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The TOILER

No. 150.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, SATURDAY, DEC. 18, 1920.

Price Five Cents.



*Capital and Labor
Getting Together!*

Announcement!

THE TOILER CARTOON BOOK FOR 1920

will be ready to mail in time to reach you New Year's Day

Price \$1.00

Listen, Folks — we are going to issue our first Cartoon Book during December. This Cartoon Book will consist of about 30 of the best original cartoons The Toiler has published the past year. These are original and have appeared in no other publication. You know that the cartoons appearing in The Toiler during the past twelve months have been among the best you ever saw. Many of them have been of the highest artistic character, drawn by real artists, with skill, technic and character aplenty. Candidly, we are proud of them; we defy any labor paper in the country to show as many cartoons of equal worth published in the same length of time.

The year 1920 has been a memorable one. More events of national and international importance have been crowded into this one year than in a score of years in the "old days". Just to quote a few to revive your memory. In January we had the Palmer Raids against the Reds. — Nothing of the kind ever happened in America before. This event marked an historical epoch—the death of all that which heretofore had been characterized as the American ideal of "liberty". Palmer, the tool of frightened Capitalism, smashed the old ideology to smithereens. We had some cartoons on those White Guard attacks. Then there have been strikes, railroad strikes, mine strikes, intense class war battles, all of which The Toiler artists have pictured for us in trenchant cartoons.

But we do not have to enumerate all the splendid things in this Toiler Cartoon Book, but will only add that besides the cartoons there will be several other features which add both attractiveness and value to the book.

You Will Want One -- To Keep

We know that you will want one of these Cartoon Books. We know you will want to look over again and again these splendid drawings and to read in them the artist's lessons of this memorable year of strife and turmoil, political and industrial upheaval; this levelling of old traditions and beliefs and the beginning of new ones for the workers.

The Toiler Cartoon Book for 1920 will be ready to mail to you before January 1st, in time to reach you during the Holiday Season. Let us suggest that you add the pleasure of having one of them in your home at that time.

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They Are Making One Front

By Robert Minor.

The struggle between the privileged class and organized workmen is changing its form. The old line of struggle is being quickly obscured; and the familiar forms no longer exist, or, if they exist, are nothing but empty shells. As the battle-lines of the old struggle on the prairie between the Red Indians and the scattered groups of the white-men scouts were lost and forgotten in modern warfare under the great system of steel and concrete trenches—so the scattered group formations of labor, craft unions that resembled social clubs, as well as the little intimate "radical" groups of personal friends that used to talk with glistening eyes of imagined future societies built to their taste — all these are disappearing now, or will soon disappear. A new tremendous battle front is being flung across the earth, a fortified line of steel and concrete, so to speak, takes the place of the old scattered skirmish line.

Fast the little things are dissolving, whether the little things know it or not. Little groups, little cilques, little sects, are quickly melting into and crystalizing in either one or the other of two giant forms. Every little formation may still scream of its separateness, but the monster iron dividing line—the "front"—is flung calmly and silently through the multitude and divides all things and men whether they will or not, into two and only two hard-crystalizing divisions. Fast all men and things line up for one struggle, one war,—one world divided into two civilizations, with a vast gulf between them. On each side of the gulf is one organization, and can be but one. Each side crystalizes its own international organization. Each can have but one. It is an international world.

We hear a clamor of mobilization. It is the one great capitalist class, which hurries together and talks no more of nationality. The flag inscribed "La Patrie" lies bloody and torn in the gutter with the bodies of the ten million that were slain for nationality when nationality was the best lie. But Capitalism screams now that it was all a mistake, that we must not be loyal any more to "our country," but that those of us that are not yet dead must reverse ourselves and be loyal now

to a hideous, mechanical international League of wealthy classes which is the best lie of today. Everywhere we hear the cry of the herders—monarchists, republicans, liberal-bourgeois, Catholic, atheist-bourgeois and Protestant, reformer-pacifist and military reactionist—all together the herders whip men into line of the new loyalty that will make men slaves—loyalty to the one great Capitalist International. The League of Nations, some call it, and others call it The Association of Governments.

The Capitalist International is what it is. It marches into the open, coolly taking its place in battle. We see it everywhere. In America it cynically announces its program: "All unionism to be destroyed; workmen, you are commanded not to organize; we lied to you during the war, to keep you quiet; now we will break you on the wheel: the open shop."

The same throughout the world. The White Terror of the Capitalist International. You can see it in Finland, where a rifle-shot sends staggering the ragged form of a workman caught carrying a dispatch to Russia, and you hear at the same moment the shot of the Baldwin-Felts' detective in the West Virginia mountains as the American mountainer falls to his death for bearing a dispatch from the Union into a non-union territory. The battle front now between labor and capital is a huge girdle around the earth. And it knows no mercy, no relenting, and fast it drops the last of its camouflage.

Workmen who in the old days used to sit in back-rooms over a glass of beer to discuss an imagined future and to weigh the question as to "whether the struggle would take the form of violence or whether on the other hand the change would be voted in with peaceful ballots," are interrupted. "Will it happen by means of peaceful—" But the voices are drowned under the rattle of rifle fire, heavy and incessant and fast increasing, from all quarters of the globe. The question is answered.

