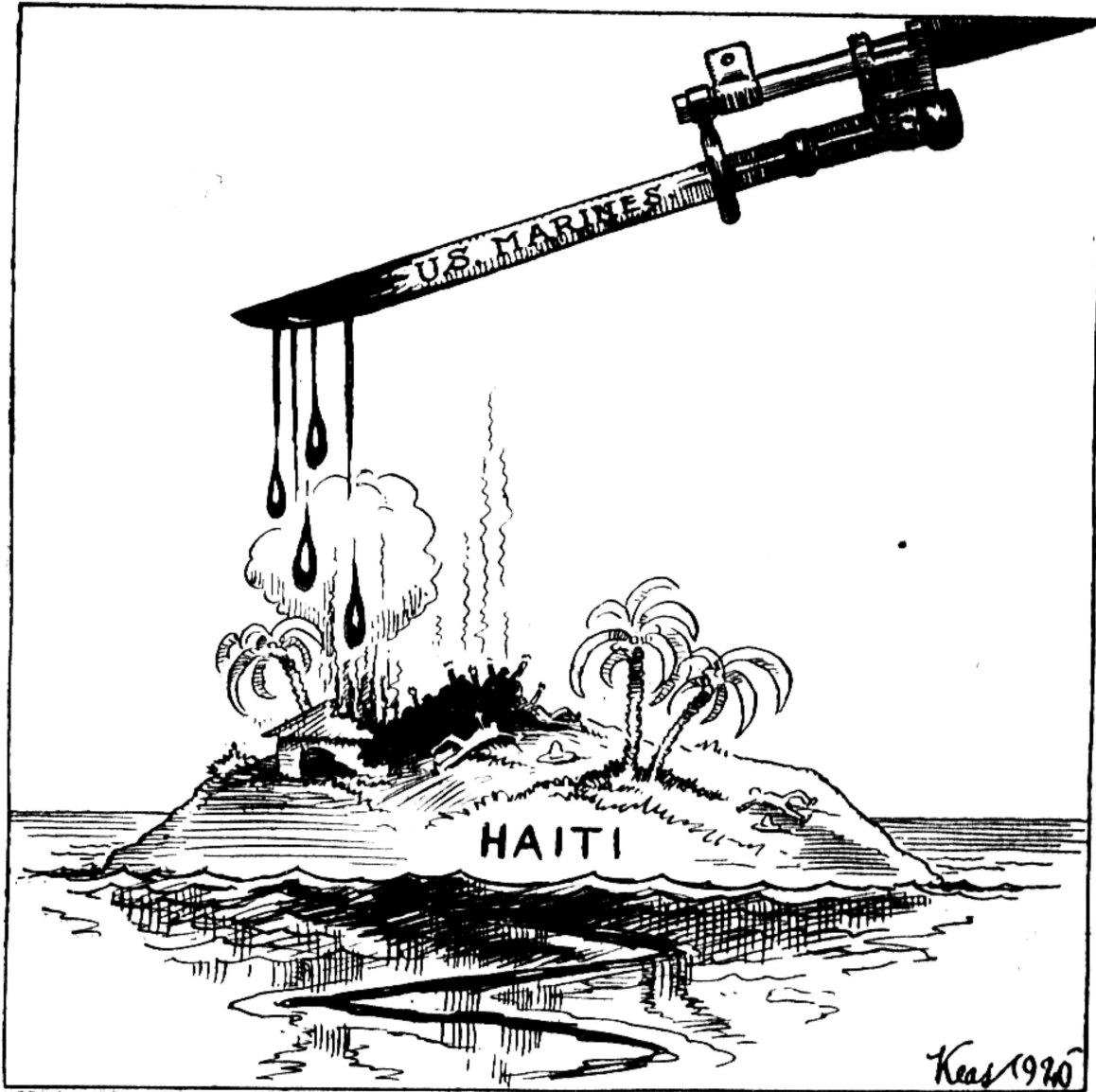


The TOILER

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The Profiteers' "Sword of Damocles"

November Seventh

By H. D. Wendell.

Three years ago the workers, soldiers and sailors of Petrograd struck the blow that delivered them from bondage. Out of the factories came the workers, joining with the sailors from Kronstadt and the soldiers from the Garrison of Petrograd to answer the call of the Bolsheviks for the armed revolt against the Kerensky regime. Into this battle they moved in a new spirit, singing hymns of the revolution and under the impact of their mighty assaults the decaying structure of capitalism tottered and fell to the ground. Kerensky fled. The workers' revolution was victorious.

But this was not all; the fall of Kerensky meant but the beginning of the struggle. Capitalism was overthrown, but there still remained the capitalists, plotting and scheming to get back into power. The workers knew that until their resistance was completely broken the revolution was not safe. They knew also, as they still know, that as long as other capitalist governments stand in the world, the soviet government is in danger. So, for the purpose of suppressing with merciless force the counter-revolution at home and defending themselves against the Allied bandits, they established the working class dictatorship.

The Workers Dictatorship.

A dictatorship, says Bukharin, is a power strong as iron. Its function is to defend the rule of the proletariat against all comers. This is the way it has operated in Russia. The workers are now in the saddle and they rule with an iron hand. The old order is reversed. The former tyrants are humbled in the dust, while the workers rule and dictate. A fulfillment of the poet's prophecy, "The master shall drop the whip, and the slave shall enslave the master"!

The war was still on. The German regiments moved steadily forward, pushing back the demoralized army of Russia. Peace had to be made, a peace that cost the workers of Russia dearly. But the revolution needed a breathing spell and it was Germany that paid the heaviest penalty in the end.

Blockade And Counter revolution.

Then came the blockade, enforced by the Allies to beat down the republic of the working class. Russia began to starve. The blockade without was supplemented by sabotage within. The railroads, demoralized by long years of insane war, were still further crippled by the murderous crews of capitalist counter-revolutionists within Soviet Russia, who, under the protection and with the aid of Foreign Legations, organized their dastardly expeditions to wreck trains, blow up bridges and shoot engineers — all for the purpose of breaking down the Soviet machinery to the end that Czarism might be reestablished.

