

The TOILER

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If The Workers Only Knew It!

Labor "Leaders" and Workers' Control

By Tom Clark.

Some time ago, John Mitchell, of Civic Federation fame, died. He was the labor "leader", who was made a hero of by the coal miners. He was the man who worked up from the mines, became an organizer, finally graduating into the rank of "leader".

He used to meet the bosses at the Civic Federation. He had banquets with them at fine hotels, discussed labor troubles and labor affairs with them, drink champagne, talked about business matters in general, the possibility of bosses getting more work out of the workers and the workers getting more or less pay for the work, smoking fine cigars etc. etc.

He was the fellow who used to stand up for labor wherever the bosses were — in fact, he was considered a fit representative of labor.

He received a good salary — and the champagne and cigars that the bosses gave him cost him nothing. That he lost all touch with the working class was quite natural. With his salary, he could ride around in motor cars, live in good hotels, sleep in Pullmans, always have good food and wear nice clothes.

The only time he faced poverty and struggle and want was when he went to the union meetings or journeyed to the mining towns. There he saw the sour faces and bent backs of the miners; the black smokey yards and homes of the people; the bedraggled wives and children.

But that was easy to forget, when he left town in a Pullman and rode to New York to his friends of the Civic Federation, where they preached the "harmony of capital and labor." Harmony which meant that the worker had better take what he was offered or the government would take care of him.

Like all good men, John was promoted and became Public Service Commissioner — and finally died, leaving a fortune of more than \$334,000.

Then take our good friend, Sam Gompers. Of course, one must not even suggest that Sammy is taking graft. True, he gets a good salary, rides in Pullmans, stays at good hotels, dines and sups with his capitalist friends — the "friends of labor" — also at the Civic Federation.

The Bosses Applaud.

He tells them about labor's rights and labor's duties — and the bosses, who listen and yawn, and yawn and listen—think mostly of labor's duties. The champagne goes to Sammy's head and he talks about patriotism and Americanism, and he assails the Russians, and defends American "democracy" against the Reds in America. And he is applauded by the friends of the Civic Federation — even by Judge Gary!

Gary, at whose mills and in whose town (Gary, Ind.), no organizer of Gompers's Federation of Labor dare show his face. Gary, who engages thugs and detectives and gunmen, to mercilessly shoot down workers who dare to discuss labor affairs or even breathe about the advantage of organizing or joining a union!

Yes, this same Gary applauds Sam Gompers when he talks this highfalutin stuff the same as he would applaud a vaudeville artist or an occrobat. Why not? It's amusing —and Samy IS an amusing little cuss.

Only Sammy is an expensive cuss—costing the workers millions in blood and money. He is the man that ONCE was a worker, but long ago graduated, and now dines and drinks with the bosses. The only time that he sees the workers is when he attends a convention and delivers a papatriotic oration about the evil—the "Reds" are creating and the necessity of fighting them; or when he stops at a hotel or rides in a Pullman and sees his "fellow workers" who feed him, brush his clothes, attend his wants, etc.

That is what becomes of a labor leader who no longer knows want and hunger and unemployment; who does not know what a Saturday night is without a pay envelope—who does not know, from day to day, whether he will not be denied the right to work.

But Sam represents the dignity of labor—although that dignity was badly damaged when he went to the Republican convention to talk about labor, and they told him to get out. And when he went to the Democratic convention and they put a few words in their program, just to let the folks know that Sam had called.

When Sam dies—of course, long, long after he is dead, we may hear of the snug little fortune Sam saved up, after paying all expenses. For Sam's friends are rich men—the biggest men in the country—and big men know how to handle fellows like Mitchell and Gompers. They will coddle them and flatter them and bribe them as long as they NEED THEM—and then they will KICK THEM OUT! But unfortunately for labor, THEY DO NOT KICK THEM OUT SOON ENOUGH.

Just Part Of The Game.

And now our good friend Robert Brindell stirs up a mess, just because he went a little too far. He, too, was a labor "leader" one of the better sort. He actually ran the whole building industry—ordering the men and the bosses about. The bosses paid him graft—the men did the same. It is hard to say which paid him the most. Both parties loved Bob and tried to outdo the other in generosity towards him. \$25,000 was nothing for Bob to take to "arrange" a job to suit the bosses, or as his price for calling off a strike. \$10 a week Bob thought just right for ordering the builders about; and then he received \$1 a year from each of the 30,000 men organized in "His" union.

Yes, it was truly "HIS" union. Bob ran it for all it was worth. He was the friend of governors, mayors and big business men. He and a lawyer dictated what should and should not be done. And their word—that is HIS word, for he had the final say—was LAW!

It went along very pleasantly, everybody was satisfied, even the workers who were bled, week in and week out, and the bosses, some of whom were even ruined. Well, what would you do about it? Things were that way, and that was all there was to it. Workers have got used to expecting their "leaders" to be grafters—just as they expect it of all politicians. It simply is part of the game.

Bob is said to own \$1,000,000. They are going to try him for graft. Capitalist papers are taking keen advantage of his case, in order to fight organized labor. The capitalist think they now have a good reason for demanding the open shop, because men under the influence of such "leaders" as Brindell and others, have no choice, are not free men, cannot enter "freely" into an agreement. And, of course, this is contrary to the United

States constitution. And since hard times are coming, the bosses insist on saving, at least, the constitution!

An Endless Line Of Fakirs.

