are many readers of the Toiler who, being themselves radicals, would like to hear of how four members of a conservative machinists' Union have carried on education and propaganda to the end of making that Local Union a decidedly progressive one.

These four members including my self are partisans of the idea that the whole A. F. of L. is conservative and that it should be made radical. The Toiler came to our attention. We chipped in and ordered a bundle of ten to distribute at our weekly meeting. Next meeting we distributed a bundle of twenty. Even with this little work we noticed an increasing desire on the part of the members for more of this kind of information. The next meeting we had no difficulty at all in selling twenty copies. Now we order forty, and they sell like hot cakes.

We made it a point at every meeting, though we are not speakers, to start discussion on current labor issues. Later we moved the election of an educational committee, and were able to have a part of every other meeting set aside for discussion of the class struggle. We were surprised ourselves at the interest of the members in newer interpretations of events from the point of view of the class struggle. Three of us being elected on this committee, we insisted that outside speakers be brought to our meetings to make these issues more plain to us. Already we have had two. One in particular was a "Red" and I thought that the material he was handling was as yet a little too strong for the membership. But apparently not; they all seemed to be at home with him, and hollered for him to come back.

The Progressive "Caucus."

Now instead of four there are thirteen of us who have formed ourselves in a sort of caucus for the purpose of doing all we can to uproot "gomperism" and teach the true and revolutionary purposes of the working class.

More than anything else, I think this proves the effectiveness of organized work in the trade unions. For years I have been radical and I have attempted to make my self heard. I have in the past both in my local union and in the central

body carried on a personal fight against conservatism. I now realize that the only effective method, is strong and compact organization of the insurgent element.

I am now a delegate to the central body, and thanks to the work of this little educational group I have now the support of my whole local union in every thing I say at the central meeting.

I am confident that the time will come when the rebels in the machinists' union will oust the reactionary leadership. Our influence is growing stronger and stronger. Now the thing is to organize our rebel forces on a national scale and put the finishing touches to these jelly-fish leaders.

Our next step will be to take action for control of the central body. That will perhaps take a little longer. But already I have gotten in touch with members of other local Unions who see things the way we do, and who promise aid to this movement.

Industrial Unionism Agitation.

We will keep this work up, waiting in anticipation for the time when as a National organization we will make the machinists Union in this



"Civilization's" Sign Post.



"Civilization's" Sign Post.

country a truly revolutionary working class organization.

We have been debating lately the question of industrial unionism. I am very strongly in favor of this as are those who are working with me. We are in hopes that it can be brought about by revolutionizing the trade unions from within and we are going to do our work along that line. If it can't be done that way, we are for it anyway it comes.

In spite of their as yet undeveloped class expression, I believe that the workers of the trade union movement in this country, as soon as they are relieved of the backward leadership, and, as soon as conditions force greater action, will be able to make revolutionary vehicles of the trade unions, some of them at least.

Already the Chamber of Commerce has expressed its intention of crushing even craft organization. This move must of necessity create a rebel spirit that can not be held back by Gompers. And as soon as this expression places leaders who represent the true working class interests at the helm—Good-bye Capitalism!

A general strike, which began in Pressburg, has extended throughout the whole of Slovakia, and now embraces Ruthenia also.

The strike was precipitated three days ago, when the Pressburg police carried off Pfifferring, editor of the Communist "Volkestimme", every trace of whom they have since concealed. Twenty thousand workers have downed their tools in Pressburg alone, and thousands more, including many peasants, have ceased work in the provinces. Many towns are without light and are completely isolated.

A Dollar For "Lenin"

In spite of the capitalist press campaign of lies, the world is gradually learning that instead of being the butcher he has been depicted, he is not only the greatest leader of the world revolutionary movement, but the foremost statesman of the world.

In fact, workers are learning that the capitalist-militarists of the world have carried on a murderous campaign of butchery, that they still are doing so and are preparing to continue to do so as long as they have the power. White Guard governments have gone out of their way to carry

on their butcher programs against Russia and other working-class governments. In truth, wherever the workers seek to establish humanitarian conditions of living, they are being butchered without quarter by the very powers which have been loudest in their hue and cry against Russia.