Then came the invading armies of Allied Capitalism. England, France, America—all the noble champions of "democracy"—joined in the unholy conspiracy against the Workers' Government. Did a single general of the Czar's regime declare against the Soviets, the war materials of the capitalist world were at his disposal. Did one weakness show itself along the immense border of Russia, there was massed at this point the soldiers of the Powers, even to the frozen North. Declarations of war were not made, it is true, but never have belligerents better understood that it was, and is, war to the finish.

In the face of all this, the Russian masses stood undaunted. Through untold privation and sacrifice they beat off their murderous assailants. Kolchak, Denikin, Yudenich—one after another they saw their mercenary hordes fade and disappear before the shot and shell and propaganda of the Red Army. Now it is Poland and Wrangel who are being unleashed like vicious dogs against Soviet Russia. But humiliating failure awaits them too, because Soviet Russia is invincible, aided and supported as it is by the revolutionary workers in all lands.

The World—Wide Revolution.

Like one solid wall of men the Russian masses have stood undaunted for three historic years; and so they will stand until the enslaved workers of all the world, declaring war on their own oppressors and exploiters, rise up and overthrow them. The heroic workers of Russia are the vanguard;

they have set the example; they have pointed out the road. We know now, with their experience to guide us, that there can be no peace while one vestige of capitalism remains.

November 7th is a sacred day. Let us ob-

serve it by dedicating ourselves anew to the revolutionary struggle, calling upon the downtrodden workers of all lands to join in the war for liberation. The War against Capitalism is OUR war and on its outcome we will stake our lives.

Two Letters On Trade Unionism

Editor, The Toiler:

That "Appeal To The Labor Unions" contained in the Oct. 16th issue of the Toiler affords some very valuable material for showing up the American labor unions as they really are. It is too bad we couldn't have had the benefit of this expose' long ago, but I suppose it couldn't have been appreciated then as well as it can be now in the light of recent corroborative experience.

The inference to be drawn from this appeal of the Third International is that these comfortable "respectable" old unions, that have proved to be so thoroughly part and parcel of the capitalist system, can become and are becoming revolutionary! For myself, I doubt it, but as yet the problem has not been definitely settled in my mind and I am still considerably puzzled regarding it.

Are the old unions any more worth "capturing" than the capitalist system is worth reforming? Then, on the other hand, I've heard a prominent student in the movement make the assertion that when the revolution comes, the workers will have to function through whatever organization they happen to have at the time.

This problem of the unions is a bothersome one for me, and I feel the Toiler can do a good service right now by inviting and airing views from those workers who have something sound to offer on this timely topic.

H. L. Cole

ANSWER BY THE EDITOR OF THE TOILER.

Dear Comrade Cole:

Your letter is of great interest because the questions you raise are among the most vital that confront the rebel workers of America at the present time. We ought, by all means, to have a discussion in the Toiler by informed workers in the labor movement to the end that all points of view may be fused together and a common plan of action worked out. If we will get our heads

together, the problem of revolutionizing the labor movement of America will soon cease to be a "puzzle"; it will become only a necessary job of work to be done, and we will set to it with a will.

It is a fortunate circumstance that your letter was inspired by the recent publication in the Toiler of the "Appeal To The Labor Unions" by the Communist International. I say this because I subscribe to the opinion that the strategy of the advancing working class must be mapped out on an international scale and because I believe the Communist International, standing as it does at the head of the world's revolutionary movement, is the organization to which we will learn to look more and more for advice and guidance in the desperate struggles that lie ahead of us.

It will interest you to learn that the second congress of the Communist International, recently held at Moscow with 35 countries represented, dealt exhaustively with the perplexing question of trade unionism and, making due allowance for the special conditions which obtain in the different countries, laid down some general policies which it is our duty to consider and to see wherein they apply to the peculiar problem that confronts us here in America which at the outbreak of the war had developed the most reactionary labor organization in the world. The A. F. of L., alongside of the most advanced and militant type, the I. W. W.

Favor Work In Old Unions.

The second congress arrived at some conclusions which run counter to one of our established dogmas, and I am wondering how they will be accepted by our rebel vanguard. Will we take stock and ask ourselves whether there is not some merit in their view or will we make the stereotyped answer that "Russian conditions do not prevail in America", and go on along the accustomed road that leads us nowhere.

I am going to quote briefly from Radek's

thesis on the subject of trade unionism, which was adopted by the second congress, and open the symposium with an argument from that point of view; a point of view, it seems to me, that takes into account all the factors we have to deal with and that indicates the proper tactic.

"All voluntary withdrawal", says the thesis, "from the industrial movement, every artificial attempt to organize special unions, without being compelled thereto by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade union bureaucracy, such as expulsions of separate revolutionary local branches of the unions by the opportunist officials or by their narrow-minded aristocratic policy, which prohibits the unskilled workers from entering the organization, represents a grave danger. It threatens to hand over the most advanced, the most conscious workers, to the opportunist leaders, playing into the hands of the bourgeoisie."

Adopt An Elastic Program.

You will note that this quotation, in which the essence of the position is set forth, while stating a general policy, carefully refrains from laying down a binding, iron-clad rule to be applied in all cases. The Communist International approaches this complex problem of trade unionism not with rigid formulas, but with an elastic program adapted to change when conditions change and to conform always to the condition.

Our failure to adopt this attitude has been the fatal weakness of the American revolutionary labor movement. Instead of dealing with concrete situations in a realistic fashion, we have had too much of a tendency to encase ourselves in an armor of sterile, hardshell dogmatism. Instead of striving always to be with the masses of the workers, it has been our habit to take an impractical and often impossible position and then to blame the workers because they do not follow us. I am in favor of making a thorough inspection of all of our old ideas and phrases to see whether they fit the conditions which now confront us.

"Capturing" The Trade Unions.

One of the phrases which have been accepted as Gospel by most of us for these many years is: "The A. F. of L. cannot be captured." Those dogmatists who have abandoned all work in the trade unions on that ground have made the mistake of looking at Gompers' cabinet instead of at the local unions which are the real point of

attack. He would be a utopian indeed who would say that the executive officers of the A. F. of L. or of the International Unions will give up their control merely because the majority of the membership demand it; but they are no less impractical who apply the same logic to the local units. That is where the members are, and there a totally different set of circumstances prevails. The bureaucracy at the top consists of a set of parasites who have special interests of their own as labor brokers; you can't hope to convert them to revolutionary principles, and you can't "capture" them either. But the local units are made up of wage workers who have a common class interest; they can be appealed to, and they can be converted!