One could go on endlessly, telling how Lewis, the mine leader, fell down and betrayed the workers, because President Wilson waved the flag, and Lewis declared he was a 100% patriot and could not, would not, fight when his president ordered him not to! One could tell of Berry of the Typographical Union, who sold out the printers, who were just about to close agreements with the bosses, giving them higher wages and shorter hours, when Berry stepped in and stopped it.

One could tell about the Brooklyn Rapid Transit strike, when the leaders refused to call out all the men, which would have assured a victory—refused because the "PUBLIC" might suffer!

But why go on? It is the same story from beginning to end. LABOR LEADERS ARE LABOR BETRAYERS! It is high time for workers to learn this fact. It is time for them to understand that any man who leaves the ranks of labor to become a leader, who has no touch with work any longer, who is given a high salary that makes him forget the position of the workers, is very, very likely to betray the workers in a crisis.

Do not think it is different anywhere else. Look at England, France, Germany. It is the leaders who always back down and refuse to fight. They are always for compromising—always for giving in—until driven by the rank and file, which does the work and does the suffering.

Time For The "Shop Committee."

It is time, fellow workers, that we put an end to this system of graft. It is time that something

A PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN REED.

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else was organized to take its place.

This does not mean that you should get out of the A. F. of L. No, **STICK RIGHT THERE!** But fight for a change there—for the big change! **Fight for a system that will give you all the power.**

Fight for a Shop Committee System, for a system by which the workers will get REAL control of their work.

Fight for a system in which all the workers in a shop, no matter what kind of work they do, will elect a Committee to deal directly with the boss and to settle all internal shop matters. This Committee also represents the shop workers in a Community Council of the industry. The Community Council elects a Local Executive Committee which has power to negotiate with the bosses of that industry in the whole city.

Each delegate to the Committee is responsible to the workers who elect him. He must take their instructions. He must report to them. Just as they elect him, they may remove him—without a moment's delay. Just as every member of the Community Council may be recalled, the members of the Executive Committee may be recalled. In this way, the Rank and File control!

The Community Council elects a delegate to a District Council. This Council is composed of delegates from all sections of the industry within that district. And, finally, all the Districts send delegates to a National Council of the industry, that will control the industry on a national scale.

Then again, each industry in a city will elect a delegate to a Joint Community Council, which will represent all the industries in the city. And in the same way, a District and National organization will be built up that will control all the work of the country.

Workers Now Have Full Control.

This will put an end to labor leaders, labor grafters. This will ensure control by the workers. This will build up a Rank and File system that NOBODY CAN SELL OUT OR FEED ON! This will be a system that nothing can break. Furthermore, as the purpose of a union is to fight the bosses, this form of organization is the only one by which the bosses can be fought effectively.

Workers in the shop, doing all the work, knowing everything connected with the shop, will dis-

cuss shop affairs at their shop meetings. All affairs will be settled by men employed directly in the shop and not by a business agent or walking delegate who knows nothing about the shop. In addition, when disturbances occur during working hours, the workers are willing to fight. After working hours, they are tired and want to forget all about their daily toil. For that reason, very few attend their union meetings, except at critical times—and even then, they frequently do not. The result is that their "leaders" use them as they please, selling them, binding them, enslaving them.

This unified system enables the workers to combat all schemes of the bosses. And they will have to be prepared to fight the bosses very vigorously.

Prepare For The Coming Conflict.

Hard times are ahead. The bosses are resolved to smash the unions. They do not say that in so many words. They speak of the open shop—the American plan—but the purpose is the same. Their aim is that, when there is not much work to divide up among the great number of idle hands looking for work, they will employ only non-union men, and in this way smash the unions.

So now is the time, fellow workers. Build up the Rank and File movement. Agitate for it and fight for it in your shop and union. Fight for Shop Control, for Control of Production.

It will be indispensable in the bigger, far bigger struggle that is coming. It is the big fight between the bosses as a class and the workers as a class. It is the fight to determine who is going to manage industry—the bosses, the exploiters, or the workers. It is the fight to fix once for all, whether the workers are to work for themselves as a class, or for the bosses. Whether the workers shall rule, or the bosses.

Behind the bosses stands the government, ready to support them and break the workers. Behind the bosses stand the law and the courts and the press and the schools—all to be used against the workers. Behind the bosses stands EVERYTHING EXCEPT THE WORKERS THEMSELVES!

So it will be a grand struggle between the organized force of the workers and the organized power of the capitalists and the State.

This struggle is what took place in Russia. It is now taking place in Germany, Italy and England. It is the struggle that must come all over the world—wherever there are workers and bosses.

Its outcome is sure. Nothing can resist the workers, when, driven by need and oppression, they resolve to put an end to exploitation. But when that day comes, the workers must be pre-

pared to operate all industry, so that there will be no stoppage. They must be able to produce more and supply more than at present—for they are fighting for the change in order that things may be better than to-day.

The Shop Committee against the labor grafter—the Shop Committee against the bosses. Let that be your slogan!

The Strike And The Wife

By Gertrude Nafe

In any strike, and especially when a strike is long continued, there is usually a struggle in many homes among the strikers. The man and his wife represent two points of view. The wife says, "We have brought these children into the world. We must take care of them. What right have you to starve your own children for any notion. Go back to work."

The man says, "I can't scab upon my fellow workers. It is only because after these centuries we have learned to work and stick together that we can keep from starving together. I must stay out."

