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If Palmer's Agents Could Get The Monkey That Bit The King of Greece!

The Way To Freedom

By John Lawrence

It is the policy and practice of the capitalist class to keep the workers misinformed of his true interests. They well know that they can remain in power only so long as the workers remain ignorant, and only while the workers are ignorant will they allow the capitalist class to rule.

The chief agent in doping, stupefying and misleading the workingman's mind is the Press. The capitalist newspapers permeate every corner of the country. Their falsifications and propaganda (see "The Brass Check", by Upton Sinclair) are pelted against the workers' brains day after day, year after year, from San Francisco to New York.

The proletarian press, on the otherhand, is as yet so weak that you can count on your fingers the active revolutionary working-class papers.

This explains the indifference or antagonism of the working class as a whole when some portion of it is on strike. The strikers are represented in the press as going out merely to create disturbance, to stir up trouble. They are held solely responsible for the rise in prices; they are supposed to be making "unjust demands". Actually during the railroad strike there was a joke to the effect that the railroad workers would be striking for automobiles next to ride from one train to another in. We are told of the wealth the workers are accumulating, of the "extravagance" they indulge in on their wonderful increase in wages.

The Political Strike

The bitter iron of such distortions of the truth is apparent only when one knows the actual misery of the strikers' living conditions and the extreme modesty of the demands they are making. But who would let this truth be known? The capitalist press? No. If the proletarian press could penetrate half as far as that of the ruling class we should find a solid majority of workers backing up every economic strike in no matter what industry.

The political strike — that which has for its aim a political object — has only manifested itself in America during the past year. The longshoremen striking for the release of the mayor of Cork, the miners of Butte making as their first

demand last April the release of political prisoners, the longshoremen again at Philadelphia refusing to load munitions for Poland: these are political strikes. In Europe, where the workers have been driven to deeper class-consciousness by a longer history of degradation and persecution, and especially by their sufferings through the great war, the political strike has been used much more extensively.

As events proceed we shall find strikes in America taking on more and more a political as well as an economic character . . .

The Way To Freedom.

What is to be done in the meantime? — Let every class-conscious worker get on the job, set himself more arduously to the education and organization which will bring to pass the new world.

The means to accomplish this are education and industrial organization of the working class toward the overthrow of the capitalist system, and the putting up in its place of a working class government (dictatorship of the proletariat) which will guide society into its new and better form.

Armed with this knowledge, and fired with indignation at the abuses and hypocrisy of the present system which he sees on all sides, the class conscious worker is fighting with every means in his power to awaken the rest of his class into activity.

No improvement in the unemployment situation in Detroit has been noticeable to careful observers in spite of the reassuring reports emanating from the chambers of the Employers Associations, Tens of thousands continue to tramp the city streets in search of jobs.

Union molders, patternmakers, machinists and others are hit by the present crisis. Some 400 patternmakers out of a total of 1,200 are out of jobs. Between seven and eight hundred union molders have also laid off the past four weeks.

The blind basket makers of London had to go on strike for an increase in wages.

Polish railroads are tied up by a wage strike.

Mr. Brindell and the Painters

By Jack Frank

The other day I passed by the New York Labor Temple on 84th street and noticing dozens of high-priced motor cars parked in the vicinity, I could not suppress my curiosity. All kinds of ideas came into my mind. "Perhaps it's a Red Raid", I thought, the profiteers having lent their automobiles for the purpose.

But to settle my doubts I made inquiry and discovered that it was a meeting of the Building Trades' Council of the A. F. of L. and that the Cadillacs and Packards standing outside belonged to the honorable delegates of the Building Trades Council who were assembled within.

Mr. Brindell, the central figure in the big graft revelations, was on hand; Mr. Brindell, whose net income is \$30,000 per year, besides the "pickings." All delegates to the Building Trades' Council are business agents who draw not less than \$75 per week in straight salary. They are all elected for three year terms, and locals which do not accept this condition, set up by Brindell, cannot have representation.

The Revolt Of The Painters.

The B. T. C. is recognized officially by the A. F. of L. Several locals refused to submit to the rule of Brindell, chief among them being the Painters. This local of New York painters, we are told, is controlled by the Bolsheviki. This must be true, because it has the most aggressive membership of any local of painters in the country, and it has a remarkable history. It's members are the best paid of all the trades, ten dollars per day for the forty-hour week with Saturday and Sunday off.

Naturally this local was a thorn in the side of Brindell and the bosses, since it set a bad example, driving the other trades forward through its militancy, and endangering the jobs of the Brindell gang if they could not produce the same results for their own members. So Mr. Brindell decided to strike a bargain with the bosses and it came out as he calculated—for a while. A strike was declared by the painters in the city. Brindell bided his time, letting the painters stay out till he thought they would be ready for his scheme.

But the painters stood so solid that the bosses began to surrender; and before long only a few of

the bigger concerns, his best friends and co-plotters, were left that did not agree to the demands of the men. Alarmed at the success of the strike, Brindell organized a fake local of painters, giving them a charter from the B. T. C. and settled with the remaining bosses. What he organized was a veritable scab agency called a "Union." The capitalist press, of course, praised him for his sanity, loyalty and Americanism; but the painters stuck to the real union.

