

# The TOILER

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Getting Uncle's Goat

# Reds On the Job At Machinists' Convention

By Maud McGreery.

That the sixteenth annual convention of the International Association of Machinists and Helpers now in session here in Rochester, N. Y., will be a stormy one is indicated by resolutions asking for and opposing changes in the form and policies of the organization.

Already, at the end of the fourth day, the delegates are split into two distinct camps; one demanding that the form of organization be changed from the present craft form to one embracing a larger field and taking in all metal trades workers — one big union of metal workers — and the other wishing to preserve the present form and protesting against anything that will tend to change it.

The insurgent minority, led by Jas. F. Friedrick, Milwaukee; Harry Mangold, Detroit; A. W. Juilan, Minneapolis; urges the formation of the Metal Trades Union to meet not only the One Big Union organization of the employers in the Metal Trades Association but also to meet the inroads being made by dual organizations to which machinists are eligible. The changing conditions in industry demand and the life of the machinists' union depends upon a breaking away from the craft form of organization, they declare.

## Insurgents Well Organized.

The insurgents are well organized and prepared to make a fight. Present indications are that they will be defeated in so far as obtaining indorsement of their plans in their entirety. Even the most conservative delegates, however, admit that the presence of the insurgent, radical element in the convention will force some forward steps on the part of the administration.

"You've got to hand it to those reds," said one delegate. "They're crazy to think they can get their propositions through, but they keep the rest of us from falling asleep and getting into a rut."

Some of the delegates who came here to support the administration, which is opposed to changing now from a craft union, are visibly worried

over the attitude taken by the local papers. The capitalist press here is attacking the insurgents, branding them as I. W. W.'s and Reds.

"There must be some good in those fellows or the capitalist press wouldn't be damning them," I heard a delegate argue.

Several resolutions relating to the constitutional provision that only with machinists may belong to the association also indicate that there will be a fight on this issue.

## Want Check on Officials.

Other resolutions ask that the consecutive terms of officers be limited; that the delegates to the American Federation of Labor work for the election of officers of the A. F. of L. by referendum vote; the establishment by the association of co-operative stores and factories by machinists.

The apparently growing resentment by the rank and file of all labor organizations against autocratic rule of international officers is evidenced in resolutions declaring that the morale of the workers and their spirit is often broken when the officers call off strikes and demanding that such action be left to a referendum vote of the workers affected.

The growing awakening of the workers to the need of more labor papers is expressed in many resolutions asking that the present, monthly, official publication be changed to a weekly or semi-monthly.

Mamie Gorman of Brooklyn enjoys the distinction of being the only woman delegate. She is a specialist in a Brooklyn machine shop.

This is the way to do it: Get a few true-blue fellows together and make a collection for the purpose of buying a bundle or two of Toilers for free distribution in the Shop or at Union Meetings. After you have given it away free for a few times the workers will become interested and be willing to pay for it. This is the experience of those who have tried the experiment.

# What The Miners Should Do

By Emil Lyon.

Both the hard and soft coal miners have had a taste of what it means to be left in the lurch by the men they elected to conduct their affairs.

The rank and file of the soft coal miners were ready to fight the strike of last winter to a finish, but they found that their officials did not have the nerve to go through with the struggle, after the government made its attack.

In spite of the betrayal by their officials many of the miners stuck and refused to give in. The Illinois miners forced the reopening of their case by an unauthorized and "outlaw" strike in the face of the opposition of both their officials and the government.

The same thing has been true of the hard coal miners. The strike in the Pennsylvania field has been fought in spite of the desertion of the officials of the miners unions. The rank and file of the union were ready to stand up for their demands after their officials had compromised and accepted the picayune award made by the government commission.

## The Fighting Rank and File.

Both these instances show that while the rank and file are a fighting bunch, they are unable to use their strength because they are betrayed at every turn by the union officials who draw fat salaries, but are not on the job and run for cover whenever a storm threatens.

What can the miners do about this situation? Is there anyway in which they can make their organization serve the purpose for which they are organized? How can they make headway in spite of the backboneless leaders of their union.

One obvious answer to these questions would be to can the officials who have betrayed them. But that is not so easy. There is a machine in the miners union, as in most unions, which because it is an organized machine, can usual control the elections. Also, they might find very shortly after electing a new set of officers that they were of the same calibre as the old officials.

Is there than no way in which the militant rank and file can gain control of the machinery of their organization and use it for the purpose for which

it was constructed—to fight the capitalists to the last ditch?

## A Rank and File Machine.

There is one way in which the miners can fight their reactionary officials and at the same time make their organization a real fighting machine in the struggle against the bosses. To do that they must organize a rank and file machine inside of their union. Such a rank and file machine would soon put the union in the hands of the men on the jobs.

The way to build such a machine would be for the men employed in each mine to elect a committee to represent them, or, all the rank and file is not ready for action, let the most courageous and advanced workers in each mine constitute themselves into a committee.

Such a committee would not only represent the men in the struggle for control of the union, but it would be its business to watch everything in connection with their work and correct abuses. They would be a committee of the workers for control of the mine as well as for control of the union.

## Combine on a National Scale.

The chairmen of the committees in each camp would form a committee for that camp. They would get in touch with other camps and form a committee for each district and these district committees, by whatever gradations are necessary, would be combined on a national scale.

Such a machine would be at all times under control of the rank and file—the men on the job. It would be quickly responsive to the will of the men. It could call a strike in a district or on a national scale in spite of the reactionary union officials.

If the soft coal miners had had such a rank and file machine last winter they could have laughed at both the efforts of the government to force them back to work and the union officials who allied themselves with the government in order to save their own skins.

If the hard coal miners had had such a machine when the pitifully small wage award was made, they could have quickly showed their disapproval and stood as a solid body until the case was reopened.