The White Guards' insane activities against the spread of the truth about Lenin and the Bolsheviks has been the cause of their own undoing. In order to prevent the spread of the truth they have resorted to the methods which they accuse Lenin of practicing. They have used force, arrest, persecution, jails, knock-downs, beatings and all manner and degrees of brutality to prevent the workers from learning the facts about Bolshevism.

To no avail. The facts are coming to the front in spite of all. The same is true of "Nicolai Lenin, His Life and Work", by Zinovieff, which The Toiler has published and is now shipping out to eager purchasers in bundles large and small. This work by the friend and co-worker of Lenins is one of the best refutations of the capitalist lies about Lenin that has been printed. And the number of copies we are daily mailing out is splendid proof that "force and violence" by Palmer's White Guards is poor munition against truth and workingclass determination.

It is splendid proof that beating up a worker does not delay for a moment the work of education we are carrying on. By no means. Quite the contrary. The workers are coming to the front with their orders for more copies of "Lenin". We have already shipped out several thousand copies, and the orders are still coming. Our readers can materially aid the circulation of this pamphlet by sending us a dollar for four copies, one for themselves and three to sell to others. If you want the truth to reach the workers; if you resent the brutal methods of capitalism and its agents in keeping YOU and OTHERS from learning the truth, you will do this. You will get on the job at once and put your dollar to work for WORKING-CLASS KNOWLEDGE.

Use the blank. Prove that you are a fighter.

I am enclosing herewith \$..... for
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Work" in order to defeat the Czars and Kaisers of America.

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Preserving the Unpreservable

Publishers are continually flooding the market with the output of capitalist apologists and fake economists. Numerous Saviors of Capitalism have come to the front with postrums of all kinds for saving the system of exploitation, of establishing new relations between Labor and Capital to take the place of the old ones which the world war and Bolshevism have destroyed.

We are constrained to make the foregoing remarks by opening one of these recent works at a chapter entitled, "Preserving the Wage System". To quote one paragraph: "We should be foolish to try to get back to pre-war wages or prices. The effort would only promote revolution. What we have to get back to is some new relation between labor and capital — not the old relation, but some new relation"—to preserve the wage system!

Some new relation! There's the rub. The workers are on to the old relation — the relation of master and slave, of exploiter and exploited, of propertied profit taker and propertyless wage-

slave. They, the workers are next to this relation — and they are organizing to destroy it by eliminating the parasite profit taker. They have accomplished this task in Russia and all Europe is on the brink of following the example.

But instead of offering a "new relation", the author only attempts to camouflage the old one— to cover it up with some more or less new fangled system of co-operation—in order to "increase production and guarantee profits".

There is only one relation possible between wage-earner and employer. That is the relation of antagonism. All the camouflages which semi-economists may concoct will not change that relation nor lessen its irreconcilable character. The wages system must in the very nature of social evolution pass away to give place to one of co-operation between workers only.

Questionable Nourishment

That foxy crook and misleader of Labor, Samuel Gompers, with his usual oilynes attempts to convince American labor that there are crumbs of comfort to be found for them in the "victories" of the recent elections. According to Gompers, 50 foes of labor were defeated and there will be in the next congress a greater number of "union men".

Gompers claims that this is a tremendous vindication of the non-partisian political policy of the A. F. of L. Gompers cannot conceive of working-class political action. His idea of working-class political action is on a par, to use the words of Tom Clifford, with the practice of shooting off a cannon a little at a time!

Gompers would never stamp a working-class political action with class character. He would never have the working-class ORGANIZED politically for itself with its own candidates and its own demands and programe. By no means. Gompers is not that kind of a "labor leader". He would have the working-class beg, plead and belly-crawl before the picked candidates of the capitalist class, first in the Republican camp and then in the Democrat camp, for the things it should, and must in the end, organize and take.

Now that the Democratic Party has so tremendously lost, he has turned his coat and pledges "the American labor movement including myself" to the services of the Republicans. Gompers'

crumbs of comfort will prove of questionable nourishment to the American workers in the four years to come.

One Clue Uncovered

A clue to much of the "red scare" that the capitalist press has thrived upon these past months is found in the arrest and indictment of Albert (or August) Bailin by a New York grand jury last week.