Everywhere the working class, too, is stirring, jolted and bruised and rudely wakened from its day-light dreams. The cries of mobilizing men come also from the depths, from the alleys and

kennels where workmen live. Men who have been dreaming of this time, have dreamed of its being in a different way. Some are still dreaming. Here and there we see some brother-workman, still in the midst of his dream, running out with a tea-pot full of water to put out the burning house; here and there a workman comes with a wooden lath to take his place in the concrete trench. He had gotten so used to his dream that he thinks it a dream battle. But the old methods are no good any more. The dangerous weapons of a generation ago are foolish toys today. Men find that their "important organizations" of yesterday are doll houses today.

Doll houses no more. It is a concrete dug-out now flung across the hundreds of miles, the thousands of miles; and the faces of intimate friends are lost in a sea of men that we never saw before, and that are familiar only in this that they carry the marks of labor. Do not be displeased by the strange faces. Do you not understand?—it is at last the workers' answer to your own cry: "Workers of the world, unite!" These are the workers of the world. Don't you know them, now that they have come? The millions have answered and are coming into the trenches.

Labor, too, forms into one vast concrete-bound front that stretches around the world as a girdle. It stretches out to meet Capital in battle.

An international world. An international fight. Two international organizations—only two—clashing in a combat that will end in the death of one—and after that, only one international organization—the administration of things by the non-state workers' commune.

The mobilization of each side has its tragedies, of old sentiments rooted up. No man can come into a new battle without shedding some part of his old equipment. Here they come, watch them, the variegated philosophers, this man with an "ism" and that one with an "ism" and each "ism" having its own beauties of fancy and its own vanities of permanency in this world which is not even itself permanent. There in the corner, right over there where you see the ashes and tincans, that is the place for your dogmas. Don't shed any tears about them; just drop them, and pass on.

One front. One international organization.

What will the international organization be? I think it already is. It is the "Third International"

al." To many persons this is a bitter thing to hear. There is the smell of warfare in it, and there is the discipline of iron unity. But the soldiers entering the new battle line must sacrifice, every one will have to sacrifice. And with some it is hard. It is hard to concede anything to another man's philosophy; but we have to do it. We hear Hillquit scream as he is forced to drop the saw-dust doll of parliamentarism or be dropped himself. He is frightened with being told to associate with strange fellows called Anarchists, or else to admit he is not fit for the fight. He screams in horror that the Third International is taking in "the Anarcho-syndicalist groups and the groups that now and then simply call themselves Anarchists." It doesn't matter. One front. The past few years have settled many questions. One question is Parliamentarism, and it was settled to the extreme dislike of most Socialist lawyers. Another question is the question of a temporary military organization resembling a State, and that was settled to the distaste of many Anarchists. But history has settled it. It has proven that the working class, whether we like it or not, is going to win its fight by means of a temporary dictatorship, and we take our choice between being out of the fight or in the fight in the form which it takes, not in any imaginary form. The one front has been drawn by history, and no man can draw it otherwise. Whether we like it or not, there will be one front. And I think that one front is the Third International.

While American steel mills and other industries are closing down daily, Russian industries are beginning operations on a large scale. The Ijorski steel works in Petrograd, after standing idle for two years have resumed work and produced 900,000 poods of steel tubing the first month.

**A PHOTOGRAPH
OF
JOHN REED.**

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The Coming Coal Miners' Convention

What will the miners accomplish during the coming Convention and after?

By A Friend.

During the last convention the miners had an opportunity to save the steel strike as well as to strengthen themselves in any future strikes.

A resolution was introduced at the last year's convention to go on record to refuse to supply coal for any such purposes which would have in any way endangered the success of the steel workers strike.

Had this resolution been carried and enforced, the steel workers would have won their strike.

What happened to the resolution promising assistance to the steel workers during their strike?

The resolution was introduced but not carried. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions, who substituted another resolution for it, which resolution in its effect defeated the workers strike.

The substitute resolution recommend that the matter be left to the coal miners' "International officers and representatives on the Steel Committee, without binding them to any definite plan of action."

"Without binding them to any definite plan of action."

DO YOU KNOW WHAT THAT MEANT? It meant in its effect that the miners' officials have bound themselves to NO plan of action.

Here is the documentary proof:

"During the recent steel strike the National Committee (of the steel strikers) tried to arrange a joint meeting with the OFFICIALS OF THE MINERS and railroad brotherhoods to see if some assistance, moral if nothing else, could be secured for the steel workers. BUT NOTHING CAME OUT OF IT." — Wm. Z. Foster in "The Great Steel Strike," p. 241.

Had the miners passed the original resolution, had they pledged themselves to "refuse to supply coal for such purposes which would in any way endanger the success of the strike of the steel workers,"—the coal miners could hope, the coal miners could expect, the coal miners could demand that in future coal mine strikes the stra-

tegically situated workers in other industries should assist them. What a great aid it would be to the coal miners should the railroad workers refuse to transport coal mined by scabs during strikes. Other transportation workers beside the railroaders could also greatly assist the miners to win their strike. Machinists, telegraphers, steel workers and electricians could also be of great aid should a coal strike occur.

Other workers ready to help you.

