

# THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1922

No. 204

## Greetings to the Convention

*J. Louis Engdahl James P. Cannon*

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## Sketches

*by Gropper*

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## Constitution of the Workers' Party

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## Flashlights on the Convention

*Thomas J. O'Flaherty*

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

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| 5. Fox Trot      | 5. Fox Trot      |
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# The Toiler

Vol. IV.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1922

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## The Outlook

**J**UDGE BLAND of Logan County, West Virginia, refused to release on bond Frank Keeney and Fred Mooney, President and Secretary-Treasurer of District No. 17, United Mine Workers of America, and William Blizzard, President of Sub-District No. 14. They were indicted by a special grand jury on charges of conspiracy in connection with the march of armed men on Logan County last August. The capitalists are making no fine distinctions nowadays between labor leaders of various shades of opinion. They fear organized labor and are determined to crush it by putting its fighting leaders out of the way.

**B**ENJAMIN HOOPER of the Railroad Labor Board, speaking before railroad officials in New York, stated that railroad employees have no right to quit in concert and further said: "If this is not the law, it ought to be and it will be." Five other members of the Railroad Labor Board were present. Mr. Hooper, as vice-chairman of the board, is charged with adjusting grievances between employers and employees. He is supposed to see that the law is obeyed, yet he openly took the part of the employers against the employees, and threatened to take away from the latter their only weapon to enforce their demands. The Pennsylvania Railroad recently flouted the decision of the board, yet Mr. Hooper did not threaten to have a law passed to punish railroad magnates for refusing to obey the board's decisions. While the workers rely on "impartial" committees appointed by the capitalist government to adjust grievances between themselves and the bosses, they must expect nothing better than this. Hooper is class-conscious. The great mass of the workers are not. When the latter realize that they have the power to enforce their demands, they will not be satisfied with miserable concessions. They will demand the industries and take them.

**A**MONG those honored or dishonored, according to the reader's point of view, through the dispensation of titles by British royalty is the hardened old labor faker, Joseph Havelock Wilson, President of the National Sailors' and Firemen's Union. The Order of the British Empire was bestowed upon him. We learn that further honors are in store for Joe. A friend of ours who is active in the Vigilantes Committee of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union confided to us some time ago that the members of that union in appreciation of Joe's services were preparing to crown him with the Order of the Boot. Others who have received royal honors are Sir James Buchanan, the Scotch rum manufacturer; Francis V. Willey, a Bradford wool merchant, who made a vast fortune during the war; Joseph Watson, a millionaire railway director, and Sir Robert Nevinston, the government's financial adviser. It appears that the merits of these gentlemen are brought to the attention of His Most Gracious and August Majesty by agents who reap a handsome reward in commissions provided their clients are successful.

The result of this practice is that Lords who won the right to their titles by legitimate robbery and not by cheap graft are resenting this cheapening of the nobility.

**B**ILL THE FAT, otherwise known as William Howard Taft, is Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. He was once asked what was the cause of unemployment. His reply was "God knows, I don't." He may not know as much as God, but he knows enough to serve his masters. As Chief Justice, he never makes the mistake of rendering a decision unfavorable to capitalism. In a 5-to-4 decision the Supreme Court has set aside an Arizona statute which prohibits the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes. The Arizona statute is similar to section 20 of the Clayton Act passed by Congress in 1914. The case came before the Court as a result of a boycott against a restaurant proprietor who refused to grant an eight-hour day to his employees. He was denied an injunction by the Arizona courts, which held that the state law prohibits these writs when property is not injured and that patronage is not property.

This humble servant of the bosses knows that "stirring the public emotions by a recital of the workers' wrongs" is a danger to the robber system he serves, therefore he prefers the workers to simply state their case. Boycotts may be all right provided they are not successful. A boycott cannot be made successful by a mere statement. Taft knows that. The workers know that success will attend their efforts only when they fight for their demands. The value of the Supreme Court to the capitalist state is demonstrated every day. If Congress through pressure from the workers passes a law granting them some concessions the Supreme Court is on the job to declare it unconstitutional. If Congress passes a law curbing the greed of the capitalists the Supreme Court is ready with a decision declaring it unconstitutional. Every law that interferes with the free exercise of capitalist exploitation is unconstitutional. And why not? The capitalists own the country. They rule the country. Their dictatorship is working smoothly with their so-called representative system giving their iron hand the velvet touch.

# EDITORIALS

## THE WORKERS' PARTY

**T**HE Workers' Party is now a fact. After years of factional strife and months of negotiation the various revolutionary elements have united to present a solid front to the enemy.

From the program and Constitution of the Workers' Party it is evident that the American revolutionists have learned much in the last two years. The program shows that the American militant workers have discarded the phrase for the substance. It shows that the revolutionary workers are conscious of the difficult task ahead of them and are preparing to advance on a basis of a carefully planned policy rooted in the conditions at hand. The Constitution provides for a highly centralized, well-disciplined body. This is a prerequisite for all revolutionary organizations.

The Workers' Party stands for the "abolition of capitalism through the establishment of a Workers' Republic"—a workers' government based on the organization of the broad laboring masses. The program speaks openly of exposing the "fraudulent capitalist democracy" and makes it clear to the workers that "all capitalist governments are openly fighting the battles of the exploiters."

One feature of the program stands out very clearly. For the first time in the history of the American revolutionary movement we have a program that deals in a realistic, truly Marxian fashion with the immediate problems of the workers. The Workers' Party frankly recognizes that it has no other problems than those of the working class and it pledges itself to unify and lead them in all their struggles so as to prepare them for the final conflict. In doing this the Workers' Party does not sacrifice any principle. On the contrary, it adds new life to the principles of the world-wide revolutionary movement.

The tactics and organization plan of the Workers' Party portray a most worthy source of inspiration—the Communist International. More than that, all the proposed moves of the Workers' Party are in direct harmony with the needs of the laboring masses in America. By pursuing such a policy, the Workers' Party is far more revolutionary and renders far more service to the Communist International than if it were to flower its program with a mess of revolutionary phrases and oaths. The spirit of the Third Congress of the Communist International is the spirit of the Workers' Party of America.

## FARM AND CITY WORKERS UNITE

**I**N Minneapolis, Spokane, Cleveland and New York, the organized workers in the milk distribution plants are learning the value of the support of the farm workers in their fight against the latest attack of organized capital—the drive to break their unions. As the result of a strike against wage reduction, eight months ago the Minneapolis workers launched a counter offensive in the form of a co-operative creamery carrying on its distribution. Exploited by the same companies at war with the unions, the farmers gave their active support and today this creamery is the largest distributor of milk in the cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The strike of the workers in the Cleveland milk industry against a wage reduction of \$6.50 a day resulted in the Mayor's taking over one of the largest milk depots and the city distributed the milk. But the milk combine answered with an injunction forbidding this to continue. Realizing that all the forces of organized capital, including the police

and the courts, were aligned against them, the city workers are now turning to the farmers to join them in their fight.

