

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1922.

No. 205.

Program of the Workers' Party

.....

The Workers' Party and the Farmers

H. M. Ware

.....

A Program of Action

J. Lovestone

.....

An Open Letter to American Labor

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

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Published every Saturday by the Toiler Publishing Association, 208 East 12th Street, New York City.

G R E A T E S T D E B A T E OF THE SEASON

SUBJECT:

The trade union policy of the Workers' Party of America vs. the trade union policy of the Socialist Labor Party.

J. P. CANNON—Representing the Workers' Party.

Member of the National Executive Committee of the Workers' Party of America.

S. SMILANSKY—Representing the Socialist Labor Party.

....Fraternal Representative of the S. L. P. to the Congress of the Third International.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 15, 1922

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Wm. W. Winestone, member of the C. E. C. of the Workers' Party.

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Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| THE OUTLOOK | Page |
| EDITORIALS | 3 |
| Program of the Workers' Party | 4 |
| A Program of Action | 5 |
| J. Lovestone | 9 |
| The Workers' Party and the Farmers | 10 |
| H. M. Ware | |
| An Open Letter to American Labor | 11 |
| International Notes | 12 |
| In the Ranks of Labor | 12 |
| Correspondence | 13 |
| The Friends of Soviet Russia | 14 |
| | 15 |

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The Outlook

LENIN retains his position as President of the Council of People's Commissars, as a result of the unanimous action of the Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress which was recently held in Moscow. We are almost ready to bet our money on the prophetic powers of the news reporter who states that it is likely Trotsky will be reappointed Minister of War. We are also willing to predict that from now on until April Fool's Day Lenin and Trotzky will arrest each other, get sick, flee, fly into Roumania, carrying the Kremlin on their backs. After April Fool's Day passes without these events being corroborated the Soviet Republic will fall, go black, white and blue. The New York Times will receive a message from God to the effect that the miseries of Russia are due to the ungodly conduct of the Bolsheviks. If France is still a going concern by next Autumn another Russian bandit may be financed to restore the Czarist regime and overthrow the "autocracy" of Bolshevism, unless the American capitalists secure a commercial foothold in Russia. In that event Russia will receive the sanction of the United States and everything will be nice until the next war.

SECRETARY OF LABOR DAVIS, speaking to the Grand Street Boys' Association at their annual dinner at the Commodore Hotel, told the story of an immigrant woman who landed in this country many years ago with a family of nine children, and how each of the children rose to success in America. Tears came to his eyes as he contrasted the exalted position he now holds with the condition of that immigrant woman and nine boys. She was his mother. Tears popped from the eyes of the 3,700 listeners as they thought of the great opportunities that were missed by the five or six millions of unemployed who could have risen to exalted positions if only they had followed in the footsteps of Mr. Davis. "All good Americans," said Mr. Davis, "must look out for those who mask under the name of Americanism the teaching of the doctrines of revolution. It is much glory to me to send those who do not love this country back whence they came as it is to admit those who

come here wishing to be citizens." Bootlickers of capitalism are welcomed by this 100 per cent American from Wales while American rebels are sent to jail and rebel foreigners deported. Mr. Davis reached his present "exalted" position by being a willing tool of the system that starves millions of workers while the land overflows with riches, and fills the jails with those who try to make America a land of opportunity for all.

GOVERNOR EDWIN C. MORROW wished the striking wage slaves of the Newport Rolling Mills of Cincinnati, Ohio, a happy New Year by ordering the State Militia to fire on them. Strikers and militia exchanged shots from both sides of the river. The military set up a machine gun and played it on the strikers. A new year under the capitalist system means nothing to the workers, but another year of unemployment and starvation. Governor Morrow, we presume, is a Christian gentleman who believes in the "Golden Rule," but under capitalism the only "rule" that pays profits is the robber rule. Capitalists do not hesitate to shoot, kill and imprison workers during the Christmas season, if they protest against this civilization that consigns human beings to a life of poverty while the land overflows with plenty. The capitalists are starting the New Year right by reducing the wages of their slaves. Thrift is their motto. They want more money to spend on luxuries while the workers suffer for lack of the bare necessities. Instead of bread the workers get lead on the threshold of 1922. "Barbarous Russia," shout the capitalists when the workers begin to see red. The workers are beginning to see regardless of what the capitalists say about the Soviet Republic that the workers there are not looking into the wrong end of the rifle.

SENATOR KENYON in his report on the West Virginia mine war will suggest a remedy for industrial courts, according to a Federated Press dispatch from Washington. We do not know whether it will be based on the peace producing law enacted in Kansas which has kept that state in turmoil since Governor Allen wrote another page in the book of the New Freedom. The Harding administration is preparing to ram the bitter, unsugared pill down the throat of labor. Supreme court decisions upholding the right of district judges to enjoin unions against picketing, decisions favoring the railroads; all point to the coming of a gigantic offensive to clear every vestige of unionism out of the path of the American plutocrats. It is confidently expected that within a few weeks the Supreme Court will hand down a decision in the Coronado Coal Company case finding that the United Mine Workers of America must pay \$600,000 in damages to a coal company because of loss suffered through its organizing activities. We also learn that the threat of deportation hangs over the head of every foreigner who stands with his fellow workers in a strike, and loss of citizenship, provided it is not more than five years established. Will the workers now present a united front to the enemy or will they remain disunited and hang separately?

EDITORIALS

THE FRANCO-JAPANESE PLOT

The unrecognized delegates from the Far Eastern Republic to the Washington (dis)armament conference are not officially in existence in the eyes of the other delegates to the great pow-wow. The United States government does not recognize them, but unofficially takes a squint at them when the Chitians are not looking. The Chitians are able to make a little trouble, however. In fact, small nations are always making trouble. Look at Ireland for instance, and judging by the newspapers in 1914 the world went to war in order to preserve the dignity of Belgium. The delegates from the Far Eastern Republic have not the privileges accorded to the regular delegates. They are not allowed to bear arms for precautionary purposes while attending the peace conference like the other fellows, neither are they immune from the provisions of the Volstead Act. As a result they have their wits about them.

The main reason that prompted them to visit Washington was to keep an eye on Japan, and that they had good grounds for a watchful policy is revealed by the publication of documentary evidence of a plot between Japan and France for the occupation of eastern Siberia by Japan and the overthrow of the Russian Soviet Government by France using the little pauper states bordering on Russia as tools. The evidence which was published by the Far Eastern delegates is in the form of dispatches between France and Japan, dating from December, 1920, to September, 1921.

After the remnants of Wrangel's army evacuated the Crimea they were shipped to Eastern Siberia and in March, 1921, a treaty was concluded in Paris between Japanese and French delegates and Russian emigres for the restoration of the monarchist regime in Russia. The Japanese government promised to give the Russian counter revolutionists assistance provided they accepted all the conditions put forward by the Japanese.

The French imperialists expected Russia to collapse as a result of the famine. Another document sent to the Japanese government by the French Foreign Office reads "a complete collapse may be expected any time. There is no need of sending our troops against the Bolsheviki or of taking any other steps. The chaos, the general situation, and the terrible famine situation have ruined Russia. . . . Japan must also participate in the restoration of Russia. We are ready for the downfall and restoration. Well disciplined and equipped armies are now stationed in Hungary and Jugo-Slavia who are ready to invade the country at any moment to restore order and to give assistance to the old monarchistic regime."

So, while millions of Russians—men, women and children—were starving as a result of a famine due to the war carried on by the Allies against Soviet Russia and to a drought which scorched thousands of square miles of fertile territory, the financial buzzards of the capitalist nations were planning to reap advantages from the anguish and misery of the Russian victims of their rapacity. "Soviet Russia will fall," gleefully chortled the Shylocks as they sharpened their knives to cut their pound of flesh from the quivering form of stricken Russia. "Russia is going down," cried the parasites of the old regime as they seized their knouts and prepared to walk back to power over the corpses of the Russian proletariat. But Russia did not fall. Glorious Russia, the Republic of the Workers, soldiers and peasants is today stronger than ever before. In spite of famine, pestilence

and the heritage of inefficiency handed down by the old regime, the Soviet Republic is today firmly established with the Red Army prepared to meet the enemy on all fronts.

