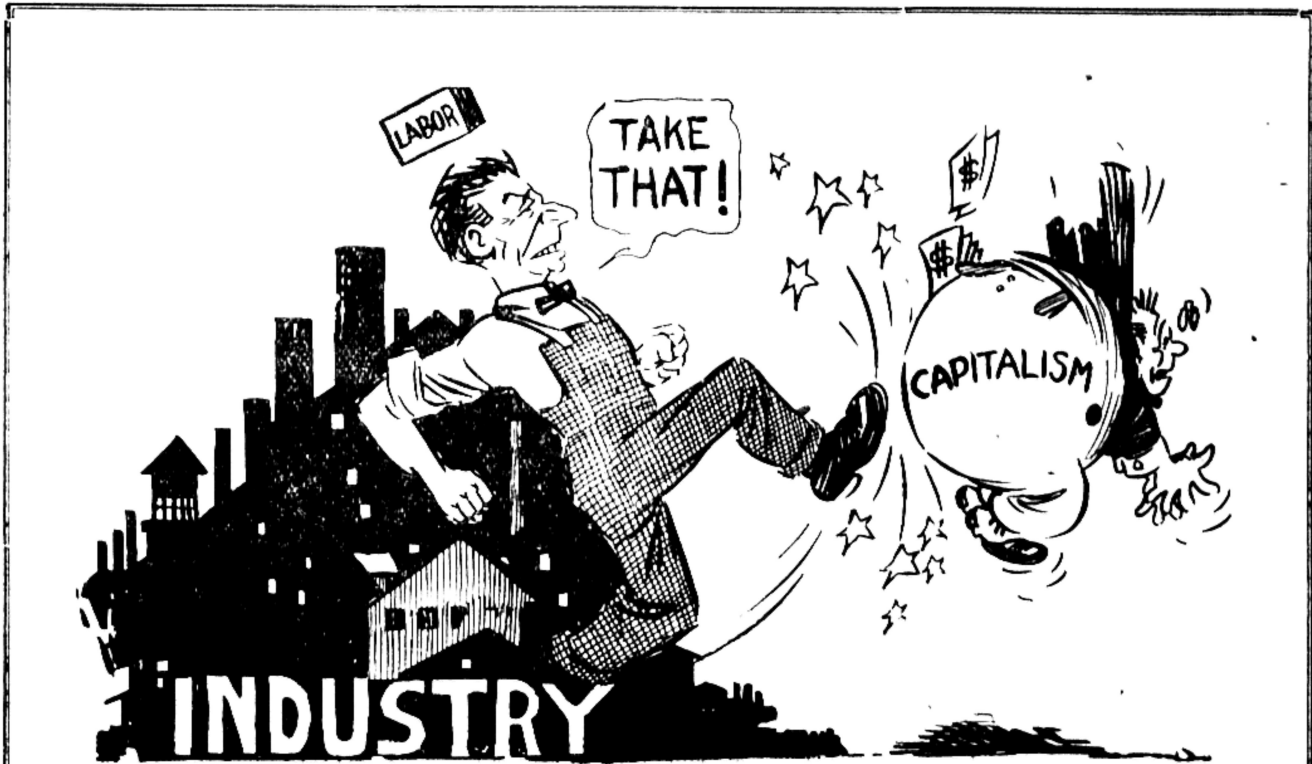


The TOILER

No. 146.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, NOV. 20, 1920.

Price Five Cents.



KICK OUT THE INCOMPETENT!

Mills, factories, shops are closing down. The capitalist owners have closed the doors. Industry is at a standstill.

Why? Because no more profits are possible just now. Yet, the workers need food, clothing, houses, all necessities. But the capitalist owners say **NO**, we will not allow you to produce these things in **OUR** factories, our warehouses are full already. You must starve and suffer until we have found a market.

Capitalism produces for sale—not for use. When it cannot sell, the owners refuse to allow production to continue.

Capitalism is incompetent to longer supply mankind with the necessities of life. Either capitalist control of industry must go, and the workers' control of industry substituted or — the workers must remain as the half starved slaves of incompetent capitalism.

Which shall it be?

All power to the workers!

Revolutionary Tactics in Trade Unions

Should revolutionists accept executive positions in trade unions?

Editor The Toiler:—

I and others among my fellow coal miners have been greatly interested in the letters on trades unionism which have appeared in The Toiler in the past two weeks. In your issue of November 6th, you have quoted from the thesis adopted by the Congress of the Third International at Moscow and have elaborated in a convincing manner upon the general policies which revolutionists should follow as outlined therein. I only wish that this entire thesis could be placed in the hands of every coal miner in my district for we have a large contingent of radicals among us and they need just such an authoritative document as this to further educate themselves.

My object however, in writing to you is to ask you a question, the answer to which is bothering a few of us in this mining district. The question is: Should revolutionists accept executive positions in conservative labor unions? I am asking this not to establish a theoretical formula, but from a standpoint of practicality. I will explain. In this mining district we have a man who stands very high in the estimation of the rank and file; his radicalism cannot be questioned. It is quite possible for us to elect him to a high executive position where his influence for the good of the workers would be very great. He is rather dubious about accepting this office fearing that to do so would be a violation of revolutionary principles. Being a true revolutionist, should he take this position offered him by his fellows?

AN OHIO COAL MINER.

Answer by the Editor.

Yes, he should accept the position.

Considering the heretofore erroneous concept of revolutionists as to their duty in respect to conservative labor unions, it is natural that those who are as yet unlearned in the newer tactics which have been developed by THE REVOLUTION should hesitate in making a decision of this nature.