In New York there is a strong organization of farmers who in 1916 conducted one of the biggest strikes on record against the same companies now out to break the unions. The support of the city workers at that time would have resulted in a victory instead of a compromise. But the capitalist press ranted about the brutal farmers who were murdering the workers' babies. Today that same press is telling the farmers that the high wages demanded by the city workers prevents the companies from paying a "cost of production price" for the milk.

The object is the same, yesterday, today, tomorrow; the strongest weapon in the hands of the capitalists is the antagonism which they have created to keep that most important group of producers—the farmers—from joining in the fight of the city industrial workers. But the development of co-operatives in the cities of Spokane, Minneapolis, and Cleveland, is today significant of the awakening of the farmers and the industrial workers to the fact that they have a common fight to wage against a common enemy. The oppressed city masses are at last realizing that the first step in their fight against capitalist exploitation is to unite with the rural producers of food. Too long these sections of the American workers have been at odds with each other while the exploiters of all producers have been fleecing them both. Only under one banner of a united working class can the final struggle against capitalism be won.

## BURNS BOMB EXPLODES

**"I**t pays to advertise." This is the unwritten constitution of the American capitalist democracy. Poor Burns opened a vigorous advertising campaign in behalf of the worthlessness of his Department. His Linde incident bids fair to become one of the worst hoaxes that sleuths ever attempted to palm off on our fair "public." We say attempted to palm off because the bluff was so evident that even the "public" could not swallow it in one mouthful.

Burns burned his fingers. Now he has to pull the chestnuts out of the fire and finds himself confronted with two possibilities, neither of which he ever desired or planned for. The situation is such that if he pulls the chestnuts out of the fire he will burn his fingers. Should he decide on saving his fingers he will lose his chestnuts. His bomb story has exploded. He has won world-wide recognition as being the big joke in a huge farce. His desperate effort to link up the Communists with the Wall Street explosion has failed miserably. Burns resorted to the most damnable methods known to detectivedom but it was all of no avail. Nobody took him seriously. Nobody became excited about it; not even the New York Bomb Squad!

The notorious labor hater and scab herder timed his explosion very well. He let loose a flood of filthy publicity at a moment when the American workers were preparing to lay the foundation for a united front against their mortal enemy. The whole fraud was perpetrated in order to discredit the unity efforts of the militant workers. Naturally, those in the front ranks of the advanced workers—the Communists—were attacked.

But not even the American "public" was so gullible. It is an indisputable fact that Communists the world over aim to overthrow capitalism by means of the organized revolutionary mass action of the workers and not by means of sterile acts of individual terrorism. No amount of dastardly lies by the kept press can alter these revolutionary tactics. The history of the class struggle in every country proves this. It is just because these are the tactics of the Communists that the capitalists hate them most. There is nothing that our exploiters hate more than organized working class effort. This means working class power. And working class power means the end of capitalism. Hence the ferocious attack on the vanguard of the American labor movement. Hence the damnable attempt to foist the guilt of capitalist criminal negligence responsible for the Wall Street outrage on the Third International and its adherents.

### DEBS IS FREE

DEBS has at last been released! His home-coming will be greeted by every revolutionist. His immediate return to the front ranks of the class war fighters is to be hoped for by every worker.

The release of Debs and the twenty-three other "politicals" is a direct outcome of the pressure brought to bear on the government by the workers. And the continued imprisonment of the hundreds of class war prisoners in the Federal and State penitentiaries is likewise a direct outcome of the insufficiency of this pressure. The other capitalist governments have released their class war prisoners not because they are kinder than our government, but simply because the labor movement in other countries has had power enough to force the release.

The freeing of Debs should be a signal for intensified effort for the release of all class war prisoners. All workers must unite on this issue. The victims of the criminal anarchy and anti-syndicalist laws must be released with the war-time "offenders." The imprisonment of the former is indicative of a far greater menace to the American workingmen. Most of the State convictions were in the post-war days and were the direct result of an open attack on the best fighters of the working class.

Organized labor, regardless of agreement or disagreement with the political views of the Communists and Syndicalists, should line up for their release. Unless the capitalists are forced to free them the workers will surely be confronted with further suppression of its leaders. The next to taste the cruel "justice" of our "fair" courts will be the trade unionist. Debs and Caldwell are aware of this, and they have pledged themselves to work unceasingly for the release of all class-war prisoners.

As was to be expected, the "Socialist" Party is planning to capitalize the Debs release for its own petty purposes. The opportunist officialdom will make every effort to use the high standing of Debs, the revolutionist, as a blanket with which to cover their countless sins against the American workers during his imprisonment. We feel sure that Debs will not fall a victim to the artful misrepresentation and trickery of Hillquit, Berger and company. We feel sure that he will consider thoroughly the present condition of the labor movement and then make up his mind to line up with the revolutionists, with the the supporters of Red Russia and not with the Jeffersonian apologists for American capitalist tyranny—the "Socialist" Party.

### RUSSIA AGAIN

OUR press is now singing paeons of praise to the "good sense" of the Soviets. Their "change of front" is being commended and commended vociferously.

What is it all about? Apparently there is something new in store for us. We are being prepared for a change of front by our own powers that be rather than by Soviet Russia. The policy the Proletarian Republic is pursuing now is one that she has had for some time. The policy of concessions to the peasantry at home and the capitalists abroad is not a plan developed artificially in the heads of the "good sensed" leaders of the Russian Revolution. It is a policy growing out of the economic, political and social conditions of Soviet Russia and the other countries.

All the noise about Russia's right about face is welcome music to our profit-hungry capitalists who are about to resume trade relations with her. The great abundance of news about the Soviets coming to their senses is only that much apology for the capitalists' change of front. It is they who are preparing to drop their weapon of blockade. The appropriation for famine relief rushed through by Congress was aimed at promoting "good relations" with the Russian people—in plain English, good business through good will. Now Russo-American trade relations seem to be assured. England and Italy, Germany and the Scandinavian countries have for some time been doing business with Russia. America's motto is "better late than never."

The significance of America's resumption of trade relations is manifold. First of all, it ends, or at least makes it most difficult, for the French boycott. It appears that France is already making overtures to Russia for "informal" parleys. The Five Power Conference, including Russia, to be called in London is a direct outcome of America's new policy. What is more, the whole situation is decisive proof of the fact that the imperialist powers are convinced that the Soviets will not be overthrown by the famine. Regardless of how much suffering Russia is yet to experience from the drought, it is certain that politically the famine crisis is past. The plans for American trade with Russia and the conduct of the American Relief Administration to date show that the capitalists recognize this fact, hard as it may be on them.

### SELF DETERMINATION IN HAITI

THE special committee appointed by the Senate to investigate conditions in Haiti is opposed to the withdrawal of the American marine force from there or even its reduction. The committee evidently believes that the Haitians are going to be robbed and murdered anyhow, and they might as well be finished off by American marines as by Japanese marines. We must protect them from harm even if we have to kill them in the process. The rights of small nations are golden words in the mouths of the capitalists, but the exploited subjects of American imperialism experience these rights in the form of rifles and bayonets. That our masters are not entirely inconsiderate of the Haitians' welfare is shown by the recommendation of the Senate committee to grant a loan to the Haitians so they can pay their debts to European nations. And this is the democracy for which millions of human beings poured out their hearts' blood! The murder campaigns of the British Government in Ireland, Egypt and India, of the French in Morocco, the United States in Haiti and the Philippines, and all combined against Soviet Russia. When will the workers of the world unite and bring an end to international murder by overthrowing capitalism in all countries? American workers, do your share in destroying the system that consigns you to the hell of capitalism!