# An Appeal For Industrial Unity

By John Pancner

(John Pancner is one of the "Old Guard" of the I. W. W. Since the inception of the organization fifteen years ago he has stood in the forefront of the struggle, upholding the I. W. W. through all its vicissitudes. He served a prison term in Nevada and another in Leavenworth for his activities in behalf of revolutionary industrial unionism. What he has to say in this article, reprinted from *Solidarity*, is therefore entitled to the most serious consideration of all industrial unionists.)

The Third International and the Central States Conference of the Scandinavian Socialist Federation, both, plead with the I. W. W. to bring about unity between the anti-capitalist, or social revolutionary organizations of North America.

To prove that we desire unity, our General Executive Board should be instructed to call a unity conference and invite the attendance of the Workers International Union, the Russian Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Amalgamated Metal Workers and the One Big Union of Canada, also the Spanish Workers Unions of Cuba and Mexico.

We have nothing to lose and everything to gain. Our principles are so sound and scientific, that all radical elements must come to us. Our drilled and educated minority can control a larger organization than the I. W. W. is today.

If these elements scorn our call for unity, we will hold them up to the contempt of the Industrial working class movement.

It would be propaganda for us and might bring us aid to release our fellow workers, now being tortured in prison.

While our delegates from 500 at the General Convention seemed to be bitter against the O. B. U. of Canada, our Finnish paper, *Industrialisti*, is being used to publish official notices for some of the District Unions of the O. B. U. in Canada.

Fellow worker Hardy told us that the British Shop Stewards and Shop Committee movement was a two-card movement; i. e., a boring from within movement. Yet in spite of that we en-

dorsed it. If it is logical to have international unity with Industrial Unionists in Australia, borers from within in Britain, Syndicalists in France, Anarcho-Syndicalists in Spain, Cuba and Italy, and Communists in Russia, why are we so damned afraid to try to get unity in America? We can undermine the leaders of the fake Industrial Unions if we fraternize with their rank and file, but, as we are doing now, they use I. W. W. phrases to get new members. They are stealing some of the fruits of our hard work and suffering.

No harm can come of a discussion of unity with these elements, as every thing we do is I. W. W. propaganda.

## Proposed Unity Conference

Resolution presented to M. & M. I. U. No. 300, of Detroit, Mich., Aug. 24, 1920.

Whereas the Scandinavian Socialist Federation of America, has asked the I. W. W. to take the initiative in forming a real One Big Union;

And Whereas the Third International has called upon us to unite other radical bodies in America; and

Whereas we need the co-operation of other organizations in order to bring about the release of our suffering fellow workers now being tortured behind prison bars; and

Whereas, it is a well known fact that a minority composed of veterans like the I. W. W. can control a much larger organization; therefore

Be it resolved that we, the Detroit Branch, M. & M. W. I. U. No. 300, go on record in favor of a Unity Conference of all radical and economic labor bodies in North America.

And be it further resolved, that we send copies of these resolutions to the G. E. B. and the I. W. W. papers.

Fred Orr, Chairman.  
Aaron Weber, Rec. Sec.



# Auto Workers' Convention

By Ben Blumenberg.

The best attended convention in the history of The United Automobile, Aircraft & Vehicle Workers, has just been concluded. In addition to passing resolutions favoring the immediate release of all political prisoners and denouncing the blockade of Russia, endorsement was given to the co-operative movement and steps were taken for the formation of a womens' auxiliary.

The delegates, without exception, were on the job all the time during the seven days of the convention. Rollcalls disclosed no absentees. In fact, it would be difficult to find a more alert and conscientious body of workers than those in attendance at the Auto Workers' Convention.

A proposal for the transfer or interchange of membership cards between the Auto Workers and other unions was carried unanimously. This action, as some of the delegates pointed out, was a demonstration of the kind of solidarity that an industrial union believes in.

## Move to Unite Independent Unions.

One of the steps taken by the convention which may become historic, was the selection of a committee to bring about, if possible, closer relations with the large and growing number of independent unions in the United States. The discussions indicated that the auto workers are keenly alive to the important part being played in the labor movement by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, the Yardmen's Union, the Brotherhood of Metal Workers, the Millinery Workers, and other organizations.

By a large majority the delegates favored the removal of the general headquarters of the organization from Chicago to Detroit.

Officers elected were the following: President, Wm. A. Logan; vice-president, Hal Richards; secretary, Chas. H. Dickerson; members of the general executive board, Wm. Meyers of Milwaukee, C. A. Dickman of Cincinnati, Wm. H. Wendell of Toledo, A. E. Rohan of New York, and Frank Majchrzak of Grand Rapids. Five resident members of the board will be elected later by the Detroit local.

## The Shop Committees.

President W. A. Logan's report reviewed the re-

markable development the organization has had in the past two years. The greatest step forward, he said, has been taken in Detroit where the shop unit or group system is working successfully. There is one committeeman for every 10 workers employed. These committees comprise what is known as the board of administration which is the governing body of the local. The Auto Workers union was the first labor organization in this country to adopt this plan. Other cities are adopting it with some modifications.

In the reports of the general president, the organizers and in the convention debates, the fact was emphasized many times that the United Automobile, Aircraft & Vehicle Workers of America owes much of its strength and rapid growth to educational methods which in some respects have been original and striking. Action was taken to extend work along this line by a further development of the union's literature. The provision to increase the percapita tax so as to make it possible for every member to be placed upon the mailing list of the Auto Worker, the official journal of the organization, carried unanimously.

## Resolution On Russia

One of the gratifying actions of the delegates was the stand taken in favor of Soviet Russia when the following resolution was passed:

Whereas the people of the United States entered the late war for the principle of democracy and self-determination for the people of all nations, and

Whereas, economic pressure and a blockade is instigated by the Allied powers, of which our government is a part, against Soviet Russia, and

Whereas, such action is unjust, and is causing much hardship to the Russian people, especially the women and children; therefore, be it

Resolved, that we, the United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, in convention assembled, wish to voice our protest against our government taking part in such blockade or supporting such other nation or nations, which at the present time are waging an unjust war against Soviet Russia.