All these workers in these other industries are ready to help you win, if you are ready to help them. You know that in the recent steel strike, the Switchmen decided to co-operate with the steel strikers, and the Lake Seamen's Union decided to refuse to carry ore while the steel strike lasted. Surely it was in the interest of the miners to render the steel strikers similar assistance.

In the coming convention the miners should go on record to do unto others as they expect others to do unto them. A resolution should be passed refusing to supply coal for any such strike. The resolution should also contain an appeal, calling for aid in a possible miners' strike, by workers occupying positions which would be of aid should a coal strike occur.

How world wide demand for coal affects coal miners.

During the threatened coal strike in England, we read that in case England was unable to supply coal for her own use and for other European countries to which English coal had been exported, then the United States would supply that coal. You know what that means! It means that you miners would have had to scab while the miners in England were on strike.

France, for example, is getting a large quantity of coal from United States, England and Germany. And if the coal miners of one country produce additional coal for exportation while the coal miners in another country are on strike; what is that if not scabbing?

And supposing the coal miners went on strike in this country. What would happen? England and other countries would supply coal to those countries as well as for the ships that the United States had been supplying heretofore.

You know what that means! It means that the miners of England and of other coal exporting countries would have to scab on you. You do not want to have the English miners or the miners of any other country scab on you. Nor do you wish to scab on them. Pass a resolution refusing to supply coal for any purpose that would in any way endanger the success of any coal miners' strike in any country. Also call upon the miners of all other countries to do the same thing for you, should you strike.

It is quite possible that in case the coal miners form an alliance with workers in other industries as well as with coal miners in other countries, that you would nevertheless have to go on strike to enforce your demands. It may happen for example that what at first is a small strike of one industry in one country, or of the coal miners in this country, may later have to be extended to become a general strike of all coal miners in several countries, or even to include all other strategically situated workers in many countries.

A multiple alliance of workers.

You have heard about the Triple Alliance of the Coal Miners, the Railroad Workers and the Transportation Workers in England. Well, if you suc-

ceed in forming with them and with workers in other really essential industries, a greater alliance, you will have the most powerful, the most efficient and the most useful organization on earth.

Genuine Preparedness. Its meaning.

Preparedness is the demand of the day. Be ready to meet the emergency when the employers will refuse to meet you during a general strike, as they refused to meet the steel workers before and during the steel strike. In case a general strike will fail to enforce your demands, don't say that the rules of your union forbid you to take more effective action. Don't say that the rules of your union have bound you to inactivity, to helplessness, to defeat.

Prepare for the emergency now! You will soon have need of it. You can make your union as powerful as you wish to.

Pass a resolution now, stating that should a general strike be impotent to enforce your demands, and should the employers refuse to abdicate from the ownership of the mines, that you consider yourselves entitled to take over the complete management of the mines, and to take and hold the mines in trust for the benefit of society as a whole.

To pass a resolution of this nature is the most forward, the most beneficial step, any labor union can take.

Coal Miners Delegates: Now is your opportunity to take the correct stand.

The Worker And The "Public"

By Jos. Poor.

The venomous kept Press never misses an opportunity to inform us that there are three sections to present day Society, viz: the Rich, the Poor and the "Public." Stress is always laid on the Holy Public. When a railway strike occurs it is the Public who suffers; when the packing house workers refuse to pack rotten meat, the Public suffers some more; when the bakery workers refuse to make adulterated and dirty bread in the small hours of the morning, the Public supposedly, demands they return to the ovens.

No sensible workers will say that rotten meat

is good for the body, that adulterated bread spells health for his family or that any worker should work like a slave. Therefore, every workingman and every workingwoman that downs his tools in order to secure more bread for his family and a little rest for his or her own weary bones not only deserves the sympathy of all the workers but should be given ACTIVE support by all his fellow workers. Every victory of Labor against the capitalist means better and more food for the working class, better and cleaner homes, and more education for the children. This is so self-

evident that even a 200% American ought to be able to see it.

Why does the worker continue to be his own enemy? Why does he take the side of his boss—the slave driver—when a strike is declared? Is any worker so stupid as to kick his own self? Several months ago the whole transportation system of Brooklyn (an important artery of N. Y. City) was tied up like a drum. Not a car stirred, not a wheel budged. For the first three days the strike was one of the most successful demonstrations of the power of Labor in the history of New York. What did the men demand? They struck for an 8 hour day which our capitalist Congress said should be the universal law in America; for recognition of their union and a little more money to purchase a little more bread.

The capitalist Press, the organs of the Bosses, bellowed like crocodiles about the poor "Public." And the workers, bound hand and foot by their antiquated craft divisions and suicidal individual contracts, heeded the lies of the Bosses' press and refused to give active support by means of a sympathetic strike to their fellow wage slaves. Of course the International Fakeration Officials refused to call out the power house men and the motormen, who belong to unions others than those who declared the strike, with the consequence that the Union was broken up and the strike lost.