# Greetings to the Convention

Introduction by Louis J. Engdahl

This gathering here this afternoon is not a gathering that has been brought together over night. It is not a gathering that has been hastily convened. This gathering that we have here to-day, opening a new epoch in the struggle of the American working class, is something that has been brought about as the result of a tendency, as the result of a struggle that has been going on, I might say, not for a few months, but for the past two years. We are gathered here as the result of a long continued struggle—a struggle that has been going on in an effort to bring together the really revolutionary elements in the American working class of this country in order to establish a real political, a real revolutionary political party in this country, to wage successful combat against, and finally to achieve the overthrow of American capitalism (applause) and establish in its place the American Workers' Republic (applause).

We gathered together first as voluntary committees of different organizations. We had no mandates from our own memberships, but we gathered together and discussed our problems. We gathered together and discussed our hopes. We gathered together to decide upon the basis by which we could get together in one vital, powerful organization.

Finally we did receive mandates from our respective organizations. We then got together officially and organized a conference committee.

The Workers' Council called together or planned to call together a conference of its own, last summer. The American Labor Alliance also issued a call for a conference, and it seemed that we might be face to face with two conferences that we knew would probably get nowhere. Finally we found that we could get together and have one unified conference, one united convention, for the establishment of a revolutionary political party of the American working class. During the last three or four weeks we have had what we called a Joint Convention Conference Committee. Through its conferences, through discussions, through vital discussions, through earnest discussions, we finally agreed upon a call that was sent forth to the working class of the United States of America.

The call for the Convention has been signed by the American Labor Alliance and its affiliated organizations; also by the Workers' Council of the United States of America, Jewish Socialist Federation and the Workers' Educational Association (The Arbeiter Bildungs Vereine). It is not my privilege, and I did not intend to make a speech. I now take the great pleasure of really opening this historic gathering of the workers of America by presenting to you the Chairman of our Convention Conference Committee, who will act as Temporary Chairman until we are organized. I present to you the Chairman of our Conference Committee, Comrade Cannon. (Vigorous applause.)

Speech by Jas. P. Cannon

Comrades, after our long struggle to unite our forces, we have succeeded. We have brought them together to unite them, and we will not listen to any man who speaks any other word than unity in this Convention (applause). We have had for two years many struggles and much strife in our ranks. This was inevitable after the great upheaval of the World War and the Russian Revolution that shook all of our organizations to their foundations and put every one of our old theories and dogmas to the acid test. Every one of us was compelled to revise some of his theories and

some of his plans. It was no more than natural, I might say it was inevitable, that in the beginning we should have some confusion and some disintegration. Many of us who are here in this Convention responded and reacted very quickly to the call that came from Russia. Many who are here in this Convention answered the call of the Third International the first day its banner was raised. Others moved slowly. Others at times became impatient with us because they felt that we were too impatient, but we have all moved steadily and consistently to the position where we stand to-day, where I think, there is not a single man or woman in this Convention who is not ready to say in categorical terms that he looks for leadership and guidance, not to the Second International that betrayed the workers and lead them into the universal slaughter, not to the compromisers and evaders of the Second and a Half International, but I think every man and woman in this hall will say with me that we look for our guidance to the inspirer, organizer and leader of the world proletariat, the Communist International. (Loud, prolonged applause.) I say, comrades, we have come here by different roads. Some moved by one, some by another. By many methods and as a result of many struggles, we have come to a common ground where we shall unite. There are no fears upon our part, and there need be no fears upon the part of any one about the character of the party we are launching to-day, because the people who are here to do it are not men who have sprung up over night.

It is not an artificial gathering manufactured by our Conference Committee. The men and women who are here to make the Workers' Party are the men and women who for many years past have been in the vanguard of the movements that have led to it. They have struggled and suffered and they bear the scars of battle, and that is the guarantee of the revolutionary integrity of this organization. Now, I think that there is no one here who is more optimistic about the task before us than the circumstances warrant. I think we know enough, comrades and fellow workers, of the colossal tasks ahead of us not to take them lightly, not to take them in a spirit that we are going to accomplish them by passing resolutions or by an excessive amount of phraseology in our programs. We know that we are going to accomplish them only if we try in a true Marxist spirit to analyze them and understand them and then face and fight out the issues.

The task is before us. We have a labor movement that is completely discouraged and demoralized. We have an organized labor movement that is unable on any front to put up an effective struggle against the drive of destruction, or ganized by the masters. We have a revolutionary movement which, until this inspirational call for a Workers' Party Convention, was disheartened, discouraged and demoralized. Our labor unions, upon which the workers build their first line of resistance—and I want to say right here, comrades, that you must face it as the most menacing thing on the horizon—the labor unions of America are being broken up because there is not sufficient unified understanding, because there is not sufficient leadership to save them; and I say that unless we comrades, unless we, the revolutionary workers, we who know that only on a program of the class struggle can they mass and fight victoriously, unless we organize and prepare to unify and direct them, to lead their struggles, then I say, the American labor unions will be destroyed and black reaction will settle upon this country. We have a responsibility upon us, and we must find the way out.

Yes, reaction is in full sway in America. Many of our

finest spirits, our bravest boys, our best fighters, wear their lives away in the penitentiaries of America. The boys that threw themselves into the struggle during the war, those who did not take down their flag when the persecution became severe, the very cream of the movement, have languished in prison for over two years, and I say it is a shame and a disgrace that we have not made any effective protest against it. It is a pitiful thing that for two years the campaign for the release of our fellow workers and comrades, which should have been carried on upon the basis of the class struggle, which should have been the rallying cry to arouse the workers and inspire an irresistible campaign for amnesty, has been left almost entirely to such as the American Civil Liberties Bureau on the one hand, the Socialist Party's Amnesty Committee on the other, and the I. W. W. lawyers on the third, and there is very little difference between them.

Now, I say, we are going to stem the tide. We are going to stop the stampede by putting up a program and plan of action with a set of fighting leaders and give out the rallying cry: Fellow workers, stand and fight! It is better to die in the struggle than to be crushed to death without resistance! (Applause.)

I think that every one who was present at our great mass meeting last night had an answer to the question upon everybody's lips: Is this real unity, is this at last a real getting together?

At last night's meeting the question was answered, as it is to-day. There came to that meeting fighting men and women from all fields, from all movements. From the I. W. W. Committee for the Red Trade Union International came George Hardy. From the American Federation of Labor came J. W. Johnstone. From the Socialist Party, from the Left Wing, from those who long ago left the Socialist Party, from all parts of the country they came, they the battlers came, showing the marks and scars of conflict and persecution. They came together in the name of unity, and they sealed and guaranteed our pledge to present a unified movement to the workers of America.