COAL STRIKE LOOMS

A strike in the coal mining regions is considered inevitable. The action of the Ohio operators in withdrawing from the agreement between the coal miners and the operators in the Central Competitive Field is considered the first shot fired in the skirmish. This is the strongest section of the mightiest industrial union in America. The Central Competitive Region comprises the bituminous mines of Western Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois and Ohio and has operated for 20 years under the check-off system. The strike would affect almost one million men directly or indirectly. The anthracite coal miners have recently announced that they must have a wage increase in order to provide decently for their families. Thousands of coal miners are idle all over the coal fields. Mine workers blame the operators for this condition. An artificial situation is created in order to bring the miners to terms.

A warning comes from England that American operators are over there gathering data concerning the wage reductions that have taken place during the past year. No doubt they are willing to learn new tricks from the British employers and labor fakery as how best to defeat the American miners. The English correspondent of the United Mine Workers' Journal, writes: "There are several people here representing some of the largest financial and industrial and commercial groups in the United States. . . . These people are out to break the United Mine Workers of America and every other labor union, if it is possible to do so. Their method is to work short time and starve the workers before they fight them, which was done over here before our thirteen weeks stoppage last summer. We were properly cleaned up before we started to fight."

One of the most valiant fighters in the United Mine Workers' organization is now in jail because he defied Governor Allen of Kansas and his Industrial Court. The miners of Kansas are out on strike as a protest against the imprisonment of Howatt. Lewis, who was too yellow to fight the government, is not afraid to fight Howatt. Because Howatt fought the bosses and their puppet Allen and refused to quit, Lewis expelled him from the International Union together with those who stood by him.

Unless the miners secure better leadership than they have at the present time they will enter the fight with the odds against them. Labor is on the defensive all along the line. The mining industry is one of the great key industries of the United States. If the capitalists succeed in destroying the miners' union an era of industrial peonage will be ushered in that will put to shame the exploitation of the colored slaves on the plantations of the South prior to the civil war. With the miners' union smashed the way is clear for a wholesale wiping out of the organizations that have taken the workers many years to build up. The need of the hour in the labor movement is unity, with intelligent and revolutionary leadership and a recognition of the fact that an injury to one worker is the concern of all.

Program of The Workers' Party of America

The Great War has brought untold misery and chaos in its wake. Millions of workers have been maimed and slaughtered in the conflict of the imperialist governments. Capitalist society is face to face with social and industrial collapse. Kingdoms and empires have disappeared; but republics, ruled by an exploiting class more powerful and more unscrupulous than the kings and emperors, have taken their place.

National hatred rules the world. In spite of peace treaties and international conferences, the relations between the nations are more strained than ever. Intense commercial rivalry, and the resentment of the weak and vanquished nations against their victorious oppressors, are a constant menace to world peace. The capitalists, dismayed at the chaos, and yet unable to understand it or even to contemplate its economic causes, are blindly steering the world towards new wars.

In Germany and Austria, the masses are being bled to meet the exorbitant war indemnities. In England, France and Italy, an impoverished proletariat is paying for armaments on a larger and more stupendous scale than ever before. Every battleship that is built and every shell that is manufactured, adds to the profits of the exploiters and increases the poverty of the wage slaves.

Even before this war social legislation met only inadequately the needs of a proletariat condemned to the uncertainties of existence under capitalism. Today it is a farce. No lasting improvement of the condition of the workingmen under capitalism is any longer dreamed of. More than ever before, hunger and want are rife among the workers. And the violent uprisings that result are met with merciless suppression by the master class. All capitalist governments are openly fighting the battles of the employers. The legislatures, courts and the executive powers stand behind them. The struggle of the workers even for the most elementary necessities of life is met with ruthless persecution, and tends to become a fight for political power—a revolutionary struggle.

The Workers' party will base its policies on the international nature of this struggle. It will strive to make the American labor movement an integral part of the revolutionary movement of the workers of the world. The Workers' Party will expose the Second International, which is continually splitting the ranks of labor and betraying the working masses to the enemy. It will also warn and guard the workers against the attempt of the so-called Two-and-a-Half International to mislead them.

Disillusioned by the cowardly and traitorous conduct of their own leaders, and inspired by the proletarian revolution in Russia, the workers of the world have organized the Communist International. Despite the bitter opposition of the Capitalists and their labor lieutenants, the Communist International is growing rapidly. It has become a world power, the citadel and hope of the workers of every country.

Even America, the bulwark of world capitalism, is suffering acutely from the general disorganization. Its economic and financial life has been caught in the violent, swirling maelstrom of war. Because of the catastrophic depreciation of European currency it can find no outlet for the products of its industry. Its foreign trade has declined approximately fifty per cent. Armies of unemployed crowd the cities. Millions are out of work. War prosperity is ended. The bread lines have come. Capitalism is totally unable to cope with the situation. Its utter helplessness was revealed at the recent Government Unemployment Conference. Nowhere is there a serious effort to ameliorate this condition. On the contrary, the employers are using it to increase their power of exploitation and oppression. The steel corporation, the oil industry, the railroads, the meat-packing and textile exploiting class. Everywhere it is robbing the workers pay. A powerful open-shop campaign is being waged by the Employers' Association. Even the soldiers who have given their all in the fight for capitalist "democracy," are now clubbed and jailed at the first sign of protest against the destitution forced upon them by this same "democracy," which is in fact a dictatorship of the exploiting class. **Everywhere it is robbing the workers of the small gains they have won through many years of struggle.**

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Imperialism

For generations the workers have been producing a surplus over and above what they have received in wages. A part of this surplus the capitalists have invested in the development and exploitation of the industrially backward countries of Asia, Africa and South America. These countries have been cowed into submission as colonies or "spheres of influence." In order to safeguard their investments in these countries, European and American capitalists have seized control of the local governments and oppressed and terrorized the native populations. Today these exploited and oppressed people, inspired by the Russian Revolution, are demanding freedom. In China, in India and Egypt, in Haiti, in the Philippines, in South Africa, in Mexico and South America—everywhere the spirit of revolt is awakening with new strength and momentum. The Great Powers are still arming to the teeth in order to maintain their domination over the colonial peoples, and protect the privileges of their own capitalists against encroachments from those of other nations. Neither the League of Nations nor the Washington Conference with its "Association of Powers," has been able to solve the problem arising from these conflicts of national business interest.

American Imperialism

The history of America has been a history of economic expansion. Acquisition of new territory was characteristic of the first fifty years of the last century. The forcible annexation of Texas was but the most ruthless example of early American expansion. The modern imperialist era begins with the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, and the hegemony over Cuba. This was followed by the seizure of the Panama Canal Zone through a staged "revolution" against Colombia. Intervening in Santo Domingo, Haiti and Nicaragua at the behest of Wall Street, the United States Government has added these Central American Republics to its spheres of influence. The islands of Guam and Samoa in the Pacific, and the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean Sea, are the more recent loot that has fallen to the American imperialists.

Thus the United States has also its subject peoples, and it is fast acquiring a reputation which rivals that of the British in India and of the Belgians in the Congo. The savage treatment accorded the natives of some of these islands by the armies of occupation and the civil authorities has become an international scandal.

Soviet Russia

While the leading powers are thus arming and conspiring against one another in the exploitation of subject peoples, they are united in their hatred of Soviet Russia. Russia, the Workers' Republic, stands clearly opposed to the imperialist nations that are under the rule of a capitalist dictatorship. Russia, having established the dictatorship of the proletariat, cultivates international working class solidarity as a means to thwart the machinations of world imperialism.

For more than four years the Soviet Government of the Workers and Peasants has stood unshaken before the continued attacks of international capitalism. The death-dealing blockade, the incited attacks of the Czarist generals, the criminal onslaught of the Polish imperialists, the crop failure, and the famine due to drought—all these have failed to undermine the Soviet Government. Today it is more firmly established than ever. The Workers' Party looks to Soviet Russia for leadership in the struggle against world imperialism.

Our Labor Movement

The present moment finds but a small part of the working class of America organized for the purpose of abolishing capitalism. Of all the powerful nations America alone lacks a well developed proletarian political movement.

The Socialist Party reached its zenith with the St. Louis anti-war resolution. Its vigorous opposition to America's participation in the imperialist war brought into the party a flood of enthusiasm and life. But its leaders were not true to the declared attitude of the party, and this resulted in the development of a virile revolutionary faction which was expelled when it defeated the conservative leadership in the 1919 party elections. Since then the Socialist party has shown its utter inability to lead the workers in their struggle. It has persistently compromised with the very enemy it is supposed to be fighting. Instead of attempting to free the workers from the ideologies which the capitalists spread, the Socialist Party has assumed the role of the only true defender of the American constitution. Instead of exposing the shame and fraud of capitalist dictatorship masquerading as democracy and representative government, the Socialist Party has taken pains to glorify our "common heritage of democracy." Instead of pointing out to the worker that free speech and a free press are incompatible with capitalist dictatorship, it has devoted its energy to praising these "American rights." Such policies, combined with its failure to respond to the everyday needs and struggles of the workers, have completely discredited the Socialist Party. Its recent effort to unite the so-called progressive labor elements and the Farmer-Labor Party into some sort of moderate Socialist organization, has been a total failure.

