

THE TOILER

VOL. IV

SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1922.

No. 206

Going to the Masses

by Bela Kun

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Howat States the Facts

by Alexander Howat

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The Struggle in the Machinists' Union

by Wm. Ross Knudsen

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Correspondence

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Editorials

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Labor Notes

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handed down a decision forbidding the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union from holding strike meetings, hiring halls for that purpose, picketing or even paying strike benefits. Come on, Gompers! Are you too proud to fight?

THE highest compliment yet paid the power of the Soviet Government and the greatest tribute to the respect in which it is held by the people whom it governs has appeared in the columns of the New York Times. Mr. Walter Duranty, writing of the work in the famine regions for The Times, and speaking of the almost total absence of thievery, says:

The Russians are drilled to consider the Soviet seal—indeed almost any stamped seal—as sacred. This little blob of red wax affixed to a flimsy wire is a better protection for the doors of a freight car than bars of iron or bronze and padlocks.

The government of the United States has found it necessary to place marines armed to the teeth in and around its mail cars and terminals to prevent the continuation of wholesale robbery of valuable mail. Much as we hate to admit that we Americans have anything to learn from foreigners—especially such foreign foreigners as Russians—we have the temerity to suggest that Postmaster-General Will Hays, by studying the soviet method, might save his well-beloved, the taxpayer, a lot of money and release some hundreds of marines for the more pleasant duty of slaughtering natives in Haiti for the honor and glory—incidentally the profit—of the National City Bank.

The Outlook

THE five great powers unanimously decided to outlaw poison gas. Be of good cheer, comrades. When the capitalists stage another war for democracy, they will not poison you. They will discover a humane way of putting the tin hat on your earthly career. Perhaps they will electrocute you or burn you alive. The representatives of the five great powers in Washington are discussing methods of extermination from every angle. Your fate is receiving proper consideration. Experts have been called in from all parts of the world. Black and Tans from Ireland, Fascisti from Italy, Social Democrats from Germany, cannibals from Darkest Africa and Baldwin Felts thugs from West Virginia. Keep on working, wage slaves. Do not bother your heads about life insurance. Your masters will look after the funeral arrangements.

SAMUEL GOMPERS, the funny little man who misleads the American Federation of Labor, puckered his corrugated countenance and hurled defiance at the law-makers of New York State. Sam hates injunctions. He fights them with his mouth—the same mouth that he employs to good advantage guzzling himself at the banquets of the National Civic Federation, where injunctions are manufactured. Sam made a speech recently in which he defied the New York State Legislature to pass a law making strikes illegal. "It can't be done," says Sam. "The law will not be obeyed." Think of patriotic, 100 per cent Samuel threatening to disobey a capitalist law. But Judge Alonzo Hinkley, as if he never heard of the ferocious Gompers,

CHRISTMAS, season of peace on earth, and so on turned into the pocket of the country's business men a considerably enhanced piece of the earth. The week ending December 21 showed a business volume of \$9,184,000,000 as compared to \$8,181,000,000 the week before, a gain of 13 per cent. At the same time the Committee on Unemployment Statistics for New York City, a committee of which William Fellows Morgan, President of the Merchants' Association, is chairman, reports a decrease in unemployment in New York. On October 15th there were 343,000 unemployed in New York, exclusive of the 20,000 to 50,000 floating population, who do not count, of course. On December 15 the unemployed numbered 331,000, a decrease of 12,000, or 3.5 per cent. This increase in employment was chiefly in the retail trade according to the report, and was therefore a Christmas phenomenon. The comparative percentages shown are merely an evidence of the difference in the benefits derived by capital and labor from any improved business condition.

THE discovery has again been made that Columbus, who discovered America, was a Jew. It is now suggested that members of the Knights of Columbus shall be known hereafter as Jews-Harps. What is Henry Ford going to do if this latest discovery is verified? He cannot afford to antagonize the powerful Knights of Columbus, and it is rumored that the Knights are going to stand by Columbus even if he proves to be a Jew. It would not surprise us one of these days to learn that even Saint Patrick himself was a child of Israel.

EDITORIALS

ANOTHER INJUNCTION

THE strike of the Garment Workers in New York has given birth to another injunction. This seems to be a battle of injunctions—with the workers as usual getting the shorter end of it. A temporary injunction has been issued against the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union which not only nullifies whatever advantage the Union gained from its much-heralded legal victory, but which, if made permanent, will be a mortal blow struck at all Organized Labor.

This new Ukase is one of the most drastic and sweeping injunctions ever issued by a State Court in any labor dispute. It aims to restrain the International from picketing the factories of the members of the American Cloak and Suit Manufacturers' Association, from holding meetings or agitating for the strike, from paying strike benefits and from "conspiring unlawfully" to injure the business and keep idle the shops of the Association.

Coming on the heels of Hillquit's great legal victory for the Union, this injunction is very instructive. It proves most effectively that although all methods should be used by the workers in order to achieve victory, yet, in the last resort, the best guarantee for success is solidarity of the workers themselves. Courts may sometimes be of help. But too much faith should not be put in them. And the workers should beware of those who try to have them put their trust in any action other than that of their own, direct action. This is the most effective method in the long run.

DOWN WITH THE SUBMARINES!

By a unanimous vote the five great naval powers have accepted prohibition of the use of submarines as commerce destroyers. This eighteenth amendment of international warfare is to become part of the universal code of international law. And law is law we know; the weak and the strong are to obey it to the best of their ability. This great "advance" toward world peace came despite the gallant opposition of the arch-enemy of the piratical Germany—France.

Of course progress is progress for all that. Now that the world's peacemakers have accepted the slogan "Down with the Submarines," how much nearer are we to the "Brotherhood of Man?" Let us not bother about the future or dabble in speculations. A peep into the present will put our hopes in order. The accepted arrangement to curb the use of submarines reeks with every ambiguity in the rules of war and leaves a wide gap for the powers of hell to break through.

The underdog of the ocean is not to attack merchant ships. But what is a merchant ship anyhow? And when is a ship a merchant ship, or a merchant ship a merchant ship? Well, time alone can settle that, and war time especially will settle that. Because of the divergence of views, the Powers did not determine the definition of a merchant ship, not that definitions matter much in war. The whole submarine controversy shows very clearly the conflict of capitalist interests and their inevitable outcome. Imperialism is anxious for a truce. On every question that has come before the Washington Conference, a temporary arrangement has been reached—an arrangement aimed at giving the sorely pressed Powers a chance to recover sufficient strength to put their house in order for new wars.

The submarine question is settled in the manner so characteristic of capitalism—avoidance of the issue. As the matter stands, each nation remains free to decide for itself

what class of ships shall or shall not be immune from attack as ships of commerce in time of war. So we are now back to the good old days of 1917 when the "criminal" Germans were making short shift of the British merchant marine. Germany had also decided for herself what is and what is not a merchant ship. America disagreed with her definition particularly as to time and place. The point at stake was settled at the point of the gun. Thus has the submarine issue been settled once more and thus it will be settled again—until the workers of the world take matters into their own hands and rid themselves of their capitalist oppressors.

CALL A CONFERENCE

WHenever you are in trouble call a conference. This is the motto of the diplomats who hold our destinies in the hollow of their well-greased palms. Capitalism has been in acute trouble for some time and its spokesmen have been conferring rather diligently for the past two years. Since the 1919 days of Versailles we have been treated—rather mistreated—to something like a score of conferences held for the purpose of putting the world back on its feet. This is quite an arduous though noble, task for so dizzy a world.

Lloyd George, Bonomi, Briand and a horde of their satellites and major planets are now in a conference at Cannes conferring to confer in another conference in March. All the previous numerous pompous gatherings have not even scratched the surface of the canker on the body politic of Europe—the economic disruption. The Washington Conference flatly refused to consider the vexing problem. The acutely disturbed state of affairs in international currency, the division of the first billion marks paid by Germany, and the preparations for the real show at Genoa are the order of the day at Cannes.

