

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1921

No. 199

A Call To Action

The Workers' Party of America

"When Thousands Kill One"

John Nicholas Beffel

Hands Off Russia

Ernst Meyer

Independent Workers Unite

United Labor Council of America

Editorials

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Labor Notes

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The Outlook

W. GEMALIEL HARDING, proud father of normalcy and renowned dealer in scrapped battleship junk, is turning out a tragic disappointment to the tolerant liberals and their Socialist apologists. Our illustrious President has rejected the recommendation of the Department of Justice for the release of Asleigh and Baldazzi, members of the I. W. W. Harding is opposed to a general amnesty and assures the American people that the case of every political prisoner will be considered separately and on its "own merits." The Chief Executive thus preserves America as "the land of the free and the home of the brave"—the only country in the world that has not freed its political prisoners. This is no surprise to us. We never for a moment were burdened with illusions regarding the magnanimity of the capitalist rubber stamp. We never fell for the ostensible respite granted to the workers. Nor do we attribute Harding's hard-heartedness to his being won over to Wall Street. He never had to be won over. He has always been a sycophantic mouthpiece of Big Business.

THE fact that we have not yet been blessed with Red Raids indicates a change rather than a rejection of the policy of repression. In 1919-20 the attack of the capitalist oppression was centred upon the workers' political organizations. It was only natural for the bourgeoisie to attack the political movement of the workers first. Today the drive is on the workers economic and industrial organizations—radical and conservative alike. Politically the workers are now impotent and the capitalists are today trying to reduce them to the same status industrially. We are laboring under no delusions. The Class War prisoners will remain behind the bars as long as the workers permit the capitalists to keep them there. Only the power of the workers can end the bourgeois brutality and the sooner the workers show signs of life, the sooner will the political prisoners be freed.

THE Prince of Wales is certainly getting a "Royal" welcome in India. Strikes, riots and demonstrations against the imperialist liberators greet the Son of Wales. The press, of course, speaks of royal receptions, boundless enthusiasm and gay festivities. India is the home of the rule of bludgeon

and bayonet. The full force of the British soldiery has been called out to save the Prince from the honors the oppressed masses are so eager to shower upon him. India is astir. The Soviet Republic has inspired its masses with a desire for freedom. The Amritsar and Punjab massacres are still fresh in the minds of the workers and Gandhi's non-cooperationist movement is rapidly developing into a movement of armed revolt against the British plunderers.

GERMANY is again in the throes of a violent unrest. The high cost of living and the low wages are driving workers to open revolt. Food riots have broken out in Berlin. In central Germany a broad strike movement is developing. The Wirth government, already badly shaken by the reparation claims, is panic stricken. The Communists have called upon the workers to present a united front to the capitalists and their government. But the Majority and Independent Socialists have flatly turned down this appeal. Despite this the Communists are doing their best to unify the masses around the taxation struggle. They are leading the fight for increased taxation of capital. The situation is very tense and events are rapidly coming to a head. It was only the threat of a general railway strike that stopped the government from handing over the railroads to Stinnes as security for a loan. The workers are also strongly agitated over the continued imprisonment of the Communists jailed in the March outbreak. In the Halle section particularly is the situation taking a revolutionary turn. There the Communists are very strong. As usual the "Russians" are blamed. The fact of the matter is that the German workers are face to face with a serious crisis. And in Germany as in every other country in the world the Communists are at the head of the masses leading them in their struggle with their enemies and betrayers.

A NEW wage theory—this is the solution being prepared by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the wage cuts forced upon the workers. This "scientific wage theory" is the answer of the reactionary labor leaders to the capitalist offensive. At a time when wages are being slashed mercilessly, at a moment when the very life of organized labor is being menaced on all fronts, the "brains" of the American Labor movement are busy spinning wage theories. Again the watch dogs of capitalism are barking up the wrong tree. Instead of fighting the battles of the workers, instead of leading the masses, the bureaucrats are busy devising ways and means of avoiding the class struggle. Worse than that, they are actually sabotaging it. The workers have plenty of wage theories. There is Fisher's dancing dollar theory and a horde of other quack remedies. The workers have long since discounted all of them. We might respectfully suggest to the Executive Councillors of the American Federation of Labor that they stop wasting their time so criminally. There is a scientific wage theory, and the workingmen know it and feel the heavy hand of its truth every day in the year. The laboring masses receive just enough to keep alive and produce new generations of wage slaves. It is about time for our labor leaders to stop running away from realities and get down to brass tacks. It is not new wage theories that the workers need but courageous revolutionary leadership.

EDITORIALS

THE WORKERS' PARTY

THE Convention call of the Workers' Party marks an epoch-making moment in the history of American labor. Capital is today on the offensive, and even the organized workers are waging a panicky defensive, if not fleeing in full retreat or rout before the enemy. The whole labor movement is in a state of ferment. There is discontent everywhere, but the dissatisfaction is vague and unguided. This move to organize a party that will not only valiantly fight to defend the workers but also lead them in an assault on capitalism is indeed the most hopeful sign on the horizon of the American labor movement.

It is clear that the new Party is to be a fighting Party. The fact that the American Labor Alliance is the backbone of the organization should be most welcome to every worker in the country. In the American Labor Alliance are found those who have borne the brunt of the heaviest and most cruel attacks of the capitalists. And the unification of all the revolutionary organizations is especially encouraging at this moment when the working masses are presenting so divided a front to their enemy. Unity of the working class is the leading slogan of the militant workers of every country.

The proposed policies and tactics of the Workers' Party are rooted in the actual conditions of the country. From the declaration of principles it is clear that the uniting organizations have learned from the trials and experience of the American workers as well as from the revolutionary struggles of the European masses. Every worker who has the interests of his class at heart, every worker who is opposed to the tyranny of capitalism, every worker who wants to end war, misery and exploitation should rally to the banner of the Workers' Party.

A bitter struggle is ahead. For the realization of the historic mission of the working class, a united, disciplined proletarian front is necessary. This need the Workers' Party of America will meet. Let every labor union and working class organization take up the convention call. The time to answer the enemy is at hand.

DISARMING THE CONFERENCE

"SIXTY-SIX Battleships to Go," "Eight Powers Agree to Cut Armies," "Big Three to Save China." So run the newspaper headlines. Splendid! Yet, invariably the despatches end with some such statement: "There is every reason *still* to hope and expect that great good will come out of the Conference." Why the *still* in the midst of all these wonderful achievements?

A perusal of the "work" of the "peace-makers" to date shows clearly that Lloyd-George was quite right when he said that the Conference is "pregnant with infinite possibilities." And the countless possibilities are wars and preparation for wars despite all the grandiloquent verbiage of Hughes, Balfour, and Briand. Mr. Darwin P. Kingsley, President of the New York State Chamber of Commerce, has summed up the situation rather accurately. He said in part: "We recognize, both as citizens and as business men, that a reduction by international agreement in the expenditure now made on war plants by all the leading and by some of the smaller Powers, is desirable, indeed vital; but we know too that any conceivable reduction of armaments by international agreement will at best be a palliative, a smoke

screen behind which secret preparations for war in a more horrible form will merrily go on."

Mr. Hughes's proposal to scrap a few battleships and discontinue naval improvement and design for ten years is, according to naval experts of highest repute, worthless. The whole scheme merely offers proof of good Yankee business sense. It is once more a case of palming off necessity and convenience as idealism and angelic righteousness. Hughes proposes to get rid of some junk and makes a grand noise about it. The battleship is no longer the terror of the ocean and in less than ten years will be completely out of date as a fighting unit. So say Admirals Sir Percy Scott and Von Tirpitz. And they should know.

