

Workers' Party Convention Number

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1921

No. 203

The New Party

Allison, Bittleman, Willenkin, Winestone

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Independent Unions

A. Y. Anderson

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Problems of the Workers' Party

J. Lovestone

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The Farmers' Bloc

H. M. Ware

The Unification of Labor

Wm. Z. Foster

International Notes :-: *Editorials* :-: *Labor Notes*

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The Toiler

Vol. IV.

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No. 203

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The Outlook

THE teeth of the unemployed watered—figuratively speaking, of course—when President Harding called a conference on unemployment at Washington and invited such well known friends of labor as Judge Gary and Samuel Gompers to participate. Again the faces of the unemployed are moist, but this time the moisture comes from the eyes. Anon they smacked their lips in anticipation of beef stews and possibly an occasional ham and eggs. Now they shed tears of disappointment. After the mountain labored it brought forth a mouse in the form of a recommendation from President Harding that \$400,000 be appropriated to relieve the unemployed. That would not make pocket money for any one of the European princes whose presence has graced the shores of America since this country became the cashier of broken down kings and cashiers ambassadors. There is a lot of eating in \$400,000. Some of the unemployed might get a bite. Yes, they got bitten. The Budget recommended \$200,000; the Senate cut it down to \$100,000, and the House threw it out the window and settled the unemployment question. "The unemployment conference was a great success," said Sam Gompers.

GENERAL public, that innocent bonehead who "hails with joy" or "views with alarm," according as he is expected to by the capitalist press, was almost tickled to death when he was recently informed by the packers that their overpaid employees petitioned the company for a reduction in wages. Now he said we are in for an era of industrial peace. The packers also stated that their employees left everything to their judgment, including production standards. In order to prove that the packers were telling the truth the workers went on strike—20,000 of them. To date at least three fatalities have resulted from the strike and about 200 are wounded. The price of meat has soared, but the packers claim it would have gone up anyhow. We believe them. The prices are going up, but the packers are going down,

if we are to judge by the splendid fight the packing house workers are putting up. The packers are doomed when the workers unite their forces for the overthrow of capitalism.

THE "aristocrats of labor," as the railroad men were known, need not be very farseeing to vision a future where their condition will be as precarious as that of their less skilled fellow workers. Almost every week the railroad magnates give them a little clout—in a friendly way of course—but the railroaders are beginning to get tired of this pleasantries. The magnates have done nothing for almost a year but scoop gold out of the United States Treasury: They are worth every nickel of it. People who can live on the toil of others are entitled to all the loot they can get provided, of course, they amass it in a nice legal manner. After they were through raking in the coin they took a fit of economy. It was in harmony with "Americanism." But strange to say they did not dispense with their automobiles, yachts and other luxuries, but turned around and cut the wages of their employees. That is the way to economize. Now the United States Railway Labor Board has allowed the maintenance of way men to keep their eight-hour day and allowed time and a half for overtime but only for those hours above ten which they work on any given day. The roads are expected to save half a million dollars a month on this new eight-hour day.

A LONDON Court has awarded J. H. Thomas, Member of Parliament and notorious labor traitor, \$10,000 damages in his action for libel against The Communist, official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Thomas was charged by The Communist with being a traitor to the labor movement. He was accused of using his influence to prevent the Triple Alliance from striking in support of the miners. The Honorable Thomas was enraged. Many of the workers had actually been getting on to him and the accusation got under his gills. The Honorable then decided to disprove the charge forever. He then went about his purpose in true business-like fashion and secured expert services to help him. And who could be more expert in deciding who is who amongst the labor traitors than a capitalist judge? Now that the British Courts have cleared Thomas of being a betrayer of labor and that he will, at the order of the court, be paid \$10,000 "Russian Communist money" for calling upon it to pass judgment upon his treason to the working class, the laboring masses of England should rest assured that he will continue this profitable policy of sabotaging their struggles.

THE department of Justice may yet succeed in apprehending the perpetrator of the Wall Street Bomb "Plot." Immediately after the explosion Chief Flynn, Mr. Burns' predecessor, took the fingerprints of a dead horse and then a la Sherlock Holmes announced that he had the clue. He has been "hoofing" it ever since, but so far has not set his "feet" on the trail of the culprit. Now his successor has succeeded in arresting one of his own agents—a New York panhandler—and we have a thrilling newspaper story for Christmas. Mr. and Mrs. Sizzer Bill are happy that the great riddle is at last solved.

EDITORIALS

THE MAD SCRAMBLE AT WASHINGTON

FROM Washington comes the welcome news that the Armament Conference is nearing the best part—its end. Well, it is about time

All in all, the world is to have peace; even the powers that be have to fight for it. But let us not be ungrateful on the eve of the New Year. Our diplomats, ambassadors, barons, princes and scoundrels ad infinitum et ad nauseum have certainly done a wonderful job. No skeptics can dare make light of their record. In less than two months these godfathers of capitalist highway robbery have waylaid China, decided to scrap some naval junk, and established more firmly than ever the rule of the mailed fist in India, Korea and Siberia.

Of course, our preservers of the peace are very modest and don't claim credit for all of these noble deeds of Christian charity. They speak in terms of "Ten Year Naval Holidays," "Four Power Treaties" and universal "good will." We admit this is very nice of our "representatives," though such "niceness" has often led the workers to the shambles of war. It is just such "kindness" that has duped the laboring masses and made them an easy prey for their exploiters and oppressors.

The Conference may be charged with having perpetrated the following three acts of violent peace: First, the imperialist strangle hold on China and the Pacific has been made more gripping through a redivision of the plunder. Secondly, driven on by economic pressure and the very trend of events in modern naval warfare, the plundering powers have decided to shift their expense from the heavy growingly useless battleship column to the ever more dangerous submarine, gas and airplane column. This is really the essence of the plan of our bewhiskered Secretary of State. Thirdly, Japan is recognized as the gendarme of Asia. Though formally the alliance with England is supplanted by the Four Power Treaty, the advantages of the former contracting parties are still in effect. Hence Siberia is to continue under the iron heel of the bloodthirsty Japanese military forces. And through all this mandating and remandating, dividing up and swallowing, and plundering and pillaging, the heavy hand of American financiers is obvious.

The Senate may threaten and fret. It may wax eloquent over the death of America's traditional policy of no "entangling alliances." We may even be presented with a new wilful opposition. But the die is cast. America's financial czars are at the zenith of their power and the workers will shortly have to pay the interest on their present impotency. Next our "honor" and "dignity" will be offended. Then, standing by Japan, we will whiten the Siberia fields with our bones. This is the peace of the capitalists. This is the bliss awaiting the workers at every turn of the road under capitalist slavery.

OUR DEMOCRATIC ARMY

SENATOR THOMAS WATSON of Georgia has given food for thought to the workers of America who were carried away figuratively and literally by the seductive promises of the political prostitutes who sent them to lonely graves in France or else to find on their return the reward their masters had in store for them was unemployment and hunger and the policeman's club if they associated with their fellow workers in a demand for their rights. The Georgia Senator tells how the "doughboys" were

treated not by the "Huns" but by their own officers. Failing to give an officer a cigarette was considered a serious offense punishable by imprisonment. Floggings were the order of the day for refusal to shine the shoes of the sons of the rich who were made officers because of their wealth. Hangings were quite common according to Senator Watson. The men who did the fighting while the officers were being entertained by volunteer nurses suffered all the indignities that the sons of the bourgeois could inflict upon them. It is worthy of note as the Senator said that there were no generals killed in the late war. He even insinuates that the famous Blackjack had a streak of yellow in him. Workers, what are you going to do when the next note of the bugle of war rings out upon your ears?