Russia and Germany will participate in the Genoa Conference, which will be mainly economic in character. At last the big jowers are ready to treat with Russia in the open. England, faced by industrial stagnation with two million unemployed, France in despair over her declining role in international politics, and Italy lost somewhere in the mad shuffle of her stronger brothers for plunder, are all anxious to try something "new." But while these powers are offering peace to Russia, their Japanese agents are, at their behest, waging war on Russia and robbing the Far Eastern Republic of much of her natural resources.

But Russia will not, for a moment, play into the hands of the imperialist diplomats. Despite the obvious lack of good faith of the allied capitalist powers, Soviet Russia will go into conference with them. The Workers Republic prefers, as Trotsky has oft said, to pay with the products of labor than with the blood of her toiling masses. Russia is ready to talk the payment of Czarist debts. Because of Russia's economic plight this payment is not worth a straw for a long time to come unless the creditors accept concessions in lieu and help rebuild Russia.

The invitation of Soviet Russia to the Genoa Conference is a likely prelude to a defacto recognition of the Socialist Government. It indicates that the European capitalist powers have decided upon a change of policy in their mortal enmity towards the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. The struggle between the Soviets and their enemies is now resolving itself into a tug of war between economic forces. Russia will go to Genoa but will not fall into any of the traps laid for it. Litvinoff has already made Russia's posi-

tion clear. Soviet Russia will do everything possible to obtain peace and a chance to rebuild her industries, but will fight to the bitter end to maintain the rule of the workers and peasants.

THE UNITED LABOR COUNCIL

THE New York Times has been rather lavish in spilling ink to prove the connection between United Labor Council, now in convention at New York City, and the Workers' Party of America. This effort is not to be taken too seriously by the workers. It is the customary line of news that the Times brands as "fit to print." The United Labor Council is an organization of independent unions and has no connections whatsoever with any political party. The Amalgamated Metal Workers of America, the United Shoe Workers, and the Amalgamated Food Workers are the backbone of the organization.

We produce in full the following program adopted at the convention:

"We stand for the unity of labor as a whole and offer a medium for the amalgamation of conflicting labor organizations in the same trades or industries as a first step of the general unification of the entire labor movement.

The autocratic trade union bureaucracy, in order to perpetuate its power, has expelled militant individuals and units from their organizations, which has led to the formation of numerous independent bodies.

The willingness of progressive and revolutionary elements to split away from the general organizations and build ideal unions at the expense of the weakening of the general labor movement, has reacted to the detriment of the workers.

The continual warfare between these various bodies for members for their respective organizations consumed their energy without any resultant gain for the militant movement. The simultaneous extracting of the vital militant forces from the general labor movement has sapped its strength and correspondingly strengthened the control of the reactionary officialdom.

Realizing the futility of dualism, sectarianism and the policy of division, and, recognizing the fact that the dynamic forces contained in the conflicting radical labor groups if co-ordinated would become a powerful factor for the unification of the working class.

Therefore we call upon such independent labor organizations to unite or amalgamate with one another both within industries and inter-industrially for the purpose of paving the way for the merging of all factors into one general labor movement."

This program deserves the consideration of every worker. In its condemnation of dualism and sectarianism the document takes a step in the right direction. We hope that it will, in actual life, use all its powers to realize the return of its units to the major body of organized labor in America. There is no room in America today for a competing national labor body with the American Federation of Labor. The road to the victory of the working class lies in unity, in consolidation rather than in division.

THE IRISH FREE STATE

THE capitalist press in America is singing a song of joy over the action of Dail Eireann in accepting the peace treaty by a 64 to 57 vote. Some milk-and-water Socialists hail it as a victory for Ireland. It is a victory for the Irish middle class, at least for the time being. Under the terms of the agreement they can exploit the Irish workers without undue interference from the British Government. Irish soldiers will now enforce the decrees of an Irish parliament controlled by England instead of English soldiers and English police.

An Irish parliament indeed! Wolfe Tone, the great rebel

of 1798, rose in rebellion against an Irish parliament, and was executed for his pains. A similar fate may be in store for Irish workers in the near future. Griffith is the leader of the Irish bourgeoisie. He knows his business. Collins may be the Irish Noske. De Valera is an honest man who does not understand the class struggle and is therefore doomed to failure. He intends to lead a Republican Party against the Irish Free State. The Communist Party of Ireland supported him in his fight against the treaty. Irish labor is not interested in a republic such as we have in America. It wants a Soviet Republic. This it cannot have until British labor wakes up to its responsibility and overthrows its ruling class. The Labor Republics of England and Ireland can live harmoniously together. There is no quarrel between the English and Irish workers. The fight is between the workers and the capitalists everywhere.

The struggle for Irish freedom is not yet over. The class struggle from now on will have the center of the stage, and unless all signs fail it will be bloody.

KEEP TALKING ABOUT IT

WE are far from satisfied with the manner in which the press has treated the latest exploit of William J. Burns—the "exposure" of the Wall Street explosion. Apparently satisfied with having driven the head of the government's secret service into temporary retirement—at least temporary silence—the labor, liberal and revolutionary press has let the matter drop. In our opinion this is nothing less than a compromise with the most contemptible arm of capitalism in the United States, a compromise with the head of a gang of assassins, thugs and stool-pigeons which has its tentacles in every channel of our national life; it is a compromise with what was plainly a deliberate attempt to "frame" certain individuals with the double purpose of collecting a reward and discrediting all forms of working class activity.

In any other country in the world, after such an exhibition of crooked stupidity, men of the type of William J. Burns would be laughed out of public life; in the United States, where the daily press wields enough influence to erase such occurrences from the public mind in twenty-four hours, the charlatan finds his most fertile field. It is our suggestion that for once an attempt should be made to force the permanent retirement from the government service of this proved four-flusher, potential murderer and general all-around doer of the dirty work of the capitalist class of the United States.

Is it not enough of an insult to every decent man and woman in America that the head of a private detective agency, in business because it is willing to wallow in every sort of filth, should, as head of a government department be given added power over the lives of men and women in every walk of life, without the additional provocation of being forced to read the published lies, swallowed by the press, for which Burns stands sponsor, and which could only emanate from the brain of a crook or madman?

A strong attack is always the best defense; we believe that all journals not controlled by the protectors of Burns and his ilk could unite on this issue and by giving him no breathing spell while he is being hoisted by his own bomb either force his resignation or make him such a laughing stock that no further pronouncements of his will carry any weight except with those who like to be deceived.

Men of the Burns type and the type of editor giving approval to the wild tales of a dime-novel detective are responsible for most of the lynchings and other outrages to a much greater extent than the deluded degenerates who actively participate in them; it is therefore against these promoters of bloody debauchery that the offensive should be directed and the responsibility placed squarely upon their shoulders.

Going To The Masses

By BELA KUN

(Translated from the German by Daniel Shays)

However varied were the views at the Third Congress of the Comintern concerning the appraisal of a revolutionary situation, and however diverse the opinions as to plans for winning the overwhelming majority of the proletariat to the idea of communism in the shortest time possible—at any rate there was not even the semblance of a difference of opinion among the Communists that the actual task of the party, a task which will brook no delay, is this: **THE REACHING OF THE GREAT BROAD MASSES OF THE WORKING CLASS.**

Whoever feels that this goal is something new or perhaps even an abandonment of the old principles of the Communist International and of Bolshevism—whether he swings to the right or leans to the left—up to now has not understood the elementary principles on which Communist tactics are founded.

What is the meaning of this slogan of the third congress: "To the Masses"?

First: It is a simple assertion of the fact that the Communists are still to-day but a minority, not only of the working class, but even of the politically and industrially organized masses of the workers.