The Socialist Labor Party, in spite of its proud boast of revolutionary purity and correctness, is moribund. Its insistence upon destroying the American Federation of Labor, and supplanting the existing labor unions with unions of its own creation, brands it as impractical and reactionary in outlook. It has not succeeded in gaining any influence in the American Labor Movement, and like the Socialist Party, it has failed to respond to the clarion call of the Russian Workers.

The Farmer-Labor Party was organized by an anti-Gompers element in the American Federation of Labor, together with former Socialists. It was an attempt to capitalize existing popular discontent without the drawback of a supposedly unpopular label. It offers to the workers a program of social reform, and "industrial de-

mocracy," but very carefully avoids declaring its attitude towards the existence of the capitalist system. Far from receiving the support of the large masses of progressive labor unions, the Farmer-Labor Party has utterly failed as a uniting force even among the conscious element of the American working class.

The Non-Partisan League was developed by the working farmers of the Northwest to resist a ruthless capitalist exploitation. It captured the entire machinery of government from the exploiters in 1918, but nevertheless proved powerless to inaugurate a program of State ownership. For four years these oppressed farmers, in possession of the local parliamentary machinery, have struggled against an organized capitalist blockade. This struggle has culminated in the defeat of the League in the recent elections—another failure of the reformist principle.

There has been up to the present no political organization that could lead and unify the workers against capitalism. With the Workers' Party such an organization makes its appearance in American life.

The Workers' Party will centralize and direct the struggle of the laboring masses against the powerfully centralized opposition of their exploiters. It will courageously defend the workers, and wage an aggressive struggle for the abolition of capitalism. Its general program will be:

1. To consolidate the existing labor organizations and develop them into organs of militant struggle against capitalism, permeate the Trade Unions with truly revolutionary elements, mercilessly expose the reactionary labor bureaucrats and strive to replace them with revolutionary leaders.
2. To participate actively in the election campaigns and the general political life of the country. Its representatives in the legislative and executive offices of the government will unmask the fraudulent Capitalist democracy, and help to mobilize the workers for the final struggle against the common enemy. They will give conscious and public expression to the everyday grievances of the working class in concrete demands upon the capitalist government and its institutions.
3. To lead in the fight for the immediate needs of the workers, broaden and deepen their demands, and develop out of their everyday struggle a force for the abolition of capitalism.
4. To work for the establishment of a Workers' Republic.

Congressional Campaign of 1922

In preparation for the Congressional campaign and election of 1922, the Workers' Party of America will carry on extensive and intensive educational activities in the unions. It will formulate its demands upon the capitalist government in accordance with the actual status of the class struggle, and the readiness and ability of the workers to fight for the interests of their class. Waging its campaign upon the most pressing and vital needs of the workers, it will ask for their endorsement at the polls. Today these needs are:

1. The protection of labor unions, and of the right to strike and picket in all industries.
2. An immediate appropriation of funds from the Municipal, State and Federal treasuries to relieve the distress of the unemployed—these funds to be dispensed through the labor unions and special councils created by the unemployed.
3. An obedience upon the part of the capitalists and the governing bodies to their own laws regarding the rights of the individual, and the laws won from them by organized labor.

4. The protection of the lives and civil rights of the negroes.

5. The cessation of preparation for new wars.

6. The withdrawal of American military and governing forces from Haiti, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico; independence for the Philippine and Pacific Islands.

7. The resumption of trade relations with Russia, and the recognition of the Soviet Republic.

The Agricultural Problem

The laboring masses of America are divided into two principal sections, the industrial workers and the farm workers. The farm workers are proletarian and semi-proletarian. The proletarian worker plays a comparatively insignificant role, however, in American farm life. The semi-proletarians, the tenants and mortgaged owners of comparatively small farms, are the typical agricultural class. As a result of their environment, their psychology and political demands are individualistic. But nevertheless, they are beginning to realize that ultimate success depends upon joint action with the industrial workers.

Today the farmers are subjected to an exploitation unequaled in their entire history. Mortgages in some states have increased 500 per cent since the census of 1910. The farmers have been producing crops for the past two years at a loss of billions of dollars. The form of exploitation and oppression varies in each section in accord with the type of farming and the social conditions that prevail. In the south the whites are incited to mob the negroes. In the west wages are kept down by maintaining a surplus of migratory labor. In the middle west the bankers control by ownership of farm mortgages and they dictate the wages to be paid by farmers to harvest workers, forcing them low enough to maintain the antagonism between these two exploited groups of producers. In the east, the natural individualism of the farmers is fostered by the capitalists. Their agents dominate in every farm organization. They control the agricultural press, in which their propaganda openly blames farm exploitation upon the wage demands of the city workers.

The resistance of the farmers to capitalist exploitation manifests itself in a tremendous development of farm organizations. There are two hundred and sixty-five national farm organizations, with a dues paying membership of over two million. In the south, there are secret Negro organizations and white tenant unions; in the west there are farm labor unions; in the middle west, large grain-marketing organizations and cooperatives; in the east, many local commodity organizations and societies. These organizations have struggled unsuccessfully against exploitation. They have failed because they were struggling against only one phase of exploitation, and were not organized as a part of the working class fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

The Workers' Party will seek to unite the struggles of the farmers with those of the city workers along these lines. It will develop for this purpose conscious groups of farmers in all farm organizations, and will expose the capitalist agents and their propaganda. It will make every effort to participate actively in the daily struggle of the farmers.

The Race Problem

The Negro workers in America are exploited and oppressed more ruthlessly than any other group. The history of the Southern Negro is the history of a brutal terror—of persecution, rape and murder. The formal abolition of slavery made it possible for the northern capitalists to penetrate the south and to bring cheap Negro labor north. This was, however, detrimental to the in-

terests of southern capitalists, and they have sought by every means to maintain the enslavement of the Negro. It is in order to subjugate him and break his spirit, that secret murder societies such as the Ku Klux Klan have been established.

Because of the anti-Negro policies of organized labor the Negro has despaired of aid from this source, and has either been driven into the camp of labor's enemies, or been compelled to develop purely racial organizations which seek purely racial aims. The Workers' Party will support the Negroes in their struggle for liberation, and will help them in their fight for economic, political and social equality. **It will point out to them that the interests of the Negro worker are identical with those of the white.** It will seek to end the policy of discrimination followed by organized labor. Its task will be to destroy altogether the barrier of race prejudice that has been used to keep apart the black and white workers, and weld them into a solid union of revolutionary forces for the overthrow of their common enemy.

Labor Union Program

Taking advantage of the world industrial crisis, and the consequent unemployment, the capitalists of the United States have launched a war of extermination upon the unions, including the most conservative as well as the aggressive and virile unions. They are determined to smash the unions, and reduce the workers far below their pre-war standard of wage and working conditions. They are determined to take from the hands of labor, with interest, the cost of the unparalleled destruction caused by the world war.

In spite of heroic resistance from the organized masses, this plot is being carried out to an alarming extent. Orgies of wage reduction are the order of the day. Hours are being lengthened, union conditions broken down. The unions are bending beneath the onslaught of capitalism.

In this greatest crisis of the Labor movement, the officialism of almost all the American unions have betrayed their utter cowardice, stupidity and even bad faith. Instead of rallying the organized workers to positive and energetic resistance, and launching a counter-attack upon the capitalists by demanding some of the good things promised them during the war—instead of this course, dictated by elemental common sense and good faith to the workers they are supposed to lead, they are conniving, openly and secretly, with the workers' enemies. They are surrendering point by point, under one pretext and another, and a gradual demoralization of the union ranks is the result.

Facing this crisis, the Workers' Party of America rejoices to be able to point out that, for the first time in our labor history, an adequate and comprehensive program has been laid out for the militant workers in the labor unions. The First World Congress of Red Labor Unions, held in Moscow in July, 1921, brought together the wisdom and experience of the revolutionary labor movement of the whole world. Out of this congress came a clear and definite program, which if applied with intelligence and energy by the militant workers, will lead the American labor union movement out of the present disruption, and place it on the high road to social and economic power—the road to the Workers' Republic.

