

The TOILER

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SOME PEOPLE ARE NEVER SATISFIED

Coal operator:— "Say, you ought to be satisfied with 17 per cent. Why, I only make from 1000 to 3000 per cent myself.—Ask McAdoo."

Danzig!

By Emil Lyons.

The workers of Danzig are defying the whole capitalist world. They matched their power against the League of Nations, and thus far have won.

Danzig was a German city before the signing of the treaty of Versailles. The four autocrats, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Wilson and Orlando, decided that the Poles must have an outlet to the sea. In order to give them that a strip of Germany's territory was made into a Polish "corridor," running to Danzig. Danzig itself was created a "free" city, which was to adopt its own constitution and establish a government of its own. Poland was guaranteed certain rights to use the docks and railroads.

Until the establishment of the government of Danzig through a constitutional convention a representative of the League of Nations was made governor general of the city.

The munitions which the Poles received for their attack on Soviet Russia were largely delivered through Danzig. When the Polish offensive broke down before Soviet Russia's heroic Red Army and the Poles were first swept out of Russia and then back to the very gates of Warsaw, all the capitalist nations, which had incited the attack upon Soviet Russia, began to rush supplies of munitions to the Poles.

Danzig was the port of entry for Poland. Here came French, English and American ships loaded with rifles, cannons, machine guns, gassing machines and all the modern machinery for conducting the work of killing human beings efficiently. Here also came ships loaded with Polish reservists from other countries.

All the aid which could be given Poland without openly flouting in the face of the workers of the capitalist nations the fact that such help was being given was hurried forward. And the port through which all this help was to reach the Poles was Danzig!

Naturally the capitalist nations thought that everything would go smoothly at Danzig. Had they not made that place a "free" city? Was not a representative of the League of Nations its governor-general? Were not French, English,

Italian and possibly American troops its garrison?

How could there be any difficulty in assuring the Poles the right to import munitions through this "free" city under these conditions?

But we are living in the days when it is becoming a case of the capitalist governments proposing and the workers disposing.

And the workers of Danzig were not disposed to allow that port to be used to give aid to the enemies of Soviet Russia!

But how were the workers of Danzig to prevent the Allied capitalist nations from using their city to aid the Poles? There was the ruler of the city the representative of the League of Nations! There were the soldiers of various capitalist nations! There were the English, French and American warships in the harbor! How could the workers cope with these?

They found a way. They took a lesson from the experience of Russia. They organized a Soviet—a Workers Council.

This Soviet declared that no aid for the Poles should go through Danzig. All workers employed on the docks and railroads which had to be used to move the munitions and men were ordered to strike rather than in the slightest aid the enemies of Soviet Russia.

No munitions or men went through Danzig!

England and France fumed. They and the United States sent more warships.

But no aid has gone through Danzig.

The governor-general says that unless he has twenty thousand soldiers to land munitions and supplies it will only mean that these will fall in the hands of the workers of Danzig.

Thus far the workers of Danzig have won. Through the Workers Council, in which the power of the workers was organized they have successfully defied the League of Nations and the great capitalist nations whose agent it is. They have used the form of organization which mobilizes the whole power of the working class and which all workers will learn to use in the struggle against the exploitation and oppression by the capitalists.

Hail to the workers of Danzig!

The Great Minneapolis Demonstration

By Harry Stone.

Over 10,000 men, women, and children, with fully as many more lining the streets, marched Saturday, Aug. 28., as a protest against government by injunction and Judge Bardwell's decision which forbade picketing the Wonderland movie house, held by unionists to be unfair to organized labor because it employed non-union labor — a decision which is a blow at fundamental labor rights; against the capitalist judge's sentence to six months in the county jail of the officials of the Trades and Labor Assembly, Linn Thompson, Leslie Sinton, Dan Stevens, and Bob Cramer; editor of the Minneapolis Labor Review, the Assembly organ, for contempt of court.

"We can't obey judicial prostitution" was the answer of labor to government by injunction. The use to which the State — in this instance court — is put was again made palpably manifest to the laboring people. The good Judge Bardwell was consistent — satisfaction was voiced by the Minneapolis business interests at brother Bardwell's sweeping ruling against labor and his contempt of court sentences.

A summary of the events leading up to the demonstration last Saturday.

Picketed "Unfair" Movie

Organized labor held that the Wonderland movie house was unfair to it and proceeded to picket the place. Cramer, editor of the Review published the facts and reasons why Wonderland should be boycotted. Stevens, Sinton, and Thompson carried out the wishes of the Assembly in the matter. The owner of Wonderland asked the courts to enjoin the unions from picketing his theatre, etc., and the dear judge proceeded, in a remarkable (sic!) decision, to heed his master voice, capital. The obliging judge issued an injunction which forbade labor from picketing the theatre, from combining to interfere with trade of the place, and from publishing anything from which the public might infer that the theatre was unfair to organized labor.

"The right of free speech, free press" — — Pardon! For a moment we forgot that we were in America—the land of John D., J. P., Palmer, Wilson, and—why mention more?

Defied Court Injunction

Organized labor held that the injunction destroyed the right of boycott and unfair list, struck at fundamental union rights (rights, we believe, which have been rights only so long as labor has had the might to make them rights) and that the injunction was illegal. The men mentioned above, at the instance of the Assembly proceeded to defy the injunction, were arrested and given the named jail sentence, or the alternative of a fine. They declared that they would go to jail first, rather than pay the fine and thus assent to an autocratic court decision. Minneapolis workers were aroused at this high handed act of the court and declared that they would do their utmost to support the convicted men and to prevent their jailing. The men were to be incarcerated on Aug. 28 and for that day the Assembly planned a protest demonstration to manifest their indignation and their feeling of solidarity with the convicted comrades. The paraders were to escort the men to the city hall, the seat of the county jail.