HATS OFF TO OUR MAYOR

FOR some time we have been seriously considering opening a funny column. To date we have not done so. The result is that we have no really suitable place to comment on the humor of the recent letter sent by the Mayor of New York to his Commissioner of Accounts. The Mayor's letter demands an investigation of the books used in connection with the teaching of American history, and continues: "America has given to the world great fundamental truths in the government of the people, for the people, and by the people. These truths have been woven in the warp and the wool of our social, economical and political fabric. Many nations, some centuries older than our own, have profited by our example." There can be no doubt that in America a program of economic injustice and the enslaving of millions of people has been carried on so successfully while passing out wholesale the hallelujah brand of freedom, democracy and fraternity that nations centuries older have turned to the house of Morgan, the Standard Oil Co., Wall Street and even Tammany Hall to learn how they did it. We also agree that it is of the utmost importance to the capiatlist class to continue feeding sentimental slush to the children of the workers they are robbing, and starving. The Mayor of New York continues: "We can never forget our debt to the early patriots who bequeathed to us the beneficent institutions of free government!" In the face of the extreme usefulness of the courts in Kansas, the entire political and military machinery used to thwart the railroad workers and the liveried butlers now furnished free of charge to the milk companies in New York City, can any capitalist henchman forget his debt for "the beneficent institutions of free government"? It would be ungrateful indeed. The institutions which make possible the exploitation of the American workers must be protected, for as this eloquent letter states in conclusion: "What our school children are taught to believe about America and its founders becomes the spirit of America in the future. Let these children be taught the truth as they have in the past and we need have no misgivings as to the future welfare of the Republic." He may be right but we doubt if the workers of this country are going to be fooled much longer. Even if the "truth" be taught to our children in the specially prepared and predigested form of the past, the ugly facts of Mingo, Colorado, the New York milk strike and the trampling of women and children by the mounted police of Chicago on duty to protect the more important moneys of Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Morris will blast the record of this government of the capitalists by the capitalists and for the capitalists in text books which no Mayor can censor and no Commissioner of Accounts delete.

The New Party

The Rising Party of Labor

By Elmer T. Allison

Secretary American Labor Alliance.

Seven years ago American labor began an ascendancy. The master needed his millions of hands and brains for his purposes of war. Out of this need labor was able to coin some advantages, however artificial. But, the war being over, left the exploiter in the strategic position of control of government and industry.

Through this control the exploiters have driven labor backward to the pit, to despair, helplessness and demoralization. Labor is now at the bottom of the pit, his forces shattered, unions broken, without political leadership.

But he is groping for his weapons. The first beginnings of the new struggle are taking place. The ranks are forming for a new advance. Life is again urging action, organization and battle.

This urge of labor and life is manifest in the organization of the Workers' Party. The Workers' Party is the new weapon of American toilers. Thousands have already laid their hands to it. Many other thousands are aroused to a questioning interest. The pit is alive with interrogations and shouts of approval. The workers are leading the call to battle.

The Workers' Party is a conscious effort of labor to take up against the siege against its ancient enemy. From this beginning of revolutionary consciousness will grow the party of action that will unite the workers and strike off the shackles of slavery. It will enter into their every struggle, it will defend them and lead them to battle. It will organize them in the shops and mills, in the mines and fields. No element of American labor will be exempt from its penetrating and life-giving force. It will lead the workers to unity and through unity to victory.

The Workers' Party in 250 Words

By A. Bittleman, Formerly Editor "Funken."

By order of the Editor, I must use not more than 250 words in saying what I think of the Workers' Party that is to be formed within the next few days. I intend to carry out this order, if for no other purpose than to show an example of discipline—trained, proletarian, revolutionary discipline. For it is upon the disciplined behavior of the most conscious and tested comrades that the success of our present attempt will depend.

The Workers' Party must become a mass party, if it is to function as the political party of the American Working Class. It must, therefore, strive to bring into its ranks all the living, conscious and struggling forces in the American labor movement.

At present these forces are functioning as so many independent, isolated elements, each pulling its own way without general plan or common direction. Because of this, their effectiveness is small, their power insignificant. The Workers' Party, if it is to fulfill its mission, will bring all these elements together, fuse them into one organic body, inspire them with one common will and send them into action as a disciplined army of conscious workingmen and women.

This is a gigantic task. Will we succeed in accomplishing it? Yes, if the revolutionary pioneers of the last three years, the moving spirits of the Left Wing movement of 1919 stand together giving the new party the benefit of their common experience in promoting the

cause of the class struggle as exemplified by the advanced guard of the International Revolutionary movement.

Epoch-Making Event

By J. Wilenkin, American Labor Alliance

I consider the launching of the Workers' Party as an epoch-making event which will no doubt revolutionize the labor movement of this country.

All the labor and Socialist parties which existed until now in this country did not secure a foothold among the ranks of the proletariat of the United States.

The Workers' Party will have to use all its power to order to come in close contact with the broad masses of the working class of this country.

The old idea of the Socialist Labor Party, of the Industrial Workers of the World and other kindred organizations that the reactionary trade unions should be split and new class-conscious, trade and industrial unions formed, proved to be disastrous for the revolutionary movement above all in the light of the experience of the labor movement of the United States.

Therefore, the Workers' Party will have to bore from within the old reactionary trade unions in order to fight the old bureaucracy and to gain the sympathy of the rank and file.

The greatest task of the new born party will consist in organizing the large proletarian masses politically which has not been done until now by any of the existing Workers' Parties of this country. We are certain that the Workers' Party will be successful in all its endeavors.

Proletarian Strategy

By Wm. W. Winestone, Sec. Joint. Con. Com.

The formation of the Workers' Party is the signal for Labor to answer the crushing drive of the capitalists. The Workers' Party is today the only force that is able to rally the disorganized ranks of labor and unite the masses for a victorious offensive against the enemy.

The program of the Workers' Party portrays a determination to struggle—a rededication to the class struggle. It is a program of action free from the paralyzing disease of sectarianism and the policy of splendid isolation. It is adapted to the conditions of the country to invigorate the working class organizations with the spirit of determined struggle.

It is fortunate that the American Labor Alliance is the backbone of the new party. In the former are found those who have borne the brunt of the attack of the capitalists for the last two years. They give to the new party not only tested devotion to principle and to the cause, not only determination to fight for the workers under all conditions, but an ability to display proletarian strategy in fighting the enemy and winning the masses. The rise of proletarian strategy in the American working class struggle has been learned by these elements. The Socialists aimed to win the broad masses, but at the sacrifice of principles; the revolutionary workers of the American Labor Alliance have learned that by using proletarian strategy, slogans that win, participating with the masses in their struggle, they can win the masses for socialism without falling into the pitfalls of opportunism.

Independent Unions

By A. Y. ANDERSEN

(This article does not represent the views of the editor or the policy of the Toiler.)

One of the important problems which will face the coming convention of the Workers' Party is an intelligent solution and definition of attitude towards the independent labor unions in the United States. The influence of the new party over a considerable section of the revolutionary element largely depends upon a clear solution of this problem. As a matter of general principle the aim of the Workers' Party must be the unification of the labor movement and our goal must be one general workers' union in the United States. Revolutionists must not break up the economic units of the workers for the purpose of establishing unions in harmony with their views. They must unify the labor movement at all costs and win leadership from within, no matter how tedious the process. While this must be the guiding principle in our activities within the labor movement, we must realize that we are having on our hands a labor movement which through no fault of ours is thoroughly messed up with bona fide independent unions in the field.

The carrying out of our program in this country depends largely on the assimilation of the Syndicalist element comprising hundreds of thousands of workers, many of them within the independent unions and the I. W. W. They are a force to be reckoned with and an absurd policy toward the independent unions instead of making them a constructive factor in the reconstruction and unification of the labor movement will only drive them once more to the other extreme. We can win over the Syndicalist workers for a constructive program and thus hasten the unification of labor not by a petrified doctrine of only seeing the A. F. of L. and talking about liquidation but by a practical program for the uniting of the workers economically with the A. F. of L., where conditions warrant, and in other cases in the independent unions. European analogies will not solve our problems, and those who resort to such analogies as a cure are doing the cause great harm in America. Even those having a tendency of blindly aping Europe will admit that the labor movement in the United States can hardly be compared either in scope or in structure with the European movement. Although in some European countries industries are not as well developed, labor is far better organized than in the United States, and the structure of the unions while not industrial, is still a vast improvement on what we have here. Dual unionism is no problem in Europe. Each country has on labor movement. Here and there the reactionaries organized some paper unions with a membership not exceeding the famous combination of the Three Tailors of Tooley Street, but they have no influence on the situation.

