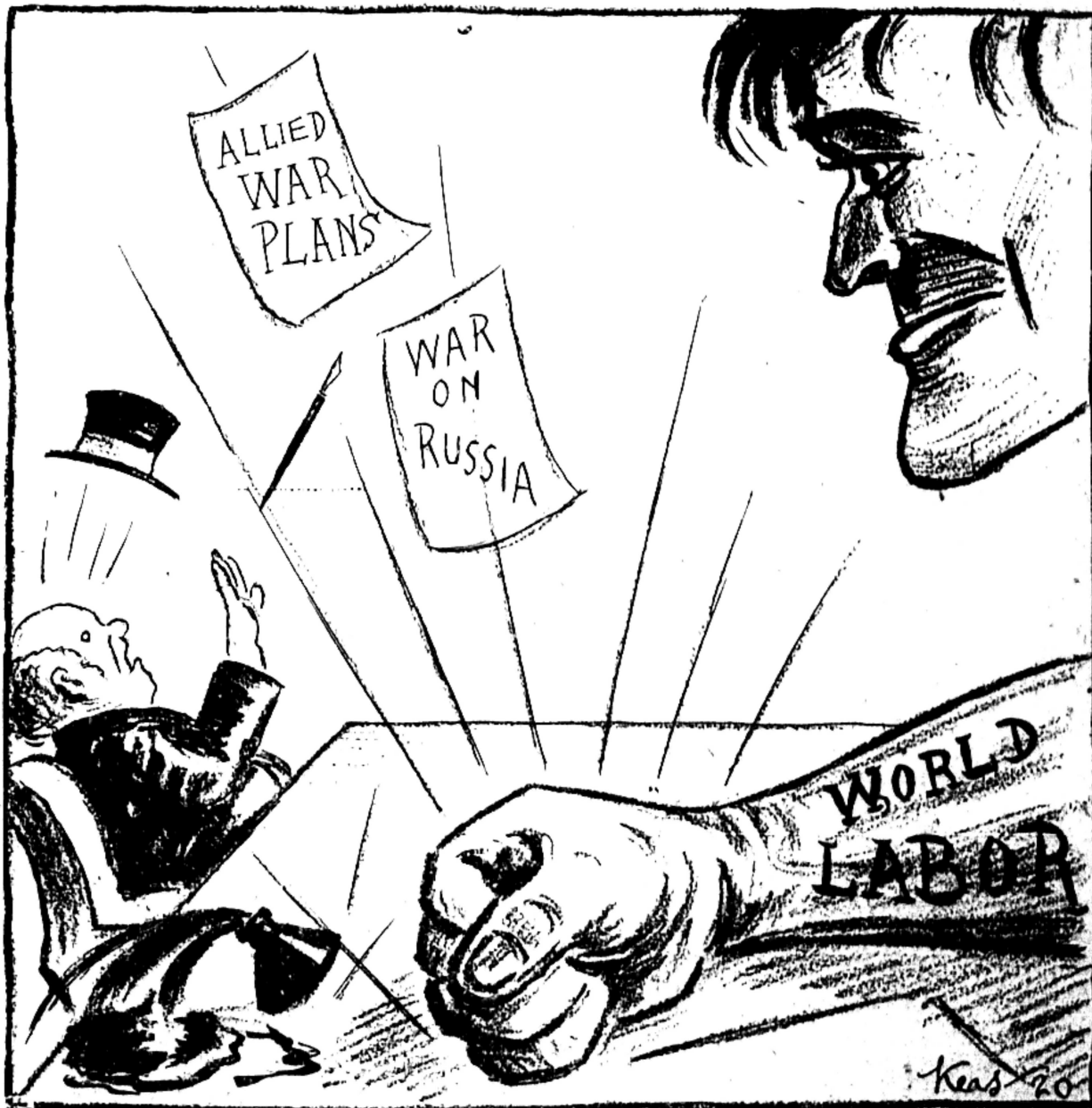


# The TOILER

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Who Said War!

# Reorganizing the New York Central Labor Union

By Emil Lyon

The Gompers machine which controls the A. F. of L. is determined to keep the workers under the heels of the bosses. It is ready for almost any kind of tactics to prevent the development of more radical methods of struggle by the workers.

This was illustrated in the course pursued by this machine in reorganizing the New York City central labor organization.

Heretofore there have been two central labor bodies in the Greater New York, the Central Federated Union of New York and the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn. The Central Federated Union of New York won the enmity of the Gompers machine by repudiating Gompers' policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies" of organized labor, which in practice meant putting the power in the hands of the enemies of organized labor. The opposition of the Gompers machine developed as the result of the endorsement of the labor party by the Central Federated Union.

## Combine Two Central Bodies

By some sharp maneuvering the Gompers machine was able to get the two central bodies to adopt resolutions to ask the Executive Committee of the A. F. of L. to reorganize the central organizations so as to have one central body for all of Greater New York.

On Wednesday, September 11, a convention was held in the Central Opera House for this purpose, under the auspices of the Gompers' machine. Seven hundred and eighty delegates, whose credentials were carefully scrutinized by Gompers lieutenants were admitted to the convention. It quickly developed that everything had been fixed up in advance by the Gompers' crowd and that no one who opposed the program of the reactionaries had the slightest chance.

## Machine Had Sluggers on Land

Gompers presided, with Mathew Wolf, of the A. F. of L. national machine, in reserve. Frank Morrison, secretary of A. F. of L. was also ready at hand to help keep things strait. More important, was a body of delegates from the teamsters, longshoreman and building trades unions. These unions have been the backbone of the Gompers' machine. The delegation in question was made up

of the huskiest members of these organizations that could be found. They were not there to discuss the problems of organized labor in Greater New York, but to beat up anyone who dared raise his voice against the Gompers' program.