The Workers' Party, therefore, calls upon the class-conscious workers of America to rally to the banner of the Red International of Labor Unions. It calls upon them to consider carefully the Resolutions and Decisions of the First Congress of the Red International, and to put its policies into effect: (1) by joining the labor union of their trade or calling, (2) by organizing a minority

group with all other class-conscious workers in such union, or joining such militant bodies of this nature as already exist, (3) by using the energies of these class-conscious groups to place militant, aggressive programs into effect in their unions, and depose the conservative or reactionary officials that stand in the way or oppose.

The Workers' Party stands for the principle of one union in each field. Dual unionism must be done away with. The revolutionary workers must remain within the mass organizations of the backward workers. The custom of seceding from the mass unions to form smaller unions on the ground that the mass union is reactionary, must be abandoned. Attempts of the officialdom to expel revolutionary individuals or groups must be resisted by every possible means. The policy shall be consolidation, not division.

RESOLUTION OF LABOR UNION ACTIVITY

Appendix to the Program of the Workers' Party.

The Workers' Party of America will call upon the existing revolutionary industrial unions to cooperate in its thoroughly modernized plan to revolutionize the four or five million organized workers in the reactionary unions of the United States. It will ask them to join in the effort to change the structure of the reactionary trade unions into the industrial union form, and to eject from control of these unions the reactionary leaders.

The Red International of Labor Unions, composed as it is of the most trusted and experienced representatives of the revolutionary unions in all countries, is an instrument for bringing to the unions of each country the tactical wisdom and scientific knowledge of revolution gained in the experience of all. The Workers' Party will urge the revolutionary unions existing in the United States to follow the policies outlined by the Red Labor Union International.

Abandon Dual Unionism

In industries dominated by the trade unions, and where the revolutionary industrial unions are either non-existent or a minor factor, the Workers' Party will urge the revolutionary unionists to abandon their dual unionism, and concentrate their activities in the trade unions. Such industries are, principally: coal mining, building trades, printing trades, metal trades, clothing trades, railroads, general transport, theatrical trades, electrical supply trades, and meat-slaughtering. In all these industries the trade unions are strong, containing the overwhelming majority of the workers that are organized; the revolutionary industrial unions have either no organization at all, or one that is negligible in strength and influence. Nor can the situation be changed by the tactics heretofore used. For the revolutionary industrial unions to continue a dual organization in these industries, and to insist upon the support of all revolutionists in this policy, will simply block the performance of real work. The revolutionary industrial unions must be induced to stop maintaining or attempting to form, dual unions in such industries. What few members they now have in such unions must be induced to enter the old unions and organize themselves therein as minority groups.

Support the Strongest Unions

In certain industries the trade unions are weak, and the revolutionary industrial unions have developed some degree of constructive organization. These industries are, principally: metal mining, textile, lumber, boot and shoe manufacturing, baking and candy making, automobile manufacturing, hotels and restaurants, and agriculture. Where such revolutionary industrial unions have attained a membership superior to, or approximately equal

to, the membership of the reactionary trade unions, the Workers' Party will vigorously support the revolutionary industrial union with a view to its absorbing the entire industry. Where several revolutionary industrial unions have a foothold in the same industry, the aggregate of their membership being greater than, or approximately equal to, that of the reactionary trade unions, the policy will be to unite them. Failing of that, the Workers' Party will support the union having the greatest hold upon the industry.

Support Industrial Amalgamation

The Workers' Party will support all of the present tendencies among the unions to break down craft aloofness, and draw closer to the industrial form. The movement of the International Association of Machinists to introduce industrial union forms into the American Federation of Labor, as well as the movement for closer federation and subsequent amalgamation of the various crafts of the railroad brotherhoods, will be supported, without giving support to the reactionary leaders who have been drawn into a half-hearted identification with these movements.

Don't Destroy the Unions

The effort of the revolutionary groups within the trade unions should not be to split or destroy these unions, but while keeping the membership as intact as possible, to throw off from each union its bureaucratic superstructure. The subject matter of agitation for the revolutionary groups should be the questions arising in the everyday struggle of the unions. Revolutionary principles should be applied to their solution in a practical manner—never in a merely theoretical or abstract manner. The revolutionists must be more practical than their opponents. They must be more efficient and hard-working in handling the daily routine of the union, at the same time that they strive with all their power to bring it into line with the more advanced unions for the proletarian revolution.

Resist Expulsion; Stand for Unity

The revolutionists must continue their revolutionary propaganda at any cost. But wherever humanly possible they must avoid being expelled from the unions either as groups or individuals. They must remember that their doing any propaganda at all is dependent upon their remaining in contact with the masses in the unions. In case of the expulsion of fragments from the unions, these fragments must refuse to recognize their expulsion, and make a continuous fight to remain a part of the union, or contend for their claim to be themselves the original union. In case of expulsion of entire unions from the American Federation of Labor, such expulsion must be resisted as long as possible, for the purpose of exposing the motives of the bureaucracy. The same rule applies to the railroad brotherhoods and the independent unions generally.

The Workers' Party will formulate programs for individuals and groups that may be expelled from unions by the reactionary bureaucracy, finding solutions free wherever possible from the old mistake of dual unionism.

Within all trade and industrial unions the Workers' Party will organize and promote revolutionary groups, and will help to crystallize around such groups larger blocks of sympathetic workers, growing in understanding. The Party will supply these groups with literature, information, instruction as to methods, and so endeavor to co-ordinate the entire left-wing of the American Labor Movement within the existing unions.

A Program of Action

By J. LOVESTONE

WHAT is the outstanding feature of the program of the Workers' Party of America? What is the significance of the program for our labor movement? What is the outlook of a Party that is to be guided by such a program?

Programmes have come and programmes have gone in the development of the revolutionary movement in America. But the one characteristic that has afflicted all the efforts prior to the organization of the Workers' Party has been utopianism—a total lack of appreciation of the realities of the class struggle. Looking backward, one recalls the cant concerning the "Co-operative Commonwealth" with which our old "Socialist" Party programs were so replete. A blueprint of the Communist order and a mathematically precise plan of expropriating the capitalists was the heart of the Left Wing program of 1919. The program adopted by the Chicago Convention of the Communist Party was, for all intents and purposes of the class conflict, not one bit different.

All of these documents reflected very adequately the state of affairs prevailing in our revolutionary movement at the time of their birth. They all portrayed great enthusiasm for the revolution and the future. Not one of them, however, indicated an understanding of the problems of the revolution in America, of the needs of the American workers, and of the conditions at hand.

A militant workers' political party, a revolutionary party, is a party of action. A party of action is a party that has no other needs and no other struggles than those of the working class. Such a party must have a program which is a guide to activity, a manual of action, a handbook of the art and practice of the everyday struggles of the workers and the unification and organization of these struggles for the overthrow of capitalism.

With the Program of the Workers' Party of America our revolutionary movement has taken the first step indicative of an understanding of its problems and task. Unlike all of the above mentioned programs, this document is free from revolutionary verbiage and purist theoretical abstractions. It deals with the urgent pressing needs of the working class and offers concrete plans for meeting these needs. This program lacks the emphasis on ultimate ideals so characteristic of our past efforts. Let no one misunderstand this most wholesome "lack." It is high time that the revolutionists of America get down to business and do something worth while towards the realization of the arduous task confronting them.

The program of the Workers' Party speaks in terms of the concrete needs of the American workers and of the conditions under which the struggle is to be fought. The analysis of the desperate situation in which the world finds itself today as a result of the Great War is followed by a realistic interpretation of the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in America. Frank admission is made of the weakness of the labor movement and of the strength of the capitalists. The role of the Government in the class struggle is treated in a manner workers can best understand—in the light of their actual experience with it. Our labor lieutenants of capitalism are not spared. More than that. We do not stop at exposure and denunciation. A practical plan of kicking these capitalist agents from our ranks is put forward. Every burning problem of the working men, every issue about which the laboring masses can be rallied for action against their enemy is considered and a policy outlined with the aim of drawing the largest masses possible

into struggles which will prepare them for decisive conflict.

It is precisely for these reasons that the program of the Workers' Party is a revolutionary program. Its keynote is: Through struggle to victory! The program is revolutionary because it is a frank recognition of the fact that the broad masses, the worker in the shop, mill and mine, are not interested in fighting for ultimate, abstract ideals and will struggle only for the immediate concrete issues at stake. The program is based on the truth that experience is the best teacher for the workingmen and that it is through labor's experience in these struggles that it will learn most effectively the role of the trade union bureaucrats, the role of the capitalist state in the class struggle, the positive limitations of all relief measures under capitalism, and the urgent necessity for the overthrow of capitalism. The reformists and opportunists nowadays shirk conflict with the enemy and seek to avoid a test of strength at all costs, lest the workers learn these lessons, throw off the strangle hold of their misleaders, and abolish capitalism.