Which is right?

I say both.

And I say that the two points of view can be reconciled. The mother is right so far as this: that it is too hard to have to see one's own children starve. It is unfair to them, when they are so young, to throw on them the burden of making the world a better kind of place even at the cost of their own little helpless lives.

On the other hand, the man is even more right: that those who cannot stick together will starve together.

In the old days before there were unions, it was not only some children who suffered during strikes. All the children of the workers suffered all the time. The poor bits of bread that were thought enough for workers' children, and the horrible homes they lived in, the rags that they called clothes, are some of the abiding horrors of the workers who read history. At the time when the factories first began to take the place of work in the home, conditions suddenly got much

worse, and children worked sixteen and seventeen hours a day. Orphan children were often sold outright to factory managers, who worked them to death. We cannot give up the union. Nothing has or ever will improve the condition of the workers except their determination to stick together and make the conditions better. But we need not bring into the world more children than we can take care of.

Why do we bring into the world more children than we can decently take care of? A man and his wife usually know how many children they can have, who can be well taken care of. Why not have that number and no more? Is it not better to bring up two or three happy and healthy children who will have a better chance than their parents, than to bring in nine or ten who have nothing but misery to look forward to? "Quality not quantity" must be the human being's slogan. In the first place, when the birth rate is low the infant death rate is low. The oyster with its two million young is not the highest type of parenthood. Nearly all of the two million must die. If you go up the scale of animals you find constantly three things: fewer children, much longer and continued care of the few, and a smaller death rate. When you get to the higher animals they bring forth very few young, and take care of those they bring forth. Man has the fewest offspring of any animal, except, perhaps, the elephant. The human infant is more careless than the young of any other animal and must be taken care of a much longer time. And upon these two things man builds his superiority over the other animals.

With anything so helpless as the human infant to take care of, Man had to learn to stick together in order to save himself from utter destruction. Among savages many more babies are born than among civilized people, and many more die. Not only do they die naturally, but the savage, faced with starvation and knowing no other way, has very often an understood custom of killing a certain number of the children that are born, especially in famine time.

As we go up the scale the more highly developed the human beings become the fewer children they have, and the more chance there is that each child born will live and grow up. At present the statistics in the United States show that babies born into poor families have about half the chance to live that babies have who are born into well-to-do families. This is not only because of the brutal fact of the difference in the kind of food that can be given the richer babies, although that is true enough, too. It is partly because well-to-do mothers mainly know how to limit their families, and so have time and strength to take care of each baby that comes. This is a matter of life and death to the baby, and often to the mother too.

This one vital piece of knowledge is the natural right of every human being. Consider two families. In the first "nature" is allowed to take its course. In the second they have decided that man's mind is part of nature, and that intelligence is not unnatural. In the first family we find an illicared for hungry horde of children, who can never come to any real maturity of mind and body. Their parents are too worn and tired to re-

member that they have a right to be human beings as well as parents. They are so afraid of another unwanted child that their own love and companionship has become poisoned, and are so helpless to take care of the children that are already here that sheer despair about it makes them seem indifferent. Of course, the wife scolds and cries and threatens when the man of the house goes on strike. How can she see the needs of the future? The needs of the present are too terribly pressing. They are all caught like animals in a trap.

On the other hand, in the family that has only the number of children it can take care of, there are two people who can look ahead and plan for their children. Those two people will find that the only way they can take care of their own children is to plan for all the children of all the workers. They will realize, both of them, that they cannot allow wages to be cut for the sake of their own children, that they must fight it through. The habit of taking good care of their own children and thinking steadily for them, is one that will go down so deep into their minds that they will realize that they must think ahead not a month or two, but years; that the workers of the world must stick together to the end at any immediate cost, or they will be thrust under into a slavery worse than the worst savagery. If the workers are going to build together a firmer and happier world one of the first steps is to get that knowledge of their own bodies, which is an essential part of freedom, and the foundation of an intelligent control of our own lives.

The International Financial Conference

S. Macaulay

In an address on the above topic given before the Canadian Club recently, Mr. J. H. Gundy, who was present at the Conference, makes some very interesting remarks and disclosures.

After enumerating the countries represented, including Canada, Mr. Gundy says that the inclusion of Canada should be taken as a great compliment to the position that Canada is given among the nations of the world.

With true bourgeois complacency, our friend entirely loses sight of the fact that the inclusion of Canada among the nations who are looking for

markets, for their surplus products, simply means that another competitor has arrived on the scene; that a country which has till now been comparatively in the background, is about to become a producer, and, as such, must find a market.

The Imperialist policy of the development of "backward" countries, notoriously in China, if followed to its logical conclusion, must result in the downfall of the capitalist system; for what will happen when all countries are producers, and there is no market? It is a big question; the man who thinks, can see in such a system the fruit-

ful source of interminable wars, each more murderous and savage than the last. The only antidote to this pernicious policy is the overthrow of the class that formulates it.

Getting down to brass tacks, Mr. Gundy reports that it was shown at the Conference that the international debt of the belligerent countries of Europe is now 155 billion, whereas before the war it was 17 billion, an increase of over 900%. The external debt is 11 billion to the United States, and 8 billion to Great Britain. The specification of these enormous sums of money is meaningless to the average wage plug, but is sufficient to show that the capitalist system has been proved, in the most convincing manner, to be unable to cope with the crisis which has arisen in consequence of the inherent contradictions of that system.