As pointed out in the former article, revolutionists have committed the folly of voluntary withdrawal from the trades unions viewing the situation as hopeless for any good they might do

therein. They failed to see that when they did this they severed their connections with the MEMBERSHIP at the same time and lost contact with them. In short, by cutting the bond between themselves and their fellows they played directly into the hands of the reactionaries. A true revolutionary tactic would have been to remain in the unions in close contact with the workers at all costs.

The thesis adopted at Moscow is based upon the necessity of revolutionists maintaining a direct contact with the masses of workers. Unless they do this no progress can be made. Revolutionists can have no influence with the workers if they segregate themselves from them. It is absolutely necessary that they learn this fundamental truth for upon it depends their value to the workers and future progress.

Revolutionary responsibility.

Maintaining a close contact with the masses in order to teach and direct them in the struggle with the employers is not the whole sum of our revolutionary responsibilities. Just as necessary is it that, when we have cultivated a following and wield an influence among them, must we also accept the further responsibility of executive positions in order to place ourselves at strategic points so that in the time of revolutionary crises we may seize the control of the organization and turn the activities of the union into political channels for the purpose of taking over industry. As time passes, purely economic strikes will tend to become political in nature, will in fact, become strikes against the State power. The case of the crumbling of the morale of the leaders in the coal strike a few months ago when faced with a government threat of jail is a significant one where executive office could have been used in the workers interests to a tremendous degree had revolutionists instead of reactionaries held them.

As the Left Wing of the trade union movement develops responsible executive positions will be tendered the leaders of this militant section. Consider the situation should they settle upon a policy of declining these offices. Loss of faith in them by the rebellious workers would be the first result. Great confusion would result and the disintegra-

tion of the Left organization would ensue. The workers would become disheartened and a tendency toward setting up other new Left unions outside the old ones would develop—a condition directly in opposition to our aims. These executive positions will be forced upon revolutionary leaders by their following. If the leaders refuse the offices it will amount to a betrayal of the workers. They must not refuse.

An argument often made against revolutionists accepting such offices is that they become conser-

vative and in the end are as bad as the old line job hunters. But there have been few REVOLUTIONISTS placed in such positions. And they are not to be confused with mere radicals of various colors who have gained such positions. Revolutionists have found methods whereby to control every act of their representatives. And as far as that goes it is very necessary that revolutionists should be constantly put to the test so that the chaff may be separated from the grain.

John Reed, Martyr to Liberty

By W. F. Haycock.

The following editorial appeared in the Columbus Citizen, one of the Scripps-McRae league of newspapers.

"A dispatch from Moscow by way of London announces the death of John Reed in that city. He died of typhus fever.

Graduated from Harvard, launched on a splendid career, married to a beautiful and congenial wife from his native state of Oregon, living in a charming little country home on the Hudson, with friends, and every reason for following the easy road, Reed left the United States and literally gave himself to the cause of freedom, as he conceived it, and as he thought it embodied in the new Russian movement.

He became an exile on the other side of the earth in a foreign country—a country ravaged by war and reduced to wretchedness and famine.

A few months ago the dispatches brought the news that John Reed was in prison in Finland. He had attempted to carry dispatches and jewels between Lenin and Lenin's American representative and was arrested while working as a stoker and thrown into a Finnish prison. He remained there for many months. When finally released, instead of returning to the easy and comfortable life of his native land, he returned to Moscow.

For many months Louise Bryant, his wife, tried in vain to induce our State Department to give her passports which would enable her to join her husband. Finally she decided to go with or without them and is now in Russia.

It is not necessary to endorse the economic

heresies of the Russian revolutionary experiment to pay a merited tribute to one of our citizens. John Reed believed in liberty enough to give his life for liberty".

"—And every reason for following the easy road," ye gods, is there a real red-blooded man or woman on the face of the earth who can be contented and follow the easy road in the face of the fact that 'there is something wrong somewhere'. The world is on fire, unrest prevails everywhere, and it behooves each and every real man and woman on earth to make it their business to interest themselves in the causes of the unrest which is manifesting itself in every country on the face of the globe.

John Reed knew there was something wrong, and after studying the question from all sides he came to the same conclusion that thousands of others, have and that is: that to those who produce the world's goods should belong the world's goods. That no man should live by the sweat of another man's brow.

He cast his lot with the working class of the world, and set about with others to so reconstruct society that it would be impossible for one man to live by the labor of another. In his efforts to follow out his conclusions, he, with others, was arrested and charged with the "crime" of participating in the organization of a political party in the United States. Because of this charge he became an exile in Russia. The editor has certainly paid John Reed a merited tribute, and one that will go down in history; **"JOHN REED BELIEVED IN LIBERTY ENOUGH TO GIVE HIS LIFE FOR LIBERTY."**

Trade Unionism and Cooperatives

By Albert Verblin.

An interesting development in the Labor Movement at the present time is the interest in cooperatives which the official trade unions are showing. At the recent conventions of several different unions, the cooperative movement was endorsed and resolutions for the participation of the unions in the movement were adopted. Thus we have large unions like the Railroad Brotherhoods, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the United Mine Workers and others establishing cooperative banks, factories and stores, and it is safe to predict that in the near future many other A. F. of L. and independent unions will follow suit.

Why this sudden trend toward the cooperative movement? Why is it that the trade unions are entering with such enthusiasm into the banking and retail selling business? One must seek for the cause in the nature of Trade Unionism and in the present economic condition of the working class.

Trade Unionism in this country is not based on the class—struggle. It takes for granted and willingly accepts the capitalist system and tries to improve the condition of the working class within that system.

By failing to accept the fact of the class struggle, Trade Unionism has entered a blind alley. It can go so far and no further and at the present time it has about reached its dead wall.