After several hours of examination of the credentials of the delegates, Gompers read a list of names of persons to be appointed a committee to draft a constitution for the new central body, named the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity. This consisted of the most reactionary leaders in the labor movement of New York City, among them being several well known Tammany politicians.

The reading of this list brought a howl of protest from the delegates, which was the signal for the Gompers plug uglies to swing into action to beat up those who opposed his appointees. A riot resulted which was not quieted until the police arrived and the meeting was adjourned.

## A. F. of L. Sabotages The Workers

This incident is only another indication of the hopelessly of the A. F. of L. as a weapon of the workers in the bitter struggle developing on the industrial field. The A. F. of L. officialdom, from Gompers down to the local labor leaders, is bound more closely to the bosses than to the workers in the shops. They more often sabotage the strikes of the workers than help them win.

The cure for this situation is for the workers to get together in the shops, irrespective of trade union lines and develop their own organizations for fighting the bosses. By organizing shop committees in every factory, mine, mill or store, they can create the machinery for fighting the bosses effectively and for beating the reactionary trade union leaders.

The shop committee, the industrial council and community council to unite all the workers for the struggle against the bosses and against the trade union betrayers of the workers—that should be the slogan of the workers in the shop.

The New York City workers, who are being sold out to the reactionaries, should answer Gompers and his machine by organizing their own organs of struggle.



**The Sun! The Sun!**



# The British Council of Action

By Felix Morley

European Correspondent for the Federated Press

Formation of the Council of Action by British labor is conceded by friends and foes alike to be the most important single occurrence in England since the declaration of war in 1914. It has achieved its primary aim—that of preventing further aggression by the British government against Soviet Russia. Now it stands ready to assert its power in other directions.

The war scare has gone. Manifestly, the wish of labor to keep out of the threatened new imperialistic war was the wish of the great mass of England's people. When the Council of Action was formed, the atmosphere in London (so friends tell me) was like that attending the declaration of war against Germany—except that all the feverish utterances in the streets were anti- and not pro-war.

Open declaration that six million British wage earners would cease production rather than see another war has had tremendous influence on the Continent. It has insured maintenance of strict neutrality in Germany; it is hastening formal recognition of Soviet Russia by Italy; it is even driving breaches in the strongholds of French reaction which are so largely responsible for the continued chaos of Europe.

## "Machinery For Revolution."

The great fact which stands in relief against the turbulent welter of events is that organized labor, and not Parliament, is directing the outcome of political issues. Local Councils are springing up spontaneously all over England. Their functions at the present time are limited to "collecting information" and preparing to make protest on the Russian issue effective, if the parent council deems drastic necessary.

But it requires no gift of vision to see what these local councils might become. They are being denounced as "machinery for revolution" and "British soviets" by the conservative press, although their power is specifically limited to the one issue of Russia. Another fact which brings no consolation to opponents of the soviet idea is that the local councils of action

in the larger cities are being built on a much broader basis than the trades union councils which they may in time supplant.

For instance, in the Council of Action for the Greater London area, are represented the London Labor Party, the members of the London County Council, the co-operative organizations, the Womens' Co-operative Guild and the London Trades Council as a whole, as well as representatives from the principal unions and federations here. It is an injustice to the statesmanlike development of the British Labor movement to suppose that in the recent crisis is found the origin of the councils of action. So far as a development of this sort can be said to have a definitive origin it is found in the lesson of consolidated strength provided by the Triple Alliance of miners, railwaymen and transport workers.

## Have Three Present Objects.

The National Council, and the local ones, are empowered to remain in existence only until they have obtained these things:—

1—Absolute guarantee that the armed forces of Great Britain shall not be used in support of Poland, Baron Wrangel, nor any other military or naval effort against the Soviet government.

2—Withdrawal of all British naval forces operating directly or indirectly as a blockading influence against Russia.

3—Recognition of the Russian soviet government and establishment of unrestricted trading and commercial relationships between Great Britain and Russia.

So far only the first of these demands has been conceded by the Lloyd George government, and the presence of the third insures that the councils will continue to function for some months at least, although a prominent English labor leader tells me that "we have private information that Lloyd George intends to recognize the Soviet republic as soon as possible."



# Peace In Twenty Years

By Max Worth.

European Correspondent for the Federated Press.

"Peace!" exclaimed an English diplomat, incredulously, "I see no peace in Europe for twenty years."

He was speaking of the conditions growing out of the Treaty and the Spa conference. The war, he said, had greatly increased the demand for many materials like copper, petroleum, coal, iron and the like. The tendency was for an ever and greater dependence upon power driven machinery, and the war had speeded the process.

At the same time, the leading nations of Europe were all short of some of the materials necessary for machine production. Britain had no copper and no petroleum; France, in addition, lacked both coal and iron; Germany, under the treaty, was shorn of some of her most important resources; Italy had always been lacking in the necessary economic resources. To make matters worse, all of the capitalist nations of Europe had grown to depend, for their food supply, as well as for their supply of raw

materials, upon importation.

Importation is all right, he continued, in a free trade world. But the world is not free trade. On the contrary, each nation, even Great Britain, has resorted to import restrictions, and to all kinds of prohibitions on the freedom of commerce. To be sure, they were called war measures, but many of them, particularly on the continent, are still in full force. That means that the nations which depend for their raw stuffs on foreign trade, are unable to secure their normal supply.