There are ten counts in the indictment, each of a violation of the postal laws. Bailin is charged with sending letters to various government officials threatening and warning of bomb explosions about to occur. These letters were signed with the forged name of A. Wagenknecht, former National Secretary of the Communist Labor Party.

Attorney General Maclay Hoyne, of Cook County Illinois was one recipient of such letters signed with Wagenknecht's forged signature. It is claimed that Bailin's purpose in the forgeries was to provide a demand for spies and Department of Justice agents. Bailin has applied for such a job.

We hope the government's case against this precious rascal is a good one and he gets what he should have. But we by no means concede that he is the only one either employed or unemployed by the Department of Justice capable, pernicious and willing enough to carry on such nefarious work. Not by a long shot!

A Tactic That Is a Boomerang

One of the "first aids" which the bosses apply to a condition of radicalism which he discerns among his employees is to "fire" the more outspoken, the leaders and those who appear to be possessed of insurgent qualities.

Of course the action is based upon the false supposition that depriving a man of his job is a sure cure for "discontent". Having thus rid his plant or job of these insurgent elements, the boss ascends into a fools paradise wherein no such thing as disturbing labor conditions present themselves to trouble his dreams.

But a slight analysis of actualities will convince even an unthinking employer that this tactic is in reality an absurd boomerang. In order for the employer to complete the first step toward attaining the object of his desire is that he find

new employees of a satisfactory lack of insurgency. However thoroughly he may comb the labor market, he is by no means certain that the new employees he hires are of less insurgency than the old ones. Radicalism and discontent are universal. The percentage is constantly increasing.

A second condition that also confronts the employers at this point which helps to turn his assault into a boomerang is this. These fired workers do not remain outside the ranks of the employed. Somewhere, they again enter industry, carrying their radicalism with them, "contaminating" their new acquaintances and fellow workers. They may now be likened to missionaries who enter new fields with an increased zeal for agitating due to an aroused enmity against the employing class. Thus the war is carried into new quarters and new fronts are opened up where the class struggle is given a new and virile impulse.

A striking instance of this is seen in the circumstances attending the striking railroad workers of France last spring. Since the strike 22,000 of the leading spirits of this national strike have been weeded out of the ranks of the employees. These militant workers have been displaced by other workers, not all of whom can be said to be satisfactorily immune to radical tendencies.

These 22,000 railroad workers have not starved to death however, nor migrated. They are still in France, and altho they have endured many hardships on account of their loss of employment and also because they were denied cards of "good conduct" when they were fired, nevertheless, they are in industry and he would be shortsighted who would assert that they have ceased to be radicals. As a matter of fact they have at thousands of new points begun new assaults upon the citadel of the enemy. They have carried the war into new quarters and there begun new "contaminations" of conservative labor.

If the amount of conservative labor was an unlimited quantity it might still be a feasible policy to keep industry free of these insurgent and radical elements, but such is not the case. Employers have combed the earth in search of just these ignorant and unclass-conscious workers. The only result has been that larger armies of workers have learned the need of class action. Firing the radical can never be less than a boomerang which strikes the employing class with increasing force as it is viciously applied.

Patriotism, Old And New

By S. Macaulay.

When the war was at its height, acts were committed in the name of patriotism, which in ordinary times would have been severly punished by the very persons who condoned them during the crisis. It is on record, for instance, that girls who submitted themselves to soldiers were not to be looked upon as having transgressed any law, either moral or otherwise. They were considered classes also developed. From the taking of captives it may be noted that this is an instance of how moral "laws" change to suit the needs of the ruling class.

Patriotism in early days, meant loyalty to the tribe. The derivation of the word itself is significant; "pater", a Latin word meaning "father" is the root. The chieftainship of a tribe was often vested in one family, and the head, or father of that family was looked upon as the father of the tribe. At this early stage of social development, the property of the tribe was held in common; it consisted mainly of cattle, which were often used as a means of exchange. Instances of the exchange of cattle for other commodities are common in ancient history. The point to be observed, however, is that the property was communal, that each member of the tribe had a personal interest in defending it against the attacks of enemies. Not only was this so, but it was considered the duty of members of the tribe to so defend it.