Speaking of the increase of currency, Mr. Gundy states that the currencies of the various countries have increased enormously; Great Britain's by 250%, France's and Belgium's by 380%, and Germany's by 833%. The effect of this upon prices is apparent. "The condition in Germany now is," says Mr. Gundy "that if a man owed \$100 at the outbreak of the war, he could pay it off for \$4 in gold today."

Now, Mr. Wage-plug, what say have you or I had in the matter of the issuance of this currency? Absolutely none, and yet we are the people who are affected most.

Vice-President Brand, of the Conference, showed that the Conference had to decide upon a plan whereby every country could raise enough money to pay its debts. "If sufficient money cannot be secured by raising the revenue to pay expenses, it will mean increased currency, which will cause higher prices, and a deficit." A bright outlook.

"Inflation of currency and borrowing by governments and municipalities must cease" says Mr. Brand, "and every possible effort made to increase the wealth of the countries by greater production, harder work, longer hours and greater taxation." Do you get that, Mr. Wage-plug? YOUR country was represented at this Conference.

"The method adopted in Sweden, United States and Great Britain to check inflation, . . . was to put up the rate of interest. . . . The increase in rates in Sweden PREVENTED INCREASE OF

WAGES AND INDUSTRIAL UNREST." How are you going to deal with that, Mr. Craft Unionist of the A. F. of L.

The commission on international trade, a part of the Conference, recommended that tariffs must not be increased too much, and embargos must not be placed on any of the countries. No credit must be given to any country that does not consider its neighbors as it does itself. It would be interesting to have the views of the various Manufacturers' Associations on these items. But how, in the name of common sense, is the golden rule, mentioned above, to be applied under a system of cut-throat competition?

The commission on credits recommended that, as the time for government credits is over, credits should be given by banks and other organizations, to similar institutions in the borrowing countries. There is the voice of FINANCE CAPITAL, the Emperor of the Earth. How can any sane man expect "democracy" to exist under such an empire?

No, comrades, their deMOCKracy is not for us. The howl for democracy comes from the petty bourgeoisie, chafing under the dictatorship of "big business." We don't count.

The Financial Conference is a confession of failure on the part of the ruling class. Forces they do not understand are at work. Such of the facts as they have seen fit to make public, bear witness to their incompetency, to their pig-headed refusal to acknowledge the economic truth of the fundamentals of the Socialist philosophy set forth fifty years ago, by Marx and Engels. The gigantic machine they sought to control now controls them. They have failed.

AND THE ALTERNATIVE? THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE. WHAT IS IT?

The organization of the workers for the control of industry, and the distribution of the products of industry. That is the alternative. And the means to this end? What are they? **AGITATION, EDUCATION, ORGANIZATION.** Organize into a solid industrial phalanx, form shop committees for the distribution of literature, join study classes, labor colleges, **THINK FOR YOURSELVES**, and when the time comes, **ACT FOR YOURSELVES.**

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Capital's Changed Tune

The present unemployment of millions of men affords a striking instance of the folly of the workers falling into step to the varying tunes played by capitalism's spokesmen. It was only a few weeks ago that every politician, including the President-elect, as well as other nostrum peddlers were telling the workers that **INCREASED PRODUCTION** was the sole hope of humanity. They bewailed in tear bringing tones the disinterestedness of the worker in turning out a huge product every day. They cited the terrible consequences to follow unless the workers speeded up production. More production, more production was the whole burden of their song.

Now, all this has changed. Now they are sabotaging production. They refuse to allow production to proceed. They have closed and locked the factory doors. However willing or anxious workers may desire to produce, however needful it be that workers do produce in order to earn wages with which to live, they are not allowed to

work. They are locked out. They are denied the right to live by honest toil. They are denied the right to produce the necessities of life for themselves and families. The bosses are on strike against the workers. It is **THEY** who now refuse to produce.

From "more production" their tune has changed to "no production". If the workers had followed the bosses' advice and broken their backs to turn out more product, it would have meant an earlier closing of factories, more hunger and privation for them. Workers ought to see in this sabotage of production by the bosses that it is always against the workers' interests that the bosses agitate. Whether their demand is for more production or no production it is aimed at the workers. What they intend, is never under any circumstances expected to benefit the workers, but only to enslave them more securely, to exploit them more deeply and to keep them in merciless and helpless subjection.

Whatever song the capitalists sing, be sure it is a song of triumph over the prostrate worker. It is high time workers began to see the lesson in this present unemployment period. If it lasts as long as is indicated at present, the lesson will be forced into their skulls in spite of their unwillingness to learn.

The Union Label

Unionized printers presume to be very particular about the union label appearing upon the publications **THEY** print. To hear them scoff in scornful tones at some workingclass propaganda appearing without the label, one would think they were 33rd degree unionists who could never be prevailed upon to drag in the mire any sacred principle of unionism.

But it is mostly noise. A glance at the publications, monthly, weekly, daily, convinces that the printing trades are very short sighted in their union policies. Whatever publication one picks up he is confronted with the Open Shop propaganda. Every avenue of public information is being carpeted with this capitalist propaganda. And an immense part of it is the work of unionized printers. Union operators man the linotypes, union stone men make up the forms, union pressmen operate the presses, and union news boys peddle

the output on the street. The union label blesses the product.