During the revolutionary crisis of the last three years radical minorities under syndicalist influence which mainly emanated from the United States broke away from the large bodies, as for instance Grundau's Railwaymen. The futility of such a move is apparent when we consider the fact that 98 per cent of the workers in the comparatively well organized industries remain in the old unions. The situation in this country is a problem in itself. In order to unify the labor movement in America we must adopt a program in harmony with the peculiar situation existing in America and act accordingly. The independent union came into existence as a protest against the reactionary and treacherous bureaucracy of Gompers & Co., and the antiquated craft union system which that machine stands for. The ideological influence of the Gompers system of unionism is at its lowest ebb as a result of the defeats suffered by it during the

last two years. Thousands of progressive workers are repulsed by the old unions and are looking towards a vital change in the labor movement. Instead of from fifteen to twenty millions there are less than five million workers organized in the United States, including all unions old line and independent. Wide stretches of the country are hardly touched by unionism. In some trades hardly any attempt is made to organize the workers; on the contrary, the Gompers machine is continuing to pursue its anti-mass policies and is deliberately keeping the workers out of the unions and is forbidding them with high initiation fees, special rules and the perpetuation of the absurd craft divisions. Under such conditions is it a wonder that there is hardly any sign of recovery on the part of organized labor? The demoralization is acute and there is a reaction away from the Gompers machine. The disgust of the progressive workers is accentuated by the powerful influence of persistent syndicalist propaganda. How can we become masters of this situation and direct and influence these contradicting destructive forces into channels of constructive revolutionary activities in behalf of the interests of the working-class as a whole?

Are we to say to some of the organized independent unions which are the only force in their trade or industry to dissolve and go back to the A. F. of L. as individuals? Shall we never attempt to organize the workers in an unorganized or practically unorganized trade or industry unless we are sure of Gompers' admission ticket? And in the event of his refusal are we going to leave them unorganized? Supposing after we started an organization on a rational up-to-date trade or industrial union policy Mr. Gompers will say to us: You will be admitted provided you split into many little crafts, each having its own international with a set of officials. Or suppose Mr. Gompers has a certain two-by-four international in a certain trade while the independent union in the same trade is far stronger, shall we advise this independent union to dissolve and submit to the destructive and dividing influence of the Gompers' combination? Surely those that advise such a course are not on firm ground, and instead of unifying the revolutionary forces and thus working towards unity in the whole labor movement, they would strengthen the extremists in the Syndicalist camp and deprive us of any possibility of influencing this important element in the American labor movement. To say such a proposition is absurd is to use a mild expression. To bring the Syndicalist forces under our influence and lead them towards constructive action in the United States is one of the major problems of the Workers' Party; indeed its success depends on a proper solution of this problem. How to unite and assimilate these various forces and tendencies, how to organize and promote the organization of the workers in all fields is the problem.

The policies of the Workers' Party, with regard to independent unions, should be based on the relation those unions bear to the labor movement as a whole.

The independent unions arose in an endeavor of the workers to organize themselves in accordance with the needs of their daily struggle for wages and conditions. In these they come into conflict with the treacherous and reactionary bureaucracy as typified by the Gompers machine. Out of these conflicts, and as a result of expulsions or secessions there were formed in certain industries, unions which are not part of the American Federation of Labor, and which function as independent unions.

The Workers' Party should stand for a unified labor movement in the United States and use its influence to bring pressure to bear on the American Federation of Labor for the admission to that body, with equal rights with other unions, of these independent unions.

At the same time the Workers Party should recognize that the American Federation of Labor, as at present constituted and controlled by Gompers & Co., is hostile to unifying and constructive policies and will not admit these independent unions into its organization without first attempting to destroying them. Such a policy of destruction by Gompers & Co. is an inevitable outcome of their policy of dividing labor, which gave birth to the independent unions. Gompers & Co., controlling the American Federation of Labor, has in many of the important industries conducted a policy of not organizing the workers, or of not adopting forms of organization suitable to the struggles of the workers, and, in many instances, of deliberately sabotaging the possibilities of strengthening workers' organizations by an ingenuous and dastardly policy of keeping the workers out of the unions.

The Workers' Party should support independent unions in such trades or industries as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Textile Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Workers, Lumber Workers, Shoe Workers, Automobile and Aircraft Workers, etc. who are operating in trades or industries where the American Federation of Labor has not gained a foothold, or where the independent unions represent a force stronger than or as strong as the American Federation of Labor, recognizing that the independent unions will strive

to organize the workers, and organize them on a basis which will offer them a better opportunity to defend their interests.

Having a policy for the unification of the labor movement, the Workers Party, through its influence in the various independent organizations, should favor the amalgamation of all workers' organizations in the various industries into industrial bodies comprising the workers in each particular industry.

The Workers' Party should strive to bring about the return of the small independent local unions into the American Federation of Labor in such cases where the overwhelming bulk of workers organized within that particular trade are within the American Federation of Labor.

In cases where, during the struggle against the reactionary bureaucracy, there have been formed entirely new unions which have not gained any foothold or job control, but include only the militant minority which has been defeated in its attempt to gain leadership, the Workers' Party should strive to bring about the return of these militants to the general labor movement, and to encourage their organizing as effective minorities within the labor movement, in order to enhance their effectiveness, and to crystallize the strength of the militant elements in their opposition to the bureaucracies within the respective trade unions.

In order to bring about the unification of the independent unions in these trades and industries where they have the predominance the Workers' Party should favor any effort to federate them into a central body.

American Labor Alliance

MINUTES OF THE THIRD SESSION OF THE WORKERS' PARTY JOINT CONVENTION COMMITTEE

Present:

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE—Cannon, Wilenkin, Bittleman, Costrell, O'Flaherty, Solkanen, Allison, Lovestone, Andersen.

WORKERS' COUNCIL—Engdahl, Trachtenberg.

JEWISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION—Wishnak, Sautsky.

ARBEITER BILDUNGS VEREINE—Lore, Wolf.

Motion made and carried to give three delegates to the Bohemian Socialist Federation (Czechoslovak Marxian Federation).

Motion that four delegates be given to the Jewish Socialist Party (Left Poale Zion) and that this organization be referred to the Joint Committee of the Jewish Organizations for report; also provided that this organization agrees to the decisions of the Merger Committee in regard to the disposal of its organization. Carried.

Trachtenberg made a report on the situation within the Italian Socialist Federation and its interstate convention.

Motion that we increase the representation of the Italian Socialist Federation to four delegates. Amendment that we add two delegates to each of the two sections of the Italian delegation. Amendment carried.

Communication from the Polish Federation in Chicago.

Motion that they be given one fraternal delegate. Amendment that they be asked to get in touch with the Polish Organization of the American Labor Alliance. Amendment defeated. Motion carried.

Motion that we issue invitation immediately to the Scandinavian Socialist Federation. Carried.

Motion that we give them four delegates. Carried.

Motion that the secretary get the names and addresses of

all other sympathetic organizations and get in touch with them immediately. Carried.

Bulgarian, Swedish, S. L. P., Roumanian, French, etc.

Motion that the Credentials Committee shall provide that every delegate be properly vouched for. Carried.

Motion that the Joint Convention Committee be the Credentials Committee for the Convention. Carried.

Report of Arrangements and Finance Committee:

Minutes of the meetings of the Arrangements and Finance Committee read:

1. Recommendation: To accept Yorkville Casino for banquet, Monday night, Dec. 26th, from 5 P. M. on. Carried.

2. Recommendation: To advertise banquet in the press and tickets at \$1.50 and to arrange for deposit of \$500.

Amendment to authorize committee to make loan of \$500 on the responsibility of the committee. Amendment carried. Motion as amended carried.

4. Comrade Cannon to act as chairman at the banquet. Carried.

6. To take New Star Casino for mass meeting Dec. 23rd evening. Carried.

7. Recommendation as amended for speakers at the mass meeting: Comrades J. W. Johnstone, Baker, to take collection, Kruse, Cannon, Dunn, Harrison M. Prevey, Lore, with Robert Minor as chairman.