Another factor of great importance to be considered in connection with the trade unions is their enormous increase in membership since the outbreak of the war. Under the pressure of unbearable conditions, the masses of the workers are driven into action; and they turn instinctively to the trade unions, seeking to make them their fighting instruments. The argument that the A. F. of L. consists only of highly skilled craftsmen no longer holds good. It is safe to say that the bulk of the membership today consists of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

A Fertile Field For Agitation.

This unprecedented increase of membership has created an entirely new set of conditions to be dealt with. These new and healthy elements offer a fertile field for revolutionary propaganda, and they are blind indeed who cannot see it. The nation-wide war for the open shop which has been inaugurated by the Chamber of Commerce, and the utter incapacity of the outworn mechanism of craft unionism to cope with it, opens up an unparalleled opportunity for agitation in behalf of the industrial form of organization and for revolutionary methods of waging the class war.

When I insist that it is the duty of revolutionary workers to carry on an active, organized propaganda and agitation within every trade union to which they have access, I have in mind the fact that the labor movement is not a casting that is crystallized into a certain shape forever, once it cools in the mold. On the contrary it is a living organism that is constantly changing and which is capable of much greater change by the efforts of an organized body of revolutionists who

will work within it to that end. Whether the struggle we put up finally results in the regeneration of the existing trade unions and their transformation into industrial unions is not an important question. What I am confident of is that by a persistent, systematic and organized campaign we can win over the bulk of the membership to our way of thinking, aided, as we will be, by the pressure of conditions which will make ever clearer the necessity for revolutionary action. Then when the break comes with the false leaders we will carry the masses with us, not leave them behind us.

I am so confident of this outcome that I am impatient of delay. I want to see the rebel nucleus organized for work in every local union; we have no time to lose, we are rapidly approaching the industrial crisis which may bring us face to face the prospect of revolution. This crisis will not wait until we have a labor movement built to order according to a perfect pattern. We will be compelled to make use of such organizations as are on the ground, and we will pay dearly if we leave them in the unchallenged control of Gompers and the other labor lieutenants of the capitalist class.

Editor, The Toiler.



O'er Burdened.

John Reed's Last Illness

MOSCOW—(Via Christiania and London.) — The Executive Committee of the Third International has received a report from Dr. Berkowitz on the illness which caused the death of John Reed, and describing the care which the Soviet government gave the American revolutionist during his last days.

The report states:

"Eating of unwashed fruit during a recent visit to Baku was the probable cause of John Reed's illness which was complicated by heart disease, the absence of one kidney, and shortly before the end by inflammation of the brain.

"During the first days of his illness, Reed's condition was excellent, showing only a slight rise in temperature. Suspecting typhus, the physician on the third day recommended that patient be removed to a hospital.

"Louise Bryant, Reed's wife, took care of him until the 8th day when he was taken to a specially prepared ward in the Marinsky hospital. Under the care of 4 doctors and 2 consulting physicians, Reed received the most expert treatment that this country could provide. An English-speaking nurse and an assistant surgeon were in constant attendance. The best food, abundant linen, an electric stove, and all possible conveniences were furnished."

Commissars Bucharin and Kollantay, Karl Radek and Boris Reinstein spoke when Reed was buried under the walls of the Kremlin and among the graves of Russia's revolutionary heroes. Murphy of England and Rosmer of France also took part in the burial services.

GERMAN UNIONS GROW.

During the year ended March 31, last, the members of the forty-eight trade unions affiliated with the Berlin Trade Union Commission was practically doubled, according to the Commission's annual report just made public. The gain was 342,107, bringing the total membership in this city to 691,263, made up of 478,103, 198,159 women on 15,000 young persons. The strongest local unions are the Metal Workers' Union, with 177,923 members, and the Transport Workers' Union, with 125,205.



O'er Burdened.

The Italian Metal Workers' Struggle

By Nemo.

The struggle of the Italian metal workers, on which the expectant eyes of the working classes of Europe were rivetted, has come to a sudden and sad end. For this the present leaders of the Italian working class are to blame. As it is known, in August last, the Metal Workers' Federation claimed an increase of wages on account of the high cost of living. The masters, on the pretext of the precarious condition of the metal industry caused by the cost of raw material and the high foreign exchange, refused the workers' claim.

Under the circumstances no other means was left to the Federation but to use strike weapons to enforce their demand, the justice of which was proved by figures and data that the employers could not refute.

In Italy, however, strikes have not been lately so favourably looked upon as in the past, as they entail sacrifices on the side only of the working classes. The metal workers, therefore, decided for "obstructionism," as it is called in England, the "go slow" method.

The Workers Seize The Industries.

Milan, the greatest industrial city of Italy, set the example, but the movement soon changed its character and aim because of a blunder made by one of the leading firms—the Romeo—which, in order to defeat the workers, conceived the foolish idea of closing its factory.

The workers, fearing that the lock-out would be extended, decided to occupy, by an energetic and sudden move the factories all over the country.

Before a move of such magnitude the Government felt itself powerless. As the Prime Minister stated a few days ago in the Senate, in answer to the critics of his lukewarm policy, the Government could only have prevented the Workers' seizure of the factories by filling the factories with all the police and soldiers at its disposal, thus leaving itself without forces to maintain order outside!

The occupation of the factories, therefore, proceeded in the country quite regularly and without much trouble. Once inside, the workers immediately entrenched themselves, putting barbed wires all round, placing machine guns on the roofs,

constituting an armed Red guard. They hoisted the Red Flag, and created soviets and committees to maintain discipline amongst themselves, and cheerfully started to work on their own account.

It is easy to imagine what kind of feeling and hopes two weeks of undisputed possession of the factories aroused amongst the other sections of the working classes. Engineers, seamen and others began to give proof of their solidarity with the metal workers by occupying the factories of other industries, by supplying and transporting raw materials. The peasants in several parts of the country, especially in the South, in squads of 20, 50 and 100,000 men, marched with bands and Red Flags to seize large landed properties.

One felt all over the country that revolution, the end of capitalism, and the dawn of a new era were drawing near. But other forces were also at work, those of the pusillanimous leaders of the General Confederation of Labour and the reformist section of the Socialist Party. Because of these the movement crumbled down. A meeting was held in Milan between the General Confederation of Labour and the officials of the Socialist Party to decide whether the struggle of the metal workers should be extended to all the other industries of the country, and become a political movement to enable the proletariat to take power. To this meeting the Syndicalist Unions and the Anarchist groups were not invited. The moderate elements were in the majority, and the direction of the movement was confided to the reformist General Confederation of Labour.