During the war, when the capitalist class needed the support of the working class, the trade unions made considerable gains for their members. The eight-hour day became quite general and the workers made enough money to get along with. But now, when the capitalist class no longer need the workers to fight a war conditions are different. Wages are cut right and left, the open shop movement is in full swing and above all the specter of unemployment is darkening the lives of the toilers.

Under these conditions, like a drowning man clutching at a straw, the trade unions have seized upon the cooperatives. To demand higher wages is out of the question. First because the bosses will absolutely not listen to such a demand at the present time and second because

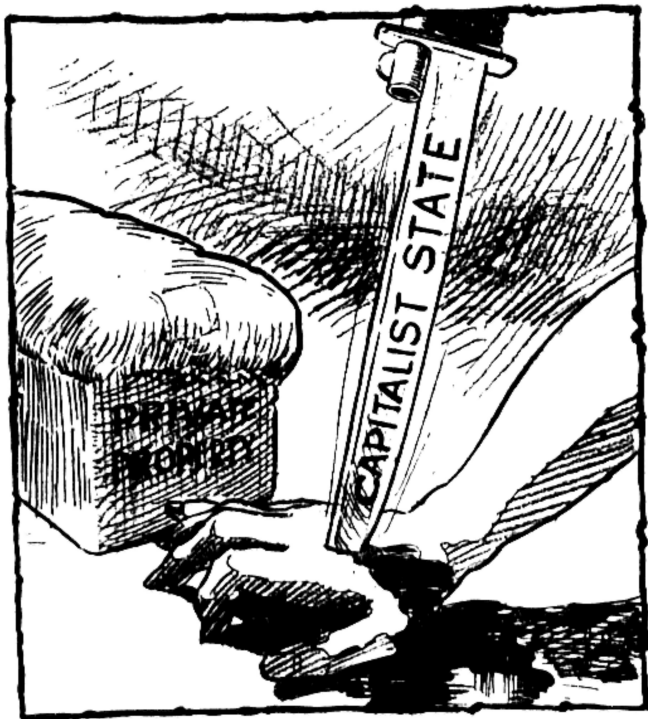
higher wages are anyway swallowed up by higher prices. But the trade unions must do something for their members else there will be a revolt of the workers against those unions and so they have turned to the cooperatives as a last resort.

But will the cooperatives be of any material help to the workers? Even granting that the unions could buy food stuffs and sell cheaper to the membership and granting that they could establish banks where the members could borrow money at a cheaper rate of interest, would that solve the problem of the workers? Would unemployment disappear because of the cooperatives? And granting that the union man could save fifty or even a hundred dollars a year through the union cooperatives, how much would that help him? And what will the unskilled non-union worker do?

The Cooperative Movement has been long established in England, Belgium, Italy and Germany. Are the workers of those countries better



The Power That Protects



The Power That Protects

off with the cooperatives than the workers of America without the cooperatives?

The whole cooperative business shows the opportunistic and reformistic spirit of the trade unions. What is more the trade-union leaders are hoping to quiet the rising discontent of the workers against their leadership, by means of the cooperatives. First they expect to create a hope in the minds of the workers that the cooperatives will better their conditions and secondly, they wish to draw the workers closer to the union machine by making them take shares in the union cooperatives. Naturally those who have an economic interest in the union cooperatives will be slow to revolt against the union for fear their shares in the cooperatives will be lost.

Thus the "leaders", accept the cooperatives

for two reasons. First to avoid strikes against the bosses and second to avoid any revolt or outlaw strike on the part of the workers against the official union.

But all the efforts of these "leaders" will not help them. The class-struggle will go on and will become more and more bitter. No cooperatives will help the workers. They will merely divert their energies from the real struggle. The workers must realize that they can not afford to waste precious energy to meddle in cooperatives. Their struggle in on the job and in the factory. They must take away the leadership of their "leaders" and transform the union into what it should be, an organization to fight the every-day struggle of the working class and to train the workers for the final conflict to overthrow the capitalist class.

The Rise of American Shipping

(Jos. Poor.)

"The increase of America's Merchant Marine is greatly worrying some people in England." I think the correspondent who wrote this sentence for a capitalist paper in New York is greatly underrating England's alarm. Worrying is hardly the word—it is hysteric. The British Capitalists view the rise of American Industry in the same light and in the same perspective as they viewed the energetic manifestation of productive power by the German Business Interests. Like the champion pugilist who has fought often and has had many victories to his credit, but who, weakened by age is unable to stave off the powerful onslaughts of youth, such is the position of English Capitalism to-day.

It is well known that in 1914 Germany was the second sea-faring power with England holding premier place. Great Britain possessed in round numbers 18,600,000 tons of shipping to Germany's 6,000,000 tons. This in itself was no cause for alarm as the gap was too wide to seriously challenge the supremacy of England. But the persistency and iron tenacity of German industry pointed a bad omen for the British Imperialists who were impatient at the slightest sign of an aggressive rival. The War came and it took five years of maddened warfare, 10 million lives, millions of

widows, numbersless orphans, carnage, pillage, hunger, starvation, pestilence and all the abominations on the Earth to destroy German militarism by substituting a still greater militarism in the Allied Countries. All this in the divine name of democracy for Allied Imperialist supremacy on sea and land.

Germany and her allies were crushed, their armies destroyed and their merchant shipping confiscated. This unmistakably eliminated Germany as the growing rival of Great Britain—but it did not eliminate a rival. This "monster" has now changed his country and we are told by the English Imperialist Press that a new Satan has arisen clothed in the Stars & Stripes, in the very heart of the new world to seriously challenge the British Capitalists on the High Seas. The British Parasites are right.

