
For the United Front of Labor!

A Call to Action by the Workers Party:

To All Labor Unions, All Organizations of the Working Farmers, the Farmer-Labor Party, the Socialist Party, the Proletarian Party, the Socialist-Labor Party, and the Industrial Workers of the World.

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A new offensive is being organized against the workers. The employing class is preparing a new Open Shop drive, more intense and more widespread. Everywhere we see the employers solidifying their ranks, reforming their lines, and reorganizing their army for the new onslaught on the laboring masses.

Capitalists are Amalgamating.

This is the golden age of business mergers. Billions of dollars of capital are amalgamating. The railway capitalists are uniting; witness the plan for dividing the country into 19 great railway systems, and the proposal to merge the western railways into four great systems. The copper capitalists are uniting; witness the Anaconda-Chile and the Calumet-Hecla mergers. The oil capitalists are closing their ranks; witness the Mutual-Merritt oil merger. The bankers are getting together; witness the \$65 million consolidation of the Industrial Bank and Manufacturers' Trust Co. of New York. The textile capitalists are amalgamating; witness the \$250 million alliance of the Wool Trust with the Consolidated Textile Co. The packers are uniting; witness the \$600 million merger of the Armour and Morris Co. The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. is organizing a billion dollar corporation, the largest in the world.

The objects of these mergers are obvious. The more concentrated the ownership and the more centralized the control of capital is, the more easily can wages be lowered, the longer can the employers hold out in strikes, the better equipped are the bosses to

control the press and government, and the more ruthless they can be towards the workers. Having amalgamated, the giant trusts will be more easily able to manipulate and raise the cost of living. Because of increased prices the workers and working farmers will find it much harder to make ends meet.

And the great flood of stock dividends totalling over \$2 billion in the last year is only an advance notice to the workers that the capitalists are preparing for huge profits. In the words of the National City Bank, "A stock dividend is usually a preparatory step to a larger distribution of earnings in the future." The employers are preparing to force the industrial workers and working farmers to grind out more profits for them. The working masses are to be compelled to increase by many billions of dollars the already gigantic tribute they pay to the owning class for the chance to eke out a mere existence.

Misleading the Working Farmers.

On Oct. 24, 1922, the agents of the Packing Trust, the International Harvester Trust, the railway kings, and the United States Chamber of Commerce met in Chicago to organize a campaign to win the working farmers over to the side of Big Business.

These exploiters of the rural toiling masses are trying to separate the working farmers from the industrial workers. Having themselves forced the farming masses into bankruptcy these powerful employers are now trying to hid their guilt by blaming the city workers.

These greedy employers are howling for lower wages in order to “equalize” — lower — the purchasing power of all the working masses — agricultural as well as industrial. They are attempting to deceive the working farmers with the hackneyed fraud that their salvation depends on the further reduction of wages and the continued deterioration of the working conditions of the industrial masses.

The Government is Preparing.

What is more, the Government is becoming evermore absolutistic — evermore a dictatorship of the owning class. The history of American Government, especially since the war, is only a history of the growing powers of the President and the Courts, and the growing impotence of Congress.

The great national strikes of 1922 — the textile, mine, and railway strikes — have shown beyond all doubts that the Government fights the battles of the exploiters against the workers. The Government is a gigantic strikebreaking agency in the hands of the employing class.

On Dec. 8, 1922, Harding proposed that the Government rob the railway workers of the right to strike. The President’s appointment of Pierce Butler, a tool and loyal defender of powerful railway interests, to the Supreme Court is only indicative of the effrontery and brazenness of the brutal frankness with which the Government is preparing to crush the workers.

Despite of all the prating of peace by Hughes and Harding, the military and naval preparations of the Government are going on apace. Hundreds of millions are still being poured into the organization of giant armies and navies to break strikes at home and fight the battles of the employing class abroad.

In its foreign policy the Government is bending every effort to carry out the plans of the powerful bankers and industrial magnates. The United States is becoming evermore deeply involved in the European embroglio. At the Lausanne Conference there were American Government “observers” to protect the interests of Rockefeller’s Standard Oil Trust in the looting of the Mosul Oil Fields. Ambassador Harvey is openly playing Morgan’s game on Lombard Street, the Wall Street of Europe. Harding, elected on a platform of opposition to the League of Nations, has made a

complete right-about face and is now advocating that the United States “participate” in European “affairs.” For the working masses of America such a policy can mean only one thing — a greater army and a more powerful navy — the iron heel of a militarist dictatorship, and war with its high cost of living, and millions of maimed and killed.

Dividing the Workers.

Just as the Democratic Wilson Government prepared the ground for the great Open Shop drive of 1920-21 by a ferocious onslaught on the foreign-born workers, resulting in unbridled brutality and hundreds of arrests and deportations of innocent men and women, so today the Republican Government is preparing the new attack on the whole working class by a preliminary drive against the foreign-born workers. Secretary of Labor Davis and Senator Colt, speaking for the powerful employing interests, are talking of reestablishing the infamous contract labor system for immigrant workers and revoking their citizenship. The Department of Justice is energetically advocating that all foreign-born workers be registered like criminals, photographed, and fingerprinted. The aims of this capitalist drive against the great mass of foreign-born workers are plain. First, the exploiters want to lower the standard of living and the conditions of employment of millions of our workers who happen to be foreign-born. Then they will blame and attack these worse oppressed and more ruthlessly exploited foreign-born workingmen to the native workers for the degrading conditions they themselves have forced upon these laborers. The capitalists are thus hoping to sow dissension in and divide the ranks of the working masses in order to crush more easily all the workers — native and foreign-born alike.