The Confederation of Labour Compromises.

In such hands, the movement could not go beyond a Syndicalist conception. The first thing that the Confederation of Labour did was to approach the employers and the local authorities, and come to a compromise. Finally they met Giolitti, the Prime Minister, a man who in point of ruse and shrewdness is only second to Lloyd George. Giolitti seized the position at a glance, and did not miss the opportunity of mystifying both the leaders and the workers by adopting as his own a scheme of the Confederation of Labour for joint control by the workers and employers. This,

by a special decree, has now become a law of the country.

As soon as the news of the agreement, or concordat, as it has been called, jointly signed by the officials of the Confederation and the Government, was made known to the workers of the occupied factories, a chorus of protests arose against the leaders, whom the workers accuse of having betrayed the cause of the proletariat and of revolution.

The concordat was submitted for the ratification of the workers, who after three weeks of struggle and anxious expectation, and finding that the leaders had failed to call the rest of the working class to aid them, in despair agreed to approve it and to evacuate the factories they had hoped to retain for ever.

The Confederation of Labour justifies its action by saying that the struggle has resulted in a great conquest for the working-classes from a Trade Union point of view. It may be so. But once the joint control of the factories by employers and employed be tried in practice, it will be seen that our hopes of solving the social question by collaborating with the capitalist class are in vain.

And "Avanti" Apologises.

The official organ of the Italian Socialist Party, "Avanti," in an editorial of a few days ago, in answering the critics of the concordat, amongst them the "Umanita Nova," daily organ of the revolutionary Syndicalist and Anarchist movement, was compelled to admit that if the control of the factories established by the concordat is a victory for the workers, it is also a victory for the Government.

"This time," says "Avanti," perhaps the grumblers are right, if one considers the problem from the political standpoint. It is indeed self-evident that this is not only a victory for the metal workers, but also for Giolitti. It is also quite evident that the factory control that has been won, even should it succeed in working properly, will represent either a sham or a corruption. Joint control of the factories is in itself collaboration with the employers, and, if carried out in earnest, it will inevitably transform the workers into interested partners in the capitalist concerns. The capitalists will have the beef and the proletarians the smell; this is quite clear. And the revolution—as our Government wish—will recede further away unless the rank and file will open its

eyes and see clearly into the situation. The critical hour of the national life will not pass with an agreement of merely Trade Union character. The Italian bourgeoisie will not save itself by a signature put by the employers at the foot of an agreement imposed by Giolitti. If the grumblers, the dissatisfied, the critics, the mourners, mean this, they are right a thousand times. But they must not dishearten the masses, they must not create discomfort and scepticism."

One could not put the position better, but the organ of the Italian Socialist Party is wrong if it thinks that the criticism and dissatisfaction of the Syndicalists and of the Anarchists will create scepticism amongst the masses. On the contrary, their criticism will contribute to maintaining alive amongst the working class the enthusiasm and the revolutionary fire which their lukewarm leaders—the D'Aragnas, the Buozzis (who are the Henderson, the Smillies and the Thomases of the Italian Labour organisations) try to extinguish by changing the class war into a compromise with the enemy.

All this the writers of the Socialist organ know and understand perfectly well, but I think they are afraid that criticism might make havoc amongst the rank and file of the Confederation of Labour and of the Socialist Party, and cause defections in favour of the extremist wing of the economic and political organisations, viz., the Italian Syndicalist Unions and the Anarchist Federation, so as to make them lose control of the masses.

The Italian proletariat will soon discover the uselessness of the concordat, and will consequently, seeing that their leaders have put them once more on the wrong track, follow another path after having pitilessly got rid of them.

On the other hand there are already unmistakable signs of a split amongst the Confederation of Labour and the Socialist Party. The latter, especially, contain such heterogeneous elements—the anti-parliamentary Bordiga section, the Bonfanti Serrati Maximalists and the Turati and Treves reformist wing—that a separation is bound to take place one of these days, unless a smashing victory of the Socialist Party in the municipal elections, which are just going on, should reconcile them all and induce them to continue the old policy of "wait and see."

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The Picket Line

The Appeal to Reason says that half of the world is now governed by socialists of "various degrees". Yes, some of these socialists, like the Appeal To Reason crowd, are thirty-third degree traitors to the working class. Before the workers can get rid of the capitalists they must first get rid of a bunch of these counterfeit comrades.

Samuel Gompers was introduced by the chairman at a democratic campaign rally in New York as the "man who has done more for labor than any other American." If he had said he has done more to labor, he would have come closer to the truth.

The confession of the editor of the Providence Journal, which "exposed" so many German plots and intrigues during the war, that his evidence was all manufactured out of whole cloth, is another item for the attention of those trustful

workers who still have the habit of believing what they read in the capitalist press.

The president of the league of Nations now says article 10 might be dispensed with. So it could; and the workers of the world will not be harmed if all the other articles follow it into the discard.

We read quite a little capitalist propoganda, but we have never yet seen where they attempt to show the consistency of their cry for "more production" with the wholesale laying off of workers in the industrial centers.

The question of production will not trouble the workers when they take possession of the industries and put the bosses out. They will work as long as is necessary to supply their own wants. And when they stop giving the bulk of their product to idle parasites, they will find that a much shorter workday will suffice.

Those union men who, locked out in the course of the nation-wide, organized, union-smashing campaign of the National Chamber of Commerce will have time to reflect on the wisdom of Gompers' teaching that "the interests of capital and labor are identical."

From all parts of the country come the reports of wholesale discharges of workers and attempts to re-hire them at greatly reduced wages. Here is another hard blow at the brotherhood of Capital and Labor.

We haven't given any advice to the readers of the Toiler for this election because we have no candidates. We like Gene Debs well enough, but we have to part company with him when he lines up with the yellow socialists of America, the blood-brothers of the socialists of Europe who betrayed the revolutionary workers and delivered them over to the capitalists.

Bolsheviks and monkeys are making the king business an extra hazardous one.

Wall Street offers ten to one that Harding wins, but it would be safe to bet 100 to 1 that the workers lose no matter who wins.