Dissolve The Bogus Union.

The national organization of the painters, through the initiative of the New York local, threatened to withdraw from the A. F. of L. Then the good friends and brothers of Brindell at Washington, D. C. began to sound the retreat. He got instructions to dissolve his bogus painters' union. At the present time it looks like a clean-cut victory for the genuine union of painters; the bosses are eager now to settle with them.

But you will hear more about Brindell. He is not to be done away with so easily, as he is a product of that organization against labor that calls itself the A. F. of L. The bosses are out to tame the workers and he is one of their chosen tools; a part of that jungle-like entanglement that has been built up by the A. F. of L. to keep the workers down.

Nothing in the form of real action can be expected on the part of labor until the shackles of the American Federation of Labor are blown to hell and the workers are organized into one solid body, as the bosses are organized. Then labor can use its giant power in the fight for emancipation.

The Independent Socialist Party of Germany was split wide open at their recent congress at Halle. Three-fifths of the delegates, after hearing an address by Zinoviev, voted for unconditional acceptance of the program of the Third Communist International. This party has 900,000 dues paying members and polled 6,000,000 votes at the last election. The result of the conference is of world-wide importance and is regarded as a smashing victory for the Communist International.

John Reed Is Dead

By Robert Minor.

Moscow (Via Christiania and London) Oct. 22.—The body of John Reed lies all this week in state in the Labor Temple of Moscow with a guard of honor of fourteen soldiers of the Red Army. October 24, it will be buried in the most hallowed spot in all Russia, by the north wall of the Kremlin, with a great funeral demonstration. The Soviet Government has arranged a funeral holiday so that all the workers of Moscow may attend.

The Tzar Nicholas once complained that he was unable to have the best of Russian music because, unfortunately, the best composers were guilty of the crime of sedition and he could not encourage them.

Today the Tzar Nicholas lies in a hole in the ground of a Siberian village, and the sweetest music of Russia is played in his palace to the ears of the plain workingmen for whom the composers really wrote their music anyway.

In Moscow there died the other day a great American literary artist, John Reed. He was a young man, only thirty-three, and already known about the earth as one of the finest of American artists.

John Reed began his career ten years ago as a reporter for the New York World and for the New York Tribune. He did well. Very soon he graduated from the ranks of daily reporters and was acknowledged as one of the most brilliant writers on the high-priced magazines that spend their thousands to get the best of writing.

And what is the reward of such success? A Riverside Drive apartment, a country estate, an automobile — the right to associate with the sort of people that live that sort of life. The people that live in those ways are stupid. They are drunk most of the time. They never know what to say, and they like to have a John Reed around to say the things they can't themselves think of. They buy expensive clothes for themselves and their women whom they also have bought; and they eat and they drink, and they have headaches and they quarrel with their women-cattle, and the

women quarrel with their men cattle-herders, — and then they don't know what to do next. So they go and get young writers, artists that are fresh and strong and young, and they bring these in and eat with them and drink with them, and get the young artists to talk for them.

And the young artists are supposed to be grateful for the company of the expensively dressed persons and for the dinners and the automobiles and the "social position." If the young artists are grateful, they become more and more like the people that surround them, and slowly they lose their art. They sink into the position of clowns for the besotted aristocracy, in private life, and they become writers of excited drivel for the magazines and the book market, drivel without real connection with life — drivel that flatters their surroundings and lures the jaded clerks and the middle class to strive to succeed in business and thereby gain a place in the automobile-cocktail-Riverside Drive drunken swirl of the stupid propertied class.

The artist grows old, becomes a bourgeois, stodgy and dreamless, depends upon his cocktail, and he quarrels with his wife about silk dresses that no artist's mind should ever bother about.

That is the way that most American artists have gone in the past; that is success as the bourgeois world offers it; that is the way they can win approval of Tzars of Russia and Tzars of Fifth Avenue.

John Reed looked with young eyes upon the success that was offered him. He saw that it was not real. He saw that the silk was really rags and the wearers' fools. He didn't listen to their stupid talk, but listened to workers in mines and factories and I. W. W. halls and around camp fires, and he heard them say that the day was coming when the palaces would be emptied of fools and drunkards and that they, the workers, would live there. And John Reed liked that. It furnished him with a new dream. It made his young blood jump again, it kept him an artist. John Reed became a revolutionist. He sang his song louder than ever, and sang it for the revolution.

He went to Mexico to find the revolution. He went to Russia and did find it. And what he

wrote back from Russia made the thousands of hearts of his fellow-workers in America beat faster. It made them look at the palaces here in America in a different way, and it made them look upon the besotted American aristocracy as a conquerable class. Then Reed came back to America and here gave his mind and strength to organizing workers in America for what the workers proved could be done in Russia.