8. Money collected at mass meeting to be turned over to the Finance Committee to defray convention expenses, balance to be turned over to the incoming C. E. C. Carried.

Motion to elect a special committee of three to bring in a report of what supplies are needed by the new party. Carried.

Committee selected to consist of Allison Winestone, Engdahl.

Problems of the Workers' Party

By J. LOVESTONE

NOWADAYS events move with kaleidoscopic rapidity. History seems bent on crowding itself. In the brief space of two years we have seen the Socialist Party dwindle into a paltry coterie of opportunists, the American workers dealt staggering blow after staggering blow, a new spirit rising in the labor unions; the reformists expelling and the Government jailing and deporting the militants of the labor movement.

After years of most bitter factionalism, after years of strenuous internal discord, the workers are beginning to show a united front. The spirit of labor-union dualism is now weaker than ever before. Politically, the lines of division are becoming more clear. The opportunist forces have been unmasked and are openly organizing as such. Now the militant workers are uniting politically in the Workers' Party, to present a solid front to the enemy.

Of Great Significance

What is the significance of the Workers' Party? What are some of the problems before us? The unity of revolutionary forces is of particular significance at this moment.

The capitalists are now on the offensive along the whole front. Wherever the workers are still badly divided they are retreating before the capitalist onslaught. The unity of the militant forces into a party that will valiantly defend the workers and lead them into an offensive against capitalism is of inestimable importance to the American labor movement. It presages energetic preparation of the working masses for great and decisive struggles.

This unity is also of permanent importance because it is based principally on the conditions and experiences of the American working class. The Workers' Party is fully conscious of the trials of the world proletariat and of the lessons of our own revolutionary movement. Its program portrays a high sense of realism and yet in no way sacrifices the boundless enthusiasm and revolutionary principles characteristic of militant parties the world over.

The Organization Outlook

The first great task before the Workers' Party concerns the Party itself. There are already numerous branches of the American Labor Alliance and of the other charter organizations throughout the country. First of all these must be welded into a compact body. It is these elements, particularly the American Alliance, that must serve as the basis and backbone of the new Party. With these functioning unitedly and efficiently we will be in a position to win back into our ranks the thousands of rebels who were expelled from the Socialist Party and are now not connected with the militants in the labor movement. There are many who, disgusted with the existing labor organizations have broken away from the mass of the workers. After these valiant fighters shall have entered our fold they will be far more ready to take their place again with the less radical workers now the pawns of the labor lieutenants of Capital.

Only after such effective amalgamation has been secured will the Party be enabled to obtain the following of the broad laboring masses. Then a strong foundation

will have been laid for the Party becoming a militant mass Party. We need not delude ourselves. The Workers' Party will for some time remain small, though far larger than any of the existing political groups claiming labor recognition and support.

For the first few years we should not be primarily concerned with the numerical strength of the Party. First of all we must become a going concern and then our membership is bound to increase rapidly. An artificially large membership is a source of incalculable danger particularly to a political party. In building the Workers' Party we must be fully aware of this danger.

A Party of Action

We are striving for a mass militant Party to unify and lead the Workers in their struggle against their mortal enemy—the capitalist class. Such a Party must be a Party of action. It must be a Party that inspires the working masses with plan and purpose. The Workers' Party must therefore take up the concrete, immediate issues of the proletariat and make them its issues. These everyday struggles must be unified and sharpened.

For the large masses these contests serve as the best means of preparation for the final struggle. It is our task to unify and direct these struggles, regardless of how moderate the demands involved may be, into the final struggle for the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of the Workers' Republic.

But to approach this task seriously involves a radical change from the policy pursued by the left wing of our labor movement. Hitherto we relied largely on our own strength to accomplish our ends. And not having any strength worth while ourselves, and being far apart from the masses, we attempted to straddle the gulf by an occasional overflow of printer's ink in the form of a bombastic leaflet or at times setting up a "pure" one hundred and fifty per cent revolutionary union. Insofar as the development of a revolutionary movement is concerned these efforts were worth no more than a rubber penny in an empty slot machine.

We must discard this policy if we are to become a mass Party. We should throw out such slogans as will draw the largest masses into the conflict and will bring the most direct struggle. This means that we are to rely, chiefly, for some time at least, on the strength of the other and larger labor bodies. It means that the Party will have to launch special campaigns and drives on the basis of immediate needs. The very logic of events, the very forces that would be drawn into the struggle for and against the workers—all of these added to the courage, devotion, and self-sacrifice that our members must display in the class struggle will give the Party the leadership of the entire labor movement.

Let us take a few specific examples. Suppose the Workers' Party begins a drive aimed at curbing the power of the courts or the suppression of private armies. Were we to follow the old method we would, to the best of our financial inability, flood the country with leaflets and then stop. Having printed millions of leaflets, our conscience would then be clear and we would rest content with having faithfully served the revolution. Such tac-

tics are not worth a continental and can never get the Party or the workers anywhere. Under the slogans, "Curb the Courts," "Down with Government by Injunction," and "Down with the Capitalist Armies of Thugs and Gunmen," we can rally thousands of workers into struggle, despite the fact that these workers may not accept fully our whole program. Through the pursuit of such policies, through our membership fighting alongside of the Workers, we will strengthen them against the vicious capitalist onslaught and even prepare them for a vigorous counter offensive.

The large mass of workers does not struggle for distant, ultimate ideals, but for their everyday, tangible,

pressing needs. The opportunists and reformists reject and shirk every chance to join the struggle. And when they are forced into a conflict with the capitalists, they strive to limit the struggle to the narrowest bounds and to betray the workers at the first opportunity. Today the struggle for the most elementary needs is met with the powerfully centralized and ruthless opposition of the capitalists—instant suppression by the Government. Hence it is now more urgent than ever for the militants in the labor movement to discard all tactics which breed isolation and sectarianism. We are face to face with a most arduous task. Its difficulty is comparable only to its importance. Let no one retreat or shirk.

The Farmers' Bloc

By H. M. Ware

"What is this Agricultural Bloc?" I asked a friend whom I met in Washington the other day. He is interested in Agricultural organization and knows—"It's a bluff, but it can't help doing some good. Men like La Follette of Wisconsin and Ladd of North Dakota are in it. I believe they are honest, but my God! the others! Imagine a man who has served the PACKERS being in an Agricultural Bloc! "Why are they there?" "Because they know their political heads will be snapped off by their farmer constituencies if they don't do something. Farmers are bitter at the exploitation which is squeezing them. Their first reaction is to turn to their Congressional representatives and demand that they do something and do it now! That's why, over there in the sacred halls of Congress a few Honorables, huddled together and urged by a greater fear, defied all the Totem poles of party "Regularity." That is why Secretary Weeks in stern accents deplores "special legislation, not representing the action of this majority, but forcibly enacted by combinations of divergent interests." "Divergent" is good as applied to those birds who have blocked together.

Have you heard Harding's rebuke, to the farm bloc in his message to Congress? Listen, "Our's is a popular government, through political parties." It may be popular with Warren but apparently it isn't with the farmers, inasmuch as the attempts by their Bloc to do something brings such horrified criticism from the Administration. Looks almost as if the farmers thought the "majority" that is the Republicans, were not going to take any action on their pre-election pledges to the rural millions."

I started him off on another line by asking, "Why is it that supposedly unorganized farmers scare their representatives into a corner, or at least into a bloc, while 'organized labor' gets nothing but open shop legislation?" This is his answer:

"In the first place the constituencies of the Congress—265 national, 143 interstate, and 1761 state farm organizations. The nationals have a dues-paying membership of at least two million members.

"In the second place the constituencies of the Congressmen who have formed that Agricultural Bloc are solid farm districts. The voter's work is the same and they are exploited by the same groups. The city and industrial districts on the other hand are filled with all kinds and degrees of workers. Their senator or representative should worry—those from agricultural states, well, this Bloc proves that they are worrying—about their jobs."

