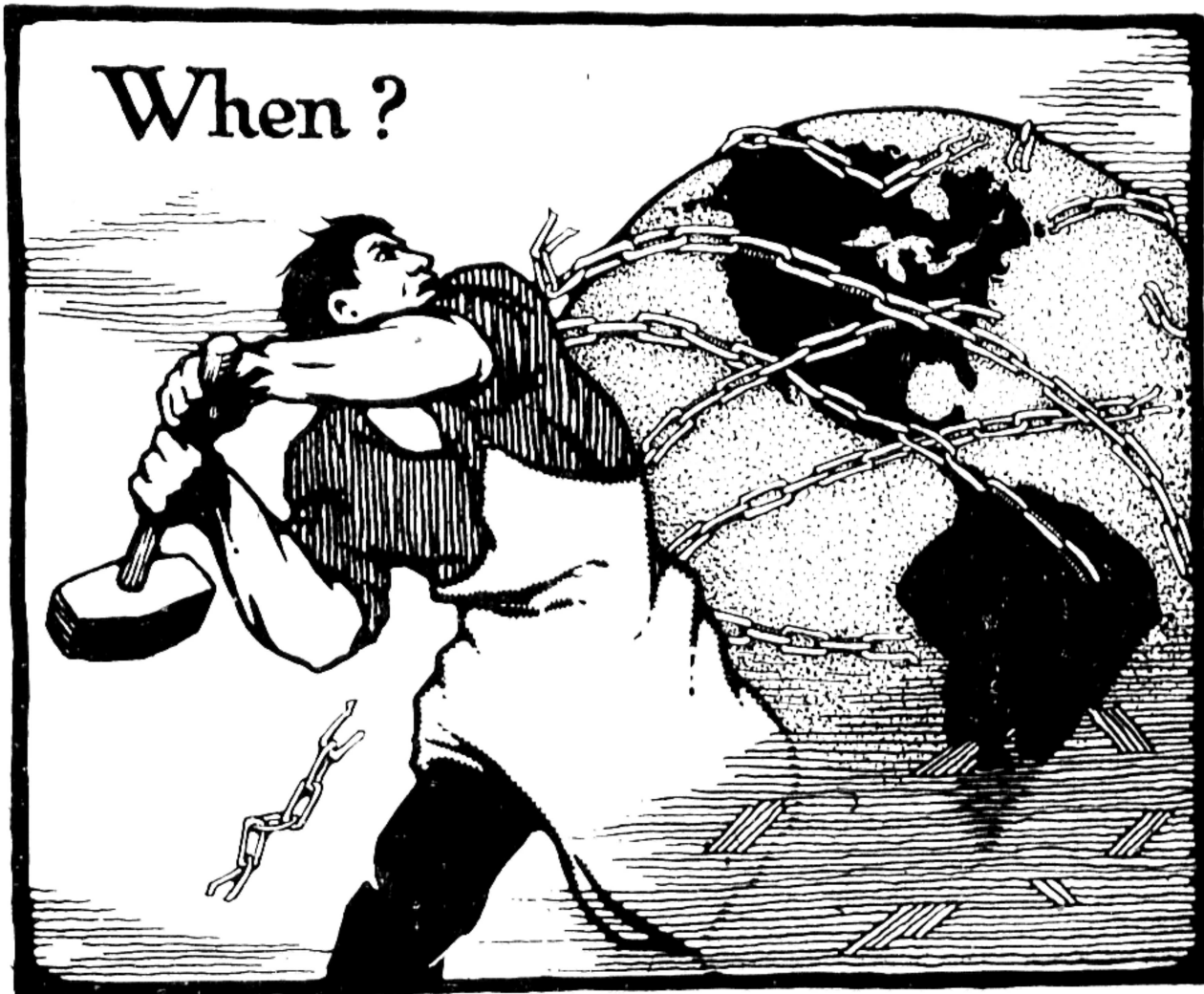


# The TOILER

No. 140.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, OCT. 8, 1920.

Price Five Cents.



“Workers of the World Unite!”

# The Black Diamond Cutters

By Joe Shovel

They're going to settle the strike question with conciliation boards—so they think. Down here in Pennsylvania we've been getting our manhandling on that plan. As a result, the miners say the next thing they have to strike against is conciliation boards.

As President Wilson says, "the adjudication of any dispute necessarily results in some disappointments." Only the President doesn't get the disappointments; the miners get them. The lesson was expensive. 155,000 hard coal miners were fleeced of \$20,000,000 in twenty minutes. But they learned what conciliation boards are—just reinforcements for the boss.

Being unable to live on the pay they were getting, and being unable to strike because the government was loaded and primed to grab the Union funds and to jail the strikers and their leaders, the workers in the three anthracite districts accepted the offer of the President that they leave their claims in the hands of a commission appointed by him, and to abide by the result. Wilson appointed W. L. Connell to represent the coal companies, Neal Ferry to represent the mine workers, and Professor W. O. Thompson of Ohio State University "to represent the public".

The hard coal miners had been "good" during the war on the promise that something would be done for them later. Everybody conceded that they had to have a raise. Their agreement expired on April 1st of this year. On that date the coal operators raised the price of coal \$1.00 a ton to cover a raise of 27% in the workers' pay. But when the commission met, the operators refused to give more than 17%.