Second: It means that the Communists do not start out with a mere abstraction born in their own brains to the effect that the revolution needs the workers, but the communists know that **THE WORKERS NEED THE REVOLUTION.**

Third: That the Communist Party can only form a VANGUARD when it has behind it a main army. This main army which will play the decisive part in the revolutionary conflict, consists of the masses—the majority of the working class.

Just because the Communist parties are filled with a revolutionary will, and just because they regard the situation as objectively a revolutionary one—precisely for these reasons the Third Congress adopted as its slogan: "To the Masses."

The assertion of the fact that the Communists are today a minority not only of the working class but also of the politically and economically organized sections of the workers, means that a persistent, energetic struggle is necessary against all forms of petty bourgeois opportunism which permeate the workers. Not a single expression of proletarian life can be a matter of indifference to the Communists. Those who have developed a higher class consciousness cannot develop a comprehension of Communism in the less developed if they hold the backward masses in contempt.

This contempt can be a characteristic feature only of such organizations as represent the aristocracy of labor—the social democrats and the rigorously closed unions. But it cannot be a characteristic trait of Communist parties, whose very task it is to penetrate into the deepest depths of the masses and bring to the surface all revolutionary currents and to give them effect.

The assertion of the fact that we are a minority does not imply that we "renounce the revolution" as Friedrich Adler and Herman Gorter proclaimed in striking unison; but merely implies the setting of a revolutionary goal. This goal is: **THE WINNING OF THE MAJORITY OF THE MASSES—THE MAJORITY OF OUR CLASS—FOR THE IDEA OF COMMUNISM.**

For this reason no expression of mass life can be of indifference to the Communists, since revolutionary Marxists

have never asserted that Révolution is a something flying in the clouds, onto which the working class must be tied in order that it may get down to earth. They never announced: "In the beginning was the word," which the working class must assist in its process of "becoming the deed." Quite the contrary.

In the beginning was the working class, the great masses of the workers who had to feed themselves—not on mere words, but on bread and meat and other good earthly things. Or rather, they would nourish themselves on all these good things if the wretched wage, which the capitalist exploiters are trying to reduce still further, would reach that far.

Not only have all social reforms which were calculated to improve the lot of the masses, suffered bankruptcy, but it is also becoming ever clearer that those who urged these reforms as a solution of the problems of the working class—the social-democratic party and the trade union bureaucracy—do not even take these reforms seriously themselves, and at the slightest resistance of the bourgeois lose all taste for leading a struggle for these reforms.

Hence it is that the working class needs the revolution. We can best show that to them if we are at hand in every expression of the life, of the will, of the strivings of the working class. If we take part when the working class defends itself against wage reductions; if we are with them when an attempt is made through new taxes to reduce their wage still further; if we hearten them to battle, when they are disheartened, when they see their every day interests betrayed by those very ones who urge that the workers need fight for no other but these every day interests.

It is a matter of indifference what brings the masses into action. Every forward movement of the masses today presses against the walls of the capitalist system. But it is not a matter of indifference as to whether the Communist Party is taking part in **EVERY FORWARD MOVEMENT OF THE MASSES** or is keeping itself apart from the aroused workers.

A vanguard can be victorious in skirmishes; the decisive battle can only be fought and won by the main body of troops, the masses.

The slogan, "To the masses," does not mean that the Communist International has any reason to revise its conception that we are living in the epoch of social revolution. Quite the contrary!

The result of the realization of that slogan can only mean the carrying to a decisive conclusion of the long process of struggle, the assurance of the victory of the revolution.

THE OPEN SHOP

By ROBERT WHITAKER

My job, it is of thee, poor shield from penury, of thee I sing, job that I long have sought until almost distraught, for which I nearly fought, thy praise I bring. My native open shop, guarded by thug and cop, I dote on thee; I love thy longer day; I love thy meaner pay: American! O say, that's one on me. Let all be free to grab; let all be free to scab; let grafters loot; let law and order fans, legions and Ku Klux Klans, and all our Black and Tans burn, hang and shoot. Our Wall Street god, to thee, great god of normalcy, to thee we sing; long may the plutes prevail, while thinkers rot in jail; the Open Shop, all hail; thou art the thing.

—Rank and File.

Howat States The Facts

By ALEXANDER HOWAT

Columbus, Kansas.—The United Mine Workers of District 14 are now beginning the third month of their battle against the autocratic power of Governor Allen and his so-called Industrial Court, and notwithstanding the tremendous odds arrayed against them, and the cowardly and unscrupulous tactics practised by Lewis and Van Bittner and the lying statements made by them and the representatives of the Coal Operators' Association, as to the number of men who have returned to the mines, in which they have made it appear that half of the miners in Kansas have returned to work, with the hope that they could deceive and discourage the men who are making such a remarkable struggle to establish the principles of industrial freedom, and to wipe from the pages of Kansas history the blot that was placed there by the Kansas legislature at the command of Governor Allen. Yet, in the face of all the lying propaganda that has emanated from those who would crush the hopes and aspirations of the Mine Workers of our district we find at the beginning of the third month of this historic battle that not more than about two per cent of the Kansas miners have returned to work in accordance with the orders of International President Lewis and 98 per cent are standing like the rock of Gibraltar, more determined than ever that this fight shall not be in vain, and that it shall go on and on until they bring back to the working class of the old Sunflower State the same degree of liberty and justice that is accorded the organized workers in the other states of the nation. We are asking nothing more, and we shall be satisfied with nothing less.

When Lewis, or his stool pigeon, Van Bittner, or the Coal Operators, speak about the number of men who are now working, they always count that part of the Missouri miners, who belong to our district, although they know, and the general public knows, that we urged the Missouri miners to return to work, as our fight is against the Industrial Court Laws in Kansas. It will therefore be understood that our members who are working in Missouri are working under orders of the duly elected officials of District 14, and they have assured us that they are standing with us to a finish in the fight in which we are now engaged.

The time is drawing near when President Lewis and the Coal Operators are going to be obliged to let the people know the truth in regard to the number of men who are working in the coal mines in Kansas. When five or six men go to work in a mine where two hundred were formerly employed, the public is led to believe that the mine is in full operation, when the real facts are, that the production of coal in the Kansas mines is a joke, and no one knows it better than President Lewis, Van Bittner and the Coal Operators' Association, and this joke in regard to the production of coal in Kansas is going to be impressed on them and their friend, Governor Allen, and the Industrial Court more forcibly in the future than in the past, as the mine workers of our district are determined that there shall be no surrender of the principle we are fighting to establish.

President Lewis and his concealed upstart, Van Bittner, have been more than loyal to Governor Allen and his Industrial Court, and the Coal Operators' Association, but they have failed, and have been turned back and blocked in every cowardly scheme that they have conceived of in trying to lash the miners back to the mines, and they will continue to fail, because the Mine Workers of District 14 are determined that the principles of liberty and justice, the principle on which our republic was founded, shall never die. It is

for that reason they refuse to submit to any form of slavery, such as provided by the so-called Kansas Court of Industrial Relations.

So there may be no misunderstanding, I desire to make it clear and emphatic that the strike that is being waged by the Kansas miners at this time is for one purpose alone, and that is against the enforcement of the Industrial Court Law of Kansas, and there is going to be no surrender. As long as this so-called law remains on the statutes of this state, a law that has outraged the people and made the Governor and his Industrial Court the laughing stock of the nation, expulsion from office as officials of the U. M. W. of A. and expulsion forever from the union itself shall not alter our position in the least. It has been our hope and our desire and ambition to stay with the United Mine Workers as long as life remained.