Here again may be noticed the economic foundation of "morality". That which was an obligation to the tribe was "right", the tribe had a "right" to the fulfilment of that obligation; what was good for the tribe was right, what was bad for it was wrong. We see, therefore, that in those early times, patriotism and morality were practically synonymous terms.

As society developed, its subdivision into classes also developed. From the taking of captives in war, arose the putting of these captives to compulsory labor for the victors, the demarkation of the social relations between the members of the victorious tribe and the vanquished prisoners. These prisoners — or slaves — were seldom admitted to membership in the tribe, and the class line, having been drawn, has remained.

It is not to be wondered at that, in the minds

of the slaves, the idea should arise that, not having any "rights" in the community, they should demand rights. History is full of instances of these demands. And the true history of the human race is the record of the struggles of the slave class to secure "rights".

The old communal spirit is still strong in man. Its animal origin is to be noticed in flocks of birds, of sheep, in herds of cattle, schools of fish, etc. But it has been prostituted; it has been diverted from its original simple purity.

The place of the old tribal leader has been taken by the ruling class of modern society, for, no matter what the form of government, monarchical or republican, the ostensible head of it is supported by the real rulers, the bourgeoisie.

It has been the task of the master class to keep alive the idea of patriotism, or loyalty to the tribe; but having imposed themselves between the slaves and the ruler, any support given the ruler must support them. All modern wars have been fought for the aggrandisement of the bourgeoisie, but the workers, the slave class of old, have to suffer.

There can be no doubt that the modern form of patriotism is dying. It can be included in the casualty list of the still unfinished world war. But in its place is arising a new patriotism — CLASS PATRIOTISM. It is not a new patriotism to the masters; they have been patriotic to their class in the past. But it is new to the workers; It has been forced upon them. The utter failure of the ruling class to efficiently manage the affairs of society—he who runs may read—has demonstrated the necessity of their removal from the management, and its assumption by the workers — the only useful class.

And let us not delude ourselves. It is not to be expected that after centuries of power, the master class is going to step gracefully down and out. Nor that, having been PUT down, that they will "stay put" without a struggle.

The transition from the capitalist to the communist form will have to be accomplished by a DICTATORSHIP of those members of the working class who are competent to perform this great task, who SHALL perform it.

Hold A Toiler Benefit Thanksgiving Day

THANKSGIVING DAY is almost here, within two weeks American workers will celebrate (more or less) the national holiday commemorative of the old New England folk custom. As far as material things were concerned the Plymouth Fathers and Mothers didn't have much to be thankful for, but then in another way they did. In the first place they made the almost fatal mistake of settling upon the most barren and inhospitable part of the Atlantic coast. Prayers and piety are poor substitutes for rich soil and a healthful climate when it comes to scratching a living out of the earth. Add to that condition their unhappy relations with the savage Indians who were seldom given time to get converted before the Puritans sent their souls to perdition via the lead route. Between the Indians and poor crops and disease, they hoed a hard row. Naturally enough those who were left alive at the time of the first harvest felt they had something to be thankful for. The average person will feel the same after committing a series of blunders the penalty for which he has escaped by the skin of his teeth.

But a lot of water has run under the bridge since that day. Where the Puritans fought and prayed and starved and hoed their corn American Industry, American Capitalism has entrenched itself in huge factories and these factories have spread over the whole country. In short, the factory system of production has supplanted the old home-farm method. American workers earn their living in factories — not in cornfields.

And the holiday of thankfulness as far as the worker is concerned has changed to. Somehow or other, he no longer feels that either Divine Providence or any other power other than his own brain and brawn are responsible for his being alive and kicking. He has gotten the ideo (from working in a factory) that unless he gets together with his fellow shop workers and kicks good and strong, and tactfully, and uses every method to beat the organized owners of factories, that the boss will be the only one to have anything to be 'thankful' for.

In spite of these past years of 'prosperity', American workers have as little as ever over which they may gloat in surfeit this November 25th. These past few weeks have knocked into a cocked hat any inclinations of American workers in that direction. Hundreds of thousands of work-

ers are now idle with no jobs in sight. If they have anything to be thankful for it surely is not the measure of prosperity they now possess.