We cannot imagine anything that would make the devil laugh more heartily than this. The idea of union men propagandizing the destruction of their own union must surely make him howl with delight—supposing of course, that he is interested in the battle between Labor and Capital. Neither can we imagine anything more pleasing to the capitalists behind the Open Shop program than to have the "good union men" cut their own throats in this way.

Of course, the union printer will answer that he **MUST** do this. There is a sacred contract which binds him to turn out the work he is given to do. Yes, and the same good union men were tickled to pieces when they finally prevailed upon the boss printers to sign those contracts! If their unionism were based upon the revolutionary principle of emancipating the worker from wage slavery instead of making a series of truces with the bosses, they would not have any contracts, much less "sacred" ones with which to undermine their own organization at the will of these exploiters.

But that is the lesson they may learn soon. Continue to preach your masters' sermons, publish his lies, defame yourself and your union brothers, destroy the organization which is the result of scores of years of effort—and when you have accomplished the task of reducing yourselves to crawling worms under your bosses' heels, then, perhaps, you will see the folly of your outworn craft unionism with its contracts—sacred or otherwise.

An Absurd Proposal

"Among plans proposed (by the Cincinnati Central Labor Union to combat the bosses' Open Shop Propaganda) was the stimulation of the co-operative movement to the end that employes go into business for themselves when a strike is called." News item.

The long-drawn out absurdity of the tactics of trades unionism are endless it seems.

Should this false philosophy of labor skates obtain, something like the following would ensue in the case of strikes:

Should railroad workers strike, they should immediately build new national railway systems. In case of a long shoreman's strike, they would have

to build new docks, wharfs, warehouses. In case of agricultural workers, all that is necessary is to invest in some hundreds of millions of acres of land and start farming. And for street car workers it is only necessary that they proceed to get franchises and lay their own city railways. Steel workers could invest their millions in ore, mines, furnaces, railways, shops, ships, locomotives, land etc. Garment workers would have nothing to do but set themselves up in the garment making industry, while coal miners would simply start digging their own coal.

Only it couldn't work out that way.

If it could it would not be necessary to await a strike to put it into practice.

The idea of the workers setting up in business in competition with the present owners of capitalistic industry is about the most utopian and absurd proposition that can be imagined. Yet, many workers consider it in all seriousness.

Co-operation has been made a Fetish of in some quarters and it may be that outgrown craft unionism will seek to rally its shattered forces around this idol in its last supplications before death. It is quite possible that it will do so; for its whole philosophy is in tune with the idea. After a half century of teaching and practicing the co-partnership of Labor and Capital it is natural that in case of a breach of business relations it should attempt to set up for itself around the corner.

If trade unionists had been schooled in the knowledge of the ineradicable antagonisms between Labor and its exploiters, it would know what to do in this crisis which it now faces, with its hundreds of thousands of members already placed on the benefit lists of the Unions. It would know that the remedy for the present lockout of labor, is the taking over of industry by the workers. And it would be preparing to do so too, instead of leading the workers from one pitfall into another.

The remedy is **WORKERS' CONTROL**—not business competition.

"You can't suppress the strike, you can't put the lid on life. The strike is the life need of the workers. Strikes come because workers do not get enough to live on. We say this is no sort of social system to ask Americans to live under." — I. E. Ferguson, on trial before Judge Weeks on a charge of "criminal anarchy."

The All Russian Metal Workers' Union

By Alexander Gurevitch

secretary of the Central Committee of the All Russian Metal Workers' Union.

The Metal Workers' Union at the present moment is a national organization which embraces all those engaged in the metal and metal working industry. All workers, engaged in obtaining metal from the mines and working this metal in any form from smelting to the making of machines and metal implements, are included in our Union. Besides this it includes all occupations in a metallurgical or metal working undertaking irrespective of category or trade. Thus, our members include skilled and unskilled workers, the office staff, technicians and engineers, workers serving the different crafts as the wood mould makers for instance, engaged in the metal works, are all included in our union.

This principle of industrial organization was accepted by the union already in 1917 and to a considerable degree defined our strength in the revolutionary class struggle. At the present moment it is an essential condition of the work of the union in organizing the metal industry on socialist foundations.

Structure Of The Union.

The scheme of organization of the metal workers' union is based on the following: the primary organization is the factory committee. This is elected every six months at a general meeting of workers and employees generally consisting of from 5 to 11 members. The main task of the Committee consists in carrying out all the trade union regulations in the factory; it deals with the protection of labor, trade union agitation and propaganda, supplying the workers with necessary provisions, clothes as well as articles of general consumption and maintains the fundamental basis of trade union and industrial discipline among the members of the union. The Conference of Factory Committees of a given industrial area, usually, a territorial area a little less than a government (gubernia), represents the higher directing organ within that area. This conference elects the regional committee which manages these regional branches of the All-Russian Union of Metal Workers.

Usually these committees are in the industrial centres of these regions. As a subsidiary organ it may have its agents in the various towns embraced by it but these are not obligatory; these agents are usually elected at local meetings of the members and carry out the instructions of the higher organ.

The congress of the union is held once a year; the representatives at this conference are elected at regional conferences on the basis of strict proportion of one delegate to every 2,000 members. The Conference elects the central committee of the union. The regulations of the Congress, and in the intervals between congresses, the regulations of the Central Committee are obligatory upon all the organs of the union and upon all the members.