We went through a four-year strike to establish the Miners' Union in this state, and we would strike four years more if necessary in order to keep it here. Much as we love it, however, we shall never agree to surrender our principles as men, as it appears we are required to do in Kansas, in order to retain our membership under that unscrupulous tyrant, John L. Lewis, who has disgraced the honored position he now occupies as international president of the miners' organization. He stands today branded as a traitor to the cause of labor, and this is the man who was ambitious at the Denver convention of the A. F. of L. to head the American Labor Movement.

In concluding this statement I desire to thank the organized workers of Kansas City, Missouri, for their timely assistance, as they rallied to our cause when in trying times of need, and their kindness, along with the other workers who are assisting us, shall never be forgotten.

And now a word in regard to the Illinois miners and their officials. No words of mine can adequately express our most sincere appreciation of what they have done for us. They are standing with us today as they have stood with others for many years who were in need of their assistance. John H. Walker, Brother William Orr and the committee sent here from the Illinois convention by President Farrington have their shoulders to the wheel and are working night and day to assist us in the great struggle for industrial freedom.

So let the slogan be: "On With the Fight," until the destruction of the Industrial Court Law has been made complete, so that it may never breathe the breath of life again. When this is accomplished, which is near at hand, then, and not until then, will our fight against the Industrial Slave Law of Kansas be at an end.

I say again, with the Illinois miners and their officials standing with us, we cannot fail. No obstacles or opposition of any kind, great though they may be, are going to be permitted to stand in the way of the onward march of the workers in their fight to compel the law-makers of this nation to respect the rights of the men and women who toil. So we say, in this fight there shall be no surrender, and the heroic battle of the mine workers of District 14 will continue until in the end the great principles of freedom and liberty and justice shall triumph over all, and then the Kansas miners and the other organized workers of the state can stand forth and say to the world: "AT LAST WE ARE FREE MEN."

The Struggle in the Machinists' Union

(Statement of Wm. Ross Knudsen, Candidate for International President.)

The Problem

The problem facing the working class today is the problem of the class struggle in its most intensive, bitter and acute form. Unemployment, poverty, famine and pestilence have followed in the wake of the world war. The capitalist class having taken advantage of the situation are conducting a bitter war upon the workers to force them back into abject slavery. They have launched their campaign for the open shop, the lowering of wages, and the prolonging of the hours of toil. As a consequence and due to the lack of foresight and class-consciousness our forces have been torn asunder. Our membership has fallen off at a terrific rate. Over 100,000 have dropped from our organization at a time when we should be cementing our forces with the strongest of bonds preparing our membership for their coming responsibility—the operation of industry under an industrial republic.

The Capitalist System

Under capitalism labor is a commodity like any other commodity. It is a system which all the natural resources, all the tools of production and distribution are privately owned by a class of idle parasites, while the millions of toilers perform the necessary labor that these parasites may fatten on the profits while the slaves wallow in the mire of poverty and distress—disinherited and enslaved.

Unemployment

The army of unemployed hanging as a storm cloud over the nation threatens to break at any time and tear asunder the social fabric. This army is not a temporary phenomena. It is a permanent body of disinherited workers.

Due to the rapid development in machine production and due to a lack of markets to absorb the huge surplus of commodities turned out by these machines, this army of unemployed is increasing at a frightful rate. Idle men bring about bitter competition for jobs and a slashing of wages results. Idle and poorly paid wage slaves cannot buy back the products of their toil—hence we have overproduction, panics and wars for markets. Thus the whole process revolves in a vicious circle, grinding down the workers and entangling them in a net of poverty, misery and famine. This is the natural result of the capitalist system.

As long as commodities are produced for profits, just so long will unemployment remain with us. The malignant cancer spot of the social body known as capitalism must be removed from society by Dr. Labor and not until this operation is performed will unemployment disappear. A thorough knowledge of this subject should be conveyed to our membership in various intelligent forms.

Industrial Unionism

The collapse of capitalism is near and as the future society will be an Industrial Commonwealth, it is absolutely necessary that the industrial workers be schooled in the elements of their coming responsibility. It is imperative, aye, it is our duty to seize control of our organization and reorganize along industrial lines for the purpose of taking, holding and operating the machine shops in the interest of a Society of Workers and not for profit but for use. Government will be by industries. The Industrial Congress will be the law of the land. Therefore preparations should and will be made along these lines. One of the requirements is the

establishment of industrial unions to take the place of the petty craft organizations. The machinists must bring about the amalgamation of the metal mechanics into one organization. We have talked long enough—let us get into action. Issue the proper propaganda no matter whom it hurts.

Red Trades Union International

Society is making one of the sharpest turns in history. Intelligent labor is advancing like the vanguard of an invincible army. We must get into the heart of the struggle and affiliate with the Red Trades Union International and send our delegates to the next Moscow Convention of that body. We must divorce ourselves forever from bourgeois reformism and social patriotism. Let us number ourselves among the makers of history.

Railroads

We should seriously consider the transportation problem with the object of having them taken over by the workers. The railroad systems are being exploited and wrecked by the Vested Interests. Sooner or later their breakdown will be complete and then the responsibility of operating them will rest on the shoulders of Labor. Let us prepare for that day.

Labor Bureau

A labor bureau must be created which will seriously and vigorously consider the possibilities of economic action. It must gather statistics for the pronounced purpose of fundamentally changing the economic structure. Vital facts of the mechanical industry, transportation, etc., must be gathered for future use. This would be the desired stimulant to establish renewed vigor and enthusiasm.

Russia

Russia, the shining light that broke the dark and gloomy days of wage slavery, needs technical aid. Let us help her, our fellow workers, by organizing mechanical units under the Society for Technical Aid to Soviet Russia, so that with our assistance they can rush onwards to the Industrial Republic.

Function of a Trade Union

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.

Call for Action

Fellow workers—unite our 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.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. ROSS KNUDSEN.

Announcement

The Toiler and The Workers' Council

Will merge and appear as a six-page weekly newspaper

THE WORKER

TO TOILER SUBSCRIBERS:

If your address label bears the number 207 or under, your subscription either has already expired or will expire with the last issue of the Toiler, which will be dated Jan. 28th, No. 207. In order to receive the new weekly, it will be necessary for all subscribers receiving the Toiler bearing No. 207 or under to subscribe for the WORKER by filling out the blank below and mailing within a week to the Toiler office, 208 East 12th St., N. Y. City. Otherwise your name will not be on the list of the new paper.

BUNDLE AGENTS

All Bundle Agents must pay their bills in full within a week or their names will not be placed on the Worker's list. Agents desiring changes in orders should notify us at once.

Renewal..... New Subscriber.....

Date.....1922.

Subscriber's Name.....

Address

City

State.....

Bundle Agent, Number Desired.....

In the Ranks of Labor

Shall Sacco and Vanzetti Die?

Judge Webster Thayer, who presided over the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, in denying them a new trial stated that "no jury was ever selected in a capital case with greater care, study and consideration. It was an intelligent jury." This in spite of the fact that only seven jurors had been selected from the original panel of 500 talesmen. The other five were selected from 200 talesmen secured by the sheriff by scouring the highways of the county on the order of the presiding judge. The representatives of the defendants therefore had no opportunity to investigate the eligibility of the new veniremen. Fantastic stories of threatening letters were spread in the columns of the capitalist press. Everything was done to poison the minds of the jurors against the defendants. The attempt to railroad Sacco and Vanzetti to death has aroused vigorous protest from the labor movement in every part of the world. The American workers will not allow the capitalists to murder Sacco and Vanzetti. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, organizer of the Workers' Defense Union, has started on a speaking tour through the United States in their behalf. Her tour will include meetings in Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit, Milwaukee, Chicago, Minneapolis, Kansas City and St. Louis.

On the Waterfront

More than 100 tugboats in New York harbor are tied up as a result of the strike of the United Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots against the 72-hour week and a 20 per cent wage reduction. Every tugboat company in the harbor is affected according to Capt. William A. Maher, manager of the United Association.