In 1914 the United States had a very small merchant marine, hardly any to speak of. Today we find that the American capitalists have at their disposal 12 millions tons of shipping. This number is twice as large as Germany had in 1914. Hence it is evident that the American Plutocrats during the years 1914—1920 built more tonnage than all the rest of the countries outside of England. America thus becomes a great power on the

high seas whose might cannot longer be discounted without comment. On the other hand British tonnage which was roughly 18,600,000 tons in 1914 now stands at 18,300,000—a reduction of 300,000.

The leading bourgeoisie journals in England are in actual panic over the sudden appearance of a new trade rival. Some capitalists doubting the ability of Great Britain to defeat this new rival are urging collaboration with American Plutocracy by a union of all Anglo-Saxon Powers. They are, however, in a small minority. The influential warmongers therefore urge more ships, more guns, more defense for aggression against any possible enemies in the future. They fail to see why they should bow to the growing power of the American Bourgeoisie without a stiff fight, especially so when they—the capitalists—never do the actual fighting. If issuing a call for "King & Country" will bring enough Henry Dubs to fight their dirty battles—then why give up to America—or why even collaborate? So the flames of war are being fanned not only in Great Britain but in this country as well. War—bloody war—is the very source and fountain of Capitalist Society. To talk of eliminating war under the Capitalist System is to throw dust in the eyes of the worker. War is indissolubly a part and parcel of Production for Profit. The capitalist knows no country, has no home or is capable of having one. His insatiable lust, his eternal greed, his unlimited appetite for exploitation in order to bring more dollars into his realms, this is the only tenet of the capitalist.

The workers have nothing to gain and all to lose. A war between America and Great Britain will mean destruction of millions of proletarians, starvation, disease in still more aggravated proportions that it is manifested in Europe today. Workers of America and England, behold the trap the master classes of both countries are laying for you. They want you to rush at each others throats so that you may forget about the real enemy in your midst. There is only one way—the only way of eliminating forever the curses that is war. There is only one way of destroying the miserable inhuman and beastly conditions under which the workers of all countries are forced to exist. That way is the destruction of the capitalist system of production for profit and the erection of Communistic Production for USE. The road has already been blazed by the heroic example of the Russian Workers.

On "Aiding Russia"

Chicago, Nov. 11, 1920.

Editor The Toiler:—

A few days ago I sent the following letter to the Chicago Daily Tribune. As it has not yet been printed, and as I do not expect them to print it, I am sending a copy of it to you and ask you to do so. The letter follows:

"November 7th, 1920.

Chicago Daily Tribune:—

Gentlemen: On this day of the third anniversary of the Russian Revolution, please convey through your foreign correspondents my thanks and gratitude as a citizen of Soviet Russia to the governments of France and England and their all-lies for the aid they have given within these three years to the counter-revolutionary generals Kolchak, Denikin, Udenich, Wrangel and other "all-Russian" rulers.

First of all these aids and attempts to crush Soviet Russia were the main factors which helped to create a strong revolutionary victorious Red Army. In the second place, the amunitions and uniforms sent to these generals came in very handy in due time, and the Soviet Government made very good use of them. Besides direct aid to Soviet Russia these attempts opened the eyes of the workers of the world to the real causes of the war and the brand of democracy it was fought for.

Kindly send my thanks also to the American Red Cross which is opening campaign now to aid suffering humanity. According to your correspondent Larry Rue (oct. 18, 1920) this organization helped the all-Russian ruler, Baron Wrangel with supplies to the sum of \$2,000,000 besides 500,000 tons of supplies weekly. As all the supplies sent to this champion of democracy has fallen into the hands of the Soviet forces I think that the supplies of the American Red Cross are also included. Anyhow with such a glorious record I believe the Red Cross will be able to collect other millions of dollars and thousands of new members for the aid of suffering humanity.

Thanking you in advance,

Respectfully yours,

M. A. STOLAR."

Industrial Management

By John Lawrence.

We hear a great deal about the conquest of political power as an event for which the workers must prepare. This is indeed an essential phase of the Revolution and cannot be too much emphasized. At the same time it must be remembered that the Revolution means the **taking over by the workers of the means of production.** This industrial procedure will be the backbone of the Social Revolution. The political act, the setting up of a workers' government or proletarian dictatorship, will be the means by which this industrial transformation will take place.

Taking over of the industries will proceed rapidly under the proletarian dictatorship, but the preparation for it **must be begun now.**

We see that the Italian workers have already taken over a large part of the industries of their country in anticipation of the political conquest or overthrow of the capitalist state which is being prepared for and will take place at any time.

Both are necessary—the political Act and the industrial preparation.

It is in the industrial field that most of the workers will be called upon to act.

Shop Councils And Committees.

What can be done now?

Let the workers of every shop organize in a shop council and elect a shop committee. Let the council and committee not only instruct the workers in the economic and political facts of the Revolution, but also learn actually to manage the affairs of the shop, **with the aim in view of assuming entire control and ownership.**

It is very well to be revolutionary but it is also necessary for the worker to learn more about his job.

Under capitalism with its development of machinery the average worker knows very little about the processes of production in the industry in which he is engaged. His own task is probably some minute and repetitious action, which he goes through mechanically and paying no attention to anything else. The actual management of the shop and knowledge of the production which is being carried on there are vested in the foreman, or

technical director, or efficiency expert. This individual is a worker so highly paid and well treated that he no longer considers himself a member of the working class, but feels he belongs with the bosses.

If we only study the experience of the Russian Revolution we see that these technical men whose work is necessary to production side with the capitalists and sabotage the proletarian revolution.

In the early stage of the Russian Revolution the workers tried to do without the technical men, and lacking the knowledge of how to manage scientific production, they made a muddle of it. When the Communists seized the power they paid these experts high salaries to get their services—the only thing they could do.