Great Protest Parade.

And on Aug. 28, thousands of workers, organized and unorganized, marched and defied the injunction form of government. Hundreds of members of the World War Veterans, men who had fought for the safety of democracy (for capitalist democracy, they now see) headed the demonstration with placards which declared: "We fought for democracy; now we're going to get some of it." Other signs read: "Six months in jail for our leaders. 30,000 others are ready to follow them;" "Freedom for class war prisoners"; "Why jail workers and not profiteers?" "Industrial Unionism Eventually; Why not Now?" "Divided we fall; We're united"; "We can't obey judicial prostitution."

When the marchers and victims of capitalist autocracy reached the city hall, the sheriff—wonder, was it but a mere legal trick or was it the evidence of labor's unity and solidarity of action—informed them that he could not jail the men at this time, as was expected, for the law gave him yet sixty days in which to collect pro-

perty from the defendant to pay fine. So let capital say. Somehow, one cannot but feel that the authorized lackeys of the plunderbund hesitated to carry out the court's decision only because labor had sounded a loud warning. The men will never be jailed, is the prevalent opinion. Maybe they will and perhaps they won't. Only the working class can determine that. Just now there is talk of a strike to prevent the jailing of the union officials.

Used a New Political Weapon.

Saturday's demonstration was significant. The workers paraded—not for wages and hours—but for labor's right as a whole. They felt strongly that organized exploiters were aiming a death blow at every right which the workers had struggled for so many years to obtain. They realized,

in a greater or less degree, that the instrument of oppression of the capitalist class—the State—was being directed, not against these four convicted men, but against the workers as a class. And the workers' reply was encouraging. The Minneapolis workers last Saturday grasped another political weapon, besides that of the vote, the political street demonstration. To prevent by their protest, the jailing of their comrades and fellow workers—that was a forward step. The hazards and necessities of life are teaching the masses the proper tactics to pursue if they would win a wider and broader life. Steadily a consciousness of class grows upon them, a perception of what might be if they would but exercise all the power which is theirs—the power to learn, to know, to organize, to educate, to run production and themselves for themselves.

Machine Guns Ready for New York Strikes

By Martha H. Foley

Last spring the New York Police Department held its annual parade. With immaculate uniforms, shining buttons and smiling faces thousands of policemen strode down Fifth Avenue between the crowds that had gathered to greet the guardians of law and order. Gorgeous floats, gayly decorated automobiles and aeroplanes followed each other in quick succession. The most interesting and significant part of the procession, however, was the machine gun section in which hundreds of machine guns were trundled along.

What does the police department of a city want with machine guns? Burglars are not captured by means of machine guns, neither are murderers. Surely clubs and revolvers are sufficient to quell obstreperous hoodlums and drunkards. Machine guns are needed only to conquer masses of people and in a country where the law is supposed to be the people's law these deadly miniature cannon seemed a strange contradiction. But the puzzle has been solved.

On August 29, eight thousand men, members of the Amalgamated Association of Electrical and Street Railway Employees' Union, employed on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit street car, elevated and subway systems, went on strike. They demanded only union recognition, nine hour day and continuance of the wage increases that had been granted them a year ago. Such demands

appear laughable at a time when labor all over the world is beginning to follow in the footsteps of the Russian workers and take over the entire control of industry.

A few hours after the strike was called, in spite of the fact that no violence had occurred and no rioting, an official of the Police Department made this statement, "We have arranged to bring over 150 detectives from Manhattan. We will also bring over the bomb squad, the strong arm squad and the machine gun squad. We will patrol the city with police in automobiles and motorcycles and we will give the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company all the protection necessary."

The same day an editorial in the New York Times said: "It is a pity that labor resorts to force for that makes necessary a reply in force."

The workers have never been the first to resort to force. For years they have been the victims of the most ruthless violence on the part of the bosses. If riots occur, lives are lost and property is destroyed in the Brooklyn Rapid Transit strike, whose fault will it be — that of the weaponless pickets or of those who brought among them bomb squads and machine guns? It is the bosses who are teaching their workers the use of force, and the militancy of the capitalists is creating a militant working class.

A Machinist's Experience

By Walter H. _____

Being desirous of locating in Columbus I came over here and of course the first thing a working-man thinks about is a job, so I scouted around and found a job at the Marble Cliff Stone Quarries at my trade as machinist. Well the next thing on the program was to find a place for the wife and kiddies to live; then go back to the town I came from and notify the Company I had been working for that I was leaving their employ, then to make arrangements to move the household goods to Columbus.

Well I got the job on Friday and the following Tuesday I started to work and worked the rest of the week or until Saturday of the same week. Saturday afternoon the Master-Mechanic came to me and told me he had orders to cut the force and that he would have to lay me off. I asked him if there was anything wrong with my work and he told me that my work was alright but he had his orders and for me to come out Monday and he would fix me up about my pay.

Now this quarry is about five or six miles out of town on a traction line so I inquired and found out that the car company issued a book of low rate tickets to those who intended to use the cars regular so I invested three dollars in a book of forty tickets which are good for thirty days, after which time they are void for transportation and no refund is given for unused tickets. I used twelve of the tickets and the rest are of no value as they are not transferable.