There are only a few things I wish to touch upon further. They are a few suggestions upon the nature of our organization. In our Conference Call you will notice we are not very verbose. We did not put in very many revolutionary words or foreign phrases, because that period is past and the time has come for action. We laid down in our Convention Call the definite and emphatic principles upon which we stand. We want a fighting party, and that is the difference between us and other political organizations claiming the support of the workers. The difference between us and the Socialist Party or the Farmer-Labor Party or the Gompers Bureaucracy will not be alone in the fact that we declare for the final revolution and they do not, not because we are willing to hold before the workers the final goal, and all of these others are not, but because upon the basis of the class struggle, on questions of bread and butter, on housing, on labor organization, wages and hours, they are afraid to fight, and the Workers' Party says it will fight on every single one of these issues. That is the difference between a betrayers' organization, a cowardly organization, as against a workers' organization.

I have talked to comrades who have fears of reformist tendencies. They are afraid we did not put enough revolutionary words in our program. Comrades, there is no danger of reformism in a party that is organized and led by class-conscious fighters. Reformism comes only from those who do not want to fight, and the guarantee that our organization will not be reformistic is not alone in our program, but in the personnel of the delegates who have fought consistently and determinedly on the basis of the class struggle in the past, and that is the guarantee of our activity in the future.

With regard to the form of organization, we also speak specifically. We want a centralized party. Now what do we mean by that?

We want to build a serious movement that will be bound together by enough discipline to enable it to act as a united body. We are not going to have an excessive amount of referendums in our organization, because those go with organizations that are more concerned with talk than with activity. We want an organization able to move as one man and effectively in the right direction, and for that purpose we build it up on the basis of democratic centralization. We bind it together by discipline, and we call upon every man and woman to enter it in the spirit of the soldier, ready to give everything the organization asks, and willing to do everything the organization says. We want to make it consequently a party of action, a centralized party, a fighting party. These are our slogans, comrades. If we will follow them, we will build up an organization to which the disheartened and demoralized workers of America will rally. They will hail it as the morning star. They are looking for it. I say, comrades, they are looking for it with longing eyes. The workers do not like division. There is nothing that dispirits them more than to see their own battle-front divided, their own leaders demoralized. In the past we were not able to give them unified leadership. Let us move quickly away from past mistakes. The first step in the right direction is to take out of our minds the last bit of small personal malice against individuals or organizations that militate against the true fraternal spirit in which we must meet and unite forces. Let us, every one of us, in the true spirit of revolutionary comradeship, join together in this work. The past is dead. Let the dead past bury its dead. We have come together to face the future. Let us judge each other upon the activities of the future and not upon the activities that lie behind us.

The final word is for unity, unity of the revolutionary workers.

Down with those who speak against it! Down with those who seek to divide the revolutionary movement! Long live the unification of revolutionary forces! Long live the Workers' Party! Long live the Workers' Republic that the Workers' Party fights for!

## THESES AND RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the

### THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

June 22nd-July 12th, 1921)

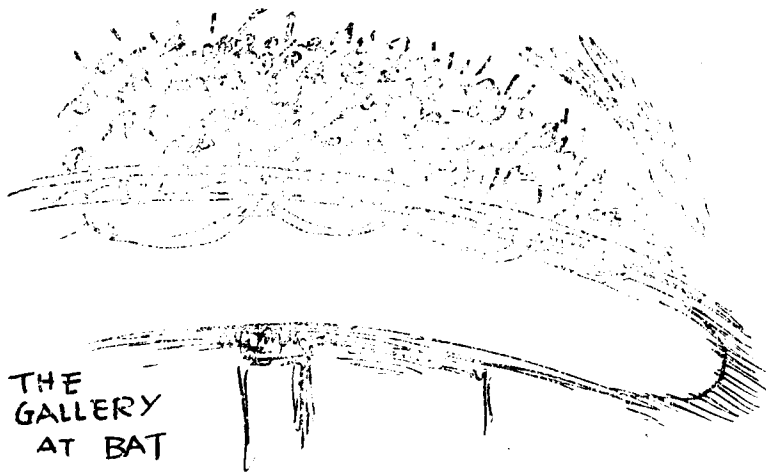
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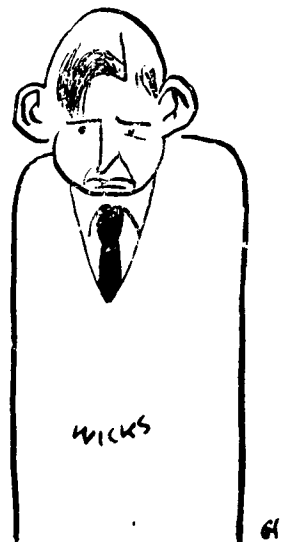
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GROPPS

he Workers Party of America

By Cropper

# Constitution of the Workers' Party of America

## Article I—Name and Purpose

Section 1—The name of this organization shall be THE WORKERS' PARTY OF AMERICA. Its purpose shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of the Workers' Republic.

## Article II.—Emblem

Section 1—The emblem of the party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle with a circular margin having at the top, "Workers' Party of America," and underneath, "Workers of the World, Unite."

## Article III.—Membership

Section 1—Every person who accepts the principles and tactics of the Workers' Party of America and agrees to submit to its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership.

Section 2—Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows:

"The undersigned declares his adherence to the principles and tactics of the Workers' Party of America as expressed in its program and constitution and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work."

Section 3—Every member shall join a duly constituted branch of the party if such exists in the territory where he lives. Applicants living in territories where the Workers' Party of America has no organized branch may become members at large.

Section 4—All applicants for membership must be endorsed and recommended by two persons who have been members for not less than three months. An applicant must be present in person when his application is acted upon.

Section 5—Applications for membership shall not be acted upon finally until one month after presentation. In the meantime the applicant shall pay initiation fees and dues and shall attend all meetings. This rule shall not apply to charter members of new branches nor to those who make application to the newly organized branches during the first month.

## Article IV.—Units of Organization

Section 1.—The basic units of organization of the Workers' Party of America shall be:

- a) The Branch, to consist of not less than five members.
- b) Members-at-large, who shall be connected with the nearest district organization.
- c) Such special forms of local organization as may be authorized by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 2.—Two or more branches in the same city shall form a City Central Committee. The City Central Committee may also include branches in adjacent territory.

Section 3.—The Central Executive Committee is empowered to designate the boundaries of the district organizations (which may include more than one state or parts of states), such boundaries to be fixed with regard to economic rather than state divisions. For the purpose of carrying on parliamentary activity, the City Central Committees and branches in any state shall constitute the state organization. The entire supervision of this activity shall be assigned by the Central Executive Committee to the district organization best equipped for this purpose.

## Article V.—Administration

Section 1.—The supreme body of the Workers' Party of America shall be the Convention of the Party.

Section 2—Between conventions the Central Executive Committee elected by the convention shall be the supreme body of the party and shall direct all the activities of the Party.