Professor M. B. Hammond, the expert economist attached to the commission, replied to the operators with a report that the workers could not live on less than \$1600 a year, which would mean an increase of 27%. For saying this Hammond got sent home, and his boss, Professor Thompson, declared that 24% was all that the workers were entitled to. As Thompson had absolute power as the third or "neutral" member of the Commission, the workers decided that they would have to accept the 24% raise, disappointing though it was. But suddenly Thompson and Connell

came out with a report as the final award of the commission, that the workers should receive a raise of only 17%. John T. Dempsey, President of the United Mine Workers District No. 1, as a technical advisor took sides with the mine owners against the workers.

It took the majority of the commission, Connell and Thompson, just twenty minutes to rob the coal diggers of that 10% which amounts to \$30,000,000.

Neal Ferry made a minority report protesting the award.

The award goes down the list of the claims of the mine workers and the bosses and carefully picks out every point that will preserve the power of the coal companies.

The workers were caught coming and going. If they refused the award they would lose even the 17% of back pay for the five months since April 1st. And if they accepted the award of 17% they would lose the right to strike for the other 10% that they were being cheated of. So the three hard coal districts voted to accept the award. Then they voted not to strike but to take a vacation, saying they would return when they get the rest of the 27% raise. In their disgust they even overlooked a little point—they forgot to leave the pumpmen at work to keep the mine properties from flooding. The hasty wording of the vacation resolution made the pumpmen think they were called out, too, and out they went, and the mines began to fill up with water. The operators ordered the clerks and civil engineers and fire bosses to man the pumps, and in District No. 9, around Shamokin, these fellows refused to scab.

The vacation got one result, if you can call it a result: it made the Government open up again the question of the award and the men's rights that had been sold out. On the Department of Labor's promise to reopen the question, the men have gone back.

But they didn't go back everywhere at once. In the Shamokin District, No. 9, they refused to let the clerks, fire bosses and civil engineers be discharged for refusing to scab. These "confidential men" not being eligible under the constitution

to join the Union, had come out without any previous organization. The miners finally decided to return to work but in the event of these men being discriminated against, to go out again until they were reinstated.

In District No. 1. (Pittston) was the most trouble, with the President of their own Union working with the operators against them. There the workers had already gone on strike against the subcontract system. That system is a scheme to keep the workers in a state of peonage worse than the ordinary wage slavery. It is worked this way: If a coal digger begins to show up as an aggressive member of a grievance committee or anything of the sort to help the workers, he is offered a subcontract, so that he can become a petty boss on his hook employing miners and laborers to work for him, with a fine opportunity to graft on the company with the company's knowledge. On payday the subcontractors bring in a lot of dummies rounded up in pool rooms, to receive pay for them. The graft is purposely allowed as a bribe to such men as show ability and would remain in the ranks and strengthen the miners' union if they were not corrupted. What the companies lose in graft they make up in keeping the rest of the workers down, and in political power that gets the right tax assessors elected.

As quick as a man is elected to office in the Union the operators try to make a deal with him. Sometimes they succeed and sometimes they don't. In District No 1, Jack Dempsey is their man. In the other two districts they have not succeeded. Dempsey's work has run the Union down to such a low condition that there are hardly any dues paying members left in the Union in District One. The coal diggers have long ago learned that the Union in the Pittston district is nothing but a department of the boss's office, and so they chuck the Union. When Union election time comes, the coal companies pay the per capita tax of ten cents a head for several thousand names of men that won't pay their per capita, and the companies vote these names solid for Dempsey and his gang.

The coal companies' mine bosses stand at the pit and solicit the miners going down and coming out, to vote for Dempsey. Government won't deal with the strikers except through Dempsey, the miners' worst enemy.

Seeing that Dempsey had sided with the coal companies against his own men, about thirty or

forty thousand men followed Enoch Williams out on strike against the contract system.

There are several fellows who stand in the hearts of the miners as their real representatives elected during the vacation. One of them is a young Italian-American coal miner who lost an arm in a mine accident in 1910. His name is Rinaldo Capellini, and he is a good talker elected to represent the men in the Pennsylvania Coal Co. colliers.

Enoch Williams is honest and is trusted by the men, but he is too soft and trusting of the bosses to get anywhere. Joe Yannis also is honest for the men but suffers from respect for the Chamber of Commerce.

None of these leaders in District One has any idea of the class division, and they actually trust the Chamber of Commerce and the preachers, thinking that business men can be "impartial". The result is sad.

The Chamber of Commerce and a priest named Jordan laid a trap for the men at the Armory in Pittston. They advertised a mass meeting of Pennsylvania Coal Co. strikers, where they said the coal diggers would be free to consider an offer by Captain May, Superintendent of the Company. We went there to the Armory at 7 o'clock, filling the street all around to get in. The doors were not opened. About 7.45 a brass band came from the Chamber of Commerce and played us a tune, but still we were not let in after waiting an hour. Then some Cossacks rode up and sat on their horses nearby. We didn't know what it meant until the Cossacks without a word of warning spurred their horses on top of the crowd. We were jolted and bruised and shoved by the charging horses and clubs back into the side street. There wasn't a word, only some running to cover yelled, "What the Hell you want to kill us for? You told us to come!" Then a slick looking guy in fine clothes got up near the door smiled real nice and said there was too many people and so all could not be admitted; that only real Americans could come in. And he said only the actual employees of the Pennsylvania colliery; and that meant of course to keep out Cappellini who was the elected organizer brought as the strikers' spokesman. Everybody that went in had to march through a double line of company detectives who grabbed each man that didn't look humble and said "You can't come in."