# Italian "Yellows" Rally To Capitalism

By J. B. Morgan

How insistent our capitalist papers are on the point that the workers in Italy were only making economic demands! Of course the editors did not approve the new strike method of taking the shop instead of leaving it. But if the employers were yet to come back into control, then there would be a new lease of life—and Capitalism would know how to avail itself of it. Oh, yes, anything in the way of reform, even workers' share in management (that's easy) — but no change in fact of ownership.

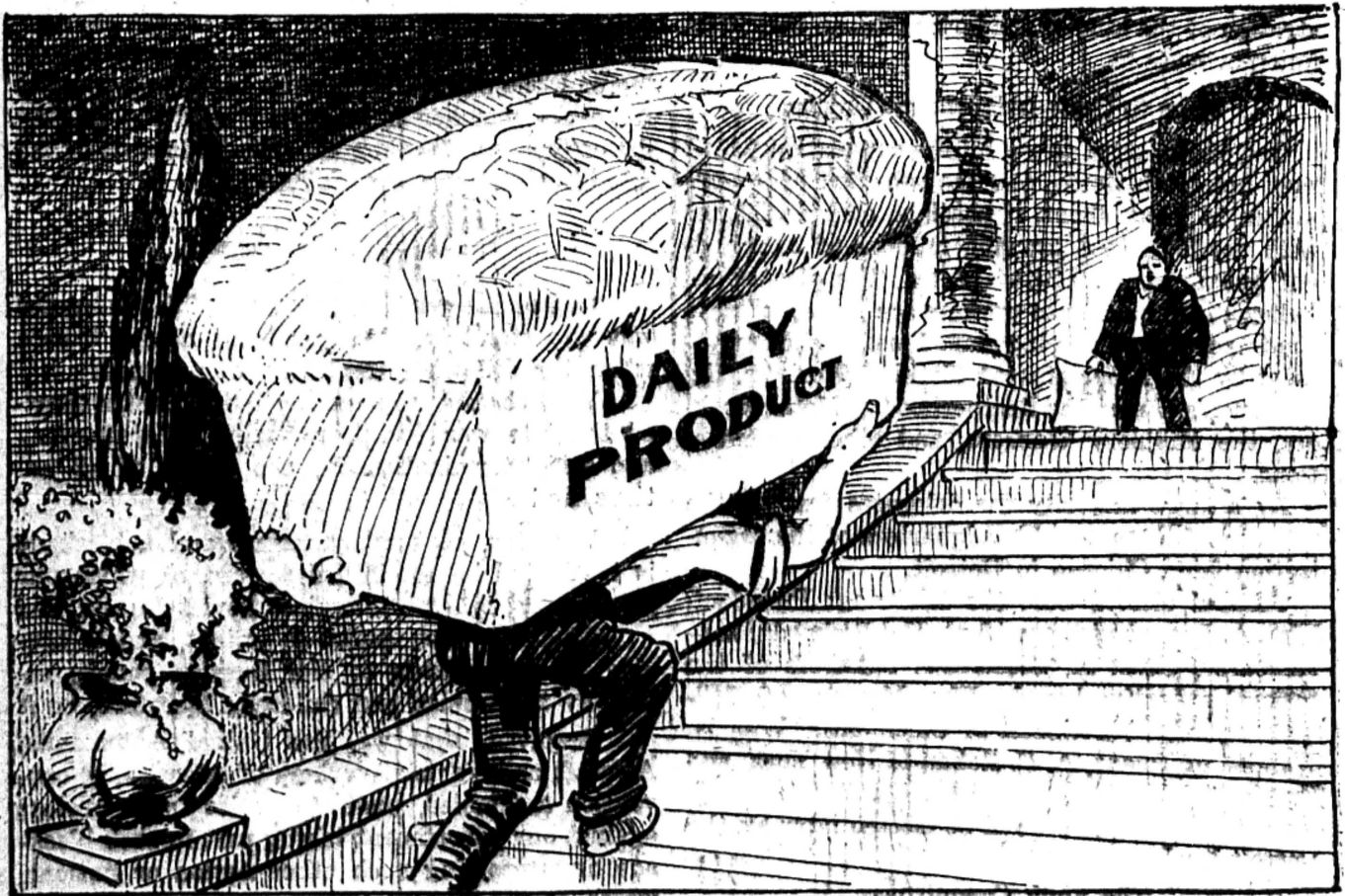
What happened in Italy? Simply another case of the Yellows selling out the workers' fight. Not selling out, either. Just giving it away, since it is the nature of Yellow Socialism and Yellow Syndicalism to uphold capitalism at the moment of crisis. Oh, how much praise there was in our capitalist papers for Daragona, Turati, Treves,

Buozzi and their kind! What leadership did they give to the Italian workers, who had virtually achieved an absolutely peaceful revolution? To turn the contest over to Parliament; to make the issue a question of "share in the management"—at the moment when the workers were in complete control! How these Yellows dwelt upon the "immediate difficulties,"— as if Italian capitalism would o'erleap all the immediate difficulties which hold that country in bankruptcy.

With the Yellows, the Catholic union leaders demanded "complete cooperation!" The workers would gradually become shareholders with the present owners — on the American plan!

## Communists Voted Down

What a tragic loss was involved in this worst of all Yellow betrayals will only be told by the



THE LOAF YOU TAKE TO THE MASTERS' HOUSE



bloodshed that is bound to come out of the confusion now rampant in Italy. The Communists were voted down in the decisive conference, by a 3 to 2 vote. They were betrayed by the Yellows who had been elected to Parliament on a Communist program, only to use their prestige against the very program to which they stood committed—dictatorship of the proletariat under soviet rule.