The damned and yellow capitalist Press is always the worst enemy of the workers. In time of a strike it always plays up the "public game" and the workers like asses fall for it. I ask again "Who is this damned Public?" Reason and experience answers, there isn't any such thing. The "Public" is a fiction of the capitalist to fool the workers. It is nothing but a trick and a subterfuge to throw dust in the eyes of the working class. Go wherever you like, in any city or country and see whether the animal, the Bosses' press calls the Public, exists. You can't find it. All you can find is Workingmen and Businessmen—Proletarians and Capitalists—those who work for a living and those who work the workers, and who live off their unpaid for products. Forget, therefore, about this fiction of the Public. It is a lie and does not exist.

But it is the duty of the worker to support his fellow worker just as the parasitic capitalists support each other. When a strike occurs, always

get your union to actively support the strikers, so that when you strike the other workers (who belong to the same class as you do) will support you too. In this way—and this way only—by sympathetic strikes will Labor realize its overwhelming power.

Realize, workers, that you are ninety-nine per cent. of the human family and that the other one per cent is your enemy; therefore, unless it is willing to call itself the "Public" it is a mathematical certainty that none exists.

STANDARD OIL SLAVE EFFICIENCY.

Seeing so many good things in your paper prompts me to write of conditions down here at Sistersville, W. Va., under the rule of Standard Oil.

This billion dollar corporation controls everything in sight. Even to the employees' union which is not theirs but one of the Standard's own—a real bosses' union. To such an extent is this true that the bosses give the employes the names of the committeemen they want elected, and we are told to vote for them.

We are blessed with a plan of company insurance. But in order to get its wonderful benefits we must be so physically fit as to not need them. This outfit has set a physical test which every employe must pass before he can go to work. The commercial ventures of Holy John D. do not employ either the halt, the lame or the blind. His religion is not allowed to interfere with business and profits.

A SUGGESTION

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Getting Back

For two years now, we have listened to a great din created by all sorts and varieties of capitalist apologists about getting back to the old status that existed before the war. One would think that the sole purpose of human existence was to move backwards instead of forwards. One, unacquainted with the real facts as they existed before the war might conclude, from some of the rosy pictures painted, that "them was the happy days"—the Golden Age of human existence. We have always taken in this propaganda with sufficient quantities of proletarian salt and have arrived at some conclusions of our own.

The "return to normalcy" has been attempted by various routes but each one in turn leads apparently in the opposite direction. At least there has been no return. Certainly we are much farther from the place we started from four years ago than we were when the armistice was signed.

That is, we are farther away in our methods of thinking and the conclusions we arrive at thru the exercise of these new methods which have

some how or other displaced the old ways of thinking about industrial and social phenomena.

We might stop here for a moment before going into what these new methods of thinking indicate, to review the past, the glorious and "golden" past which our capitalists are so anxious to get back to.

A glance will show us an army of a million unemployed as one of the outstanding features of this past. A million workers constantly reduced to the stage of semi-starvation. Besides the chronic starvation endured by the unemployed, we must also see the tragedies of the employed, the slavishness of their conditions of employment. And we must not overlook other tragedies, Ludlow, Bisbee, Everett, a whole host of holocausts perpetrated upon the workers by capitalism for profits. These few conditions epitomise the general enslavement of the masses to the overlords of industry which obtained in this much vaunted past to which we are directed as the goal of humanity.

Intelligent workers do not want this past. They are thinking in other terms than of enslavement, degradation, unemployment and despair. They are thinking in terms of workers' control of industry; of the expropriation of profit-taking capitalism; of a real human life for workers instead of that of the subjection of the masses to the dictates and will of a robber few. And they are organizing consciously with this new ideology in mind, purposely organizing for the utter destruction of capitalism with its every horror.

It is precisely because workers are thinking in these terms that capitalism views the future with fear. With workers in this mental state, together with the impossibility of capitalism providing the necessities of life, ominous indeed, must be the outlook to it. Capitalism's grip upon the thinking apparatus of the workers is slackening. Its gestures toward the past are as futile as they are senseless.

Labor is going forward until complete control crowns its efforts.

IN RUSSIA.

New tannery operations have also started up employing 5,000 people. While Americans starve under capitalism they may look upon the workers of Russia providing necessities and comforts for themselves and under their own control too.

Your Job And The Russian Blockade

Do you realize that there is a relation between your job and Russian blockade? The other day the Russian Jewish Relief finally got permission to buy and ship many hundred thousand dollars worth of medical supplies to disease-stricken Russia. **American workmen made these supplies, American workmen received money for them.** Russia needs EVERYTHING. Russia would buy TOMORROW a quarter of a million bales of cotton. Russia is bare of everything that can be broken. You cannot buy a cup and saucer in Russia. Russia is stripped of everything that can be worn out. There is practically no cloth in Russia and no manufactured garments. The people in the cities starve because transportation has broken down. Every sort of railway supply, from locomotives and rails down to parts, are needed in Russia. Every sort of machinery is needed there. The plumbing in the great cities is broken. Every kind of agricultural implement and machine is wanted.

The very babies have no change of clothing.

While Russia cries for all these things, spindles are idle in the North and South. American clothing workers walk the streets of cities in a vain search for jobs. Shops everywhere close down. The machines slow up. Men are laid off on all sides.

You all know that unemployment stares you in the face this winter.