Preparing For Workers' Control.

This however is an extravagance and can be avoided by the workers learning now to supplant these managers from among their own numbers. This is difficult but it can be done.

Let the Shop Council take up such questions as these:

How are raw materials obtained? What quantity is needed? Does the shop use the best and latest type of machinery? What working hours will enable the workers to give best service? What is adequate compensation for each particular job? What can be done to stimulate production, encourage inventions, etc?

"What," you may ask, "are we to do all this for the boss's benefit?"

No! in a few years, for your own.

The Shop Council is not only an effective means of the workers bettering their conditions now. In this it supplements the Labor Union, and unlike the latter, which in many cases is controlled by a conservative bureaucracy, it may be controlled directly by the workers since the Committee and officers will be chosen from their own number.

The Shop Council furthermore will be the nucleus of the new working class government which will take the place of the present one and will be more like a democracy than anything yet known.

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"The Beginning Of The End"

The American Defense Society, the watch dog and spy of the capitalist class is sending forth confidential and urgent cries for cash to carry on its attacks against American workers. We wish here to quote one paragraph from one of its letters which has fallen into our hands. And we want every reader of this paper to consider the meaning of that which the capitalist class knows to be a fact and which it fears above all else on earth or in hell. To quote.

"The Red's next weapon is the general strike, the first one they win will be the beginning of the end".

If American workers would absorb this truth from their masters' mouth with half the willingness it does a great deal more, it would soon begin that which means the end of capitalism.

The capitalist class knows well enough the process by which it keeps the worker in bondage, enslaved to its will and power. It knows that should the workers get wise to that process the

end of capitalist robbery is in sight. For the purpose of keeping the workers from getting next—it organizes American Defense Societies etc.

As long as the workers are divided in craft unions, tied up to contracts and in an organization such as the A. F. of L, its purpose is gained. The workers will never know how to begin to end their slavery.

But when they learn that real unity can only be brought about where craft lines are abolished; when they learn that the battle against capitalism can never be won by sending one small battalion to the front at a time, but organizes into one united body with a revolutionary purpose—then the beginning of the end of its servitude is near. Perhaps if our masters keep on flooding the country with these confidential letters the workers may yet learn the way out.

Capitalist Propaganda

Since the beginning of the war, American workers have been deluged with capitalist propaganda. In fact, the capitalist dictatorship has allowed them little else in the way of reading matter, having destroyed most workingclass publications.

One of the favorite ways of getting this propaganda into the hands of the workers is to place a small tract in in the pay envelope. These tracts deal with many things, or rather with one thing in many ways, all calculated to show the workers that they must never allow themselves to become enamored of bolshevism, that the system of one small class owning industry and a large class doing the work is the finest to be conceived.

Special organizations have been erected for furthering this propaganda. This sort of propaganda has stirred the dregs of journalism to the very bottom and has brought to the top much that would never receive a reading otherwise—some from the pens of renegade "socialists", such as John Spargo, Charles Edward Russel etc. Societies, Leagues and what not, have been organized for the express purpose of spreading this capitalist twaddle among the workers. Of course it is paid for by the capitalists out of the surplus value produced by the workers.

But these societies do not stop with a little tract in the pay envelope. More than that is necessary if the workers are to be kept in ignorance of their real interests. Every division of our vari-

ed social system must be saturated with this poison. The school, church and of course the capitalist press, which includes most of the labor union papers and journals, are all made the vehicles and instruments of the plan of controlling the public mind — which, in reality is the working-class mind.

The school especially is made the victim of this vicious propaganda. Capitalism knows that unless it can get an early grasp of the mind of the coming generation its goose is cooked. The public school is turned into a factory for turning out a product sufficiently bourgeois taught and trained as to never turn against its poisoner. That is the intention.

One instance has just come to light which illumines the process. That it did not work in this special instance only emphasizes the universality of the scheme.

The "Better American Federation" of California, the Open Shop propaganda machine of the capitalists of that state attempted to propagandize the public school teachers of the state by giving each a volume of "Vanishing Landmarks", a book written by Leslie M. Shaw in the interest of the open shop war which is now being waged against union labor. For this purpose \$20,000 was collected with which to purchase the books. The game was too raw for the State Superintendent of Schools and he prohibited the distribution.

But now with the contents of the pay envelopes growing smaller, to say nothing of there being fewer envelopes, our dear friends, the exploiters will have to invent new ways to "educate" us.

THE PROJECTION REMOVED.

(A shop poem)

The projecting beam has been removed.
Mechanically I have stooped for twenty years to
avoid its audacious sociability.
In that time all sorts of human heads have come
in contact with its wooden wallop.
Right where I labored it jutted out.
All arguments for its removal went unheeded.
Now I am stoop-shouldered.
But this morning to my surprise the offending
projection was sawed off.
Yesterday for the last time a person bumped his
head against the projection.
I didn't see the person, but the carpenter told me.
It was the boss.

Frank V. Faulhaber in *The Liberator*.

PRAGUE.—At a meeting just held here between representatives of the Czech Social Democratic League of Railroad Men it was decided to organize a general federation of the railroad men of Czecho-Slovakia. This body is to unite all the railroad workers of the republic, defend their interests and look after relations with railroad men's unions in other countries. The new federation will embrace more than 100,000 railroaders. Neutrality in the fight between the Left and Right Wings in the Socialist parties was decided upon.

SEATTLE, WASH.—Superior Court Judge J. T. Ronald has thrown out of court nine cases against members of the I. W. W. charged with criminal syndicalism. The cases have been permitted to drag along against the men in the hope that some sort of evidence might be found to make a case that would not be laughed out of court, but the prosecution has failed and Judge Ronald dismissed the cases on the ground that the limit of time had been passed.