Well I went out on Monday for my pay and after getting off the car I had to walk about a half mile to the master-mechanic's office, he gave me a red card which I was told to take to the store-room to have signed, then take the card to the quarry office which was about three-quarters of a mile from there and they would give me an order which I could have cashed at the store. I went to the quarry office and after some wait there I was given a paper stating the amount due me as wages and told to go to Dellawese's grocery and they would cash it for me. This grocery I found was about one-half mile further down the road. Off to the grocery, arriving in due time, presented my order and was told I

would have to wait until Mr Dellawese came in, some more wait, at last I got my money — but I am out of a job altogether now and must hunt further for one — I may have to go to another city for a job and that means further moving expenses, Oh well, life under the present system of society is just one d—thing after another, this is just one of the many of life's little tragedies as practised on thousands of the workers every day, and until the workers wake up to the fact the job should belong to the workers such outrages will continue to be practiced on them.

They should also remember that they must have an industrial organization to back up their political action. Oh, yes, this was supposed to be an open shop, but one of the questions I had to answer was this; Do you belong to a labor union? If so what union? It was unnecessary for me to ask the company if they belonged to the employers association.

BOY scouts are being used as scabs in the English gas-workers strike according to the London Daily Herald. The news has caused quite a stir in the English labor movement and has aroused a great opposition to the boy scout organization.

HERE are some figures for lovers of capitalism to chew upon. The American Red Cross reports that the number of lives lost in the recent capitalist war was 9,819,000. War epidemics and economic blockades took a toll of 5,301,000 and the fall of the birth rate is estimated at 20,000,000. This makes a total of 35,520,000 real and potential lives sacrificed on the altar of the Great God Mammon.

INCREASE of \$1.50 per day is given to the day men in the Illinois coal mines under an agreement reached by the operators' and diggers' representatives in the joint scale committee. This will make a scale of \$7.50 for eight hours work. Nothing is said in the agreement, however, about how few days a miner shall work per week, this point being left to the whims of the operators and the alleged car shortage.

Carmen, Strike To Win!

(The mail brings us a leaflet issued by the United Communist Party to the carmen on strike in Broklyn, N. Y. We print it for the information of our readers so that they may learn the tactics of this new political party in the field of working class activities.—Editor).

They've decided to fight you again, fellow workers. They've decided that you are not even entitled to a living wage. They've decided that they won't even discuss matters with you. They want you to wait for two weeks, then they'll have all the strike-breakers they need and you'll fail miserably. **They want two weeks to break up your ranks and then tell you to go to the devil!**

You must stand together, fellow workers!

They are playing a dirty game, but you keep your ranks closed just the same. For weeks, they have known you were going to strike, if your wages weren't raised and conditions changed. **Still, Acting Service Commissioner Barret NOW has the impudence to say that he is going to begin to investigate the cause of your strike!**

Nothing To Investigate.

What is there to investigate?

You are earning only 52c to 62c an hour. And you are demanding 84c to 92c. **AND NO ONE DARES TO SAY THAT YOU ARE ASKING MORE THAN YOU ARE ENTITLED TO!** You know how the cost of living has gone up and so does the B. R. T. But the B. R. T. says it can't pay you a living wage. **THEN LET B. R. T. GO OUT OF BUSINESS!**

You have even given up the demand for the closed shop—and that means something to an organized man. But they don't care.

In August, 1919, the B. R. T. agreed to arbitrate all matters—but now it refuses. And Judge Mayer has the impertinence to want to be the sole and final judge of everything. You are not going to submit to that, are you, fellow workers?

The B. R. T. is not sorry you are on strike. The big capitalists have determined to crush union labor and this is the beginning of your fight against them.

Press on Bosses' Side.

Of course, they're working up the public against

you. They've got all the press on their side:—that's part of the capitalist game. So don't expect any sympathy there. And the police are on the job. That's what they are for—to shoot obedience into you. And the business men, lawyers and bankers of Brooklyn are getting on the job. That's what they are for, too. And next, the American legion and the militia will be called out, to teach you your place.

Two weeks ago, Receiver Garrison said he wasn't afraid of a strike. He made preparations. And do you know that those preparations were, fellow workers?

Mr. Garrison, the ex-secretary of war, knows his business mighty well. He knows the business of war and bullets. So he made provision for the strike-breakers that are taking away your jobs. **HE GOT COTS AND BLANKETS FOR THEM FROM THE MILITARY WELFARE LEAGUE—AND HE HAS TO GET PERMISSION FROM THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT FOR THAT!**

So you see what you are up against, fellow carmen.

You can't expect to win as things stand. **The power men, electricians and motormen are scabbing on you.** What can you do when your own fellows break your strike?

Tie up the whole System!

You have got to agitate among them to tie up the whole system, so that all the strikebreakers they import can't take out the cars. If the B. R. T. dares to send out any cars with scabs, they'll be in danger of repeating the Brighton wreck. And you've got to get help from the B. R. T. employees. For if you don't, the city authorities will manage to get the crowds to and from work and that will weaken you.

The longshoremen are on strike.

ALL YOU WORKERS OF THE TRANSPORT INDUSTRY—MAKE IT A GENERAL STRIKE! IT'S YOUR DUTY TOWARD YOUR FELLOW CARMEN!

Of course, that isn't A. F. of L. tactics. **The A. F. of L. believes in letting one craft strike by itself and other crafts scab on it.** That's what it is letting the powermen, electricians and motormen do

now. That's what it did in the steel strike—that's what it does in all strikes.

You've got to put an end to such methods. **YOU'VE GOT TO ORGANIZE ON AN INDUSTRIAL BASIS, FELLOWS, and have a whole industry go out when a single man is touched.**

Throw Out False Leaders.

You see how your leaders have acted. Shee wanted you to give the B. R. T. more time—**THAT WOULD ONLY MEAN TIME TO BREAK YOU. IT'S TIME TO THROW OUT YOUR REACTIONARY LEADERS WHO ARE WORKING HAND IN HAND WITH THE BOSSES!** It's time to put an end to all the graft that is taking place. It's time to understand that we workers are the only ones entitled to a living. It's time to see that everything is against us. The capitalists and all their hangers-on are united against us. They've got their police and their thugs and their militia, and then the government and the U. S. troops to use against us. It's time to see that we've got to organize for something more than higher wages and better conditions, that the bosses always counteract by raising the cost of living.