Is it sensible that American workers should be UNEMPLOYED while Russian workers need every sort of thing? The other day a cartoon appeared in a paper entitled "ALL DRESSED UP AND NOWHERE TO GO." It represented Uncle Sam standing by the seashore surrounded by bales of goods he was unable to export.

We cannot sell our goods to the central countries or to France or Italy—because these countries cannot afford to buy our goods. The rate of exchange is too high. In normal times the Italian lira and the French franc were worth nineteen and twenty cents. Today they are worth three and five cents respectively. The German mark has almost reached the vanishing point. Russia is ready to pay IN GOLD for American commodities. Russia has RAW

MATERIALS to exchange for AMERICAN MANUFACTURED GOODS. It has hides, flax and platinum for export. Russia is the chief source of the world's lumber supply.

Why can we not trade with Russia, since the State Department announced early in July that the restrictions with trade communication were removed? Why, for instance, cannot clothing and machinery be shipped when American clothing and textile workers and men from shops of every kind are idle? In the first place the Government will not allow the shipment of goods which might be used for war purposes. This includes locomotives and all railway supplies. In the days of our neutrality we supplied Czarist Russia with munitions. We cannot send locomotives to the workers of Russia. The second reason we cannot trade is that no postal or telegraphic communication is allowed. Without correspondence trade is impossible. The State Department says you may trade with Russia, but you must not send any letters or cablegrams to Russia nor receive any from Russia. You are not permitted to send money for the purchase of goods, nor to receive money for the goods sold. The Federal Reserve Board has prohibited the TRANSFER OF MONEY not only to Russia BUT EVEN TO ESTONIA, now at peace with Russia, which could be used as a medium for sending DRAFTS TO RUSSIA. With these restrictions the United States Government permits you to trade with Russia.

These are the restrictions between you and your job.

Are you going to ask that these restrictions shall be removed? Or do you prefer walking the streets? It may be your turn to be laid off next. It may be that your trade is a trade which could be supplying the manifold wants of Russia, stripped naked by blockade and war. Russian gold cannot be landed here for the reason that Secretary Colby has announced that if any gold from Russia should come here the Government would scrutinize every coin in order to ascertain whether it was the legitimate property of the Russian Workers' Government or had been obtained by it through means objectionable to the point of view of the State Department. Gold

confiscated from a parasite nobility and a bankrupt Czarist government might prove objectionable to the State Department.

If a gold coin is sent from Russia the shipper must prove that this coin was not a confiscated coin, but had been come by "legitimately." Gold that comes from the blood of natives is all right as a medium of exchange. Gold that represents the sweat of the workers is all right as currency. Gold taken by a workers' government from a parasite, corrupt nobility is too impure to be landed here. Does this mean that this Government stands with the rich of all countries as against the workers of all countries?

The period of depression is a cloud with a silver lining for the employers. The drive for the open shop is on. Chambers of Commerce have sprung up everywhere whose one program is to crush Organized Labor. Unemployment will be used as a club to beat the workers into submission. Are YOU going to do anything about this, or are you going to let unemployment do its work with the unions? Unrestricted trade with Russia will not solve the entire question of unemployment, but it will help mightily. There are some trades which could keep busy for months supplying Russia's wants alone.

Union men, you know the fight for an open shop is on. You know that the employers intend to weaken and finally crush the unions if pos-

sible. You know that they are being helped in this by unemployment. You know that countries are no longer isolated and self contained. The interests of all countries are interlaking. We cannot have normal conditions without real peace. We cannot have real peace while this underground warfare with Russia continues. The Italian workers forced their government to resume relations with Russia.

The papers of November 16th tell that the Council of Action of the English Trade Unions have issued a manifesto **demanding free exchange of commodities between Russia and Great Britain.** They say:

"Peace with Russia would increase employment and bring down prices.

"We cannot allow political imperialism or the interests of international financiers to stand in our way. Workers should not starve to promote inflated prices or perpetuate artificial bank rates."

The English workers have realized the relation of unemployment to the blockade. Are the American workers going to do the same?

You are raising millions of dollars to fight the open shop campaign. Are you going to fight the workers of Europe in fighting unemployment by raising the blockade? The labor movement is international or it is nothing.

Agitate for the lifting of the blockade that starves both Russian and American workers!

In My Union

How one live wire woke up a conservative union meeting.

By J. C. C.

There are four hundred members in the machinists local to which I belong. Like most union members, scarcely more than fifty ever attend a local meeting. Altho we have had at nearly every meeting someone present to address us upon matters of interests to us as workers and as members of our craft, it has not increased the attendance.

I have lately come to the conclusion that perhaps it may be the speakers who have kept away the members for they have told us everything but truths. I have been a member of this union ever since it was organized and have been at

all times until now a conservative. But since the last meeting I have changed and am now ready to read and think along radical lines.

This change in me is due entirely to the activities of one younger member who woke up our meeting with a short but radical speech which convinced me and others that we have been having the wrong kind of speakers to address us.

This young man first attracted my attention by selling anti-Open Shop pamphlets at our meeting. After the regular business of the meeting was dispensed with the Chairman introduced an

Organizer who delivered an address, the subject matter of which, was the value of co-operatives and union stores as benefits to the workers in their struggle with capitalism.