"Isn't that only one way of looking at it though," I asked. Even if this Bloc is a bluff and will only go through the motions it certainly has some significance." He thought a moment. "Yes, that's true. It may mean the beginning of occupational representation or simply that Bloc members will use it for reelection and then as confirmed irregulars, form another so-called "Progressive" party. I believe Weeks, Harding, et al., fear that. The most significant thing about it, however, is that it goes to crystalize. In Canada you know what the United Farmers of Alberta did. They elected farmers who were pledged to voice the decision of their farm organization. That's a big jump beyond this American Bloc with its personnel of astute politicians. How soon American farmers will follow their Canadian brethren—who can say, and how long after that before they join producers from other occupations. Well, I'm neither prophet nor pessimist."

That's all I could get out of him so I hunted up an honest-to-God "dirt farmer" and asked him what he thought of his "Agricultural Bloc." It didn't take me long to find out—he started off with an emphatic question, "What in the Sam Hill have they done?" I pointed out that they had put the brakes on some undesirable tax legislation. "Yes," he came back, and they didn't oppose the Williams Bill which happened to be filled with jokers. One of the Farm organizations showed that up. One joker read that the Packers could not be prosecuted for the first offense! No sir! That Bloc is bunk. We don't want promises, we want ready cash. Let's see what happens to the appropriation for seed wheat and grain for Russian Relief. Will the Bloc force Hoover to buy from farm organizations? Will the Bloc pass legislation reviving the U. S. Grain Corporation and see that Hoover puts the price of wheat up—just as he put it down during the war?"

He would have said much more, but I knew how he felt—how all farmers feel—disgusted and bitter. Bankruptcy is teaching many farmers their true social position; many more realize that bankruptcy is inevitable. It can be proved by simple arithmetic.

Land worth \$200 per acre averages for a ten-year period 15 bushels of wheat per acre. At 34 cents per bushel the farmer gets \$13.50. His interest payment at six per cent on the land mortgage amounts to \$12.00. That leaves \$1.50 to buy seed, plow, plant, harvest, thresh and haul. How can he do it?

The gentlemen of the Agricultural Bloc cannot solve

The Unification of Labor

An Interview with William Z. Foster (Federated Press)

Chicago, December 10, 1921.

Is it possible to call into existence simultaneously from 500 to 1,000 groups of trade union radicals and progressives in that many localities, to put spirit and fire into the labor movement? Can a network of such minority committees be set up throughout the entire trade unions of the United States by a series of national moves, taking one industry after another and completing the proposition in from six to eight months?

William Z. Foster, organizer of the steel workers, says that it can be done, and that it is the program now being worked out by the Trade Union Educational League. "Our plan," said he, "is one of the most important projects ever undertaken by union men in this country. In my judgment, it has far more significance for labor than even the campaign to organize the steel industry."

"We aim to unite all the radicals and progressives for a concerted drive to invigorate the old unions and to remodel them into modern union structures. All the details of our program will be explained, and the campaign itself actually started in the first issue of The Labor Herald, which will appear on February 1st, of the coming year."

"The campaign of organization will be carried out somewhat along the principles of a military drive. It is a large scale proposition in organization, such as I tried in vain to get the trade union leaders to make out of the steel campaign. Our first move will be to set up Educational Leagues of live wires in all the important trade union centers of the country at the same time. These bodies will consist of trade unionists of all trades, and will at once get busy to put some life into the local labor councils."

"We calculate that by our system of organization it will take only a month or so to put in anywhere from 200 to 800 of these local general groups. Once they are established, they will immediately set to work to carry out the second phase of our campaign, which is to organize similar Educational Leagues within the various single industries. That is, at a given signal, all the local groups in the country will, practically simultaneously, call meetings in their towns of all the live wire elements of all the local unions in a given industry, and then proceed to organize them into a group. Then these single industry groups will be put into touch with each other all over the country, thus creating a national educational group throughout their whole industry. Such a national group, for example, the one in the railroad industry, will consist of the militant elements of all the 16 unions. Having a common program, these militants will function industrially, and strive to infuse the many organizations with their own spirit. Eventually they aim to amalgamate them together into one organization."

this problem—so they bluff. Although they are a result of farm exploitation they must run true to type. Which is another way of saying that they will avoid all fundamental issues. But they do mark another advance of farmers towards economic freedom. They may set the fashion for "occupational representation." Whatever else they do they will fail to give the farmer relief. This failure will bring rural psychology a little closer to the truth—that after all there are only two occupations—those who produce wealth and those who steal it.

"Immediately a minority organization of this character is set up in one industry, the local general educational groups, which are the basis of the organizing mechanism, will turn their attention simultaneously to the organization of the next industry group all over the country. Thus, at the rate of about one industry per month, such groups will be established in the various great industrial divisions, printing trades, building trades, metal trades, etc., etc. The final result will be the thorough organization of radical and progressive sentiment throughout the entire labor movement."

"This is a big plan of organization, but I am willing to stake my standing as an organizer on its feasibility. American radicals have been talking for a long time on what they know about organization. Now we will give them a chance to see if they can translate some of this talk into practice in a large scale project."

"The beneficial effects on the trade union movement of such an organization cannot be doubted. As it is now the militants, those to whom the trade union movement carries a real message of emancipation, are disunited and demoralized. They have hardly a shred of organization anywhere. Their will does not count in the labor movement. But once they are organized and can turn their boundless energy and enthusiasm towards the upbuilding of the trade unions, we may look for the dawn of a new day for labor in this country. The organization of the Trade Union Educational League throughout the trade union movement will be an effective counter-stroke on the onslaughts now being made upon our organizations by the employing class."

Mr. Foster emphatically declared that the new movement has nothing whatever in common with dual unionism. For many years he has stood consistently against the dual union policy, claiming that the militants have greatly injured the labor movement by quitting it and forming idealistic organizations. The new movement, which has already developed powerful backing in many localities, is designed to put the trade union movement on its feet, not to break it up. It is the very reverse of dual unionism.

"Just now," said Mr. Foster, "we are establishing our preliminary communications with militant union men in the hundreds of centers where we will launch our work shortly. This is one of the more difficult phases, and all union men anxious to see labor do something real, are invited to write at once to our headquarters, 118 No. LaSalle St., Chicago."

THESES AND RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the

THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

June 22nd-July 12th, 1921)

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An Unemployment Program

(Workers Unemployment Council of America)

A program of immediate demands must deal with the problem of unemployment from two points of view. First, it must include adequate provision for the maintenance of the unemployed and part-employed; second, it must include proposals for the decrease of unemployment.

It must demand that the Government prevent conditions of poverty, which inevitably impair the health and vitality of the whole working class population and lower the morale of the workers.

To stand aside from active measures for the resumption of production by the opening up of industries and the initiation of work is to acquiesce deliberately and meekly in the prolongation of unemployment.

We must emphasize the fundamental importance of throwing all our energy into these tasks. Personal considerations must be swept aside in a great effort to overcome the enemy. The proposals here put forward are made on the assumption that the workers of the country are prepared to take a broad view of the present situation and support a comprehensive policy. Nothing short of this will be adequate to prevent the degradation of great masses of workers and their families. Such is the purpose of this program.

We make two kinds of demands:

1) The maintenance of the unemployed and under-employed.

2) The provision of work.

Organized Labor must consistently demand the alternatives of work or compensation. We place compensation first, because the workers and their families at the present moment are starving. Compensation is an immediate necessity. But we must make it clear that the labor movement must demand compensation as an alternative to work. Its demand is that employment should be provided, and that, failing such provision, there should be adequate compensation.

1. Compensation.

(a) UNEMPLOYMENT GRANTS. The purpose of the Hoover Conference for the relief of the unemployed was not serious. It left the whole matter to the whim and bias of those in control of the various local charities. It was a complete evasion of the problem of supporting the unemployed by the Government. It was an insult to American labor, because it does not recognize that unemployed workers are entitled to compensation, but put these workers in the position of paupers and beggars seeking charity.