Shoe Workers

Seventy-five thousand shoe workers comprising the combined membership of three shoeworkers' organizations will amalgamate if a referendum proposal which is to be submitted in February is adopted. The organizations involved are the United Shoe Workers of America, with 30,000 members, the Protective Shoe Workers with 25,000 and the Allied Shoe Workers with 20,000. If the Amalgamation proposal is approved a delegate convention of the three organizations will be held in Boston on May 17 at which final details will be completed.

Help for West Virginia Miners

The Kanawha Valley Central Labor Union, Charleston, W. Va., appealed for donations of food, clothing and money to alleviate suffering in West Virginia mining fields. "The miners gave until it hurt during the war, it won't hurt for you to give a little now," declared an official of the Central Labor Union. A relief committee has been appointed consisting of members of the various unions and their wives. The miners gave until it hurt during the war—until it hurt the miners. The capitalists who benefited by the war are not hurt. Only the suckers who fought and toiled to provide the bosses with the sinews of war are suffering. The wages of patriotism is hunger.

Wage Reductions Continue

Reports from all over the country continue to show a steady decrease in wages and increase in working hours.

Following the recent wage reduction of 10 per cent, the Standard Oil plant at Bayonne, N. J., has given notice that all employees will work 48 hours instead of 44½ hours for married men and 40 hours for single men.

A nation wide agreement between the International Iron Moulders' Union and the Stone Foundry's National Defense Association reduces wages 5 to 10 per cent. The employers asked for a 20 to 30 per cent reduction.

Mines and reduction plants in the Butte, Great Falls and Anaconda districts will resume work Jan. 16 with a horizontal wage decrease of 50c a shift.

Although the anthracite mine workers are demanding a 20 per cent wage increase, the owners demand a formidable decrease in wages.

According to a decision handed down by Dr. J. L. Magnus the wages of all millinery workers in New York employed on piece work by Ladies' Hat Manufacturers' Association have been reduced 15 per cent. The week workers earning over \$28 were cut 10 per cent.

According to a report of the Builders' Exchange and Employers' Association of Philadelphia, the wage scale in the building trades is 24 per cent below that of 1920.

The Industrial Commission of New York reports that factory wages were 15 per cent lower in November of this year than in the same month last year.

Anti-Strike Court for New York

New legal methods for further enslaving the workers appear every day. The New York Board of Trade and Transportation, an organization made up of the largest business interests in New York, and organized nearly fifty years ago "to promote the trade, commerce and manufacture of the United States," has drawn up an anti-strike bill which is to be submitted to the legislature. According to the provisions of this bill, employers and workers are compelled in a controversy to report all facts in writing to the State Industrial Commission, which will have power to adjust the dispute. This may be done by appointing a board of conciliation, or by calling a conference. If any event it will be unlawful to call a strike. At the end of thirty days, if no settlement has been reached, either side may appeal to the State Supreme Court for an injunction. Only if no injunction is issued when the employer appeals are the workers free to strike. Furthermore, any ten citizens may appeal to the Supreme Court for an injunction if a strike seems probable. The thirty days delay, of course, is wholly favorable to the employers, because the best weapons of the workers in an industrial fight is their power to strike a quick, decisive blow at production. The delay will give the employers time to organize and collect their forces. The courts, in their issuance of injunctions, can always be relied upon to be on the right side. Indeed, the bill seems, as all its backers claim, to incorporate all the best aspects of similar measures—for the employers.

Packing Industry Still Tied Up

While the packers claim that production in New York is back to normal and that there is plenty of labor available, evidence seems to point to the contrary. The normal deliveries are made by 150 wagons. About twenty wagons, half filled, are going out at the present time. Plant production ranges from 12 to 18 per cent of normal. In order to carry on any delivery, policemen are used to make collections and drive the trucks.

Strike Sympathizers Defy Police in Omaha

Several arrests of strikers on a charge of disorderly conduct in Omaha resulted recently in a battle between strike sympathizers and policemen. In order to maintain their supremacy, the police had to sweep the crowd with bayonet-tipped riot guns.

THE WORKERS' PARTY

The Workers' Party formed in this city Christmas week, has by action of the National Executive Committee organized a Lyceum and Literature Department. Elmer T. Allison has been placed in charge of this Department.

The touring of speakers, organization of study-classes, lecture courses and other educational work will be centralized under the supervision of this Department. The placing of a number of national speakers in the field is contemplated immediately. Among those who will take the platform for the Workers' Party are Floyd Ramp, William Thurston Brown, Bruce Rogers, Hulet Wells, Ella Reeve Bloor, Wm. F. Dunn, James H. Fisher, Charles Baker. The list will be increased as the Party develops its activities. The department plans to keep at least a score of national speakers in the field constantly, besides supplying locals and districts with the speakers under their own supervision.

Under the plan of distribution the Department has outlined, locals and district offices will purchase literature from the National Office in wholesale lots, selling at retail at all meetings and through the membership. The department is organizing all units of the Party and the Party press in the work of advertisement and sale of literature.

UNEMPLOYMENT DEMONSTRATION

The Unemployment Council, 201 West 13th St., N. Y. City, has arranged a demonstration of the Unemployed at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St., Monday, Jan. 16, 8 P. M.

Just why the workers are out of a job and what they should do in their condition are the questions to be taken up at this demonstration. Are they going to accept charity at the hands of Salvation Armies, churches and other philanthropic organizations, which regard them rather as objects of pity, if not as vagabonds, than as men; or are they going to stand up as workers should and make demands.

The reaction after the war has left the working class of America in a strange state of indifference. Workers on the job let themselves be pulled about without the slightest resistance. Wages are reduced—the workers protest. Some resort to strikes—half-hearted strikes, which they speedily give up. The meat strike in Chicago, the garment workers' strike in New York, that of the miners in Kansas, the milk drivers in New York, are all the more notable since they are in utter contrast to the vast majority of strikes which are relinquished without a struggle. This is all the more glaring in view of the fact that wages are so very low and all the consequences of underpay are manifesting themselves, malnutrition of the workers and particularly of their children, increase of tuberculosis, growth of crime and suicide.

Are the workers going to accept this as inevitable—or are they at least going to learn—and then prepare to FIGHT? MEN will only answer: FIGHT! To fight, the workers must be educated and organized.

Unemployed and employed workers should attend the demonstration on Jan. 16. For the hungry unemployed, there will be food. Workers and sympathizers are requested to furnish food. Donations may be sent at any time to 83 E. 4th St., 1st floor.

UNITED LABOR COUNCIL

Fifty unions, with an estimated membership of about 50,000 workers, have federated here under the name of the General Council of United Labor Bodies. A two-day convention, attended by 50 delegates, adopted a constitution and program approving the program and principles of the Red Trade Union International, and instructing the general executive board to take steps to affiliate with that organization.

FROM THE UNEMPLOYED

It's hell to live in the city,
When the whistles fail to blow;
And winter sends its chilling blasts,
Along with ice and snow.
When the whistles are all silent,
There is no pay a-coming in,
And you get out of groceries,
Also fuel in your old bin.

The landlord keeps a-calling,
And gives you a bawling out
Every time you fail to pay him,
Or else he casts you out—
Out in the street and gutter,
With no place to lay your head.
What in hell's the use of living?
Far better were we dead.

YOUNG WORKERS' LEAGUE

Liebkecht-Luxemburg Memorial Meeting

Karl* Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were the most heroic figures of modern times. When the German working class was betrayed by the old party leaders they did not hesitate to hurl the challenge of Revolutionary Socialism at these traitors. For this they gave the most anybody can give for any cause—their lives.

Come and pay your tribute to these two great leaders and martyrs at the Liebknecht-Luxemburg Memorial Meeting at Park View Palace, 110th St. and Fifth Ave., on Friday evening, Jan. 20, 1922. The following speakers will address the audience:

Caleb Harrison, Secretary of the Workers' Party, will talk on the subject, "Liebknecht—Leader of Youth."