The program of the Workers' Party is pledged to struggle for even the most elementary needs of the workers. Its outstanding feature is organized and unified action against the exploiters and oppressors of the workers on all fronts.

A Practical Plan

The program proposes that the Workers' Party should consolidate the existing labor organizations and turn them into organs of militant struggle against capitalism. This is a most fortunate and significant turn in the proper direction. It is a complete right-about-face from the canker of dualism that has so poisonously infected our revolutionary movement. All the initiative, energy and enthusiasm of the militant workers will now be turned into channels of practical constructive effort away from the devitalizing, destructive roads of union splitting and excursions into the Utopia of pure, undiluted, ideal union building.

Active participation in the parliamentary elections and general political life of the country is a cardinal point of the program. But the limitations of parliamentary activity, the secondary nature of its role in the class struggle, and the revolutionary use to which it can be put are pointed out very clearly. The representatives of the Workers' Party in the legislative and executive offices of the capitalist government will unmask the fraudulent character of our democracy and will help mobilize the workers for the final struggle against the common enemy. All the activities of the parliamentary representatives, and the entire parliamentary campaign will be in direct response to the needs of the workers and will be correlated with the mass struggles of the workers outside of the government halls.

The Workers' Party will be in the front ranks of the struggling masses. It will broaden and deepen these demands and develop out of the every day struggles a force for the abolition of capitalism. Here we have the realism and practical character of the entire program. The fact that no lasting improvement in the conditions of the working man is today possible under capitalism is forcefully brought home. The everyday struggles and the fight for the immediate demands are to the Workers' Party the training school for the revolution and not what they are to the opportunist Socialists, an opportunity to get Socialism on the installment plan through impotent social legislation.

There has been some criticism of the form expressing the final aim of the Party—"the abolition of capitalism through

the establishment of a Workers' Republic." A perusal of the program shows that this attack is entirely unwarranted. The attitude of the Workers' Party towards the role of the parliamentary state in the class struggle is made evident by the incisive analysis and condemnation of the fraudulent character and oppressive nature of the capitalist state found in its program. The task assigned to its parliamentary representatives shows a Marxian understanding of the problem far in advance of those who see the revolution falling into our lap through a repetition of abstract truths. A Workers' Republic means one in which the workers rule as a class. And the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of a Workers' Republic can mean nothing else than the establishment of such a government; a working class government to be used for the overthrow of capitalism and the introduction of the system to supplant it.

The expression 'Workers' Republic' is calculated to respond to the tempo of the class struggle in America. The first task before the Workers' Party is to disillusion the

masses about the blessings of capitalist democracy, to get them to act and fight as workers, and to establish a government by their class and for their class. In Europe the laboring masses are not so politically backward. There the revolutionary parties are of considerable strength. In America the situation is totally different. It would be a crime against the working class for a revolutionary political party to tamper with the opportunities for open struggle in its foolish desire to main pure theoretical wording. No revolutionary party, no Marxian can sacrifice the substance to the phrase. Under present conditions it would be criminal foolhardiness to pursue a policy which would play into the hands of our enemy and estrange us from the workers. The program of the Workers' Party is therefore far more conducive to the development of a revolutionary movement in America than acres of revolutionary, bombastic phraseology of the theoretically abstract and correct sort could ever be. Any other policy would not only fail to help the revolution but would actually fetter it.

The Workers' Party and the Farmers

By H. M. WARE

One of the most significant points in the program of the Workers' Party is its treatment of "Agricultural Problems." For the first time a labor party has overcome actual ignorance and pure theory in order to give a practical and honest analysis of the American farm problem to its membership. It states that the American producers are divided into two groups, the city workers and the farmers. And that the American farm class is essentially semi-proletarian in character—that the agricultural proletariat plays a comparatively insignificant role in the American farm problem.

Facing Facts

This is a statement of fact which most city workers find it hard to accept. But the failure of the Socialist party and the I. W. W. to develop any influence among American food producers indicates the necessity of revising our concept of the problem. The time is past when we can safely ignore the great masses of exploited farmers in America simply because they are semi-proletarians. By stating its recognition of the semi-proletarian farmers as the important element in the American farm problem, the Workers' Party has avoided the fundamental error of its predecessors.

Farmers Are Semi-Proletarian Producers

The farm problem in America is not the small farmers against large landlords. It is not a problem primarily of tenants who are land hungry. It is not a problem of an agricultural proletariat opposed to exploiting landed proprietors. It is a problem of a great mass of semi-proletarian producers exploited by the same capitalist forces which exploit the city proletariat. This is being demonstrated everywhere on the American continent. Farm producers are forming organizations to resist this exploitation. The Non-Partisan League is an organization of semi-proletarian farmers who came together because of their common interest in fighting the forces which were robbing them every year of their grain. They went into the political field but have suffered the fate of the reformists and demonstrated the fact that all workers must unite in the struggle to break the grip of the capitalist system on the workers. The Washington State Grange, which has sent many carloads of food direct to the striking miners in the coal fields, is also made up of semi-proletarian farmers. These men have their common cause with the industrial workers and are supporting the industrial attack upon capitalism. In Canada, where the farm-

ers have captured the provinces of Alberta and Ontario, the need for an organized campaign to unite the farm and city producers is becoming more apparent daily. In the United States the economic status of the farmers is so critical that the capitalists and their political servants are becoming confused and are hopelessly searching for ways and means to solve the problem which is today a menace to the existence of capitalism. How can the farmer be kept producing when owners are becoming mortgaged owners, mortgaged owners are either increasing their mortgages or being forced into the tenant class and the farming class as a whole is being driven from the farms and is joining the already swollen ranks of the unemployed.

Failure of Commodity Organizations

The farmers have attempted with little success to fight these conditions by organizing commodity marketing associations. After years of this policy they have discovered that their mortgage debt is increasing and their products have reached a value comparatively lower than any other class of products. As exploited producers they are being forced to realize their common interest with the exploited producers in the other industries.

The Aim of the Workers' Party

The Workers' Party has recognized the fundamental differences between city and rural producers. In proposing to organize the farmers along class lines it does not proceed on the theory that the struggles and demands of the farmers will be identical with those of the city workers. But the Program of the Workers' Party does promise to unite these elements in the struggle against their common enemy—exploitation under the capitalist system—and to organize class-conscious farmers in all farm organizations as leaders of the farmers in their fight side by side with other industrial workers. It recognizes the great rural mass as a potential ally of the city proletariat. It also recognizes the danger of allowing the capitalists to use the farmers as a bulwark against proletarian attack. Unquestionably the Workers' Party comes at a time when the disillusioned farmers are ready for a practical class program of action. We may confidently expect that the response to an Agrarian section of the Workers' Party will be the widespread organization of farmers as a conscious second line ally of the militant proletariat in its struggle to replace capitalist democracy with the Workers' Republic.

Open Letter to American Labor

The Bureau of Information of the Finnish Government (New York) continually gives out exaggerated and highly polished information to the American press about the economic and political conditions in Finland. These bits of information and news items have been so biased and distorted from the working-class stand-point, that we deem it our duty to make the following statement about the true situation in Finland.

The Junker Movement

The present junker government in Finland ascended to power with the aid of the German militarist machine in 1917. Its continued reign is made possible only with the most ruthless terror and governmental tyranny ever known in the world's history. The present government in Finland does not exist with the consent of those governed. It is not the government of the people, by the people, and for the people. To prove our statement we desire to submit the following facts:

Suppression of the Labor Organizations

The period following the civil war was a period of terror, white-terror, as it is commonly called in Finland, because the Whites were in power. Labor organizations in all forms were prohibited! Thousands of workers were thrown in prisons, where large numbers of them died of hunger and disease. The slightest expression of opinion, differing from that of the governing authority, was sufficient to cause the person to be sent to the dungeons for a long term of years. Prisons were overflowing with the victims of the White Terror! Even members of the cultural class were thrown in prisons and put to death because of their expression of sympathy for the workers and protests against the White Terror. Ilmari Rantala, novelist and writer of international reputation, was murdered by the Whites because he urged the peasants to stand by the workers. Many others suffered the same fate.