The conflict is not over, not by any means. But there can be no doubt that the Yellows will cause the workers to pay some of the price exacted by the German Socialists from the Spartacides. The Italian working-class will have to face in deathly struggle the Yellows of their political and industrial organizations. The capitalist cause, as in Russia and in Germany, will present itself henceforth primarily through the "sane" men of the labor ranks, the men who are specialists in handing out opiates to the workers.

It is even yet unbelievable that a working-class so thoroughly class-conscious, so powerfully organized as to take over the whole industrial life of the nation on the instant, so intelligent as to set up management which intensified production al-

most immediately that such workers could be thwarted by Yellow betrayal. But that seems to be the momentary outcome of the Italian revolt.

### Italian Capitalism Bankrupt

Costly as the delay may prove, it can only be delay, not defeat. Italian capitalism, even with the aid of the Yellows, is beyond resource by which to extricate itself from its mire. It is bankrupt and without real political power. The police and soldiers will not answer to its call. It will no doubt resort to desperate measures, perhaps calling for intervention of the colonial troops of international Imperialism. It will play up the conflict within the labor ranks. But on the other side, the Italian workers have had their taste of power. When they find they have been betrayed into illusions as to "co-operation" where there is no basis for co-operation, they will not again listen to those fearful of "immediate difficulties." They will understand that if revolution is not without hardships, it nevertheless leads to social re-organization, while the policy of waiting solves no problems immediate or fundamental.



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## Moving Towards Unity

This issue of the Toiler contains two important news items which should not be overlooked. One of them reports the election of a committee at the Auto Workers' convention to take steps to bring about closer relations with the large and growing number of independent unions. The other is the resolution adopted by the Detroit branch of the I. W. W. metal workers advocating a unity conference of all independent industrial unions in America for the purpose of getting under way a real One Big Union. John Pancner's argument should also be read carefully in this connection.

The independent movement of militant labor has already reached such proportions that, if it is properly knit together in a general industrial union organization, it will constitute a formidable power at the very beginning. Such a consolidation will infuse all the units with new life; they will gain strength from the amalgamation of rival organizations in the same industry and they will set out on new campaigns of organization, drawing into their folds thousands of workers who now stand outside.

Many important unions and groups of a militant character, still waging the hopeless battle within the American Federation of Labor, will pull out of that bulwark of capitalism and cast in their lot with the new organization. Other revolting craft unions which are not yet ready for the break will be strengthened in their position and will grow more insistent in their demands; while the reactionary machine will be paralyzed by the knowledge that the old betrayals and high-handed suppression of the rank and file will be followed by secessions and affiliation to the rival body.

The greatest weakness of the independent unions at present lies in their isolation from each other; their failure, so far, to find a way to make the strength of all the strength of one. Pioneers of the movement are alive to the constantly growing power of the bosses' organizations and see the necessity of meeting it with a consolidation of the unions for united action. Comparatively small bodies of workers, no matter how perfect their program and preamble may be, cannot stand alone. Nothing less than the combined forces of all the rebel workers can cope with powerful organizations of the master class.

A discussion of ways and means to bring about this unity on the industrial field ought to be an order of business at every meeting of the progressive unions. The sincerity of those who talk of One Big Union will be tested by their attitude toward this practical and logical movement to bring it into being.

## The Albany Lockout

The five socialists who were fired out of the New York legislature last spring and who were all reelected last week by greatly increased majorities, have once again been called up to the bar by the presiding officer of the legislature, given a lecture and then told to "get the hell out of here."

Such brazen disregard of the law and the constitution and the wishes of fifty thousand "sovereign voters" is another hard blow to those easy-to-fool working people who are confidently looking forward to the great day when they will deposit the majority of the ballots in the box and automatically draw out their emancipation from wage slavery. They see that if the slot machine is to be manipulated in this way, the slot machine revolution is not going to work out as they hoped and expected.

Some people regard this arbitrary action of the New York assembly as a calamity; "a breakdown

of constitutional government"—as though this kind of a government is the best conceivable. Others, who argue that the so-called constitutional government is a fake and a fraud, designed to dupe the workers while it serves only the bosses, are glad to see the veil torn away from the pretense of "democracy" under capitalism. It is difficult for the most gullible worker to keep on being deceived in the face of such occurrences.

Those who hold this point of view are elated rather than disturbed by the action of the New York assembly. It saves a lot of argument.

## Profit Sharing

A report issued by the National Industrial Conference Board throws a searchlight on the subject of profit sharing. From 1870 to 1896 of all the profit sharing schemes, 76% were abandoned after average trial of two to three years.

In the main, profit sharing is a device used to avoid higher wage scales during high prosperity periods, and the enthusiasm for sharing profits goes down as the profits slip a notch. It is better to pay the wages in this indirect form, with all the bunk that goes with it, and to let wages alone. In other words, the workers are given a tip to make them bow and scrape more willingly; but the share of profits added to the regular wages is, for the most part, what is needed to bring the wages up to a living standard.

## A "Model" Child Labor Law

Illinois is one of the states with a "model" child labor law. It is very fine—in print. As a matter of fact, in Chicago alone, 28,000 children are now at work, 4,000 more than ever before.

All the labor legislation in the world can make no difference until a blow is struck at the fundamental vice, the profit system. There are always enough exceptions in every child labor law to allow the families of the workers to save themselves from starvation by sending the children to work, and the capitalists are constantly busy holding down wages and forcing up prices so that it becomes absolutely necessary for the children to give up school and go to work.

## Middle Class Union

The "middle class union" idea, started in England, is going the rounds. However, the Belgians are not so hypocritical about their intentions as the English. The Belgian Middle Class Union is being organized in 12 departments, corresponding to various public-utility industries and training is being given for strike-breaker service.