"If girls did not want to work after marriage there would be fewer marriages"—says an Associated Charities official. Yes, the high cost of making ends meet for two is responsible. Something besides socialism must be wrecking the workers' homes.

The Polish-Finnish treaty of peace has been ratified by the committee of the all-Russian Soviets.

The best way to judge the value of a book is to learn if capitalist governments have barred it from the mails. Several shipments of "State and Revolution" by Lenin, have been held up by postal inspectors, after being shipped from England.

As a preliminary to Philadelphia employers' war upon union labor, 40,000 workers in textile mills have been turned out. The employers demand of the textile workers that they repudiate their radical leaders.

The American Red Cross steamer *Yomiji Maru*, which is bringing 800 Russian refugee children home after three years' wandering, has arrived at Helsingfors. Its further destination is unknown.

Pogrom Agitation Directed Against Jewish Worker Revolutionists

David S. Reisz.

"If you don't like it in this country, why don't you go back to where you came from?" is an opinion often expressed by those considering themselves Americans. This question, this opinion, this command, if told to a foreign agitator, criticizing economic conditions, is but one of the learned-by-rote opinions of the average worker considering himself a fully privileged American.

Yet this same American worker will express his dislike also of foreigners in general. "Foreigners," he will say, "are willing to work for lower wages and so reduce the standard of living of the American workingmen."

It never occurs to the American workingman that if he objects to the immigrant who is willing to work for lower wages, then he ought to make common cause with the "Foreign agitator" who strives for higher wages, or even for more than higher wages: for the full value of his toil.

And conversely: If he objects to the immigrant agitator, he ought to welcome those foreigners who give greater service in return for lesser reward.

The treatment usually accorded to Jewish worker revolutionists all over the world, is similar to that accorded to immigrant agitators in general in this country.

In Hungary, (the country attempting the resurrection of Capitalism) just now pogrom agitation is mainly directed against worker revolutionists that are of Jewish extraction. This movement, however, seems to be so all-inclusive, as to comprise not only communists of Jewish descent, but also Jews in general, for "is not every Jew a potential bolshevist?"

Whenever and wherever a pogrom agitation is carried on against Jewish worker revolutionists, the capitalist Jews will issue a declaration asserting their loyalty to the capitalist institutions, and at the same time disclaiming to have anything in common with the "renegade" revolutionary Jewish workers. Such declaration is only to be welcomed by the working class, for it tends to make the class issue—clearer.

The advocacy of pogroms of capitalist Jews also helps to make the class issue clearer. The dispossessing of capitalist Jews of their property in decaying capitalist countries, such as the former Czaristic, now antisoviet Russia, Poland and Hungary, do not dishearten the worker revolutionist of Jewish extraction. The dispossessing of capitalist Jews of their property is a harbinger of the time when the worker will dispossess all capitalists, not because they happen to be Jewish capitalists but because they are CAPITALISTS.

In the previous article it has been stated that the interests of the worker Jews and of the capitalists Jews are diametrically opposed and that they have nothing in common but racial descent. It will be well that this fact should be noted by the non Jewish workers as well as the Jewish.

We cannot emphasize too often that the workingclass of all races, be they of the white, yellow, black, or any other colored race; be they of the American, European, Asian, African or Australian continent; be they of Gentile, Jewish or any other descent; be they of Austrian, Polish, Bohemian, German, American, Persian, or any other disappearing "nationality;" have equal claim to the products of their labor.

Pogrom agitation directed mainly against workers revolutionists of Jewish extraction, may be an attempt to make the non-Jewish workers believe that the paramount issue is race antagonism.

Those of us who know that pogrom agitation directed against Jewish worker revolutionists has a slightly different capitalistic motive from that directed against Jewish capitalists; those of us know that the paramount issue under capitalism is the Struggle for the Product.

When the struggle for the product—the struggle between those who produce and those who appropriate will be abolished; then pogrom agitation against Jews, against Negroes, as well as all other, national—religious—and race-wars-to-the-finish, will also cease.

On Earning Our Wages

By Jahn Lawrence.

"When I work I want to earn my money!"

So spoke, in tones of indignation and consciences rectitude, a young stenographer.

And I answered her thus:

"Before you talk about earning your money, you'd better acquire a little knowledge of economics to talk with. Do you actually suppose it takes a whole day's hard work to earn that little salary you're getting? The science of economics has taught us otherwise. It has been computed that in three hour's work or thereabouts the employe produces in value the equivalent of his wages. Then what is he working the rest of the day for? Well, an additional hour or two he works to pay for costs to his employer outside of wages — i. e. cost of wear and tear on machinery, cost of coal, lighting, etc. And the rest of his eight, nine or ten hour day? The rest of the day he is working to produce surplus value which goes to the employer in the form of profit.

These are facts that I'm telling you, not theory. Karl Marx and his followers are revolutionary in that they demand that this surplus must go back to those that produce it, to the workers not in the form of the actual products they make, but in the form of capacity to purchase goods. And where will the boss come in, you ask, when the workers are getting back all that they produce? As a profit taker, he will come in—nowhere. When the workers are sufficiently organized to get back all they produce there will be no more exploiters. The present employing class will have to either become workers or starve.

"But you say, the employer owns the shop. He must get some return on his investment. — By what right does he own the shop? Did he make it? — No, workmen made it. His only right is possession. When the workers have taken possession the right will be theirs. And bear in mind these two facts: The workers are in the majority, and they also do the work.