Dangers of 1924 Election.

Both dominant parties are actively preparing for the coming 1924 Presidential elections — preparing to foist another reactionary administration on the workers. There is talk of the Republican Party renominating the strikebreaker, Harding. In the Democratic Party there are plans afoot to nominate for the Presidency the reactionary Underwood, who applauded the

notorious strikebreaking Daugherty injunction. Both are avowed enemies of the workers and untiring servants of the employers.

Workers Must Defend Themselves.

The present situation is fraught with untold dangers to the working class. The workers must defend themselves and defend themselves successfully. But in order to resist the capitalist onslaught successfully the workers must remove several obstacles which make a successful defense impossible today.

First of all, most of the workers who are unionized today are organized into inefficient, backward, impotent craft unions, which are entirely out of date and unfit as fighting organizations under the conditions of the highly trustified modern capitalist industry.

Also, the workers are divided amongst themselves into foreign-born and native. The multitude of languages, the Babel of Tongues, further tends to foster differences among the workers.

Finally the workers are not organized politically to meet their enemy. We do not have a powerful mass party of the workers — an independent working class political party unreservedly committed to the protection of the interests of the industrial workers and working farmers.

The Workers Party knows that the complete liberation of the working class can come only through the revolution; that is, through the setting up of a Soviet Government of the workers and working farmers based on their mass organization. Only through such a government — the dictatorship of the working class — will the workers be able to abolish wage slavery and build up a Communist society.

But the Workers Party is aware of the fact that today the overwhelming majority of the working class is not yet sufficiently class-conscious or convinced of the necessity of Communism. As militants we cannot sit idly by and wait for the final conflict. The workers must immediately organize a vigorous campaign of defense against the increasingly menacing attacks of their employers.

A Program of Action.

The Workers Party therefore proposes that all working class organizations, labor unions, workers' benefit organizations, working class political parties, and working farmers' political and economic organizations get together to present a united, common front against the common enemy — the employing class. To achieve this united front of labor, the Workers Party proposes that all working class organizations, regardless of political differences, get together and marshal their forces on the basis of the following immediate program:

1. Amalgamation.

Immediate concrete steps should be taken to amalgamate the present craft unions into fighting industrial unions.

2. For the Protection of the Foreign-Born Workers.

All workers in America, native and foreign-born, have but one enemy — the employing class. The separation of the American workers into English and foreign-language speaking is one of the greatest obstacles of unity of action and class-consciousness in the ranks of the working class. The employers capitalize [on] this condition to advance their own ends of exploitation and oppression. All the workers must get together against their common enemy and repeal the attack of the capitalists against the foreign-born workers — an attack which is only preliminary to and an integral part of the onslaught against the whole working class in America.

3. The International Labor Movement.

The struggle of the working class is international. The workers of America cannot wage a successful struggle against their own exploiting class and at the same time put their trust in organizations that have been and are hampering and betraying the struggles of their brothers in other countries. The American workers must therefore repudiate the Second, Two and One-Half, and Amsterdam Internationals.

4. Recognition of Soviet Russia.

The workers of Russia have won their strike against their Tsarist oppressors, capitalist exploiters, and the foreign imperialist invaders. The workers of Soviet Russia have succeeded in ending the rule of the landed and moneyed tyrants. They have established a

Government of the city workers and poor farmers. And this Government is growing ever stronger despite the blockade and wars of the French and British imperialist lords of finance and industry.

The American workers must help the Russian workers maintain their victory and in this way help themselves. We must fight for the full recognition of the Soviet Government. The workers of America must aid their Russian brothers in their efforts to rebuild their country and resist the attacks of the foreign capitalist plunderers.

5. For the Removal of Governmental Obstacles.

The organization of the American Government is replete with the most clever and effective devices to block the development of a powerful, militant working class movement. We propose the removal of all such Governmental obstacles now hindering the workers in their struggle against the exploiting class. The united workers should fight to abolish:

- (a) The present rigid conditions making it almost impossible to amend the Constitution.
- (b) The Supreme Court and the veto power of courts over legislation.
- (c) The United States Senate.
- (d) The veto power of the President.
- (e) The present committee system in Congress stifling even the faintest voice of protest that a workers' representative might raise.
- (f) The present 48-states system of law serving as a fig leaf for the centralized dictatorship of the employing class, the Federal Government, confusing and making more difficult the struggles of the workers for remedial legislation and further buttressing the whole notorious system of checks and balances on which the American Government is based.
- (g) For a Labor Party.

In the struggle of the workers against the employers, the Government fights the battles of the employing class. The class struggle is therefore a political struggle. The workers must organize an independent working class mass political party consisting of all workers' and working farmers' organizations, regardless of political differences, and unreservedly committed to the protection of the interests of the industrial and agricultural working masses. The organization of such a mass labor party is indispensable to the establishment of a Government of, by, and for the city and rural working masses — a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT.

A Call to Action!

New and most serious dangers are confronting the workers. Unless the workers organize to meet the new offensive of the employing class they will lose every vestige of their hard-won gains of many years of bitter struggle. They will be completely enslaved by the victorious employing class dictatorship.

The Workers Party calls on the workers of America to unite for their common defense. We must pit the unity of the laboring masses against the unity of the exploiters and oppressors! We must match the solidarity of the working class whose ideal is freedom, with the solidarity of the employing class whose aim is exploitation and tyranny! The workers must marshal their forces and close their ranks in defense of their unions, their ideals, and their lives!

The Workers Party calls upon all the organizations of the workers and the working farmers to join into one mighty army, to present one common front — a united front — against the one common enemy — the employing class!

Edited by Tim Davenport.

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