An application was made, a little while back, for incorporation under the New York laws, of a Middle Class Union. No doubt the art of strike-breaking will be developed in this country as highly as anywhere else, or more so. But strike-breaking is not of much account when the workers act on a general class basis.

Particularly is the propaganda being directed against strikes by public-utility workers. Why should these workers, the public slaves, be on a different basis from others? It is very easy, after all, to declare any industry a public utility under emergencies, as was done during the war. And then all the workers will find themselves public slaves. One United Working-Class Union is what is needed.

## "Better American Federation"

In California, as part of the nation-wide movement of the employers against the union shop and against any legislative restrictions in dealing with the workers, has been organized the "Better American Federation." The program is: to have the age of compulsory education reduced from 16 to 14; to abolish the 8-hr. day; to abolish the minimum wage law for women; to get rid of the law against night work for women and for mine-workers, because it "denies them equal opportunity;" to abolish collective bargaining.

A highly organized and heavily financed open shop movement is now established in 76 cities.

It doesn't sound "loyal" or "patriotic," but somebody will have to take up the fight against "Americanization." Maybe we shall soon be hearing more of loyalty by the American workers to the working class of this country and of the world.



# Long Live The Outlaw Switchmen!

By James Patrick

After many months of hard battling against the combined forces of the railroad corporations, the Government and the craft union officialdom, the "outlaw" switchmen in several cities have voted to call off their strike and go back to work, forfeiting their seniority rights and failing to gain the formal recognition of their demands. At first view the result appears to be a victory for the railroads, their government and their "labor lieutenants", and a defeat for the brave workers who defied them; but they who look beneath the surface and measure this great and heroic endeavor by the yardstick of revolutionary progress, will read a different story.

If we accept the view of the Gompers school of unionism that trade unions exist only for the purpose of holding the ground that has already been gained and that "collective bargaining" is the summit of our hopes, we must measure the success or failure of a strike by the definite and concrete results directly achieved. On the other hand, if we look upon the organized labor movement as machinery for revolution, strikes become to us as preliminary skirmishes wherein we try out our strength, lay bare to ourselves our own weakness and learn by the penalty suffered to throw them off. This latter is the view-point of labor's vanguard all over the world and from this angle we can now calmly examine this strike of the switchmen; count up our gains and losses; take to heart the lessons driven home by it and prepare for another struggle on a larger scale.

## The Curse Of Craft Unionism

The strike of the outlaw switchmen brought out in bold relief the curse of craft unionism. These strikers had not only to contend with the crooked and conservative officers of their own Unions who shamelessly sold them out to the bosses, but they were hamstrung by the infamous practice which authorized other bodies of union men, whose interests and whose sympathies were one with theirs, to remain at work and thus become, in effect, strike breakers. Every worker on the railroads who stuck to the job during the period of this strike was acting as an ally of the bosses and an enemy of his own

class. It does not remedy the situation to say that he had a union card in his pocket—that only made him a union scab. The man who is about to be hung will not be comforted by the knowledge that the rope bears the union label.

One result of this strike ought to be, and will be, a mighty stimulant to industrial unionism throughout the transportation industry. What better object lesson could be given for the need of one union on the railroads? To get the One Big Union idea planted in the minds of railroad men, and to see the beginning of organization on this line actually under way, is worth "losing" a dozen strikes. Such defeats will lead us on to victory.

## The Government At Work

It is safe to say that the switchmen know a great deal more now about the nature of the government than they did at the outset of the revolt. Many of them had served it in the recent world slaughter engineered by the exploiters of labor; more of them helped it by "hitting the ball" a little harder on the job—all with the idea that the government really represented them; that it was their friend and protector. Consequently it scarcely occurred to them that when the time came for them to fight for bread they would find this powerful instrument of physical force arrayed against them. How quickly they were disillusioned! Arrests, indictments and intimidation confronted them at every turn. Their natural leaders—forceful, honest men who sprang up out of the ranks to place the criminals who betrayed them—were hounded and persecuted and denounced by Attorney-General Palmer and his army of bloodhounds. The wage commission, appointed by President Wilson under pressure of the strike, ignored the real union of the workers' choice—The Yardmen's Association—and negotiated exclusively with the traitor organizations, the Switchmen's union and the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Experience is the best teacher, says the old proverb. Here is experience enough to teach a lesson about the government that should never be forgotten by those who came in direct conflict with it. They have seen it in action, stripped of all pretense, and openly serving the bosses against

the workers. Is it not reasonable to assume that these workers will adopt the view that the government belongs to the bosses and not to them?

The two obvious lessons of the strike which have been here pointed out will be brought home not to the strikers alone, but to the other workers who have watched their struggle with sympathetic interest. This brings us to another aspect of the situation, perhaps the most important of all, the influence of their example on the working class as a whole. In the coming final show-down between capital and labor, toward which we are moving with the speed of a hurricane, we will have need of clear thinking; we will be foredoomed to failure unless, out of the experience gained in these preliminary skirmishes, we learn how to cast off the false ideas and self-deceptions with which we have fettered ourselves in the past.

### Building Up Labor Morale.

But more than all we will have to build up within ourselves the fighting spirit, the morale of battle, that alone will bear us up through delays and disappointments and bitter defeats to the final victory. Herein lies the great service that these heroic yardmen have rendered. For by their long months of stubborn conflict against insuperable odds, by their bold defiance of the master class and all of its agencies, they have inspired thousands outside their own ranks and have demonstrated once again the truth of the communist claim that the workers are the salt of the earth; the class that is destined to conquer. The working class of America, constantly being forced into action by the pressure of conditions imposed upon them and stimulated by such splendid precedents as the yardmen have set, will finally become impregnated with the same courage and solidarity. Then they will confront American capitalism with a battle line that will be invincible.