Political Persecution

Even now, when conditions are supposed to be normal, the government unscrupulously persecutes the workers' political organizations. The National Congress of the Finnish Socialist Labor Party, in May, 1920, was dissolved and a large number of the delegates were thrown into prisons. Some of these delegates are still in prison, the regular work of the Labor Party is continually hampered and its officials persecuted.

Workers in general are persecuted for their political opinions. Thousands of them are lying in prisons! For years they are compelled to suffer the inhuman treatment of the prison officials who are intoxicated with power. Ancient inquisitions are instituted in many of the Finnish prisons.

The Finnish Government has not seen fit to declare general amnesty, although many other nations, who have taken part in the World War, have done so. Pardons have been granted to only a few individuals, while some are paroled. In the questions of amnesty, Finland is taking a back seat. While the political prisoners are serving their terms, their families suffer misery and want!

The Finnish Government does not confine its policy of terror to workers' political organizations. The same policy of suppression and misgovernment is applied to labor unions. Nearly all the strikes are misconstrued by governmental authorities as political strikes and therefore unlawful. Union officials are persecuted; their homes searched and the slightest "offense" against the White Terrorist received severe punishment. For instance, the authorities de-

clared the Finnish Railway Brotherhood as inimical to Society.

Suppression of Press

Freedom of speech, press and assemblage in Finland is a myth. Labor papers and periodicals are suppressed for criticizing the form of government. Among other suppressed papers we mention "The Workman," chief organ of the Finnish workers, which was suppressed for saying that the present government was not a government of the people.

Espionage System and Homeguard

In order to remain in power, the Finnish Government, which the workers have fittingly named "The Butcher Government," has established an espionage system of which there is no parallel in any land, as far as we know. Sanctity of home is totally destroyed! Peaceful citizens are accused of the most trifling misdemeanors on the false reports of the spies and sleuths. They penetrate everywhere, in homes, offices, through mail, etc.

Espionage system is supplemented with the so-called homeguard, composed mostly of hired thugs and professional strikebreakers, armed with German weapons. They commit all sorts of arbitrary acts of oppression, such as robberies and even murder. The word of the thug is LAW! They dissolve peaceful meetings, parades, and other gatherings of the workers. Life is not secure in Finland! Autocracy and terror are rampant!

Finnish Workers' Appeal

The Finnish workers have appealed to the workers of the world, and particularly to the workers of the United States:

1) To spread the truth about the conditions in Finland and thus counteract the "information" given out by the Finnish Junkers.

2) To adopt resolutions urging the U. S. Department of State to protest to the Finnish Government for their infamous misgovernment of the helpless people in Finland.

The labor movement in Finland which welds the great masses of working people together is the only organized democratic movement. It is opposed to mediaeval junkerism, which is in control of the government. The aim of the Finnish laboring class as well as the laboring classes in other lands is the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of a Workers' Republic.

(Submitted in behalf of the toiling masses in Finland by the Executive Committee of the Finnish Federation of the Workers' Party of America.)

Dear Sir:

We understand that you are the editor of the labor paper called "The Toiler," and that the paper is radical.

We would be very glad to receive some copies of the same, especially those which attack the business element.

The manufacturing element have the labor element here pretty well beaten and we are endeavoring to revive the spirit of labor.

Whatever cost there is can be sent C. O. D.

Thanking you for your attention in this matter, and assuring you it will be appreciated, we remain,

Yours very truly,

THE LABOR ADVOCATE

International Notes

The Far East

Th documents published by the Far Eastern representatives will not surprise those who understand the fiendishness of capitalist governments. While liberals hailed with joy the fake conference in Washington revolutionists pointed out that it was only a smoke screen behind which the executive committees of the capitalists of the world planned future campaigns. The capitalists are trying to outwit each other in the game of plunder. We see France and Japan in secret agreement to steal a march on the United States. The Far Eastern representatives lifted the veil a little bit and we secured a glimpse of the sharps at the diplomatic poker game. The capitalists are so accustomed to deceit that they cannot be true to each other. They showed a united front against Russia while they thought there was a possibility of overthrowing the Soviet Republic, but now that hope has vanished and they begin to quarrel over Russian business.

How did the Far Eastern Republic get the goods on France and Japan? In the usual way. A spy working for the imperialist nations turned over the evidence to the Far Eastern Republic for a consideration. Japan and France of course deny the authenticity of the documents but we have a sneaking suspicion that the United States government will not express any displeasure over the revelations. American business is going after Russian trade.

Russian Trade

By the end of the present year there will be a general rush on the part of all nations for Russian trade, William Z. Foster, just returned from Russia, told an audience of 2,000 persons at the New Star Casino here. The Allied blockade is being broken by the Russian Government, is being broken by the use of the same tactics which the industrial bosses use to break a strike, he said—in other words, by using those elements among the world-capitalists which cannot refrain from seeking the profits to be derived by Russian trade.

He declared the "new conomic policy" of the Russian Government, as a matter of fact, gives the capitalist no opportunity to gain control there.

"There are three aspects of the new economic program: free trade, economic treaties, and concessions to foreign capital. I have no fear that these concessions will weaken the Russian Soviet Government. On the contrary, they will strengthen it. Russia knows that there is a 'strikebreaking' element among capitalists just as there is among laborers. Russia is now doing business with such capitalists all over the world. While I was in Russia there were 56 ships at Petrograd loaded with commodities from other countries in a period of six weeks. This is worrying the 'big fellows' in the capitalist world, and I predict that before another year is over there will be a literal rush to trade with Russia."

Russian Famine

There is a "Hunger" Exhibition in Moscow, revealing the horror of the famine area. "Edibles" are to be found there, "cake" made of chaff and clay, bread of bark and clay, cake of leaves. There is bread made even of wood shavings, pulverized straw with sharp points that injures the intestines and bloats the abdomen. This exhibition is most eloquent of the situation in the Volga district.

When the representatives of the Allied governments assembled at Geneva in November, they unanimously refused to extend any aid to Soviet Russia. France was particularly venomous, demanding that the Soviet Govern-

ment first recognize the Tsar's debts before negotiations for relief would be considered. Even Dr. Nansen failed to move them. Since that time, however, France has made a grant of 6,000 francs and England has advanced medicines valued at 250,000 pounds. The American Government has also made an appropriation.

Now it is the business of the workers, not only of the United States but of the whole world, to insist upon the resumption of trade relations with Soviet Russia, so that Russia may procure what she requires. The workers must insist upon credit being granted the Soviet Government. If financial aid in this form is given her, the Soviet Government will be able to save the starving people from death!

France

The struggle between the reformist and revolutionary elements in the ranks of organized labor in France is growing more acute. The reactionaries are striving to expel their opponents from the labor federation. A Congress of the militant section of the trade unions—the Left Wing Union in the French General Confederation of Labor—is now in session. The aim of the conference is to unite revolutionists, prevent their expulsion from the unions and put a stop to the splitting tactics of the bureaucracy. The outcome of the conference will be of serious importance to the whole labor movement.

India

A resolution was passed at the Moslem League Conference held in Ahmedabad, India, condemning the British Government's severity in dealing with the Moplah uprising. Another resolution was discussed calling for the defeat of British imperialism and demanding unity with other communities for the complete independence of India. The Moslems favor establishing a republic in India by force. The British use force; why not the Indians? The tour of the Prince of Wales cost the Indians 50,000,000 pounds. The native princes are loyal, but the common people are not. The Sunday pictorial supplement of a New York paper shows a sign with the inscription "Tell Daddy that we are happy under British rule." The scowling faces of the Indians in the vicinity of the sign do not bear out the legend on the canvas. The tour is superintended by Lord Reading, one of the Hebrew gentlemen employed by the British Government to manage the Indian section of the robber empire.

THESES AND RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the

THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

June 22nd-July 12th, 1921)

FIFTY CENTS.

Send a Dollar and Get Two.

For sale only at the TOILER BOOK SHOP
208 East 12th Street.

Place your order at once.

In the Ranks of Labor

Car Cleaners

Car cleaners in the Erie's Jersey City yards, who formerly were paid 40 cents per hour with time and a half for work in excess of eight hours are now paid 30 cents an hour for a ten-hour day. It appears that the car cleaners have been included in the agreement with the Railway Carmen's Union and their wages could not be disturbed without permission from the Railroad Labor Board. The road wanted to clean up the cleaners, so they let the contract for cleaning the cars to the Hon. Patricius Connolly, who hired the cleaners at 30 cents an hour for a ten-hour day and saved the Railroad Labor Board a lot of bother.