The young man drank in the speech as tho it was new to him. He took the floor immediately and stated that he disagreed with every proposition the speaker had made. "We should", said he, "be organized for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system, not to build co-operative factories and stores within the system for our members. The workers must destroy the capitalist system and in its place erect a new industrial system under workers' control."

His speech put his opponent in a hole from which he couldn't extricate himself. A general debate on the matter took place and I must say that the young man came out the victor. The arguments he made turned me from the most

patient, conservative union man into a radical who hereafter will be a better union man for them.

I made the acquaintance of this young man, whose name is Boich, and I want to say Mr. Editor, that with just one Boich in every local union the whole American Federation of Labor can be turned radical within one year.

EDITORS NOTE:—J. C. C. is correct. The local union meetings are the most fertile field for radicals and revolutionists. We must attend these union meetings and deliver the message of workers' control of industry. Every revolutionary worker who remains outside the union of his craft or of an industrial union is committing an error. Get into the unions, no matter how conservative and be a Boich, a leader of the revolution.

"Wrangel And The Bolsheviki"

EDITOR'S NOTE:—We have observed in silence the recent attacks in the I. W. W. press against the Soviet Government, believing that where editorial authority had been misplaced in renegades and counter-revolutionists, that power would be speedily taken away. We have left to the I. W. W. the task of washing its own linen, tho in doubt at times as to it ever doing so. It seems now that the mess has become unbearable to a large portion of the membership and to even some of the officials. The following answer of Roy A. Brown, of the General Executive Board to an editorial in the official I. W. W. publication, The One Big Union Monthly, must speak the opinion of a large portion of the I. W. W. membership, tho it in nowise removes the editorial in question from the category of an official statement of the I. W. W. In spite of any disclaimers to the contrary it must remain such until such time as the I. W. W. by some method of discipline of its editor renounces its responsibility for it.

This criticism by Roy A. Brown is taken from "Solidarity."

It is with a good deal of regret that I find myself compelled to take any step that might appear to show even the faintest amount of discord, within the ranks of our organization. And, if anybody thinks that such discord exists, they are very wrong in their conjecture. But there are times when, owing to the great pressure of work in the general office, we are unable to exercise complete supervision of matter which is published in such a manner as to suggest that it is the official pronouncement of the Industrial Workers of the World. Often, however, such matter is merely the

personal opinion of the writer or editor, and it is then my duty, as Chairman of the General Executive Board to make this quite clear.

I am prompted to say this because a number of complaints from members of the I. W. W. have reached me regarding the article in the current number of the One Big Union magazine, entitled "Wrangel and the Bolsheviki." And I must confess that I consider these complaints partly justified. For one thing, the article is unsigned; it comes from the editor; and as an unsigned editorial, it may well be construed to be the official attitude of the I. W. W., while, in reality, it is no such thing.

Although the editorial in question is called, "Wrangel and the Bolsheviki," it has very little to do with Wrangel, and a lot with the Bolsheviki. In it are many statements which I do not think we are justified in having the American working class believe are opinions held by the membership of the I. W. W. And, in certain places, it will leave our own organization open to harsh criticism by our enemies.

For instance, the article states, "the world-revolution will take care of itself without the Bolsheviki trying to extend their sphere of influence over the workers of other countries."

Now, we have absolutely no right to consider that the Russian Communists have no right to extend their propaganda wherever they wish. That is their affair. We cannot, and should not, restrict the activities of any workingclass organization to special territory. We, ourselves, call our organization, "The Industrial Workers of the World," not of America; and we have definitely, and quite rightly, tried to make the workers of other lands acquainted with our aims and objects. Why then should we object to the Bolsheviks doing the same, if they so wish? The workers have the right—and the good sense—to reject whatever they see lit.

Then, in the matter of the letter on Bolshevik "class war prisoners" and the letter reproduced in the magazine. Firstly, we have no guarantee whatever that the letter is genuine. There is no address given in the letter: nothing to show whether it was written in Russia, even. And yet the article definitely calls it an appeal "coming from the Bolshevik prisons." There is nothing in the letter to show that it comes from any prison, and there is everything to the contrary. It is stamped with the name of two organizations, one called, "The All-Russian Anarchist Black Cross," and the other, "The Union of Anarchist Workmen," of both of which organizations we have not heard before. Before the signature of the two first signers, the word, "Emigrant" is used, as follows: "Comrade Emigrant Doctor Decolbert, M. D." and "Comrade Emigrant Gerta Decolbert." Does this mean these two "comrades" are emigrants from Russia? And, if so, where was this letter written? Also, why was English used? German, French and Russian were the official languages of the Second Congress of the Third International.

We know, everybody knows, that there are self-styled "Anarchists" in prison, in Soviet Russia. Ringed around by hostile armies, with internal chaos as the heritage from four years of war and the corrupt mismanagement of the Tsarist and Kerensky regimes, the Bolsheviks were confronted with the most gigantic and heart-breaking task of reconstruction imaginable. In the midst of this, with counter-revolutionary activities from the dispossessed bourgeoisie to fight also, there came revolts from bands of Anarchists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. What was the Soviet government to do? Lie down and let itself

be overthrown by these people, or render their movement harmless? The answer is obvious. We are dealing here with hard facts, not theories, or middle-class liberal sentimentality.