As the campaign of the revolting railroad workers now shifts from the open strike to the less dramatic, but equally important, task of quiet and persistent effort to build up an industrial union embracing all railroad workers, we can give expression here to the sentiment that lies deep in the hearts of all the workers who have drawn from their example a stronger courage and a higher inspiration:

The outlaw switchmen's strike is dead!  
Long live the outlaw switchmen!

## Loafing On the Job

Any person would think, to read the capitalist press, that the workers are all loafing on the job and this is the reason for high prices and lack of needed goods. Especially is this true of the stories concerning coal production.

The fact is that since 1901 there has been an increase in coal production, in the United States, of 405 tons per man. For 1918 the average was 1134 tons per man, the highest in history. This is far higher than other countries, because we have not yet reached the stage of intensive mining. There is tremendous wastage in our mining, because of the greed for quick and easy profits and because of the unwillingness to put private capital into plants at the mines to convert the coal into electric power without transportation. Private industry hangs on to old plants, methods and machinery as long as these pay profits, particularly when combinations have been perfected against competition, as is now quite generally the case.

Capitalism is making the world loaf on the job of scientific production.

## Kansas Justice

Workers out in Kansas were rounded up as "suspects." They were put in jail "awaiting trial." They stayed there a year and two months "awaiting trial."

They were not proven guilty of any crime whatever. Legally they were as innocent as the attorney general.

They were put in a prison, the middle part of which is called the "bull pen." The floor of the pen is of sheet metal; the ceiling the same. In hot weather, the place boils. Anything striking the metal makes a fearful sound through the whole pen. The shoes of prisoners walking up and down make a nerve-racking noise. A tin cup dropped on the floor makes one jump as if shot.

Some of the prisoners have gone insane. They were only "awaiting trial" in a prison that the State considers proper for American workmen in the year 1920.

# In Again -- Out Again

By Paul Wagner

The five Socialists who were fired out of the New York assembly some time ago, were re-elected recently at a special election.

They traveled up to Albany the other day, took their seats, sat in them one day and out they went. Three of them were fired out again and the other two resigned because the three were fired out.

Let's go back to the beginning of this affair for a minute. You'll remember that when these five assemblymen were on trial before they were fired out the first time, all the legal talent of the Socialist Party, and some good tricksters from outside of it, did their level best to beat that part of the capitalist state, which does business at Albany, so that the five Socialists could retain their seats. Every principle the Socialist Party stood for was denied by the Socialist Party legal lights at this trial. These legal lights wanted to prove that the party was everything the capitalist politicians wanted it to be—and they did this for five lousy assembly seats.

Then came the special election and the same five Socialists were again elected to the assembly. The names of these five are De Witt, Orr, Waldman, Claessens and Solomon. Please remember these names, because things are happening at lighting speed in the world these days and chances are that these gents will soon be leading white guards to down organized fighters like those in West Virginia and elsewhere.

## Socialist Party Abandoned Principles

They were again elected. They went to Albany, sat one day and then the same capitalist politicians said to them: "Whereas the said Louis Waldman, August Claessens and Charles Solomon were found to be ineligible to sit as members of this Assembly because of reasons of a disqualifying character personal to themselves and apart from the consequence of mere membership in the Socialist Party of America, which at that time was found by this Assembly to be a group or party advocating and committed to purposes and policies violating in essential particulars the necessary qualifications of loyalty to State and Nation, but (and now get this right) . . . . . but which said

Socialist Party of America HAS SINCE THE AFORESAID ACTION OF THIS ASSEMBLY, ACCORDING TO INFORMATION FURNISHED TO THIS ASSEMBLY BY THE SPEAKER THEREOF, ABANDONED THE ADVOCACY OF SUCH PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES; now therefore be it resolved etc. etc. . . . . that the three above mentioned be expelled."

A question: Who gave the assembly information that the Socialist Party had abandoned the principles for which the five assemblymen were first expelled? Did the national secretary of the S. P. inform the New York assembly that such action was taken at the May national convention of the S. P., in order that S. P. office seekers might slip into their political seats and stay put? God, how cheap the Socialist Party does hold its principles,—bartering them for five seats in a dirty parliamentary body.

## De Witt "Helped The Government"

But the worst is yet to come, friends. Listen to this.

When the resolution to expel three of the five Socialist assemblymen the second time was being discussed, one of them, De Witt, said the following: "I have worked in an ammunition plant during the war to help the Government and the Socialist Party took no action against me. On the contrary, it nominated me for the assembly, thereby showing its tolerance."

Jimminy crickets, boys! Get that!

And this same fake revolutionist, who claims to be an elector of a workers' party, got all excited and spilled more beans in this wise: Cried he with pride written all over his face "I did more than that. I sold Liberty Bonds and I sold more Liberty Bonds than there were glasses of beer sold over the bar of your saloon", and then he pointed at McCue, a saloonkeeper-assemblyman.

And all this did not save them. Solomon, Claessens and Waldman were again expelled, and thereupon, DeWitt and Orr resigned.

Suggestion: An immediate amendment to the Socialist Party platform to the effect that some of its public officials sold more Liberty Bonds than saloon-keepers sell glasses of beer over their bars.



# Strikes and the Revolutionary Struggle

By Harry Stone

When the railroad workers were recently awarded an increase in wages, many of them, though not entirely satisfied with the slight increase, nevertheless felt that the problem of securing a decent living for themselves had once again been fairly well solved. When it was pointed out to them, however, that the increase in wages was more than offset by the augmented rates, some felt dubious about the increase, but others declared that they did not care, for it was the "Public", not they, who would foot the cost. The master class has done its work well. With the workers and capitalists, composing the "Public", yet Capital has managed to cause millions of workers to believe that the worker in the shop is person entirely distinct from the worker out of the shop. It is time we were done with such arrant humbug as a third element in society, the "Public". There is a working class, which is the vast majority of the whole of society and the capitalist class, the numerically insignificant portion of society, and their interests—since one is the exploited and the other the exploiter—are positively opposed to each other.