On second thought it appears that America's proposal will not even mean a reduction of armament expense. It will mean merely a shift of expense to the submarines, poison gas and airplane column.

Then poor China is to be saved. To date the Synod of Imperialist Bishops has not even defined what and where China is. Is Mongolia part of China? What of Manchuria? The striking feature of the whole Chinese puzzle is America's avowed friendliness. But scratch the surface of the capitalist friend and you will find a dangerous enemy. The United States is a member of the International Consortium to save China from ruin. Here America crosses swords with Japan. The latter is busying herself with military occupation of the concession areas. Uncle Sam is in no position to engage in such pastimes at this moment. America is, however, the best prepared to establish a financial protectorate over China. She has already threatened the Peking government with a withdrawal of recognition unless the proposals made by the American bankers for a renewal of loans is accepted. Hughes is also demanding that all of China's financial obligations be transferred to the consortium. This will leave China completely to the mercy of the bankers. And amongst the bankers of the world only the Americans are in a position to reap the full harvest. In short, the Chinese "solution" is a roundabout plan to establish more firmly the rule of the American dollar in the Far East.

The most illuminating incident so far perpetrated in Washington is Briand's burlesque oration in behalf of France, the "cradle of democracy." Briand, the renegade, frantically appeals to the world not to look upon France as a successor to Germany on the military map of Europe. This does not mean that France must cut her army. As long as Germany is not "morally" disarmed France will remain the strongest military power on the continent. Evidently Briand wants us to believe that "Gott" is still with the Kaiser's flock. The phantom menace of Soviet Russia is also conjured up by the French blood hound. In view of the heavy moral equipment of the Boche and the Bolshevik, France's part in the disarmament program is the maintenance of a huge army, and increased naval and aerial forces.

Harding's Conference has already been disarmed of all its peaceful pretensions. Not even its extreme secrecy can hide its true purpose—a division and redistribution of the mandates, spheres of influence, protectorates and loot among the imperialist powers.

STOP THEY ARE SPLITTING THE UNIONS

JOHAN L. LEWIS has expelled Howat from the United Mine Workers of America for resisting the Kansas slave act. The whole district is being "reorganized" by the reactionary bureaucrats. Thousands of workers who are determined to stand by their fighting leader are to be thrown out of the union.

This treachery should arouse the rank and file to immediate action. Already the Illinois miners have rallied to the aid of their striking brothers of Kansas. At their last convention they voted a ninety-thousand-dollar monthly assessment to back Howat's supporters in their struggle with Lewis and Governor Allen. The Springfield Labor Council has pledged moral and financial aid and the Central States Cooperative Wholesale of East St. Louis is coming across with a third shipment, \$60,000 worth of provisions to the Kansas miners.

The expulsion of Howat offers the best proof that it is not the radicals but the reactionaries who are splitting the unions. Instead of fighting for the workers the bureaucrats are voluntarily surrendering to the capitalists. Any worker who dares speak for the masses, who dares stand by his class is thrown out of the union.

Lewis and Company prefer unity with the Governors and Sheriffs, the jailers of the workers, to unity with Howat and Dorchy, the defenders of the workers.

These splitting tactics are pursued by the labor lieutenants of every country. The yellow Amsterdam International expels the enemies of the capitalists but salutes the Scab Labor Bureau of Lloyd George's League of Nations. The workers who arouse the hatred of the exploiters, who fight the encroachments of the capitalists are not the ones who split the unions. It is the traitorous leaders who enter into infamous partnerships with the bourgeois governments who split the unions.

Bureaucrats can do nothing else. They must either surrender to the militant rank and file or seek their safety in splitting the unions. Lewis is breaking the miners' ranks in order to curry favor with the bosses and the government—and thus save his office.

THE PURE PROLETARIANS

THE Proletarian Party in convention assembled has turned down the invitation of the American Labor Alliance for participation in the Convention of the Workers Party. But the Proletarians leave open a most ingenious way for joining the conference. First of all they object to New York City as a meeting place; secondly, "while the party is willing to be represented at the convention, its position must not be construed as endorsing the convention, the call, or the alleged organizations and organizations signing it."

Well, this geographical interpretation of the class struggle is evidently a genuine "Made in America" contribution to Marxism by the Detroit guardians of Marxian purity. We fail to see why New York City which, through no fault of its own, happens to be several hundred miles from Detroit, should be disqualified. It so happens that organization and financial reasons make New York City the most suitable place for the overwhelming majority of those to be represented at the convention.

Besides we humbly remind our friends, the Marxian Giants, "that all great historic facts and personages recur twice"; "once as a tragedy, and again as a farce." The refusal of the Proletarians to accept responsibility for a convention in which they are to participate is certainly unbecoming an organization which so insistently calls itself Communist. Such was their policy at the National Left Wing Conference. This policy proved tragic to them in 1919

at Chicago. And an attempt to repeat their last two plays will only make a farce out of their whole "scientific" performance. Revolutionists never shirk responsibility. There can be no organization participating in a convention that does not assume full responsibility for all its actions and deliberations.

Perhaps the Proletarian Party will yet make up its mind to cease being a sterile sect, a debating society. Fraternal representation at the coming convention will undoubtedly be granted the party despite its attitude. Such representation should hasten the end of its present sterility and isolation.

ANOTHER LUDLOW?

MARTIAL law has been proclaimed in Colorado. The lid has been put on the labor press. A campaign of terror is being organized to break the resistance of the thirty-five hundred miners who are in revolt against Rockefeller's "Industrial Democracy." The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company has made a drastic cut in wages. All signs point toward a bitter fight. Colorado is world-famed for its massacre of helpless women and children of the working class by gunmen clothed in State uniforms. Already, the Government is on the war path. The Governor is issuing proclamation after proclamation and Adjutant General Hamrock, leading the armed forces sent to crush the miners, has decided not to permit the strikers to organize a tent colony. The miners are being clubbed and jailed. Picketing is forbidden. These are the "precautionary" measures taken to preserve capitalist law and order—the profits of the bloodthirsty corporations of Ludlow. To deny the miners the right to set up a tent colony is to deliver them into the hands of the enemy, for the bosses own the homes of the workers. This is the aim of the State government—a government owned outright by the Rockefeller interests. The whole state administration functions openly as an agency of the Oil Trust. Our capitalist dictatorship is becoming ever more ruthless. Another Ludlow massacre is in store for the miners unless the workers of the whole country come to their rescue. Organized labor must put a halt to the "Christian" endeavors of John D. and his puppet State.

THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

THE Red Trade Union International has addressed an appeal against the Washington Conference. The declaration points out that the conference cannot end war and calls upon the workers to organize to prevent the manufacture of munitions, and tie the hands of their masters in all preparations for war. In appealing to the laboring masses of the United States, the Red Trade International says: "Workers of America, there is only one way to cause disarmament. That is to disarm the capitalist class. While the capitalist class rules, war will continue. The violent struggle between the workers and employers, as evidenced in West Virginia, will continue and increase until great masses of workers will arise and overthrow the dictatorship of the capitalist class. The dictatorship of the capitalist class must give way to the dictatorship of the workers' own organizations which will then be able to bring about complete disarmament and world peace."

Addressing itself to the General Confederation of Labor of Egypt, the Red Trade Union International appeals to it to affiliate and fight side by side with the militant workers of the world against the imperialists. There is at present great industrial unrest in Egypt resulting in many strikes against reduction in wages and increased hours. The Communist Party is steadily increasing its influence through active participation in the struggle.

A Call To Action

Convention Call to Organize the Workers' Party of America

A fierce class war is raging throughout the world. All capitalist governments are openly fighting the battles of the exploiters.