If such an attitude toward the duty of providing relief is allowed to stand, the unemployed workers and their families must sink into semi-starvation or worse, while production, dwindling still further, still increases the number of the unemployed and under-employed. Clearly the first need is a substantial payment of unemployment compensation.

Such a payment can only be made from a grant by the Federal Government.

The out-of-work compensation scheme, which was instituted in Great Britain after the Armistice as a temporary measure, provides a precedent. In addition to a flat rate, unemployed workers receive additional allowance for dependents. This scheme should be adopted here in the present crisis. It is obvious that the unemployment compensation should be paid to all workers, for whom no work is available, through free employment bureaus or through the labor unions to which the workers belong. Employment bureaus should be instituted by the Government, to work in conjunc-

tion with the labor unions, no fees being charged to applicants.

The rate of compensation should be higher for married workers than for single persons. The payment of compensation should continue as long as the person is unemployed.

(b) UNDER-EMPLOYMENT GRANTS. It is essential that adequate provision be made to prevent starvation. The only practical plan is to adopt the procedure put forward for the unemployment compensation, viz., to put the burden on the Government. The under-employment pay should be sufficient to supplement part-time wages, in order that the aggregate weekly income may be equal to the unemployment wages stated above.

(c) SOLDIERS' BONUS. Victims of imperialism, the ex-soldiers, form a large part of the unemployed. Their misery is a tragic condemnation of the capitalist control of the United States Government. The soldiers have been betrayed shamelessly and the bonus which they were promised as an alleviation of their condition has been side-tracked in the most brutal manner. The American Legion, controlled by the monied people mostly through former army officers, into which many of the ex-soldiers have been misled, has shirked the fight for the bonus. Energetic leadership and action might have won the fight. The fight can still be won if the ex-soldiers and unemployed get together to demand the bonus as the right of the ex-soldier and as a means of relieving the unemployment among them.

II. Work to Be Provided.

Unemployment and under-employment compensation can only relieve immediate distress by maintaining to some extent the purchasing power of the workers. What is wanted is WORK. The government should provide necessary work of a useful nature. The resumption of production will necessarily only proceed as effective pressure is brought to bear upon the capitalists. There is much that can be done immediately.

(a) PROVISION OF WORK. It is inevitable that any measures to be effective in relieving the present situation must involve a considerable outlay of Government funds. The Government's insensate policy has brought the workers to the point at which wholesale relief is the only alternative to wholesale starvation. Those now suffering from this policy must be provided for directly out of the pockets of those who have amassed and are still amassing fortunes out of the exploitation of labor.

The efforts of the Government must be directed to restoring production, so as to absorb those out of work. In this direction nothing can be done without an abandonment of the Government policy of inaction.

We must force the Government to take steps to curb the capitalists (trusts and corporations) from sabotaging industry by deliberately shutting down big productive units, forcing lockouts and strikes as part of the drive to smash organized labor. Where work is provided by the Government or by public effort, it should be regular wage-earning employment carried out by workers belonging to their respective labor unions.

(b) GOVERNMENT REDUCTION OF WORKING HOURS. As already shown, part-time work is not a remedy but an aggravation of the evil. A shortening of the working week is different. We therefore demand the immediate enactment of a Federal law, fixing the legal hours of work at six (6) hours per day, without reduction in wages, and with drastic regulation of overtime, so as to limit over-

time in each industry to the indispensable minimum which the employers and labor unions agree to be necessary.

(c) **CHILD LABOR.** Steps should be taken to withdraw from industry all children at present employed and provide for their education and maintenance directly or by work allowances to their parents.

(d) **GOVERNMENT WORK.** The Government itself should initiate public work.

The probable requirements of the Government for the next ten years should be estimated and work immediately begun on such jobs.

Roads should be built and repaired on a larger scale than heretofore. They are needed for motor transport service. Afforestation and reclamation should be speeded up. Waterways and harbors need repairing.

(e) **HOUSING.** The Government should institute a housing program, giving contracts only to those capitalists who compose their differences with the Building Trades Unions. Such a program is necessary in order to make good the shortage in working-class houses caused by the let-up in building during the war.

(f) **OTHER PUBLIC WORK.** It is not only Government departments which could assist in the provision of work, by undertaking work which is long overdue. There is an enormous amount of railway work which ought to be no longer postponed. The building and repair of locomotives, coaches, freight cars, the repair of the roadways, the renovation of railway stations, sheds, warehouses and similar work for which the necessary means are available in the fund allowed by the Government to the railroad companies for guaranteed profits. This work would provide employment for skilled and unskilled workers in many industries, in addition to the railroad workers directly affected.

(g) **TRADE WITH RUSSIA.** There must be an immediate resumption of trade with Russia, and of normal political relations with the Soviet Republic. The Russian Government is prepared to supply large quantities of timber, hides, flax, platinum and gold in payment of extensive orders, to make good the wastage of the years of war and blockade, and to re-establish the economic life of the country. Russia needs railway equipment, means of transport, agricultural machinery and implements of all kinds, clothing, including boots, and a thousand and one other commodities which could be supplied by American labor. The effects of placing orders for these requirements in this country would be cumulative. The reaction on industries not directly concerned with the execution of Russian contracts would be far-reaching.

III. Imperialism.

The United States Government aims to serve American profiteers in their ambition to build a commercial empire. This ambition can only be achieved by reducing American workers to the status of industrial coolies, thus making it possible for the insatiable profiteers to flood the world market with products cheap enough to compete with the products of cheap European labor. The profiteers' rush for markets will result in another conflict before the prating about disarmament and peace has ceased. It is the results of the last war and the preparations for the next—economically and politically—that have brought about the disastrous situation of to-day.

The first need of the world is peace. But peace cannot be secured by imperialists. We demand, therefore, a stop to the enormous expenditures for the army and navy. The money is required for the relief of the starving unemployed.

The enemy is within the country; it is capitalism, which cannot be defeated except by a change in the control of the Government from the capitalist to the workers.

In The Ranks of Labor

Taking a Tip From Department of Justice

In a statement issued by the Secretary of the Hungarian Propaganda Committee and the editor of the Hungarian I. W. W. paper "Felszabadulas," the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. is charged with entering the editorial room of that paper and expelling the editor and others. Asked for the reason for such action they were shown the following motion passed at a meeting of the G. E. B.: Moved by M. Carlson and seconded by C. Green that the G. E. B. take action on the Hungarian paper and remove the present editor, Andrew Newman, and Secretary John Bartell, and clean the Communist Disrupters out of the Hungarian Branches." The invaders compelled the committee in control of the Hungarian paper to sign a check for the bank balance to the credit of that organ. However, the committee cancelled it before it could be cashed. The I. W. W.'s action was dictated by hostility to the program of the Red Trade Union International. The three magic letters! What's in a name?

The 'Frisco Frame-Up Gang

The Tom Mooney Defense Committee states that the ponderous screen vulgarian, "Fatty" Arbuckle, recently acquitted of causing the death of Virginia Rappe by force and violence, was saved from punishment through the activities of the same forces that were instrumental in sending Mooney and Billings to life imprisonment. "Fatty" is a well known open shop advocate and probably this had something to do with the leniency with which he was treated. While thousands of dollars were spent in saving this chunk of beef and booze from the prison pen, the workers in his movie studios were having their wages reduced.

Chicago Labor for Soviet Russia

At a meeting of the Chicago Federation of Labor, which took place Sunday, Dec. 18, the following resolution was passed unanimously.

"WHEREAS—Those in the best position to know the facts agree that in spite of all that can be done, 5,000,000 deaths will result from the present famine and accompanying disease in Russia, and that this appalling figure will reach 15,000,000 unless the most prompt, widespread and energetic efforts of relief are undertaken, and

WHEREAS: The Chicago Federation of Labor has already indicated its realization of the tremendous gravity of this situation by allying itself with other local agencies for the relief of the famine stricken workers in Russia, but it feels that this effort should be extended over the entire country at the earliest possible moment; therefore, be it

RESOLVED—That the Chicago Federation of Labor earnestly requests the American Federation of Labor to lend its powerful influence to quickening the efforts for the relief of the victims of the twin horrors of famine and disease in Russia; and be it further

RESOLVED: That copies of these resolutions be forwarded immediately to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor in Washington, D. C.