The propertied classes in America shook with rage at John Reed. In every city is a committee of business men called a Grand Jury, which has the function of picking out all persons who endanger the private ownership of the palaces and automobiles and country estates. Two of these Grand Juries — one in New York and one in Chicago — picked out John Reed as a criminal, indicted him and demanded that his voice be smothered in jail.

Reed eluded them and went back to Russia, went like a workman so often goes, stowed away in the coal-hole of a ship, — for America would not give a passport to its great writer now.

So the great American died, and the wealthy class is glad that he is dead. Like the Tzar Nicholas they could not sanction Reed's art any

more, after he spoke for the workers; and he died under their indictment as a criminal.

It all goes to show that the artists are ours, the artists belong to the workers, and to be artists at all they must dream — dream of things that frighten Tzars and Grand Juries — dream of workmen in palaces. Art belongs to the Revolution.

John Reed belonged to the workers.

Some Strike Statistics

Industrial strikes and lockouts during the calendar year 1919 numbered 3,374, and affected no less than 4,112,507 persons, which is the largest number of individuals recorded, accorded to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor.

Figures are given in the September "Labor Review", the Bureau's monthly publication, for the number of strikes and persons involved for the six years from 1914 to 1919, showing there were in 1914, 1,204 strikes, 1,420; 1915, 3,789; 1916, 4,450; 1917, 3,337; 1918, 3,374.

In about two-thirds of these strikes—the most complete statistics available—the number of strikers was reported as follows:

in 432 of the 1914 strikes, 296,720 were affected; in 873 strikes in 1915, 504,281; in 2,667 in 1916, 1,599,717; in 2,325 in 1917, 1,227,254; in 2,151 in 1918, 1,239,989; in 2,493 in 1919, 4,112,507.

The report points out the many difficulties in compiling strike statistics, saying that complete information of every strike cannot be obtained, nor is it possible to say that the information given is absolutely correct, "especially since statements of employers and employees are frequently greatly at variance."

It is estimated that the average duration of the strikes that have occurred in the past four years was less than one month, and in three fourths of them the strikers won all or a part of what they struck for.

Clara Zetkin, the veteran German revolutionist who is one of the two communist party members of the Reichstag, has just arrived in Moscow. In a speech of welcome by Kamenief she was hailed as the successor of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

LABOR CAN DO IT!!



The Fight For Shop Committees in the I. L. G. W.

By William Potter.

About ten months ago the active membership, the wide-awake element of local No. 25, Ladies Waist and Dress Makers' Union of New York, demanded a different system of control and administration of the affairs of the local. They demanded a method of control whereby the rank and file would be able at any time to remove officials or compel them to carry out their wishes without any of the lengthy procedure and red tape which at present makes it almost impossible either to remove them or to force them to act.

The new system of control and administration, which the active members were fighting for, provided that every shop should elect a shop committee and a shop chairman. These were to be subject to immediate recall by the workers in the shop. The shop committee was to be given full authority to settle all shop troubles and to enforce its decisions with or without the intervention or assistance of a business agent of the union. Power was to be in the hands of the shop committee. The committee was to be directly responsible to the workers in the shop who elected them and who were to have the right to recall them.

All Power To Shop Delegates

For the purpose of controlling the entire labor power in the trade, every shop was to elect one or more representatives to a central shop delegate body, or industrial council. These delegates, who were also to be subject to recall by those who elected them, were to meet once a month in the central body. Here they would take up and decide the essential and important work of the union, pass upon reports, decide union policies, etc.

It was proposed that this central body of shop delegates should elect the executive committee of the union; that they should retain control over the committee and have the right to recall it, in whole or part, at any regular monthly meeting. This executive committee should then be entrusted with the responsibility of regulating all purely routine work and of appointing and removing the personnel of the office. Under this plan, you see, the officials would be liable to lose their jobs at any time, just like you and me. They would have to carry out the wishes of the rank and file or go.

Tactics Of The Officials

The officials met the strong demand for this new system by some of the slick manoeuvring that has become typical of the Socialist Party labor fakirs in the Garment trades. They seemingly acceded to the wishes of the active members and agreed that the new system should be adopted, providing it should be endorsed by a referendum vote of all the members of the local, about 30,000. They calculated that it would be defeated by the indifferent mass which is always more or less hostile to new ideas and which usually votes for things to remain as they are.

As an extra precaution, however, these "socialist" officials took a lesson from the capitalist law-makers and put a joker in the proposition which they submitted to the members. This provision, inserted by the officials in the referendum, limited the delegate body of rank and file delegates to merely **advisory functions**. The Kaiser, in the olden days, had his Reichstag which operated on just such a basis. Maybe that is where the kaisers of the Ladies Garment Workers' Union got their idea.

Won On Referendum

The referendum brought an enormous majority in favor of the shop delegate system, thanks to the work of the active minority which lost no time in explaining to the rank and file the true facts and convinced them of the necessity of it. Of course, the active minority is composed of "Bolsheviks"; everybody says so. Those damned Bolsheviks simply use the dictatorship on you. They talk, talk, and talk till you are so damned sure they are right that you march along with them.