And, we may also ask, "Who are these Anarchists who are so cruelly being persecuted, according to their claim?" We know, from unimpeachable sources, that the cream of the old Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in Russia is loyally supporting the Soviet Government. These men may not be Communists, but they realize that now is not the time to weaken the resistance of the Russian people to their outside foes by causing internal dissension. Men like William Shatoff, American Anarchists like Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, philosophical Anarchists like Maxim Gorky, have rallied to the support of the Soviet power.

Our own experience—and a bitter experience it was—in the I. W. W. with Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism should already have taught us something. The organization was nearly torn in two and thoroly disrupted by the decentralizing

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movement of a number of men influenced by the Anarchist doctrines of European Syndicalism, who wished to foist upon us such purely ideal, abstract things as, "local autonomy," "decentralization." We have found that those who draw their revolutionary inspiration from the Bakunist doctrines are blind and deaf to the iron facts of industrial development and the history of class struggles.

The I. W. W. was founded by men who had studied and understood the great labors of Karl Marx. And it is upon the discoveries of that genius that our theory was built up. Not that we are Marxian dogmatists, but we insist upon the spirit of Marxian teaching: we insist upon the foundation of our ideas upon the rock bottom of ECONOMIC FACT, and not upon high-sounding "libertarian" theory.

I believe that it was absolutely necessary for the Soviet Government to confine certain "Anarchist" and "Anarcho-Syndicalist" idealistic noise-makers. I believe it because I know it has been absolutely necessary in the I. W. W. to repress the disrupting activities of similar types.

The writer of the article calls for "democracy" in Russia. He joins there with the critics of the bourgeois press, who howl about the lack of democracy in Soviet Russia. It is well to have democracy if you can afford it. But, in the period of transition, when the government of the workers of Russia—and no one can dispute that the Soviet Government is supported by the majority of the Russian workers—is engaged in fighting a desperate capitalist class within, and a ring of capitalistic powers without, can we expect it to act without regard to facts, according to the dictates of some pink-dreamed abstract conception of "democracy"? Even as it is, there is more democracy in Russia than in any other country in the world. If the Soviet government only represents seventy per cent of the population, and has thirty per cent opposed to it, it comes nearer to being popular government than any that has existed in the world's history. In the rest of the world's countries, the governments represent about ten per cent, and ignore ninety per cent! Whether we like it or not, the eyes of the workers of the world are directed towards the great experiment of the Russian Soviet Republic. Whether it square with our preconceived theories of how revolutions should be made, or whether it be, or

not, the method we believe in for other countries, the Russian Revolution is a Great Fact. And the masses of the world are looking towards it for light and encouragement. Hemmed in by enemies, villified by the reptile press of all lands, lied about, misrepresented and abused; fought with the arms, ammunition and money of the great capitalistic powers; a prey to starvation and want; Soviet Russia still stands heroically working at her mighty task of creating a Workers Republic, an Industrial Commonwealth. For, it must be remembered, the Bolsheviks have never said that the present government of Russia is the ideal one, the final one. In everything Lenin and his friends have written, they have stated that the Dictatorship of the Proletariat is but a temporary affair which shall continue until the transference of the means of production and distribution, from the control of the capitalist to that of the workers, shall have been completed.

Shall we then join in this chorus of abuse; shall we swell the yelping of the bourgeois press? Personally, I can only say that I think the attitude of our organization towards the struggling revolution of Russia should be that of whole-hearted encouragement and fraternity. And I, for one, shall not let the appeal of the "Comrade Emigrant Doctor" and his fair wife, from an unknown place, change my present viewpoint. I shall need far more proof than the appeals of a few of our Anarchists friends, before I believe that, as this article remarks, "we fail to see the difference between the Lenin-Trotsky regime in Russia and the Wilson-Palmer-Burleson regime in America." In fact, I think nothing would more delight the enemies of the workers' movement anywhere than to read such a remark in our organ. And that is why I have written this article.

I do not want to suffer the shame of having our official organ quoted by capitalist opponents of Soviet Russia in support of their attacks. I do not want to see our magazine quoted to the militant workers of this country, when they refuse to support the bandit-war against Russia, by refraining from shipping munitions to the agents of the White Terror.

I do not want the I. W. W. to be identified in any way with, nor to give any aid to, the dirty trickery of the agents of international capitalism. And I refuse to criticize the actions of the Soviet Government in their counter-revolutionary steps.

until I hear from reliable authority that these criticisms would be justified. And we have heard nothing of the kind from such authority. It is only from the avowed defenders of capitalism, or from the far dirtier renegades from the working-class movement that we have heard such things. And anything proceeding from them I take with a large grain of proletarian salt.

I am sorry for the Anarchists. I am sorry for

anyone who gets in the way of the marching working class once it really gets started. But I am certainly not going to whine about them, nor am I going to stab the Russian workers in the back, because of them.

ROY A. BROWN,

Chairman General Executive Board.

Confiscation

By J. I. R.

Bruce Barton in an article "Just What Would Bolshevism Do To Me," lays particular stress upon the confiscation of the small capitalist's bank-savings in Soviet Russia. Just think of it; confiscating peoples' bank-savings! Isn't that tyranny? Isn't that taking their food, clothing, shelter, comfort and happiness away from them?