Section 3.—The administrative power of the district shall be vested in the Annual District Convention.

Section 4.—Between District Conventions the administrative powers of the district shall be vested in the District Committee elected by the District Convention. District organizers appointed by the Central Executive Committee shall be members of the District Committee and carry on their work under its supervision.

Section 5.—The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates elected by the branches. Every branch shall have at least one delegate. The City Central Committee shall meet at least twice a month. The City Central Committee shall elect a secretary, executive committee and such other officers as may be found necessary. The District Executive Committee reserves the right of approval of secretary.

## Article VI—Conventions

Section 1.—The Convention is the supreme body of the Party, and shall be called by the Central Executive Committee at least once a year.

Section 2.—Emergency conventions, with all the powers of regular conventions, may be called by the Central Executive Committee or upon demand of District Organizations representing 40 per cent of the membership.

Section 3.—The number of delegates to the National Convention shall be determined by the Central Executive Committee. Delegates shall be apportioned to the districts according to membership based upon average dues paid for the period of four months prior to call for the convention. The districts shall apportion the number to be elected by city conventions on the same basis.

Section 4.—Delegates to the national convention shall be elected by district conventions. Branches in organized cities shall elect delegates to a city convention which in turn shall elect the delegates to the district conventions. The number of delegates to which each branch is entitled shall be decided by the City Central Committee according to membership as above. When there is no city central organization the branch shall elect delegates directly to the district convention.

Section 5.—City and district secretaries and organizers shall attend the conventions of their respective units and shall have a voice but no vote unless elected as delegates themselves.

Section 6.—City and district conventions may elect as their delegates members of the Party from units outside their territorial divisions.

Section 7.—At the same time that the call for the convention is issued the Central Executive Committee shall submit to every branch for discussion the Agenda and other propositions that are to come before the convention. At least sixty days before the Convention the Party Press shall be opened for discussion of important Party matters. District Committees may submit propositions to be included in the Agenda.

Section 8.—Delegates to the National Convention shall be paid railroad expenses and a certain amount per diem to be determined by the Central Executive Committee.

## Article VII.—Central Executive Committee

Section 1.—Between Conventions the Central Executive

Committee shall be the supreme body of the Party and shall direct all its activities.

Section 2.—The Central Executive Committee shall consist of seventeen members elected by the Convention. The Convention shall also elect seven alternates, to fill vacancies in order of vote. When the list of alternates are exhausted the Central Executive Committee shall have the right of co-optation.

Section 3.—The Central Executive Committee shall elect the Executive Secretary and Chairman of the Party, and all other officers.

Section 4.—The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers and all national officials. It shall create sub-committees for the proper direction of its activities.

Section 5.—The Central Executive Committee shall make a monthly report of the Party activities and of Party finances, itemized by districts.

Section 6.—The Central Executive Committee shall divide the country into districts in accordance with Article IV, Section 3, provided that the boundary lines of the districts shall not be changed within a period of four months prior to the national convention.

Section 7.—A complete audit and accounting of all Party funds shall be made every six months.

Section 8.—All press and propaganda activities shall be under the full control of the Central Executive Committee.

#### Article VIII.—District and Subordinate Units

Section 1.—The Central Executive Committee shall appoint District Organizers for each district.

Section 2.—Every district organizer shall make complete reports to the District Executive Committee as to the general Party work in his district. He shall submit and carry out the instructions and decisions of the Central Executive Committee. He shall make remittance and financial statements regularly to the Central Executive Committee and shall also submit financial statements to the membership in his district at least once a month.

Section 3.—District conventions shall be held within thirty days of the national convention. The district convention shall elect six members to the District Executive Committee.

Section 4.—These six members, together with the District Organizer, who shall be a member of the District Executive Committee with voice and vote, shall supervise the activities of the district and shall regularly submit the minutes of their meetings to the Central Executive Committee. All actions of the District Committee are subject to review by the Central Executive Committee.

Section 5.—The District Executive Committee shall determine the boundaries of the city locals.

Section 6.—The City Central Committee shall consist of delegates representing branches in accordance with their relative memberships. Each branch shall be represented by at least one delegate. The City Central Committee shall have supervision of all activities in the local and shall make regular reports of its work to the District Executive Committee.

Section 7.—The City Central Committee shall elect a city executive committee, consisting of from 5 to 7 members, which shall act for the city central committee between meetings.

Section 8.—The Branch shall consist of members, as provided in Article III, Section 1. It shall elect an executive committee, branch organizer, delegates to the City Central Committee, and such other officers as may be considered necessary.

#### Article IX.—Language Sections

Section 1.—Members speaking a common language other

than English may organize into a "Language Branch."

Section 2.—Language branches of the same language, with an aggregate membership of at least 400, shall be formed into a Language Section. There shall be only one section in each language, and all language branches must affiliate with their respective language sections.

Section 3.—All language branches shall be integral parts of the party structure in their localities, and shall perform and carry out all Party functions and obligations.

Section 4.—Shortly after Party Conventions, national language conferences shall be held. Those conferences shall formulate plans for education and propaganda in their respective languages, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All actions of these conferences shall be in strict conformity with the decisions of the Party Convention and the Central Executive Committee. Expenses of these conferences shall be borne by the language sections.

Section 5.—The language section conference shall elect a bureau to administer its affairs and a suitable number of alternates. The bureau shall elect the editors and officers and shall supervise all activities of their respective language sections, subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 6.—The Central Executive Committee shall have the right to disapprove the members elected by the conference to the language bureaus and fill such vacancies from among the alternates.

Section 7.—The Central Executive Committee may appoint a fraternal member to every language section executive committee with voice but no vote.

Section 8.—The bureau shall have the right to appoint district language section organizers subject to the approval of the Central Executive Committee. All organizers shall work under the supervision of the Party District Organizers in the various districts.

Section 9.—National Language Bureaus shall translate and transmit all statements, circulars and communications addressed to the membership by the Central Executive Committee within one week after their receipt.

Section 9a.—Language branches shall purchase their due stamps directly from their national bureau, which shall purchase due stamps from the Central Executive Committee at 30 cents each, and sell same to its branches at a price determined by the Language Section conference. The branches to sell due stamps to members at 50 cents. The national office shall remit to the district organization ten cents, and to the city local five cents for each stamp sold to language sections.

Section 9b.—The National Language Bureau shall account to the Central Executive Committee regularly for all funds entrusted to it and shall make regular financial reports to the Central Executive Committee regarding all the institutions under its control. Its accounts shall be subject to the audit of the Central Executive Committee. Special assessments may also be levied by the National Language Bureaus on the membership with the approval of the Central Executive Committee.

Section 10—a) Language Bureaus and Language Sections shall have no power to suspend, expel or reorganize affiliations. All disciplinary powers are vested exclusively in the regular Party organization machinery.

b) Language Bureaus and Sections may recommend such suspension, expulsion or reorganization to the party units having jurisdiction.

#### Article X.—Discipline

Section 1.—All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party shall be binding upon the membership and subordinate units of the organization.