But here is what happened. The shop delegate body, once organized, was the only body that the rank and file would recognize and in a short time the shop delegates came to be the whole thing and the officials of the union nothing. Plans were laid by the officials to extricate themselves from this unforeseen calamity, especially when the other locals became restless and disposed to institute the delegate system. The convention of the I. L. G. W., representing some 250,000 members, was on hand. At that convention, with the help of the

outside delegates, who were mostly officials of the union, resolutions were passed to divide local 25 into several parts. The purpose behind this is to segregate the radicals into a smaller body and thus keep them away from the large mass of members.

Local Split Up By Executive Board.

The whole thing came to a climax about four weeks ago when, one bright morning, the G. E. B. of the I. L. G. W. decided that the shop delegate system is unconstitutional, undemocratic, null and void, etc. A receiver, sent by the G. E. B., came into the office, the local was split up and a joint board, framed to function safely for the officials, was instituted **with full power**. The shop delegate body was told that only their **suggestion** are welcome.

Now again remember that the G. E. B., the editors of the union organ, "Justice", and all the rest of the official crew are members of the Socialist Party.

But you may ask, "How could one lone man come into an office with the title of receiver and virtually tell an intelligent membership to go to hell!" Well, there is an economic crisis coming on and the clothing industry is the first to suffer. And the officials have the treasury of the union, nickels and pennies of the workers, accumulated for years and years, until it amounts to nearly \$2,000,000.

Besides, the rank and file out of town have yet to be thoroughly convinced to favor the shop delegate system of control and administration.

A Big Fight Coming.

So, you see, we are merely getting ready for the fight. When we get the support of the rank and file throughout the country, then we will proceed to establish democracy in the union for, by, and of the workers. Meanwhile we have got to submit to the despotism of the fake "socialist" officials.

In the next article I will make a more detailed comparison of the workings of the present union system of control and that of the shop delegate system. If we will all take up the fight for rank and file Control in the unions we can soon get the workers united into one solid body. And when the workers of the world get really united they will be able to get real democracy and real freedom.

Quick Comment

The fact that hundreds of workers are in prison for their loyalty to the labor causes should bring together labor organization in the land for united defense.

Some of the prisons of America rival the bastilles of Europe during the last century, and as large a per cent of the prisoners are going insane from inhuman treatment.

The mining companies in West Virginia are importing men who are ignorant of the concerted effort to break up the unions. Once arrived at the mines, these men are guarded like convicts, by Baldwin-Feltz gunman, and have no alternative but to become strikebreakers. A boy in the teens, from the Kentucky side of the river, succeeded in liberating seventeen men from the bunk house, one night. He conducted them to the river by a trail unknown to the gunman, and therefore unguarded. A boat was in waiting, by which they reached the Kentucky side, and their fare was paid back to their homes.

The principal thing needed by the workers, in their effort to establish an industrial democracy, is enough daily and twice-a-week newspapers to counteract the poison put out by the capitalist press.

The action of the New York legislature in again expelling the five Socialists who had been elected over collusion candidates, gives one more valuable object lesson to the people as to just what kind of government we have in this country.

Capitalism has its spies, its police, its hired labor leaders, its thugs and militia, and the intricate working of a powerful government. Labor has one tactic that can defeat them all, — the One Big Union.

J. C. C.

Troops of Blacks and Tans, British troops carrying on the reign of terror in Ireland, in an armored car raided a shop in Talbot street, Dublin. Jeered by the crowd which soon gathered, the troops fired, killing two and wounding six. One of the dead is a boy of sixteen.

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Labor Grafters

The testimony of a building contractor that he had paid the sum of \$25,000 to be given to Robert P. Brindell, President of the New York Building Trades Council in return for the calling off of a strike, is another striking revelation of the evil effects of the present system of trade union control and management. The latest exposure of official graft and corruption will be taken by some as merely due to the individuals involved; the evil will be remedied, they think, by the elimination of the guilty officials and their replacement by honest men. But to those who know that what has been discovered in New York is a regular occurrence in almost every other city in the country it must be plain that the cause lies deeper than the individual crooks; it is inherent in the very system of present day trade unionism.

What is this system that is responsible for the regular and systematic selling-out of the organized workers? It is the practice, almost general in

all the building trades, of giving to paid business agents the power to start and stop strikes. The custom is pernicious in more ways than one. It paralyzes the initiative of the workers and does not develop in them the sense of responsibility for which the union ought to be a training school. It creates a special class of professional labor brokers who, losing contact with the workers and the conditions under which they live, think in terms of their own special interest. It is the natural breeding ground for graft and corruption.

The remedy for this situation is very simple. The plan outlined in this issue for control and administration of the Garment Workers' Union would do it, with such modifications as would be necessary to make it fit the peculiar conditions which surround building construction. The first thing necessary is the taking of power out of the hands of paid officials and putting it into the hands of committees made up of men actually working on the job, elected by the other workers and subject to recall at any time. These committees should be charged with the responsibility of enforcing union conditions on the jobs where they themselves are employed.