But American workers have something to be thankful for. They have a greater spirit of solidarity in their ranks than ever before; a spirit that is developing tremendously in all directions. This is manifested by the recent large strikes and will become more noticeable from now on. American labor is learning that "an injury to one is an injury to all", and it is breaking down the lines of craft unionism that divide it when these stand in the way of SOLIDARITY. American labor has this development to be thankful for. And it should do everything within its power to develop this spirit and to make it serve labor in the struggle against the exploiters.

Intelligent workers will take advantage of every opportunity to do this. On all occasions they will stimulate this spirit and cultivate it among their fellows. The most potent factor and help in the workers toward solidarity is that portion of the workers' press which teaches class solidarity at all times and places. The Toiler is one of these. It consistently teaches the folly of craft consciousness as opposed to class-consciousness. It teaches solidarity as opposed to disunity and division of labor's forces. Such a paper is a valuable asset to the workers. It keeps alive the spirit of class solidarity that is beginning to be felt in the mass. It deserves your support at all times — especially now.

To go back to the first paragraph. Thanksgiving day is almost here. Prosperous capital has much to be thankful for. It will celebrate in its way. Maybe it will go to church and pray for more. Labor has something to be thankful for too—for success in Russia, for a shaking and trembling capitalism the world over, for greater solidarity; for a growing class-conscious press.

What would be more fitting than for class-conscious workers to hold a Toiler Benefit on Thanksgiving Day? A Social affair that would reflect this spirit of solidarity among workers? We have told you of our need of funds for paper. We have asked our readers who are in contact with groups of comrades to hold a Toiler Benefit for our Paper Fund this November. We want to emphasize that Thanksgiving Day would be a most appropriate date for these events. If you can't

arrange one for November 25th, arrange one later. But get busy you live ones and start the ball rolling. But Don't defer your own particular donation to your Paper Fund.

The Craft Strike Has Failed

By W. H. Adams.

Whatever may have been accomplished in the past by way of bettering laboring conditions thru the craft strike, the time has come when this means of warfare has proved a failure. That is, in its fullest sense it has failed. All the craft strike can hope to do is to shift a burden from one set of laboring people to another. The capitalists against whom the strike is aimed, remain untouched. If we are willing to admit that a gain has been made for labor by improving the conditions of one set of workmen at the expense of another then my line of argument is wrong. However, I am not willing to admit this. A true gain for labor must wrench something from capital and do it in a way that capital cannot pass the effect along and ultimately throw it again upon the working people. Let us take a case in point and see just how it works.

I live at a small station upon the Virginian Railway. There are twelve men working on this section. Let us suppose the section men demand a 25% increase in pay. The company refuses to grant it. The men go out on strike. Now let us suppose the men win the strike. The company calls them back and grants the full demand. This is the most favorable outcome possible for labor. What happens? The men report for work. The company will do one of two things, either directly or indirectly. Either the force of section men will be cut so the payroll will remain the same or be smaller or rates will be increased to cover the added expense. You may rest assured the company is not going to endanger either dividends or the salaries of high officials to give an increase to shovelers of dirt.

Let us suppose the company cuts the force, 9 men go to work at the wages 12 were getting before and under the stimulus of this increased pay are spurred up to do the work of the 12. The company is not touched by the outcome of the strike. Nine men gain, three lose. Workingmen gain and working men lose. Now let us suppose all 12 men are returned to work and rates are increased to cover the added expense. Added freight rates means higher prices at the

local stores. Most section men spend about all they earn at these stores. In the case we are discussing these 12 section men with their increased pay can meet the advanced store prices. But how about the other people who also trade at these stores and fail to benefit by the raise in wages of the section men? They lose. Then again the burden is only shifted from one set of working people to another. The craft strike has failed utterly. It has failed for this reason. The only strike that can possibly win will be one that can place the effect upon the capitalist employer in a way he cannot shift it. During the war some railroads paid exorbitant dividends on watered stock in spite of government operation. Some coal companies paid dividends running into the hundreds, 700% or more. Big capital makes its open boast of great gains. During this same period of gain for capital, strikes were more numerous than ever before. Some few of these strikes won but ultimately for the laboring people they all lost. Until working people come to realize that the capitalist army is well united, splendidly organized, thoroughly officered and strongly entrenched and that the only hope of success against this army is a force more united, better organized and officered, failure is certain to be their lot. The capitalist class understands this fact very well. This is the reason they fight the idea of the one big union so desperately.