Dear Comrades Everywhere:

In this way let me tell you how much your loving messages have helped me in my battle for life, and now that I am slowly winning back my old strength you all seem very dear and very close to me. Before very long you will see me in the thickest part of the battle again, stronger and more determined than ever to serve effectively in the ranks of the class war. Yours till the end,

ELLA REEVE BLOOR.

CORRESPONDENCE

Red Pepper

Dear Comrades: I am sending news of the struggle in my neighborhood. The Chicago Stock Yards Workers are fighting for an existence. The capitalist press is slandering the workers and making fun of their brave fight. The capitalist papers are trying to slander Miss Sophie Horoska by calling her a Communist, a leader of the rioting workers, but as Ludendorff said to the German soldiers, what the enemy see good in us we should be ashamed of, but what they see bad in us we should be proud; so with the workers.

A mob of women in the Kansas mine fields are going from one mine to another forcing the few lovers of the boss from the mines. The sheriff and a large force of deputies—the iron fist of "American Democracy"—was powerless to stop the "angry" mob. The women's only weapon was red pepper.

The working women of Russia used red pepper against the police in the strikes and food riots in Russia! And they were successful! William Z. Foster was right when he said that the American labor movement is the blood brother of the Russian movement. The workers of this country are fast learning that action, not talk, will win their fight.

I remain your supporter and comrade in the workers' fight for freedom.

A. D. A.....

Horse Sense

Dear Comrade:

I have succeeded in collecting another dollar for OUR PAPER and I desire to send a few lines for the correspondence space in the Toiler. I will say that I belong to the army—of unemployed. But, of course, in the great city of Grand Rapids we have no organization. I have been idle for seven months in the last year, and all signs point that it is going to last indefinitely. It is a great surprise to me that there can be one single worker today that needs to be told that he is one of the oppressed. It seems to me that the capitalist's way of telling us about it should be sufficient. It seems to me that even the blind can see that things can not continue as they are today. I will only illustrate the conditions in the little 2x4 shop where I was last employed. There we were, only ten producers, and we had to support first a company that had to have a certain profit on the investment, a manager, an assistant manager, a clerk, a stenographer, two travelling salesmen, one superintendent and one boss. Now I will leave it to any worker with just common horse sense to figure out how this can be done or how much we ten producers should produce before any part of it could come to us. This is the way when we produce for profit and keep up companies to sell what we produce. It appears to me that this kind of education should be sufficient to teach even the densest ignoramus of the ignorant and my opinion is that the workers who can not learn from this can not learn from anything at all.

In conclusion I will say that I wish some one with a thousand horse power would drop into Grand Rapids and start to organize the unemployed. The employed it is no use to spend time on because they are too busy supporting their masters who are so good and keep them working for what—well, we would not mention what because we would be liable to turn revolutionary and DISLOYAL.

Yours for a WORKERS' REPUBLIC and a SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

G. S.,

From Bishop Brown

Regarding unemployment relief, Bishop Brown of Galion, Ohio, with whose book, "Communism and Christianity," many of our readers will be familiar, sends us a copy of his letter to Captain Cook of the Police Department of Galion, Ohio. We reprint this letter in part:

My Dear Captain Cook:

The representations of your conversation on last Tuesday about the sufferers by unemployment, who are being attracted to Galion by what Mrs. Brown and I have been doing to relieve their distress, have been the subject of several earnest conversations in which Mrs. Brown took your side.

My conversation was due to these points:

1. Unemployment is one of the many unnecessary evils by which the capitalist system of economics afflicts the world; but, like its great trinity of evils—War, Poverty and Slavery—unemployment is necessary to the very existence of capitalism.

2. Those who like Mrs. Brown and me are the beneficiaries of the system, and who, unlike us, are in sympathy with it, should be allowed and indeed forced to bear the whole strain placed upon it by the care of the victim of this evil.

3. Charity is one of the necessary evils of a competitive capitalism, under which the basic necessities of life (foods, clothing and houses), are produced to the surfeiting of the few owners of the means and machines of production and distribution, and to the starving of the many workers who are the makers and operators of the machines.

4. Therefore those whose hope for the salvation of the world from this and other unnecessary sufferings is centered, like ours, in the supplanting of this system by that of co-operative socialism, under which the necessities will be made for the benefit of all useful workers, should not be guilty of an act of pecuniary charity, but devote all their available money, time and strength to the furtherance of the movement looking towards this change.

It was impossible, try as best I could, to resist the force of these points, so I capitulated and am standing with you and Mrs. Brown.

If now you will let us keep on in the old way of charity until Christmas, so as not to break off a bad habit which we have carried through a whole generation too abruptly, and give the news time to spread among the sufferers, whom we have been vainly and wrongly trying to relieve, we shall then abandon it completely and you will have no further trouble with us on their account.

After Christmas Day we shall not give a cent, a bite or a garment to any sufferers by unemployment, but send them to the Mayor and the police, who are the official representatives of the abominable economic system to which the unemployed owe their wretchedness.

P. S.—Of course, you will understand that what was said about offering \$100 a month towards the sustaining fund of a "soup and bunk house" for these poor sufferers is now cancelled. I am a radical and having been converted to your point of view I naturally have gone far beyond it, and would not now give a dollar toward preventing all such houses in the United States from being abandoned.

WM. M. BROWN.

Friends of Soviet Russia

NATIONAL OFFICE, FRIENDS OF SOVIET
RUSSIA

201 West 13th Street, New York City

S. S. "Eastern Cross" will leave Brooklyn on Dec. 20, loaded with 160 long tons rolled oats, 300 long tons corn grits, 200,000 pounds cocoa, 4,210 condensed milk, 210 cases (500 pounds each) fat backs, 80 long tons lima beans.

One who has just been in Russia reports about the work being done there. He states that the efforts now being made by outside relief agencies will not avail to save the starving millions unless efforts are increased. "We have been asked," he says, "why we don't take on 2,500,000 at once and carry them through as far as we can, instead of planning for the smaller number. The answer is that it would be decenter to let them die at once than to carry them for three or four months, bringing them back to physical condition approaching normal, and then abandon them to go back through the slow stages of starvation again."

The answer of American workmen and workwomen must be that the 2,500,000 and as many others as there may be **MUST BE SAVED!** It will be a disgrace for the workers of the world and for American workers in particular if this calamity should occur. American labor does not know what hunger is—not yet. It may still learn it in the struggles that are coming. But for the present, even with unemployment, part-time work, strikes and lockouts, it lives—according to a standard that knows no superior among the working class of the whole world.

If the labor unions and other workers' organizations will assess themselves half a day's wage, we shall be able to collect \$10,000,000! Our next slogan must be: Into the labor unions with our message! Get the endorsement and affiliation of locals and central labor bodies. Get them to assess or recommend assessment. It must be done in the name of labor—for labor—for starving working men, women and their children!

The big force of friends of the F. S. R. should get to work on this tremendous task. The start has been made. Several Central labor unions are affiliated with us. The Denver Trade and Labor Assembly recently affiliated. We have been endorsed by the Central Labor Council of Portland, Ore.

More and more locals of the United Mine Workers are sending contributions. A local in Klein, Mont., contributed \$210, despite the severe unemployment in that section of the country and the general industrial depression. Other locals, such as Taylor, Pa., Christopher, Ill., Brockwayville, Pa., have contributed.

WHERE ARE THE OTHER UNIONS?

The New York Local Friends of Soviet Russia is planning many activities during the next two weeks. Tickets can be obtained at the headquarters, 208 East 12th St., 83 East 4th St., 257 East 10th St., 351 East 81st St., 59 East 105th St., 1258 Boston Road, Bronx, 226 Roebing St., Brooklyn and 307 Stone Ave., Brooklyn.

Bulletin of Activities

Friday, Dec. 23.—The World War Veterans are giving a relief performance for the Friends of Soviet Russia.