Now the question arises, is this a thing which governments are not immune from—confiscating peoples' bank-savings? Or is the confiscation "moral" based upon whether it is a capitalist government or a workers' government which is behind the confiscation. If we are opposed to total confiscation; why shouldn't we be opposed to partial confiscation? Why shouldn't we be opposed to confiscation of bank-savings-buying-power through depreciated money? If the Soviet government of Russia confiscates the capitalist's bank-savings, then isn't it only doing the same thing as the capitalist Governments did and do?

Didn't the German capitalist government issue such a large amount of worthless currency that the German mark has hardly any purchasing power? Didn't the Italian government, depreciate the Italian lire from 5 for \$1.00 to approximately 30 for \$1.00? Didn't the French government, and its allies, depreciate the French franc to somewhere in that proximity? Didn't the English government, and its capitalist statesmen, depreciate the English pound from the neighborhood of \$4.86 to the approximate amount of \$3.48? And haven't these governments' activities caused all the subordinate nations such as Poland, Norway, Sweden, Latvia, Finland, Holland, Austria, Spain, Egypt,

India, Australia, Canada etc. to have depreciated money, depreciated money of account, depreciated deposit accounts, depreciated currency, and depreciated bank-savings?

Doesn't analyzing this manifestation of the world's capitalists and capitalist governments' confiscation of bank-savings-buying-power through depreciated money bring to your mind a parallel confiscation equal to Soviet Russia's? Only Soviet Russia's confiscation expropriates the capitalist class; whereas the capitalist nations' confiscation by-depreciated-money expropriates the working class and those that are being precipitated into the working class.

As a conclusion let me quote from page 68 of "The collapse of capitalism"—Herman Cahn: "The insolvency of the banks involves the social insolvency. The latter refers not merely to the public debts, now so great, not even merely to the entire class of negotiable titles to revenue, such as bonds and stocks, nor even all money obligations—it includes the impossibility of paying for raw materials or wages. The gradual undermining and sudden collapse of the whole world's banks destroys the great bulk of the money so indispensable under capitalism. Only the bulk? Is it thinkable for a moment that when production is paralyzed and before it can be resumed on a complete social basis—the only basis then possible—that the necessities of life will be at the exclusive disposal of those who happen to be so fortunate as to have some pocket money? Of course not. Gold and tokens will be outlawed instantly. The hour of money has struck."

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My Own Shop

Exploitation of Negro Women Workers.

By George W. Gentile.

Exploitation of the severest sort is prevalent in the shop where I work. When I think of the amount of personal injuries the workers here sustain, it makes my blood boil. For, aside from that of exploitation thru the payment of but a small part of our product, there is a heavy penalty we workers pay in the shape of maimed and severed fingers, due to the dangerous machinery.

Whatever we workers may think about the color line, the boss is perfectly oblivious to it. He hires and fires indiscriminately the whites and the negroes alike. Likewise does he exploit them with equal impartiality. Here, at least, the Negro workers are on the same "social" plane as the whites—both of us are equally victimized by the wages system.

The Negro workers in my shop number about a dozen, all girls and women. They receive the stupendous wage of \$12.00 per week. How they exist on this sum we must leave to the "welfare" committees and "social betterment" clubs to figure out. These girls work with machinery and scarcely a day passes without an injury to one or more of them. Especially are they liable to the loss of their fingers thru contact with the swift, automatic knives. Sometimes it is but one finger, many times two, and when we realize that severed fingers never "grow out", we begin to know the cruelties these workers suffer thru out their lives with mangled hands.

Of course we have a workers' compensation law; that is we have a mockery of one. It is mostly sham and pretense, as all industrial insurance is under capitalism. In New York state we are supposed, under this beneficent law to receive two-thirds of our wages when laid up by accident. But this is only true of those workers receiving a wage, two-thirds of which is equal to not more than \$20.00 weekly. Workers receiving a bit more than \$30.00 weekly, which is far below a living wage, when laid off with a crushed limb or other accident would have to exist upon even less than this unlivable wage. One can imagine how much misery is heaped upon a family of a worker whose wage is say, \$12.00 weekly.

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I attempt to show these workers how they are exploited, but I have learned that the workers are their own worst enemies. To attempt to teach them how they are enslaved is to run the risk of getting the reputation of being a Bolshevik, which means in an unorganized shop, the loss of your job, or at least becoming a marked worker for the boss to discriminate against. Of course I take this chance many times tho I am often silenced by the sneers and contempt of these same slaves who chop off their fingers for the bosses profits.

These workers are underpaid to such an extent, that they cannot afford to buy literature with which to enlighten themselves. But I am doing as I believe many others are doing, furnishing the literature out of my own pocket. The Toiler is doing its work here as elsewhere and if we had more Toiler distributors the vanguard of the revolutionary workers would not long be held back by the loadstone of ignorant workers as now. I consider it the duty of every radical worker to supply his associate workers with revolutionary literature, whether these workers are white, black, yellow or any other color. We are all slaves under capitalism and as long as the boss can't tell us apart when he exploits us, there is no reason why we should draw the color line.

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