(Continued on page 7.)

# The Trend Toward Industrial Unionism

By J. D. Williams

To those who are not students of the labor movement it might not be out of place to give a brief outline of the present makeup of the labor unions and the plan of organization they follow. The dominant labor organization is a loosely federated body of autonomous crafts. The craft form answers the needs for organization of the skilled artisans and had industry remained in the hand-manufacturing stage would have answered as long as that condition existed.

It is hardly correct to say that craft formation is entirely true of the American Federation of Labor, for there are some bodies within its fold that are organized not on craft lines but mainly on industrial lines. Every annual gathering is a battle ground between the ones who urge the necessity of change and those who would stand in the same place. The percentage of the workers organized varies in its estimate from 10 per cent to 20 per cent with the exact figures somewhere between the two. This leaves the vast majority of workers without organization. Little if any attempt is made to organize the unskilled workers.

## The Basis of Craft Unionism.

This craft form of organization is one that derives its justification from the fact that workers have skill as well as labor power. It was true and in keeping with the conditions that were formerly in existence but is totally out of keeping for the age of machine industry. The old methods of manufacture have given way to the modern industrial plant, with its subsidiary industries and its highly concentrated methods of manufacture and management. This results in many economies and the utilization of what was previously considered waste.

The skilled worker can no more hope to successfully withstand the trend toward industrial unionism than could the old type of manufacturer hope to dispute for trade with a trust. Both the skilled worker and the old type of manufacturer are the products of the hand-tool age and with the vanishing of that mode of manufacture went their creator, so must they.

## "Jurisdictional Disputes"

There are what is known as "jurisdictional

disputes" in the old union. Crafts seeking to absorb closely or more remotely allied workers in order to shape the working conditions of larger groups of men, claim jurisdiction over such workers. Rival claims by another organization result in bitter wars being waged while this is in the process of settlement. The time of each annual convention is frittered away while these are being threshed out.

The skilled worker could appreciate the troubles of another skilled worker; with the unskilled he was out of sympathy. Modern industry, not being in existence, the strongest force he could conceive of was a complete union of all of his trade. The unskilled played no part in his betterment and so were a negligible quantity. He had something more than mere laboring power to sell. To produce him a period of preparation was necessary, so with pardonable pride, considering his situation, he thought of an organization that would perpetuate his caste superiority. These jurisdictional disputes were the outward evidence that all was not well with him. Specialization and machinery were making his skill less and less necessary; with the passing of this, his power in isolation was going rapidly.

## The Trend Toward Industrial Unionism

In his imperfect understanding he seizes hold of those nearest to him and seeks to impress them into his union. If those so taken are not coveted by another body the absorption is a peaceful one. This process is not one that is consciously planned but one that is dictated by necessity and he embarks on this enterprise even when it promises bitter years of struggle with a rival claimant.

A perfect understanding of the cause of his unrest will lead him to the conclusion that a meal is better than a bite and he will planfully proceed to put himself and his organization in harmony with the changed mode of creating wealth. He will become an advocate of INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

The skilled workers are in fact arriving at this understanding very rapidly and many strong currents toward industrial unionism are developing within the existing craft union organizations. But an examination of them can be reserved for another article.

# The British Shop Stewards Movement

By Tom Walsh

Secretary of the Building Industry, National Federation of Shop Stewards of Great Britain.

What is this Shop Stewards' Movement? This question is often asked by those who realise the terrible mess in which the workers find themselves today.

The Shop-Stewards Movement is the organization of the Rank and File in the Factories, Shops, Works, and on the jobs, for these are the places where the Workers receive their miserable pittance which enables them to exist, with just a sufficiency of strength to continue in the production of Profits for the Capitalist-class.

It is quite obvious that the power of the Workers is in the shops and on the jobs, and not in Parliament, or even in their Union Branch. Few Workers are found in either place.

Take for instance, any Shop, Works, or job. The Workers there may be members of any number of Unions, and are again divided into any number of Branches; about 30 per cent of the members of a Branch will attend and only a small proportion from any one job. These workers have grievances lying at the place where they are employed: the old method of attempting to have these grievances removed has been to report the matter to their respective Societies. But owing to the antiquated and cumbersome machinery of many Societies, it has been the custom for men to endure many injustices and simply wait. Wait for what? The Workers are sick of waiting and are taking action themselves in the Shops, Works, Factories, and on the Jobs. A number of Workers may report a grievance to their respective Branches and will receive sympathy from some quarters, as many of the members of all Branches of all Societies have fought hard for Labor and are much devoted to the best interests of the Workers.

## Stumbling Blocks To Action

Still, one of the stumbling blocks to action, is that everybody is bound and virtually buried in Constitutionalism of a pre-historic character. The Rule Book may be referred to, and turning to Rule 44, page 4,444, it may be found that the said grievance does not come within the meaning of the Act, and the unfortunate Workers are driven

back to the job where the grievance exists. The Workers are beginning to realize where their power lies.