Favor Shop Councils

We workers have got to form our shop councils to take over the industries we are operating. We've got to put an end to exploitation. We've got to serve notice on the bosses that we're done with the present rubber system. But we've got to organize for it.

Elect a shop chairman for each barn. Have the guards elect a delegate; the motor men a delegate; the powermen, the electricians and all the workers elect a delegate for their department. They are the fellows who know what you want. They are the men who act for you. These delegates form a council to control the shop. They elect a committeeman to work with the committeemen of the other barns, and thus control the whole industry.

The Way Out.

THESE MEN YOU CAN CONTROL, BUT YOU CAN'T CONTROL THE LEADERS YOU HAVE NOW. If your delegate doesn't act as you want, you kick him out and elect another to take his place. That's the way they are doing it in England, in the shop steward movement. That's the way they are acting all over the world, to build up an efficient organization to fight the bosses. That's the only way out of it, fellow workers.

You may lose your strike, fellows. BUT YOU WON'T HAVE LOST IT, IF YOU LEARN THE LESSON THAT WE WORKERS HAVE TO STAND TOGETHER TO FIGHT THE BOSSES AND EVERY AGENCY THAT THEY USE AGAINST US!

We're with you, comrades. We know that the odds are against you. We're going to have our members call on their unions to support you. We are going to help you in every way we can. **YOU CAN COUNT ON US!**

All power to your shop councils, fellow workers!

Power is in solidarity!

All power to the workers!

SEVERAL thousand longshoremen, engaged in loading ships flying the British flag, struck work at the call of women pickets in protest at the refusal of the British Government to release Terence MacSweney, the heroic Irish hunger striker.

JOHN REED, who is affectionately remembered as the editor of the Voice of Labor, a shop propaganda paper formerly published in New York, has been elected to the executive committee of the Third International which has just finished its second congress at Moscow.

SOMETHING must be going on in Spain and Rumania. The Cabinets of both of these countries resigned last week.

ANTHRACITE miners in Pennsylvania couldn't go on strike because of the Lever Act. So they voted that "we take a vacation until the coal companies grant our demands."

SEPTEMBER 18 is the date set for the commencement of the general strike of British miners unless the Government intervenes and grants their demands for an increase of wages and nationalization of the mines.

COMMUNISTS of Germany issued a manifesto calling upon German workers to rally to the support of the workers and peasants republic of Russia and make the blockade of Poland airtight.

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The Badge of Honor

Two big and important strikes have broken out within the past week. The anthracite miners turned down the miserable 17 per cent award of the president's wage commission and tied up the mines. The workers on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit system took similar action in protest against an unsatisfactory decision by a board of arbitration.

A significant feature of both strikes is the opposition of the so-called "leaders." This makes the strikers "outlaws" according to the newspapers of the bosses, and the usual chorus of abuse and falsehood is heaped upon the heads of these patient workingmen who have finally reached the limit of endurance.

But the workers are no longer ashamed to be classified as "outlaws." For has that title not been applied to their bravest and best all over the world?

The railroad men who led the way, and for whom the term was coined, have not weakened in spirit after these many months of battle. The

organized workers of England boldly declare their intention to become "outlaws" if the Government dares to attempt to engage in another war.

The workers of Danzig, who halted the shipment of munitions for Poland, are outside the pale of capitalist law; and the workers and peasants of Russia — on strike against the whole capitalist world—recognize no law but their own.

So the miners and street car workers, who find themselves now in this worthy company, need not shrink from the epithet "outlaw." Let them rather wear it proudly, as a badge of honor!

What is a Union For?

A subscriber writes that his local union last week refused to pass a resolution endorsing a general strike in case of war on Soviet Russia. One of the arguments made against the resolution was that the whole matter was "political" and had no proper place before a labor union.

This idea, that a union must only concern its self with issues arising directly in the shop, is a quite common one among workers who have absorbed it as part of the teachings of the Gompers school of trade-unionism. This theory reaches over into more progressive unions. The I. W. W., even, is not entirely free from it. Nevertheless it is a wrong attitude, and one that is positively detrimental to working class interests.

Unions arise in the first place out of the instinctive recognition by the workers that their interests and those of the bosses are not the same—are directly opposite, in fact. While this clash of interests is most easily discovered at the point of production, it is a great mistake to think it is confined there. The class struggle cuts like a sharp sword through all departments of social life. Every enterprise of the masters is aimed, in one way or another, at the welfare of the workers. And when war is the game to be played their very lives are in the scale.

The unions are our natural fighting weapons, and we should make use them of whenever occasion demands. To say that they can serve us to get a few cents more in wages but not to save our lives, or the lives of our brothers in other lands, is a short-sightedness that benefits the capitalists and does the cause of labor an immeasurable injury.

The Open Shop Fight

The National Chamber of Commerce has completed its referendum on the question of the "open shop": the decision of its members going almost unanimously in favor. This national organization of labor skimmers means to wage aggressive war on organized labor all over the country. In many cities the fight is already on, developing on a wide scale and increasing in bitterness.

Here in Cleveland the tailors and pattern-makers are already in the midst of it. A half-page advertisement of the merchant tailors announces their determination to stand for "Industrial Freedom and the open shop." This means freedom for the bosses to close the shop to union men and fill it with scabs and traitors; freedom to push wages down below the living line, lengthen the working day and increase the speed; freedom to determine the conditions of the workers' lives while denying them any voice or representation.