Delegates elected from among the workers on the larger jobs should be brought together into a central body of job delegates. This body should be given the power to decide the policies of the union, draw up wage scales, etc., subject, of course to the instructions of the workers who elected them. They should also have the task of electing the executive committee which would work under their directions and be controlled by them. The executive committee should look after the routine work of the union and appoint and remove all paid agents.

The problem in the building trades is complicated by the senseless multiplicity of craft unions. Every trade, or piece of a trade, has its own separate, autonomous organization. One union for the entire building industry is enough and would be much more efficient than a score. Sooner or later this will come, but many barriers stand in the way. Custom, "craft pride" — that ridiculous fetter the craftsmen forge for their own limbs; the special private interests of the horde of parasites known as business agents: these are all powerful barriers to industrial unionism in the Building Industry.

In the effort to bring about greater industrial solidarity many experiments will be tried, rang-

ing from closer federation of allied trades to the building of separate organizations on an industrial basis. The experience gained in all these undertakings will be of benefit to the ultimate solution of the problem. But the shop council and committee system, first developed in Britain and now spreading rapidly in Germany, appears to offer the shortest cut to rank and file control. And rank and file control is the foundation upon which a real movement of militant labor must be built.

The Pope of Rome has a very weighty problem on his hands. He is called upon to decide whether or not the Irish hunger strikers are committing suicide and he has laid the mooted question before the Congregation of Holy Office. This is the august body that "settles all questions of faith and morals." As soon as they make their report we will be relieved of all suspense and will be told definitely the supernatural destination of the heroic victims of British Imperialism.

Gompers' indignant denial of the Republican charge that the Democratic Party has "surrendered to Labor" fits in with the facts. But why should he brag about it? It is true enough that labor has done all the surrendering, but Gompers talks as though this is something to their credit. The "leader" who boasts of defeats is not the kind needed for the coming struggles.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer sneers at Debs' statement that it is hard to stay in jail when so many important things are happening outside. "It is not so hard to stay in as to try to get out," they say. Well, just wait awhile. When the workers get ready to open the jail doors we will see how hard it is.

A Chicago society girl has cause quite a little stir by giving up her social career and going to work as a stenographer. This may be just a case of a wise young woman getting ready to make a living when labor is made compulsory by the American Soviet.

Those immigrants who paid swindlers for promised assistance in entering the United States certainly had a poor idea of the value of money. After they are here awhile they will be trying to buy their way out.

The Worker's Business

By Jack Frank.

What interest has an American worker in other nations' affairs? American workers, say many spokesmen, mind their own business.

Now, what is the business of an American worker?

He is free to work for other people's profit, or die of starvation. He is free to vote for people who, once elected, can do as they please, or keep away from voting.

When they pass laws against him, he is free to obey their laws, or rot in prison if he disobeys.

At work he produces, but has no say about what shall be done with his product. That is not his business.

If through general strikes he tries to defeat anti-strike laws, federal troops are sent against him, because the making of laws is not his business.

When American capitalists decide to join in a profit-grabbing war, he has to fight their battles and shut up, because the making of and approving the war is not his business.

When drafted for military service, if he objects, thinking that his life, his body is his own business, he is seized and sent to prison, because his life is not his business.

Thus we see that the American worker's own business is: To obey the capitalists and their lawmakers, who, through war on foreign nations, forcibly interest him in the affairs of other nations.

The capitalists of the whole world made it their business to help one another to defend their idle, luxurious lives in whatever country their position may be menaced by the workers.

The Big Press of the American capitalists is very much interested in the victories of the armies of the Polish landlords.

American Secretary of State Colby is much interested in the armies of the Polish landlords and those of Baron Wrangel.

He promised them help and sent our warships to Danzig.

Workers! Get interested for your own ends, or they will interest you forcibly for capitalist ends.

Brainbridge Colby, Secretary of State, says Bolshevism in Russia is on its last legs. But those last legs seem to have an awful kick in them.

A Crisis Near In Great Britain

By Max Worth,

European Correspondent for the Federated Press.

Just how serious the economic crisis is in Great Britain, no one seems to know. That it is of considerable proportions, and that the leaders of public opinion regard it as a grave matter seems to be quite generally taken for granted.

Furthermore, this economic trouble at home comes at an ill time for the imperialists, with the unrest in Egypt, South Africa and the Near East; the open hostility to the Government manifested in India, and the revolt in Ireland.

There has been since the war a tendency for the British workers and manufacturers alike to limit production. The workers did it because they believed that was one way to stave off unemployment. The employers did it because they saw it as the only likely means for the maintaining of prices.

The consequence has been a low scale of productivity in many of the leading industries, such as mining and cotton and engineering. Then, too, the large number of the strikers and the trade disputes have had a tendency to interfere with production, even in the trades not directly effected.

Then came the spectre of unemployment, first in the shipping centres, and later in the textile centres—a spectre for the worker because it leaves him to starve along with the meagre unemployment allowance, which everyone realizes is insufficient; a spectre for the Government, because a great wave of unemployment at home in the critical juncture of British imperial policy, may wreck the whole elaborate ship of state.

Unemployment Increasing.