It is not difficult to understand the hopeless state of the Workers while they use the out-of-date machinery in an attempt to free themselves. The Workers, in spite of being members of a Union are divided, subdivided and scattered to the four winds immediately they attempt any independent action away from the Factory, Works, Shop, or Job. The men and women on the various jobs will find on investigation that their interests are common in spite of being divided by Crafts. They associate with each other daily, but they seldom, or never at all meet at their Branches, it being impossible for them to do so as there are so many Unions, so many Branches, and the workers may reside miles apart and yet all from the same shop or job and while at the Factory, Works, Shop or Job, they not only belong to one Branch, but for all practical purposes, they are members of the One Big Union of the Workers on the Job.

## "Sending Out Their Thinking"

The unfortunate part is that the working-class have been in the habit of sending out their thinking, just as some people do their washing. This is foolish, for it leads to the position that those to whom the thinking is given become Masters and Dictators and often meet in conference and fix up Agreements and Laws that few agree with, except the Master Class.

It should be the Mission of the Workers themselves, to do their own thinking and cease passing pious Resolutions but to take action, for that is the thing that counts. The Workers cannot appeal to reason, as there is none.

The Workers themselves it is who will have to act, for they are the people who feel the unjust conditions arising on the jobs, and that is where the trouble is, and where the Workers will have to take organized action.

The Mission of the Shop-Stewards' Movement is to consolidate the forces of the Rank and File where they are, in the Factories, Workshops, and on the Jobs.

It must be admitted, that while some of the Capitalist Class have improved their machinery of exploitation, the Workers' Organizations have retained the old methods and continue their use long after they have become all but obsolete. The Rank and File are slowly but surely becoming conscious of this fact and quite a new spirit is spreading over the whole world. This spirit is not for a paltry increase of wages, but for the absolute abolition of the present system of robbery, the sweeping away of Capitalism, and the establishment of a People's Commonwealth!

### The Structure Of The Movement

It now becomes evident that the Shop-Stewards' Movement is out for something greater than the continuation of the present hum-drum life. The Movement, in the first place, aims at the control of the Factories, Works, Shops, and Jobs, as a means to an end.

The Movement seems to suggest the following structure: that every Factory, Works, Shops, and Jobs shall elect a committee on the Job, consisting, say, of one Steward from each trade, grade, or department of the Job, and a Steward having been elected by each of the above grades, these Stewards become the Workers' Committee for that Job.

They will elect their own Chairman and Secretary and such other Officers as the Job may apparently demand.

This Committee will not be Executive, but will be established to administer and act on the mandate as agreed necessary by the Workers on the Job; they will take "mass" action and never act sectionally. It requires no outside interference with its own affairs. It may possibly require assistance from other Jobs of the same Industry, and probably from other Industries organized on similar lines.

It will be up to the various Shops and Jobs to frame its own standing orders. The Committee referred to will be one of many of the same industry in the same district, and to solidify, further, that Industry of that district, all the Stewards from all the other jobs will constitute the District Council of that Industry.

### Rank And File Control

This Council will elect a Chairman and Secret-

ary, and, also, a Committee, say, consisting of one from each grade of that Industry. This Committee will be administrative and carry out the mandate of the Council of Stewards which, as already stated, is composed of all the Stewards from all the Shops and Jobs' of that Industry in the district, and every decision to come from the Rank and File direct from the Jobs. The Movement will travel further ahead and link up all industries in the district, thus forming the Central District Council of all the Industries.

This Council should be composed of two Members elected by the Committee of each District Council of the said district. It will become necessary to step out still further and form a National Council of each Industry.

This Council should be composed of two Members elected by the Committee of each District Council of the said Industries.

The Movement is full of possibilities and the next step would probably be the establishment of a National Council of all Industries.

### Emancipation Is The Object

The one object of the Movement is the emancipation of the Wage slave, and the construction of the necessary Machinery to help to accomplish the task in view.

The time has arrived for the Rank and File to determine their own destiny, and to get together as a class-movement, thus sweeping away all things which are obstructions in the path of progress, and thus with a stupendous effort bring into being the possibilities of a New Society, in which Bakers will not be called upon to make bread for Profit, but for the People to eat; and Tailors will not be required to make Clothing for dummy figures in a window show, but for human beings; and Builders will not be expected to put up Mansions for others and Slums for themselves; where Child, Mother, the Lame, the Aged and Infirm will receive the necessary care and attention and allowed ease and comfort, and those who are able and refuse a helping hand to produce all that is necessary for the welfare of all will be denied the right to eat! Having accomplished this task, let us try and forget the horrible past, pay strict attention to the present, and also give the future our careful consideration.

## THE BLACK DIAMOND CUTTERS.

(Continued from page 3.)

I didn't want to go in because the boys might think I was a scab, but some of them told me to go in and see what happened, and I went in. Inside, most of the men were sore as Hell and looking fearful at each other to see who was going to scab. When I came in I saw a bunch of scissor-bills was planted in the front pew ready to say "amen". A big bunch of company detectives was lined around the hall, and some in seats, to see who said what. Some of the best union men when they saw what was framed got so sore they couldn't hold themselves, and they went out.

First everybody was made to take off his hat and stand up while the band played "My Country 'Tis of Thee." I looked on the platform and saw the Rev. Jordan was chairman, and with him were business men from the Chamber of Commerce and Captain May.

Rev. Jordan made a speech saying the company offer was fair. Then a State official, Wm. Tracey, said in view of the company's good offer the men ought to go back to work. The offer was read: It was an insulting refusal of everything. Then Steve McDonald came forward on the platform. Steve is President of the Scranton Central Labor Union and a member of the Chamber of Commerce and also part owner of a coal washery.