Of course, he continued, the rate of exchange plays an important part in these international transactions. Before the war, it was possible to sit down in London or Paris, and figure out the costs of international trading to the fraction of a penny, and to do it for months in advance. To-day, the rate of exchange between the nations varies from day to day and from hour to hour. All is uncertainty—chaos.

"You Americans seem a little surprised," he added, "at the amounts that the various nations of Europe are voting for their armies and navies. What else is there to do? We need oil. There is oil in the Near East. We take it—how? With our military forces! The French have succeeded in getting an agreement as to the amount of coal that Germany is to furnish between this and the Fall.

"Suppose Germany fails—what is the alternative? The occupation of the Ruhr region with a military force. You will notice that I have made no mention of Poland, of Thrace, of Roumania, of Russia. Trouble is likely to break out at a half dozen points—trouble over some petty difference of opinion or intrigue. Those things are always present.

"I have spoken of the larger economic forces that are at this moment driving the leading nations of Europe at each other's throats. It was that fact I had in mind when I said I saw no peace in Europe for twenty years."

## Duplicating Russian Development.

The Council of Action will continue as an active knife in the side of parliamentary government until the above demands are actually translated into facts. Will it continue longer than that?

This question is agitating Britain today. It is clearly recognized that to perpetuate the councils as bodies controlling national policy would be to overthrow the present system of government in England, would be revolution as definite and decisive, if not as spectacular, as that which took place in Russia three years ago. A strong element is anxious to go on and take this ultimate step.

Solidarity of the British labor movement at the present time is magnificent,—an inspiring if bitter object-lesson for the American observer.

# The War In West Virginia

By Paul Hanna

Staff Correspondent for the Federated Press.

Did you ever see an iron bedstead standing in a field of weeds on a mountain side? It is a very forlorn spectacle. In the foreground a grown chicken perched on the footrail, in the background a bank of golden-rod swaying in the sun, and somewhere between a pale, tired woman with a baby feeding at her breast—these incidentals somehow do not relieve the poignant grotesquerie of that iron bed where a bed should not be.

But it's all right. According to the Constitution and the laws of West Virginia that bed and baby, half-grown chicken and tired women are just where they belong. That man over there under the flap of the tent is to blame. He is a coal miner, and he joined the union. So what could the company do but throw him and the iron bed out of the shanty where they lived?

That man and forty others, with their wives, their broken oil lamps and coal-streaked babies, used to live there around the turn of the railroad in the Company houses. Company houses stand up on wooden legs astraddle of ditches filled with kitchen drainage and tin cans. But they have roofs and doors, and walls where you can drive a nail to hang your overalls. To grow old and die in such a fine place you must not join a labor union.

But these men joined, and now they are all down on the slope by the river of Nolans, with their forty families housed in tents sent here by the United Mine Workers of America. Glistening under the warm autumn sun, against the green Kentucky mountain over the river, these tents suggest a picnic. When northwest winds begin to drive snow and sleet up the Tug Valley in December they will suggest something else.

## Union is stronger than ever.

Mine owners are impatient for December to come. Baldwin-Feltz detectives have not destroyed the union. Federal troops have helped instead of hindered the union. Ejection from their homes has made the men cling tighter to

their union. A winter that is bitter enough to kill babies in tents and make women weep over their outdoor fires may destroy the union.

With National Organizer C. A. Workman I have just strolled through this tent town of refuge miners, talking with husbands and wives and blushing at the naked interiors of their flapping shelter. Three or four limping chairs, an unpainted kitchen table and a cook stove, variously arranged about the iron bed, constitutes the total of furniture in the usual household. It is all there was to move from the company house.

It would be easier to govern these mountain-er miners if they had more to lose.

Tilted back in a kitchen chair a young man is reading a little black book. Workman greets him and they exchange a few words. "Not worried, are you?" the organizer asks.

"Not much," the miner replies. "Fact is, I'm just doing like it tells me here, to 'Take no anxious thought for the morrow'." He marks his page in the little Testament and continues:

"This makes three strikes I been into and I never had to get back yet without a settlement." A freight train rumbles by, belching cinders over the meadow. "The noise of them trains is all the trouble we have here," he smiles.

"Any men going back to work?" asks the organizer.

"Nope," says the miner; "seems like the boys is all very patriotic in this fight."

## A Case of Violence.

While I meditated upon this important evolution of the patriotic instinct the two men talked about a night one week previous when a group of miners from West Virginia, having dared cross the river, were sized in Kentucky by Baldwin-Feltz men and held prisoners for several days.

"And," said the miners, of one of the Feltz men, "that yaller dog come round next day and made like to shake hands with my pap.



## "I Were There"

A True Story. By H. E. Keas.

It was a bitter cold morning. The radiator pipes in the telegraph office were humping and sizzling with a full head of steam. There had been a blizzard down the line. Number fifty-nine was three hours late. Freight traffic was tied up. Hardly a wheel moved. Having nothing much to do, the bunch had been discussing things in general. They had run the gamut from the war to the latest price of shoe leather. There came a lull in the conversation when.....

"Lo buddies!" We all of us turned toward the door. There stood a rather tired and forlorn-looking slim figure dressed in a tattered service coat. "Can I come in?" We all voiced our approval at once. "Sure! C'm'on in and get warm." Haltingly advancing across the room, he took the proffered chair. "It's sure cold out. I'm chilled to the bone." He edged his chair nearer to the radiator. "Any o' you buddies remember me? I used to brake on this pike before the war. Been through this old town many a time."