## "The Iron Law of Wages"

But to return to the wages question. As with the railroad men, so with all other workers—wages only go up after there has been an increase in the cost of living. The workers, in fact struggle to maintain their traditional standard of living. Here and there, individuals raise their standard, but as a class, the workers receive only enough to maintain themselves and to reproduce their kind—that there may be more grist for the mill. It was a bourgeois economist, Ricardo, who formulated the "Iron Law of Wages" as the amount essential for existence. Wages fluctuate above and below the level of existence, but over a period of time, we find that the workers get only enough to live on from day to day. Just so long as the system of exploitation, of robbery, lasts, just so long will the workers have to struggle to obtain wages sufficient even for existence. Capitalism is run for the benefit of the Capitalists, not for the workers. If the workers wish to get more of the better things of life, they must act not merely in the every day struggle for life, but for the overthrow of a system of pillage and plunder and for

the establishment of a government of workers only.

To some, it may seem that, since the workers are unable to gain any material advantage through their struggle for higher wages and shorter hours, it would be far better to abandon the every day struggle for existence and concentrate all energies to abolish the wages system. This is not possible. The fight for daily bread is a part of the class struggle even as is the battle for all power to the workers. It is not a matter of liking. The workers must fight on the industrial field the battle of wages and hours. On the political field—meaning by this the various means, such as the political mass strike for example, used to obtain political supremacy—only the revolutionary struggle must be waged.

## The Wage Struggle Makes For Rebels

To abandon the wages struggle would mean to weaken the stamina and morale of the working class. To submit without a fight to the constant encroachments of capital upon the working class would result in a weak and craven working class, a body of fearful and timid slaves. And one cannot expect revolutionary action from workers with a slave morale. But rebellious slave is the hope of the world. And therein lays the special value of the wages and hours conflict to the revolutionary movement. The wages struggle makes for rebels. In the fight, the workers are aroused. The brains and brawn of the workers are matched against the brains and brawn of the capitalists. The militant energies which are needed to overthrow the robbers' rule are generated in the struggle for bread.

It is for the class conscious workers to point out to the masses that no permanent benefits can be gained by a purely wages and hours objective and they must explain why this is so. They must endeavor to permeate the workers' minds with revolutionary ideals and to direct as quickly as possible the struggles of the workers into revolutionary channels. The poisonous slogan, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work", must be "relegated to the Museum of antiquities", and in its place, the workers must inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wages system."

# The War In West Virginia

By Paul Hanna,

Staff Correspondent for the Federated Press.

Against a rock by the road where the spring run crosses, a lean-faced boy was standing as I passed. His ancestors were famous, and dreaded by their enemies, long before coal came to light in these mountains. They carried long-barreled rifles and could read the code of every leaf that rustled in the dark.

The boy can shoot, too. The man who walked with me told me this story about the railroad bridge at Spriggs and the forked path down the mountain on the Kentucky side:

Twenty-four men brought in from Ohio to break the strike were shut in a mine house on the mountain, guarded by a squad of Baldwin-Feltz gunmen. Word reached the strikers that these men were desperate over their confinement and would break away if they could get past the armed guard. An organizer approached the boy and told him about the men in the mine who wanted to get away.

"We must let these men know," he told the boy, "that we will pay their railroad fare back to Ohio if they want to go. Can you get into the mine and give them that message?"

"Git you a boat and have it on the river two mile down stream," the boy answered. "Wait for me there all night ef I don't come sooner."

## Outwitting The Gunmen.

So it was agreed, and a while later the boy started over the railroad bridge to the Kentucky side. It is legal, but impossible, for a known union organizer to set foot in that end of Kentucky. Baldwin thugs seize organizers on sight there, beat them up or throw them into jail for trespassing.

When the boy crossed over that night three gunmen fell upon him. "I jest come along over to go to work," he told them. At length he convinced them. It was night, so after they had put him into overalls the gunmen shut him up in the bunkhouse with the other men.

Moving silently from bunk to bunk, the boy spread the news that freedom was at hand for all who craved it. The men were incredulous. Back from the river lay only a wilderness, toward the river only armed guards, barring the road to the railroad bridge and West Virginia.

Hours passed before the boy could persuade the terrorized prisoners that he knew a safe way out. At last they consented to make the effort. So, while the gunmen guarded the "only" exit from the mountain, the boy guided little groups of three or four of the miners over a forgotten trail to the waiting boat two miles down river.

## A Perilous Trip.

The trip had to be made many times; it was pitch dark and the boy would not risk it with a big party that might become separated. Incredible good luck and nerve saved the enterprise from disaster. Returning from the second trip, the boy was just outside the bunkhouse door when a gunman loomed out of the night and grasped him by the collar.

"You damn little . . . . .! What are you doing out here?" the guard exclaimed, pushing the muzzle of his automatic revolver against the boy's head. "I have a hell of a notion to blow your brains out."

"Blow 'em right on out, mister, ef that's what you want to do," the boy answered. "Can't a man step outside this bunkhouse at night ef he needs to?"

"No, he can't, and if you want to live long around here you'll learn how to hold yourself till morning." After showing the boy headlong through the passage the guard banged the door and walked away.

There are two old paths from the mountain top which join near the place where the boat was waiting. For greater security, the boy now resorted to the second route, inducing three more groups to emerge through a window behind the bunkhouse and make the journey under his guidance.

Seventeen of the 24 strike breakers had made the trip when daylight came to end the pilgrimages and reveal the exodus. What happened to the other seven I have not been told.