Steve said we had to stamp out Bolshevism like a snake without mercy. He said he was as good a Union man as anybody and that he knew the men better accept the company offer if they didn't want something to happen to them. He hinted that there would be patriotic citizens who were going to root out all who keep up strike and deal with them with a heavy hand. Then he said he was proud of the police and the company detectives and the constabulary that would protect any man who wanted to return to work.

Then a stool that was framed for the job got up and said he moved that everybody go back to work, and the priest said, "Everybody in favor say "Aye," and all stools yelled "Aye." Only one Slavish fellow had the guts to yell "No!" and the company detectives all eyed him and some came nearer him. Then we went out and the Cossacks rode around the street waving their clubs and saying get home. "Move on!"

The papers announced next day the strikers' meeting had voted unanimously to return to work. And when the strike committee called a meeting next day, the police barred the hall door and wouldn't let anybody in, saying their wasn't any cause for a meetig as the strike had been called off.

Everybody has gone back to work, but laying low for the results of their vacation and swearing to a man: "No more conciliation boards."

## Mexico

By Harry Huff

Mr. George T. Summerlin has gone to Mexico City as charge d'affairs for the United States. He is making investigations as to what the Mexican government will yield by persecution. Mr. Summerlin has frankly stated that recognition of the Obregon government depends on its attitude toward the questions of "vested interests" and reparations for damages during the revolution. It is the money question which this government regards as fundamental, above all the question of oil exploitation in Mexico.

The American government does not tell England how to write its laws, nor does it tell Japan how to make its constitution conform to the interests of American investors. No doubt these countries have satisfactory systems of "law and order" for all business purposes. Perhaps they might not welcome commands from Washington,

D. C. But if the Mexican government gets any notions about protecting the interests of the Mexican people in the vast natural resources of the nation, particularly in its oil supply, it will be necessary to go down and establish "order" in Mexico, even if it is first necessary to hire some bandits to do some shooting or kidnapping, or to start a "revolution." There will have to be some disorder on hand to require an invasion, but if the oil laws are not according to mandate from Washington, there will be plenty of "disorder" in Mexico to make intervention necessary in the name of "civilization."

If there is a spark of manhood in the American worker, he will never go to war against the peons of Mexico, nor will he make a single rifle or bullet for use in such a war, in spite of all the perfervid "patriotic" propaganda which will go with such an event.

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## Anti-Militarism 1914 and 1920

At the Miners' International Congress at Geneva, which seems to have been in cordial and close relation with the Yellow Socialist International also in session at Geneva, there was much discussion of action in case of another world war.

There was a good enough anti-war resolution available in 1914, if all that was needed to stop war were good resolutions. But it is hard to see wherein this Congress even went so far in its resolutions as before, because it pledged itself to action only in case of military aggression on the part of a monarch or government. In a word, this goes back to the old riddle of when a war is aggression or defense, and in answering this question it was not hard for the Socialists of each country to discover that for their nation it was defense, not aggression.

Anti-militarism is coming back strong in the European labor movement, but there is nothing about it—on paper—any more convincing than the anti-militarism of 1914 and before. Only there is

a difference, not on paper, that the workers are quicker and keener today in responding to use of the strike for political purposes.

## Profits of Packers

The packing companies have been out lots of money in advertising recently to prove that they do not make very much. A great injustice is being done them in the charges of exorbitant profits. The point of the advertising is that only a very little is made on the turn-over, hardly 1½c per dollar. The turn-over of 81 companies for 1919 was nine and a quarter billions, with profits at \$600,000,000. The capitalization of all the companies was five and two-thirds billions, so over 10% was made on all the watered stock. The original investment in all these companies was far less, without a doubt, than the profits for 1916. The rest of the "capital" has been contributed in the price of meat—and in labor not paid for.

The truth of the matter is this. Under the conditions of modern industry a great volume of business can be handled rapidly and a tremendous amount of work gotten out of the laborers. All the development of industry means nothing to the worker except a speeding-up of his job, getting more done for the corporation each day. But the bigger turn-over means colossal profits even though very little is taken as profit as against each dollar's worth handled. A penny a dollar, reckoned in the billions, climbs into big figures in a hurry.

So what the packers are really advertising, to the workers who are sensible enough to do a little figuring for themselves, is how much work they are getting out of their laborers in return for bare subsistence wages. Everyone knows, of course, that there are innumerable ways of taking profits without showing them as profits in the accounting. But enough is admitted to show the remarkable productivity of labor in this industry. It is so easy to pile up the billions of profits in a hurry, at a penny per dollar of turn-over, because so much is done by the workers in a short time. But where does the worker come in on the turn-over? Why, he's lucky to keep alive; the turn-over is none of his business.



## Steel and Food

By Ernest Ling

The great boost of American business since 1914 is measured by jumps of billions of dollars in export trade. At first this was mostly war business with the Allies, manufactured products for use in battle. Our trade with Europe changed from a preponderance of foodstuffs and raw materials to the sending of finished steel products. Now there is still a tremendous trade with Europe, again of foodstuffs and raw materials, as before the war. In 1920 already there is a favorable trade balance of \$2,000,000,000. What is returned from Europe is promises to pay. It is these promises which are gradually being converted into government bonds of the European nations.