Two More Political Prisoners

The trial in New York of C. E. Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson resulted in their conviction by a carefully picked jury of business men and their sentence to serve an indeterminate term of from five to ten years in the state penitentiary. They go there to join Jim Larkin and Ben Gitlow who were convicted and given the same sentences early in this year.

The practice of engaging high-priced lawyers to make elaborate legal defense was not followed in this case; the defendants being satisfied that it is impossible for advocates of the workers' cause to get justice in the class courts of America. On the contrary they made their persecution an occasion for communist propaganda, boldly proclaiming in open court their adherence to revolutionary principles. I. E. Ferguson, himself a lawyer of standing, conducted the defense. Extracts from his brilliant speech to the jury bring out clearly the uncompromising attitude of the two communist agitators.

"I have not felt at any time during the course of this trial," he said, "that Charles Ruthenberg and Isaac Ferguson are defendants in this case. The real defendants are those who are responsible for this prosecution.

Opposing Capitalism, Their Crime.

"We were not indicted for advocating criminal anarchy; we were indicted for opposing the capitalist system which controls the government, newspapers, courts, schools, theaters, magazines, — all the organs for moulding opinion and creating prejudice.

"The same brutal capitalistic campaign of terrorism against organized labor which is indicted by the Left Wing manifesto, as printed in the Revolutionary Age for July 5th, 1919, brought us into this courtroom, but we are not terrorized.

"If communism is so persuasive that it cannot be admitted to platforms of political discussion to determine whether it is right or wrong, you cannot crush it by jailing those who advocate it. If communism is so dynamic, so much a part of social conditions that a mere statement of its principles will convince and convert, it will live no matter how many go to prison for it.

"We are charged with advocating a general strike to overthrow the government. **You cannot**

suppress the strike! 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 a social system to ask Americans to live under!

"The spirit of resistance to government is so valuable that it ought to be kept alive.' So Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1787.

"In 'The New Freedom', Woodrow Wilson, the student, writes:

"I am aware that those who advocate the measures which we have been discussing are denounced as dangerous radicals. I am particularly interested to observe that the men who cry out most loudly against what they call radicalism are the men who find their private game in politics is being spoiled."

Unrest Cannot Be Jailed.

"You stop nothing by silencing Ruthenberg and Ferguson in a penitentiary. Social forces now at work contain the logic of their own growth. Unrest is not created by agitators, but by the conditions of life. Social disturbances come because the government is not able to meet the actual problems of existence.

"Under the conditions of this statute relating to criminal anarchy you should have heard of our getting leadpipe and gunpowder and preparing bombs to blow up buildings and kill individuals in power. Instead you have heard of educational propaganda, organization activities, and concerted efforts to bring about a better understanding among the workers of their class needs.

"And that work will go on regardless of what happens to us. The posts vacated by our imprisonment will be filled by others who will come forward from the ranks to take up the flag when we drop it at the prison door. Persecution and imprisonment could not hold back the movement in Russia and they cannot hold it back here. The proletarian revolution is invincible."

ROBERT MINOR SPEAKING DATES.

Chicago November 6th, evening. He will be the principal speaker at the Third Anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Milwaukee Sunday, the 7th, afternoon.

Racine, Wisc. Sunday, the 7th, evening.

Your Dollar Against a White Guard's Fist

A small experience with a large significance.
By the Business Manager.

It all happened at Acme Hall, Cleveland, a few moments before the Bob Minor meeting last week. The Toiler's Business Manager entered the hall carrying a bundle of several hundred papers which were to be sold to the audience. He observed the array of White Guards in plain clothes and uniforms ranged along the back of the hall. Descending the stairway to deliver the papers to the Committee, he was halted by a voice from above. White Guard No. 1, it was. The same Palmer Lieutenant who searched the Toiler office last January and subsequently returned to his superior officers empty handed with the exception of a few dollars worth of stamped envelopes which he had stolen.

"What are you distributing here?" was his question. "I am not distributing anything". The question was repeated. "Do you see me distributing anything. "What's in that bundle?" "Toilers". "Open it up and we'll see, and don't get 'snotty' either". The latter admonition is an example of White Guard culture. "If my word isn't good convince yourself," I reply, as we descend to the landing and proceed to untie the bundle.

We are now joined by White Guard No. 2, in plain clothes and White Guards No's. 3 and 4 in police uniform. The bundle is untied and I hand him a copy. "That goes thru the United States mails", I assert. Even White Guards can sometimes see a point, they are convinced that the bundle is really Toilers and confiscate only the one copy, as "evidence" I presume.

What White Guards are for.

White Guard No. 1, becomes very patronizing—insultingly so. "If you had answered us like a gentleman instead of getting "snotty" it would have been all right". "Oh, I have MY opinion of you," In am compelled to insist. "Now, don't get 'snotty' (They who live in a mental gutter must speak a corresponding tongue) or we'll knock your block off and put you in jail besides," is his threat. "Go ahead. I've been there before." But he does not knock my 'block' off. That he was standing two steps lower than I probably accounts for his lack of an attempt to do so.

Here is where White Guard No 2. earned his bread. While I tie up the bundle on my extended knee he steps up and sends a smashing blow with his first squarely upon my mouth, splitting the lips and bringing a flow of blood into my mouth. The police stand like sticks without a word or a movement. How well they know WHOM and WHAT they are to protect! There were no other witnesses.

An aptitude for slugging is one of the prime qualifications of a Palmer White Guard. The art is especially adapted for the only circumstance in which it is used—that of assaulting unarmed workers in dark corners where protection for the slugger is afforded by the presence of other armed sluggers.

Having proven his qualification for advancement the thug slinks into the shadow behind the men in uniform and refuse to divulge his name and swallows the accusation that he is courageous only when backed by protection of others.

Education Of Workers Is Vital.

But, the purpose of this article is not to tell you this little episode which is a very small affair indeed. A far more vital matter to the workers is at stake. A matter which YOU can help to rectify. A blow in one's face is a slight matter, even the filthy fist of a White Guard can be tolerated. The same thing has happened to thousands of other workers, that and worse will occur to thousands more before we have educated them to the point where they will organize strong enough to break the power of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

And that is our purpose here, EDUCATION. We were expecting to sell almost a thousand copies of "Lenin, His Life and Work" by Zinovieff, at this meeting. Minor says this is one of the finest propaganda pamphlets written. But under the circumstances the committee decided not to offer these pamphlets for sale. Palmer's White Guards have stolen hundreds of dollars worth of our literature. We did not wish to afford them the opportunity to add to their steelings. We decided

instead to put the matter squarely before the workers and ask them to turn this defeat into a **STUPENDOUS VICTORY.**

How To Defeat The White Guards.