As the winter draws on, unemployment is increasing. Men come together in little knots and tell one another about it, or else they speak of it to outsiders with very grave faces and in sober tones.

"With prices where they are, it will be near impossible to get by", said one longshoreman. "Work has been getting harder to find every day for weeks past, and I am beginning to wonder what the missus and the two kiddies are to do."

The London Times carries a leading article under the title "Slackening Trade. Uncertainty in the Big Industries." Their correspondent, writing from Manchester, says that "where there is not a slump,

there is a strike."

"The cotton trade is shaken," he says, "and reports from the woolen districts suggest that things there may be even worse. Shipbuilding and engineering are faced with a gloomy outlook, and the prevailing uncertainty is reacting on most kinds of business, down to that of the humblest retailer."

Making all due allowance for the desire of the Times to warn the miners that this is not the time to strike, the fact remains that the reports of workers and of other agencies correspond with the Times story.

British Capitalism came out of the war in pretty good shape, but there must be a reduction of prices before the machinery can be got into its old form. Wages must go down first, the ruling class insists, and there is the rub. How can the worker get on with less while prices remain so high?

For the moment, the worker is taking the brunt of the difficulty in the form of unemployment. It remains to be seen how long he will be willing or able to shoulder the load. It begins to look as though the British Ship of State was anchored with old cables close to some menacing rocks.

THE CHICAGO C. L. P. CASE.

The argument on the motion for the new trial in the C. L. P. Chicago case was finished Saturday morning. Argument began Friday Oct. 8th and lasted till Saturday Oct. 16th. Judge Hebel has taken the matter under advisement and will render his decision Saturday October 30th. Attorney Wm. Forrest presented the case for the defense, claiming error in the manner of jury selection, in the admission of evidence, and in the Court's instructions to the jury. Attorney Frank Comerford, the state's special prosecutor, opposed the motion for a new trial. Mr. Comerford seems to have caught something from his star witness, Ole Hanson, ex-mayor of Seattle who put down the Bolshevik revolution in January of 1919 single-handed. Ole wrote a book and took the lecture platform at \$300.00 per lecture. And now Appleton's is bringing out a book by Comerford, telling how he—Comerford—saved the nation in the summer of 1920.

John Spargo On Trade Unions in Russia

By H. Garner.

We have no doubt all heard quite a lot of talk about cooperation, at least I think all members of craft unions have heard of cooperation between the workers and the bosses. But it seems to me the newest thing in the way of cooperation has developed between John Spargo and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

For the benefit of those who do not know who John Spargo is, I might say he was at one time a "shining light" in the Socialist Party. He undertook to commit that party to the war program of big business when America first entered the universal slaughter, but the rank and file of the organization, which was then composed of revolutionary workers, would not stand for it and they kicked him out.

But now it seems he has found other work to do. At any rate, we workers in the Pennsylvania shops here in Logansport, Indiana were somewhat surprised to be handed a pamphlet with John Spargo's name to it. Yes, it was handed out by the clerks right from the office.

The pamphlet is entitled "The Status of Trade Unions in Soviet Russia, By John Spargo." In this pamphlet John tells of the iron dictatorship of the Communist Party, which is composed of the most aggressive and intelligent workers, and how the unions are made to do this and that and are completely controlled by the "Militant Minority" which makes up the party. He also tells how membership in the unions is compulsory and that the unions are required to furnish regular quotas of soldiers to fight the counter-revolutionary attacks made on the Soviet Government and to repel the foreign bandits who undertake to invade Russia at the instigation of the Allies.

Two Kinds Of Compulsion.

This, according to Spargo, is a terrible infringement on the liberties of the workers. He is opposed to the theory of conscription unless it is applied in the interests of the capitalist class which he now upholds. For a worker to be shot to pieces for the benefit of blood-sucking parasites, such as those who engineered and profited by the great war, is "patriotism"; but when they are called out to defend their own government it is "despotism",

according to Spargo, and makes of the unions "police agencies and economic bureaus of the Soviet State."

Let us consider the change that has come over Russia where the workers have taken over the industries and the state. There are men who have never done any work, but who have lived by exploiting the workers. These men must now become workers. Naturally they oppose compulsory labor. There are others who have always been workers, but through ignorance oppose the new system.

Naturally, under such conditions, there must be some kind of compulsion to take care of these until such time as they become educated and convinced to the point where they are willing to do their part of their own will. Now, if this compulsion was ordered by one man, like a kaiser or a czar, or by a small group of men like the American capitalist class, I would call it all wrong. But in a country where the workers own the industries and make their own laws, I, as a worker, think it is O. K.

Unions Now Use Compulsion.

I think I can give a pretty good example of this compulsion in the union shops in this country. For instance, if the workers in a shop organize and force a closed shop it means that any one working in that shop must carry a union card. Along comes a fellow who isn't class conscious and who doesn't understand the necessity of the union. He is compelled to join the union just the same or he is not allowed to work. He joins the union and, after being convinced that is the right thing, he becomes just as determined to enforce that compulsion on the next fellow who comes along as any of the other workers in the shop.