William F. Dunn, editor of the Butte Daily Bulletin and noted veteran labor leader, on "The Task Before Us."

Floyd Ramp on "Youth and Revolution."

Israel Amter, "What This Day Means."

G. Schulenberg of the Y. W. L. will be chairman.

Disarmament Conference Farce and Ball

Do you want to see the (dis)armament conference in action? Do you want to see the generals turned pacifists?

If you do, come to the ball to be held at Workers' Hall, 1347 Boston Road, Saturday evening, Feb. 18, 1922.

Proceeds to go for the building up of a National Young Workers' League in America. Get your tickets at any Y. W. L. headquarters.

YWL News

Circle No. 1, 1258 Boston Road, meets every Saturday evening. Open forum every Sunday evening. Prominent speakers. Admission free.

Class on public speaking every Thursday.

Classes in economics, "A. B. C. of Communism" and "Fundamentals of Socialism," soon will be started. Classes are open to all.

Circle No. 5, 61 Canal Street, meets every Sunday evening. Series of lectures by prominent lecturers soon to be started.

Circle No. 6, 59 East 105th St., meets every Thursday evening. Class in "A. B. C." every Saturday afternoon is making good progress. Soon to move into new headquarters.

Circle No. 11, Jewish, 61 Canal St., meets every Saturday evening. M. Marmer lectures every Friday night on "Development of Socialist Thought."

The City Committee will meet Sunday, Jan. 15, at 2 P. M.

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

To the Editor:

At last, a Workers' Party of America!

All power to you, American workers!

From field and mine, from factory and work-shop, you gather your forces to challenge the political power of your bosses. In the past, you turned that power over to them, and they have used it against you! Now, you have determined to take and use it in your own interest, and against them. When you have accomplished your task, as you will, we shall have a Government not of, for and by your bosses and landlords, their lawyers and politicians to whom the workers must come, cap in hand, to beg for a little more of life and of freedom, but a Government of, for and by the working-class to whom the shirkers will have to come and beg for the least privilege a producers' government will be unwilling to grant.

Today, out of work and starving, or over-worked and under paid, the spectres of Need and Insecurity standing like two ghastly sentinels at the threshold of your homes, your unions defeated or viciously attacked by your exploiters, your interest betrayed by your reactionary leaders, the Government they always urge you to support siding with the bosses and against you; opposing your threat to strike with the threat of its armed forces, foiling your efforts at every step of the way, you are learning the lesson that the workers of Europe have learned before you—the lesson the Russian workers and peasants have carried into action—that to defeat the boss and the landlord and the whole brood of profiteers and get a "square deal" for yourselves you must have the power of a workers' government behind you.

You, American workers, struggling on the farms, in the mills, mines and work-shops of the land, are 85 per cent of the entire population. All that you need to conquer the power held by the remaining 15 per cent who rob and exploit you, is your class solidarity, your class unity.

Long live the Workers' Party of America!

All power to the American working-class!

May the determined spirit and growing solidarity of the American workers soon bring into being the Workers' Government of America!

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

Philadelphia, Pa.,

January 4, 1922.

To the Toiler.

Dear Comrades:

I wish to bring before the comrades who read this note—an idea—a good idea—a toiler's idea. Just this:

At the last meeting of the English-speaking branch of the A. L. A. of Philadelphia, there was organized a Five-Ten Toiler Club, with twenty-one charter members; this despite the fact that half of the Branch members are privates in the Army of the Unemployed, and that the members, as a branch, have been and will be supplied with the Toiler by their Branch Literature Agent.

The Five-Ten Toiler Club—what is it? It's program? None. Constitution? None. Meetings? None. Dues? None. Officers? One! Who? Literature agent. Queer proposition. Yep. Just a Five-Ten Toiler Club.

Each comrade who has at heart the interests of the toiler, and of the toiler's mouthpiece—the Toiler—will join a Five-Ten Club—or organize one. Each class-conscious member of the club pledges to purchase Five "Toilers" each week—some will take ten. Some will have the Toiler mailed to them every week from New York—some will be supplied directly by their Literature Agent. They will pay four

cents for each Toiler, and will resell as they wish—paying their Literature Agent weekly or monthly.

Many who will get ten each week will keep supplied a newsstand near their home—the newsdealer selling the Toiler at five cents a copy, thus sowing the seed where otherwise it would be barren.

Comrade-Readers of the Toiler—to each of you I say: Join or organize a Five-Ten Toiler Club. Start the New Year with a New Idea.

Yours for the Workers' Republic,

ALEXANDER MacLEOD.

Okanogan, Wash., Dec. 27, 1921.

Editor, "The Toiler,"

New York City, N. Y.

Dear Brother:

Have received a few issues of "The Toiler," being one of the Oakland "Worker's" subscribers whom your publication took over. Do not know just how long my subscription ran on the "Worker," but evidently it must have expired as I had not received a copy of the "Toiler" for two or three weeks until the other day received one in a larger envelope from P. B. Cowdery, Oakland. Am well pleased with the reading matter I find in "The Toiler" and am herewith inclosing \$2 for a year's subscription thereto.

Am sorry that we humans are so contrary that we who know and believe that the profit system—man exploiting man—is what we have to eliminate before we can expect justice and a square deal for the producer, cannot get together under one banner and face and fight our enemies with a united front instead of dividing into innumerable factions. A number of our comrades criticize the churches because they continually kept the people divided, but are we doing much better? Are we not just as bitter in our antagonism of those who will not ride in the same colored coach as we to our deliverance? We all agree that the profit system, or man exploiting man, is at the root of our economic ills, but instead of uniting in one invincible body and fighting the cause we divide our forces and start out and try to get rid of one or more of the effects, and any one who does not join in fighting to get rid of our particular "effect" has to fight us, while the exploiter always stands united when it comes to a question of any one jeopardizing his cause—exploitation.

I am inclosing a resolution which the farmers of the State of Washington have gotten up and adopted and which I believe shows they are as well grounded as some of the so-called radicals or intellectuals of the labor movement.

With best wishes for a happy and prosperous New Year, I remain,

Yours truly,

W. T. BEALS.

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.

WASHINGTON FARMERS ADOPT RESOLUTION FAVORING ABOLITION OF EXPLOITATION

Comprehending that what causes most of our social, economic, and industrial troubles is man exploiting man, we therefore believe our immediate and imperative aim should be the "Elimination of all exploitation," and as a means to accomplish that end we should educate and endeavor to induce the people to have laws passed eliminating all exploitation, then practically all our social, economic and industrial troubles will terminate and mankind live in peace and harmony. Thus a strenuous campaign should be inaugurated to educate the people to the one fact that man exploiting man is our great social, economic and industrial evil and that such exploitation is morally and ethically wrong; that the money question, the land question, all our labor and industrial troubles, etc., are simply battles that are being waged to get rid of the one great problem—to stop man exploiting man. Therefore we believe the adoption of that great principle into law should be the permanent issue for man to solve, always lending a helping hand to any reform that tends in that direction, believing we will make greater progress and come to our emancipation from financial and industrial slavery sooner than if we continue to boost first this, then that, reform movement.

All people who believe our present social, economic and industrial conditions are wrong should get together on one program, and not keep divided—one boosting single tax, another money reform, another socialism, another communism, etc. While the reform forces may all be striking at the same enemy, but not in concert, the exploiting class is always unified when they lock horns, with those whom they are exploiting. Nobody wants more of anything than they can personally use, except that ultimately they believe they can use their surplus in exploiting their fellowmen. No one wants a coal mine, a water power site, 1,000 or 1,000,000 acres of land, a bank and oil well a manufacturing plant or railroad except that the ownership thereof enables them to exploit their fellowman. Therefore there is only one great problem confronting mankind today, and that is to stop man exploiting man, and we earnestly urge that the Washington State Grange, the United Farmers of America and all progressive forces of our county, state and nation get behind a movement to have a law passed abolishing all exploitation—the cause of practically all war, strife, misery and poverty now afflicting mankind—and thus insure the dawning of the day of peace, justice and the brotherhood of man on earth.