If we are not to be riveted to a system of industrial servitude more hideous, even, than we suffer under today, we must fight back with all our power. The bosses have the advantage at the start because they are organized in a solid body. We must organize in the same manner if we want to win.

Get Together, Boys!

There is lots of sentiment among the more progressive workers for industrial unionism, and lots of talk about it, but we don't see anything yet that looks like One Big Union.

The I. W. W. says it's the One Big Union. So does the W. I. I. U. Independent industrial unions are springing up all around—in some cases two or three in the same industry—and they say they're the One Big Union.

And now the One Big Union of Canada is coming down to enter the field. It is the latest, as far as we know. But there may be others we haven't heard about yet.

Now, if we could put them all together into one organization, and swing in those fighting unions still in the A. F. of L. who are ready to line up as soon as they see something that looks like business, we would have a good start toward the real One Big Union. As we see it, this is what will have to take place sooner or later. The

rank and file of all these organizations would welcome such a move without a doubt.

The name of the One Big Union doesn't make any difference. And it doesn't matter much who the officials are, if the shop committee system and other safeguards are incorporated so as to put actual control into the hands of the rank and file.

There was a time when the I. W. W. men took the lead in every movement for the welfare of the workers. Why don't they take the lead in this?

The Picket Line

PRINTERS working on a Minneapolis paper refused to set matter for an advertisement advocating the open shop. This is a way of saying: "I refuse to load the gun you are going to shoot me with."

THE very fact that the employers are banding solidly together to put over the open shop is proof enough to intelligent workers that it is no good for them.

HERE is a safe motto for the labor movement: "Find out what the bosses want and then don't let them have it."

LABOR DAY:—A special day set apart by law for the purpose of permitting union men to come together in public parks to listen to politicians tell them how much they have done to them in the past and what they are going to do to them in the future.

DON'T throw your vote away. Save it for the workers' council.

WHEN the hard coal miners protested against the 17 per cent wage award, Wilson indignantly asked if they meant it for a "challenge." Well, the mines are tied up, the "leaders" are repudiated and Wilson and his wage commission disregarded. So it seems they really meant it for a "challenge".

A news paper headline says: "Harding works hard on Labor Day speech." That's about as near to "work" and "labor" as he and his kind ever get.

The Program of Industrial Slavery

By Emil Lyons.

The capitalists of the United States, organized in the National Chamber of Commerce, evidently meant business when they adopted their program of industrial slavery.

This program, which calls for the open shop, as many hours work as the workers can stand and wages that will just keep them and their families alive, was submitted to a referendum vote of all the local Chambers of Commerce in the United States and adopted by an all but unanimous vote. That means that it has the solid backing of the whole employed class. No doubt there is an understanding that the capitalists will stand by each other when they get in a fight on account of this program.

That the bosses are acting upon this program is shown by the issues which have developed in recent strikes. There has been a stiffening of the backbone on the part of the employers, and in place of following the policy of compromising and coming to an agreement at the earliest possible moment after the development of a strike, they are standing like a stone wall against any compromise on any of the essential points of their program to enforce industrial slavery.

Fight on in Cleveland.

This is indicated very clearly in two strikes which are underway in Cleveland. The patternmakers have been out for about four weeks and the journeymen tailors have just gone out. Both these organizations have had things pretty much their own way in their industry in recent years. They are both strong craft union which have enforced the closed shop, and wage increases whenever they have made a stand. Now they suddenly find themselves up against a fight against the open shop. Evidently the National Chamber of Commerce program is being put into effect.

These strikes and other of a similar character in other cities are but the first skirmishes in the big battle which the united capitalist class is fighting to put labor back in its place. The period of easy victories, which the workers won throughout the war period, is over. Unemployment is on the increase. Hard times are on the way. With the coming of the industrial crisis and growing

unemployment the conditions favorable to a victory for the bosses are being created.

Plan to Reduce Wages.

If the bosses put over their program of industrial slavery there will be a general reduction of wages and the eight hour day will go into the scrap heap. The good old days when the boss hadn't the slightest hesitation of acting his part of the czar to the limit will return.

How are the workers going to meet this proposition? Are they going into the battle against the united bosses a few companies at a time, as the patternmakers and journeymen tailors mentioned above are doing, to the beaten piecemeal? Are they going to fight as crafts and have their organizations smashed one at a time?

That is the kind of fight the bosses want. That kind of fight makes victory certain for them.

If the workers are to beat the bosses program of industrial slavery they will have to mobilize the united power of the workers against the united power of the bosses. The shop organization, shop committee and industrial and community council system will accomplish that.

The Way To Fight.

The way to begin the work of uniting the workers is for the live workers in every shop to get together and form a voluntary shop committee for their shop and begin agitation for a shop organization and a shop committee elected by the shop organization.

The shop committee of an industry should be united in an industrial council in which sit delegates from every shop of the same industry in any industrial centre and the industrial councils for the various industries should be united in a community council, in which sit delegates from every industry in the community.

With such an industrial organization the workers can meet the united bosses and their program of industrial slavery in a fight to the finish and win.

The struggle is already underway. The time for action is at hand. The way to act is to start work in your shop to ORGANIZE A SHOP COMMITTEE.

What's Going On

GEORGE HARDY, who recently returned from England, where he went on behalf of the I. W. W., has been elected secretary-treasurer of that organization. While in England Hardy effected the affiliation of the British shop stewards movement with the American I. W. W.

MINERS' Union No. 906, of Clinton, Indiana, sent a hot letter to Samuel Gompers in answer to his circular asking for funds for the Non-Partisan Political Campaign of the American Federation of Labor. After telling Gompers in plain language what they think of his efforts to serve the Wall Street parties, they wind up with this: "To hell with the 'friends' of labor—Labor hasn't got any friends!"