I don't think the pamphlet of Spargo's which they handed to us had the desired effect, for most of the workers who read it are too wise to fall for any propaganda put out by the company, and they merely laughed about it. But the joke of it was that the real yellows got the idea that the Pennsylvania Railroad Company had turned Bolshevik and was trying to convert them, too. So they refused to read it at all.

The I. W. W. Political Prisoners

By John Martin,

Secretary, General Defense Committee, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

The long and bitterly contested legal fight for the release of our fellow workers convicted on the Chicago Indictment, has reached a new stage in its development.

The summing up of the good and bad results of this fight is as follows: Starting with five points against the ninety-six, there now remain only two. The fifth count was thrown out of court by Judge Landis during the trial. Counts one and two have been quashed by the Circuit Court of Appeals. This leaves only counts three and four to be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States.

On the other hand, no actual betterment of the lot of our convicted fellow workers has been secured. Their sentences were made to run concurrently; and, serving sentences on the two remaining counts, they would have to spend as much time in the penitentiary as they would had there been no killing of counts one and two.

It must be borne in mind that the two counts which were quashed were those alleging acts of violence and destruction by the defendants. After the newspapers have for the past two years been spewing their venom, accusing the I. W. W. of the most dire deeds of violence, now comes the Appeal Court of the Seventh Judicial District of the United States, and renders the accusation false! There are now no charges against our fellow workers except infractions of the war-time draft act and the espionage act. This makes the men purely political prisoners, convicted only of the violation of war-time legislation.

Many Still In Prison.

This is, however, but very mild consolation to us, who must witness the sorry spectacle of nearly a hundred of our most able fellow workers losing their health, strength and usefulness behind the grim walls of the masters' prisons. All but thirty of them, it is true, have been released on bond—except twelve who, being sentenced to only a year and a day, have served their sentences—but there should not be these thirty yet in prison. There should not be one of them in prison, so long as there are friends and fellow workers on the out-

side with the energy and capacity to secure aid for them!

Our attorneys are petitioning the District Court for a rehearsing of the case. We are not especially hopeful of securing this; and, in the probable event that it is denied, we shall immediately appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, on the two remaining counts. This may mean another year of waiting—of long, dreary waiting—for our fellow workers in prison. They should not have to suffer this! They should be free—free to regain their health, which has been shattered in the pest-houses of the master-class. They should be free to come to the support of their grief-stricken families. We have every hope of being able to secure their release on the same bond as has been previously set, during the Supreme Court appeal. Every member of the organization, every sympathizer with the struggle of the working class towards its emancipation, every believer in the rights of free speech, assemblage and organization, should aid in this crusade for the freedom of our fellow workers. Loans must be solicited, in case, property or securities, for bail. These should be turned over to the General Defense Committee who will secure the release of the imprisoned men just as fast as the money comes in.

A Record Of Suffering And Courage.

Statistics are usually considered—and, perhaps, rightly considered—dry and unsatisfactory. However, the following figures should not prove dull. For they represent untold suffering, unquenchable courage and unswerving class loyalty. Just read and think it over:

303 members of the Industrial Workers of the World were indicted by Federal Grand Juries during the war.

201 were brought to trial.

168 were convicted and sentenced to prison.

96 had their indictments quashed, or cases against them dismissed.

33 were dismissed during trial, or were found "Guilty" but were not sentenced.

8 won their appeal in the Appellate Court and were released.

6 died in county jails awaiting trial.

2 went insane in county jails awaiting trial.

The 168 sentenced received from one to twenty years each, or a grand total of more than 1250 years, or an average of seven and one-half years' penal servitude each.

The above figures were compiled of Federal cases only. We have no space to tabulate for our readers the dozens of cases under the various state Criminal Syndicalism laws, which resulted in the sentencing of scores of our members to state penitentiaries. We have not the space to inform you in detail of the hundreds of cases of petty arrests, of imprisonment in county jails on trumped-up charges.

The Facts Must Be Made Known.

The country is at present in the throes of a nationwide industrial crisis. Unemployment is increasing; the capitalist class is becoming incapable of the function of maintaining production; among the workers is stirring a great discontent, broader and deeper than ever before. The American workers are more receptive than ever before, to appeals to their class solidarity. Now is the time to make known to them the facts about the long series of legal persecutions, undertaken at the dictation of

our industrial task-masters, which the militant workers have suffered. A publicity campaign, of a broader and more energetic nature than any hitherto undertaken, must be launched.

The General Defense Committee looks with confidence to the class conscious workers of America to support its work in this hour of need. Through the long, dark years of suppression, we have always been able to depend confidently upon the response of the workers. Now we appeal to you again, knowing that the undying spirit of working-class militancy will assure us the response which will strengthen the spirit of the boys in prison, and the efforts of those working for their release.

Workers, the need is pressing! You, and you only, can aid us! Let your help be substantial and prompt!

Colonel Malone, the British Member of Parliament who recently joined the Communist Party, got up in the House of Commons last week and demanded that action be taken in behalf of Jim Larkin, the Irish labor leader, who is confined in prison at Dannemora, N. Y. Larkin was convicted of active membership in the Communist Labor Party and sentenced to serve from five to ten years.