Scenting a story, the bunch drew closer. With a faraway look in his eyes and a deepening of the lines that seamed his face, the lad continued. "You fellahs has heard o' Belleau Wood? I were there. We sure had a hell of a time. Them Germans came on thick as flies. It was a mad-house, with the busting shells and screaming bullets. Me and my three brothers was in one company. We all were in the thick of it. My young kid brother was shot through the head. He died at my feet. Second oldest brother hit by a shell. They couldn't find

My pap is a little man, and when they shake hands that thug gives him a hard jerk.

"Don't jerk me like that when you shake hands, it hurts my lungs," pap says to him. And with that the Feltz man gives him another hard jerk. So pap jest drawed off and slapped him to sleep."

That and one other act of violence by miners come to my attention. At Borderland No. 1 two men weakened and returned to work. The wife of one of them, a very fat woman who needed the exercise, met the two scabs on the road and beat both of them severely. It was entirely illegal, but it had the desired effect.

nothin' of him. See this leg here? Five machine-gun bullets went through 'er right there." He indicated the spot with a bony finger. "Guess my brakin' days is over, its cork now. Guess you've noticed my hair. Purty white for a guy only twenty-eight years old. Shell-shock. God! I c'n hear 'em yet." A fit of coughing shook his thin frame. "Some cough I got. It's that damned gas. Got me three times that way. Guess I'm lucky, though. Oldest brother's worse shot up than me. Gassed and hit by a shell. No arms, no legs and blind to boot. Helped take care o' him in the hospital after I got up and around. Gee, its sure hell to be blind. But he don't complain much. Always was a game guy."

The lad drew a paper from his pocket. "Got my discharge today. Honorable discharge account o' disability. I'm sure proud o' that paper. Nobody c'n say I ain't done enough for my country. But guess I'll be batty for some time yet. Not quite right in my head at times. Doc' says get rid of that in time. Says it comes from shell-shock too. Say, any o' you got the makin's? Thanks. Can't roll 'em like I used to. Hand shakes too much. Went over t' the Milwaukee this morning to see the Supe. I'm no good on the road no more but he says he will give me a job as clerk. Guess I c'n do that O. K., if this head o' mine don't get too queer. Like to get on with this old pike again but they say nothin' open right now. Well, guess I'll be goin' on my way. Thanks for the heat and the makin's and remember if anybody says 'Belleau Wood', tell 'em I were there."

With a nervous twitch of his limbs he abruptly got up from the chair and slowly shuffled to the door, mumbling to himself. The telegraph instruments were quiet. Not one of us uttered a word. The ticking of the clock on the wall sounded strangely loud in our ears. Then... "Christ!", said someone. Two or three of us heaved a sigh. The lad was gone.

Do you know a good reason why the working class ought to organize for the overthrow of capitalism? If so, don't keep it to yourself. Write it up for the Toiler and let 20,000 people know about it.



## U. S. Troops In Europe

There are 18,000 American soldiers in Europe. Senator Capper points out, in his newspaper, that this means any number of chances to get war started without Congress having a word to say about it. Once these soldiers get mixed up in anything, the president can order forward any additional number of soldiers which he may consider necessary for protection of the "national honor."

We have already noticed that the president can get wars started and keep them going without bothering to ask Congress about them. He asks no one, as far as the records show, but he does manage to keep things going along the lines of policy desired by the international financiers. The Constitution says something about Congress having the power to declare war, but what's the Constitution between friends? The Constitution is something for the workers to respect.

## "World Literature"

The greatest scheme of popular literary education ever conceived by the mind of man is being carried out in Russia. Under the People's Commissary for Instruction, a great publishing house has been founded by Maxim Gorky to undertake a comprehensive publication of "World Literature."

This includes 1500 books, representing the best published in all countries during the past 150 years; also 3000—5000 small volumes, for the masses, containing the most notable pieces of literature of Europe and America, with biographies, notes, sociological sketches, etc. The plan will later be extended to include the literature of the Middle Ages, of the Slavonic peoples, of the Near and Far East.

The honor for this great undertaking, says Gorky, "belongs to the creative forces of the Russian Revolution—of the revolution whose enemies consider it 'the rising of the barbarians.'"

It is, indeed, an inspiration to think of this and other projects inaugurated in the midst of bloody conflict to bring to the workers and peasants of Russia the enlightenment of all the world and of all the ages.

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## Bloodhounds

Just before the Civil War bloodhounds were used to run down fugitive slaves. Sixty years later—on the eve of the American proletarian revolution?—the masters are blood-hunting for workers who tell their fellow-workers that their job as men, not as slaves, is to overthrow the capitalist system. As slaves, these workers make enormous profits for their capitalist masters. As men, realizing their own worthiness as human beings, they will make revolution against capitalism.

Six miles out of Spokane, in the woods, 10 members of the I. W. W. were caught by the bloodhounds. They were trying to hold a conference. They are now jailed as "criminal syndicalists."

There will be many thousands of cases like this. They will only end when the workers realize that they are far more numerous than all the others together, and that by a little intelligent teamwork they can take over the control of the social system.

## Pie In the Sky

The Canadian Department of Labor issued a review of the development of radicalism among the Canadian workers. Much emphasis was put upon the strong anti-socialist character of the Catholic unions, with a membership of 35,000 out of a total union membership of 378,047. The appeal was for more use of religion as a means of holding radicalism among the workers in check.