"So, my dear young lady, if it's only "earning your money" that's worrying you, you'll simply work those three hours I told you of and put on Your hat and walk out. and you'll stay out, too, for believe me, no employer would have

a worker around that merely earned his own wages and nothing else.

"Well, You have heard me out; what have You got to say now?"

The stenographer was silent.

The German Miner

By John Sims.

BERLIN— "We read what Stinnes said at Spa and know he was not representing us", a hard-handed miner from the Ruhr remarked recently to me at the Socialist congress in Halle. "We then read that the agent of the capitalists, Lloyd George, patted Hue, our miner leader, on the shoulder and said he was pleased with what he said. But we knew that if Lloyd George liked it we surely wouldn't. But it took us two weeks to get anything like a complete statement from Hue as to what really was said. We are no more satisfied with absentee leaders than we are with absentee landlords.

"We are already working overtime. The owners know that they can now demand no more of us. If they do we will strike. The same would be just as true if the Allies were to send an army in. We would probably strike when the move was made, and we would certainly lay down our picks at the first effort to lengthen hours or to force labor."

He knew what the Kapp uprising meant and spent three weeks in jail for attempting to organize resistance to military occupation in the Ruhr. He is also active in the works-councils where he knows how to ask the directors uncomfortable questions.

His version of the Ruhr coal problem is different from that of the French and of the German Government.

"The cry which is constantly appearing in the papers is that only coal can save us, and yet the owners do not take the necessary steps to see that production is kept at a maximum. At the same time we are called on for over time. Already we are doing a 47 hour week. We mine as much coal as there are cars at hand to fill. There is no real obstacle to having a larger number of cars. The concern of the owners is to produce just sufficient to keep prices stable and at the same time to keep the miner at long hours. They know, because of having proved it, that in six hours we can produce a fourth more coal than we do today. If

we were paid for surplus production or knew it went to help our fellow workers we would make the effort.

"They say we are well paid. With out increased pay we cannot live anywhere near as well

as we did in peace times. We are forced to choose between food or clothing. We cannot buy both.

"But we know what we want and the engineers are with us. One fine day if socialization is postponed the owners may find that their mines have been taken over by the workers."

"Ousting The Reds From The Craft Unions"

By H. W. Garner.

At the present time more than ever before, the yellow Traitors, commonly called International Officers and Organizers of the craft unions are crying about Reds, or as they put it, "sinister forces within our ranks."

A yellow labor paper published in Washington, D. C., and labeled "Labor" through mistake, carried in the edition of Oct. 2, an article entitled "Machinists Oust O. B. U. Delegate from Convention. Determined to purge organization of Red Rads."

The article states that no member of the I. W. W. or the O. B. U. can remain a member of the Boilermakers or the Machinists organizations.

Both organizations having expelled men from their conventions who acknowledged that they were members of the I. W. W. or the O. B. U.

The article continues "The International officers have made inquiries and found that the O. B. U. is the offspring of the I. W. W. Declaring that both organizations are made up of two elements, the impatient radicals who would substitute revolution for evolution, and the paid agents of employers intent on destroying the solidarity of labor and that organized labor has more to fear in the latter than the former, altho both are dangerous."

The membership of the I. W. W. and the O. B. U. is small, continues the article and neither could survive long if it were not for the support received from associations of employers through their agents provocateur.

I rewrite this article for the purpose of showing up a part of their program to blindfold the workers and thereby hold on to their leadership and more important, their salaries. I do not mean to say that all international officers and organizers are crooks, for some are as sincere in the cause of labor as they can be and yet hold their jobs. But

I do say that the interest of highly paid officers is not the interest of the worker, the underdog, and many of them carry a line of gab, intended to keep the workers in ignorance for they know that when the workers become wise enough to change the Industrial system from a wage and profit system to a system of cooperativ ownership of the industries by the workers, the workers will be the worker, owners and managers, and they, the officers, must then go to work, for no labor brokers will be needed. Now it can be plainly seen why these labor brokers cry out so loudly against the radicals or Reds as they choose to call them, for the progroom of the Reds is to educate the workers to the revolutionary goal of taking over the industries.

But do they really want to oust all of the Reds from the craft unions? What would happen to the unions if the Reds were taken out?

This question was answered during the steel strike in 1919 by the capitalist press, which is the official mouthpiece of the masters. At that time the press came out and told the world in plain words: "Take the Reds out of the ranks of the steel strikers and we have nothing to fear, we will soon break your strike." Ah, yes, thanks to the masters' papers, it told what the master was afraid of.

During the outlaw switchmen's strike they, too, were called Reds, I. W. W.'s and Bolsheviks. It is true the switchmen lost their strike but what did they do? They got an increase in wages for the rest of the railroad workers.

The wage board was soon appointed, when the rank and file took matters into their own hands.

I have a letter, which was mailed to we machinists of the Contract Shops, by the national secretary of the Metal Trades Association, which is the masters' organization in the metal industries. This

letter was mailed to we machinists in 1919, while we had an organizing campaign on. For answering the letter in my own language and for my activities in organization work. I got black balled by the masters. In this letter the bosses' secretary told the machinists "there is an active ten composed of Reds, Bolsheviks and I. W. W.'s who are persuading you men to join the union. Break away and be loyal to the Company upon which you must depend for your living". No business or labor leaders were mentioned, but the "active ten" was a Committee of workers who were red enough and had backbone enough to organize the other workers.

Not long ago I heard one of those spell binding yellow organizers deliver an address in which he denounced Reds, I. W. W.'s, Bolsheviks and everything that endangered his job. He said they want to break up our organizations. Oh, he had a wonderful gift of gab, but after the meeting he told me in answer to my questions that he knew that the very elements he had just been denouncing were the very life of the organization and that all progress that had ever been made in the labor

movement, came by the efforts of an active ten—the Reds.