The struggle of the workers, even for the most elementary needs, is today met with merciless suppression, and develops into a fight for political power.

Inspired by the proletarian revolution in Russia, and impelled by the cowardly and traitorous conduct of their leaders, the workers of the world have organized the Communist International as an answer to the unholy alliance of their capitalist oppressors. Despite the bitter opposition of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants, the Communist International is growing rapidly. It has become a world power.

The American capitalists are using the present economic crisis to increase their power of exploitation and oppression. The whole working class is being crushed under the iron heel of a brutal capitalist dictatorship.

At this critical moment we must have an organization that will not only valiantly defend the workers, but will also wage an aggressive struggle for the abolition of capitalism. Only a revolutionary workers' political party can fulfill this task.

Such a party will and must grow out of all political groups which stand on the platform of the militant class struggle. It is not necessary to create this desire for unity. It is already a living reality, grown out of the very struggle of the masses during the years since the ending of the world war and the inauguration of Soviet Rule in Russia.

With a full realization of these facts, the undersigned join in issuing this call for the organization of the Workers' Party of America, pledged to the following principles:

1. **THE WORKERS' REPUBLIC:** To lead the working masses in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism, through the establishment of a government by the working class and for the working class—A WORKERS' REPUBLIC IN AMERICA.

2. **POLITICAL ACTION:** To participate in all political activities, including electoral campaigns, in order to utilize them for the purpose of carrying our messages to the masses. The elected representatives of the Workers' Party will unmask the fraudulent capitalist democracy and help mobilize the workers for the final struggle against their common enemy.

3. **THE LABOR UNIONS:** To develop the labor organizations into organs of militant struggle against capitalism, expose the reactionary labor bureaucrats, and educate the workers to militant unionism.

4. **A FIGHTING PARTY:** It shall be a party of militant, class-conscious workers, bound by discipline and organized on the basis of democratic centralization, with full power in the hands of the Central Executive Committee between conventions. The Central Executive Committee of the party shall also co-ordinate and direct the work of the party members in trade unions.

5. **PARTY PRESS:** The party's press shall be owned by the party, and all of its activities shall be under the control of the Central Executive Committee.

All working-class bodies that accept the above program are invited to join in the first national convention of the Workers' Party, to be held in New York City, December 23-26, 1921.

Working men and women! Help build the political party that will lead the oppressed masses to achieve their own complete emancipation! Let us raise the banner of the militant workers of the world with the immortal rallying cry of—

"WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE! YOU HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT YOUR CHAINS! YOU HAVE A WORLD TO GAIN!"

(Signed by)

AMERICAN LABOR ALLIANCE

Affiliated Organizations:

Finnish Socialist Federation,
Hungarian Workers' Federation,
Italian Workers' Federation,

Jewish Workers' Federation.
THE WORKERS COUNCIL OF THE U. S. A.
THE JEWISH SOCIALIST FEDERATION
WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSN.
(Arbeiter Bildungs Verein).

Address all communications and requests for further information to:

WORKERS PARTY CONVENTION COMMITTEE,

Elmer T. Allison, Secretary.

201 West 13th Street,

New York City, N. Y.

"When Thousands Kill One"

By JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL

Andreyef has written somewhere an immortal sentence: "When thousands kill one, it means that the one has conquered."

In Massachusetts today a great fear has come upon the members of the ruling class. They, the so-called best people of New England, fear the two Italian labor organizers whom the old Puritan spirit has marked for the electric chair. Sacco and Vanzetti, held behind bars, are a more potent force now than they ever dreamed of being when they were free to move about in the world and to struggle for a livelihood outside.

Light plays upon their case from many sides—light that is too strong for the eyes of the old families who are in power in New England. Something must be done about that light; it must be put out—or better yet, a red screen shall be placed in front of it as a calcium-man in a theatre floods the stage with crimson. The rising ones who have found their voices and dare to demand better things for the workers must be portrayed in all their menacing reality.

There is no doubt that a plan has been outlined for the stifling of these voices. It is well defined. The state legislature, convening in January, is to be made the scene of a gigantic attack upon organized labor. New laws will be advocated to tighten the hold of the industrial oligarchy upon the producing class. This will be done, I am assured by persons old in observing political and social convolutions in the Bay State, in the name of "the danger to society represented by such men as Sacco and Vanzetti."

Already the thing is under way. Boston has had its bomb scares, the State House and the Post Office have been guarded by armed men amid a great flare of headlines in the press, and the names of Sacco and Vanzetti have been associated with "a world-wide assassination plot, nipped in the bud by the Department of Justice in the greatest achievement of the secret service since the war." Curiously enough, the secret service made no arrests when it "discovered" this stupendous plot.

Likewise the group defending Sacco and Vanzetti have been blamed for the Wall Street disaster; and to accentuate the danger to local institutions, high state officials have glibly and falsely credited the run on an old Boston savings bank to the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee.

It is so easy to set the mob against "disturbers of the peace," when the newspapers stand ready to lend their tremendous thought-planting machinery to the cause of upholding the prevailing system. It will be easy in Massachusetts to create an "alien peril" excuse for driving anti-labor bills through the legislature. Patriots with loud voices among the assemblymen will respond at a moment's notice to the need of speeches that will make the newspaper-reading public shiver in its boots.

What are the facts about the guarding of the State House in Boston? There have been two kinds of stories—that the capitol was under heavy additional guard, and also that there were no guards at all. When the papers were printing box-car headlines about dynamite being stolen from a contractor at a storage place not named, they asserted that threatening letters had been received by Safety Commissioner Alfred Foote, and that a lot of State constabularymen had been planted around the State House.

I called upon Commissioner Foote to verify these reports. He told me he had received no threatening letters, and that

no additional guards whatever had been posted in the State House. He characterized the newspaper stories as fakes. Then I visited the office of the superintendent of buildings, and asked if it was true that the hours of the regular watchmen in the State House had been doubled. There was no truth in that report, I was informed.

At midnight that night I passed the State House. A uniformed constabularyman was on guard near one of the several entrances. Two other men in plain clothes stood talking with him. On other nights I again observed these men.

Now, after three weeks, I learn from excellent authority that four constabularymen and two secret service operatives were on duty in the State House for all two weeks, and that all the watchmen there were compelled to work lengthened hours without any additional pay. They got only their supper money. Ordinarily there are seven in the building, but by a process of doubling, each shift was increased to ten.

Blame for the Wall Street disaster was attached to the Boston Italian group by the New York Daily News, and its malicious fabrication was eagerly reprinted in the Boston press. The News rehashed all the old accusations made by the Department of Justice in defending itself for failure to place the blame for the Wall Street tragedy where it belongs. The News ignored the fact that Isaac Russell of the New York Evening Mail and others saw a wrecked red wagon—of the type used by the DuPont Powder Company—at the disaster scene five minutes after the explosion. And the News ignored the report of the chemical analysis of Dr. Walter Scheele, made for the investigating authorities, which revealed that the explosives which wrought death in Wall Street was blasting gelatin, a commercial product.

One of the most preposterous alarms that has been published in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case appeared in the staid old Boston Globe. It front-paged a story credited to the Boston police, stating that a band of Italians was en route from New York City to Dedham, via Boston, to attend the recent hearing on the motion for a retrial. These Italians were pictured as being heavily armed, and were to be "disguised in United States army uniforms." This group never arrived, but various American soldiers who were arrested when they got off trains in Boston found reason to invent fresh forms of profanity.

New murders which were never committed are attributed to the Sacco-Vanzetti defenders by the New York World. At the end of a long story asserting that all the overseas demonstrations were inspired by "three men in a dreary little office in Boston," the World promised to tell next day how the publicity efforts of these three men led to the "killing of 20 persons by a bomb."