How zealous the capitalist press is about maintainance of religion and the home! The wages and factory system long ago made a mockery out of the worker's "home," and religion means to the capitalist—as expressed by their advisers, like Babson and the Canadian Department of Labor,—the best available method for doping the workers into submissiveness.

If religious unions are good for capitalism, they are not good for the working class. The workers will do better on fighting than on praying.

## Bullets and Jails

Responding to a telegraphic message from the miners assembled in convention at Wilkesbarre on August 29th, came this message from the President: "If your communication declaring your intention to refrain from working unless I set aside the award of the Anthracite Coal Commission on or before September 1st, 1920, is intended as a threat, you can rest assured that your challenge will be accepted."

No matter that a minority of the Commission considered a 27% increase of wages necessary for cost of living, instead of 17%, as recommended by the majority of the Commission, President Wilson declares that if the mine slaves dare to assert any demands by way of strike, let them beware—the bullets and jails at his disposal.

The capitalist editors greeted this message with delight. Not a word about Wilsonian autoeracy this time!

There will not be many more messages like this from the White House. Bullets and jails are only powerful against fear. The miners will fight.

## Enemies No Longer

During the war, nothing foul enough could be said about the Germans. They should have been wiped off the face of the earth to satisfy many Hun-eaters.

Now that the war is over, they have changed into angels.

For the past three months, German sailors who during the war manned submarines and sent many a Danish boat to the bottom, have been used by the **self-same Danish** shipping companies as scabs.

Oh, what our capitalists don't do for the sake of money. How willing they are to forget for the sake of dollars.

Dear to the heart of the capitalist, is the scab.

## Wall Street Is Pleased

Why should Wall Street not be pleased?

Did not the government of the United States give the railroads MORE than they asked for?

The Eastern group of railroads asked 39.75 per cent increase in rates and got 40 per cent. The Western group asked 32.03 per cent and received 35 per cent. It was considered that the roads were too "conservative" in making their estimates.

The United States Government GUARANTEES a return to the railroad owners.

The same government cut the railroad workers' demands in half and guaranteed them nothing, not even a job.

Of course, WALL STREET is more than pleased with the United States Government.

## Child Labor

The National Child Labor Committee advertises the facts about child labor in the United States at present. With all our wonderful "reform" legislation, there are now 2,000,000 children between the ages of 10 and 16 at hard labor in this rich country.

The workers' government of "darkest Russia," by contrast of its treatment of children, makes the United States look like a land of cowardly slaves.



## The Situation In Italy

(We are indebted to the Italian Chamber of Labor of New York for the following explanation and analysis of what is going on in Italy.—Editor.)

The mounting cost of living, which in Italy has already reached the very limit of endurance so as to be actually compared with conditions now extant in Austria and Germany, is the first motive of the strike. To this must also be added a general and widespread desire on the part of the workers to secure a certain amount of direct control in the works by means of shop committees and which may be roughly described as a sort of Plumb Plan, though in Italy the movement is more class conscious and more revolutionary in its connotations, being directed by the Socialist party (adhering to the Third International) and the Syndicalist elements.

The original demands of the workers as presented in an extensive memorial to the Employers' Federation provided for an average increase in wages of 7 lire per day, distributed in such a way as to secure a large raise for the less paid categories. In normal times this would amount to about \$1.40 per day, but owing to the present devaluation of the Italian lire, it now amounts to barely more than 30 cents. Cumulatively the increase would amount to about 1,000,000,000 lire per annum, but as a matter of fact this huge sum is no more than \$50,000,000 American dollars, or an average of \$100 a year for each of the 500,000 workers involved. If we consider that most of the articles consumed in Italy are American made and bought at American prices, the demands of the workers are by no means extravagant or extortionate as the industrials charge.

### Bosses Seek to Evade Confiscation.

The parleys between the unions and the Industrials lasted for several days and finally they were abruptly broken off by the employers who flatly refused to have anything to do with any further negotiations on the basis of a raise.

As a consequence of this unexpected coup the unions declared the general strike, charging that the hidden and unconfessed reason of the Industrials' stubbornness was not so much their inability to grant the increase, which they showed with many statistics they were quite able to do, but a concerted attempt to force the hand of the

government to recede from its stand in favor of immediate confiscation of all excessive war profits.

The strike, however, developed a novel feature, entirely untried before in the annals of the labor movement. Instead of the usual walkout, the unions ordered their members to remain in the factories and inaugurate at once what is called "obstructionism." The Avanti describes Obstructionism as a mild form of sabotage, meaning a general slowing of work, without ever giving the idea of complete stoppage, the manufacturing of certain articles in preference to others, and a consistent lessening of the entire output. Further orders were given in case the Industrials should declare a lockout, the workers must take all precautionary means to prevent being dislodged from the works, even to the point of actual physical resistance to the forces of the state, should they interfere.

### War Material Was Banned.

The obstructionist strike began on Friday morning, August 20, and for a few days all went well with the workers producing less and refusing to have anything to do with war material altogether. Then suddenly the Employers' Federation, consistently following its original policy of totally ignoring the existence of the unions declared the lockout.

As soon as the lockout was announced, the workers responded at once to the call of their unions by barricading themselves in the shops, organizing vigilance squads (Red Guards), hauling down the pennant of the company and hoisting up the red flag in its place.

The rest is common history.

The government so far has not interfered in the least in the controversy, but whether it was because it feared some more violent outbreak by throwing out 500,000 men in a nation of 39,000,000, most of whom are permeated with revolutionary ideas, or because it hoped that the actual experiment in syndical production and control of the industry would prove a failure, has not yet been revealed.