**Section 2.**—Any member or organization violating the decisions of the Party shall be subject to suspension or expulsion by the organization which has jurisdiction. Charges against members shall be made before branches, subject to appeal by either side to the City Central Committee or to the District Executive Committee, where there is no city organization. Charges against a branch shall be made before the City Central Committee or before the District Executive Committee where there is no city organization. Decisions of the City Central Committee in the case of branches shall be subject to revision by the district organization. Charges against state or district organization shall be made before the Central Executive Committee.

**Section 3.**—Each unit of the Party shall restrict its activities to the territory it represents.

**Section 4.**—A member who desires to transfer his membership to another branch shall have a transfer card from the financial secretary or organizer of his branch. No branch shall receive a member from another branch without such transfer card and upon presentation of the card the secretary of the branch receiving same shall make inquiries about the standing of the member to the secretary issuing the card.

**Section 5.**—All party units shall use uniform application cards, dues books and accounting records, which shall be printed by the National Organization.

**Section 6.**—Any suspended or removed member of the Central Executive Committee shall have the right to appeal in writing or in person to the next National Party Convention.

#### Article XI.—Dues

**Section 1.**—Each applicant for membership shall pay initiation fees of fifty cents, which shall be receipted for by an initiation stamp furnished by the Central Executive Committee. The entire sum shall go to the National Organization.

**Section 2.**—Each member shall pay fifty cents per month in due stamps, which shall be sold to the state or district organizations at 25 cents. State or District Organizations shall sell stamps to the City Central Committee and to the branches where there is no city central committee at 35

cents. The City Central Committee shall sell stamps to branches at 40 cents.

**Section 3.**—Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or Central Executive Committee. No member shall be considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

**Section 4.**—Husband and wife belonging to the same branch may purchase dual stamps, which shall be sold at the same price as the regular stamps. Special assessments must be paid by both husband and wife.

**Section 5.**—Members unable to pay dues on account of unemployment, strikes, sickness or for similar reasons shall upon application to their financial secretary be furnished with exempt stamps. Provided that no state or district organizations shall be allowed exempt stamps in a proportion greater than ten per cent of its monthly purchases of regular stamps.

**Section 6.**—Members who are three months in arrears in payment of their dues shall cease to be members of the Party in good standing. Members who are six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls. No member shall pay dues in advance for a period of more than three months.

#### Article XII.—Headquarters

**Section 1.**—The National Headquarters of the Party shall be located in the city designated by the Convention.

#### Article XIII.—Qualifications

**Section 1.**—Members of the Central Executive Committee, Executive Secretary, Editor, and all candidates for political office, must have been (a) members of the party for two years at the time of their nomination, or (b) members of a charter organization, or members of any organization affiliating as a body within sixty days after the first convention.

**Section 2.**—One year's membership in the Party shall be necessary to qualify for membership on the District Executive Committee; six months for city central delegates and officers, three months (in the branch) for branch officers. This section shall not apply to branch officers or city central delegates of new branches.

# Flashlights on the Convention

By Thomas J. O'Flaherty

## The Mass Meeting

The Workers' Party was ushered into existence with one of the most enthusiastic demonstrations ever staged in New York. In the Star Casino on Friday evening, Dec. 23rd, the workers of New York, and members of the organizations which responded to the call for unity in a revolutionary working class political party, met to hear the leaders of the new party explain the reason for the coming into existence of this party at such a critical moment in the history of the American labor movement. The hall was packed with workers and a few detectives who were spared from the task of hunting for the Wall Street Houdini who is always within the grasp of the Federal detectives, but always manages to escape.

James P. Cannon, Chairman of the Joint Committee which brought about the unity of the several groups forming the Workers' Party, was chairman of the meeting. In a short, well-chosen speech he explained the purpose of the workers' party. The speakers of the evening were Jack Carney, editor of the Voice of Labor; William P. Kruse, Illinois; George Hardy, formerly Secretary-Treasurer of the I. W.

W.; J. O. Bentall, editor of Truth, Duluth, Michigan; Charles Baker, Ohio; Margaret Preevey, Ohio, and Caleb Harrison.

The announcement that Eugene V. Debs was released from Atlanta Penitentiary and was again a free man was greeted with prolonged cheers. A telegram was sent to him in the name of the Workers' Party expressing the joy of the convention over his release. The meeting also sent greetings to the Communist prisoners in New York State and to those in several prisons all over the country. A collection of over \$300 was taken up to defray the expenses of the convention.

## The First Day

The Workers' Party convention was undoubtedly the most serious attempt ever made in America to organize the workers into a mass party having for its object the unity of all revolutionary elements in the country to present a united front against the common enemy. While this convention was characterized by an efficiency which the capitalist press pretended to regard as "steamrolling," there were some amusing incidents, chief among them the ap-

pearance of Harry Waton on the first day of the convention, his attempt to make a speech and his precipitate exit uttering exclamations which would not sound good to the ear of a minister's son. The capitalist and "socialist" press magnified this incident into a split. Waton had founded an organization a few days prior to the convention so that he could secure admission as a delegate. He was not in harmony with the purpose of the Workers' Party so his credentials were not accepted. He made a little noise, got his name in the papers and vanished.

The first day of the convention was taken up with the reading of the call for the convention by Louis Engdahl who introduced James Cannon, temporary chairman. Caleb Harrison was elected permanent chairman for the day. After the reading of a few reports and the appointment of committees the convention adjourned until the following day.

On Sunday the convention was called to order at 2 o'clock with Steve Burcher of New Jersey in the chair. Burcher is a giant in stature and was able to keep the crowded hall in order by tapping the table with a penknife. A few Watsonians began to exercise their lungs but were choked off. Dennis Batt could not see very much difference between the constitution of the Workers' Party and that of the Socialist Party.

The capitalist press darkly hinted at "secret" caucuses during the convention. A motion that a member of the party "must be of sound moral character" excited amusement. The Times commented on this with the object of giving the impression that the revolutionary element did not hold morals in high esteem. Possibly the man who made the motion expected that a fellow like James Stillman might apply for admission, on the ground that he was a worker engaged in the production of scandals.

On Monday William T. Dunn, editor of the Butte Bulletin, gave the press reporters something to chew over. He stated the Butte Bulletin was protected by armed workers as the result of an attempt made by the business elements of that city to wreck the plant shortly after it was founded by the workers. A certain number of workers were armed

with rifles and threw out detachments for several blocks around the plant. Since they took this precaution the authorities in that section of the country have a very wholesome respect for them. This is a lesson that the American worker in every part of the country should take to heart.

### Bat's Day

The Three Proletarian pedagogues of Detroit in the persons of Batt, Wicks and Keracker had their day on Dec. 26th. After the program was read Batt opened his mouth so wide that you could almost see his ego, and proceeded to apply the rod of castigation to the political hides of those responsible for the program in no uncertain fashion. Batt boasted of the fact that these three pedagogues calling themselves a party have not moved backward or forward for the past two years. On this immobility he based his contention that the three of them comprised the only party in America that put forward a real revolutionary program.