Next day the World story recorded the response of the workers of Paris to the cry: "Save Sacco and Vanzetti!" It said: "Threatening crowds swarmed to the American Embassy. Twenty were killed by a bomb in a street demonstration. A hand grenade was sent to Ambassador Herrick's home. The grenade was sent Oct. 19. The twenty were killed Oct. 21, and two squadrons of French cavalry charged the crowds in Parisian streets."

Either that charge about the killing of twenty was a deliberate falsehood, or else it proves that Samuel Spewack, the former Columbia student, who wrote the story, is a half-wit and ought not to be permitted to run around loose. For

there is no record of anybody ever being killed in connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration anywhere.

Looking back through newspaper files to the period of the agitation in France, I find in the Associated Press story of October 21, published next morning in the Boston Herald, that "seven policemen were injured by a bomb thrown at a Sacco-Vanzetti protest rally in Wagram Park."

There is no evidence that this bomb was thrown by a Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizer. But there is reason to believe that it was flung into the crowd by an agent provocateur. For at that time an anti-Communist bill was pending in the Chamber of Deputies, and nothing was left undone by the anti-Communists to justify the passage of that measure.

Most persistent among the purveyors of fake news about the Sacco-Vanzetti case have been the Boston Hearst papers and the Boston Evening Telegram. The Hearst Advertiser

credits Elizabeth Glendower Evans with "admitting" that for several months she has been a member of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, an utterly untrue statement, and during the trial it ran the gamut of all the conventional Hearst devices for sensationalizing a law trial—with a single exception; it did not publish any story about a "mysterious woman in black" being seen in the courtroom.

Early in the trial one of the Telegram reporters said to me: "The Telegram is keenly interested in this case because its owner is a close friend of Judge Thayer." And the Telegram proceeded to feature Thayer's patriotic speeches to the talesmen as they were being examined for jury service. When the Judge criticized the selectmen of Norfolk County for carelessness in drawing up lists of talesmen, the Telegram put his speech in an eight-column box, and spread it across the top of page one.

Hands Off Russia!

By ERNEST MEYER

Soviet Russia, alleged to be bloodthirsty and terroristic, has like no other state tried time and again to live in peace and friendship with other countries. Immediately after the October Revolution in 1918 the former allies of Czarist Russia commenced their attacks upon Soviet Russia. Since that time the imperialists in all countries have periodically stirred up wars against Soviet Russia and have supported counter-revolutionary generals with money, munitions and advice. Hence, Soviet Russia which had no army at the beginning of her existence was compelled to create a Red Army, which, however, served only the purposes of defense. Soviet Russia would have been only too glad if her counter-revolutionary enemies both at home and abroad had permitted her to demobilize this Red Army and employ it in economic reconstruction work, instead of having to devote time to the building up of the army. In spring 1920 part of the army had already been dissolved into workers' troops, when in the following Summer Poland at the command of France stupidly attacked Soviet Russia, thus forcing the latter to rearm herself.

Workers Oppose Invasion

During these weeks it became apparent that the workers throughout the world understood how the overthrow of the Soviets would react upon themselves. The proletariat of various countries spontaneously opposed their masters who were conspiring against Soviet Russia. This sentiment which found expression in the warning "hands off Russia!" reached its greatest proportion in England. Thus Russia in spite of the peace favoring Poland was enabled to devote her energies to the work of reconstruction and even to go new ways, which made it possible for the capitalist countries to enter into relations with Soviet Russia on the basis of capitalist exchange of commodities.

Bourgeoisie Exploit Famine

The catastrophe of nature and its attendant evil, the famine, is now encouraging the lurking enemies to renew their attacks upon Soviet Russia. France cannot forget that she is no longer allowed to draw interest on the capital lent to the Czar; time and again she intrigued against Soviet Russia and now cynically and frivolously advises her vassals, Poland and Roumania, to exploit Russia's difficult situation and deal a deadly blow to the famishing workers and peasants of So-

viet Russia. Thus France whose bourgeois government has in the course of the last few months suffered many a political defeat in the Allied councils, hopes to raise her prestige. Poland, who by reason of England's protest will be given but a part of Upper Silesia and whose economics and finances are completely ruined, welcomes every adventure as a way out of her difficulties; hence she is overjoyed to be allowed to act as mercenary of France and becomes the latter's willing instrument. If success is not forthcoming in the West, in Upper Silesia, it will perhaps not fail to materialize in the East in a campaign against Soviet Russia. Roumania, who under the last of the Hohenzollern, has become a bulwark of counter-revolution, prepares for war against Soviet Russia. Hungary looks on benevolently and waits for a favorable moment in which to draw her sword against Soviet Russia, the same sword that is already stained with the blood of thousands of workers.

England still thinks her position threatened by the spread of the Bolshevik ideas in Asia and by the attempts of the colonial peoples enslaved by her imperialism to regain their freedom. England, however, cannot prove that Soviet Russia has been encroaching upon her sphere of interests. In an official note sent to the Soviet Government, England justifies the steps taken against Russia with the Third Congress of the C. I. The English bourgeoisie's hatred of Russia, though it is clothed in the forms of polite diplomatic notes, is nevertheless very powerful indeed and is apparently this time exchanging formal neutrality for a decidedly hostile attitude against Soviet Russia.

Germany's Formal Neutrality Is a Ruse

The bourgeois German republic, whose anti-Bolshevik policy has proved a deplorable failure, has decided to take up an attitude of formal neutrality, thus repeating the policy adopted in Summer of 1920. Independent of this, however, the reactionaries who, on their own account, have repeatedly participated in the attacks on Soviet Russia, will be only too glad of a chance to bring their iron divisions into action. Having already last winter by means of trusted go-betweens put a plan for the defeat of Russia before the Allied statesmen, Ludendorff has recently deigned to grant an interview to a journalist of the "arch-enemy" (Sauerwein of the *Matin*), during which he once more developed a plan for the overthrow of Soviet Russia.

(Continued on page 10)

United Labor Council of America

At the International Conference of Independent Unions, held on November 11, a permanent organization was formed and the name United Labor Council of America was adopted. It was organized as a result of the fundamental tendency now observable in the labor movement towards unity—away from dualism, away from separatism, away from sectarianism, away from craft narrowness. The purpose of the Council is therefore dictated by the need for unity, which is emphasized by the present economic breakdown in which workers are faced with unemployment and wage-cuts. The United Labor Council is to combat the intensified attack of the employers by organizing the workers into industrial unions, managed through shop delegate committees, and to establish a closer means of co-operation among existing unions which subscribe to these principles; to merge unions of allied crafts into industrial organizations, and, finally to amalgamate all existing progressive labor organizations into one body for the mutual protection of all.

It should serve as the beginning of an amalgamation of labor in the United States which will enable labor to speak and act together, unhindered by rivalries, bureaucrats and "perfect" theories of organization which have not worked out in practice.

At the organization meeting a provisional Executive Committee was elected to act until the International Convention of all independent labor unions meets, Jan. 6-8. The Executive Committee consists of the Secretary Treasurer, Patrick J. McClellan, of the Public Service Utilities Workers, Paul Cavanagh of the Hotel Workers' Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, J. Geraghty of District No. 1 of the Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, A. Stein of the Lunch Room Workers' Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers, and John Lazarus of the Electrical Workers' Branch of the Construction Workers' Industrial Union.

The call should meet the hearty approval of all militant workers.