Whatever the next few days are going to develop will be of the greatest importance and probably decide what the immediate future of Italy is going to be.



### Labor Organizations Involved.

The metal workers now on strike are from 500,000 to 600,000, mostly all organized and distributed in the following unions:

Italian Metal Workers' Federation (Federazione Italiana degli Operai Metallurgici), popularly known as the F. I. O. M., affiliated with the General Confederation of Labor and controlling the largest majority of the metal trades, some 350,000 workers. Its Secretary General, and recognized leader of the entire movement, is Carlo Buozzi, a Socialist member of Parliament and one of the staunchest supporters of the Third International.

The Syndicalist Union of Italy (Unione Sindacale Italiana). This is a national federation of some 350,000 members of all trades and industries, corresponding more or less to the American I. W. W. It controls about 50,000 metallurgists.

The Italian Labor Union (Unione Italiana del Lavoro). This organization was born during the war and was made up mostly of former syndicalists, patriotic societies, etc. Its influence is practically nil. It controls about 15,000 metal workers.

The Federation of Catholic Workers, formerly known as the "yellows" and now, since the Russian revolution, popularly dubbed "the whites." It believes in the "White International," but is compelled to follow the lead of numbers, and so, while it is reactionary in theory, it is forced to be radical in practice. No more than 20,000 metal workers, if that many, are affiliated with it and the Popular party (Catholic), which is its political spokesman.

Of all these figures only those of the Fiom and Syndicalist union are reliable, the others being more or less inflated for propaganda purposes. The lead of the strike is entirely in the hands of the Fiom and its mother organization, the General Confederation of Labor, the Syndicalists having agreed to abide by the decision of the majority.

Whether any of the workers who have gotten possession of the works so far belong to the Catholic faction has not yet come to the notice of the Italian Chamber of Labor.

### Employers' Organizations Involved.

The employers are organized into one powerful federation known as the National Federation of Master Mechanics. It is practically led by two firms, Ilva and Ansaldo, whose interests are interlocked with those of practically every allied industry. They control the entire metal production of Italy, from the few iron mines to the

arsenals, automobile shops, navy yards, locomotive works, etc. During the war they have made enormous profits, quite out of proportion to the actual and potential industrial resources of the country and so scandalous has been their influence in the national life that the Giolitti cabinet has promised to confiscate their surplus profits and make all their stocks and bonds taxable. Heretofore all these companies were incorporated as "anonymous" concerns their stocks being unregistered and therefore beyond the reach of direct taxation. The attempt of the government to force the registration of all stocks, bonds and other securities is also another reason, if not the main, of the stubbornness with which all these great barons of industry have refused to yield to the equitable demands of the workers.

Finally there is the Italian Government, which now, and at least insofar as the strike is concerned, seems to be almost entirely vested in the hands of Arturo Labriola, minister of labor.

Labriola was a number of years one of the most brilliant exponents of theoretical Syndicalism in Europe, and ranked on a par with Leone, Lagardelle, Berth and the best-known of all, Georges Sorel. During the Tripoli war Labriola, then a professor of political economy at the Naples University, supported the policy of the government and continued doing so throughout the great war. However, he always insisted that he was a Syndicalist, and on many occasions he sided with the Socialist party and voted with its group in Parliament.



Looking At The Bolshevik Germ.



Looking At The Bolshevik Germ.

# The Government and the Workers

By Emil Lyon.

Must all the strikes of the workers be directed against the government?

That is a question which is arising in the minds of many workers because of what has happened in almost every recent struggle of the workers for better wages. In every struggle of any importance the workers have found when they went on strike that they were up against the whole machinery of the government and that the government stood in the place of the bosses.

## The Bituminous Miners.

The first instance of this was the soft coal miners' strike of last winter. The miners made their demands upon the mine owners. They negotiated with the bosses over the terms of wages and working conditions, but could not reach an agreement. They went on strike, and, lo and behold, they were no longer fighting the bosses but they found that in place of the bosses stood the federal government. They found the federal government tying up their strike funds, enjoining them from doing this and that, arresting their officials, and even, in one instance reported, rounding them up at the point of the bayonet and forcing them to take a vote to get back to work. The compromise through which their officials settled the strike, against the wishes of most of the miners, was made through the government.

## The Railroad Men

When the railwaymen went on strike a similar development took place. They were quickly called "outlaws" and government officials haunted their meetings, looking for an opening to attack them. The action of the government against these railwaymen culminated in the wholesale indictment of the members of the Chicago Yardmen's Association.

In the negotiations in regard to the increase in wages for all the railway employes, it was the government, acting as the representative of the railway bosses, that the workers had to deal with. It was a government commission that made the award and if the men had gone on strike because discontented with the increase

given them, they would have gone on strike against the government.

## The Hard Coal Miners

The hard coal miners who are on strike in Pennsylvania at the present time are striking against a government award. In order to get an increase in wages that will give them a decent living, they have to appeal to the President of the United States. Again we see a contest developing, not between the mine bosses and the men, dealing directly with each other, but between a government agency and the men.

Another instance, a little different in character, but carrying the same lesson is the strike of the B. R. T. employes of New York City. The B. R. T. is in the hands of a United States Court, through a receivership, and it was because the judge of that court refused to be bound by an arbitration agreement, but insisted on his right as the representative of the law to reduce any arbitration award, that the strike took place. Now this judge has openly declared his intention to smash the organization of the workers.