Wicks thought that he should not allow the occasion to pass without showing himself to the citizens of this big town, and rose to inform the audience that they had a branch of the Proletarian Party in Los Angeles. He did not say whether there was a branch in Painted Post or the South Sea Islands.

Keracker got up, had nothing to say, and he said it.

Jim Cannon, speaking for the Workers' Party, went to Bat(t). He thought the visiting comrades from the Great Lakes were all right, but that they violated rule seven, which everybody knew meant that they took themselves too damn seriously. They did not come here to put up an argument but to advertise themselves. Comrade Batt boasted that they have not moved for two years. "That's nothing, Comrade Batt," said Cannon. "The Socialist Labor Party has not moved for forty years." Acknowledging Comrade Wick's claim that he had some influence in the Typographical Union in Chicago, he thought that was because the typographical union was so closely associated with books. Cannon expressed his hope that the Proletarian Party would find its way into the ranks of the Workers' Party. So the "big" debate ended and the program was adopted unanimously.

### MILITANTS, NOTICE!

**ORGANIZE!** Join the Trade Union Educational League. This is an organization to carry on educational work in the trade union movement. It aims to infuse the mass with revolutionary understanding and spirit. It is working for the closer affiliation and solidification of our existing unions until they have been developed into industrial unions. Believing that all workers should stand together regardless of their opinions, it is opposed to the policy of radical and progressive-minded workers quitting the trade unions and starting rival organizations. That policy is one of the chief reasons why the American labor movement is not further advanced. Its principal effects are to destroy all radical organization in the old unions and to leave the reactionaries in undisputed control.

The Trade Union Educational League is in no sense a dual union, nor is it affiliated with any such organization. It is purely an informal, educational body of militants within existing unions, who are seeking through the application of modern methods, to bring the policies and structure of the labor movement into harmony with present-day economic conditions. It bespeaks the active co-operation of all militant union workers.

For further details apply to Wm. Z. Foster, Secretary-Treasurer, Room 10, 118 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.

### Grand International Bazaar!

On March 22, 23, 24 and 25 the National Defense Committee, New York Division, will hold a Grand International Bazaar. Every nationality will be given an opportunity to express its national and typical traits, in costumes, folk dances and articles contributed. Nationalities closely related such as Russians, Ukrainians, Jugo-Slavs, will have one night; Finns, Letts and Germans another. Jews, English and Irish still another. The bazaar will last four days and will close with a Grand Ball.

All those who have the cause of class war prisoners at heart are asked to hold the dates of March 22, 23, 24 and 25 open. Do not arrange affairs on those dates! Arrange to co-operate with the committee to make this bazaar a success.

Urge friends and sympathizers as well as friendly and sympathetic organizations to send contributions for the bazaar, which will be held at the Lyceum, 86th Street and Third Avenue, on March 22, 23, 24 and 25, to the National Defense Committee, New York Division, 201 West 13th Street. Contributions acceptable are cash money, fancy work, embroidery, books, pictures, waists, dresses, underwear, in fact, anything at all that is tempting to buy.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,  
New York Division.

# The Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street, New York City.

December 26, 1921.

Reports from Soviet Russia, according to well-versed observers, point to a situation hardly relieved at all, in spite of the enormous work that has been done by the working masses of the world.

One observer reports that "where a few months ago the people were dying by the hundreds, they are now dying by thousands. In a few months they will be dying by hundreds of thousands."

"Nearly every child is swollen from eating undernourishing food substitutes."

Dr. Nansen has made another appeal to the world to come to the aid of the famine-stricken people of Soviet Russia. He points out the immediate need of assistance to Soviet Russia.

The conference called by the Foreign Committee for Organizing Labor Help for the Starving in Russia, which took place in Berlin, December 4, was attended by forty delegates from thirteen countries. There were delegates representing the Amsterdam Trade Union International, the so-called Second and a Half International, the International Red Cross, the Nansen Relief Committee, the British "Hands Off Soviet Russia" Committee, the Clarte, Association for the Relief of the Russian People (Paris), English Organization of the Quakers, International Committee for the Relief of Children (Geneva), Trade Union Federation of Czecho-Slovakia, General Relief Committee of Holland, State Labor Council of Austria, German Red Cross, representatives from all the countries with organizations affiliated with the Foreign Committee, besides various miscellaneous organizations from every department of activity.

Victor Kopp represented the Soviet Government and gave a survey of the famine situation in Russia. Kopp did not hesitate to tell the truth of the situation in Russia in all its horror. Then came reports from the delegates of the different countries. The Friends of Soviet Russia was unable to send a delegate, so that the secretary of the Foreign Committee made a digest of the American activities from the reports that have regularly been sent him by the F. S. R.

The Austrian delegate pointed out that, in spite of the terrible economic situation in Austria, the Austrian workers have raised 30,000,000 crowns. The workers of England have raised about 3,000 pounds. The Amsterdam Trade Union International has raised about 100,000,000 marks, the radical unions the same amount. The Foreign Committee, representing the various labor relief bodies of Europe, has despatched 17 cargoes to Soviet Russia, this including nine ships of its own. Fresh cargoes are now being gathered. Argentine has already collected a million marks.

The work in America is proceeding with all energy. The clothing drive is one of the finest that have been conducted. The collections in all parts of the country are being pushed. Money is coming in from most unexpected quarters. From remote sections in the mountains of Virginia, from Kentucky, Idaho, Maine—from every part of the country, the workers are sending aid to the starving people of Russia.

The Foster meetings continue to be a success. Only in Wilmington, Del., where the American Legion showed its opposition some time ago, and induced the municipal authorities to refuse the use of the high school auditorium for the Foster meeting, was the meeting poorly attended. It is deplorable that the hands of American boys, who have suffered in the trenches and know what it means to face hunger

—and death—should be raised against relief for the starving of Russia.

Work among the labor unions is making splendid progress. Norman H. Tallen, who is working out in the West, is lining up the labor organizations for the F. S. R. He has already secured the endorsement of the Utah State Federation of Labor, the Salt Lake and Ogden Federation of Labor, and the Denver Trades and Labor Assembly.

## Technical Aid for Soviet Russia (Affiliated With the Friends of Soviet Russia).

The Supreme Council of National Economy of Soviet Russia, which is the department of industry of the Russian Republic, has appointed as its representative in the United States Mr. A. A. Heller, formerly Director of the Commercial Department of the Russian Soviet Government Bureau in New York. Mr. Heller is authorized by the Supreme Council to represent it in all matters in the United States, and especially in connection with organization of groups of workers and technicians to take part in the economic reconstruction of Russia.

Following the line of the new economic policy of the Soviet Government, the Supreme Council of National Economy is inviting organized groups of workers, agricultural and industrial co-operatives, partnerships, groups, etc., to come to Soviet Russia for the purpose of leasing or taking on concession industrial establishments, factories, mills, agricultural colonies, etc., in accordance with recent decrees of the Soviet Government. The Supreme Council of National Economy also invites engineers, skilled mechanics, electricians, miners, builders, and trained men in all branches of industry, to come and take part in the building up of the economic life of Russia. For the development of Russian agriculture, it invites also farmers, especially organized agricultural colonies, to come and introduce modern methods of agricultural and machine farming in Soviet Russia.