CONVENTION OF ALL INDEPENDENT LABOR UNIONS

The day has arrived. The vanguard of the American labor union movement is about to take up its task. Militant workers dissatisfied with dualism, sectarianism, craft narrowness, separatism, rivalries and disunity, are uniting. Economic conditions, wage cuts, unemployment, the open shop drive, injunctions, government troops, employers' thugs, threatened defeat and degradation for labor if militant workers failed to unite and assume the leadership of their class for which the old bureaucrats are unfit. But the independent unions are uniting. Several are already affiliated with the United Labor Council of America and the U. L. C. of Greater New York. These councils seeking even a greater unity have joined with independent unions in issuing a call for a convention. The following has been issued:

JOINT CALL FOR A CONVENTION OF ALL INDEPENDENT UNIONS AND LABOR GROUPS OF NORTH AMERICA

Brothers and Fellow Workers:

During the struggle of class conscious elements in the organized labor movement against the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. hundreds of local unions have been expelled or have withdrawn from their general organizations, and hundreds of independent unions have been formed

outside of the A. F. of L., separate and apart from the other units of labor.

This element (exclusive of the railroad brotherhoods) number over 1,000,000 in the United States and Canada, remain without any medium for concerted action in the struggle of the workers for better conditions of labor and more control of the industries for the working class.

The inadequacy of small units to cope successfully with the powerful combinations of the industrial capitalists have led to the destruction of a number of such unions and have weakened nearly all of them.

The necessity of all militant independent unions of America uniting in one general federation, in order to present a solid front in time of need for organization, education, defense and offensive purposes, is recognized by the undersigned organizations, and we appeal to all other units of labor to join with us in the movement to unify and solidify the various units of the independent labor movement into one central council.

In order to bring about this unity the undersigned labor unions of Greater New York and vicinity have called a convention to meet in New York Jan. 7th, 8th and 9th, at Hotel Workers' Hall, 133 West 51st Street, at which all unions will participate on an equal basis.

Realizing that the treachery of the reactionary leaders and the division of the militant elements have kept the great majority of the workers of North America divided and unorganized, we consider it the duty of the class conscious members of the militant independent unions to furnish a new leadership to the American working masses.

All unions desiring to participate in this convention should communicate with Patrick J. McClellan, 83 East 4th Street, Secretary United Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.

Fraternally submitted,

Bakery and Confectionary Workers No. 164, Amal. Food Workers.

International Carpenters of A. Local No. 1.

International Carpenters of A. Local No. 15.

International Carpenters of A. Local No. 16.

Amalgamated Electrical Workers.

Feather-Bow Workers' Union.

United Glove Workers' Union.

Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, Lodges Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 31, 32 and 33.

Plumbers, Fitters and Helpers Union of New York.

Public Service Workers' Organization.

United Shoe Workers' Locals No. 61, 72, 96, 113 and 126.

Construction Workers Industrial Union of U. L. C.

United Harbor and Marine Workers.

Lunch-room Workers of the Amalgamated Food Workers.

Hotel Workers' Branch of the Amalgamated Food Workers.

Dental Mechanics' Union of N. Y.

United Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.

United Labor Council of America.

To the Editor:

Money is so scarce with me that I can't send you more than one dollar to renew my subscription and keep you in good humor.

I can't do without the Toiler.

F. W. SCHWEPPE, Box 213, Boerne, Texas.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

To the Editor:

It seems to be the irony of history that Detroit, famed nationally and internationally for its revolutionary movement, should be the scene of a farce and a fiasco in the form of a Proletarian Party Convention. We in Detroit had only effected a partial recovery from the visit of Messrs. Hillquit, Stedman, Berger, et al., when who should come to town but Harry Gardener with a league of study classes which he thought pregnant with political possibilities. (We think it was simply a case of swelled head.) However, we are getting ahead of our story. Historical personages should be dealt with historically and that is our intention.

Some ten years ago Harry G. Gardener and some six other study class conspirators got together in a back room in Toronto, Canada, and formed the Socialist Party of North America. This was taking in a lot of territory, but Harry was a young man then and a little more or less didn't matter. After a few years of waiting at the old stand for new customers, Harry became impatient and in 1915 emigrated to Detroit, bringing several of the faithful along.

Six months activity in Detroit netted sixteen enthusiastic students whose vital need was a correct, pure and perfect revolutionary Socialist Party. Our hero, grown modest by his last sad experience, advised caution and formed a Workers' Socialist Party of United States. Alack! Alas! After drawing up a perfect manifesto, constitution and program and with all the fangles and bangles with which H. G. graces his parties, this second child of his brain expired because of non-support.

The foregoing details bring us down to the beginning of the present fiasco, and give us an historical perspective both as to this personage and his methods. When the Workers' Socialist Party was liquidated, Field Marshal Gardener saw the necessity of more extensive operations, so he sent his agents to Rochester, Buffalo, Frisco, etc., while he betook himself to Los Angeles there to begin anew the quiet work of study class organization. After two years of effort our friend Gardener has called his league of study classes and soap-boxers together in a national convention at Detroit, the scene of his last effort.

It might be well at this point to introduce several of the delegates present, so that our readers will feel more at home.

H. M. Wicks, a shifty person, who will change his position for a *position*, quite readily did the keynoting. It sounded something like this: "The Executive Committee of the Communist Party turned down my application for membership, so as long as the present E. C. holds office I won't joint the C. P." This intellectual gem and clarity of mind comes from the lake breezes of the Windy City. We are pleased, however, to find him in complete agreement with the Communists on this point.

Dennis E. Batt typifies the saying of Ceasar: "Better to be first in a little Iberian village than second in Rome." He is undoubtedly the biggest *fish* in Gardner's net. Jawn Keracher, a retired boot merchant, whose interest in

the revolution is dilletante and reflective rather than vital and active, opines that unity with the communist elements can only come on the basis of a study class program.

As for the rest, *pretentious mediocrities* describes them as no other phrase can. At the only open session that was held the discussion centered around the question of the effect of climatic conditions on social development. Buckle's theory as opposed to Marx's was advanced with no dissenting sentiment expressed. In the field of economics, one naive young delegate from Rochester offered the novel idea that by eating more we might encroach upon the surplus of capitalistic production until we ate the capitalists out of existence. Sounds cannibalistic, but he looked quite harmless.

Several Delegates, announced at the banquet as "*Freaks from Bughouse Square, Chicago*," amused the banqueters by exhibiting their freakishness. One lady comrade looked most remarkable while in repose, while the he member of this duet, a reddish primitive type, pawed the air and devoured imaginary communists in regular Borneo style. The gayety paused momentarily while the delegate from Flint, Mich., spoke on art and culture. As exhibit "A" in the case against capitalism as the destroyer of art and culture, he was eloquent. His remarks, however, left one wondering when and where the connection between the subject and his drivel came in. We accepted him as another freak. In closing, we wish to call upon all those study classers who feel themselves "pregnant with parties unborn" to call upon Mr. Harry Gardener, midwife, Los Angeles, Cal., or to try his famous remedy, "There is one in every bottle," to become so.

Mr. Gardener, in the course of his remarks, exclaimed grandiloquently "Makers of History are *We*." Yes, Harry, we feel that this attempt will become history even sooner than your other attempts. Revolutionary parties are born out of objective historical conditions. They are not conjured out of study classes. Use this as a text in your next study class.

We think Mr. Gardener has touched off *another* squib.
W. R.

HANDS OFF RUSSIA!