## Must Deal With New Situation

The workers will have to deal with this new situation. They will have to learn to organize against the new OPEN enemy, which by stepping into the breach between the workers and the bosses as the representative of the bosses, is able to use its power against the workers more directly and openly than has been the case in past strikes.

It is just such a development in other countries which has compelled the workers to organize Soviets—Workers' Councils—which have at first assumed only limited functions of government, but gradually have extended these until they clashed with the existing government. It was then a question whether the workers government, consisting of these Workers' Councils or the bosses government should hold the reins. One of the other had to go out of existence. It looks as if the development in this country was exactly in the same direction.



## Oil and War

The United States Government has protested against Japan occupying territory in Siberia. It has also protested against the efforts being made by the British and French Governments and British and French capitalists to "corner" the oil supply of the world.

Every one know what such protest mean. If the dispute becomes serious enough, there will be a clash..... and then force will have to decide it.

That was the cause of the last war....that is the cause of every war.

What interest has the American working class in such disputes? They have no money in oil wells. They have no money invested in oil companies. Japan's invasion of Siberia is not their worry.

It would not worry the American Government, either, if Japan seized the whole Sahara Desert. It is because the Siberian territory seized by the Japanese is rich in minerals, coal, and oil and timber which AMERICAN CAPITALISTS WOULD LIKE TO EXPLOIT, that the American government protests.

Of course, if war should result, the American government will use workers as soldiers. That is the way of present-day governments.

## Some Definitions

When the rank and file of labor unions strike independently of their officials, they are called Outlaws.

When they strike under the leadership of these officials they are called dupes.

When they strike under any circumstances and lose they are called fools.

When they don't strike at all they are called slaves.

When they strike and strike right, ala-O. B. U., they are called I. W. W.s and Bolsheviks.

When we strike let's strike right and be called something worth while.

When we strike let it be a general strike, and we will be doing something worth while.— M. De Wal, The Man Without a Country, in the Fellow-Worker.

## The Railroad Bonus

From March 1st to September 1st, the 6 months guarantee of profits period, the railroad companies were paid \$600,000,000 out of the United States treasury. The wind-up was the big boost of rates to keep up this amazing "efficiency."

In return for this bonus, the railroads have gone into partnership with the coal operators to create a short supply and top prices.

The capitalists cannot make money off each other. In the long run they can only pass it around, re-distribute the capital among themselves. The only way of increasing the total is out of the sweat and blood of the wage-workers. The workers get constantly a smaller proportion of the value of their product, in spite of any and all increases of nominal wages.

Some of the capitalists magnanimously offer their workers a bonus on wages. The whole profit system consists of bonuses taken out of labor.

## School Teachers

"While I was teaching algebra and Russian, an agent of the Department of Justice opened the door of the school, walked in with a revolver in his hand and ordered everybody in the school to step aside. Then without any provocation, he struck me on the head and beat me brutally. I was thrown downstairs, and while I rolled down, other men, I presume also agents of the Department of Justice, beat me with pieces of wood."

One ought to know better than be a teacher in America. Our school teachers, all over the country, have a story to tell.

They are not wage earners. They are salaried professionals, the educators of the young. But woe betide them if they disobey orders from above.

Don't think! Don't write! Don't speak! Above all, don't imagine that your position is the same as every worker's! You are salaried people, intellectuals!

But the same revolvers and the same pieces of wood and the same stairs await you.....in free America at the hand of government agents.

# A Call To Action Against War

Just how backward the A. F. of L. is in its international duty may be surmised by the proclamation of the executive of the Trade Union International. This is regarded as a conservative organization, yet its proclamation against the Polish-Russian war would be received in this country as unusually red. We reprint the text as it appears in the London Labor Leader:

## To The Workers Of The World:

In view of the gravity of the World situation, the Trade Union International calls upon the organized workers of the whole world to declare their uncompromising opposition to all war.

The organized workers of the world, in carrying out the resolutions of the International Trade Union Congress at Berne and Amsterdam, must henceforward be ready to fight against war by every means in their power, and to use concerted action for definitely establishing peace among the nations; war ought no longer to be possible.

The Trade Union International, mindful of the principle that nations have the right to self-government, condemns all foreign intervention in a nation's internal affairs, and condemns the giving of any military assistance to reactionary enterprises.

It is against such intervention that the Trade Union International calls upon all workers to arise and act.

## Russia Was Attacked

Applying these principles, and considering that the Russian revolution was attacked by Poland, the Trade Union International demands that all the military counter-revolutionary attacks against Russia shall cease immediately, and requires guarantees for the Russian people against any new aggression.

Taking into account the declaration of the Russian Government solemnly affirming their desire to make peace with Poland on the basis of Poland's independence and of free self-determination for the Polish people, the Trade Union International proclaims that this fratricidal slaughter must stop.

A general peace throughout the world should be immediately established on the basis of respect for the revolutionary gains and the independence of peoples.

Wishing to attain this profoundly humane object, one essentially necessary to the workers, the Trade Union International appeals to all trade unionists not to allow themselves to be made the accomplices of capitalist-imperialist enterprises, and to refuse with determination to transport troops or munitions.

The Holy Alliance which the reactionaries are seeking to establish must — to safeguard humanity—be shattered by the fully conscious action of the workers.

## Hold Up Munitions!

Not a single munition train must run, not a ship loaded with the engines of war must sail, not a soldier must be transported.

The means of war must no longer be supplied. The Trade Union International declares that the workers of every country can and must carry out this action.

Consequently, the Trade Union International, anxious to safeguard the liberties of the workers and to secure the development of social progress, convinced that wars will only be stopped by the will of the workers, calls upon all national committees to prepare to carry out, if this should become necessary, mass action and a general strike.