Dec. 25 to Jan. 2.—Clothing Collection Week. Get all your cards at headquarters and solicit names and ad-

resses for bundles. Also get names of volunteers who will aid in collection during week, especially those who are ready to donate trucks for one or more days.

Dec. 30.—We are holding a great benefit concert under our auspices at the Brooklyn Dancing Academy of Music on Lafayette Ave., near the Atlantic Ave. Subway Station. Mishel Piastro, world famous Russian violinist, and Joseph Winogradoff, celebrated baritone, will be the artists.

January 1st and 5th—Foster Meetings. Admission 25 cents. The Jan. 1st meeting will be at New Star Casino, 107th and Park Ave. The Jan. 5th meeting will take place at the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, Liberty Ave. and Sackman St., Brooklyn. Foster was the leader of the great Steel Strike of 1919 in which half a million men and women participated, and was also the leader of the great packing-house strike in Chicago wherein 85,000 workers took part. He has recently returned from a six months' trip in Russia, Germany, France and Italy. His lecture will deal with Russian conditions which he himself has viewed. This is his first and only appearance in New York. In Chicago thousands were turned away from his lectures because of packed houses. We must equal that record in New York. We must have packed houses.

January 13, 14, 15.—The Harlem Immediate Aid to Soviet Russia is conducting a grand bazaar and ball at the Harlem Casino, 116th St. and Lenox Ave. Cooperate with them to make this affair a tremendous success for Soviet Russia.

The question in Kansas is "Shall the miners allow themselves to be made slaves by law, or shall they resist?" It is a simple enough question, but there are two answers to it. John L. Lewis and his fellow salary grabbers say, "If slavery is legal, then obey the law and be slaves." Of course, Lewis is against the law, in a legal way. He stands for "a square-toed, orderly, legal fight to test the constitutionality of the Kansas Industrial Court Law." He "proposes to find out whether this law is sound or unsound." The law is sound enough for the mine owners so long as miners obey it. Seeking to enforce obedience, Lewis expels thousands of miners, sends scabs to Kansas, and seeks to divide the workers by organizing new locals while the leaders who fight for the workers are in jail. To confuse the strikers, he publishes statements that thousands are back at work.

But the workers answer, not in words, but in deeds; "Resistance, not slavery." The Kansas miners strike. They make the law "unsound" by refusing to obey it. Alexander Howat and fifty more may be jailed, but not the thousands who refuse to be slaves. The Illinois miners are giving financial support and food to help their fellow workers in Kansas. Locals in other states demand the removal from office of President Lewis. Then came the women of Kansas, not stopping to consider the niceties of the statutes framed by the legal vultures in the pay of the capitalist state and by their action at the mine at which their men-folk struck dramatically focussed the attention of the county on the gallant struggle that is being conducted by the miners of Kansas.

Class War Prisoners

Christmas for Politicales

The Christmas season is upon us. To some it will bring good cheer. It will offer them an opportunity to praise God for his many blessings.

To many it will merely accentuate the misery and hardship that has come as a sequence of the World War. Unemployment, curtailed purchasing power, strikes, lockouts, all the bitter corollaries of the Class Struggle—this is what the holiday season will mean to many.

But to the Politicales—the class war prisoners and their families—the Holiday Season is but a mockery, another evidence of the hypocrisy of the whole Capitalist System.

Christmas has come three times since the war ended. This one will make the fourth. And yet many comrades and fellow workers languish in the shadow of prison walls. To them the Christmas Carol is a strident squawk, the Christmas bell merely the announcement of another day in bondage, and the extra rations of the Christmas dinner but the manifest offerings of a so-called Christian society endeavoring to appease its conscience.

Paul Manko in the Hospital for the Insane at Dannemora, N. Y., a mental wreck from the vindictive persecution of Christian officers in Christian New York. At home a frail wife and a baby boy mourn. Anna Stark with her baby boy and girl are left to shift for themselves as best they may because the husband and father was deported to Russia last March. Many others are so situated—the innocent victims of "Christian justice!"

Prisoners in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Kansas, men and women facing trial in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas and other states. Men and women facing deportation from all over the country.

Why? Because they embrace an ideal of a free society, in which those who render service shall receive the full social value of the service they render; and they proposed methods of putting their ideal into effect.

That is why they are in prison; that is why they face trial; that is why they are confronted with deportation to

hostile governments where imprisonment awaits them in some instances, even death.

It is these comrades whose interests are being looked after by the National Defense Committee. The N. D. C. and its affiliated divisions furnish relief for the prisoners and their families, and it sees to it that those who face trial and deportation are given legal defense.

This is the work the N. D. C. is engaged in all year round. Upon you, the reader of these lines, depends the success of its work. If you give your support, the misery of these comrades will be lightened. Their defense will be complete. You who are class-conscious, who know what the Class War means and have keenly felt its hand—**—YOU MUST HELP!**

Make remittances payable to Edgar Owens, Treas., N. D. C., 7 Bank St.

OUR PRISONERS WANT BOOKS

A request has just come from Comrade Ferguson from Sing Sing prison for the following books:

Mitchell (and others)—The Income of the U. S.
Lippincott. Economic Development of U. S.
Cole, G. D. H. Guild Socialism (1921)
Hamilton. Current Economic Problems
Webb, S. & B., Industrial Democracy (1920 ed.)

Comrade Gus Alonen from Auburn Prison asks for the following:

Ransome's Book on Russia.
A Key to D. E. Turner's Combined Spanish
Methods.
Spanish Dictionary.
Finnish Dictionary.

The only way our prisoners keep in touch with the outside world is through books and periodicals. The only way they avoid stagnation and degeneration is through reading and study. Who will provide them with these books? Send books to the National Defense Committee, New York Division, 201 West 13th St.

PARTY MEMBERS—PARTY WORKERS

Are Invited to Attend the
Ae Invited to Attend the

"Get-Together"

At the Labor Temple,
243 East 84th Street

Christmas Eve, December 24th

The Workers' Party Convention will adjourn at 5 P.
M. and devote the evening to getting acquainted.

Special

Russian String Orchestra Recitals
Folk Dances Singing
Music Plays

Bring the wife and kiddies.

Bring your friends. Bring a smile.
Admission Free. That Helps!

Remember our Comrades now in the prisons of New York State! Send them a line of cheer for the New Year!
IN AUBURN PRISON, 135 State St., Auburn, N. Y.:

Ben Gitlow, No. 38461.

Karl Paivio, 37410.

I. Migher, No. 37728.

IN SING SING PRISON, 354 Hunter Street, Ossining, N. Y.:

Harry Winitsky, No. 71154.

I. Ferguson, No. 71623.

Chas. Ruthenberg, No. 71624.

IN CLINTON PRISON, Dannemora, N. Y., Box B:

Gus Alonen, No. 14768.

Paul Manko.

IN GREAT MEADOW PRISON, Comstock, N. Y.:

Jim Larkin.

HELP

Nine Million Children
Fifteen Million Adults
Starving, Freezing --- Without Food and Clothing

DON'T EXPRESS SYMPATHY.

DO SOMETHING.

Do More --- and THEN MORE AGAIN!

A POPULATION AS LARGE AS THAT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK IS IN DANGER OF BEING WIPED OUT BY HUNGER.

MAKE THIS CHRISTMAS ONE FOR THE STARVING OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

GIVE PERSONALLY—GET YOUR UNION TO GIVE—GET THEM TO MAKE AN ASSESSMENT.

IF WE ALL WORK TOGETHER, WE CAN RAISE TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS

NOW IS THE TIME TO SHOW WHERE WE STAND.

THE WORKERS OF AMERICA WITH THE WORKERS OF HEROIC SOVIET RUSSIA.

Give Help!

Make Sacrifices!

**Nine Milion Children Fifteen Million Adults
Starving, Freezing --- Without Food and Clothing**

**SEND CHECKS, MONEY ORDERS TO 201 WEST 13TH STREET, N. Y. CITY.
SEND CLOTHING, ETC., TO 429 EAST 8TH STREET, NEW YORK.**

FRIENDS OF SOVIET RUSSIA

201 WEST 13TH STREET,

NEW YORK CITY