The union also allows the organization of sections for those categories of labor the working conditions of which are to some extent peculiar or to those who have comparatively recently entered into the organization. These sections are organized in the form of elected subsidiary organs attached to the general trade union but they have not the right to carry out any independent resolutions without the sanction of the union neither can they have separate funds. In the whole national union there is only one engineers' section; in some local organizations there are sections of workers working in gold, silver and platinum, or there are also sections of workers working in electrical undertakings. There are no other sections at the present moment. The metal workers' union is in this manner one complete organization strongly welded by the common interests of the metal working industry.

This structure of the metal workers' union was laid down in the process of prolonged organization work and found its expression in the rules of the union organs accepted at the second Congress of the Union.

The Union and the Communist Party.

As in the years of czarism so in the months of Kerensky and during the past years of the Soviet Government the Metal Workers' Union invariably

and uninterruptedly associated its work with the general revolutionary struggle of the working class. Being formally independent of the Party the Union in fact submitted itself to the directions of the left wing of the Social-democrats—i. e. the bolshevik party, and subsequently the Communist Party. During the reign of the czar the economic and political struggle of the Petrograd Metal Workers Union which existed immediately before the advent of the war were inseparably connected. **Every economic strike was converted into a blow against the existing political system.** The masses of the members of the union were brought up in a spirit of revolutionary social democracy.

The revolutionary struggle is unfolding in all countries and the metal workers as the section of the proletariat with the greatest class training is everywhere at the head of the revolutionary struggle. Our union is therefore confident of the early possibility of the revolutionary international organization of metal workers. The third conference of the union instructed the Central Committee to take steps towards the establishment of such a union.

Attentively harkening to the footsteps of our foreign comrades the Russian Metal Workers Union on the basis of its historical experience is convinced that the only path to the revival of humanity is the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Russian Metal Workers' Union says to its foreign comrades "See, we experienced the rule of bourgeoisie, the rule of a coalition, we thought to improve our position by fighting for higher wages, but our experience compelled us to take the path of socialist revolution. The first years were indescribably difficult but we are winning and will conquer and with our own hands will establish the reign of labor and we look forward with full confidence to the victory of the workers of Western Europe and America."

Tuberculosis And Poverty

Tuberculosis is a poor man's disease. This is the statement of science. Professor Adams of the Liverpool University, speaking at a Tuberculosis Conference in Liverpool last October said, "The problem of Tuberculosis is an economic one and not a medical one."

During the year 1919, more than one third of

all the deaths from tuberculosis reported in Montana occurred in Silver Bow county, according to the reports of the state department of public health. The figures show that out of a total of 479 deaths from consumption in Montana, Silver Bow county furnished 168.

The high tuberculosis death rate in Silver Bow county is attributed to the fact that employment in the mines is the cause of many miners contracting "miners' consumption."

Mining alone, is not the sole cause of this terrible scourge of the world's workers. Bad living conditions generally, without proper hygienic knowledge or facilities is a constant prevailing circumstance of the workers' life. Such conditions breed pestilence, disease, chronic disability, many of which provide the hot bed in which sprout the deadly germs of consumption.

HE COLDN'T AND HE WOULDN'T.

Samuel Gompers was one of the speakers at Columbus, Ohio, on last Labor Day. The evening before he was banqueted at the Deshler Hotel.

The Ohio State Journal quoted him as saying at that time, "Nor would I if I could, nor could I if I would, detract one iota from the exceptional work of the Chamber of Commerce of your city." Comment seems unnecessary.

NICOLAI LENIN

His Life and Work

By G. Zinovieff.

"Every institution is the lengthened shadow of a man", wrote Emerson. We don't exactly agree with him. But we do know that the character of Lenin has helped to shape the course of the Revolution in Russia and the World: that his personality has colored at every turn the greatest event in history — the establishment of the first Communist Republic.

You ought to know the sort of man he is.

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Union Labor Notes

A Strike among the 8,000 organized rag pickers of New York against a wage reduction of 20% is being used by the employers as a means of bringing in Negro strike breakers. However, the Negroes are more class-conscious than was anticipated and not only refuse to scab but many have joined the ranks of the strikers as union men.

The Summer Preventative of Strikes, Baseball, is now laid on the shelf for the season. Not only because of the advance of winter, the Boss no longer has use for it—the shops are closed. The Bosses have gone on strike against the workers. A good many thousands of youthful slaves may now contemplate the profits (to themselves) of the season's rage. Incidentally, New England employers have decided to expend the sum of \$1,000,000 next season in organizing baseball teams among their employees. Such good insurance against strikes must not be overlooked in the yearly budget.

The National Association of Sash, Door and Millwork Manufacturers have just met in Chicago. One thing upon which the members assembled, there were able to agree upon is that, as stated by one of them, "In a little while he (the worker) will be ready to eat out of his employer's hand." Just think it over, you workers who believe the interests of the worker and boss are the same.

"More service" is the cry the Great Lakes Ship Operators are sending out to the representatives of capital in the coming Congress. While this cry is aimed at labor which mans the ships, it is also an order to the hired politicians to change the Seamen's law so that wages and hours may be more suitable to the owners who are going to make a fight to introduce cheaper labor of the more submissive sort.

New York labor unions are organizing for agitation for the lifting of the blockade against Soviet Russia. A resolution by the Pants Makers Local 85, follows:

Whereas the blockade against Soviet Russia not only causes immense suffering to the Russian

people, but is also causing much unemployment in America by preventing the placing of huge orders for clothing, shoes and other manufactured goods in this country on the part of Russian representatives; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby appeal to all the workers of the United States to carry on an intense agitation to the end of inducing the government to lift the blockade against Soviet Russia.