SOVIET Russia is sending a representative to Italy. He is expected to arrive any day and the Italian government has granted to him the right to use the diplomatic mail bag and to telegraph in cipher to Moscow. This concession virtually amounts to recognition of the Soviet Government.

EIGHT hundred and seventy-one workers were killed in industry in Pennsylvania during April, May, June and July. Some more of the "horrors of peace" under capitalism.

BAKERS of Seattle, after a fight since May 1st, have come out victorious and have established 100 per cent organization in the bakeries of Seattle.

ABOLITION of piece work is one of the issues in the strike of Cleveland tailors. The Journeyman Tailors' Union some time ago decided to do away with both piece work and home work.

GENERAL Baron Wrangel, the latest "white hope" of the allied bandits, has suffered crushing defeats at the hands of the Red army both in Kuban and Taurida. Cavalry has been used by the workers' army with smashing results against Wrangel.

FIVE coal mines in the Springfield, Illinois,

district are tried up as a result of an attempt of the operators to raise the price of powder 40 cents per keg.

ALEXANDER HOWAT, the fighting president of the Kansas miners, was granted a ten day stay of execution to prepare his appeal to the United States Supreme Court from the jail sentence imposed on him for refusal to testify before the court of Industrial Relations.

THREE thousand employes of the American Can Company on the Pacific coast are involved in the machinists strike called in that company's plants. The Pacific coast strike is in sympathy with its workers at Newark, N. J., where a two months fight has been carried on.

SABOTAGE has been brought into play by six thousand Japanese workers employed at the Osaka arsenal. Dissatisfaction with a new wage schedule has resulted in the inauguration of the "slow down" system. Government officials attribute this to a growth of socialistic spirit.

ATTEMPTS of the employers in the textile industry to force down wages by closing their plants have thrown 250,000 workers out of employment, according to A. J. Muste, general secretary of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. A general strike is being considered as a counter measure.

EIGHT-HOUR day, a two weeks' vacation yearly and substantial increase in wages are the major demands of the railway workers of Norway. A general strike is slated for September 15 unless these demands are met.

AT the trial of a Hungarian communist the judge exclaimed with horror: "Bela Kun at one time wrote that the proletariat has no fatherland." "Pardon me," suggested the prisoner, "that sentence is from the communist manifesto. Moreover, it happens to be true." At this point the hearing was suspended.

The Needs for Industrial Preparedness

(Reprinted from the Glasgow "Worker")

The Need for Unity.

Never at any time in our history has the need for an understanding among the various grades of workers been so pressing as it is today. Not only are all our wage demands being flouted, not only has official Trade Unionism been fought to a standstill at home, but behind the scenes the diplomats are plotting to embroil us in a new European massacre on behalf of international Capitalism. Whether the criminally-minded scoundrels who are engaged in fomenting this plot will hold their hands at the eleventh hour, or whether they will set in motion a European program against Bolshévism, involving the lives of thousands of better men than themselves, is not at the moment quite clear. What is clear is that the working class of Great Britain are in outlook and organisation but poorly equipped for protecting themselves from the gibbering insanity of the military party in Britain. They are handicapped by their old Trade Union outlook, which regards the industrial organisations of the workers as being purely organisations to be used in squabbling about wages and hours, and to use them for any other purpose is regarded as an outrageous violation of the principles of Trade Unionism as embodied in the rule book. If the bosses reduce your wages, why, strike like hell about it, but if their puppet Government proposes to grab the young men of the country and send them to be blown into smithereens on the plains of Poland on behalf of the most villainous clique of international financial vampires who ever polluted the earth, why, that's a political question outside the scope of Trades Unionism. We must insist that this attitude is at once illogical and cowardly. The workers' organisations should be used to protect their lives and happiness as well as protecting the current rate of wage, and the workers should be so organised that they can bring their full industrial strength to bear when any issue arises without loss of time. The less time we give the other side to draw up plans of campaign and arrange their dispositions in order to beat us the more effective will our action be.

The cumbrous weapon of craft unionism.

What ever else might be said in favour of present day Trade Unionism, it can hardly be said that its organisation is favourable to quick and resolute action on a large scale. The constitutions of most unions were elaborated during a period when the union leaders were just beginning to build up those financial reserves, now deposited in the war loan, or in some other kind of Capitalist business, of which the older members of the union are so justly proud. Any striking on the part of the rank and file was a hindrance to the fund-accumulating tendencies of the union, and the average Trade Union constitution generally consists of an elaborate set of obstacles placed in the way of a spontaneous strike. If a grievance arises affecting the workers in any industry covered by several unions, the constitutions of those bodies are so diverse, the agreements with the employers are so arranged as to expire at different times, the jealousies of the officials are so intense, that common action is almost impossible, and each union sets out in an unsatisfactory manner to try and get the grievance remedied on "its own."

Even within the average union it is difficult to bring the men rapidly into line. Before action is possible a ballot must be taken. Several weeks are lost in taking the ballot, and the employers have ample time to take steps to safeguard themselves from the blow which they feel to be impending.

The mobility of labour's enemies.

On the other hand the classes in the country who are opposed to the workers can generally mobilise all their forces very quickly in a period of industrial or social crisis. During such periods the State and the local authorities become the natural rallying points for all the defenders of the existing system. They can rally round them, as they did, during the late railway strike and immediately be given a part to play in the struggle. The workers on the other hand have no single body speaking authoritatively for Labour either locally or nationally. They have no rallying point at all, and are therefore but ill-equipped

to meet any sudden attack on their rights either in the form of a Capitalist attack on their industrial organisations or the outbreak of a war.

Each group of workers within any industry are isolated from other groups within the same industry, while a wide chasm separates the workers of one industry from another. The working class split up into separate compartments, without a common organisation or a common will, is an easy prey to its enemies during a time of social crises.