## Free People From Militarism

The Trade Union International also recommends that action be taken to stop the manufacture of war materials in all countries and to bring at last to realization A UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT which will free the peoples from militarism of every kind, and will increase the forces of production.

Comrades, in 1914 our organization was too weak to oppose the war. Today, with a strength of 27,000,000 members, and, above all, sustained by a spirit more anti-capitalist and anti-militarist, more Socialist and revolutionary, the Trade Union International should have the strength in itself, by its methods of action, to save the world from a repetition of such horrors.

"War Against War" must be the rallying cry of the workers throughout the world.

A refusal to transport any implement of war is now the way to express the international solidarity of the workers.

Comrades, the International Trade Union International counts on you.

## Send In the News

Don't you think the Toiler would be much better if we had every week a number of first hand accounts of strikes and other demonstrations of working class revolt in all parts of the country? That is what we think. Most working class papers are "dry" reading to the average worker because they contain too much abstract theorizing and not enough interesting news.

One of the main purposes of the Toiler is to engender a militant spirit in the ranks of the workers. A fighting working class will be the conquering class; and this necessary quality will be fostered and stimulated by example more than by precept. The most effective argument is the news account related from the revolutionary point of view.

We are gradually building up a staff of volunteer reporters who are sending in matter of this kind regularly. Our hope is that this voluntary organization will grow until we have a reporter in every city who will gather the news for the Toiler and send it in. Will you be one of them?

## Coal

The labor cost of coal has gone up since 1914 per ton, from \$1.59 to \$2.71, or 70.5%. Other expenses of mining have made the increase of mine cost 74.1%. But the selling price at the mine has gone up 116.5%. The sales agent's profits have jumped 671.4%.

It has been established that the coal operators and the sales agents work hand in hand. Indeed, they are often the same people, doing business both ways. At the same time there is a similar partnership or identity with the railroad management, and the cycle is thus complete. That is why the price of coal can be so openly and completely manipulated.

### ROBERT MINOR

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

#### Arrange a Robert Minor Meeting.

We will help you do it. Address The Toiler for particulars.

## More Freedom

Kentucky is the twenty-ninth sedition-law state. It might serve as a model for other States not yet possessing a law of that kind.

The law might be a pattern for "free" America, not only as regards the penalty, which smells of the Middle Ages, but also the punishment that even the peace officer receives if he fails to perform his "duty."

"It shall be unlawful for any person or persons, by speech, writing, or otherwise, to arouse, incite, or fix enmity, discord or strife, or ill feeling, between classes of persons for the purpose of inducing tumult or disorder."

The penalty is 21 years, and \$10,000 fine or both.

## NICOLAI LENIN

by Zinovieff

His co-worker and life long comrade.  
President of the Third International.

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

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

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

We ask you to help in its wide distribution.

25c

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



## Guilty! -- of What!

"It is not generally understood that the number of political and industrial prisoners in the United States, sentenced merely for expression of opinion or membership in an organization, has been **STEADILY INCREASING**. There are more convictions now under state and local laws than there were under federal law."

This quotation is from a review issued by the American Civil Liberties Union. Many people have thought of the political prosecutions as an affair of war and the Espionage Act. The fact is that prosecutions of this character are not of the war, but of the **class war**.

The Espionage prosecutions, by the federal government, for the most part, were only a veiled form of attack against the spokesmen of the working class. In "peace," as in war, the same use of the governmental power goes on. Capitalism defends itself, through government, like every past system of privilege and oppression, by the attempt to throttle the ideas and the inspiration of action against it by the oppressed class.

### "Criminal Syndicalism."

Now the prosecutions are being carried on primarily by the states, under "criminal syndicalism" and like laws. All that is needed for conviction and long imprisonment under these laws is proof of loyalty to the working class and belief that a new system must replace capitalism. Such has been the result of the trials in New York, New Jersey, California, Illinois, etc. Another big "conspiracy" trial occurs shortly at Chicago; 85 members of the Communist Party were indicted in January;—about 25 are about to be tried. The Communist Labor "conspiracy" case, with 20 sentenced to prison, is in process of appeal.

Trials and appeals are pending in New York, New Jersey, in other states.

### Deportation.

The deportation hurricane—the attempt to bully the "alien" proletarians into craven submissiveness—has abated. We have won most of the cases, but the bills are not paid. Thousands of dollars must be repaid to those who loaned every penny in the hour of crisis. There are urgent cases of family relief, of those deported and of those in jail. Funds are needed to pay for bail. The working class has no property to use for bail; this can only be secured by payment of fees.

New deportation cases, not by the hundreds but in the less dramatic way of two and threes, or one at a time, are coming up constantly.

### The Workers' Fight.

There is no place to look for defense and relief funds except to the working class. This is the workers' fight, and everyone now knows it. There is practically no help from the "liberals." Nor is there any working-class organization now in shape to handle the situation. Particularly the Communists, since the raids, have been unable to take care of themselves. No matter how much or how little you know about Communism; no matter how much you agree or disagree;—you know that this is one phase of the class war into which you as a worker are thrust, no matter what you think about it. You either help those who meet the front-line shock of this fight—or you desert!

### Funds Are Urgently Needed—Now!

Make remittance payable to I. E. Ferguson, Treasurer, and mail to Room 303—166 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE:

**MAX BEDACHT . . L. E. KATTERFELD C. E. RUTHENBERG . I. E. FERGUSON**  
**EDGAR OWENS, Secretary.**