Subsidizing The Press

Particularly during election campaigns, we hear scandalous stories of how politicians and political parties buy up the press. During strikes, we are told stories and facts are shown proving that capitalists bribe and buy up the press to hurt the strikers. And we know how capitalists control the press, generally by direct management, mortgages, loans, and various other ways, all of which are known as "subsidizing" the press.

To be sure it is regarded as perfectly legitimate. Whoever has money can buy the goods—there are newspapers for sale on the market, and capitalists and bankers have plenty of loose change.

But, occasionally, workers take it into their heads to "subsidize" the press. This means that they decide to give their pennies—hard earned and hard stored—to THEIR press.

But who ever heard of prisoners of war helping out the press of the country that held them prisoners?

Well, it happened in Italy. Russian prisoners of war, on being freed there, divided their money among three papers. Of course, they are not the papers that bankers read because they like them, but because they MUST in order to learn what the workers are thinking and doing. They were three militant labor papers that the workers read to learn the truth about the system and government they live under. They are papers that tell the workers to rely on their own strength alone in solving their problems.

They are three papers that have helped Italian workers to bring about the overturn that recently startled the world.

The workers sometimes take it into their heads to "subsidize" THEIR press.

The Offensive Against Labor

During the war while profits were highest for the owners of industry

Labor was everything.

It was patriotic, it was honest, it was virtuous, it was self denying it did everything the bosses wanted done.

No matter how high wages went, profits soared still higher, so the bosses didn't kick very much—besides they needed Labor to create those luscious profits. They paid the high wages because by doing so they could reap the highest profits in the history of American industry. They promised you everything—a new world—democracy—freedom—“labor rights” etc. etc.

After the Armistice

It was different. The employers have been telling you how inefficient you are. They told you to speed up production—for profits were still high. But they cut your wages and they discharged many of you. They forgot all about how patriotic you were, about your sacrifices, about your self-denial. They forgot to restore to you your ancient “liberties” of speech and press. They forgot to complete the job of making the world safe for “Democracy.” They began to damn you up one side and down the other.

And now they are going to finish you.

They are going to break your organizations if they can. They are going to reduce you to a mass of crawling, begging worms, ready and anxious to work under any conditions at any wage they may choose to pay. Wages in many instances have already been reduced to prewar standards, the living costs have decline only a fraction.

Two or three millions of you have already been fired. You have no work and you can get none. Three winter months are ahead of you. Starvation is at your door. Thousands of you are existing upon the weekly benefits from your Unions. More thousands of you are begging at the Charity societies. You are searching everywhere for work, from city to city you wander in droves.

You are workers no longer—you are designated as tramps, floaters, vagabonds, riff-raff. You are neither patriotic nor honest in the eyes of the law. You are under suspicion, a manace. The policeman's club is ready and willing to crack your head and no questions asked.

The Iron Heel is on your neck.

And the masters are elated. They are circulating hilarious bulletins heralding their victories over prostrate Labor. They make no bones about their intentions toward you workers. They are after your scalps.

And what are you going to do about it, you craft unionists? Don't you think it is about time you were changing your minds about the interests of Labor and Capital being identical? If they ARE identical then you ought to be happy, it's a cinch Capital is!

The World Today

By George W. Gentile.

The mighty prosper.

The weak perish.

The rich live in abundance.

The poor starve.

Thieves are free to roam around;

The honest are shut up in jails.

Where are we drifting to?

Where is the end of this road?

Workers, wake up, you had nothing to lose
but your jobs.

Now, even they are gone!

You lived on your starvation wages.

Now, you have not even wages.

You may get a job as a laborer.

You toil a day,

You toil a week.

You feel thankful.

You are the lucky one among the poor,

For you will get your soup every day,

While others walk the streets.

Walk the streets all week and don't

Even smell the soup.

Many give up in despair.

Many sell their souls,

They are the weak ones

Many suffer but fight,

They are the ones who

Will organize and take

From their masters what is theirs.

Workers, everything belongs to you.

Take!

A living wage for a family of five in New York city now is \$2,632.68, it was estimated today by John P. Mines, president of the presenting demands for an increase of wages in the printing trades.

Mexican Women Work 14 Hours For 12½ Cents a Day

By Linn A. E. Gale.

"We work from 7 o'clock in the morning until 8 or 9 o'clock at night all of the time. We cannot go out for dinner but have to take a little lunch with us and eat it when the boss is not looking. We hardly ever work less than 13 hours a day and more often it is 14 hours or even more."

The speaker was a thin, poorly-clad woman of about 30 years. Her wan, drawn face told her story better than the words she uttered. She was one of the secretaries of the "Union de Tostadores de Cafe del Molino de la Fortaleza", which in English is "Union of Toasters of Coffee of the Ea Fortaleza Factory."

On Tuesday afternoon November 16, about 50 of the wretched employes of this little industrial hell, marched over to the I. W. W. hall at Plaza del Salto del Agua No. 17, Mexico City, and told Carmen and Catal. Frias, two I. W. W. girls, the sordid story of their miserable servitude. All but 7 or 8 of the 50 were girls and women. Some got as low as 25 centavos (12½ American cents) a day for the 13 or 14 hours of toil. The average was 50 centavos (25 cents) daily and a few received the munificent salaries of a peso (\$1.00).