(Continued from page 8)

Counter-Revolution Stirring to Attack

Thus, the bourgeois counter-revolution is bestirring itself throughout the world. Stagnation on the markets, restriction of production, unemployment, increase of prices and the rest of the social effects of the capitalist system of production and domination shall be veiled from the eyes of the workers by a fresh wave of anti-Bolshevik agitation and by a new war against Soviet Russia. The workers should clearly comprehend this plot; they should not allow themselves to forget that Russia is the bulwark of the World Revolution. The overthrow of Russia would automatically result in a ruthless suppression of all attempts to gain freedom throughout the world; it would result in a lengthening of the working hours and in political oppression. Hence, the workers of the world must get ready and answer to the plots of the international bourgeoisie with the united determination of the world proletariat:

Hands off Soviet Russia!

International Notes

TO THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES ISSUED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE C. I.

The famine raging through the Volga districts of Russia has called forth the sympathies of all honest workers throughout the world. The Communist International has called upon the workers of the world irrespective of creed and party to organize relief for the famine-stricken districts in Soviet Russia. To this end the workers of Europe are forming central committees, composed of representatives of all parties, trade-unions, workers, co-operatives, etc., etc. Today the Communist International is especially appealing to you, workers of America. Organize a non-partisan relief committee for the hungry in Russia. Let the American workers render independent assistance to their famishing Russian fellow workers and give up one day's wages on behalf of the hungry in Russia. Thus Russia can be helped. All gifts in money or in kind must be sent by the workers' representatives to the Soviet Government directly. Organize everywhere and immediately committees for the relief of the hungry in Russia! Do not lag behind the workers of Europe!

The Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Czecho-Slovakia

THE WORKERS OF CZECHO-SLOVAKIA FOR THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL

Up until now the strength of the Communist Party of Czecho-Slovakia has not been in proportion with its influence in the Trade-Unions. Though a majority of the politically organized workers were organized in the Communist Party, the reactionary Trade-Union bureaucracy held a nearly absolute sway over the trade unions. The influence of the Communists was insignificant, a fact which became apparent on the occasion of the Trade Union Congress at Moscow, where the proletariat of Czecho-Slovakia was only imperfectly represented.

Since the Congress the capturing of the trade unions by the Communists has made rapid progress. On the 18th of September a congress of the Moravian trade unions was held at Brunn. Moravia is at present the bulwark of Communism in Czecho-Slovakia, a fact which was confirmed by that conference. A resolution moved by the secretary of the trade union headquarters in Prague, was only supported by eight out of 468 delegates present. A resolution demanding that the trade unions immediately leave the Amsterdam International and affiliate with the R. T. U. I. was accepted unanimously. It was also decided to discontinue the system of national division into German and Czech sections and to reorganize along uniform and international lines. At the conclusion of the conference a national trade union commission of exclusively Communist members was elected.

Bulgaria

The Bulgarian workers answered the suppression of the Communist Party by giving the Communists control of the municipal administration in nearly all of the towns where elections were held. The Government answered with a state siege, severe censorship and a dissolution of the Workers'

administrations. Despite the brutality of the capitalists who united for the new election the Communists have polled 24,065 votes against the combined bourgeois parties 34,116.

Italy

The Shoemakers of Milan, the Metal Workers of Savona and Spezia, the Electricity Workers in Biella, the Railwaymen in Novi Ligure, and the members of the Labor Chamber in Pinerolo have recently voted for the acceptance of the Communist trade union program.

Spain

The Communist International has addressed a manifesto to the workers of all countries calling for united action through the Red Trade Union International to resist the White terror which has perpetrated the most brutal crimes against the workers of Spain during the past year. The manifesto ends with a call for international action against the butchers of the working class, blockade and boycott, against the bourgeois. No proletarian, no workers' organization may turn a deaf ear to this appeal. Let us organize the proletarian blockade in common. Long live the persecuted proletarians of Spain and Jugoslavia. Down with the murderers of our class fellows."

Germany

The fifteenth congress of the German Metal Workers' Union, the greatest trade union in the world, has ended. Seven hundred and eighty delegates representing 1,600,000 members participated in the congress. The Majority Socialists and the Independents acted as a unit against the Communists throughout the sessions. By resorting to election tricks and their usual base manipulations the reactionary leaders cut down heavily the Communist delegation. The Executive Committee made arrangements whereby only twenty-five votes were necessary to elect one Majority delegate, while 1,369 votes were needed for a Communist delegate. Thus, in the Rhineland Westphalia district, the 12,534 votes of the combined lackeys of the Yellow International elected 293 delegates while the Communists with their 65,733 votes secured only 48 delegates.

In all there were 114 Communist delegates. The strength of the Communist among the metal workers is far greater than this delegation would indicate. The Independents in order to retain their place on the Executive united with the Majority Socialists for the expulsion of the Communists. Despite the pressure of the adherents to the Red Trade Union International, the followers of Amsterdam refused to consider the problems confronting the German workers. They persistently attacked the Communists in order to screen their criminal inactivity. At only one point did the Communists succeed in breaking through and that was in their forcing the adoption of a move calculated to prevent the manufacture of munitions. To this even the Amsterdam International had been pledged.

The struggle between the Communists and the reactionary bureaucracy will be fought out in the metal workers' unions throughout Germany. The conditions of the German proletariat are rapidly growing worse. A crisis is approaching. The Majority and Independent Socialists are refusing to help the workers. The situation will compel the workers to turn the Communists for leadership to the coming fight.

In the Ranks of Labor

The Cloak Makers' Strike

In Philadelphia 5,000 cloak makers have gone on strike; in Chicago a strike vote that was practically unanimous was cast to call a strike on Dec. 1st; in Boston several thousand are expected to walk out at any moment if the employers institute the piece work system; two thousand garment workers are idle in Montreal and the entire clothing industry is behind the strike which the International Ladies Garment Workers is waging in New York City. Many of the employers have already settled and 30,000 dressmakers will probably join the ranks of the strikers as a result of action on the part of the Dress Manufacturers' Association, in violation of its contracts with the International Ladies' Garment Workers. Already 146 firms have signed agreements with the Union and 3,000 workers have returned to their benches. The I. L. G. W. U. is prepared to have the courts decide whether the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers Association is to be allowed to break its contract which was dated to run until June 1st, 1922.

Chicago Packing Employees

Armour and Company, Swift and Company, Wilson and Company, and the Cudahy Packing Company, have notified their employees of a wage reduction soon to be put into effect. Company unions are now to be tested and they seem to be working true to their name. The headlines in the capitalist papers announce that "packing employees in plant congress cut their own pay. Action purely voluntary, and the company representative agreeing to the cut proposed by the workers." This should be the best answer to those who advocate the company union to the employers and should certainly wake up any misguided workers who have fallen for the company union family relationship idea. The Amalgamated Meat Cutter and Butcher Workmen's union have empowered their officials to call a strike but naturally since they are a workers' union and not a company union the packers refuse to treat with them. The value of the company union has been demonstrated.

Oil Strikers in Bayonne, N. J.

J. D. Edwards, superintendent of the plant of the Tidewater Oil Co. in Bayonne, turned down the demands of the 2,200 workers on strike. The latest news indicates that the leaders will not be reinstated and that the recent wage reduction of 24% is to be adhered to. The strikers asked for the reinstatement of their leaders and that they be granted a rebate of 14% of the wage reduction. The action of the strike committee in ordering that the strike be continued was cheered by the strikers. Offers of assistance from unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been received by the strikers and a union organization will probably result from the strike.

New York Milk Strike

Daniel J. Tobin, President of the Brotherhood of Teamsters, has announced that strike benefits will be paid the striking milk drivers. The companies have offered to allow any striker who wanted work to apply to the company individually but the spirit of the strikers is for a fight to the finish against this most open attack upon union labor. The drivers are determined to stay out even if it means all winter. Meanwhile New York policemen are beating up men and women in connection with the strike and the latest advice is that the workers are going to appeal to Mayor Hylan. We are waiting to see him do something.