The advantage of workshop organisation.

If the workers are to be able to wage industrial and social war efficiently, then all groups of workers within an industry have got to be brought into the same organisation. While they are separated the resisting powers of Labour to any encroachment of Capitalism will be very weak indeed. The task is not an easy one. We are asked to overcome craft loyalties which have become instinctive, and widen them into the greater loyalty to class. In this struggle practice plays a greater part than precept. And that is where the value of the fighting Workers' Committees becomes apparent. There are Workers' Committees and Workers' Committees, of course. There is an abortion bearing that honourable name in Weirs' of Cathcart, which seems to think that its principle business is to prostrate itself before the management on every possible occasion. Such committees only go to show how deep the taint of servility is in the blood of some members of the working class.

The kind of Workers' Committee that we have in mind is a committee composed of rebels who are not afraid to break through Trade Union usages, and who are determined to link up together skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers for common action against the boss. Such a committee would be able to show the value of solidarity in practice, and could turn the workers' rinds in the direction of striving for uniting all the unions in a given industry into an all-embracing industrial organization, with its unit not in a geographical branch, holding meetings in some small smoke-polluted hall up a back street, but in the workers assembling to transact their industrial affairs on the workshop floor.

To-day it is almost impossible to get working class opinion and action on a given question

speedily. Some unions hold their meetings once a week, some once a fortnight, and some once a month. Those meetings are attended by a mere handful of the membership, the bulk of whom are never in contact with union affairs except when they are paying their weekly contribution to the shop steward. On the other hand workshop organisation brings the broad masses of the workers into intimate contact with matters appertaining to their industrial welfare, and assists in creating amongst the masses an outlook antagonistic to Capitalism.

The mere fact that the foundation of the organisation is on the job enables it possibly to call the membership together quickly under the leadership of the active spirits, when quick decisions can be come to. Under the eyes of his mates even the workshop belly-crawler betrays a glimmer of latent manhood, and decisions arrived at this way generally reflect the best that is in the workers.

The Industrial Union in the transition period.

For those who are inclined to pooh-pooh all attempts at better organisation, and who pin their faith on a spontaneous coming together on the morrow of the revolution, we would respectfully point to the tremendous part industrial organisation will play in the building up of a Socialist industrial structure. In the struggles of the Russian Revolution far too much attention has been paid to the part played by the political Soviets, and insufficient attention to the constructive work of the great Industrial Unions, who are possibly playing the greatest part of all.

We hope in the near future to publish a detailed account of their constructive work. In the meantime let it be noted that their structure is akin to that which we are advocating in this country. The following descriptions of them will make that clear.

"In constructing their organisation the Russian Trade Unions took advantage of the negative and positive experiences of Western Europe, and in the first days of their birth in 1905 they began to organise, not according to trades, but according to industries."

"The 2nd Congress laid it down that an industrial union is a union having the following characteristics":—

- 1) Uniting all the workers and employees of

a given industry independent of the functions they perform.

- 2) Having a central fund.
- 3) Having an administration based on democratic centralism.
- 4) Working out wage rates and conditions for all categories of labour within a single central body.
- 5) A uniform construction from top to bottom.
- 6) Sections within the union having a temporary auxiliary function only.
- 7) Representation through a single body of the interests of the organised workers and employees of a given industry before the outside world.
- 8) Persons not assisting production but assisting the producers, as well as all temporary and casual workers, remain members of their industrial union.

"The nucleus of the union is the factory committee."

The above quotations give a fair index of the structure of the new organs of industrial administration that the workers of Russia are building up as a means to working class control and management of production.

In developing those unions they have had one advantage over this country. Those unions were developed after the Revolution. There was no craft prejudices having their origin in the distant past to be overcome. The unions were built in the light of modern experience untrammelled by the traditions of a previous period of industrial development. But in this country the traditions of the coffin society craft unionism of the nineteenth century weigh heavily upon us. They are the greatest barrier to working class solidarity that can be conceived. Those craft barriers cannot be ignored by the revolutionist. They have got to be recognised as evils, and broken down by arduous effort in the workshop and the branch. Their existence imperils any revolutionary construction, and they must be cleared out of the way.

The Scottish Workers' Committees are appealing to the rebel elements to group themselves together for this purpose. The structure of the organisation which we propose has been outlined in the "Worker" of a fortnight ago. If you think it needs amendment, let us hear from you. But

for heaven's sake if you are a rebel who cannot agree with us, boost your own policy, throw your weight behind your own policy; don't merely criticise us for waking you out of a theoretical slumber. Don't criticise us and think that by doing so you excuse your own inactivity.

Vote on Third International

Proposals that the general executive board of the Industrial Workers of the World should indorse the complete program of the Third International met with objections, and a motion to that end was lost.

This question will be submitted to a referendum among the whole membership, who will be asked to vote also upon two alternative proposals:

"That we do not officially indorse the Third International's program, explaining to that body that we favor an Economic Industrial International."

"That we indorse the Third International with reservations as follows: provided that we will take no part whatever in parliamentary action, and reserve the right to develop our own tactics according to prevailing conditions."

The Third International's program, as outlined by its president, Zinovieff, includes: dictatorship of the proletariat everywhere; soviet power; mass-action; expropriation of banks, land monopolies and large capitalistic establishments and industries.

A SUGGESTION

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"No War", Says British Labor

British Labor's outcry against "War With Russia" has reached proportions almost incredible to one from America who remembers how all protest against war was shut off by the authorities there in 1917. Both the Daily Herald and the Labor Leader devote whole pages to brief news accounts of mass meetings held all over England, Scotland and Wales.