He admitted further that ownership of the industries by the workers was the only logical solution of the situation and that with the proper leadership this could easily be brought about. So you see, in the hall he was talking for his job, while to me he admitted facts.

Now, fellow workers and comrades, these labor brokers have no intention of ousting any more Reds than is necessary in order to hold the labor movement in check for well they know the surest way to break up organized labor is to take the bosses' advice and kick out the Reds. And when this is done, the organization is done also.

But it is necessary for them to oust enough radicals to enable them to retain control of the labor movement and they will continue to oust a few wherever they think the radical element is getting too strong for their safety.

Now the way to prevent this is for the radical workers to organize within, that is, to get together and have a thorough understanding among themselves and act as a unit and be prepared to resist at all times the efforts to oust any of our numbers.

It is up to us to do this, for upon us, who know what the goal of labor is falls the burden of leading the masses to that goal and we can not do it unless we are organized to resist the attacks of the masters and also false leaders.

BERLIN—Merging of the Communist party of Germany with the left wing of the Independent Socialists, with the immediate goal of the socialization of all industry, was voted at the convention of the Communist party.

The Communists voted to avoid direct action in the sense of an immediate revolution, but decided to set going a vigorous campaign for the formation of shop councils, and the socialization of industry.

The merger of the two revolutionary parties will take place at a joint convention to be held in December. The combined body will form the largest Communist party in the world, with a membership of upwards of 2,000,000.



One Big Union



One Big Union

The Capitalist Press, The Toiler and You

The power of Capitalism rests upon its ability to fool, to lie to, and keep the workers in ignorance. This it accomplishes through its thousands of controlled daily papers.

Papers that constantly lie to the workers are not good papers for the workers to support. Yet they do it. The capitalist papers fool them into doing it. Because the greater portion of the workers are thus fooled into supporting these lying sheets the worth while working class papers have a hard struggle to live.

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The costs of publishing The Toiler have doubled within the past year. News print paper is more than 100 per cent higher than a year ago. We need your help to build up a PAPER FUND to purchase print paper. The question

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And action is what counts. Action is what gets us to where we are going. Action in this matter is what is needed now, right now. We want your help, we have to have your help if we are to continue publication at the high prices we must pay to get The Toiler out each week.

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My Own Shop

Some facts about Shingle Weavers and their work.

By Three Fingered Ole.

The manufacture of shingles is one of the largest branches of the lumber industry. In northern California, Oregon and Washington there are many hundreds of shingle mills employing from half a dozen to two hundred men.

The work is exceptionally dangerous and the cedar dust is a cause of lung diseases. Shingle weavers become victims of "shingle weavers asthma", a disease that has sent many of our craft to an untimely grave. The chief danger of the trade however, lies in the risk of losing fingers, hands and whole arms by coming in contact with the saws. Sawyers, knee-bolter men, cut-off men, knot-sawyers and clippermen run constant chances of being mangled in this manner.

Owing to the piece-work system that prevails in this industry the machines are speeded to the limit of human endurance. The machine sets the pace, the men keep up if they can. Day labor is practically unknown. When you consider that we must work with our hands within touching distance of the saws, at a terrific rate of speed, you realize the risk to our fingers. The shingle weaver who has not lost at least one finger is the exception, those who have lost several are the rule.

In this state, Washington, we have a State Industrial Insurance which sometimes pays us as much as 30 or 40 dollars for a finger. One of our boys just got back to work after six months lay off due to losing four fingers and half his thumb. He got \$350.00 and cannot work as efficiently as before, and certainly not at any other trade. The insurance is paid out of a tax collected from the employers based on a percentage of their yearly payroll. This method fools some weavers into believing that the State is their friend—until they lose a finger or two.

The greatest battle was for the eight hour day in the summer of 1917. Previous to this date the 10 hour day had prevailed. But in justice to all the boys who helped win that fight I should go a little way into another branch of the lumbering industry, that of the logging operations in the woods and also in the saw mills.

Up to within a few years before 1917 the workers in these three branches of one industry were as far apart as the poles. Only the weavers were

organized. The lumber mill men and the loggers were considered by the weavers as hopeless and unorganizable. They associated little together in spite of the fact that they were often living in the same camp. The weavers were a proud lot and more independent in action.

But the activity of the I. W. W. with its message of Industrial Unionism had been steadily undermining this separatist condition and at this time had pretty thoroughly saturated these three groups; to such an extent in fact, that many weavers held both an A. F. of L. and I. W. W. card.

The I. W. W. had succeeded in organizing the un-organizable. They had outposts in every logging camp, on every skid road could be met the job delegates—coming and going, going at the orders of the boss—and coming in from the employment office. The I. W. W. had completely turned these loggers and mill men into militant agitators.

Of the two organizations, the I. W. W. in the woods was the far stronger of the two and more revolutionary. The Industrial Worker, then edited by fellow worker McDonald, now in Leavenworth, did splendid constructive work just previous and during the strike which occurred in July.

Altho the voters of the state had renounced the eight hour day at the previous election, the workers in this industry were ready at this time to try for it on their own strength. The strike was called, the weavers going out first, followed instantly by the I. W. W. in the lumber mills and logging camps. With the supply of raw material cut off by the loggers, there was no possibility of the strike being lost thru the hiring of scabs. It was the greatest display of solidarity ever seen in this industry and within two months the eight hour day was the regular thing, and the men were making more per day than before under the ten hour regime.

Owing to the I. W. W. organization, we had an industrial strike and of course our chances for success were multiplied many fold thereby. The shingle weavers may thank this much maligned organization for the fact that we now work two hours less each day — and live all around better lives for it.