Marine Engineers Accept Wage Reduction

The Marine Engineers' Benevolent Association accepted a wage cut of \$30 a month, effective Jan. 1 and running to July 1, when the scale may be reopened for another cut. We hope to see the scales of craft unionism fall from the eyes of the engineers one of these days.

Photo-Engravers Locked Out

Notices were posted in their shops by members of the Photo-Engravers' Board of Trade, announcing a lockout of their employees beginning Jan. 3 as a result of the failure to negotiate a new wage contract with the union. The scale is now \$50 for a forty-four-hour week. The employers want to restore the forty-eight-hour week or reduce the wages to \$44 for the forty-four-hour week.

Amsterdam Prepares to Prevent War

Under the heading "Labor plans to prevent war," the Western Labor News carries a subhead stating "International Conference of Trade Unions to take action as soon as war is imminent." We can only repeat "as soon as war is imminent." An actual state of war exists today. Ask the imperialists of Spain, of France, of Japan, America and England; ask the peoples of India, of Haiti, of Santo Domingo, of Russia and of Siberia. When will the workers repudiate this travesty of a labor international? The leaders recently in holy conference convened requested "The Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to make the necessary preparations with a view to having this question submitted to the International Congress to be held in Rome in April in order that this Congress may be in a position to take definite decisions in the matter." If the workers of the world today look to Johaux, Thomas & Co. to prevent new wars let them look at the record of the Amsterdam International. What did it do to prevent the recent world war, what did it do to prevent the most damnable attacks upon the Workers' Government of Russia, what will it do to prevent the wars between the imperial nations of America, Japan and England over the loot in Russia, Siberia and China? It will meet in Rome as it has met in Amsterdam, but it cannot be expected to prevent capitalist wars, since it is made up of agents of the war gods themselves. There is today only one body which represents the interests of labor and that alone is the Red Trade Union International at Moscow. In this body alone lies the hope of international solidarity of labor, and the workers of the world are fast realizing the extent to which they have been duped in the past with the resolutions of Amsterdam and the promises of Rome.

Knudson Candidate of Militant Machinists

William Ross Knudson is being pushed as candidate for President of the Machinists' Union against Johnston, the present holder of that office. Knudson is getting a lot of backing, and Chicago is swinging in behind him with an enthusiastic bunch of "Knudson Boosters." All over the West the militant machinists are getting busy and placing the issues before the rank and file.

Knudson stands for aggressive policies, as against the wavering tactics of the present administration, which has resulted in a loss of 100,000 members in the past year. He has issued a statement of his program, which includes affiliation with the Red International of Labor Unions; industrial structure for the metal trades unions; a militant offensive against the capitalist system, and the scrapping of the old, bankrupt leaders. His statement closes with the following:

"The real mission of a trade union is to drill the membership into proper discipline to prepare them for the day when the responsibility of running society will rest on their shoulders. Let us therefore, while fighting the everyday struggle for better conditions with boldness and intelligence, organize the attack that will end the labor problem and forever cast from the earth the damnable system of wage slavery."

"Fellow workers! Unite your forces! On the political field demand the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class. On the industrial field erect a gigantic industrial organization capable of running the industries when the capitalist system shall have collapsed. Let us scrap the old defensive methods. Let us assume a militant offensive, thereby insuring the ultimate triumph of labor's hopes."

Young Workers' League

The Young Workers' League has the following circles in this city. People between the ages of 16 and 25 are invited to join.

Circle 1, 1258 Boston Road, Bronx, meets every Saturday evening. Open forum every Sunday evening. Admission free.

Circle 2, 307 Stone Ave., Brooklyn, meets every Saturday evening. Class in "Value, Price and Profit" every Saturday afternoon. Admission free.

Circle 5, 61 Canal Street. Meets every Sunday evening.

Circle 6, 59 East 105th St. Meets every Thursday evening. Class in "Capital" every Saturday afternoon.

Circle 10, Jewish, 143 E. 103d St. Meets every Saturday evening.

Circle 11, Jewish, 61 Canal St. Meets every Saturday evening. M. Marmer lectures on "The Development of Socialist Thought" every Friday evening. Admission 15c.

Circle 12, Hungarian, Hungarian Workingmen's Hall, meets every Friday night.

The City Committee will meet Sunday, Jan. 15, 2 o'clock, at 61 Canal St.

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

Dear Comrades:

"We are Americans; We cannot fight our government!" This was the statement our International President, John L. Lewis, made during the war. Let us look at it as a workingman should. If some one would mention to go out on a strike he would be called a Bolsheviki, anarchist, pro-German, etc. Warrants and indictments were issued for violation of the Esch-Cummins Law.

Whose government was it then? Was it ours? The preamble of our constitution starts out: We, the people, etc. But how does it work when you come down to the point. This question can be easily answered by asking: Whom does the present administration of the government serve now in Mingo, McDowel and Logan counties of West Virginia, in Colorado, in Kansas?

The Administration made injunctions and indictments against our organization and against our true blue leaders. (And let the yellow ones go.)

Did it try to stop the companies from slashing the wages in two? No! It hurried the machine guns and regular troops to swoop down on the workers who demanded free assembly (the right to organize) under the United States Constitution. Did the government serve the People? No, it served the companies.

Now let us see what Howat has to say. "I'll see the Kansas Industrial Law in Hell before I give in," stated Howat at the Mine Workers' Convention. Lewis told Howat to call off the strike. Howat refused to submit to the slave act. Therefore he and his followers were expelled.

The district is being reorganized by the Lewis machine. It will be some dual union when they will be through with it, with George Harvey (his brother is sheriff and is holding Howat in jail) and George Peck, whose brother is an operator and an advisor of Provisional District 14.

We are now beginning to see how things work. We know that to satisfy their big profits the companies will stop at nothing to save the complete enslavement of the toilers, through the help of our reactionary leaders.

The final question is: Can we face the operators in our present conditions when our leaders bow low their heads to the operators, governors, sheriffs and do not co-operate with the unions?

When the leaders fail, it's up to the rank and file to act. Now is the time as never before.

AUGUST J. VALENTINE,
Recording Secretary of Local Union 4112,
Thomas, West Virginia.

From Gitlow to Debs

Dear Editor:

Below I quote the exact wording of the greeting to Comrade Eugene V. Debs which my son, Ben Gitlow, now serving a sentence in Auburn Prison of New York State, wished me to convey:

"You may convey to Debs my joy at his release, coupled with comradely greetings and the hope that his health will permit him to resume his fight against the oppression of the working class and to enter the revolutionary struggle of the workers for power and freedom."

I am conveying his message to you because I believe in the columns of the Toller it will carry greetings from the many comrades in jail to the one who has been released.

K. GITLOW.

Ellis Island, New York,
December 26, 1921.

Comrades:

I am communicating to you on a very urgent matter as I have no other way of doing it. I came from Pittsburgh to be deported and being charged with sedition you can guess the rest. Having read your paper, I decided to appeal to you in behalf of a comrade who is badly crippled and needs an operation by a real doctor.

He has been in prison for nearly a year with bullets in his body. Full fledged, 100 per cent Americans attempted to lynch him because he championed the cause of the workers and now he is to be deported, but I do not believe he will live through it as I have seen him faint several times. His name is Costello and he is a member of the I. W. W. who always did his duty.

Comrades, that is not all he needs. When he was in jail under \$1,000 bonds the money could not be raised. Comrades, I ask you in the name of human beings if the I. W. W. can't take care of him I urge you most earnestly to help him. Please bring this matter to the attention of the rank and file.

Fraternally yours,

ANDREW J. SPIVAK.

NATIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE NOTES

201 West 13th Street, New York City

A New Year Resolution!

"Resolved, That I will not rest until every class war prisoner, in federal or state prisons, is released!"

Here is a New Year's resolution worth while. And if such a resolution sincerely made, with the determination to see it through, not a single class war prisoner will be in jail a year hence.

Deportation Cases

The New Year opens with but two politicals on Ellis Island. Stehen Bobic, of Akron, Ohio, will be deported to Jugo-Slavia. Andrew Spivak of Pittsburgh, Pa., is ordered deported to Serbia. The National Defense Committee is supplying both comrades with warm clothes, for they will encounter bitterly cold weather on their journey.