This insistent protest is unquestionable, spontaneous. From town after town comes the word that if war is declared, the workers will shut down the industry. This word comes from all sorts of industries—carpenters, tool-makers, blast furnace, military garment makers, vehicle workers; railway men, shoe makers, and hosts of others.

Sounding the same cry that has been raised in France, ex-service men meeting at Plymouth have warned the government that so far as it lay in their power "not a man, not a gun, not a sou" will go to war to help Poland.

"Labor has spoken with one voice; its opinion is unanimous," says the Daily Herald. "It is

against murder. It will not have innocent blood shed in the interests of the capitalists, and it will stop the war — it will stop any action, military or naval, complete or partial, direct or indirect, by war or blockade, designed to set the nations of western Europe against Socialist Russia.

"Labor has its general staff, its plan of campaign, and its certainty of victory. The blockade is an act of war, but it is war primarily against women and children. Labor is going to stop all that.

"Nobody in Britain—except a few cruel and unscrupulous politicians—wants war. Literally nobody. Nevertheless, there would be war — but for labor.

"The one hopeful and splendid thing in a world so largely given over to the intrigues and machinations of bloody-minded militarists is the solidarity of labor.

"The only power which can speak, and the only power which can act, against the world's greatest crime is organized labor. It has spoken; it is acting."

Where the French Rail Workers Stand

By Max Worth

European Staff Writer for The Federated Press.

PARIS, Aug. 31—Yesterday I spoke with an engineer on one of the roads leading out of Paris. He is the secretary of the engineers and firemen on the Paris section of his road, and was active in the strikes of March and May, 1920.

"Have you read the news with regard to the special congress of the British Labor Party on the international situation?" I asked him.

"Indeed I have", he replied. "Adamson and Goslin are here in Paris today. They are trying to have the Federation of Labor here take the same action for France as the Labor Party took for Great Britain."

"How will the railroad workers stand?"

My friend smiled. He is a man of middle height, dark, with determined brown eyes. "Do you remember what their record was during the last two strikes?" he demanded. "Then how need you ask?"

He leaned forward eagerly. "The railway workers of Italy, Belgium, France and Great Britain are in perfect accord on this point. On the subject of war, they will stand together. **There will be no war against the Soviets of Russia, because there is no method of taking soldiers and supplies into Poland except over our lines, and there are no trains that will run for that purpose.** Remember March: They issued orders of mobilization to the railroad workers of France. Of the sixty-thousand orders issued, there was not a baker's dozen of responses.

"The time has come when an order for solidarity, issued by the union, has more force than an order for mobilization, issued by the state. In the May strike they dared not try an order for mobilization. They knew it would fail; and they know that it would fail now! That is why there will be no war against Russia. The workers of Europe are tired of feeding cannon."

My Own Shop

Uneeda Biscuit Makers Need a Union

By A. Baker.

I am supposed to be a "baker" in one of the shops of the National Biscuit Company, but that is rather a fancy name for a man whose work consists of standing all day, with a long wooden paddle in his hands, shoving strips of cracker dough into a hot oven. It takes about two weeks to learn all there is to know about my job—after that it is only a question of getting up more speed.

The same thing is true of practically every job in the bakeshop; of every job in the whole plant for that matter. All the "skilled" work is done by machinery. This bakeshop—like all modern factories, I suppose—is operated on the "chain" system. I will describe it briefly so that you can get an idea of how many people have a hand in the making of the Uneeda Biscuit that comes to you in the pretty package.

The "Chain" System

First, the raw material is thrown by the truck-load into giant mixing machines and made into dough. This dough is then brought out into the bakeshop and fed into the hoppers which are at the head of the rolling machine. It goes through the rollers and comes out in thin, wide strips onto the endless canvas belt. On the way it passes under a set of dies which mark it off into the shape and pattern of crackers. Then the "peelers" pick it up on their paddles and push it into the oven. As fast as one side of the oven is filled, the other side is emptied of the baked crackers. These are put into metal trays and placed on another chain contrivance which carries them downstairs to the packing floor.

A New system of Labor Skinning

The National Biscuit Company has a system all of its own for handling help at small expense. The workers in the bakeshop are neither on the piece nor hour basis, but work by the day. That may not mean much until I explain the reason. The bosses have found out from experiment that nine hours is about as long as the average human being can keep going at full speed. So they established the working day at **about** nine hours, but they do not set any regular time for quitting

work. Here is where the joker comes in.

They prepare a batch of dough for each machine that can be finished in about nine hours if everything goes at full speed. Then they tell the workers they can go home when they get through with it. So in order to get away as soon as possible they hurry as fast as they can. They do not need any boss to drive them; they drive themselves and each other.

If you go into some factories which are run under crude methods you will hear straw-bosses bawling out the workers for being slow. But here in this up-to-date slave pen the man who is slow holds up the whole process and the others holler at him and blame him for keeping them late. The foreman here just hangs around to see that everything is moving; he regulates the speed of the machines as fast as he thinks the workers can keep up and then leaves the rest to the National Biscuit Company's self-acting system.

No Basis For Craft Unions

The producers of Uneeda Biscuit and other products of this company have no union of any kind. They have no voice whatever in questions of management, wages or working conditions. The Company decides all things of this kind and the workers take it or leave it as individuals. Attempts at organization have been made at different times in the past, but they have all failed for two main reasons. The first is that the Company has plants scattered all over the country and they can shut down one at any time they have trouble and have the work done in other plants. The other reason is that the only organization ever tried was a craft union of bakers, when anyone with half an eye can see that there are no such things as bakers here in the craft union sense of the word.

One Big Union is the only thing that will do us any good.

P. S. I didn't forget to mention the wages paid here. I left that out on purpose, because I am ashamed to tell you how cheap we sell our lives.