Meanwhile our manufacturers are looking elsewhere to send their finished products, and these are going to South America and Asia. In return, this country is receiving large supplies of raw materials and foodstuffs from South America, the West Indies, and Asia. Production along these lines is going downward in our own country, while machine production goes upward. A great quantity of the foodstuffs and raw materials are re-loaded for European trade.

See what happens. For the prime necessities of life we are made to depend, more and more, upon shipments from the far places of the earth. Our own farming areas remain as little cultivated as before; food production within easy reach is made less and less profitable. The character of production which is promoted at home—machine production, largely steel products,—compels an ever more insistent search for remote markets, places where there are as yet no railroads or industrial establishments.

Prosperity of metal! Men, women, children cry for food — for the food that could be produced in abundance within a few hundreds of miles —and they are answered with the figures showing profits of steel!

Fabulous wealth starves the nation. Thus does capitalism, by its own prosperity, compel revolution. It is life against steel!

## International Brevities

**THE MINERS OF THE DOMBROVA** district in the Polish coal-fields have demanded a raise of 70%. As usual, the yellow press of Poland is denouncing this as "unpatriotic and treasonable". The same thing happened here only a little while ago, during the coal-strike. It seems as if all governments are alike, owned and run by the bosses. It is about time for the workers to wake up to this fact.

**THE UNIVERSITY OF CRACOW** opened courses in anti-bolshevism on the 8th of August. A new subject for a college course, but probably they have reason to fear the "Red Danger", as news reports tell us that the workers of Poland are more and more "infected with Bolshevism". A somewhat wide-spread disease nowadays.

**HOW THEY DO IT IN DANZIG** — A freight train bearing a damaged airplane arrived in Danzig under military escort. The railroad workers at the station were so openly hostile that the commander of the escort had to ask the British authorities for protection. In spite of this protection, the train was unable to proceed. In the morning, when trains bringing repair mechanics arrived, the airplane was found destroyed. Workingmen all over the world are refusing to handle munitions for bloody Poland. Where do the workers of America stand?

**THE AFGHAN GARRISON** of the British armies in India have mutinied and are demanding the establishment of Soldiers Councils on the Russian plan. Even in that far-off corner of the world the gospel of the soviets is making headway.

**THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT** has refused to follow the lead set by our "democratic" government in the persecution of so-called "Reds". Probably it is afraid of the class-conscious Mexican working-class.

**THE POLES CLAIM** that they must have the coal mines of Upper Silesia because they have not enough coal in their own country. Yet, Poland is shipping 150,000 tons of coal to France per month. That's how it is paying for the munitions it is using in its war against Soviet Russia.



HOUSE CLEANING

# Dynamite

By Blast

A terrible disaster took place in Wall St. on Sept. 16, the day of the special election in New York. Dynamite or a bomb exploded and destroyed the lives of thirty-eight working people and injured many more. The whole city shuddered at the crime. The whole country was aroused by what appeared to be an attempt on the plutocratic stronghold of the United States.

Hardly had the news reached the press room of the lying capitalist journals, before vile suspicions were aroused and stirred up against radicals. Surely this was a Bolshevik plot to destroy the center of capitalist enterprise! Surely this was an attempt to terrorize the capitalists of the country by striking their heart!

No effort was made to regard the matter in its natural light. Wall St. represents only one thing, both to the government, the worker and sleuth. It is the financial soul of America. It is the dynamo from which emanate all capitalist ideas.

Anything happening in that street is regarded in the light of its being favorable or unfavorable to capitalist domination in the country.

All reports in the early editions PROVED beyond doubt that the explosion was due to carelessness or an accident. Explosives were being transported through the city without regard to city ordinances. It has been stated that even ammunition is being handled the same way, day after day. What does it matter if an accident happens or not! That is all in the course of life in America. We are used to the destruction of so and so many lives each year—and above all, we must keep up our record! No attempt was made to deny the guilt of some careless person in the handling of explosives, until it became impossible to trace who it was.

True, Mr. Lamont, a partner of J. P. Morgan, stated that it was due to an accident, and not a bomb. True, a dying man told a doctor of the Broad Street Hospital that he had seen the name of Du Pont on the wagon. Others vouched for the same thing.

No one would think of charging a crime of such seriousness to one of the most "patriotic" concerns of the country. No one would think of accusing such an eminent house of criminal neg-

lect. Was its patriotism not clearly manifest in the hundreds of millions that it earned from the war? Do the Du Ponts not participate in all prominent welfare enterprises in the United States? What wrong can Du Pont do?

As the guilt could not be placed—or rather, as government officials refused to make an effort to place it—as a certain number of lives were unalterably destroyed, it was a godsend to have on hand a scapegoat for the crime and a crime for the scapegoat. Who else should be accused of the crime but the Reds? Who else, the government argued, were by their own statements and principles, so fit to bear the blame as the Reds?

Suddenly a crop of letters and verbal threats appeared! Revolutionaries of every description were reported to have been at or near the scene of the accident at that hour! Radicals, would-be radicals and near-radicals were detained, questioned and even put through the third degree — survival of the Middle Ages! A vast, all-embracing plot to blow up the whole country was discovered! From one end of the land to the other there were flashed messages threatening disaster to everybody!

It was a feast for the Department of Justice!