While technicians and skilled men are thus invited to Russia to undertake specific tasks, it must be understood that this does not imply at this time an opening of the Russian border to general immigration. On the contrary, the Russian border remains closed to general immigration until further notice, and only those who come under the head, "Industrial Immigration," will be admitted.

The regulations governing industrial immigration to Soviet Russia are set forth in the decree of the Soviet Government of June 29, 1921, which states:

"Industrial enterprises which, by reason of their equipment, or because of other particular conditions, are suitable for operation by foreign workers, may be turned over to such workers in accordance with the Decree on Leases, or on any other basis that may be found suitable, such enterprises to enjoy a certain degree of autonomy, which will be determined in each case between the contracting parties, and to be under the supervision of the Supreme Council of National Economy."

The representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy in the United States will work through the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, in United States and Canada, affiliated with the Friends of Soviet Russia, Room 303, 110 West 40th Street, to whom all inquiries and correspondence should be addressed.

A. A. HELLER,

Representative of the Supreme Council of National Economy of R. S. F. S. R., 110 West 40th Street, New York, N. Y.



# International Notes In The Ranks of Labor

## To the Workers of France

The Executive of the Profintern (Red Trade Union International) has issued the following appeal to the French workers:

The leaders of the Confederation Generale due Travail (General Confederation of Labor) are working for a split. They, who, upon arising in the morning and in the evening when going to bed, swear by the unity of the working class, are consciously shattering the unity of the trade unions and thereby disarming the workers of France who are face to face with the reaction. Mm. Jouhaux, Dumoulin, Merheim & Co., in their incompetency, are making concessions to the bourgeoisie in all important questions. They are as unstable as a weathervane when they have to do with the government and the Bloc National. They are, however, firm, steadfast and show a surprising determination when they have to do with the revolutionary workers. These men, who have been workers themselves, have only become great and have been placed in high positions through the French working-class—these leaders at the head of the workers dictate to them and demand that they be obeyed. Their hatred of revolutionary workers is so great because they themselves once were revolutionary. The renegades, through their hatred and anger, shatter all the ideals that they themselves once had worshipped.

The French proletariat does not want to have them at the head of its organization. "So much the worse for the French proletariat," is the decision of the trade union bureaucracy. The same men who speak so softly in the commissions of the League of Nations and who in the conferences of the International Labor Bureau strike up songs of harmony—these same men betray with unheard-of cynicism the workers who are committed to their care. Thanks to their efforts the unity of the railwaymen's organization is destroyed. The Federation of Employees has expelled the revolutionary trade unions. The Federation of Clothing Workers has done the same. In several departmental federations the slogans that the C. G. T. is advocating are being applied. "Information Ouvriere et Sociale" and "Le Temps" are satisfied—their tactics are being put into practice. The working-class is combatting an overwhelming offensive, which is being commenced by the bourgeoisie. It is permitting its agents to destroy the unity of the working-class, in order to subject it to further injuries.

The working class of the entire world must decide between the revolutionary trade unions and the trade unions which adhere to the Amsterdam International. How often have the gentlemen of the Amsterdam International cried for "unity"! How many crocodile tears have they wept over it. Under the cover of this slogan, "unity," they betray the interests of the working class. They are ready to sacrifice the entire organization of the workers, if the latter refuse to be tied to the apron-strings of the bourgeoisie.

To the pillory with the men who are delivering the French proletariat, bound hand and foot, over to the bourgeoisie!

To the pillory with the advocates of harmony between the classes!

To the pillory with Capital's agents in the working class!

Long live the united front of the proletariat!

For the executive of the Red Trade Union International.

LOZOVSKY, General Secretary.

Resolutions passed at the first convention of the Workers' Party:

### Sacco-Vanzetti

Whereas, It is obvious to all workers that the conviction of Comrades Sacco and Vanzetti was obtained on insufficient evidence,

Whereas, It is also clear to all that they were convicted because of their radical views,

Therefore, Be it resolved, That this new Working Class Organization, assembled in its first convention, to form the Workers' Party, does hereby go on record as being firmly convinced that Sacco and Vanzetti are not, as charged, murderers, and that we express our sympathy to them and will work for the securing of a new trial and their final release.

### Howatt

Whereas, Alexander Howatt and J. Dorchy, president and vice-president of District 14, of the United Mine Workers of America, are now imprisoned because of their refusal to accept the industrial court law of the State of Kansas,

Whereas, This law is purely an instrument in the hands of the employers to further shackle the workers,

Therefore, Be it resolved, That we go on record as being in strong sympathy with them in the fight against this law, and that we give to the Kansas miners our whole-hearted support.

### Mooney

The First Convention of the Workers' Party of America sends its heartiest greetings to Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings, of California, against whom the capitalist courts of America have committed one of the most dastardly crimes in the history of this country.

Both, who have been convicted of perjured testimony and falsified records as the conspirators who arranged the Preparedness Day explosion in San Francisco, California, have long since been adjudged innocent by the public opinion of the country, by the judge presiding at the Mooney trial, by the former Secretary of Labor, Wilson, who instituted a thorough examination by the present district attorney of San Francisco County, and many other officials and officers of the capitalist state. But Mooney and Billings are being held, nevertheless, in prison, and all technicalities of the law are being employed to make a reversal of the shameless convictions impossible since the ruling interests are afraid of the courageous and faithful servants of the working class, Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings.

It will therefore be the duty of the Workers' Party of America to secure the liberation of Mooney and Billings by bringing this special crime of American class injustice in all its details to the knowledge of the laboring masses and thus to inspire them to action by using all their political and economic weapons in Mooney and Billings' behalf.

The W. P. of A. pledges itself not to rest until Mooney and Billings are free.

### THE YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

The Young Workers' League announces that it will hold a Liebknecht-Luxemburg memorial meeting on Jan. 20 at Park View Palace. Labor organizations are requested to make no arrangements for that day and to give this meeting as much publicity as they can.

On Saturday evening, February 25, a "Youth" ball will be held at Park View Palace. The proceeds from this ball will be used for the building up of a national Young Workers' League.

# **The Friends of Soviet Russia**

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201 West 13th Street, New York City

Endorsed by

Illinois State Federation of Labor  
Utah State Federation of Labor  
Chicago Federation of Labor  
Detroit Federation of Labor  
Seattle Central Labor Council  
Tacoma Central Labor Council  
Minneapolis Trades and Labor Assembly  
Denver Trades and Labor Assembly  
Trenton Central Labor Union  
Toronto Trades and Labor Council  
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## **One Hundred and Thirty**

Conferences of the Friends of Soviet Russia with which hundreds of labor unions and other workers' organizations are affiliated.

**HAS YOUR UNION JOINED THE RELIEF CAMPAIGN FOR  
THE FAMINE STRICKEN OF RUSSIA?**

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You will not have done your full duty until it has