The Railroads

While rank and file sentiment simmers through the whole labor movement the union officials continue to act in a business-like way. The Railroad Brotherhoods have signed contracts with roads in the Eastern, Western and Southeastern districts to set up adjustment boards according to the Esch Cummins Transportation Act. No one can doubt the success of the scheme—for the railroads.

The Furriers' Union

Within a few weeks most of the fur workers will be out of a job as the season is nearing its end. The Union agreement with the Employers Association expires with the end of this season and the employers are preparing to dictate new terms to the union. The union is unprepared to meet the situation as its control in the shops is weak and the membership indifferent. The union administration has failed to reorganize the ranks of the workers demoralized by the strike of 1920 and no successful appeal to the unorganized workers has been made. Under these circumstances the union is in a bad position to withstand the certain attack of the employers.

Chicago Carpenters Endorse the Rank and File

Ten Chicago Unions of carpenters have endorsed the rank and file movement and sent delegates to the Conference. Ten thousand copies of a communication to all unions of the building trades were printed and distributed on the job.

Seattle to Contribute for Mooney

Every Seattle Union will be asked to contribute to a fund to carry the fight for the release of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings before a higher Court. This action was decided upon by the Central Labor Council. Tom Mooney is still in jail. Sacco and Vanzetti are to be electrocuted. Are the American workers drugged or are they merely asleep? For God's sake before it is too late wake up!

Unemployment Mass Meeting in New York

There will be a mass meeting at 1258 Boston Road, Bronx, on Wednesday, Nov. 30th, at 8 P. M. Prominent speakers will address the meeting which is being held by the Young Workers League affiliated with the Unemployment Council of New York.

The Toiler Booster Club

Comrades! Downtown, Yorkville, Harlem, Bronx, Williamsburg and Brownsville:—THE TOILER is going to carry news about your activities, meetings, lectures, classes, entertainments, and also interesting items of the class struggle in which you participate. As the TOILER is your only English Organ, you must help to spread it broadcast. If it is to be successful you must boost the TOILER wherever you are, at your clubrooms, shops, unions, and meetings.

Remember that we are out for 10,000 subscribers—25,000 circulation, and a workers' daily English paper.

Get on the job. Stick to it until we are over the top.

Join the TOILER Boosters, every Friday evening at the TOILER office.

Volunteers needed every evening to do wrapping and addressing at the TOILER office, 208 East 12th Street, New York City.

THE TOILER BOOSTERS CLUB.

Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street, New York City.

A. B. MARTIN, Secretary

Information has just been received by the offices of the Friends of Soviet Russia from the Foreign Committee for Labor Relief for the Starving of Soviet Russia in Berlin, regarding the interest awakened in the minds of the European workers upon learning what has already been accomplished by the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The European Secretary writes: "As a large portion of the workers of Europe are impoverished and in misery, as for instance, in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and in parts of Germany, the amount of money we have collected in Europe is quite appreciable. *Real help, however, must come from the American workers, who, comparatively speaking, are economically the best off in the whole world.* By judicious purchase of grain in America, they should be able to send large cargoes of grain.

"Up to the present, we have been able to forward to Russia five ships containing food, medicines and tools."

Up to date (Nov. 22) the Friends of Soviet Russia have collected \$225,000. The organization has a number of drives in hand. The Christmas drive is just beginning, and will be inaugurated with a special appeal folder that will reach every village in the country.

The Shoemakers' Section of the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, which is a branch of the Friends, is preparing to manufacture shoes for Russian children.

Corps of canvassers in every large town are scouring the country for contributions of clothing and food. Collection depots have been established in every important centre, so that, in a very few weeks, it will be possible to send a complete cargo of clothing and other such supplies.

Language sections of the Friends of Soviet Russia are being formed. Thirty-two Russian organizations in New York City have organized a Russian section of the F. S. R. This is a commendable move and should be followed elsewhere.

The World War Veterans Auxiliary No. 20 of Phoenix, Ariz., has contributed \$150. The ex-soldiers are beginning to understand!

Children of the Workmen's Circle, Wilmington, Del., recently gave a supper, 25 per cent of the proceeds of which went for Soviet Relief.

At a meeting in Chicago, at which pictures of the Second Congress of the Communist International were exhibited, nearly \$3,000 was collected. The meeting was a huge success, and evidently startled the authorities, who finally stopped it and arrested the chairman.

New York's house-to-house collection realized nearly \$8,000. A tag day was originally planned, but the necessary police permit was not obtained.

Los Angeles has sent in \$2,000, Paterson \$1,000, Seattle \$2,200, the National Lithuanian Section of the F. S. R. nearly \$2,000, Pittsburgh \$1,000.

The help must go on. Every union, every worker, every child must be impressed with the necessity of aiding the starving of Soviet Russia. Hoover admits that only 300,000 out of the 9,000,000 starving children in Soviet Russia have been fed.

Food! Food! Food!!! Russia is starving. The cold bitter winter is here. HELP!

American Labor Alliance

201 West 13th Street, New York, N. Y.

By **ELMER T. ALLISON, National Secretary**

The Convention Call of the American Labor Alliance and the associated organizations signing it has now reached the entire American working class through the labor and radical press. In the matter of giving publicity to this call for a convention of American Left Wing elements for the purpose of uniting the revolutionary forces of this country into a Workers' Party, the labor press has been of distinct value. Some agencies of the capitalist press, too, have published the call as a matter of news—sometimes with their own interpretations—or misinterpretations—as the case may be.

The Convention Call is issued. The Workers' Party will be formed at the Convention in New York City, December 23-26.

This convention will be representative of the best class-conscious elements among the American working class. The program it adopts will be based upon the class struggle as exemplified in present day events in America and Europe. Its program will be an adaptation of the historical lessons of the world revolution to the peculiar conditions in the United States. The Worker's Party will be a party of the American working masses. It will be a party of discipline and of centralized authority. It will be a party of action. It will be a party capable and courageous in its movements, taking upon itself the responsibility of leadership in the everyday struggles of the workers against their exploiters. It will give to these every-day workers' struggles a meaning and purpose not only for the immediate struggle, but will seek to give them a direction and orientation toward the higher goal—complete workers' control of government and industry.

These are a few of the fundamental purposes of the coming Workers' Party. Every left-winger, every radical, every Communist and real Socialist should become an active member. They should participate in its activities. They should take upon themselves the responsibility that belongs to them as rebels and intelligent workers.

Upon you—you of the Left Wing of the American labor movement—rests the responsibility of building up a party of the workers here that will lead the oppressed, outraged and exploited workers in their struggles—and on to final victory and emancipation.

Organize! Organize!

And now to organize. Organization is the keystone of all success. Without it nothing can be solidly built. Therefore, organize. Organize a local of the American Labor Alliance in your town. Gather the left-wingers together. Talk the matter over candidly. Read the Convention Call. Discuss its various clauses. Decide that you, as workers, have an interest in the success of a Workers' Party in America. Write the National Office for information you desire. We will help you organize a local.

Again—FINANCES!

The National Office wishes to call to the attention of all comrades the need of finances to carry on its organization work. Money is needed—needed immediately. Every comrade should—must help, however little. Some comrades have sent us donations in reply to our appeal, others have made us substantial loans. But more is necessary. It is up to you—each of you. What will you do?

Book Reviews

"A. F. OF L. BLOOD BROTHER TO RUSSIAN MOVEMENT," SAYS FOSTER

The Russian Revolution, by Wm. Z. Foster
The Labor Herald Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.
Price, \$1.00

"To me the Russian Revolution did not seem difficult to understand. It is only our own labor movement carried to its logical conclusions. Our trade unions pit their organized intelligence and power against the employers and wrest from them every concession they are able to take, regardless of how profound it may be. The Russian political and industrial organizations, working upon identical principles, but with infinitely better understanding, determination and power than our unions as yet possess, have finally and completely defeated their exploiter opponents."