Therefore, be it resolved, by Okanogan County Pomona Grange No. 22, Okanogan, Wash., in regular session assembled at Independent Grange Hall, May 21, 1921, that we urge our national congressmen and senators to pass a law as above indicated. Also that a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Washington State Grange, the Agricultural Grange News, the National Grange Monthly and the Okanogan Independent.

Recommended for adoption by W. T. Beals, E. J. Dorian and P. A. Larson, Committee on Resolutions. Adopted May 21, 1921.

ARTHUR WELLS, Master.
CLARA M. GRAHAM, Secretary.

UNEMPLOYMENT NOTES

Reports coming from all parts of the country point to a serious unemployment situation. Workers have been living on savings accumulated during the war and the short period of "prosperity" just after. With the recession of wages, however, and the continued inflation of prices, these savings have gradually been eaten up. As a result, the un-

employed are to-day impoverished to a degree hardly ever reached in this country.

Municipal lodging houses and Salvation Army Missions report that the so-called "bum" is eliminated from their roster of boarders. College graduates, engineers, technicians and men of superior training are frequenting these places, being unable to find work of any character. At a lodging house in New York City, it was found that the average property of the 450 inmates amounted to just nine cents!

Skilled labor has been suffering most acutely during this period of economic depression. The technical improvements achieved during the war heightened the mechanical aspect of all production. As a consequence, more and more unskilled labor was utilized, this including especially female labor. There ensued a high degree of specialization in industry, coupled with the use of a number of highly skilled mechanics and of experts. Now, however, that the factories are closed, these skilled men are not wanted and are unable to turn to any other work.

They are simply being discharged, and roam about looking for work—for which they are not particularly fit. Those still required in industry are having their wages reduced and their hours lengthened, but at a slower rate than the unskilled. The latter may be happy to obtain work at 15, 20 or 25 cents per hour.

In the Far West, on the coast, in the Middle West and especially in New York, unemployment is becoming most serious, despite all pretensions of the municipal authorities and particularly the National Unemployment Committee, the creation of the shrewd Mr. Hoover. From California, Washington, Iowa, Indiana come reports of the desperate plight of the jobless. In Chicago 10,000 unemployed roam the streets, 1,000 sleep outdoors at night. Unorganized, they do not know how to act. Discouraged and at times driven to desperation, they are being driven to crime and—to suicide. The records show a tremendous wave of suicide throughout the country.

The Labor Unions do not seem to grasp the fact that it is their duty to organize the unemployed. We do not state this from any sense of sentimental attachment. The solidarity of the working class must become a living fact, otherwise every element in the working class will suffer. The unemployed are as little to blame for their plight as the workers in one part of a factory are to be held responsible for grievances that arise in another part and lead to a strike of the whole working force. Solidarity must be the idea behind and basic to all action.

Education of unemployed workers in regard to the problem of unemployment is as necessary as that of the jobless. Speakers must be sent into the labor organizations to carry on education and propaganda for action.

The unions themselves can not alleviate the distress of the unemployed to any degree. The most that they can accomplish is great unemployment benefits. What the jobless want, however, is work! The specific demand must be made that the municipality, State or National Government find work for them. Organized labor must assist them in making these demands. Only when sufficient pressure is brought to bear will something be done.

Action is needed all along the line. It must eventually be action on a national scale, to cope with the capitalists on a national scale. To effect this, the Workers' Unemployment Council of America, I. Amter, Secretary, 201 West 13th Street, New York City, is organizing Unemployment Councils in all large centers, and will link them up for unified action. Particulars may be obtained upon application.

The National Defense Committee

Edgar Owens, Secretary-Treasurer, 7 Bank St., N. Y. C.

In January, 1920, Attorney-General Palmer, giving ear to the buzz of the presidential bee, ably assisted by divers states' attorneys, and as unscrupulous a crew of sneaks as Czar Nicholas could boast in the height of his power, staged the so-called "red raids." Thousands of men and women were rounded up like cattle, hurled into filthy jails, man-handled, third-degreed, and every sort of indignity heaped upon them. The raids in Boston, New York, Detroit, Chicago, in practically every industrial center in the United States make a chapter in the Book of White Terror that must make the bones of the revolutionary father do stunts in their graves.

Hundreds of these men and women aliens were held for deportation. Other hundreds were indicted for violation of State "anti-sedition," "anti-syndicalist"—"criminal anarchy" statutes. In Chicago 85 members of the Communist Labor Party, and 37 of the I. W. W. were indicted. In New York indictments were returned against Ben Gitlow, Jim Larkin, C. E. Ruthenberg, I. E. Ferguson and Harry Winitsky. From the Atlantic to the Pacific the states furnished their quota of victims to the White Terror.

The work of propaganda and organization had to be abandoned for the time being while the shattered forces were mobilized for defense. Local defense committees were organized to meet the local needs. Much work of this nature was duplicated in various places. Co-ordination work was imperative. The answer was the National Defense Committee.

In New York in 1920 Ben Gitlow, Jim Larkin, Harry Winitsky, C. E. Ruthenberg and I. E. Ferguson were given sentences of from 5 to 10 years. In November, 1919, Ignatz Mizher, Cortland, N. Y.; Carl Paivio and Gus Alonen, in New York City, were given similar sentences. In July, 1921, Paul Manko was sentenced to from two and one-half to nine years. Treatment Manko received at the hands of the authorities was so severe that his mind was shattered and he is now in the Hospital for the Criminal Insane at Danmora, N. Y. These men are now all in prison. Their cases are being appealed in an effort to secure their release.

During the month of December, 1921, indictments for violation of the infamous "criminal anarchy" Act of New York against Edward Lindgren, I. Amter, and A. Jakira, were dismissed on the grounds that the material to be used against them had been unlawfully secured. Their arrests occurred April 29th, 1921. In Cortland indictments against seven men for violation of this same Act were amended, whereupon the comrades entered pleas and sentence was suspended. They had been arrested in November, 1919, at the time of Mizner's arrest.

On April 8th, 1921, 38 deportees arrived at Ellis Island, expecting to leave for Europe on the 14th. Twelve of them were married and brought their wives along. There were 24 children. Owing to the closing of its frontiers by the Soviet Government and the refusal of the Island authorities to provide for the internal deportees the N. D. C. arranged to pay the Island Commissary Department for the food supplied to the women and children. The bill amounted to \$370.69. On April 25th 48 men and women were arrested in Philadelphia charged with violation of the Pennsylvania "Anti-Sedition" Act. Indictments were returned against 38. Bail was set at \$2,500 each, which was secured. Later on deportation proceedings were instituted against 30 of them, setting bail at \$1,000. This was secured.

In March, 1921, Harry Belavsky was arrested and convicted for an alleged distribution of illegal literature. The defense moved for an arrest of judgment. About the same time Comrade Burke was indicted in Luzerne County under almost identical circumstances. Here a motion to quash the indictment on grounds of error and faulty construction, and what is of greater significance, on the grounds of ambiguity of the Act itself, was sustained. In his decision Judge Fuller stated that "the Pennsylvania Anti-Sedition Statute bore evidence on its face of being one of the ill-considered and hastily passed laws influenced by war hysteria." Basing his opinion on the decision of Judge Fuller, Judge Smith ordered Belavsky released. The district attorney appealed from the ruling of the court in the Belavsky case and pending the decision in the higher courts those comrades will remain under indictment. In the meantime \$125,000 in bail is indefinitely tied up.