The coffee workers had been reading of the strikes all over Mexico, of the rapid growth of Bolshevik ideas and the formation of the One Big Union in various mills and factories. They decided they would have a One Big Union, too. A meeting was held and officers were elected and it was voted to make an immediate demand on the wealthy owners of the coffee factory for a raise in wages. No sooner had a committee visited the proprietors than the whole union, en masse, was fired. Labor is till cheap in Mexico and there is plenty of human raw material to convert into profits. If some balk, there are always others to take their places.

The discharged workers had heard about the I. W. W. and knew where the hall was. Without further ado they marched to Salto del Agua where they learned that a meeting was scheduled for that very evening. At night they returned, participating in a meeting of the general recruiting local of Mexico City, voted unanimously to join the Mexican Administration of the I. W. W.,

and were promptly accepted by the General Executive Board as a branch of the Department of Production.

It was voted that all discharged workers should present themselves at the factory as usual the next morning. If, as was expected, they were promptly ordered out, and reminded that they had been fired, they were to go to the I. W. W. Hall where Secretary-Treasurer Ciro Ecquivel would accompany them to the Board of Conciliation and Arbitration office and they would all put in a demand for 3-months wages as indemnification for being discharged without just cause, in conformity with the famous labor article of the Mexican constitution. It was considered better to do this than to declare a strike, for in a strike there would be no legal claim to the 3-months wages. Meanwhile, unless the workers were taken back and unless increases of 200% and 300% in pay were granted at once, a boycott was to be declared against the owners of the "La Fortaleza" factory and their product, the factory was to be picketed to keep new slaves from coming there to work, and sabotage was to be used to reinforce the demands of the new I. W. W. union.

As with hundreds of other factories in Mexico, this is the first time the "La Fortaleza" coffee makers ever had a union. And this original union of theirs is an industrial, not a craft union. It is a little thing in the Mexican class struggle but a straw that shows how the wind blows.

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My Own Shop

THE SMALL FARMERS OF NORTHERN NEW JERSEY.

By John Lawrence.

The working farmer is not generally propagandized by the revolutionary movement. Nevertheless, he is the bread-producer, and his opposition at the time of revolution would be a stumbling block to a speedy proletarian victory.

Here in Northern New Jersey the farms are one-man farms averaging about thirty acres. Crops are carted to the neighboring towns; there are however, no public markets, so the farmer must either sell to the retailer or peddle his produce from door to door. In the former case he is at the mercy of the store keepers. In the latter he must lose time and energy which he can ill spare from the field.

Big Crops And Small Prices.

This year is an apple year. Because the fruit is abundant the price is inadequate. In some cases it is so low that it does not pay to pick the fruit. We are shaking to be ground and grinding into cider apples of choice variety such as city people pay five cents a piece for and more. Barrels also are difficult to obtain.

One day last summer several truck loads of tomatoes were brought by the farmers to a canning factory. Fifteen cents a basket (thirty cents a bushel) was the price the buyers offered. Think of it! Fifteen cents for what represented hours of planting, cultivating, spraying, picking! Well, the canners got the tomatoes but not in the way they wanted. There were some hot bloods among the farmers and they climbed upon the trucks and pelted the buyers and every one within reach with the fruits of their labor. The streets of the town ran red with—tamatoes. The farmers' anger was vented but their purses were not filled. So does capitalist economy function, with waste—waste of material, waste of energy, waste of life.

Primitive Methods The Rule.

Methods of agriculture are primitive. The small farmer cannot afford scientific machines which would lighten his toil and double his product. Here, still prevail the two horse plough, the hand-cultivator, the hand-spray. The farmer's body is bent in his tussle with the soil.

In his home, where are those boasted improve-

believe now make the housewife's work a joy? There is no electric power for lighting, washing, pumping. A bathroom is a rarity. Water is still being drawn from the well or the pump by the kitchen sink. The roads in this section are atrocious. It is true, we have telephones and automobiles (some of us). There is no abject poverty; at the same time there is little leisure, little comfort.

Isolation creates conservatism.

So much for material conditions. Revolutionary consciousness—desire for a radical change in society—is at a minimum. We hear of the farmer's "conservative instinct." It is not instinct, but isolation, that makes the farmer conservative,—isolation and the Sun, the Times, the Newark Evening News and those other anti-working-class newspapers which alone penetrate his remote corner to mould his opinion. It is not strange that here the I. W. W. is an object of ridicule and the Communists of dread. The Sun, the Times and the rest of the lying tribe have taught the farmer that these people are bloated, sponging labor fakirs or wild eyed aliens bent upon "destroying everything." Who will tell him that the I. W. W. is a group of hard working, conscientious men and women whose aim is to abolish the enslavement of the working people by idle parasites? Who will tell him that the Communists wish to inaugurate a society in which the means of production (factories, mines, etc.) will be owned collectively and their product enjoyed by all instead of by a few?

The farmer must learn that his interests are those of the working class. It is true that as a property holder and an occasional employer of help the small farmer belongs with the lower middle class. Nevertheless he lives mainly from his own labor, and he is exploited by the retailers, manufacturers, and middlemen to whom he must sell his crops. These two facts identify him with the working class. Let him learn then where his true interests lie. Let the farmer join hands with the industrial proletariat, to struggle together until the working class as a body comes into its own.