It would serve as the second link in the chain that was forged a few weeks ago, when Reds were accused of plotting to wreck the Black Diamond Express running from Chicago to New York. In the public mind, it would serve to associate the Reds with murder and terrorism. It would arouse horror of everything Red, so that the American worker would not heed Red propaganda. It would give the authorities the right to TREAT THE REDS NO LONGER AS REVOLUTIONARIES, BUT AS CRIMINALS.

Even the harmless Socialists were linked up with the explosion. Was there not a special election on that day, and did the Socialists not express an abhorrence of the government? The Socialists, who profess to be more democratic, more constitutional, more concerned about maintaining representative capitalist institutions than the capitalists themselves!

All the clues have been lost — only the accusations and insinuations remain. The Com-

# American Imperialism Looks To The East

By J. B. Morgan

The House of Morgan, represented by Mr. Lamont, has been very active in arriving for joint Imperial exploitation of China, having come to an agreement with bankers of Japan and England "for the benefit of China."

Mr. Lamont recently made a statement which gives a graphic idea of what is expected in this

direction. The United States already has a trade of \$1,656,000,000 in Asia, and this is calculated as soon to be expanded to twice as much. What will it be? Steel, steel, steel—or, in other words, machinery, railroads and other steel products. That is the way production is to be increased in the United States, giving the Chinese railroads where needed or not, setting up new industries in China and Siberia. Not more things for the use of the American people. By no means not more things for the American working-class. The East is to become as "civilized"—as industrialized—as the West. Capitalism is to spread itself ever farther. But by the inherent law of its own being it cannot do this by producing more things for the use of the workers. So it builds ever higher towers of steel, a tower reaching vainly to the sky.

munists, or Reds as they are called, are charged with belief in assassination, with fostering the "individual act".

The whole history of the Communists is a refutation of the charge. Their tactics are opposed to it. In advocating mass action, and class organization, Communists reject the individual act. Organization is effected for leading the workers in mass movement against their recognized foe. Strictest discipline to the central idea with a central policy is enforced. The individual becomes part of the vast, all-powerful machine moving on relentlessly to its goal.

In the meantime, Mr. Palmer and the Department of Justice come before the public once more. Once more they prove their inability to capture real culprits and their criminality in endeavoring to foist the responsibility of others on to a handy scapegoat.

Mr. Flynn, of the Bomb Squad, announced that the day before the explosion forty members of the Bomb Squad had been discharged from the force. Experience has demonstrated that a man anxious to obtain or get back a job will go to any lengths to prove his indispensability. What must it mean to forty men? European history reveals that individuals of their occupation and calibre would resort to anything to have their positions restored — the choice of method being left to them.

Although one would not directly associate them with or accuse them of the crime, the coincidence is so strange as to leave room for strong suspicion.

The Wall Street explosion remains as a challenge on the part of the government—Wall Street, which the government gladly would turn into a Haymarket!

Imperialism and export of steel go hand in hand. The effort is to find room for capitalist development in faraway territory, to find room for setting up new industries, without increasing production of things to be used by the workers at home. The latter alternative would mean lower prices or higher wages, whichever way it is stated coming to the same thing: better homes, better clothes, more food and more schooling for the worker and his children. Things are not to be taken to China for the Chinese to consume. On the contrary, machinery is to be taken over the only method now open to capitalism for continuing seas to use the Chinese! This is the to pile up its profits. It means an inevitable crash sooner or later. The credits represented by the gigantic tower of steel, with its girders arising from every corner of the earth, will soon topple like a toy structure. It can only produce ever more machinery and railroads and products of steel, and soon it will have reached its farthest reach. But even sooner it will have driven the workers in steel to a desperate stand against their enslavement — the workers at home and the workers even in China. Soon these workers will rise to claim the powers of production for their own use, to turn these powers to the creation of the things which mean a fuller life for the toiling masses.

# Common Interest of Worker and Boss

By Harry Stone.

The interests of the worker and boss are identical—that is, of course, why the worker tries ever to get more for the sale of his labor power and the boss attempts always to beat down the worker's price. Really, one would think that by this time there should be no delusions on the matter, and that the only question at issue be: the power to get or to prevent from getting. But naturally, it is better for the employer if he can maintain in the worker's brain the sad and foolish belief that there can be peace while a system of exploitation remains. Under capitalism, common interest between worker and employer exists at only one point. So long as capitalism lasts, the boss needs the labor-power of the worker and the worker requires someone to whom he can sell his ability to work. There the equality and identity ceases. Up to the point of selling himself, the worker is a "free agent"; if he doesn't like the looks of a particular boss, he is "free to seek another". The job found, the veil of "equality", "free contract", "freedom", etc., between boss and worker is torn aside and we find a boss, conscious of his position as employer, driving the worker to the production of profits; and a worker, submissive if he still believes that his status in life was fated for him by the nature of things or by divinity, rebellious if he understands why he is a slave, trying to conserve as much as possible of his energies.

## The Class Struggle

And therein lies the class struggle — which means, that so long as the do-alls have nothing and the do-nothings have all, a conflict between these bodies must continue. When the do-alls are the only ones who have, the class fight will stop. Sometimes the struggle is carried on quite peacefully. But as the understanding and militancy of the workers necessarily grows, because of the increasing misery of the working class and the failure, on an ever greater and greater scale, of the capitalist system to carry on industry both on the fields of production and distribution,—capital takes stricter measures to hold its power. And so we have our Ludlows, Couer de Alenes, West Virginias, Hammonds & Buttes.