"Laboring people of the world unite".

COMMUNISM and CHRISTIANISM

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By Bishop William Montgomery Brown, D. D.

The author, an Episcopalian ecclesiastic, has squarely renounced all theology and unreservedly accepted the Marxian philosophy of economic determinism. In this book, just out, he approaches the subject from a new angle and has produced a propaganda work that will be of intense interest to all students of socialism, especially to those who are still in close touch with church people. Paper, 184 pages, 25 cents, postpaid.

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Pity The Poor Employer!

By William Hard,

Staff Correspondent for the Federated Press.

I ask the American Labor Movement to rise and shed a solemn tear of sympathy for a certain sort of American employer. He is not very happy. And he is frightfully overworked.

Just think of what he has to do besides the ordinary old-fashioned running of his business!

Bright and early in the morning he picks up the consolidated report of the daily endeavors of his detectives who watch his employes. He learns that Jack Slaminsky and Tony Pretorio were heard yesterday to say that there was going to be a union meeting in the rear of Lanophoropoulos' fruit store. He calls for the employment record cards of Jack Slaminsky and Tony Petrario and studies them anxiously, including place of birth, name of mother, and checkmarks indicating behavior while working for previous employers. He calls for the employment manager to interpret the checkmarks. He phones the head of the detective agency to hire another detective to watch the detectives watching Jack and Tony.

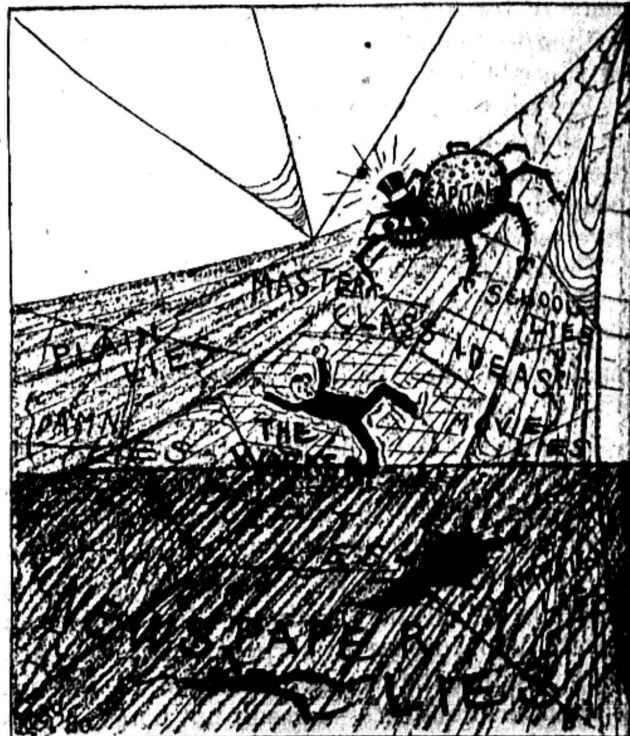
The brightness of the morning is broken. He turns with clouded brow to his incoming business mail. Ah! A letter from the Industrial American Corporation! This corporation will furnish a weekly printed talk to be slipped into the pay-envelope of every employe each week along with his pay. The employe will read this talk and will learn that most employers make very small profits and that the cemeteries of Moscow are full of workmen who have starved to death under Bolshevism, and then the employe will appreciate his employer and not join a union. Sixteen specimens of these talks enclosed.