We can do this. With your help we can not only sell to other workers these thousand copies, but we can do even better, far better, with your co-operation we can sell four pamphlets where we would have sold only one at the meeting.

The pamphlets are 25c each. One dollar buys four of them. **WE KNOW** there are at least one thousand readers of The Toiler who have **ONE** dollar each to spend **RIGHT NOW** for four pamphlets, one for themselves and three to sell to other workers. It is easy, it is **NECESSARY**, it **MUST** be done. The education of the workers must continue. No interrupting White Guard activities shall be tolerated. We must circumvent them by this method. A dollar each from one thousand Toiler readers and the victory is **OURS**. The ignorance of the workers is our defeat, it means victory for the White Guards. Let's do away with ignorance, shatter the power of the White Guards by educating the workers.

Victory is in your hands. Your response will decide whether the hired sluggers of the robbers of the workers shall gloat over an easy victory, or whether we shall turn a momentary defeat into a great and lasting victory. **What is your answer?**

Show this to other workers. Take their orders for copies and then send them in on this blank or a sheet of paper.

GOLDMAN REPUDIATES "INTERVIEW."

MOSCOW—(Via Christiania and London.) — (N. Y. Bureau).—Emma Goldman who has just returned here from a three months absence in the Ukraine has issued a statement denying the remarks attributed to her in an alleged interview last June with a Chicago Tribune correspondent, saying:

"The statements published in American newspapers which have been attributed to me are absolute falsifications, full of lying insinuations.

"I love America of the common people. They are brave spirits fighting for the freedom and well being of the workers.

"The America which has betrayed all revolutionary traditions, which has outraged liberty, which has enslaved the people, and which is now seeking to crush Russia—that America I hate with a deadly hatred.

"With all the fibre of my being I am with the Russian revolution and with the Russian people in its heroic struggle against the imperialism and conspiracy of the Allied pack at the throat of Russia trying desperately to drive and torture the people back to the old regime.

"I will continue my fight as before to the bitter end."

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Ship Yard laid off about 300 men last week. Most of those laid off were bolters-up ship fitters and reamers, other workers of the same kind were hired to take their places but at a lower wage. Bolters-up were formerly paid 58 cents per hour, but were rehired at 46 cents per hour. Rates for other trades were proportionately lowered. A systematic campaign is being carried on in the shipyards to change them from closed shops to open shops, here we find one of the advantages the worker receives through the "American Plan". If the American worker is not yet convinced that American democracy and Americanism are the smoke screens the capitalists throw out in order to cloud his brain while they exploit him, he is now receiving unmistakable evidence of their nefarious intent.

The Toiler,
3207 Clark Ave.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Comrades:—I am opposed to the slugging methods of the White Guards. I know that the education of the workers is the only salvation for us.

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

Name

Address

City State

Rumors From Russia

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

The stories of strikes, riots, assassinations of commissaries, general disorder and opposition to Communism in Russia, which have been recurring in the Capitalist Press during the last few weeks, are all coming via Helsingfors, well-known to be a manufacturing centre of false news.

Those of us who have been to Russia and have seen the great strength and power of the Soviet Government, the complete order, the fine enthusiasm of the workers, the splendid appearance of health, freedom from anxiety and general well-being of the masses, will not place credence in such stories. In Russia one hears much of shortage, one does not see the evidence of it in the expression and physique of the people as one does most terribly in Germany and in the poorer quarters of British cities. Everywhere one sees amongst the Russian people the signs of their joy and confidence in the great proletarian Communist State which they are building. Especially is this apparent amongst the young. The meetings and lectures teem with them, well grown, well clad, well nourished, buoyant and confident. Regarding them and realising the immensity of Russia's population one knows that there is here a bulwark, here an engine of progress, which Capitalism never can overthrow, and which will assuredly vanquish it in the end.

Why are these false stories of disaster to the Soviet sent out from Helsingfors and telegraphed throughout the world?

These lies are intended to influence the proletarian movements of other countries, to weaken the courage of the workers, to dampen their spirits, to deter them from action and betray them to compromise. These lies are aimed at Italy, that the leaders of the great Socialist Party and Confederation of Labour may be afraid to throw in their lot with the workshop struggle and lead it to revolution. They are aimed at Germany and Austria that the Communist Parties there may think this is no time to rise. They are aimed at Poland to discourage the revolutionary forces and encourage the counter-revolutionary forces there. They are aimed also at this country, where the word Soviets is now heard more often than Capitalism approves.

Strikes In Mexico

By Robert Haberman,

Strikes are still the order of the day. The police strike in Guadalajara and that in Puebla, two of the largest cities in the Republic, show how far the spirit of organization has reached.

Of general strikes we get only promises. As soon as the storm signal goes up, the bosses pull in the sails, and the workers win hands down. We have had two such promises within the last two weeks. In Metepoc, Puebla, where the second largest textile factories in Mexico are situated, one hundred and twenty leaders were discharged and put on the blacklist in order to destroy the union. They were however offered the three months pay required by the Constitution. A strike was immediately declared for the reinstatement of the discharged workers.

President de la Huerta sent down investigators who advised the workers to accept the three months pay, and offered them free railroad passes to some other place of work. The union, by unanimous referendum, refused the offer and decided to remain on strike. They sent out demands for funds. De la Huerta subscribed fourteen thousand pesos immediately, to be spent for corn and beans.

Demands for moral help were sent out, and the Confederation Regional Obrera issued a circular to the four hundred unions advising them to prepare for a general strike. This would have tied up the whole of Mexico and paralysed industrial life completely, as all transport workers belong to the Confederation. The strike was immediately settled, the workers winning all they asked for, besides a special fund of five thousand pesos to start a cooperation fund.

The other case was that of the Street Railway workers of Mexico City. This union gave the customary ten days notice of strike, it being a Public Service Corporation. Gasca, the shoemaker governor of the Federal District, was appointed by the workers as their arbitrator. Meanwhile the Federation de Sindicatos del Distrito Federal (the Mexico City representative of the National Confederation) ordered all the unions on strike on the day the ten day period expired.