Blood Stains

By J. L. Gillespie.

Some thirty years ago I saw a board bearing the blood stains of a chattel slave who had been beaten to death by his overseer. They were as plainly visible as they had been a week after the tragedy occurred. This board served a small part as siding to an old barn. The tragedy took place several years before the civil war.

The capitalist class of the world were the instigators of the world war and their hands are stained with the blood of the working class.

Our federal prisons today contain upwards of 2000 working men and women who dared to speak their minds against a program of war which to them seemed a gigantic crime.

Will a nation pursuing such a policy of persecution stand the test of time? Russia under the

Czar pursued such a policy, but it failed, and the ruling class of that regime is now paying the price for the crimes and cruelties which it perpetrated.

The capitalist class may wash its hands as did Pilate of old, but it will do no good; the blood stains will ever remain to curse its existence.

Capitalism now holds its supremacy only, by deception, trickery and fraud, put over a people through the aid of a powerful prostituted press. It may be asked how long this condition will endure. It will last as long as the working class sleeps and not a day longer. A powerful labor press must be built up and sustained to counteract the lying, deceitful papers and magazines whose editors sell themselves into a condition of intellectual prostitution to sustain a system that has served its day and should be cast upon the junk heap of all worn out and useless things.

The Path of Wrangel

MOSCOW, Via Christiania and London — The sad plight of that part of Russia ruled over by General Baron Wrangel with the help of the French government and the connivance of other nations is revealed in Pravda, the Moscow daily, which gives details of the Wrangel regime in Crimea.

It is a ghastly picture. Public executions are normal. Drunken debauches of officers of the Wrangle forces and daylight robberies are visible on every hand, according to Pravda.

Zemstvos, town councils are dissolved in arbitrary fashion or "reformed" and packed with monarchist majorities. All protests are suppressed with great cruelty.

Why?

"What strange power has Lenin? Why does every adversary, one by one, fall before him? Why do they all undergess him? Why do all European governments falter and waver between courses, losing their hold on half "their" populations, till Lenin can say to Lloyd George, "I command more men in England than you command"? Why is he the leader of the only nation that can dare to order its population into war?

"The answer is that Lenin is a scientist in a scientific world. Capitalism by its nature must follow its mad militarists into combat with Soviet Russia, like months to a flame". Robert Minor in The Liberator.

The pamphlet

Nicolai Lenin

by G. Zinovieff

which is a history of the life of Lenin answers many questions like the above. It is intensely interesting, instructive and educational. All the world is asking—what about Lenin? This pamphlet helps to answer that timely question in an understanding manner.

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French papers, friendly to the Wrangel and other anti-soviet enterprises, admit that the condition of Wrangel's army is deplorable, lacking boots, clothing food and ammunition. Wrangel's Paris representative also concedes that it is a debacle.

The London Daily Herald's Vienna correspondent reports that Horthy, ruler of Hungary, has concluded an agreement with Wrangel's agent, Marakoff, to send Hungarian troops and munitions to aid Wrangel.

H. G. Wells, the British author, has just returned from Russia and says the reported disturbances and insurrections are "just humbug."

The Red Flag, Berlin's communist paper, says that Soviet Russia has closed a contract for 6,000 German railway engines and a large number of turbines.

Sylvia Pankhurst has been arrested in London on charges of sedition in connection with the publication of the Workers Dreadnought, a Communist organ of which she is editor.

The Third Communist International refused to accept the application of the Socialist Labor Party of Palestine (Poala Zion), stating it must purge itself of some bourgeois nationalistic tendencies.

Protect Hungarian Communists

The Soviet Government of Russia has determined to take drastic steps toward protecting the ten members of the former Soviet Government of Hungary now being tried in Budapest before a court made up of reactionary supporters of Admiral Horthy for their activities during the brief Bela Kun regime. A message sent to Paul Teleki, the Hungarian Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, by George Tchicherin, Russian Commissioner of Foreign Affairs, threatens reprisals in case of a harsh sentence.

The trial of the ex-People's Commissioners began early in the summer and has dragged along without any result being reached which would give the Russian Government occasions, to carry out its threat. In the meantime the Austrian High court has refused to extradite other members of the Bela Kun Soviet Government demanded by the Hungarian reactionaries.

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The tumble of prices in some lines, Ford automobiles and sugar for instance, has in no way affected the print paper situation. Prices are maintaining their previous high level, the scarcity still continues without sign of change. We feel fortunate if we can obtain white print stock now and then, and we have to be thankful for even the poorest and grayest paper that is sold us for our fifteen cents per sixteen ounces.

But this outstanding fact we have discovered in our many months of anxious quest of paper, and that is: that we can always get the paper, no matter how 'scarce' it is **IF WE HAVE THE MONEY TO PAY SPOT CASH. SPOT CASH** seems to be the dictum of **BIG BUSINESS**. And Big Business rules. We have to admit that. So our only salvation is to get the Cash, and have it ready when we need it.

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