In Pittsburgh there are 14 "anti-sedition" cases and 5 deportation cases. Of the State cases one has been sentenced to from 3 to 5 years and \$1,000 fine; one to a year and \$100 fine; two to nine months and \$100 fine, and one is in jail pending sentence. The others are set at liberty under a combined bail of \$15,000.

In Ohio there are 12 cases.

There are five deportation cases in Michigan. One of these, Gerski, was held in jail at Flint under \$10,000 bail, later reduced to \$2,000.

In Illinois, the Chicago Communist Labor Party case, involving nineteen comrades, is before the Illinois Supreme Court.

Wisconsin has 13 deportation cases.

The J. O. Bentall appeal was decided against the defendant in the Federal Court of Appeals during the past summer and he was ordered to begin serving his sentence. This case involved an alleged violation of the wartime Espionage Act. The case is now being taken to the U. S. Supreme Court in an effort to secure a reversal.

The Jack Carney Case is pending before the Federal Court of Appeals.

The Cannon-Baker Case is set for the latter part of January, 1922.

During the year 1921 defense receipts of the N. D. C. National treasury have been \$20,862.91. Disbursements for defense, relief, and administration were \$20,292.70. On account of the cases enumerated in this report the following amounts are needed on January 1st, 1922:

New York	\$5,248.00
Philadelphia	1,148.00
Pittsburgh	2,545.00
Ohio	700.00
Milwaukee	1,000.00
Cannon-Baker	2,500.00
Jack Carney	175.00
J. O. Bentall	300.00

Defense needs Jan. 1st.....\$13,616.00

The above does not include the weekly budget for relief of the imprisoned comrades and their families.

Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street, New York City

At the Berlin Conference of the International Workers' Relief Conference, a fearful picture was shown of the situation in some parts of the famine districts of Soviet Russia.

"There are some villages of 400 people, of whom eight to ten are dying daily. In a large village of 9,000 persons, 150 died in September, 1,000 in October and 1,500 in November! How long will it be before the whole village is wiped out. In the town of Busuluk itself, corpses lie about frozen in the ground until collected in carts and taken to the cemetery. In a children's collecting station in the same area, where 700 children are gathered 35 die every day. Living and dead are lying together until sorted out for burial. I am of the opinion that at least 200,000 persons in this district alone of 500,000 persons will die before help will reach them. And this is only a sample of what is happening throughout the whole Volga Region."

"We need medicines to cure the immense number of persons who are suffering from dread diseases. Cholera, typhus, malaria are raging here. The hospitals are crowded. There is a dearth of medicines, linen, instruments. There is no way of heating the hospitals. But even if we had all of these, there would still remain the need of food. Medicines may heal, but hunger remains.

"Every minute lost means the loss of hundreds of lives."

Thus the reports that continue to come in from the famine-stricken districts of Perm, Simbirsk, Samara, Saratov and all along the Volga. The cry for help is growing louder. All over Europe the workers are answering. There are several hundred organizations working in all the countries with a unanimity of spirit and aim.

"I am a little girl eight years old. I have a mother and father. I have a nice home and everything I want. Being that Xmas is here I am getting lots of nice presents, among them five dollars. My five dollars to the hungry children of Russia." If the story of the sufferings and starvation of the Russian children were told to our American children *in their truth*, there is no doubt but that the American children would do two things: first, shame their parents by the amount that they, the children, would and could collect; and second, force their elders to do more.

There are so many families that have done nothing for famine relief. They must be forced into action. This would be the job of the children. Who will start children's clubs? They should be begun in every town—in fact, in every section of the city. Make it easy for the children to reach the meeting places and to arrange their affairs. Children can work best in their immediate neighborhood. Then you must account with the opposition of their parents and with their fear of having them too far away. Get them to arrange parties, entertainments, shows—and then leave it to the ingenuity of the kids themselves. They will find a thousand and one ways of raising money and collecting things, which their "wiser" elders never would think of. All we ask is that you tell the children *the truth* about Soviet Russia and the famine.

It is gratifying to note that clergymen are throwing aside prejudice and inquiring into the truth surrounding Soviet Russia. One minister sent in an offering taken at his Sunday school in Boston. He writes: "Much success in your blessed efforts for our Russian comrades. At our Christmas tree I pleaded for Soviet Russia and there came in \$21. Let me say right here that I am an ardent believer in the Russian Soviet Republic."

Another minister remitted an offering taken at his church.

William Z. Foster, while in New York, held two splendid relief meetings. One netted more than \$600, the other about \$230. While in the city, Foster appeared before the Central Federated Union and spoke in behalf of the famine sufferers in Soviet Russia. The Union unanimously endorsed famine relief work, and elected a committee to take charge. The local branch of the F. S. R. will co-operate fully with the Central Federated Union to secure contributions from organizations affiliated to the Federated Union.

Los Angeles is a town of unusual ideas. It has purchased a motor car at a much reduced price, the difference being the donation of a friend. It intends raffling off the car, the proceeds to go to famine relief. It has arranged a concert on Jan. 22, from which it expects to derive a few thousand dollars. A campaign is now on to raise \$1,000 to pay for the shipment of 100 tons of wheat that will be donated by Russian Malikonos in Mexico.

Bishop Wm. M. Brown has issued a special edition of his well-known book, "Christianism and Communism," the net proceeds of the sale of which go for famine relief.

The F. S. R. will send a large shipment of food and clothing valued at \$200,000 to Soviet Russia on Jan. 18. The national drive is bringing in a large quantity of clothing. New clothing, old clothing, neatly repaired by sympathetic hands, shoes, boots, caps, mufflers—*everything* that an unclad people can use.

Waterbury has contributed 48 bags of clothes. Most of the branches have not reported or forwarded their collections. The drive will have proven the splendid solidarity of the American workers.

Philadelphia is arranging the performance of Arzibasheff's famous play entitled "War."

Seattle had a splendid Well's meeting. A collection of \$1,357 was taken up.

The harpies are on the job again. Vultures, who call themselves American capitalists, are attempting to take advantage of the appropriation of \$20,000,000 made by Congress, to raise the freight rates on what to Soviet Russia from 30 to 50 per cent. How these birds of prey exult when they can take bread from the mouths of starving babies and children! How they exult when planning to carry out some dirty Yankee trick! Good Christians they are (all of them)—on Sunday—just as they forget their Christianity on Monday and Tuesday and the rest of the week, when they exploit children, women and men in their factories and mills. Good Christians all and excellent patriots!

The well-known periodical "Soviet Russia," edited by that excellent publicist, Dr. J. W. Hartmann, who is also treasurer of the F. S. R., will become an organ of the F. S. R. on Feb. 1. It will hereafter be issued as a semi-monthly, at 15 cents per copy. All who want to receive a true picture of what is taking place in Russia at the present time, with a correct presentation and interpretation of the new policies, must be sure to read it.

The large contributions of the week have come from Seattle \$1,750, Yonkers, N. Y., \$1,400, San Francisco \$600, Los Angeles \$500, Brockton, Mass., \$500, Cleveland \$422, Portland \$450, Madison, Ill., \$345, St. Paul \$173, Rochester \$150, United Mine Workers' Local of Ramsey, O., \$596, Franco-Belgian Club, Lawrence, Mass., \$148, Russian Section of the F. S. R., Lynn, Mass., \$141.

"At Ramikovesky in Soviet Russia the people are eating their dead. It is dangerous to bury the famine victims in the presence of the people, and guards are kept over them until they are in a state that makes eating impossible."

**Blame the Famine! Blame the Blockade!
Blame the Counter-Revolution!**

But To You We Say

**YOUR DOLLARS
WILL SAVE**

LIVES!!

Send Dollars So That No Blame May Rest Upon You

The Friends of Soviet Russia

201 West 13th Street,

New York City