The strike was won and with it all that the workers asked for: recognition of the union, 5% raise of pay, free medical service, and that the Company deal with the men only through the union representative, never directly.

A Sociable Way To Help "The Toiler"

In our last week's issue we told you of our many months long struggle against the rising cost of print paper. We told you that the price had risen from 6 cents per pound to 15 cents. Not only has risen to that extremely high price but no visible sign is seen that the price will be less. Not only that—a graver difficulty is our lack of sufficient funds to pay the CASH DOWN that is demanded. Credit, in so far as the purchase of paper is concerned has been practically wiped out. Cash is demanded, cash must be had ready at hand.

We asked our readers to help us in this difficult situation. We asked that our readers who have faith in The Toiler, who believe that the principles it upholds, that the doctrines it teaches are worth something to the workers in their struggle against their exploiters — we asked these comrades to help us, to make a donation toward our Paper Fund.

There are many comrades who can do this without any inconvenience or hardship. When we consider the value of The Toiler to the workers in this struggle, then we must see that the payment of the yearly subscription price is not our whole duty toward it. The workers should jealously guard their press and never allow it to suffer from lack of support. It is one of their strongest weapons in the class war. We should make the greatest use of it and support it with our last dollar.

Another way to help.

We want to tell you this week of a way in which you can help our paper fund to grow. Here it is. Winter months are here. Outdoor amusements will be practically taboo for a long time. But radicals are social creatures. Winter or summer they like to get to gether. And now, with revolution spreading over the whole world they have much to discuss and to learn by discussion. Winter months mean indoor socials, entertainments 'get-togethers' of various kinds. We should make the most of this spirit of sociability which is such a strong factor in our Movement.

Comrades can have many such affairs this winter. Many public gatherings can be arranged which can be turned into a profitable thing for our Movement. The social spirit can be harnessed

and made to work for us and our propaganda. In fact that is something which capitalism does. It turns the social spirit of human beings into profit for capitalism. We should be as wise and turn this social spirit of the workers into a benefit to the workers instead of profit takers.

And that is what we ask you to do. Comrades who see one another often can easily arrange socials, dances, card parties various affairs for the benefit of The Toiler. This is what we ask you to do this month of NOVEMBER. Have a Toiler Benefit Social. Many, many groups of comrades can arrange these affairs. Just think what a hundred such affairs would mean to our Paper Fund. Even at the low estimate of ten dollars profit on each affair, the whole would mean a thousand dollars with which to buy paper for The Toiler. That would be a lift, a real lift that would mean much to us.

We want you to consider this proposition. It is feasible. It can be done. In fact, it can be done regularly once a month all thru the winter. But make a start now, this month of November. Hold your first Toiler Benefit. Write to us that you are doing so. Maybe we can help you in some way. Who will be the first to write to us saying, "We are going to hold a Toiler Benefit this November"?

Individual comrades who are so unfortunate as to be out of communication with others and unable to help in this way should nevertheless help in the way they can—by individual donations.

Workers, support your own paper.

HERE'S A GIFT FOR THE PAPER FUND.

The Toiler:— I am sending you herewith
\$..... for your Paper Fund.

Name

Address

City State

Soviet Russia and the World's Workers

By P. J. Prokop.

The most striking characteristic of Bolshevism is the panicky fear it produces among all the non-essential professionals and nonproductive classes of people. As a contrast to this effect upon the nonessential and idle class of people stands the friendly support it receives among the bulk of essential workers and wealth producers of all Nations who, either by study of communist doctrine or by close contact with its principles at work, see in it the only means of solving the present chaotic condition of anarchy in production, which is not calculated for the benefit of the whole Nation, but simply for the profit of a few individuals, and hence leads to the destitution of a great majority of workers.

That all those who thus get acquainted with the Bolshevik principles of soviets-at-work clamor for it is demonstrated by the exemplary solidarity of Soviet Russia under bolshevik leadership, and its steadfast support by the workers of other countries.

Thus we have to accept that from the standpoint of the workers. The Soviet form is considered to be the best system of government ever devised and put into practical operation for, by, and through the masses. Therefore the attempt of the nonessential professionals and nonproductive, wealthy classes to oppress this bolshevist movement of hundreds of millions of wealth-producing workers, by force of militarism, looks to be a tremendous task.

What Successful Intervention Requires.

It would require a permanent standing army composed of black mercenaries, cossacks of old czarish quality, ignorant Japanese and Turks. Disregarding a few professional rowdies and hoodlums, the American, French and British workers would find it deep beneath their dignity to lend themselves as tools of the international capitalist clique for such a dirty job as enforcing wage-slavery upon the workers of Europe.

American troops are chiefly composed of wage-earners and small business men. Both of these classes, in times of peace, are exposed to the exploitation and oppression of the same big business which now so ardently recommends the

policing of Europe by the Allied troops; the same big business, that through its press, incites the ignorant people against the soviets. But the small American business men, whom only the dread of life-long wage-slavery drove to business careers, realize that the nucleus of common evil resides in the power that the few "nothing-doers" derive from the old and outlived conceptions of "right and order" which have now become intolerable and which we, like our brothers in Europe, must change.

Taken from this point of view, the result is that the American soldiers will favor and may support the emancipating movement of the European workers.

Would Mean Civil War At Home.

But even if we could examine the future in the most unfavorable light, we can see that a successful meddling into internal affairs of the Workers' Republics would require, first of all, the autocratic imposition of mass militarism of the blackest type, which is impossible without a serious opposition and constant clashes between the military and civilian elements at home.

This in turn would paralyze production and commerce so seriously that no sane man would find it profitable. Coupling this with the desperate opposition the working class of Europe would put up in concert with Soviet Russia, the consequences look too horrible for any picturization. Only a madman can recommend intervention. But the bourgeois rulers of the world are indeed madmen and when they set out on this impossible undertaking they only seal their own doom.

More than 52 per cent of all the workers in the steel industry labor 12 HOURS A DAY. More than 26 per cent are SLAVES SEVEN DAYS A WEEK! More than 66 per cent of all the employees of the steel and iron industry earn 5 to 25 per cent less than what the government stipulates as essential for life. These two industries afford the LARGEST RETURNS to AMERICAN CAPITALISTS!