You have no right to complain that your union is reactionary if you are not taking a bundle of Toilers every week to the union meeting. Those who are doing this kind of work report most gratifying results. Why not try it yourself?

# A Class Union

By S. Macaulay (Ontario)

The strenuous opposition put up by the master class to the O. B. U. is clear proof of their class-consciousness, and further, of their recognition of the value of united action.

Here in the goldfields of Northern Ontario, the Mine Managers' Association is taking active measures against members of the O. B. U. Men are being fired for nothing else than their membership in that organization. They are told so by the mine managers. And labor is scarce just now. At first glance this would appear to be a foolish policy on the part of the managers, but is it the managers?

The Canadian Government has ostensibly recognized the O. B. U. as far as asking for the usual returns as to unemployment, etc., is concerned, but if the O. B. U. is a "legal" organization, why are the mine managers apparently running their heads into a noose in discriminating against its members?

The Mine Managers' Association, together with the Canadian "Government" are tools of the "Interests" higher up. As Marx put it, they are the executive Committee of the ruling class.

And this ruling class is **class-conscious**. They are organized as a class, into their Manufacturers' Associations, and other bodies, apparently unconnected but all ready, at the least show of unified action by the workers, to unite in a solid phalanx against them.

They work together in the importation of strike-breakers into "Affected areas," in having their goods manufactured in cities remote from that affected by the strike, and by other sympathetic acts. In short, they are organized into O. B. U., a **CLASS UNION**. And they have massed upon their side the Armed Force of the State, the judiciary, the Press, platform and Pulpit, to be used against the workers whenever they become restive.

Fellow-workers, the fact that this opposition is being put up against the O. B. U. ought to be sufficient proof that it is dreaded by the master class, and so of benefit to the workers. The old form of craft unionism has been forced to give place to the newer form. The con-

centration of Capital into fewer and fewer hands means a consolidation of the capitalist class, and this consolidation (if we are to meet it and deal with it effectually) must be met by consolidation on our part. Class Unionism on the part of the masters demands class unionism on ours. Meet their O. B. U. by our own O. B. U. Line up, if you do not want your shackles tightened up in a slavery more intense than ever, although more concealed.

The International, as a weapon of either defence or offence, against the combined forces of the master class, is powerless; nay more it is being used as an insidious means of attack by the masters; witness the many failures of strikes recently, whereby the funds of various Unions have been depleted, and the morale of the members lowered.

Workers of the World, UNITE!

## Judges and Injunctions

In the Denver strike Judge G. W. Whitford jailed 7 men 90 days for violating an injunction. The judge forbade the strike altogether, on the theory that the people were entitled to street car service.

This amounts to abolishing the 13th Amendment by injunction, for it is not hard to put other industries on the same basis as the street cars. It never occurs to a capitalist judge to look at the other side of the question. If he did he wouldn't be a capitalist judge. There are the 1000 families of strikers whose support requires more than the wage of 58 cents an hour. But such matters must not stand in the way of the "people's rights!" Oh, how careful these judges are about the people and their rights! It is such a curious coincidence that these "rights" always seem to be such that they put the judges in the position of being against the workers in any conflict with their employers. That is an accident, of course. It is the "people's rights" that really interest the judges.



## What's Going On.

The alleged interview with Emma Goldman, printed in the Chicago Tribune under the signature of John Clayton, was a fake, according to the correspondent of the London Daily Herald. He says, "I have talked with Emma Goldman who said she refused to give any interviews of any kind. Clayton, she said, begged her for a statement, offering money for it, but she refused."

The Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumberman, a "bosses' union" in the lumber industry, has agreed to a reduction of 50 cents a day in the state of Oregon. The bosses have been pitting the "Loyal Legion against the I. W. W., which is the real union of the workers in the lumber woods and mills.

Bakery sales girls in Seattle have organized a union and are affiliated with the Central Labor Council.

Federal troops in West Virginia are getting worse in their treatment of Union miners than the Baldwin-Feltz detective agency, according to a statement of Fred Mooney, district president of the United Mine Workers of America.

The London Daily Herald says that Tanks are being placed in strategic positions in and around London, either for psychological effect or for actual use in crushing the impending coal strike and whatever may come in its train.

Boston Dockers have cabled Robert Smillie, head of the British miners, that they will refuse to load any of the 150,000,000 tons of coal contracted for in America by the British government to help fight the miners' strike.

Four leaders of the Minneapolis labor movement are in jail and six more have been cited to appear in court for sentence. They are charged with violation of a court injunction restraining them from proclaiming unfair a

moving picture house which is fighting organized labor.

The Bakery and Confectionary workers Union has just finished its national convention at Cincinnati. Then thousand new members have been added to the union in three years and its reserve fund has been increased from \$250,000 to \$500,000.

Martial law still prevails in Galveston, Texas where the strike of longshoremen is in progress. This is a phase of the fight to establish the open shop all over the country. Trial by jury, the right of habeas corpus and other "constitutional rights" have been abrogated.

The Third International has advised the Italian workers to develop their movement into a general rising to overthrow the government and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. They strongly condemn the syndicalist policy of confining the effort to a seizure of the factories without a political revolution and say that defeat will inevitably follow from such a course.

A witty subscriber has suggested that we give a paper knife free with every subscription so that it will be possible to read the paper after it comes. But this will not be necessary because the printer who does our work is now installing some machinery which will enable him to stitch and trim the paper. This will make it better looking and easier to read. So please be patient for a week or two.

The following is a sample of the REAL Americanization methods that bosses carry on with strikebreaking and stool-pigeon agencies.

"Dear Sir: We want you to stir up as much bad feeling as you possibly can between the Serbians and the Italians. Spread rumors among the Serbians that the Italians are going back to work. Call up every question you can in reference to racial hatred....."