Our conscientious manufacturer of warm worsteds for an otherwise shivering public reads the sixteen specimens. He had thought that no further solutions of the Labor problem in his factory would be necessary after his recent purchase of the "Man-to-Man Method" of the Industrial Peace Bureau. Under this method the door of the office of the employment manager is kept open by a catch or a

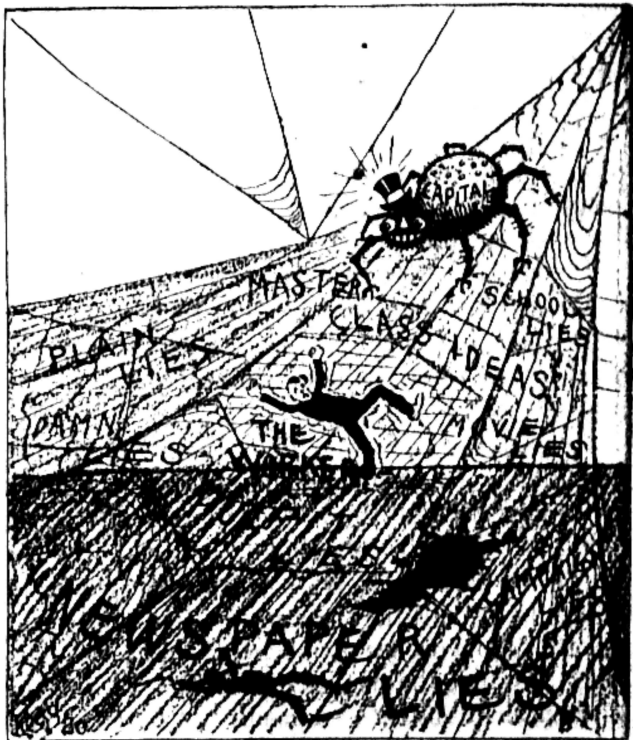
brick and any employe could always walk in and hawl out the company to him man to man. Yet now Jack and Tony were going to meet with some Bolsheviks in the back-room of a fruit-store.

Our over-worked—or, at least, overwrought—manufacturer meditates a bit on Bolshevism. His gloom is increased by a lady who bursts in to the room over the protests of the office boy and looses on him a great wind of cheery statistics about the number of un-Americanised aliens in town and the number attending the classes in English given by her branch of the new society for courses of lectures on the constitution. He can clearly perceive—she thinks—that a diligent study of the Constitution by the employe of worsted mills is today quite essential to the efficiency of the worsted industry.

Our manufacturer perhaps reflects that he has not yet had time this morning to do any-



A Trap that's always set.



A Trap that's always set.

thing about worsteds and there is a lunch ahead of him at which he is due to listen to a lecture by a reformed Russian Revolutionist who was chased from Nizni Novgorod to Odessa and out to sea by the Bolsheviks and who is going to speak on how to stop Bolshevism in America out of his experiences in stopping it in Russia.

So our manufacturer gives the lady his subscription to her society for readings from the Constitution and turns to his desk to try to earn his living as a manager of such things as looms. He then in the course of the rest of the day considers the following propositions brought to him by mail or through salesmen:

Membership in the nation-wide "open-shop" campaign.

Membership in the organization for promoting peace with the Orient by favoring the admission of Chinese laborers into this country to relieve the congestion in China and to increase the supply of free intelligent non-union labor here.

Subscription to fund for electing sheriff guaranteed to refuse to permit out-door meetings by agitators.

Contribution to owner of dance-hall about to rent it for indoor meeting by agitators but willing to change his mind in possible new light of contribution.

Project for shop council to be organized within shops by expert from American Shop Systems, Inc., who will train employes to elect council and be interested in council but not interested in union.

Project for new profit-sharing plan.

Project for new wage-bonus plan.

Project for new flat-wage-plus-deferred-annual-bonus plan, to keep employes on job till end of year.

Project for reducing labor turnover by loaning money to employes to build cottages that will moor them to the town and keep them from floating off to the next town.

Annual fees to twelve societies for promoting compulsory military training in hope that habits of obedience to corporals and sergeants may produce habits of obedience to foremen and superintendents—a result not noted in Russia or Italy but confidently anticipated here.

Cash by messenger to support lecture tour

by hero who suppressed Bolshevik revolution on Pacific Slope.

Five-hundred-word statement to business magazine on "How I Often Get My Workers to Work".

Purchase of assorted samples of devices from Industrial Inspiration Company, including time-clocks, entrance-gongs, exit-alarms, wires conveying continuous production record of each machine to electric needle running in ink on individual card in central observation station, and red, green, white, blue, and purple bulbs flashing in thirty-nine combinations before each foreman to indicate state of working activity of each worker at each moment.