Foster writes thus in the introduction to his new book, just off the press, on the Russian Revolution. He says many other things which will receive a great deal of attention.

"Notwithstanding the disclaimers of our respectable trade union leaders," says Foster, "the Russian and American labor movements are blood brothers in method and goal. The only differences between them are those of understanding and development. . . . Instead of having to content themselves with petty conquests as we now must, they have been able to go the whole way, and have made the masters yield all their privileges at one blow."

The charge that correspondents favorable to the Soviet Government have been pumped full of propaganda, and have not been allowed to learn the real conditions, is, according to Foster, a ridiculous one. "My own experience," says Foster, "is typical. The Foreign Office assigned me to lodgings and then left me to my own devices. I went where I pleased and saw whomever I wished, of every political shade from rigid Communists to avowed counter-revolutionists. One who went with me a great deal and who was very anxious to give me his ideas (and I was just as eager to get them) was an outspoken Menshevik. Another was an Anarchist. The latter was especially fearful that I was being 'stuffed' by the Communists, and he lost no occasion to explain to me the seediest sides of the revolution. From what I could learn, once a correspondent gets into Russia he is free to do pretty much as he pleases, unless he dabbles in politics. The Russian revolution is too busy solving its great problems to pay much attention to his petty activities. The tales of the 'stuffing' of foreigners with propaganda is a joke among Russians."

Foster's final conclusions regarding the revolution will be of great interest to trade unionists. "The Russian revolution is only the strike raised to the nth degree," he says. "The revolution is a bitter struggle, but I do not despair of the outcome. By their heroic and wonderful achievements in the past the Russian workers breed confidence for their future. Although all the world said it could not be done, they solved the political problem of organizing and controlling the Government in the face of great odds, and they solved the military problem by building a vast army and beating back their many foes. And they will solve the industrial problem also. In my judgment, the Russian Revolution will live and accomplish its great task of setting up the world's first free commonwealth."

Foster's book, "The Russian Revolution," has almost sold out the first edition before it was off the press. A second edition is already being prepared.

New Policies of Soviet Russia,
Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, Ill.
Price, \$1.00

This volume contains three extremely interesting and timely articles, the first by Lenin on "The Meaning of the Agricultural Tax," the second by Bukharin on "The Economic Policy of Soviet Russia," and the third by S. J. Rutgers on "The Intellectuals and the Russian Revolution."

In these articles Lenin and Bukharin set themselves the task of elucidating the fundamentals, not only of the necessity for the change in policy, but also the fundamentals of proletarian dictatorship during the transition period in a country such as Russia, with a vast preponderance of peasantry who cling to their bourgeois ideology as they cling to their land.

With a logic as incisive as the cutting edge of a razor Lenin poses the main question: "Is it possible to have side by side a Soviet State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and State Capitalism?" He answers in the affirmative after analyzing and estimating the various class forces and socio-economic factors in Russia. The end of civil and foreign war presents a host of new problems in the reconstruction of industry, which demands first of all a readjustment of the relations between the proletarian state and the peasantry. The Kronstadt revolt and sporadic peasant uprisings in Tambov and Samara were symptomatic of the need for this readjustment. Requisition of grain from the peasantry, if persisted in, could only have led to disaster and possibly, even, to the overthrow of the proletarian dictatorship. The only solution lay in substituting the agricultural tax, in order to induce the peasants to increase their production of grain so that the town workers could have bread. On the other hand, Russian industry has to be rebuilt and expanded on a large scale. But Russia lacks machinery, food and transport. It lacks the very rudimentary essentials for beginning this task unaided. Therefore the problem becomes one of granting concessions to foreign capitalists, granting more freedom to co-operative organizations" to trade, etc., in other words, establishing a form of State Capitalism.

There is a world of difference between State Capitalism under the regime of a capitalist government as in Germany, and State Capitalism under the proletarian dictatorship, as in Russia. In the former, it means strengthening the bourgeois government; in the latter, strengthening the proletarian dictatorship. This difference is at the same time the gulf which separates the reformist Socialists from the Communists.

The wisdom of these policies is already being justified in practice. In this respect Lenin has always been fortunate; that is one of the reasons he is so implicitly trusted and followed, not only by the party but by the masses as well. Brest-Litovsk, trade and recognition, etc.—these policies soon justified themselves and made him the undisputed leader of Soviet Russia and the greatest political genius of the century, if not of all time.

Rutgers's article deals with the theoretical problem of the bourgeois intelligentsia as a class in the proletarian revolution, based upon the author's experience as a technical organizer in the first year of Soviet Russia's existence. It is a valuable contribution to Communist literature, but seems out of place in this book dealing with the new policies of Soviet Russia.

The book as a whole is well worth while and should be read by every worker in America.

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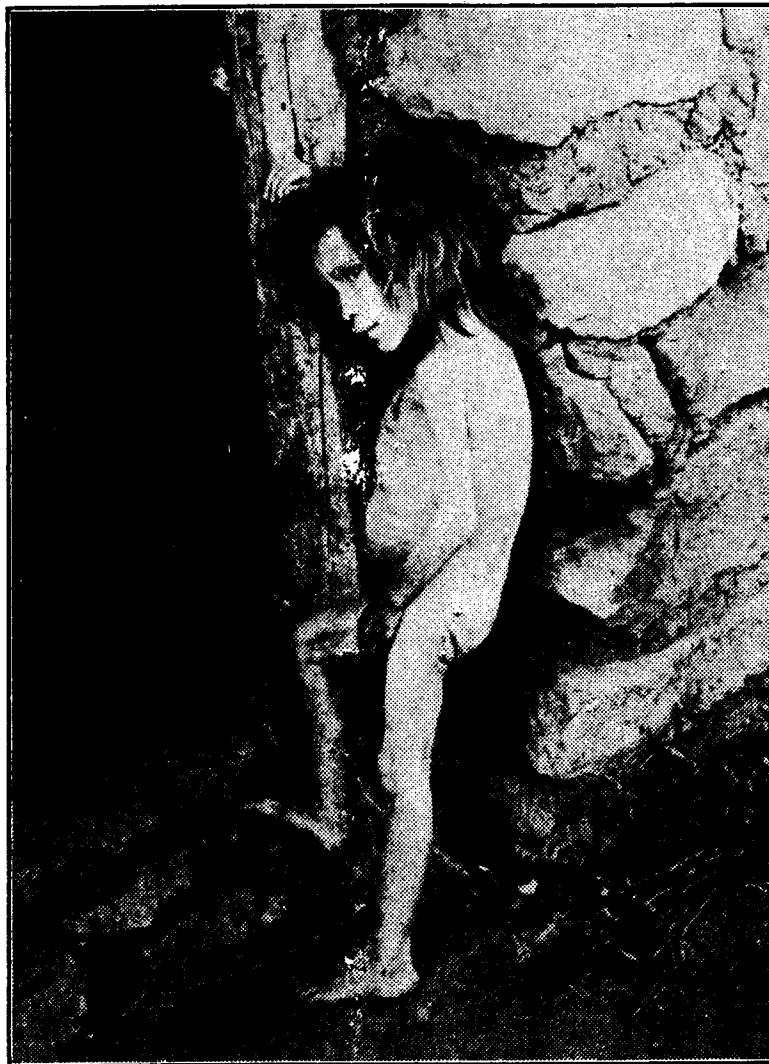
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