Suppress Free Speech In Kansas City

The full story of the arrest of sixteen workers at an orderly meeting held in Kansas City, Kansas, on the evening of October 25th, has just come to light, and reveals the arbitrary manner in which local officials take advantage of the Kansas Criminal Syndicalism law.

The meeting took place in the stockyards district, and was held under the auspices of the National Defense Committee which undertakes the defense of those workers accused of political and industrial offenses who belong to no organization already providing legal defense.

Ella Reeves Bloor, better known as Mother Bloor, was addressing the meeting on the question of deportations, and was making an appeal for funds for the benefit of deportees. About twenty young fellows entered the hall and, when seated, tried to disturb the meeting with cat-calls. Mother Bloor succeeded in quieting them.

After the collection was taken up, an individual, who was afterwards revealed as a detective, approached the speaker and told her she had better come with him. Fifteen members of the audience were then arrested. The sixteen were conveyed in a patrol wagon to the police station. The women were soon removed to an unlighted, unheated basement cell-room and were compelled to pass the night there without the opportunity of lying down.

The following morning the whole party was taken to the police court for a hearing. The proceedings, the defendants state, were of the Star Chamber variety, none of them being permitted to say a word in their own behalf, nor telephone for attorneys or bondsmen. The detective who made the arrests, when asked the charge, said "Oh, against the government, and I. W. W. and all that stuff." The sixteen defendants were then taken back to the police station where a number of them were individually investigated by Federal officers. About the only question asked of Mother Bloor was "Do you know Kate Richards O'Hare?" to which she replied in the affirmative.

Then followed another trip in the patrol wagon to the County Building, in which the county jail is also situated. Here, the men and women, who had been without food since their arrest, were weighed, measured, and subjected to the Bertillon

method. They were then formally arraigned, under the Kansas State Criminal Syndicalism Law for having collected funds and held meetings designed to overthrow the government. Bond was set at \$2,000 each, and they were confined in the county jail.

They were denied permission to telephone for bail, the prison officer stating that he would do so. Not until 3 o'clock in the afternoon did someone arrive with bonds for Mrs. Bloor. Up to this time the prisoners had had nothing to eat.

Once Mrs. Bloor was free efforts were made to secure bond for all the defendants, and by the evening of the 27th all of them were released on bail. The preliminary hearing in the case has been set for November 5th.

The following are those arrested: Ella Reeves Bloor; Marietta O'Sullivan, Mrs. Grace Pardy; Miss Clara Lipin; Mrs. Gertrude Harmon; Jim Rees; C. Harmon; E. Anderson; Felix Thornton; Matt Panich, Fred Lapin; L. H. Kassen; A. Swanson; J. R. Rust; A. Buchler and Frank Krasick.

NICOLAI LENIN

His Life and Work

By G. ZINOVIEFF

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

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

Also you ought to get others to read it.

25c A COPY, FOUR COPIES \$1.00

THE TOILER

3207 CLARK AVE. CLEVELAND, OHIO

My Own Shop

Reznor Gas Stoves and their "trade-mark."
By One Who Wears It.

The plant of the Reznor Mfg. Co. is located in a little out-of-the-way place called Mercer, Pa. But there is nothing slow about the way they play the game of getting lots of work out of a small number of people for little money. They have a modern, well-equipped plant and turn out an enormous product for the number of workers employed. Only about 150, all told, work here; many of them are girls. Yet they produce yearly nearly 300,000 of the famous Reznor Gas Stoves; the kind you see in the magazine advertisements heating up a cheerful room.

You might think the Reznor Company is proud of this record of exploitation, and no doubt they are; but that does not mean that they are satisfied. Like all labor skimmers they want still more work out of the exploited slaves without paying increased wages and they are using an up-to-date "soft soap" method to get the workers into the right frame of mind.

Some Company Propaganda.

With our last pay checks they handed us each a neatly printed booklet entitled "Your Share Of The Money". It is a clear attempt to convince the workers who produce the 300,000 stoves per year that a hand-to-mouth existence is all they are entitled to, and that they really are lucky to get that.

The booklet depicts a dialogue between workmen, one of whom is a "Red". He is quoted as saying that money in the country ought to be "divided up". A Company stool—referred to in the pamphlet as "having a level head"—comes back with the statement that if the money was all divided up there would be only about \$100 apiece. This is supposed to settle the argument and to convince the workers that they should be satisfied to slave their lives away for the benefit of a few parasites who own the land, factories, railroads and natural resources of the country, to say nothing of money which is only a symbol of value and is the smallest part of their wealth.

They wind up twelve pages of this sort of stuff with the argument that increased wages will not solve the problem of the high cost of living. The solution, they say, lies in increased produc-

tion. This, remember, to 150 workers who produce nearly 300,000 stoves per year and get in return barely enough to enable them to keep alive. Such is their estimate of the intelligence of the great majority of their slaves.

Open Shop Conditions.

The entire plant of the Reznor Company is run on the "open shop" basis with the exception of our department—Polishers and Buffers. Here we have maintained union wages and the eight hour day. As for the rest—well, it is the open shop, and you know what that means, piece-work, speeding up, long and uncertain hours and small wages. The workers are at the mercy of the bosses; they have no representation and no redress for any grievance no matter how pressing it may be.

The press department is called the "Butcher Shop." This is because of the many fingers of the workers that are chopped off on account of the speeding up to meet the bosses' piece rate. It is easy to tell an old-timer in this department; nearly every one of them has the Reznor Trade Mark upon him—a mangled hand.

But, after all, it is a good sign when, in such a small back-woods place, the bosses, are forced to talk economics and to adopt welfare measures to counteract the effect of radical propaganda. They used to play prohibition and Sunday School stuff, but now they are compelled to go into the industrial argument, and that's their finish.

The union is not strong enough to protect me, so please do not use my name. Some of these days I hope to be able to report that the Reznor plant is organized from top to bottom, all the workers, in one union. I also hope to see the day when the workers will take over the plant—not to "divide up", but to run it co-operatively for the benefit of the workers only.

The fourth section of the Lever act has been declared unconstitutional by Judge W. H. S. Thompson in the States District Court at Pittsburgh, Pa.

Three rail workers who took part in the recent vacation of the railmen, and had been indicted under the Lever act, were ordered released.