Communication from president of local central labor body asking for interview; answered by letter saying "We are too busy manufacturing worsteds to have any time for taking up any so-called 'labor problem', and especially not with individuals or institutions outside our plant."

It is too much. No fellow's brain can stand up under it. And the labor movement will really be doing that sort of employer a great kindness when it pushes him out of his hysterical side-lines and gives him some finally honestly free workers who will do a day's work without any electrical watching devices stiched to their shirts and lets him therefore go on back to his own job of being an industrial manager, not a universal meddler.

NICOLAI LENIN

His Life and Work

By G. ZINOVIEFF

This is the book which Bob Minor says every worker in America should read.

If Minor, who knows Lenin and Russia and the Revolution, can learn something from this pamphlet — YOU ought to be able to do so.

Also you ought to get others to read it.

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"THE TOILER"

3207 Clark Avenue — — Cleveland, Ohio

My Own Shop

The landscape disfigurers of the Thos. Cusack Co.

By R. S. Rizwell

When the big Tire, flour mill and other large corporations that sell to the public have no other more profitable place to invest their Capital, they put it into advertising. This accounts for the existence of the Company that I work for, the Thos. Cusack Co.

This is the largest outdoor advertising Corporation in the world. It has branches established in every large city in the County. These branches are so-called sign studios, which are little more than centers of operation to deface the cities and countryside of the nation.

Who has not to their dislike seen the great walls of the cities made hideous by huge varicolored advertisements? Who, on the highway, has not seen otherwise beautiful landscapes marred by the objectionable commercialism of signboards? This is unessential, even detrimental, industry, yet thousands of workers are engaged in it.

For many years the Thos Cusack Co. has been a union shop, but only because their greatest competitor, the O. J. Gude Co. of New York, up until a short time ago, was a closed shop. I have seen in some cities of the country, and this is a migratory trade and I have been in no few of them, where union labor was highly exploited in order to squeeze the Gude company out. Imagine, Labor taking sides with one section of Capitalists against another.

Some people believe that the men who paint pretty pictures on walls and bulletins are highly paid. Very seldom does the wage of an out-door advertiser reach an average above that of the Carpenter and the Bricklayer. I have seen men who are really artists, men who are capable of greater things, hoist themselves up on a scaffold, many stories above the ground, and put their best efforts into a huge unsightly picture containing hundreds of square feet. And all this for less than ten dollars a day.

And then there is the helper, the assistant who cleans the brushes, swings the scaffold and fills in the big spaces with "mops". Even this work requires no little experience, and more nerve than experience. If a helper has not been in the business any more than three years he is very

poorly paid. These men will risk their lives clambering around on roof tops, hoisting themselves to dizzy heights, balancing on firewalls and sliding ropes for no more than five or six dollars a day. All this with no assurance from the company in case of accident or death. This goes to show what the working class may be subjected to.

So far, the workers in this industry are thoroughly conservative. There is one thing though that I will say for them, they are CRAFT conscious to the highest degree. Let us hope that it will not be long until these workers are CLASS conscious.

For my self I am convinced that the commercial business that I and my fellow craftsmen are now engaged in will not last very long. My trade disappears with the abolition of capitalism, but I am not worried. There are many other things to be done. and there will be one consolation, that we will not go colorblind from those develish motleyed signs.

And best of all, who knows, when the struggle comes, the final struggle between capital and labor, but what these very men, who are now engaged in upholding capitalist commercialism will be directing their talents for the last time in decorating the country with revolutionary slogans.

This is a joke. We know a worker who was called into the bosses' office the day before election. "I hear you are a Red, are you going to vote for Debs" the boss enquired. "I should say not," was the answer. "Geo, being a Communist saved my life," he told us.

As a part of the celebration of the third anniversary of the Russian Revolution the Commissariat of Justice freed great numbers of political prisoners. Of course that is not a hunch for our Department of Justice—but then we have no revolution to celebrate.

If the present industrial "depression" continues, we shall soon learn from our masters how "immoral" is the government's policy of blockade of Russia. The necessity for profits is the final arbiter.