The combat between the opposing classes becomes keener, more intense, and more open. Capital calls more and more upon thugs, gunmen, militia, soldiers, to shoot down workers on strike. The workers learn from experience what they must do to protect themselves. While they may have been combating the boss a long time on the economic field alone, they gradually turn to center their attack on the State power which power they find is used always for the boss's benefit—with the object of becoming themselves the ruling class. The progress of the class conflict initiates and develops new tactics. Capital tries to conciliate; the workers decline to be conciliated. They continue to organize themselves on the industrial and political fields with the ultimate view of attaining all economic and political power.

## The Workers Will Conquer

Because of its contradictory and irreconcilable nature—social production and individual grabbing—the capitalist system crumbles swiftly and in time collapses. It is understood that the workers have been pushing the breaking-down process along. With capitalism's smash-up, the workers might lie down and go under with the system into chaos, into barbarism; but the masses, because they can only be saved by themselves, because they are men and not mere animals, and because all the previous systems of production (primitive communism, slavery, feudalism) have been developing the abilities and power for such action, set themselves up as the ruling class and proceed to the establishment of a workers' society. At that time the question of the identity of interests of workers and employers is disposed of. All are then workers. There are no exploiters, no exploited. And true identity and commonness require no attempt at reconciliation.

## ANOTHER CRAFT UNION FAILURE.

The strike of the Cincinnati, Ohio machine shop workers which has been on for some months has been called off. The reason is the failure of the craft union to cope successfully with the One Big Union of the bosses, the Metal Trades Association.

(Continued from page 13)

## Imperial Bonds

By J. B. Morgan

The *Monitor*, commenting editorially on the French loan, had this to say:

"From the national point of view, the great advantage to be gained by Americans investing in the securities of other nations is in the greater interest they henceforth will take in the welfare of the countries in which their money is placed... One of the striking features of the new French loan was the large number of small American investors, giving assurance of the widespread interest which the people of the United States will hereafter feel in France's economic, political, and financial affairs."

Just so. Investment in the Czar's bonds made France the staunch ally and prop of Russian Imperialism. France is still fighting for a "restoration" of a near-czar government in Russia, under the stimulus of interest on bonds. Now the United States invests in French bonds—and in whatever French politics is stated by the French financiers to be necessary to the highest market value of the bonds.

This has already come out sharply as to the Russian policy of the United States. It is a case of whatever France insists upon, "me too." French bonds depend upon adventures in Morocco in killing off natives enough for "pacification," like adventures in Syria, a policy of deliberately imposed illiteracy upon practically all of the natives of French Indo-China, also upon French scheming against a revival of Germany as an industrial power. It is such "affairs" that will now be vital to American citizens—and to the government which underwrites their far-flung investments by its armies and navies.

Bonds which start out on the basis of over 9% interest are going to require desperate measures for repayment. The United States is deliberately accepting the most extreme gambles of Imperialism. The counterpart at home is the ruthless policy of repression against the workers and their organizations. But—the French loans to Czar Nicholas are now in a bad way! Financing the French Imperialism may come to the same end... When the conscription call comes again, remember the Imperial bonds.

## Mine Owners Tactics

"I will write you in regard to an incident (which is merely an 'incident' in the organization of the miners of these southern coal fields which happened here this morning.

"Two organizers of the United Mine Workers who are doing organization work among the miners here, stopping at a local hotel, had their room wrecked by an explosion of dynamite at three o'clock. The door was blown down, a hole torn in the floor, the bed wrecked and one of the organizers slightly injured.

"Garrett is a mining town in eastern Kentucky coal fields. It is partly a "free" town. That is, citizens are allowed to own some property, as distinguished from "company owned" towns.

"This section is partly organized. Of course the mine owners want to keep their slaves in subjection as long as possible, hence this attempted intimidation of Union Organizers. The general opinion here is that company thugs did this piece of criminal work, as they have done many another similar in the mining regions."

E. W. Riggs.

## A Fair Question

Last week going from my regular work I saw a strange scene. It was a procession, a number of horse-drawn wagons covered all around. On the top of each wagon were three or four men and one or two police officers. All around the procession a great number of policemen were riding on horse back.

First I thought that the Treasury of the United States was being moved to some other place. But on approaching I learned that it is a strike of the street cleaners of Philadelphia. The men on the wagons were scabs and the blue-coats were their protectors. Inside the wagons was the dirt of the street.

The press of the city does not mention anything about the strike. Now would you please tell me what is more dirty — the stuff beneath the covers of the wagons or the scabs and their protectors sitting on the covers? Or the press?

M. Angelow.

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**Of The Toiler, published weekly at Cleveland Ohio, for October, 1920.**

State of Ohio, County of Cuyahoga.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the state and county aforesaid, personally appeared Elmer T. Allison, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of The Toiler, and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc. of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443. Postal Laws and Regulations.

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Editor, James P. Cannon, 3207 Clark Ave, Cleveland, O.

Business Manager, Elmer T. Allison, 3207 Clark, Ave, Cleveland, Ohio.

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**Another Craft Union Failure.**

(Continued on page 16.)

The workers have gone back to the shops with out even establishing for this district a wage scale of 75c per hour. Except in a few instances the rate is 60c per hour. Cincinnati machinists should be able to see clearly the necessity of supplanting craft unionism with an implement similar to that used successfully by the bosses—a One Big Union of all workers. We hope that will be the great lesson which this craft union strike failure will teach.

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