Our Financial Problems

To properly function, the N. D. C. must have funds. We call attention to the following situation:

In New York we must pay for attorneys' services, for six appeals now pending, for the printing of records and briefs, and for the repayment of loans, \$5,248.00; in Philadelphia, where we have 38 State cases and 30 deportation cases, we owe \$1,148.00; in Pittsburg bills amounting to \$2,545.00 have accumulated; in Ohio there is due attorneys \$700.00; it will cost an additional \$1,000.00 to properly take care of the 13 Milwaukee deportation cases; the Jim Cannon-Charles Baker, Kansas City, Kansas, case needs \$2,500.00; we owe \$175.00 on the Jack Carney appeal, and \$300.00 on the J. O. Bentall appeal. We begin the New Year with a total defense indebtedness of \$13,616.

Our comrades bear the scars of the class war. They have fought the good fight. And the N. D. C., speaking in their behalf, calls upon all class conscious workers to mobilize their dollars for defense.

Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street, New York City

The Far Eastern Republic has donated one billion roubles. In addition a committee was organized for collecting medical supplies and sending out sanitary trains. "Mutual Aid Societies" have been organized in all parts of Russia. In the famine district, they serve to equalize the relief and help those whose stocks of food have run out. Outside the famine district, the societies levy a tax on crops, business enterprises, theatrical performances, etc. One theatre alone furnished more than 100,000,000 roubles. A tax on crops yielded 1,660 tons of grain. More than 500 societies of this nature have been organized.

The Health Commissariat is working under high pressure. The undernourishment prevalent almost throughout Russia has led to the rise of various epidemics, especially cholera, scurvy and typhus. These raged in famine areas and aggravated the agony of the peasants. Although almost without any supply of medicines, linen and other sanitary equipment, the Commissariat worked out a plan for the close cooperation of the other departments of the Soviet Government. The Health Commissariat divided up into sections, one concentrating its efforts on combatting epidemics; another on taking care of the children. The rapidity with which the epidemics of June and July were checked are evidence of the efficiency of the department.

The International Federation of Trade Unions, with seat at Amsterdam, as already reported, contributed 100,000,000 marks. It has consistently refused, however, to cooperate with the other Workers' Relief Committees operating throughout Europe. It has spent 2,000,000 marks for medicines and is especially concentrating on the maintenance of children's homes.

Polish workers have collected more than 5,000,000 Polish marks. This is a remarkable achievement in view of the fact that the Polish Peasant-Socialist Government is sabotaging relief work. Lectures on the Russian situation are forbidden. In fact, fearful that the Polish workers might express undue solidarity with the Russian workers on November 7th, the Polish government made extensive raids on workers' organizations, arresting more than 300 persons.

Relief work in America is proceeding with the same energy. The drive is most successful. Chicago has contributed a carload of shoes. The Shoemakers' Section of the Technical Aid for Soviet Russia will repair them, so that the Russian workers will receive only serviceable shoes. Paterson has furnished five bales of clothes. Cleveland, Cincinnati, have sent in a quantity. The clothes drive is also taking place in Canada, and most encouraging results are being obtained despite the opposition of the authorities.

Two locals of the United Mine Workers are carrying out the decision of the Miners' Convention, and are levying an assessment on their membership. These two locals are in Zeigler, Ill. The miners are hard hit by unemployment. The secretary of a local reported that some of the men are working only two days a week. Another reported that the mine where his men work has been closed since June. Still they sent in a contribution!

Get your union to make a membership assessment! If each member gives only a small sum the aggregate will be big—far bigger than if a few contribute a larger amount.

"My kiddies wish to deny themselves their holiday

money—their all—for the little brothers and sisters in Russia."

The clergy of this country, although still opposing aid to Soviet Russia, is gradually changing its attitude. Up to the present, several ministers have responded with personal donations. The F. S. R. has received a contribution from a minister in Cincinnati, who took up a collection in his church.

Editor of a farmers' paper in North Dakota writes as follows: "We are even taking up collections of clothing and shoes and the like for our own children that they may be able to attend school this winter." Despite these conditions, money continues to pour in from contributors all over the country.

Bishop Brown, author of "Communism and Christianity" has prepared a special edition of that work to sell at \$1.00 each, and is devoting the total proceeds to famine relief.

Four hundred and fifty college students in New York sacrificed their supper and contributed \$450 to relief. These students are foreigners attending forty-two colleges and universities in the metropolitan district.

Los Angeles held a big ball and netted \$575. There is a group of enthusiastic workers out on the western coast.

Although, unfortunately, the I. W. W. officially has taken an antagonistic stand against the F. S. R.—without daring to do so openly—several I. W. W. branches and sections do not hesitate to defy the official instructions. Recently the Hungarian section made a contribution. While the officials rant, the rank and file work.

Montreal held a bazaar on December 13th to 15th and netted \$1000 for relief. San Francisco is planning a ball and bazaar at the end of the month.

The mail brought us three most unusual contributions: two from men serving sentences in New York for fighting for the working class; one from a man in San Quentin penitentiary, California, who, with thirty-five others, is paying the penalty for activity in behalf of the working class. The last-mentioned comrade writes: "Having recently been sent up here for from one to fourteen years from Los Angeles, because of the crime of criminal syndicalism, and thus being assured of a place to eat and sleep for quite some time, thanks to the great state of California, I am enabled to send you the sum of \$50. This \$50 is a nest egg that I had put into the hands of a friend with which to buy grub tools and powder to work some mining claims that I had located while prospecting this summer."

This week totals about \$310,000 for famine relief. The big contributions of the week were: Lithuanian Section of the F. S. R., \$4488; Chicago, \$1000; New York, \$751; Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, \$500; Brotherhood of Painters, \$500; Portland, \$500; Superior, \$300; Rochester, \$300; Denver, \$250; Erie, \$283; Lawrence, \$220; Bath Beach, N. Y., \$200.

The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, the International Association of Machinists and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers are answering the call of the F. S. R.

Has your union responded? Is your lodge with us? What have they done? What are they doing? These are questions you must ask in the name of famine relief for the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia.

Others Speak

With the House of Representatives already on Mr. Hoover's side, it begins to look as though Congress may celebrate the holidays by voting \$20 million for the relief of famine in Russia. We hope that such will indeed be the outcome, because, in the first place, we have a natural interest in the feeding of the hungry; second, because we believe that the Soviet Government is now able to protect itself against the counter-revolutionary influence of the American Relief Administration; and finally, because we should like to see a small part of this country's debt to Russia paid off now, when the need of the Russian people is most urgent. When we use this word "debt," we are not thinking of the sort of obligation that America once owed to Lafayette, and to his heirs and assigns for ever. Rather we are recalling the fact that, by the waging of an undeclared war, by the maintenance of a relentless blockade, and by the subsequent and still-continuing denial of facilities for trade, the Government of the United States has injured the people of Russia to such an extent that twenty millions of dollars will hardly cover the arrears of interest on reparations-payment long overdue.

When Mr. Hoover first proposed to push the operations of the American Relief Administration across the frontiers of Soviet Russia, our impulse was to suggest that the people of Russia, and their American sympathizers, would do well to remember what happened in Hungary when Mr. Hoover's agents went in by one gate and helped to drive Bela Kun out by the other. We did not trust Mr. Hoover then, and we do not trust him now. Further than that, we believe that our doubts are shared by a great many of our own countrymen, who really have the interest of Russia at heart. It seems to us that Mr. Hoover himself came near owning up to this, when he made the following state-

ment the other day, before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House: "It has been shown," he said, "that this is not an auspicious time to depend upon public charity. I don't think the total collections of diligent organizations working for this cause of Russian relief have been five hundred thousand dollars since August."

We agree that this is a rather slim return, but we do not attribute the shortage entirely to the failure of public charity. On the contrary, we find that those of our people who have been most grievously affected by the economic depression have also been extremely active in the cause of Russian relief. The organization known as the Friends of Soviet Russia depend largely upon organized labor for its contributions; and according to reports recently published, this organization has already forwarded to Russia a quarter of a million dollars' worth of supplies. The national office of this society is located at 201 West 13th Street, New York City. The work is carried on "in direct connexion with the Soviet Government," and the supplies are distributed by the Russian Red Cross. Mr. Hoover may or may not consider the Friends of Soviet Russia "a diligent organization"; he may or may not have included its collections in his estimate of a half million dollars as the all-American total for the last four months; but in any case, it should be said that the activities of this group in behalf of "famine-relief without condition" are carried on in complete independence of the American Relief Administration, and with the support of people who are interested in preserving some of the gains of the Russian revolution, as well as in feeding the millions who have been forced into the international bread-line.

—THE FREEMAN.

GIVE!